



211 Politics in the Middle East 2019-2020

Course Provider

[Dr Toby Matthiesen](#), St Antony's College.

Please contact Durga Sapre durga.sapre@politics.ox.ac.uk with any questions regarding administrative matters, including tutorials, and with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

Other Teachers

[Professor Louise Fawcett](#), St Catherine's College.

Subject to departmental approval, certain graduate students and others may teach the course. The names and colleges of such tutors are printed in the [Tutorial Register](#), a copy of which is available in electronic form at the Department's web site.

Syllabus

The formal syllabus in the Examination Decrees and Regulations states:

Candidates will be expected to show knowledge of the politics of the Middle East with regard to their political institutions, political sociology, and political economy. The following topics may be considered: the emergence of the state system in the modern Middle East; the influence of colonialism and nationalism in its development; the military in state and politics; party systems and the growth of democratic politics; the politics of religion; women in the political sphere; the influence of major inter-state conflicts and external factors on internal politics. The Middle East is taken to comprise Iran, Israel, Turkey, and the Arab States.

Examination Decrees 2018

Content and Structure

This course focuses on the domestic politics of the states of the Middle East. As such, it aims to take some of the major concepts of the discipline of political studies and apply them to the contemporary Middle East. Implicit in the programme, therefore, is the assumption that while the politics of the region may be different they are not unique.

The course adopts a thematic approach to the study of Middle East politics. The reason for this is twofold: first, such an approach allows maximum flexibility for the tutor in teaching the course and for the student in developing their own interests; second, the alternative approach, namely to take a country a week, would leave big gaps in the field of study, mindful of the 24 or more states in the region.

The emphasis of the course is on comparing political phenomena across the region. The themes adopted in the course include some traditional fields of study, such as the military, ideology and the notion of legitimacy, as well as political economy, civil society and gender. The influence of major inter-state conflicts and external factors on domestic politics will also be considered. Throughout the course students are encouraged to introduce concepts and ideas in political science that they have studied in earlier relevant courses. Similarly, they are encouraged to make inter-regional, comparative observations where relevant.

The geographical definition of the Middle East is an inclusive one; the student is encouraged to range widely, including North Africa, the Levant, Turkey and the Persian Gulf states. The general approach of the course gives considerable latitude to students to focus on the countries that most interest them.

The historical span of the course begins with the establishment of the modern state system, in the wake of the First World War. However, the main focus of the course is with the time-line from the Second World War and the onset of decolonisation to the present day. The course is structured in such a way as to allow the student to concentrate on whichever period of Middle Eastern contemporary history most interests them.

The main reading-list, which is thematic in orientation, covers the following topics:

Topic 1. Colonialism and its Legacy.....	5
Topic 2. The State and its Institutions	7
Topic 3. Political Economy.....	8
Topic 4. Political Ideology: Nationalism, Arab Nationalism and the Politics of Islam	11
Topic 5: Identity politics: class, ethnicity, kinship and sectarianism.....	13
Topic 6. Gender	15
Topic 7. Authoritarianism.....	18
Topic 8. The Arab Uprisings and the Counter-Revolution.....	21

A second reading list, organised on a country by country basis and consisting of different works, has been added by way of an addendum.

Objectives

The course objectives are:

- to provide a thorough introduction to the politics of the Middle East;
- to enable students to gain an elementary understanding of all of the states of the region, and a more advanced knowledge of between six and eight core states;
- to introduce students to scholarly works on the Middle East and to provide them with a grasp of the main theoretical debates within the field of Middle East studies;
- to inspire students to pursue further study of the Middle East, whether through formal study, their professional work or as part of a lively interest in current affairs;
- to give students experience of the study of politics outside of the conventional developed world framework, both with respect to the application of scholarly methods and in terms of exposure to empirical data.

Teaching Arrangements

Teaching for this paper is arranged by college tutors and is delivered either through a series of 8 weekly tutorials taken in pairs or threes, or as a combination of 4 tutorials and 8 small classes, as is the tutor's preference. The option would normally be taken either during the second or third terms of the second year of the PPE course, or in the first term of the third year. Students are expected to write a minimum of four essays for the course, though the precise arrangements are the responsibility of the tutor concerned. Students are strongly advised to attend the lecture programme in the Politics of the Middle East. These will be held in Hilary Term at the Examination Schools. College tutors will give guidance on the relevance to this course of other lecture series listed for each term in the termly Lecture List, available from the Politics Secretary at the Department of Politics and from the Politics Department's website.

