London South Bank University

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Module Guide

The Politics of the Middle East

DSS_6_PME

Level 6

Division of Social Sciences (DSS)

School of Law and Social Sciences (LSS)

TABLE OF CONTENT

1) MODULE DETAILS

Module Title:	The Politics of the Middle East
Module Level:	6
Module Reference Number:	DSS_6_PME
Credit Value:	20
Student Study Hours:	200
Contact Hours:	45
Private Study Hours:	155
Pre-requisite Learning (If applicable):	
Course(s):	
Year and Semester	Level 6, semester one
Module Coordinator:	Dr Elian Weizman
MC Contact Details (Tel, Email, Room)	weizmane@lsbu.ac.uk , Room BR-266. Office Hours: Monday 11-12; Thursday 2-3
Teaching Team & Contact Details (If applicable):	Prof Maha Ghalwash, BUE Dr Sharri Plonski, QMUL
Subject Area:	Social Sciences
Summary of Assessment Method:	A 1000-word annotated bibliography (40%) 2,500-word essay (60%)
The Library Information Officer for DSS:	Rebecca Fong (Fongr@lsbu.ac.uk)

2) SHORT DESCRIPTION

This module explores the government and politics of the Middle East, including their regional and international dimensions. It locates contemporary political issues and processes within their historical contexts, including the roles played by powerful external forces, notably (but not exclusively) the United States in the post-1945 era. It understands politics in the broad sense of the organisation and dynamics of state-society complexes rather than in the traditional sense of the actions of state bodies and actors. It encourages students to appreciate the complex interdependencies of the region while also recognising the specificity of national societies and state-society relations.

3) AIMS OF THE MODULE

This module aims to:

- build on ideas students learned in earlier modules on the International Relations degree;
- examine governments and ideologies, social stratification, and institutions in the Middle East, and the historical trajectory of the region since the 19th century;
- foster a lively and critical interest in the politics of the Middle East and of key countries and regional actors;
- promote an appreciation of the global forces acting upon the region and of their impacts, including in promoting resistance in various forms, such as Arab nationalism and Political Islam;
- promote students' understanding of key theories explaining national and regional political dynamics;
- promote students' understanding of some of the key strategies (and their limitations) for increasing democracy and accountability, and stability, in the region and its component countries.

4) LEARNING OUTCOMES

On successful completion of this module students will have:

Knowledge and Understanding

- acquired a deeper body of knowledge relating to the history and politics of the Middle East, including in their international dimensions, and to the historical evolution of particular state-society complexes and conflicts, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict;
- developed a deeper understanding of the factors involved in creating regional instability;
- identified the commonalities as well as the disparities among the peoples and countries of the region

Intellectual Skills

- enhanced their conceptual and theoretical thinking about domestic and international political processes, structures, and issues and their inter-connections;
- enhanced their skills of critical analysis of source material relating to social and political power, processes of conflict and human rights;
- understood more fully the diversity of the Middle East region, and interpreted the link between the past and the present
- applied various tools of political analysis to assess the contemporary politics of the Middle East region

5) ASSESSMENT

To pass the module a mark of 40% is required.

Formative assessment: draft plan of the essay, due Monday 9 December 23:59

Choose an essay question of the questions below in the 'summative assessment' section. For preparing the draft plan you would need to read the relevant literature that related to the question you chose (building on the annotated bibliography you submit as part of the summative assessment (due 29 October).

An outline should be around a page long, and should include:

1) essay title/question

2) the main argument of your essay

3) step by step sections of your essay: introduction, section subheadings (titles), with a few lines explaining the main theme of each section, conclusion.

Research and referencing: You must reference properly in your draft essay and your summative assessment. Failure to use core and supplementary readings will result in a low grade.

Summative assessments

1) A 1000-word annotated bibliography in preparation for the final essay (40% of total marks). Due on 29 October 2019. You must choose 4-5 items that are relevant to your topic and prepare a summary of each (half a page for each item).

2) A 2500-word essay (60% of total marks). Due on 7 January 2020.

Essay questions will be released by week 3.

To pass this assessment you must:

▪ Demonstrate knowledge of Middle East politics and theoretical debates. To do so, you must draw on concepts and readings discussed in class.

▪ Include references to the material you have consulted, and a bibliography.

▪ Answer the essay question and address the topic with an introduction, main body of text and conclusion.

