

History and Politics of the Mediterranean Middle East

Instructor: Prof. Raffaella A. Del Sarto, Joint Mediterranean Chair

Academic year 2024-2025, 1st term

Tuesdays, 1-3 pm

First seminar session: 1 October 2024

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Course description

Almost fifteen years after the Arab uprisings, a number of pressing problems and dilemmas continue to mark the Middle East and North Africa. These include unresolved conflicts and ongoing civil wars, political fragility, a general upgrade of authoritarianism, crony capitalism, pronounced socio-economic inequalities, high youth unemployment, exclusionary ethno-religious politics, migration and refugee flows, and environmental degradation. Yet, the region continues to be of strategic importance, with external powers, most notably the US and the European 'neighbour', being mostly interested in the stability of the region. With every crisis in the region, self-declared Middle East experts pop up, but popular analyses often lack historical background, context, area-specific knowledge, and conceptual rigour. At the same time, Middle East scholars have been accused (often unfairly so) of not having been able to predict crucial events in the region, such as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, 9/11, the consequences of the 2003 US invasion of Iraq, the Arab uprisings, and, more recently, the Hamas attacks on Israel of October 7, 2024.

Of course, it remains challenging to analyse and conduct research in a region that is vast and heterogenous, where European colonialism left deep marks, where conflicts and wars have been rather frequent, and where the extent of foreign meddling has remained high. In addition, empirical research in the region faces the problems of access and availability of reliable data in light of widespread authoritarianism as well as personal security issues. While this seminar cannot be comprehensive of all countries and all issues, it aims to provide researchers with advanced knowledge and conceptual tools to study the Middle East. Geographically, it focuses on what I call the Mediterranean Middle East, that is, an area stretching from Morocco in the West to Turkey in the East (although Iran and the Gulf region will also be considered). In this seminar, we will discuss several key developments in the region, including the emergence of the modern state system in the Middle East, the post-colonial politics in the region, identity formation(s), and domestic and regional dynamics post-Arab uprisings. The seminar will address significant topics such as the question of Palestine, authoritarianism and protests, and political economy and development. The aim of the seminar is to introduce researchers to the state of the art in Middle East political science research while engaging with the key debates, insights, and approaches in the specialized literature. (A seminar on the international relations of the Middle East will be offered in the second term).

Learning objectives and outcomes

Researchers who have successfully completed this seminar should be able to:

- Understand the historical, political, and socio-economic processes that have shaped, and are still shaping, the modern Middle East
- Identify the major empirical questions in the study of Middle East politics
- Identify the major debates and developments in the specialized literature
- Apply concepts and theoretical approaches to analyse the politics of the Middle East
- Write well-structured essays / response papers on pertinent questions by employing conceptual insights from Middle East studies and the social sciences
- Have acquired a solid basis to conduct independent research in Middle East politics by 'digging deeper' and expanding on the seminar readings on specific topics and/or countries

Format and requirements

Researchers are expected to do the assigned reading prior to each session and come prepared to class to discuss the readings and contribute to the debates. Active participation is a requirement. Researchers will introduce and guide the seminar debate in sessions 3-10. In addition, researchers taking the seminar as elective are required to prepare 2 response papers / analytical essays (between 600 to 1,200 words, notes and bibliography included) over the course of the seminar. To receive credit for this seminar, you should pass these three requirements (active participation, introducing and guiding seminar debates, 2 analytical essays).

The seminar is open to all researchers. However, researchers without any prior knowledge of Middle East history and politics should prepare themselves by doing some additional background readings, preferably prior to the start of, or within the first weeks of the seminar. Some suggested background readings are listed below. Researchers are also expected to follow the news on Middle East events.