Course Assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three hour unseen examination according to the provisions established in the Examination Decrees and Regulations 2013, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate student in the Politics Department. Further details are available in the PPE Handbook, and Essential Information for Students, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the Politics Department's website.

READING LIST

(* core reading)

(** essential reading)

Introductory Reading:

N.B.: This list includes overviews and introductions to methodological and theoretical debates in Middle East politics, most of which will be useful for a range of topics throughout the course of the term:

- ** Ayubi, Nazih. *Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995.
- Bill, James, and Robert Springborg. *Politics in the Middle East*. 5th ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000.

- ** Bromley, Simon. *Rethinking Middle East Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.
- * Fawcett, Louise, ed. *International Relations of the Middle East*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 5th edn. 2019.
- Halliday, Fred. "Orientalism and Its Critics," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1993): 145-163.
- Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. [Available online: www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=Summary&v=1&bookid=164332]
- Luciani, Giacomo, ed. *The Arab State*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- "Middle East Studies Networks: The Politics of a Field," Special Issue of *Middle East Report*, vol. 205 (1997). [Available online: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/i350795>]
- * Milton-Edwards, Beverley. *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2011.
- ** Owen, Roger. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 2004. [Available online: www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=Summary&v=1&bookid=97646]
- * Robins, Philip. *The Middle East: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2009.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 2003. (first published 1978)

Political Histories of the Middle East:

- Cleveland, William, and Martin Bunton. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 4th ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2009. [Solo eBook: <http://www.oxford.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=708945>]
- ** Gelvin, James. *The Modern Middle East: A History*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Goldschmidt, Arthur, and Lawrence Davidson. *A Concise History of the Middle East*. 9th ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2009.
- Katouzian, Homa. *The Persians: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Iran*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Mangold, Peter. *What the British Did: Two Centuries in the Middle East*. London: IB Tauris: 2016
- Rogan, Eugene. *The Arabs: A History*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.
- Shindler, Colin. *A History of Modern Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- *Yapp, Malcolm. *The Near East Since the First World War: A History to 1995*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1996.
- Willis, Michael. *Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring*. London: Columbia/Hurst Publishers: 2012.
- Zürcher, Erik. *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3rd ed. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

Online Resources:

- Middle East Report <http://www.merip.org>
- Project on Middle East Political Science, <http://pomeps.org/>

- Jadaliyya: an independent ezine produced by Arab Studies Institute (ASI), and run on a voluntary basis by contributors who provide insight and critical analysis that combines local knowledge, scholarship, and advocacy [<http://www.jadaliyya.com/>]
- Al-Monitor: media website providing original reporting and analysis by prominent journalists and experts from the Middle East [<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/home.html>]

Specialist Journals

British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
 International Journal of Middle East Studies
 Mediterranean Politics
 Middle East Critique
 Middle East Journal
 Middle Eastern Studies
 Middle East Quarterly

Weekly topics:

Topic 1. Colonialism and its Legacy

Key issues to consider:

In what way did the experience of Ottoman rule, together with the impact of European colonialism, affect the nature of the successor states of the region? Has this legacy affected the political and economic development of the contemporary states? How have states sought to overcome this legacy?

Essay questions for the week:

- Q i) Was the experience of European colonialism generally negative for the Middle East?
 Q ii) Were the colonial practices of Britain and France qualitatively different or two sides of the same coin?
 Q iii) Can the political ills of the contemporary region easily be blamed on the old colonial powers?
 Q iv) May the presence of the US in the contemporary Middle East best be described as colonial?

Essential Reading:

- Halliday, Fred, *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology* (Cambridge, 2005).
 Hinnebusch, Raymond, *The International Politics of the Middle East*, 2nd. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).
 Rogan, Eugene L., “The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System”, in: Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, op. cit.

Yapp, Malcolm. *The Near East Since the First World War: A History to 1995*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1996.