To do well on this assessment you should:

• Critically evaluate main themes in the politics of the Middle East;

• Provide a clear and coherent answer and argument to your essay question;

• Make good use of the required and additional readings;

• Do your own additional research on the topic, and look for relevant academic books and articles through the Library catalogues;

• Prepare a formative essay and make good use of the feedback you receive on it;

- Use a clear structure, as outlined in the guideline.
- Discuss your ideas with me at office hours.

Top tips/common mistakes to avoid:
- Follow the guideline! To avoid disappointing results, make sure you are doing exactly what is asked.
- Do not forget to reference and to provide a bibliography, in the correct format, at the end of your work.
- Avoid lengthy quotations or answers that simply link quotations from your sources: put points succinctly in your own words and cite the source of the argument or evidence.
- Ensure your answer provides analysis and not just a descriptive account. Support your analysis with examples and argumentation.
- Give yourself sufficient time to write a first draft, check it thoroughly against the assignment requirements and assessment criteria, and edit it for clarity, consistency and use of English.

Wordcount policy

Coursework must be submitted electronically via the module Moodle site and should also be submitted to 'turn-it-in'. Marks will be deducted for late submission.

All coursework must have a word count clearly presented at the end. Penalties for going over the allocated word count are as follows:

- Over 10% over word length - deduct 5 marks.
- Over 20% over word length - deduct 8 marks.
- Over 25% over word length - deduct 10 marks.
- Over 50% over word length - deduct 20 marks.

There is no penalty for being under word-length as the work will generally receive a lower mark based on absent analysis/content/etc.

General assessment criteria

The individual modules vary in assessment requirements but there is a balance of coursework and written examination. Many modules are assessed by two or more elements (e.g. an exam and a coursework essay). Coursework takes various forms including essays, reports, website analysis, data analysis exercises, group and individual presentations, blogging, project proposal and final year project. Examinations normally take the form of a seen or unseen paper and are of either two or three hours' duration. The overall pass mark for each module is 40%, subject to a minimum mark of 30% for each assessed element, for instance an essay and examination.

All coursework essays and examination scripts are assessed in relation to the specific learning outcomes for each module, which can be found in Module Guides. More generally, requirements in relation to the level of conceptual analysis and acquired skills will intensify with your progression through the course.

Level Six

The conceptual analysis and skills developed at level five will be deepened, and students will develop their interactive skills within a learning group. Additionally, students will be expected to demonstrate the ability:

• to distinguish between differing viewpoints
• to identify key elements of a problem and choose the theories/methods for its resolution
• to analyse differing (political, social, etc) systems using comparative methodology
• to research a topic of their choice, and to present this research in oral and written form.

How your work is assessed

Each piece of work on the individual modules will have specific assessment criteria, but at a general level there are five main criteria that we consider in arriving at an accurate assessment of your work:

1. knowledge of the topic – information, data, ideas, concepts and institutions
2. analysis of issues and an awareness of different viewpoints
3. evaluation of competing explanations or theories applied to a problem
4. ability to identify relevant sources of evidence, both empirical and theoretical, and to use these to produce an informative referencing system
5. skill in the presentation of an answer with accuracy, clarity and coherence.

With these objectives in mind, the following general marking scheme applies:

Fail	0-30%	Badly misunderstands the question; contains factual errors; none of the basic objectives are achieved
	30-35%	Some knowledge of topic and examples, but objectives 2-5 not met
	35-39%	Exhibits some knowledge of topic, but essentially descriptive; cannot identify alternative viewpoints; objective 1 is present but 2-5 poorly met
Third	40-49%	Demonstrates limited basic knowledge of the topic, but essentially descriptive; displays an attempt at evaluation of material, but low on clarity and coherence; limited achievement of objectives 1,2,3,4,; low on objective 5
2:ii	50-59%	Exhibits good knowledge of the topic; can distinguish different approaches or viewpoints, and some ability of evaluation is present, but may to some extent lack clarity and coherence; reasonable attempt at referencing; very good on objective 1, weaker on 2-5
2:i	60-69%	Very good knowledge of basic ideas, concepts and institutions with good analysis of issues and evaluation; good uses of sources and references; meets objectives 1,2,4,5, weaker on 3
First	70-79%	Excellent knowledge of the topic, with high level analysis of a balanced nature. Strong on critical evaluation, clarity, coherence. All assessment objectives are covered

80% +	Same as the range 70-79% but adds a deeper understanding and evaluation of the issues and can "impose oneself on the subject"

