

Politics and International Relations of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

2nd term, Academic Year 2025-2026

Given by: Prof. Raffaella A. Del Sarto
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Times and place: Tuesdays, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2, Badia, except for the 4th session, which will be held in the Capitolo Room, Badia.

Course description

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) continue to be characterised by several problems and challenges, including unresolved conflicts and ongoing (civil) wars, a general upgrade of authoritarianism, crony capitalism and ever-rising socio-economic inequalities, exclusionary ethno-religious politics, migration and refugee flows, and environmental degradation. The region is also of strategic importance, with external powers, most notably the US and the European 'neighbour', being mostly interested in the stability of the region (at the expense of other pressing issues). 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 and theoretical rigour. Concurrently, Middle East scholars have been accused (and 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, Israel's ensuing war on Gaza and subsequent developments. It remains indeed 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 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, ongoing conflicts and hence personal security issues.

Geographically, the seminar 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 monarchies will also be considered. The first part of the seminar will focus on key developments that have a lasting impact on the politics and international relations of the region, such as the modalities of the emergence of the modern state system in the Middle East, identity formation(s), post-colonial politics in the region, and the question of Palestine. The second part will focus on questions of regional security, war and peace, alliances, foreign interventions, and the question of regional order. It will do so by applying different approaches from political science and IR, thereby highlighting the important contributions – and potential contributions – that political science and IR can make to the study of the Middle East and vice versa.

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 debates and developments in the specialized literature
- Identify the major empirical questions and challenges in the study of the international politics of the Middle East and North Africa
- Analyse key political developments and challenges in the MENA through different theoretical and conceptual lenses
- Have acquired a solid basis to conduct independent research in the politics and international relations of the MENA by 'digging deeper' and expanding on the seminar readings on specific topics and/or countries

Format

In this seminar, debate and discussion will be the norm. Researchers will introduce and guide the seminar debates by way of short presentations in sessions 2-10. The seminar is worth 20 credits.

Requirements

All researchers are expected to do the assigned reading prior to each session and come prepared to class. Active participation in class discussions is a requirement for all researchers. Researchers are also required to make two short presentations to inform and lead the discussion.

In addition, researchers taking the seminar **for credit** are required to prepare 2 response papers / analytical essays (between 700 and 1,500 words, excluding notes and bibliography) over the course of the seminar. The first paper is to be handed in by week 5, the second by week 10.

Researchers taking the seminar as an **elective** are required to prepare 1 response paper / analytical essay (between 700 and 1,500 words, excluding notes and bibliography), to be handed in by week 8.

The seminar is open to all researchers but some familiarity with the history and politics of the Middle East is expected. Some suggested background readings are listed below. Researchers are also expected to follow the news on Middle East events.

Some background readings:

- Gelvin, James L. (2020) *The Modern Middle East: A History*, 5th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lynch, Marc, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, eds. (2022) *The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research since the Arab Uprisings*, Oxford: 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.
- Yom, Sean L., ed. (2019) *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa: Development, Democracy, Dictatorship*, 9th ed., London: Routledge.
- Hourani, Albert (1962) *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*, London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Owen, Roger (2004) *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, London: Routledge.
- Keddie, Nikki R. (2006) *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hourani, Albert (2002) *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Rogan, Eugene L. (2009) *The Arabs: A History*, New York: Basic Books.
- 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.
- Fawcett, Louise, ed. (2024) *International Relations of the Middle East*, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, Fred (2005) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2015) *The International Politics of the Middle East*, 2nd edition, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
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Session 1: Researching the Middle East

Tuesday, 6 January 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Said, Edward W. (1978) *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- 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.
- Kramer, Martin (2001) 'Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America', Policy Papers 58, Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, at <http://scholar.harvard.edu/martinkramer/files/IvoryTowers.pdf>
- Bilgin, Pinar (2004) 'Whose "Middle East"? Geopolitical Inventions and Practices of Security', *International Relations* 18(1): 25-41.
- Fawcett, Louise (2024) 'Introduction: The Middle East and International Relations', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-18.

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.
- 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.
- Valbjørn, Morten (2017) 'Strategies for Reviving the International Relations/Middle East Nexus after the Arab Uprisings', *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50(3): 647-51.
- Anderson, Lisa (2022) 'Triumph over Adversity: Reflections on the Practice of Middle East Political Science', 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. 281-298.

Further readings:

On the area studies controversy:

- Bilgin, Pinar (2015) 'One Model of Engagement between MES and IR', in *International Relations Theory and a Changing Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 16, 16 September, pp. 6-12, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), at http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/POMEPS_Studies_16_IR_Web1.pdf
- Solingen, Etel (2015) 'Transcending Disciplinary Divide/s: A Comparative Framework on the International Relations of the Middle East', in *International Relations Theory and a Changing Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 16, 16 September, pp. 52-62, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), at http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/POMEPS_Studies_16_IR_Web1.pdf
- 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.
- Valbjørn, Morten (2003) 'The Meeting of the Twain: Bridging the Gap between Middle East Studies and International Relations,' *Cooperation and Conflict* 38: 162-73.