Some recommended readings for (absolute) beginners, or to refresh your memory:

- Kamrava, Mehran (2013) [*The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*](#), 3rd ed., Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Owen, Roger (2004) *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, London: Routledge.
- Fromkin, David (2009) [*A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*](#), New York: Henry Holt & Company.
- Yom, Sean L., ed. (2019) *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa: Development, Democracy, Dictatorship*, 9th ed., London: Routledge.
- Keddie, Nikki R. (2006) *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hourani, A. (2013) [*A history of the Arab peoples*](#). New paperback edition. London: Faber.
- Rogan, E. L. (2012) [*The Arabs : a history*](#). 2nd edition. London: Penguin Books.
- Gelvin, James L. (2020) *The Modern Middle East: A History*, 5th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tessler, Mark (2009) *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd edition, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Said Aly, Abdel Monem, Shai Feldman and Khalil Shikaki, eds. (2013) *Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

- MacQueen, Benjamin (2018) [*An Introduction to Middle East Politics*](#), 2nd ed., London: Sage.

I recommend (re-)reading the chapters on single MENA countries in the volume edited by Yom (2019) during the course of the seminar.

Also, try to follow the news and analyses on the Middle East from *multiple* sources, e.g.:

- *Al Jazeera English* (or *Al-Jazeera Arabic* if you can)
- *Al-Monitor*, <https://www.al-monitor.com/>
- *BBC News*
- *Haaretz*
- *International Crisis Group*
- *Jadaliyya*, <https://www.jadaliyya.com/>
- *Middle East Eye*
- *New York Times*
- The *Foreign Policy* Middle East Channel: <http://foreignpolicy.com/channel/middle-east-africa/>
- *The Guardian*
- *Washington Post*

Session 1: Researching the Middle East

Background readings:

- Tessler, M. A., Nachtwey, J., & Banda, A. (1999). [*Area studies and social science : strategies for understanding Middle East politics*](#). Indiana University Press
- Said, Edward W. (1978) [*Orientalism*](#), New York: Pantheon Books.

Required readings:

- Hourani, Albert (1991) '[How Should We Write the History of the Middle East?](#)', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23(2), pp. 125-136.
- Said, Edward W. (1978), [*Orientalism*](#), Chapter 1.
- Bilgin, Pinar (2015) 'Region, Security, Regional Security: "Whose Middle East?" Revisited', in [*Regional Insecurity after the Arab Uprisings: Narratives of Security and Threat*](#), ed. Elizabeth Monier, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 19-39.
 - OR: Bilgin, Pinar (2004) '[Whose "Middle East"? Geopolitical Inventions and Practices of Security](#)', *International Relations*, 18(1): 25–41
- Kramer, Martin (2001) *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*, Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (available online at <https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/martinkramer/files/IvoryTowers.pdf>)

Further readings:

- Anderson, Lisa (1990) 'Policy-Making and Theory-Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East', in *Theory, Politics, and the Arab World*, ed. Hisham Sharabi, New York: Routledge, pp. 52-80.
- Said, Edward W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Knopf.
- Teti, Andrea (2007) 'Bridging the Gap: IR, Middle East Studies and the Disciplinary Politics of the Area Studies Controversy', *European Journal of International Relations* 13(1): 117-45.
- Anderson, Lisa (2006) 'Searching Where the Light Shines', *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 198-2014.
- Barakat, Halim (1993) *The Arab World: Society, Culture, and the State*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

2: Colonial legacy and state-building

Some suggested background readings:

- Fromkin, David (2009) [*A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*](#), New York: Henry Holt and Company; chapter 61 ('The Settlement of the Middle Eastern Question'), pp. 558-567.
- Owen, Roger (2004) *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd ed., London: Routledge; chapters 2, 3 and 5 ('Growth of State Power in the Arab World: One-party System'; 'Growth of State Power in the Arab World: Family Rule'; 'State and Politics in Israel, Turkey, and Iran')
- Kamrava, Mehran (2013) [*The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*](#), 3rd edition, Berkeley: University of California Press; chapter 2 ('From Territories to Independent States').
- Willis, Michael J. (2012) [*Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring*](#), New York: Columbia University Press; chapter 2 ('Post-Independence State-Building')

Required readings:

- Rogan, Eugene (2024) 'The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 36-59.
- Ayubi, Nazih N. M. (1995), *Overstating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*, chapter 3 ('State Formation in the Modern Era: The Colonial/Indigenous Mix').
- Fawcett, Louise (2017) '[States and Sovereignty in the Middle East: Myths and Realities](#)', *International Affairs*, 93(4): 789-807.