Referencing & Bibliography

All coursework must be fully and accurately referenced and must include, at the end, a bibliography of material consulted in the preparation of the work. Please refer to the Moodle for referencing guidelines. A full referencing guide is available via the library learning site. **Understanding what referencing entails is the responsibility of the student; failure to reference properly will be punished accordingly. The Learning Resource Centre at LSBU offers regular workshops about referencing and plagiarism, please arrange to attend if you are unclear about these essential parts of academic writing.**

Books should be cited in the following manner:
Wood, E. (2003) *Empire of Capital.* London: Verso.
Stevenson, J. and C. Cook (1977) *The Slump: society and politics during the depression*. London: Cape.

Articles in readers (i.e. edited collections) are cited as follows:
Fennell, G. (1990) The Second World War and the Welfare State in Britain: sociological interpretations of historical development, in L. Jamieson & H.Corr (eds.), *State, Private Life, and Political Change*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Articles in journals should be cited giving volume and issue number as well as date, thus:
Tomlinson, J. (1992) Planning: Debate and Policy in the 1940s, *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 3, no. 2.

Websites should be referenced thus:
Burke, L. (1997) Carbohydrates? They aren't that simple. Available from: http://www.sportsci.org/news/compeat/carbo.html [Accessed 14 February 2014]. In-text citation: (Burke, 1997).

6) FEEDBACK

You can expect to receive feedback from your class teachers in a number of formats. To begin with, you will receive written comments on your written assessment, explaining the grade assigned and indicating ways to improve.

You will also receive written feedback on the essay plan. If you wish to discuss your progress further, it is your responsibility to book an appointment with your class teacher. Class teachers are always happy to talk about readings, workload management, essay writing, class participation and other aspects of the studying process. They will also offer more immediate forms of feedback by commenting on and responding to the ideas you raise in class.

7) READING LIST

In addition to the topic-specific readings set out below, you may find it useful to have a copy of one or more of the following text books:

For general and introductory text books, see:

Bromley, Simon (1993). *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development*, Cambridge.
Cleveland, William L. (2012). *A History of the Modern Middle East*, fifth edition, Boulder Co: Westview Press.
Gelvin, James L. (2008). *The Modern Middle East: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hanieh, Adam (2013) *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East.* Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
Ismail, Salwa (2006) *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism.* London: I. B. Tauris.
Milton-Edwards, Beverley, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East,* third edition, Cambridge: Polity, 2011.
Owen, Roger (2004) *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East.* London: Routledge.
Piscatori, James, and Eickelman, Dale (1996). *Muslim Politics*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
Zubaida, Sami (1993). *Islam, the People, and the State: Essays in Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East*. London.

How to get material:

- **Reading List Online**

On your Moodle page (right hand side), you can find the reading list online, prepared by the library with the list of weekly readings. Click on the link to access digitized chapters and articles.

- **LSBU library**

You should use the university's online learning resources that can be accessed via MyLSBU and the Library. From here you will be able to find books and other printed materials held in the Library, in other libraries, and to access recommended Web sites, electronic abstracting services and full text journal articles. You can also use the LSBU Library website to renew your books.

Please note that if the library does not have the book or article you are looking for, you can ask the library for an 'inter-library loan' and the library can borrow the material from another library.

- **Accessing other libraries (SCONUL access)**

As a student of LSBU, you can ask for a "SCONUL access" to other libraries, should you want to access other university libraries (like Senate House).

- **Politics Trove**

You can access Politics Trove, a service provided by Oxford University Press here (also available through the library services). Free e-copies of textbooks and books published by Oxford University Press are available on Trove (it's an excellent resource!):
http://www.oxfordpoliticstrove.com/search?q=Gender+matters+in+global+politics&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true

- **Electronic Journals and Academic Search Tools**

These excellent resources https://www.jstor.org/ and https://scholar.google.co.uk/ let you find many academic articles and papers, searchable by author's name and subject. Browsing through journals is a great way of finding unexpected valuable angles on issues.

Among the most relevant journals for this module are

British Journal of Middle East Studies   *Review of Middle East Studies*
International Journal of Middle East Studies   *Journal of Palestine Studies*
Middle East Report   *Arab Studies Journal*
Middle Eastern Studies   *Arab Studies Quarterly*
Middle East Journal

- **Electronic Resources**

The internet contains a range of resources which may be useful in the preparation of essays and presentations.