On approaches to the study of the Middle East:

- Lawson, Fred (2024) 'International Relations Theory and the Middle East', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 1.
- Lynch, Mark (2022) 'Introduction', 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. 1-34.
- Darwish, May, et al. (2022) 'International Relations and Regional (In)Security', in *The Political Science of the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 86-107.
- Lynch, Marc, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, eds. (2022) *The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research since the Arab Uprisings*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Tessler, Mark, Jodi Nachtwey, and Anna Banda (2019) *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Anderson, Lisa (2006) 'Searching Where the Light Shines', *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 198-2014.
- Halliday, Fred (2005) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; especially chapter 1 ('International Relations Theory and the Middle East.')
- Buzan, Barry and Ole Wæver (2003) *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; chapters 3 and 7.
- Shohat, Ella (2002) 'Area Studies, Gender Studies, and the Cartographies of Knowledge', *Social Text* 20(3): 67-78.
- Lynch, Marc, and Curtis Ryan (2017) 'The Arab Uprisings and IR Theory', *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50(3): 643-46.
- Buzan, Barry and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez (2009), 'Conclusions', in *International Society and the Middle East: English School Theory at the Regional Level*, eds. Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 226-250.
- Gordon, Louis A. and Ian M. Oxnevad (2016) *Middle East Politics for the New Millennium: A Constructivist Approach*, Lanham: Lexington Books.

- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2014) 'Historical Sociology and the Arab Uprisings', *Mediterranean Politics* 19(1): 137-140.
- Lawson, Fred (2006) *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Halliday, Fred (2009) 'The Middle East and Conceptions of "International Society"', in *International Society and the Middle East: English School Theory at the Regional Level*, eds. Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-23.

On field work / research methods:

- Grimm, Jannis, et. al (2020) *Safer Field Research in the Social Sciences: A Guide to Human and Digital Security in Hostile Environments*, London: Sage.
- Clark, Janine and Francesco Cavatorta, eds. (2018) *Political Science Research in the Middle East and North Africa: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Parkinson, Sarah E. (2022) '(Dis)Courtesy Bias: "Methodological Cognates," Data Validity, and Ethics in Violence-Adjacent Research,' *Comparative Political Studies* 25(3): 420-450.
- Clark, Janine A. (2006) 'Field Research Methods in the Middle East', *Political Science and Politics* 39(3): 417-424.
- Deeb, Lara and Jessica Winegar (2015) *Anthropology's Politics: Disciplining the Middle East*, Stanford: Stanford University Press

Session 2: Colonial legacy and state-building

Tuesday, 13 January 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Fromkin, David (2009) *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, New York: Henry Holt and Company; especially 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; chapter 1 ('The End of Empires: The Emergence of the Modern Middle Eastern States')
- 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').

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.
- Mamdani, Mahmood (2022) *Neither Settler nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Introduction.

Further readings:

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2017) 'Contentious Borders in the Middle East and North Africa: Context and Concepts', *International Affairs* 93(4): 767–78.
- 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')
- 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')
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Anderson, Lisa (1986) *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Session 3: Nationalism(s) and identity politics

Tuesday, 20 January 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Kerr, Malcolm H. (1971) *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd Al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970*, 3rd edition, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2024) 'The Politics of Identity in Middle East International Relations', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 6.
- Hashemi, Nader and Danny Postel (2017) 'Introduction: The Sectarianization Thesis', *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, eds. Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, London: Hurst, pp. 1–22.
- Telhami, Shibley and Barnett, Michael (2002) 'Introduction: Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East', in *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, eds. Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chapter 1.

Required readings:

- Barnett, Michael N. (1998) *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*, New York: Columbia University Press, chapter 1 ('A Narrative of Arab Politics')
- Haddad, Fanar, et al. (2022) 'The Politics of Identity and Sectarianism', in *The Political Science of the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 182-205.
- 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:

On nationalism, Zionism, pan-Arabism, (pan-)Islamism:

- Antonius, George (1981) *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*, New York: Gordon Press (original 1938).
- Barnett, Michael N. (1998) *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*, New York: Columbia University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Ajami, Fuad (1998) *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- 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').
- Gershoni, Israel and James P. Jankowski, eds. (1997) *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, New York: Columbia University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Halliday, Fred (2005) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 7 ('Modern Ideologies: Political and Religious', pp. 193-228.
- 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')
- 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.
- Zubaida, Sami (2004) 'Islam and Nationalism: Continuities and Contradictions', *Nations and Nationalism* 10(4): 407-420.
- Seleny, Anna (2006) 'Tradition, Modernity, and Democracy: The Many Promises of Islam', *Perspectives on Politics* 4(3): 481-494.
- 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 edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 7.
- 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>
- Avineri, Shlomo (1981) *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, New York: Basic Books.
- Laqueur, Walter (2003) *The History of Zionism*, 3rd edition, London: Tauris Park Paperback.