Further Readings:

- Cleveland, William, and Martin Bunton. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 4th ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2009.
- Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. [Available online: www.ciaonet.org/book/dodge01]
- Fieldhouse, David. *Western Imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. [Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199540839.001.0001>]
- Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End all Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. London: Phoenix, 2000.
- Gershovich, Moshe. *French Military Rule in Morocco: Colonialism and its Consequences*. London: Frank Cass, 2000.
- Keddie, Nikki. "Is There a Middle East?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4, no. 3 (1973): 255-271.
- Kedourie, Elie. *England and the Middle East: The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1921*. Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1978. (first published 1956)
- Khoury, Philip. *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920-1945*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1987.
- Lawson, Fred. *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Louis, Wm. Roger. *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Monroe, Elizabeth. *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1971*. 2nd ed. London: Chatto&Windus, 1981.
- Neep, Daniel. *Occupying Syria under the French Mandate: Insurgency, Space and State Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Rogan, Eugene. *The Arabs: A History*. London: Allen Lane, 2009. Chapters 5-8, pp. 109-211.
- Segev, Tom. *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*. London: Little Brown, 2000.
- Shepherd, Naomi. *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948*. London: John Murray, 1999.
- Smith, C.G. "The Emergence of the Middle East," *Journal of Contemporary History* 3, no. 3 (1968): 3-17.
- Fawcett, Louise (2017) "States and Sovereignty in the Middle East: Myths and Realities" *International Affairs*. Vol. 93: 4: 767-787
- Vignal, Leila. "The Changing Borders and Borderlands of Syria in a time of Conflict" *International Affairs*. Vol 93, no.4 (2017), pp. 809-827

Topic 2. The State and its Institutions

Key issues to consider:

What are the key characteristics of states in the contemporary Middle East? What roles do institutions such as the military and the bureaucracy perform in the states of the region? How do you explain the proliferation of intelligence and security services in the Middle East? Why are the military and bureaucracy so large in size in the Middle East countries? How important have such institutions been as a vehicle for social mobility? What role do such institutions play in neutralising reform in the region?

Essay questions for the week:

Q. i) How important has the military been in the processes of state and nation building in the modern Middle East?

Q. ii) How has the role of the army in the domestic politics of Middle East states changed from the 1950s onwards?

Q. iii) Should states in the Middle East generally be considered to be strong or weak?

Required Reading:

- Ayubi, Nazih. *Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995. Particularly Chapters 1, 3, 8, 9 and 12.
- Kandil, Hazem. *The Power Triangle: Military, Security and Politics in Regime Change*. Oxford: OUP. 2014

Reading:

- Abdel-Malik, Anouar. *Egypt: Military Society*. New York: Vintage Books, 1968.
- Anderson, Lisa. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa," *Comparative Politics* 20, no. 1 (1987): 1-18.
- Aydinli, Ersel. 'A Paradigmatic Shift for the Turkish Generals and an End to the Coup Era in Turkey.' *The Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 581-596.
- *Ayubi, Nazih. "Arab Bureaucracies: Expanding Size, Changing Roles," in Luciani, Giacomo, ed. *The Arab State*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Barak, Oren. *The Lebanese Army: A National Institution in a Divided Society*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009.
- Be'eri, Eliezer. *Army Officers in Arab Politics and Society*. London: Praeger-Pall Mall, 1970.
- Brooks, Risa. *Political-Military Relations and the Stability of Arab Regimes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- "Civil-Military Relations in Turkey," Special Issue of *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (July 2011).
- Cook, Steven. *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Hale, William. *Turkish Politics and the Military*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Harb, Imad. "The Egyptian Military in Politics- Disengagement or Accommodation?" *Middle East Journal*, vol. 57, no. 2 (2003).