Further readings:

- Salamé, Ghassan (1987) "'Strong' and "Weak" States: A Qualified Return to the *Muqadimah*', in *The Foundations of the Arab State*, ed. Ghassan Salamé, London: Croom-Helm, pp. 205-240.
- Barakat, Halim (1993) 'Arab Politics: Its Social Context', in *The Arab World: Society, Culture, and State*, ed. Halim Barakat, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 148-176.
- Harik, Ilya (1990) 'The Origins of the Arab State System', in *The Arab State*, ed. Giacomo Luciani, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-28.
- Anderson, Lisa (1986) *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2017) 'Contentious borders in the Middle East and North Africa: Context and Concepts', *International Affairs*, 93(4): 767-78.

3: Nationalism, pan-Arabism, pan-Islamism

Some suggested background readings:

- Owen, Roger (2004) *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd ed., London: Routledge; chapter 4 ('Arab Nationalism, Arab Unity, and the Practice of Inter-Arab State Relations')
- Kamrava, Mehran (2013) [*The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*](#), 3rd edition, Berkeley: University of California Press; chapter 3 ('The Age of Nationalisms').
- Mandaville, Peter (2024) 'Islam and International Relations in the Middle East: from *Umma* to Nation-State', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 151-171.
- Arendt, Hannah (1945) 'Zionism Reconsidered', *Menorah Journal*, 33(2): 162-196, at <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/mss/mss11056dig/mss11056dig-052580/052580.pdf>

Required readings:

- Zubaida, Sami (2004) '[Islam and Nationalism: Continuities and Contradictions](#)', *Nations and Nationalism* 10(4): 407-420.
- Laqueur, Walter (2003) *The History of Zionism*, 3rd edition, London: Tauris Park Paperback; pp. 589-599 (Conclusions).
- Gershoni, Israel (1997) 'Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East: Old and New Narratives', in [Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East](#), eds. James P. Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, New York: Columbia University Press (chapter 1)

Further readings:

- Antonius, George (1981) *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*, New York: Gordon Press (original 1938).
- Hourani, Albert (1962) *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*, London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ajami, Fuad (1998) *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Kerr, Malcolm H. (1971) *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'abd Al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970*, London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, Fred (2002) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 7 ('Modern Ideologies: Political and Religious')
- Sivan, Emmanuel (1997) 'Arab Nationalism in the Age of the Islamic Resurgence', in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, eds. James P. Jankowski and Israel Gershoni; chapter 11.
- Bank, André, and Morten Valbjørn (2012) 'The New Arab Cold War: Rediscovering the Arab Dimension of Middle East Regional Politics', *Review of International Studies*, 38(1): 3-24.

4: Israel/Palestine

Some background readings:

- Smith, Charles (2023) 'The Arab-Israeli-Conflict', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 237-265.
 - *This is a short (and hence strongly simplified) account of the Arab-Israeli conflict*
- Tessler, Mark (2009) *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2nd ed., Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Said Aly, Abdel Monem, Shai Feldman and Khalil Shikaki (2013) *Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Shlaim, Avi (2014) [*The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*](#), New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Morris, Benny (1987) [*The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*](#), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Khalidi, Rashid (2006) *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Erakat, Noura (2017) '[Taking the Land without the People: The 1967 Story as Told by the Law](#)', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 47(1): 18-38.