On identity politics, threats, and sectarian securitization:

- Al-Rasheed, Madawi (2011) 'Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11(3): 513-26.
- Matthiessen, Toby (2013) *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring that wasn't*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rubin, Lawrence (2014) *Islam in the Balance: Ideational threats in Arab Politics*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Monier, Elizabeth, ed. (2015) *Regional Insecurity after the Arab Uprisings: Narratives of Security and Threat*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Gause, F. Gregory III (2014) *Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War*, Brookings Doha Centre Publications, 33, 22 July, at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2014/07/22-beyond-sectarianism-cold-war-gause>

- Darwich, May (2016) 'The Ontological (In)security of Similarity: Wahhabism versus Islamism in Saudi Foreign Policy, *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12(3):469–88.
- Hashemi, Nader and Danny Postel, eds. (2017) *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, the remaining chapters.
- 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): 127-149.
- Darwish, May, et al. (2022) 'International Relations and Regional (In)Security', in *The Political Science of the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 86 107.

Session 4: Israel/Palestine

Tuesday, 27 January 2026, 13:00-15:00, Capitolo Room

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 (*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.
- Kamrava, Mehran (2013) *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*, 3rd edition, Berkeley: University of California Press; chapter 4 (The Arab-Israeli Wars)

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:

On the history of the conflict and its transformation:

- Mandel, Neville J. (1976) *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nashif, Taysir (1977) 'Palestinian Arab and Jewish Leadership in the Mandate Period,' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 6: 113-121.
- Morris, Benny (1987) *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lustick, Ian (1980) 'Zionism and the State of Israel: Regime Objectives and the Arab Minority in the First Years of Statehood', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 16(1): 127-146.

- Teveth, Shabtai (1990) 'The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and Its Origins', *Middle Eastern Studies* 26: 216-219.
- Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds. (2007) *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Morris, Benny (2001) *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Said, Edward (1992) *The Question of Palestine*, updated ed., London: Vintage books.
- 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.
- Raz, Avi (2012) *The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kacowicz, Arie M. (2005) 'Rashomon in the Middle East: Clashing Narratives of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *Cooperation and Conflict* 40(3): 343-360.
- Klein, Menachem (2010) *The Shift: Israeli-Palestine from Border Struggle to Ethnic Conflict*, London: Hurst.
- Anziska, Seth (2018) *Preventing Palestine: A Political History from Camp David to Oslo*, Princeton: Princeton University 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.
- Barnett, Michael, Nathan J. Brown, Mark Lynch, and Shibley Telhami, eds. (2023) *The One State Reality: What is Israel/Palestine?*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

On Israel's occupation:

- Gordon, Neve (2008) *Israel's Occupation*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Erakat, Noura (2019) *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Zertal, Idith and Akiva Eldar (2007) *Lords of the Land: The War over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007*, New York: Nation Books.
- Gorenberg, Gershom (2007) *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- World Bank (2008) *The Economic Impact of Restricted Access to Land in the West Bank*, Washington, DC: World Bank Group.
- Hirschhorn, Sara Yael (2017) *City on a Hilltop: American Jews and the Israeli Settler Movement*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Roy, Sara (2016) *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development*, third edition, Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies.

On peace negotiations and their failure:

- Ashrawi, Hannan (1996) *This Side of Peace: A Personal Account*, New York; London: Touchstone.
- Barnett, Michael (1999) 'Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo', *European Journal of International Relations* 5(1): 5-36.
- Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley (2001), 'Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors', *The New York Review of Books* 48(13), 9 August 2001.

- Pressman, Jeremy (2003) 'Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?', *International Security* 28(2): 5–43.
- Enderlin, Charles (2003) *Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002*, New York: Other Press.
- Rabinovich, Itamar (2004) *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs, 1948-2003*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bregman, Ahron (2005) *Elusive Peace: How the Holy Land Defeated America*, London: Penguin Books, chapter 14 ('Spiralling Violence') and ('Operation Defensive Shield').
- Slater, Jerome (2012) 'Just War Moral Philosophy and the 2008-09 Israeli Campaign in Gaza', *International Security* 32(2): 44-80.
- Golan, Galia (2014) *Israeli Peacemaking since 1967: Factors Behind the Breakthroughs and Failures*, London: Routledge.
- Getmansky, Anna, and Thomas Zeitzoff (2014) 'Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections', *American Political Science Review* 108(3): 588–604.
- Bashir, Bashir (2016) 'The Strengths and Weaknesses of Integrative Solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *Middle East Journal* 70(4): 560-578.
- 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.

On the Palestinians:

- Khalidi, Rashid (2006) *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Khalidi, Walid (ed.) (1992) *All that Remains*, Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Sayigh, Rosemary (2007) *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*, London: Zed.
- Sayigh, Yezid (1997) *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mishal, Shaul (1986) *The PLO under 'Arafat: Between Gun and Olive Branch*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Quandt, William B., Fuad Jabber, and Ann Mosely Lesch (1973) *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cobban, Helena (1984) *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sayigh, Yezid (1989) 'Struggle Within, Struggle Without: The Transformation of PLO Politics since 1982', *International Affairs* 65(2): 247–272.
- Mishal, Shaul and Avraham Sela (2006) *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd edition.
- Hroub, Khaled (2004) 'Hamas after Shaykh Yasin and Rantisi', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33(4): 21-38.
- Ghanem [Ganim], As'ad (2010) *Palestinian Politics after Arafat: A Failed National Movement*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Baconi, Tareq (2018) *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Haddad, Toufic (2018) *Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory*, London: I.B Tauris/Bloomsbury.