- Hashim, Ahmed. "Saddam Husayn and Civil-Military Relations in Iraq," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 57, no. 2 (2003).
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 'Syria Under the Ba'th: State Formation in a Fragmented Society,' in *Arab Studies Quarterly* vol.4 no. 3 (1982).
- Jenkins, Gareth. 'Continuity and Change: Prospects for Civil-Military Relations in Turkey,' *International Affairs* 83, no. 2 (2007): 339-355.
- *Kamrava, Mehran. "Military Professionalization and Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East," in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol.115, no.1, 2000.
- *Migdal, Joel. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 'Mutiny and Nonviolence in the Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria,' *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (2013): 337-349.
- Peri, Yoram. *Between Battles and Ballots: Israeli Military in Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Picard, Elizabeth. "Arab Military in Politics: From Revolutionary Plot to Authoritarian Regime," in Luciani, Giacomo, ed. *The Arab State*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- 'Roundtable: Rethinking the Study of Middle East Militaries,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 43, no. 3 (2011), pp. 391-407.
- Rubin, Barry and Thomas Keaney (eds.) *Armed Forces in the Middle East* (London: Cass, 2002).
- Schwarz, Rolf, and Miguel de Corral. "States Do Not Just Fail and Collapse: Rethinking States in the Middle East." *Democracy and Security* 7, no. 3 (2011): 209-226.
- Tachau, Frank and Metin Heper. "The State, Politics, and the Military in Turkey," *Comparative Politics* vol. 16, no. 1 (1983), pp. 17-33.
- Vatikiotis, P.J., *Politics and the Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab Legion, 1921-67*. London: Cass, 1967.
- Vatikiotis, P. J. *The Egyptian Army in Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962.

Topic 3. Political Economy

Key issues to consider:

What characteristics best describe the political economy of the modern Middle East? How does the state distribute resources in order to secure political acquiescence? How important has the notion of rent been in the economies of the Middle East? What impact has oil had on social, economic and political development in the region? What is the relationship between different economic groups (e.g. merchants) and the state? Why has the Middle East failed to develop a viable industrial base? What are the prospects for economic liberalisation? What has the record of the international financial institutions, like the IMF, been in the region?

Essay questions for the week:

Q. i) Has oil been more of a curse than a blessing for the Middle East?

Q. ii) Is it analytically useful to divide the region into oil and non-oil states?

Q. iii) The liberalisation and privatisation measures adopted by Arab states in the 1980s and the 1990s were doomed to fail. Do you agree?

Core Reading:

- Ayubi, Nazih. *Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995. Chapter 10.
- Henry, Clement Moore and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chapter 6.

Reading:

- Aghrout, Ahmed, and Redha Bougherira (eds.) *Algeria in Transition. Reforms and Development Prospects*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Aricanli, Tosun and Dani Rodrik (eds.) *The Political Economy of Turkey: Debt, Adjustment and Sustainability*. London: MacMillan, 1990.
- Barkey, Henri, ed. *The Politics of Economic Reform in the Middle East*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1992.
- Beblawi, Hazem and Giacomo Luciani, ed. *The Rentier State*. London: Croom Held, 1987.
- Beblawi, Hazem. 'Economic Growth in Egypt: Impediments and Constraints (1974-2004),' Commission on Growth and Development, Working Paper No. 14, 2008. [Available online: <http://www.hazembeblawi.com/English/ArticleDetails.aspx?ArticleID=191>]
- Bellin, Eva. *Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor, and the Paradox of State-sponsored Development*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, and Steven Wright, eds. *Reform in the Middle East Oil Monarchies*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 2008.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. "Reform from above: The Politics of Participation in the Oil Monarchies," *International Affairs* 79, no. 1 (2003): 53-75.
- El-Ghonemy, Riad. *Affluence and Poverty in the Middle East*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Gilbar, Gad. *Population Dilemmas in the Middle East*. London: Cass, 1997.
- Gray, Matthew. "A Theory of 'Late Rentierism' in the Arab States of the Gulf," *Centre for International and Regional Studies Occasional Paper (CRIS)*, Issue 7, 2011. [available online: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=134326>]
- Hanieh, Adam, *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- ———, *Lineages of revolt: Issues of contemporary capitalism in the Middle East* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013).
- Herb, Michael. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 37, no. 3 (2005).
- Henry, Clement, and Robert Springborg. *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Hinnebusch, Raymond. "The Political Economy of Economic Liberalization in Syria," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3, (1995).
- Heydemann, Steven. *Networks of Privilege: The Politics of Economic Reform in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Hertog, Steffen. *Princes, Brokers, and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Hertog, Steffen et al, ed. *Business Politics in the Middle East*: London, Hurst, 2013.
- Jenkins, J. Craig, Katherine Meyer, Matthew Costello, and Hassan Aly, "International Rentierism in the Middle East and North Africa, 1971–2008," *International Area Studies Review*, Vol.14, No. 3 (2011): 3-31.
- Kienle, Eberhard, ed. *Politics from Above, Politics from Below: The Middle East in the Age of Economic Reform*. London: Saqi, 2003.
- Lawless, Richard. "Algeria: The Contradictions of Rapid Industrialisation," in Lawless and Findlay (eds.), *North Africa: Contemporary Politics and Economic Development* (London: Croom Helm, 1985)
- Lofgren, Hans. "Economic Policy in Egypt: A Breakdown in Reform Resistance?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1993).
- Luciani, Giacomo, ed. *The Arab State*. London: Routledge, 1990. Chapters 3, 4, 5.
- Owen, Roger, and Şevket Pamuk. *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.
- Owen, Roger. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 2004. Chapter 7, pp.113-130. [Available online: www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=Summary&v=1&bookid=97646]
- "Reform or Reaction? Dilemmas of Economic Development in the Middle East," Special Issue of *Middle East Report*, No. 210 (Spring 1999). [Available online: www.jstor.org/stable/i350800]
- Niblock, Tim, and Emma Murphy (eds.) *Economic and Political Liberalisation in the Middle East*. London: British Academic Press, 1993.
- Perthes, Volker. *The Political Economy of Syria Under Asad*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995.
- Richards, Alan, and John Waterbury. *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 3rd ed. Boulder: Westview, 2008.
- Richards, Alan. "Economic Imperatives and Political Systems," *Middle East Journal* 47, no. 2 (1993): 217-227.
- Rivlin, Paul. *Arab Economies in the Twenty-first Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ross, Michael. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (2001): 325-361.
- Schlumberger, Oliver. "Arab Political Economy and the European Union's Mediterranean Policy: What Prospects for Development?" in *New Political Economy*, vol.5, no. 2 (2000).
- Soliman, Samer. *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt under Mubarak*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Sullivan, Denis. "The Political Economy of Reform in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 22, no. 3 (1990).
- Waterbury, John. *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Topic 4. Political Ideology: Nationalism, Arab Nationalism and the Politics of Islam