For Middle East politics, the following sites are useful:
http://w3fp.arizona.edu/mesassoc/   [MESA homepage]
http://www.albawaba.com/   [Albawaba Middle East gateway]
http://www.jadaliyya.com/   [*Jadaliyya* e-zine]
http://www.mideasti.org/   [Middle East Institute]
http://www.AISIsraelstudies.org/ais.htm   [Association for Israel studies]
http://www.merip.org/   [MERIP]
http://menic.utexas.edu/menic.html   [Centre for ME Studies, Univ of Texas at Austin]
http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/   [Al-Ahram Weekly]
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/middle_east/   [BBC World Service]

8)   INTRODUCTION TO STUDYING THE MODULE

8.1 overview of main content

Week 1: Introduction: Studying the Politics of the Middle East
Week 2: Imperial footprints in the Middle East: Ottoman and colonial legacies
Week 3: The politics of resistance I: Anti-colonial and nationalist projects
Week 4: Zionism and the idea of the Jewish state: settler colonialism in Palestine
Week 5: Directed private study week (no classes)
Week 6: State building after independence (Prof Maha Ghalwash, BUE)
Week 7: Study trip to Cairo – no class
Week 8: The question of Palestine: war & 'peace' in the Middle East
Week 9: Iran: nationalism, Islamism, revolution and beyond
Week 10: The Middle East in the regional and global political economy (Dr Sharri Plonski, QMUL)
Week 11: The politics of resistance II: the Arab Uprisings and its global interconnections
Week 12: Conclusion and revision

This module will be supported by a Moodle (virtual learning environment) site. While this allows for some flexibility in the teaching and learning pattern, the basic pattern will be a 2-hour lecture and a 1-hour seminar each week.

8.2 Overview of the types of classes

1. Do the readings. You cannot possibly read everything on the reading list. That is deliberate. You'll learn more (and we'll find what you say and write more interesting) if you haven't all read exactly the same things. At minimum you should each read ALL of the core readings identified for each topic. Ideally you should also aim to read one or two further readings. You must demonstrate you have engaged with the readings in your presentation and foreign policy brief.

2. Prepare properly for classes. There are 12 weekly classes, beginning in Week 1 with an introduction to the module and concluding with a conclusion/revision session in Week 12 before the Christmas break. Seminars give you the chance to test out your ideas and to ask any questions raised by the lectures and readings. That means you need to do the readings before going to class, and to be ready to ask and answer questions arising from the materials.

8.3 Importance of Student Self-Managed Learning Time

The importance of your own commitment to your studies cannot be over-stated. The 155 hours of non-contact time should be spent in reading and note-taking around the weekly topics in preparation for the seminars and coursework, and, more generally, to develop your knowledge and understanding. It is to be expected that questions raised and difficulties encountered here will be brought to seminars for discussion. Occasionally, there will be directed work in preparation for the following week. Examples might include preparing a summary of an article, discussion of issues in groups with a view to presentation of an oral report, and commenting on documentary evidence.

8.4 Employability

The aims and learning outcomes of the module are intended to contribute to the possession of knowledge, intellectual and practical skills capable of application in the public and private sectors or the pursuit of further academic work. Examples include:

- oral communication and written skills;
- critical appraisal of source material;
- extracting and analysing information;
- analytical skills in devising arguments, use of relevant evidence and forming judgments;
- IT Skills and independent web based research;
- effective time management and working to deadlines.

Students are also expected to demonstrate effective judgement by determining political actors' most appropriate course of action and to draw conclusions that are based on logical assumptions that reflect factual information. Students will also demonstrate their global awareness including an appreciation and understanding of other polities and political cultures.

9) PROGRAMME OF TEACHING AND LEARNING

WEEK 1 27 September 2019
Introduction: Studying the Politics of the Middle East

- What is the Middle East and where is it exactly? Which countries and populations does it include and why are others excluded?
- Who says so, and what is the connection between naming and political power?
- What/who shapes our knowledge about the Middle East?
- What does 'good theory' look like, how do we recognise it, how do we develop skeptical approaches to concepts about the Middle East?