- Klein, Menachem (2019) *Arafat and Abbas: Portraits of Leadership in a State Postponed*, London: Hurst.
- Pace, Michelle and Somdeep Sen (2019) *The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank: The Theatrics of Woeful Statecraft*, London: Taylor & Francis.

On Israel:

- Zerubavel, Yael (1995) *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Yiftachel, Oren (2006) *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Shafir, Gershon and Yoav Peled (2002) *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maoz, Zeev (2009) *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 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.
- Hermann, Tamar S. (2009) *The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Introduction.
- Plonski, Sharri (2017) *Palestinian Citizens of Israel: Power, Resistance and the Struggle for Space*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Peleg, Ilan and Dov Waxman (2011) *Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rouhana, Nadim N., and Nimer Sultany (2004) 'Redrawing the Boundaries of Citizenship: Israel's New Hegemony', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33(1): 5–22.
- Levi, Yonatan and Shai Agmon (2021) 'Beyond Culture and Economy: Israel's Security-driven Populism', *Contemporary Politics* 27(3): 292-315.
- Waxman, Dov, and Ilan Peleg (2020) 'The Nation-State Law and the Weakening of Israeli Democracy', *Israel Studies* 25(3): pp. 185-200.
- Evron, Boaz (1995) *Jewish State or Israeli Nation?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Adler, Emanuel, ed. (2013) *Israel in the World: Legitimacy and Exceptionalism*, London: Routledge.

Session 5: States, armies, 'proxies'

Tuesday, 3 February 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Salamé, Ghassane (1987) *The Foundations of the Arab State*, London; New York: Croom Helm.
- Barakat, Halim (1993) *The Arab World: Society, Culture, and the State*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan (2014) 'Making Foreign Policy in the Midst of Turbulence', in *The Foreign Policy of Middle East States*, eds. Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 2nd edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 339-350.

- Hudson, Michael C. (1977) *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Required readings:

- Ayubi, Nazih N. (2015) *Over-Stating the Arab State* London, New York: I.B. Tauris, Chapter 1 ('The Middle East and the State Debate: Conceptual Framework') and Conclusions ('The "Strong", the "Hard" and the "Fierce"')
- Fawcett, Louise (2017) 'States and Sovereignty in the Middle East: Myths and Realities', *International Affairs* 93(4): 789–807.
- Salloukh, Bassel F. (2017) 'Overlapping Contests and Middle East International Relations: The Return of the Weak Arab State', *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50(3): 660–63.
- Ahram, Ariel I. (2021) 'Hybrid Security Governance and the Search for the State in the Middle East,' *War On The Rocks*, January 29, <https://warontherocks.com/2021/01/hybrid-security-governance-and-the-search-for-the-state-in-the-middle-east/>

Further readings:

On the 'strength' and sovereignty of Arab states:

- Bellin, Eva (2004) 'The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Politics* 36(2): 139-158.
- Bellin, Eva (2012) 'Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East': Lessons from the Arab Spring', *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127-149.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2017) 'Contentious borders in the Middle East and North Africa: Context and Concepts', *International Affairs*, 93(4): 767–78.
- Yom, Sean and F. Gregory Gause (2012) 'Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang on,' *Journal of Democracy* 23(3): 74–88.
- Khalili, Laleh (2013) *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

On dynamics and contexts of Arab politics and foreign policies:

- Sharabi, Hisham (1988) *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hudson, Michael C. (2015) 'Arab Politics after the Uprisings: Still Searching for Legitimacy', in *The Routledge Handbook on the Arab Spring*, ed. by Larbi Sadiki, London: Routledge, chapter 3.
- 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.
- Gause, F. Gregory III (1992) 'Sovereignty, Statecraft and Stability in the Middle East', *Journal of International Affairs* 45: 441–69.
- Halliday, Fred (2005) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2 ('The Making of Foreign Policy: States and Societies').
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2014) 'Foreign Policy in the Middle East', in *The Foreign Policy of Middle East States*, eds. Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 2nd edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 1-34.
- Clark, Janine A., Sarah El-Kazaz, Mona Harb, and Lana Salman (2022) 'Toward a Relational Approach to Local Politics', 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. 256-280.

On the role of armies:

- Springborg, Robert (2014) 'Militaries', in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Picard, Elizabeth (1990) 'Arab Military in Politics: From Revolutionary Plot to Authoritarian Regime', in *The Arab State*, ed. Giacomo Luciani, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 189-219.
- Korany, Bahgat, Paul Noble, and Rex Brynen, eds. (1993) *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Albrecht, Holger, et al. (2022) 'Militaries, Militias, and Proxies', in *The Political Science of the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 108-131.
- Ayubi, Nazih N. (2015) *Over-Stating the Arab State* London, New York: I.B. Tauris, chapter 8 ('Civil-Military Relations').
- Sheffer, Gabriel and Oren Barak (2013) *Israel's Security Networks: A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

On non-state actors and militias:

- Calculi, Marina (2020) 'Non-State Actors and "The International:" Counterinsurgency and Empire in the Middle East', in *Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics*, ed. Larbi Sadiki, London: Routledge, chapter 28.
- Moghadam, Assaf, and Michael Wyss (2020) 'The Political Power of Proxies: Why Nonstate Actors Use Local Surrogate Groups', *International Security* 44(4): 119-57.
- Albrecht, Holger, et al. (2022) 'Militaries, Militias, and Proxies', in *The Political Science of the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 108-131.
- Gerges, Fawaz (2016) *ISIS: A History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lewitt, Matthew (2013) *Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God*, Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Daher, Joseph (2016) *Hezbollah: The Political Economy of Lebanon's Party of God*, London: Pluto Press.