Key issues to consider:

Why have class-based movements and Leftist movements generally failed to succeed to mobilise masses in the Middle East in a sustained way. What are the relative trajectories of Arab nationalism, political Islam or pan-Islamism, and the different versions of nationalism and subnational identity in the Middle East?

Essay questions for the week:

- Q. i) "Ideologies such as Arab nationalism are simply instruments of state power." Do you agree?
- Q. ii) Is the ideology of political Islam destined to repeat the cycle of promise followed by failure experienced by Arab nationalism?
- Q. iii) Account for the rise of religious extremism in the Middle East.

Essential Reading:

- Barnett, Michael. *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. [available online: www.ciaonet.org/book/barnett]
- Browsers, Michaelle. *Political Ideology in the Arab world: Accommodation and Transformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Eickelman, Dale, and James Piscatori. *Muslim Politics*. 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Mandaville, Peter, "Islam and International Relations in the Middle East: From Umma to Nation State" in: Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, 4th. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 176-195.

Reading:

Nationalism:

- Ajami, Fouad. *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. (first published 1981)
- Ajami, Fouad. "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs* 57 (1978): 355-373.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London: Verso, 2006. (first published 1983) [Available online: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.01609>]
- Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*. London: Kegan Paul, 2000 (first published 1938).
- Barnett, Michael. 'Sovereignty, Nationalism, and Regional Order in the Arab States System.' *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (1995): 479-510.
- Barnett, Michael, and Etel Solingen. 'Designed to Fail or Failure of Design? The Origins and Legacy of the Arab League.' In *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston, 180-220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Choueiri, Youssef. *Arab Nationalism: A History, Nation and State in the Arab World*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

- Dann, Uriel. *King Hussein and the Challenge of Arab Radicalism, 1955-67*. Oxford: OUP, 1989.
- Dawisha, Adeed. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- * Jankowski, James, and Israel Gershoni, eds. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. [Available online at: www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski]
- Haim, Sylvia. *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962)
- Khalidi, Rashid, ed. *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Khoury, Philip. *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus, 1860-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Podeh, Elie, and Onn Winkler (eds.) *Rethinking Nasserism. Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*. University Press of Florida, 2004.
- * Rogan, Eugene. *The Arabs: A History*. London: Allen Lane, 2009. Chapters 10, 11, pp. 277-354.
- Sirreyeh, Hussein. "A New Version of Pan-Arabism," *International Relations*, vol. 15 (2000), pp. 53-66.
- Stephens, Robert. *Nasser, A Political Biography*. London: Allen Lane, 1971.
- Tibi, Bassam. *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*. 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1997.
- Vatikiotis, P.J. *Nasser and his Generation*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.