Core reading
- Said, Edward (1987). *Orientalism*, London. Pp. 31-92.
- Mignolo, Walter (2014). "The North of the South and the West of the East A Provocation to the Question" http://www.ibraaz.org/essays/108

Reading in class during the seminar
Eric Davis (2009) "10 Conceptual Sins in Analyzing Middle East Politics" www.new-middle-east.blogspot.gr/2009/01/10-conceptual-sins-in-analyzing-middle.html

Further reading
Al-Azm, Sadeq Jalal (1981). "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," *Khamsin*: *Journal of Revolutionary Socialists of the Middle East*, 8: 5-26.
Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin (2011). *A Metahistory of the Clash of Civilisations: Us and Them Beyond Orientalism*, London: Hurst & Company.
Eickelman, Dale (2004). *The Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach,* N.J., pp. 23-44.
Fawaz Gerges (1991) 'The Study of Middle East International Relations: a critique', *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 18:2.
Gerner, Deborah, and Schwedler, Jillian, eds. (2004). *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, London.
Halliday, Fred and Rogan, Eugene (2005). 'International Relations Theory and the Middle East', in Fred Halliday and Eugene Rogan, *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology* Cambridge, CUP pp.21-40.
Kanafani, Samar and Sawaf, Zeina (2017). "Being, Doing, and Knowing in the Field: Reflections on Ethnographic Practice in the Arab Region." *Contemporary Levant*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 3-11.
Lockman, Z. (2004). *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chapter Five: 'Turmoil in the Field'.
Mitchell, Timothy (2003). "The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science," *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines* 3, 3. Available at:
http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3618c31x#page-1
Mohammad Samiei (2010). "Neo-Orientalism? The relationship between the West and Islam in our Globalised World," *Third World Quarterly* 31, 7.
Milton-Edwards, B. (2011). *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East,* Preface to 3rd edition and Introduction: 1-12.
Dag Tuastad (2003). "Neo-Orientalism and the New Barbarism Thesis: Aspects of Symbolic Violence in the Middle East Conflict(s)," *Third World Quarterly* 24, 4 (2003): 591-599.

WEEK 2 4 October 2019
Imperial footprints in the Middle East: Ottoman and colonial legacies

Key Questions for Discussion:
- How do individual acts of colonial intervention intersect with global systems/regimes of empire?
- How does the past inform the present – how do we situate the present in historical forces?
- How can we understand the colonial present in the contemporary Middle East?

Core reading
- Owen, Roger (2004). Chapter One: 'The End of Empires: the Emergence of Modern Middle Eastern States', in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London: Routledge. Pp. 5-22.
- Mitchell, Timothy (1991). *Colonising Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter Four.

Further Reading
Cleveland, William, and Martin Bunton (2012). *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 5th ed. Boulder: Westview Press. Chapters 12 and 13.
Cole, Juan R.I. (1993). *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement,* Princeton University Press.
Cole, Juan (2007). *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*, Palgrave, Macmillan.
Dodge, Toby (2003). *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, Columbia University Press, 2003, chapters six and seven.
Fanon, Franz (2008). *Black Skin, White Masks.* Pluto Press.
Hourani, Albert (1962). "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of the Notables," in William Polk and Richards Chambers eds., *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. 41-68.
Onley, James (2004). "Britain's Native Agents in Arabia and Persia in the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 24,1. Pp. 129-137.
Owen, Roger (1972). "Europe and Egypt: From French Expedition to British Occupation," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism,* London: Longman. Pp. 195-209.
Thomas, Martin (2008). *Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Thompson, Elizabeth (2000). *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*, New York: Columbia University Press.

WEEK 3 11 October 2019
The politics of resistance I: Anti-colonial and nationalist projects – the making, unmaking and remaking of Middle East states + Study skills: assessment guidance session

Key questions for discussion:
- How were the different patterns of colonial rule in the Middle East experienced and engaged by local populations?
- How do processes of decolonisation in Middle Eastern states participate in global politics?
- How do different nationalist projects affect internal relations?
- How do these projects affect contemporary politics in the region?
- What were the demands and repertoires of these anticolonial actors, and how coordinated were they regionally?

Core reading

Nazih Ayubi (1994). The Middle East and the State Debate: a Conceptual Framework', in *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris. Pp. 1-24.

Abou-El-Fadl, Reem (2015). "Early pan-Arabism in Egypt's July Revolution: The Free Officers' Political Formation and Policy-Marking, 1946-54". *Nations and Nationalism* 21, 2. Pp. 289-308.

In the seminar: Fanon, on Violence from minute 2:28.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NOvm3hSOt_U&feature=youtu.be

Further reading

Anderson, Lisa (1987). 'The state in the Middle East and North Africa', *Comparative Politics*, 1.