Session 6: Economics and politics

Tuesday, 10 February 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- 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 (2022) *Arab Human Development Report 2022: Expanding Opportunities for an Inclusive and Resilient Recovery in the Post-Covid Era*, at <https://arab-hdr.org/report/ahdr-2022/>

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 and 2.

Further readings:

- Cammett, Divan, Richards and Waterbury (2018) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 4th edition, London: Routledge, the remaining chapters.
- 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.
- Guazzone, Laura and Daniela Pioppi, eds. (2009) *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalisation: The Re-Structuring of State Power in the Middle East*, London: Ithaca & Garnet Publishing, the remaining chapters.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2009) 'Order and Change in the Middle East: A Neo-Gramscian Twist on the International Society Approach', in *International Society and the Middle East: English School Theory at the Regional Level*, eds. Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 201-225.
- 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.
- Henry, Clement M. (2014) 'States and Bankers', in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Mark Lynch, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Springborg, Robert (2020) *Political Economies of the Middle East and North Africa*, Cambridge: Polity Press, chapter 5 ('Deep States: Types, Resources, and Impact')
- Schuetze, Benjamin (2024) 'Follow the Grid, Follow the Violence: The Project for a Transregional Mediterranean Electricity Ring', *Middle East Critique* 33(4): 529-547.
- Parkinson, Sarah E. (2024) 'Unreported Realities: The Political Economy of Media-Sourced Data', *American Political Science Review* 118(3): 1527-1532.

On (neoliberal) economic reforms:

- 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.
- Heydemann, Steven, ed. (2004) *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East: The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Halliday, Fred (2005) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 9 ('International Political Economy: Regional and Global')
- Hanieh, Adam (2013) *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*, London: Haymarket Books, the remaining chapters.

- Haddad, Toufic (2018) *Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory*, London: I.B Tauris/Bloomsbury.
- Daher, Joseph (2016) *Hezbollah: The Political Economy of Lebanon's Party of God*, London: Pluto Press.

On the role of oil and the rentier state:

- 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.
- Beblawi, Hazem, and Giacomo Luciani, eds. (1987) *The Rentier State*, London; New York: Croom Helm.
- Ross, Michael L. (2012) *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

On development (and de-development):

- 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
- Henry, Clement M. and Robert Springborg (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Yifu Lin, Justin (2015) *A Framework for Rethinking Development*, New York: The World Bank.
- Roy, Sara (2016) *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-Development*, 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Eibl, Ferdinand et al. (2022) 'Political Economy and Development', in *The Political Science of the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 86-107.

On migration:

- İşleyen, Beste and Nora El Qadim, eds. (2023), Special issue: 'Border and Im/mobility Entanglements in the Mediterranean', *Environment and Planning D - Society & Space*, 41(1).
- Fakhoury, Tamirace and Zeynep S. Mencütek (2023) 'The Geopolitics of Return Migration in the International System', *Geopolitics*, 28(3): 959–978.
- 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*.
- 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.
- Vignal, Leïla (2021) *War-Torn: The Unmaking of Syria, 2011-2021*, London: Hurst & Co., chapter 5 ('Mass Displacement: A Weapon of War').

Session 7: Conflicts, wars, external meddling

Tuesday, 17 February 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some 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.
- Al Jazeera (2021) 'Western Sahara Conflict in 500 Words', at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/11/western-sahara-conflict-in-500-words>
- Lynch, Mark (2016) *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*, New York: Public Affairs.

Required readings:

- Hazbun, Waleed (2010) 'US Policy and the Geopolitics of Insecurity in the Arab World', *Geopolitics* 15(2): 239-262.
- Salloukh, Bassel F. and Rex Brynen (2004) 'Pondering Permeability: Some Introductory Explorations', in *Persistent Permeability? Regionalism, Localism, and Globalization in the Middle East*, eds. Bassel F. Salloukh and Rex Brynen, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 1-14.
- Galeeva, Diana (2021) 'How have Russia's policies in the Middle East changed since the Arab uprisings?', Middle East Institute, 21 April, at <https://www.mei.edu/publications/how-have-russias-policies-middle-east-changed-arab-uprisings-0>
- Fulton, Jonathan (2021) 'China between Iran and the Gulf Monarchies', *Middle East Policy* 28(3-4): 203- 216.