Required readings:

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2017) [*Israel under Siege: The Politics of Insecurity and the Rise of the Israeli Neo-Revisionist Right*](#), Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press; Introduction and Conclusions.
- Mamdani, Mahmood (2022) [*Neither Settler nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities*](#), Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, chapter 5 ('The Israel/Palestine Question'), pp. 250-326.
- Sebag Montefiori, Simon (2023) 'The Decolonization Narrative Is Dangerous and False', *The Atlantic*, 27 October, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/10/decolonization-narrative-dangerous-and-false/675799/>

Further readings:

- Avineri, Shlomo (1981) *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, New York: Basic Books.
- Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Baconi, Tareq (2018) *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2017) *Israel under Siege: The Politics of Insecurity and the Rise of the Israeli Neo-Revisionist Right*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press; the remaining chapters.
- Klein, Menachem (2010) *The Shift: Israeli-Palestine from Border Struggle to Ethnic Conflict*, London: Hurst.
- Erakat, Noura (2019) *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine*, Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Gordon, Neve (2008) *Israel's Occupation*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lustick, Ian S. (2019) *Paradigm Lost: From Two-State Solution to One-State Reality*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. and Menachem Klein (2023) 'Oslo: Three Decades Later', *Israel Studies Review* 38(2): 1-11, special issue on *Oslo: Three Decades Later*, edited by Raffaella A. Del Sarto and Menachem Klein.

5: Conflicts, wars, forced migration

Background readings:

- Kerr, Malcolm H. (1971) *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'abd Al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970*, London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kamrava, Mehran (2013) [The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War](#), 3rd ed., Berkeley: University of California Press; chapter 5 ('The Iranian Revolution') and chapter 6 ('The Gulf Wars and beyond')
- Louise Fawcett and Peter Sluglett (2024) 'The Cold War in the Middle East', in [International Relations of the Middle East](#), ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 36-59.
- Vignal, Leïla (2021) [War-Torn: The Unmaking of Syria, 2011-2021](#), London: Hurst & Co, chapter 1 ('Anatomy of a Conflict: From Revolution to War')
- Al Jazeera (2021) 'Western Sahara Conflict in 500 Words', at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/11/western-sahara-conflict-in-500-words>

Required readings:

- Kerr, Malcolm H. (1971) *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'abd Al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970*, London, New York: Oxford University Press; chapter 7.
- Solingen, Etel (2007) '[Pax Asiatica versus Bella Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East](#)', *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 757–80.
- Vignal, Leïla (2021) [War-Torn: The Unmaking of Syria, 2011-2021](#), London: Hurst & Co., chapter 5 ('Mass Displacement: A Weapon of War').

Further readings:

- Hudson, Michael C. (1979) *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Fernández-Molina, Irene (2019) 'Bottom-up Change in Frozen Conflicts: Transnational Struggles and Mechanisms of Recognition in Western Sahara', *Review of International Studies* 45(3): 407-430.
- Fakhoury, Tamirace and Zeynep S. Mencütek (2023) 'The Geopolitics of Return Migration in the International System', *Geopolitics*, 28(3): 959–978.
- Arar, Rawan, et al. (2022) 'Migration and Displacement', in *The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research since the Arab Uprisings*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 232-255.
- Lynch, Mark (2016) *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*, New York: Public Affairs.
- Roy, Olivier (2008) *The Politics of Chaos in the Middle East*, London: Hurst.
- Aharoni, Sarai B. 2018. 'Diplomacy as Crisis: An Institutional Analysis of Gender and the Failure to Negotiate Peace in Israel', in *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*, eds. Ann E. Towns and Karen Aggestam, London: Palgrave, pp. 193–212.
- Fakhoury, Tamirace (2018) "Multi-level Governance and Migration Politics in the Arab World: The Case of Syria's Displacement," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

6: Security and securitization

Background readings:

- Owen, Roger (2004) [*State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*](#), 3rd ed., London: Routledge, chapter 10 ('The Military in and out of Politics')
- Cammett, Melani, Ishac Divan, Alan Richards, and John Waterbury (2015) [*A Political Economy of the Middle East*](#), 4th ed., London: Routledge, chapter 10 ('War, Conflict, and the Military in the Middle East')
- Picard, Elizabeth (1990) 'Arab Military in Politics: From Revolutionary Plot to Authoritarian Regime', in Luciani, G. (ed.) (2016) [*The Arab state*](#). London: Routledge
- Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) [*The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*](#), Berkeley: University of California Press; chapter 7 ('The Code of Security: The Israeli Military-Cultural Complex; pp. 208-228)
- Zartman, I. William (1993) 'State-Building and the Military in Arab Africa', in *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World*, eds. Bahgat Korany, Paul Noble, and Rex Brynen, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993, pp. 239-257.
- Albrecht, Holger, et al. (2022) 'Militaries, Militias, and Violence', in [*The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research since the Arab Uprisings*](#), eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 108-131.

Required readings:

- Bilgin, Pinar (2024) 'Security in the Middle East: Whose Security?', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 196-211.
- Ryan, Curtis R. (2015) 'Regime Security and Shifting Alliances in the Middle East,' in *International Relations Theory and a Changing Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 16, September, pp. 42-46, at <https://pomeps.org/regime-security-and-shifting-alliances-in-the-middle-east>
- Darwich, May and Tamirace Fakhoury (2016) 'Casting the Other as an Existential Threat: The Securitisation of Sectarianism in the International Relations of the Syria Crisis', *Global Discourse* 6(4): 712-732.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2021) '[Sectarian Securitization in the Middle East and the Case of Israel](#)', *International Affairs* 97(3): 759-778.

Further readings:

- Moghadam, Assaf and Michael Wyss (2020) 'The Political Power of Proxies: Why Nonstate Actors Use Local Surrogate Groups', *International Security* 44(4): 119-57.
- Malmvig, Helle (2014) 'Power, Identity and Securitization in Middle East: Regional Order after the Arab Uprisings', *Mediterranean Politics* 19 (1): 145–148.
- Al-Rasheed, Madawi (2011) 'Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring,' *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11(3): 513–26
- Darwich, May (2019) *Threats and Alliances in the Middle East: Saudi and Syrian Policies in a Turbulent Region*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hazboun, Waleed (2017) 'The Politics of Insecurity in the Arab World: A View from Beirut,' *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50(3): 656-59.
- Ryan, Curtis (2009) *Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Mabon, Simon (2020) *Houses Built on Sand: Violence, Sectarianism and Revolution in the Middle East*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hashemi, Nader and Danny Postel, eds. (2017) *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, London: Hurst.

7: Economics and development

Background readings:

- Beblawi, Hazem (1987) '[The Rentier State in the Arab World](#)', *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 9(4): 383-398.
- Cammett, Melani et al. (2018) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 4th edition, London: Routledge, chapters 2, 5, 6 ('Economic Performance and Social Outcome'; 'Human Capital: Health and Education', 'Water and Food Security')
- UNDP (2009) *Arab Human Development Report 2009: Executive Summary*, at <https://arab-hdr.org/report/human-security-2009/>

- UNDP (2019) 'Leaving No One behind: Towards Inclusive Citizenship in Arab Countries', Arab Human Development Report Research Paper, UNDP, Regional Bureau for Arab States, at https://arab-hdr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/UNDP_Citizenship_and_SDGs_report_web.pdf
- Kienle, Eberhard (2020) "'Economic Reform" Since the 1980s: The Political Corollaries of a Political Project', in *Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics*, ed. Larbi Sadiki, London: Routledge, chapter 12.
- Luciani, Giacomo (2024) 'Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 103-128.
- Heydemann, Steven, (ed.) (2004) *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East: The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Required readings:

- Guazzone, Laura and Daniela Pioppi (2009) 'Interpreting Change in the Arab World', in *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalisation: The Re-Structuring of State Power in the Middle East*, eds. Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi, London: Ithaca & Garnet Publishing (chapter 1).
- Malik, Adeel, Izak Atiyas, and Ishac Diwan (2019) 'Introduction: Crony Capitalism in the Middle East: What Do We Know and Why Does it Matter?', in *Crony Capitalism in the Middle East: Business and Politics from Liberalization to the Arab Spring*, eds. Ishac Diwan, Adeel Malik, and Izak Atiyas, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanieh, Adam (2013) *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*, London: Haymarket Books, chapters 1-4.