The Politics of Islam:

- Ayubi, Nazih. *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*. London: Routledge, 1991. [Available online: www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=Summary&v=1&bookid=96765]
- Beinín, Joel, and Joe Stork, eds. *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*. London: Tauris, 1997.
- Dawisha, Adeed. "Review: Arab Nationalism and Islamism: Competitive Past, Uncertain Future," *International Studies Review* 2, no. 3 (2000): 79-90.
- Dalacoura, Katerina. *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Esposito, John, ed. *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997.
- Gerges, Fawaz. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Halliday, Fred. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*. New ed. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.
- Halliday, Fred. "The Politics of 'Islam' – A Second Look," *British Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 3 (1995): 399-417.

- Hashemi, Nader, Postal, Danny, *Sectarianization. Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East* (Oxford, 2017)
- Hunter, Shireen, ed. *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
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 - Video: <http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/questionofarabunity/2008/02/20085251852858221.html>

Topic 5: Identity politics: class, ethnicity, kinship and sectarianism

Key issues to consider:

How do Middle Eastern peoples view themselves? Which is the dominant focus of loyalty in the modern Middle East, the state or sub-statal forms of organisation such as clan, tribe, religious sect or ethnic group? Why has socio-economic class or gender not proved to be a more potent focus of loyalty? How have kinship, ethnic and sectarian groupings set about managing their relations with the state?

Essay questions for the week:

- Q. i) Compared with sub-state patterns of allegiance the state will tend to be weak. Do you agree?
- Q. ii) Compare and contrast two sub-state political movements in different Middle Eastern countries.
- Q. iii) Cooption or coercion – which method has proven more effective in managing ethnic challenges to the Middle East state?

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Topic 6. Gender

Key issues to consider:

What do scholars mean by “gender”? Is gender experienced in a unique way in the Middle East? What roles do women, and men, play in Middle Eastern societies? What levels of social development (e.g. health, literacy, higher education) exist as far as women are concerned? Where are women found in the labour force? To what extent do women control economic resources? What impact, whether direct or indirect, do women have on the internal politics of the region? Have the value systems of the region (e.g. religious, patriarchal etc) inhibited women’s participation in public activities? Is the subordinate position of women in the region best explained by Arab patriarchy or Islam? Does Islam have a gender ideology? Is there such a thing as “Islamic feminism”?

Essay questions for the week:

- Q. i) Are women important in Middle East politics?
 Q. ii) What are the main barriers to gender equality in the Middle East?

Q. iii) How have states used the politics of gender?

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Topic 7. Authoritarianism

Key issues to consider:

How powerful has the legacy of authoritarianism been for the contemporary Middle East? Why did the early experiments in constitutional politics immediately following decolonisation fail? Does civil society exist in the Middle East? How do leaders in the Middle East set about retaining power? What is the relationship between Middle Eastern leaders and their populations? What is the relationship between leaders on the one hand, and institutions and constituencies on the other? How have the traditional regimes of the Middle East (e.g. the Gulf states and Jordan), the imminent downfall of which was routinely predicted in the 1950s, been able to survive as long as they have?

Essay questions for the week:

- Q. i) Why have authoritarian regimes in the Middle East proven exceptionally resilient?
- Q. ii) 'Façade democracy can serve only to entrench authoritarian rule.' Do you agree?
- Q. iii) What is the role of civil society and media, including satellite TV channels, in the Middle East?

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Topic 8. The Arab Uprisings and the Counter-Revolution

Key issues to consider:

Essay question for the week:

- Q. i) Why did few observers predict the Arab uprisings?
 Q. ii) Were the Arab uprisings a success or a failure?
 Q. iii) Middle East monarchies are living on borrowed time. Do you agree?

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