Further readings:

- Roy, Olivier (2008) *The Politics of Chaos in the Middle East*, London: Hurst.
- Lynch, Mark, ed. (2014) *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, New York: Columbia 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.
- Vignal, Leïla (2021) *War-Torn: The Unmaking of Syria, 2011-2021*, London: Hurst & Co, chapter 1 ('Anatomy of a Conflict: From Revolution to War') and remaining chapters.
- Korany, Bahgat (2024) 'The Middle East since the Cold War: Movement without Progress', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 4.

On the role of the US:

- Hudson, Michael C. (1996) 'To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of US Policy toward the Middle East', *The Middle East Journal* 50(3): 329-343.

- Dalacoura, Katerina (2005) 'US Democracy Promotion in the Arab Middle East since 9/11: A Critique', *International Affairs* 81(5): 963-979.
- Cavatorta, Francesco and Vincent Durac (2010) *The Foreign Policies of the European Union and the United States in North Africa: Diverging or Converging Dynamics*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. (2011) *Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walt, Stephen M. (2011) 'The End of the American Era', *The National Interest*, 25 October, at <https://nationalinterest.org/legacy/the-end-the-american-era-6037/>
- Khalidi, Rashid (2014) *Brokers of Deceit: How the U.S. Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Khalidi, Rashid (2018) 'The Superpowers and the Cold War in the Middle East', in *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies*, eds. David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas, London: Routledge, chapter 10.
- Lesch, David W., and Mark L. Haas, eds. (2018) *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies*, 6th edition, London: Routledge, the remaining chapters.
- Payne, Andrew and Michael C. Hudson (2024) 'The United States in the Middle East', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 14.

On Russia and China:

- Dannreuther, Roland (2024) 'Russia, China, and the Middle East', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 15.
- Stepanova, Ekaterina (2018) 'Russia and Conflicts in the Middle East: Regionalisation and Implications for the West', *The International Spectator* 53(4): 35-57.

Session 8: Europe in the Middle East

Tuesday, 24 February 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Salame, Ghassan (1998) 'Torn between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean: Europe and the Middle East in the post-Cold War Era,' in *The Middle East and Europe: The Power Deficit*, ed. B.A. Roberson, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 20-44.
- Bicchi, Federica (2007) *European Foreign Policy Making towards the Mediterranean*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Introduction and Conclusions.
- Hansen, Peo and Stefan Jonsson (2014) *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism*, London: Bloomsbury.

Required readings:

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2021) *Borderlands: Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Introduction and Conclusions.
- Okay, Asli and Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani (2016) 'The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the European Union and Turkey,' *The International Spectator* 51 (4): 1-16.
- Geddes, Andrew, and Leila Hadj-Abdou (2018) 'Change the Migration Path? EU Migration Governance after the "Arab Spring",' *Mediterranean Politics* 23(1): 142-60.

Further readings:

On EU/European policies towards 'the Mediterranean':

- Barcelona Declaration, adopted at the Euro-Mediterranean Conference, 27-28 November 1995, at http://eeas.europa.eu/euromed/docs/bd_en.pdf
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. and Tobias Schumacher (2005) "From EMP to ENP: What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the southern Mediterranean?," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10(1): 17-38.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2005) 'Setting the (Cultural) Agenda: Concepts, Communities, and Representation in Euro-Mediterranean Relations,' *Mediterranean Politics* 10(3): 313-330.
- Adler, Emanuel, Beverly Crawford, Federica Bicchì and Raffaella A. Del Sarto, eds. (2006) *The Convergence of Civilizations: Constructing a Mediterranean Region*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Browning, Christopher S. and Joenniemi, Pertti (2008) 'Geostrategies of the European Neighbourhood Policy,' *European Journal of International Relations* 14(3): 519-51.
- Aydin-Düzgit, Senem and Nathalie Tocci (2015) *Turkey and the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2021) *Borderlands: Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Bouris, Dimitri, Daniela Huber, and Michelle Pace (2021) *Routledge Handbook of EU-Middle East Relations*, London: Routledge.
- Huber, Daniela and Lorenzo Kamel, eds. (2022) *Decolonising (Knowledge on) Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Insights on Shared Histories and Futures*, Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura / Istituto Affari Internazionali, at https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iairs_7.pdf
- Roccu, Robert and Michelle Pace (2020) 'Imperial Past in the EU's Approach to the Mediterranean,' *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 22(6): 671-685.
- Nicolaïdis, Kalypso (2015) "Southern Barbarians? A Post-Colonial Critique of EU Universalisms," in *Echoes of Empire: Memory, Identity and Colonial Legacies*, edited by Kalypso Nicolaïdis, Berny Sébe, and Gabrielle Maas, London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 281-301.
- Cebeci, Münevver (2022) 'The EU's Constructions of the Middle East', in *Routledge Handbook of EU-Middle East Relations*, eds. Dimitris Bouris, Daniela Huber and Michelle Pace, London: Routledge, pp. 70-80.
- Cavatorta, Francesco and Vincent Durac (2010) *The Foreign Policies of the European Union and the United States in North Africa: Diverging or Converging Dynamics*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Schumacher, Tobias (2011) 'The EU and the Arab Spring: between Spectatorship and Actorness,' *Insight Turkey* 13(3): 107-119.
- Hollis, Rosemary (2012) 'No Friend of Democratization: Europe's Role in the Genesis of the "Arab Spring",' *International Affairs* 88(1): 81-94.
- Bicchì, Federica (2014) 'Europe and the Arab Uprisings: The Irrelevant Power?', in *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*, ed. Fawaz A. Gerges, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Kourtellis, Christos (2015) "Assessing EU Aid to the 'Southern Partners' of the European Neighbourhood Policy: Who Benefits from the Reforms in the Agricultural and Industrial Sector?" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 9(2): 190-211.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2016) 'Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, Its Borderlands, and the "Arab Spring"', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(2): 215-232.