Further readings:

- Haddad, Toufic (2018) *Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory*, London: I.B Tauris/Bloomsbury.
- Diwan, Ishac, Adeel Malik, and Izak Atiyas, eds. (2019) *Crony Capitalism in the Middle East: Business and Politics from Liberalization to the Arab Spring*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Roy, Sara (2016) *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development*, 3rd ed, Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Cammett, Divan, Richards and Waterbury (2018) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 4th edition, London: Routledge, the remaining chapters.
- Springborg, Robert (2020) *Political Economies of the Middle East and North Africa*, Cambridge: Polity Press, chapter 5 ('Deep States: Types, Resources, and Impact')
- Yifu Lin, Justin (2015) *A Framework for Rethinking Development*, New York: The World Bank.

- Henry, Clement M. (2004) 'States and Bankers', in *The Arab Uprisings Explained*, ed. Mark Lynch, Princeton University
- Henry, Clement M. and Robert Springborg (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

8: Authoritarianism, governance, protests

Background readings:

- Kamrava, Mehran (2013) [The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War](#), 3rd edition, Berkeley: University of California Press; chapter 8 ('Repression and Rebellion').
- Yom, Sean L. (2020) 'Political Dynamics in the MENA Region: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and History', in *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Sean Yom, 9th ed., London: Routledge, chapter 1.
- Bellin, Eva (2004) '[The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective](#)', *Comparative Politics* 36: 2, pp. 139-158.
- Sharabi, Hisham (1988) *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Required readings:

- Mernissi, Fatima (1996) 'Palace Fundamentalism and Liberal Democracy: Oil, Arms, and Irrationality', *Development and Change* 27(2): 251- 65.
- Bellin, Eva (2012) '[Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring](#)', *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127-149.
- Bank, André, Eva Bellin, Michael Herb, Lisa Weeden, Sean Yom and Saloua Zerhouni (2022) '[Authoritarianism Reconfigured: Evolving Forms of Political Control](#)', in *The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research since the Arab Uprisings*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 35-61.

Further readings:

- Yom, Sean and Gause, Gregory F. III (2012) 'Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang on', *Journal of Democracy* 23(3) 74-88.
- Baylouny, Anne Marie (2020) 'Social Movements and the Middle East', in *Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics*, ed. Larbi Sadiki, London: Routledge, chapter 2.
- Sadiki, Larbi (2024) 'The Arab Spring: The "People" in International Relations', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 289-316.

- Pratt, Nicola (2020) 'Gender and Politics in the Middle East', in *Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics*, ed. Larbi Sadiki, London: Routledge, chapter 21.
- Ben Shitrit, Lihi (2020) 'Gender, Religion, and Politics in Jewish and Muslim Contexts: The Case of Israel', in *Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics*, ed. Larbi Sadiki, London: Routledge, chapter 23.
- Sayigh, Yazid with Nathan Toronto (2021) 'Politics of Military Authoritarianism in North Africa', Carnegie Middle East Center, March, at <https://carnegie-mec.org/2021/03/17/politics-of-military-authoritarianism-in-north-africa-pub-84072>
- Valbjørn, Morten (2019) 'What's so Sectarian about Sectarian Politics? Identity Politics and Authoritarianism in a New Middle East', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 19(1): 127–49.

9: Religion and Politics

Background readings:

- Owen, Roger (2004) *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd ed., London: Routledge; chapter 9 ('The Politics of Religious Revival')
- Mernissi, Fatima (1992) *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World*, Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*. Berkeley: University of California Press, chapter 6 ('The Cultural Code of Jewishness: Religion and Nationalism'); pp. 173-207.
- Schwedler, Jillian (2006) *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Willis, Michael J. (2012) *Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring*, New York: Columbia University Press, chapter 5 ('Islamist Movements')
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