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. and Simone Tholens, eds. (2020) *Resisting Europe: Practices of Contestation in the Mediterranean Middle East*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Benamar, Jihane (2021) "In the Shadows of Colonial Agricultural Policies: Morocco's Political Failure in Building a Successful Model for Development," *The Journal of North African Studies* 26(4): 733-755.
- Tholens, Simone (2014) "An EU-South Mediterranean Energy Community: The Right Policy for the Right Region?," *The International Spectator* 49(2): 34-49.

On EU/Europe and Israel/Palestine :

- Dominguez de Olazabal, Itxaso (2023) 'The European Union's Policies in Historic Palestine: Two-Step Securitisation, Differentiation and Its Discontents', *Middle East Critique* 32(1): 1-21.
- Pardo, Sharon, and Joel Peters (2010) *Uneasy Neighbours: Israel and the European Union*, Lanham, Md.: Lexington.
- Shindler, Colin (2012) *Israel and the European Left: Between Solidarity and Delegitimisation*, New York: Continuum.
- Bicchi, Federica and Benedetta Voltolini (2017) 'Europe, the Green Line and the issue of the Israeli-Palestinian Border: Closing the Gap between Discourse and Practice?', *Geopolitics* 23(1): 124-146.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2019) 'Stuck in the Logic of Oslo: Europe and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *The Middle East Journal* 73(3): 376-396.
- Bouris, Dimitris (2014) *The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories: State-Building without a State*, London: Routledge.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2014) 'Defining Borders and People in the Borderlands: EU Policies, Israeli Prerogatives and the Palestinians', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(2): 200-216.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A., ed. (2015) *Fragmented Borders, Interdependence and External Relations: The Israel-Palestine-European Union Triangle*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Müller, Patrick (2019) 'Normative Power Europe and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The EU's Peacebuilding Narrative Meets Local Narratives', *European Security* 28(3): 251-67.

On democracy promotion:

- Lavenex, Sandra and Frank Schimmelfennig (2011) 'E.U. Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?', *Democratization* 18(4): 885-909.
- Pace, Michelle (2009) 'Paradoxes and Contradictions in EU Democracy Promotion in the Mediterranean: The Limits of EU Normative Power', *Democratization* 16(1): 39-58.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. and Tobias Schumacher (2011) 'From Brussels with Love: Leverage, Benchmarking, and the Action Plans with Jordan and Tunisia in the EU's Democratization Policy', *Democratization* 18(4): 932-955.
- Mouhib, Leila (2014) 'EU Democracy Promotion in Tunisia and Morocco: Between Contextual Changes and Structural Continuity', *Mediterranean Politics* 19(3): 351-372.

On European migration policies:

- Human Rights Watch (2009) *Pushed Back Pushed Around: Italy's Forced Return of Boat Migrants and Asylum Seekers, Libya's Mistreatment of Migrants and Asylum Seekers*, New York, Human Rights Watch, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/italy0909webwcover_0.pdf
- Cassarino, Jean-Pierre, ed. (2010) *Unbalanced Reciprocities: Cooperation on Readmission in the Euro-Mediterranean Area*, Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute (at <http://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/ReadmissionWeb.pdf>)

- Paoletti, Emanuela (2011) 'Power Relations and International Migration: The Case of Italy and Libya,' *Political Studies* 59(2): 269–89.
- Limam, Mohamed and Raffaella A. Del Sarto (2015) 'Periphery under Pressure: Morocco, Tunisia and the European Union's Mobility Partnership on Migration', *EUI Working Papers*, RSCAS 2015/75, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, BORDERLANDS Project, Florence: European University Institute, <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/37521>
- Cassarino, Jean-Pierre and Raffaella A. Del Sarto (2018) 'The Governance of Migration and Border Controls in the European-North African Context', MENARA Working Paper No. 13. http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/menara_wp_13.pdf

Session 9: Alliances

Tuesday, 3 March 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Fawcett, Louise (2024) 'Regionalism and Shifting Alliances in the Middle East', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, 6th edition, ed. Louise Fawcett, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 8.
- Gause, F. Gregory (2003) 'Balancing What? Threat Perception and Alliance Choice in the Gulf', *Security Studies* 13(2): 273-305.
- Rubin, Lawrence (2014) *Islam in the Balance: Ideational Threats in Arab Politics*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, chapter 2.

Required readings:

- Walt, Stephen M. (1987) *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, chapters 1, 4, and pp. 262-273 (from the conclusions).
- Ryan, Curtis R. (2015) 'Regime Security and Shifting Alliances in the Middle East,' *POMEPS Studies* 16 (September 2015): pp. 42-46, <https://pomeps.org/?p=7047>;
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. and Eduard Soler i Lecha (2024) 'Regionalism and Alliances in the Middle East, 2011-2021: From a "Flash in the Pan" of Regional Cooperation to Liquid Alliances', *Geopolitics* 29(4): 1447-1473.

Further readings:

- Darwich, May (2019) *Threats and Alliances in the Middle East: Saudi and Syrian Policies in a Turbulent Region*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryan, Curtis (2025) 'Alliances and Regional Order in the Middle East', in *Order and Region Making in the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 139-158.
- Fawcett, Louise (2024) 'Regionalism and Alliances in the Middle East, in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 8..
- Darwich, May (2021) 'Alliance Politics in the post-2011 Middle East: Advancing Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives,' *Mediterranean Politics* 26(5): 635-656.
- Ryan, Curtis (2009) *Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy*, Miami: University Press of Florida.
- Kamrava, Meran (2012) 'The Arab Spring and the Saudi-led Counterrevolution', *Orbis* 56(1): 96–104.

- Rubin, Lawrence (2014) *Islam in the Balance: Ideational Threats in Arab Politics*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Lynch, Marc (2016) *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*, New York: PublicAffairs.
- Barnett, Michael and Jack Levy (1991) 'Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: Egypt, 1963-1973', *International Organization* 45(3): 369-396.
- Snyder, Glenn H. (1997) *Alliance Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Barnett, Michael (1996) 'Identity and Alliances in the Middle East,' in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter Katzenstein, New York: Columbia University Press, 400-47.

Session 10: Regional order – revisited

Tuesday, 10 March 2026, 13:00-15:00, Seminar Room 2

Some background readings:

- Binder, Leonard (1958) 'The Middle East as a Subordinate International System', *World Politics* 10(3): 408-29.
- Bilgin, Pinar (2024) 'Security in the Middle East: Whose Security?', in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 9.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2014) 'The Middle East Regional System', in *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, eds. Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 2nd edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 35-74.

Required readings:

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A., Helle Malmvig and Eduard Soler i Lecha (2025) 'Lost in Change: A Framework for Understanding Change in the Middle East Regional Order', in *Order and Region Making in the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 32-61.
- Fawcett, Louise (2023) 'The Iraq War 20 Years on: Towards a New Regional Architecture', *International Affairs* 99(2): 567-85.
- Lynch, Mark (2021) 'The Arab Uprisings Never Ended: The Enduring Struggle to Remake the Middle East', *Foreign Affairs*, January-February, at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2020-12-08/arab-uprisings-never-ended>

Further readings:

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2025) 'Violence and Regional Order in the Middle East after October 7', in *Regional Order Making after October 7*, eds. Raffaella A. Del Sarto, Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, POMEPS Study 54, pp. 17-23, at <https://pomeps.org/violence-and-regional-order-in-the-middle-east-since-october-71>
- Raffaella A. Del Sarto, Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, eds. (2025) *Regional Order Making after October 7*, POMEPS Study 54, at https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/POMEPS_Studies_56_Final-1.pdf
- Colombo, Silvia and Eduard Soler i Lecha (2025) 'Which Region? Border Drawing and Ordering in the Middle East and North Africa', in *Order and Region Making in the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 85-110.

- Zumbraegel, Tobias (2025) 'The Environmental Factor in the Middle East and North Africa: How climate Change and Environmental Degradation Reshape Regional Order', in *Order and Region Making in the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 243-269.
- Lynch, Marc and Simon Mabon (2025) 'Introduction: Regional Order in the Middle East and North Africa', in *Order and Region Making in the Middle East*, eds. Marc Lynch and Simon Mabon, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 1-31.
- Lynch, Marc and Simon Mabon (2025) *Order and Region Making in the Middle East*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, the remaining chapters.
- Valbjørn, Morten, André Bank, and May Darwich (2024) 'Forward to the Past? Regional Repercussions of the Gaza War', *Middle East Policy*, 1- 15, <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12758>
- Allinson, Jamie (2022) *The Age of Counter-Revolution: States and Revolutions in the Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Amour, Phillipp O. (2020) *The Regional Order in the Gulf Region and the Middle East: Regional Rivalries and Security Alliances*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A., Helle Malmvig and Eduard Soler i Lecha (2019) *Interregnum: The Regional Order in in the Middle East and North Africa after 2011*, MENARA Report no. 1, February, https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/menara_fr_1.pdf
- Kamrava, Mehran (2018) 'Hierarchy and Instability in the Middle East Regional Order', *International Studies Journal* 14(4): 1–35.
- Kausch, Kristina (2014) 'Competitive Multipolarity in the Middle East', IAI Working Papers, no. 14|10 (September), at www.iai.it/en/node/2358
- Malmvig, Helle (2014) 'Power, Identity and Securitization in the Middle East: Regional Order after the Arab Uprisings', *Mediterranean Politics* 19(1): 145–148.
- Bilgin, Pinar (2010) *Regional Security in the Middle East: A Critical Perspective*, London: Routledge.