Ayubi, *Nizah (*1994)*. Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Barr, J. (2011) *A line in the sand: Britain, France and the struggle that shaped the Middle East.* London: Simon & Schuster.

Bromley, Simon (1993). 'Comparative State Formation in the Middle East', in *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development*. Cambridge: Polity. Chapter 4.

Chalcraft, John (2016). *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dodge, Toby (2003). *Inventing Iraq: the failure of nation building and a history denied*. London: Hurst & Co.

Hudson, M. C. (1977). 'The Legacy of Imperialism', in M.C. Hudson, *Arab Politics. The Search for Legitimacy*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 5.

Neep, Daniel (2013). *Occupying Syria under the French mandate: Insurgency, Space and State Formation* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Owen, R. (1993). *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800 – 1914*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Tripp, Charles (2000). *A History of Iraq*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zubaida, Sami (1988). 'The nation state in the Middle East', in S. Zubaida, *Islam, the people and the state, political ideas and movements in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Swedenburg, Ted (1988). 'The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt, 1936-1939,' in Edmund Burke and Ira Lapidus, Eds., *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements* University of California Press. Pp. 169-203.

Vitalis, Robert (1995). *When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

WEEK 4 18 October 2019
Zionism and the idea of the Jewish state: settler colonialism in Palestine

Key discussion questions:
- What is the founding ethos of Zionism?
- How does it manifest itself in the Israeli state-building process?
- Is Israel's process of state formation unique?
- How do we conceptualise the Israeli state in light of broader scholarly debates on ethnicity and nationalism?
- What are Israel's policies towards Palestinian citizens of the state and have they changed historically?

Core Reading
- Herzl, Theodor (1896). The Jewish State. Please go through the book to understand it's spirit, and focus on chapters II 'The Jewish Question' and III "The Jewish company".
  http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/quot-the-jewish-state-quot-theodor-herzl

- Masri, Mazen (2017). "Colonial Imprints: Settler-Colonialism as a Fundamental Feature of Israeli Constitutional Law." *International Journal of Law in Context* 13, 3. Pp. 388-407.

<u>In the seminar:</u>
Declaration on the Establishment of the State of Israel, 14 May 1948.

Further reading

Azoulay, Ariella and Adi Ophir (2012). *The one-state condition: occupation and democracy in Israel/Palestine*. Stanford University Press.
Bishara, Marwan (2002). *Palestine/Israel: Peace or apartheid: Occupation, terrorism and the future*. London: Zed Books.
Khalidi, Walid (2005). "Why Did the Palestinians Leave? Revisited," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, 2. Pp. 42-54.
Kimmerling, Baruch (2001). *The invention and decline of Israeliness: State, society, and the military*. Univ of California Press. Chapter 7.
Lloyd, David (2012). "Settler colonialism and the state of exception: The example of Palestine/Israel." *settler colonial studies* 2, 1. Pp. 59-80.
Shafir, Gershon (1996). "Zionism and Colonialism: A Comparative Perspective," in M.N. Barnett (ed.), *Israel in Comparative Perspectives: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, 227-244. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Shafir, Gershon and Yoav Peled (2002). *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship.* Cambridge University Press.
Shafir, Gershon (1989). *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882–1914.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ram, Uri (2011). *Israeli Nationalism: Social Conflicts and the Politics of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
Yiftachel, Oren (1999). "'Ethnocracy': the politics of judaizing Israel/Palestine." *Constellations* 6, 3. Pp. 364-390.
Smooha, Sammy (2002). "The model of ethnic democracy: Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." *Nations and Nationalism* 8, 4. Pp. 475-503.
Masri, Mazen (2017). *The dynamics of exclusionary constitutionalism: Israel as a Jewish and democratic state*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
Rouhana, Nadim (2006). ""Jewish and Democratic"? The Price of a National Self-Deception." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, 2. Pp. 64-74.
Molavi, Shourideh (2013). *Stateless citizenship: the Palestinian-Arab citizens of Israel*. Brill.
Weizman, Eyal. *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*. Verso Books, 2012.
Zreik, Raef (2004). "Palestine, apartheid, and the rights discourse." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 1 68-80.

WEEK 5 25 October 2019
Directed private study week – preparation of summative assessment 1 (Due 29 October 2019)

WEEK 6 1 November
The Post-Independence Middle East: State-Building, the Military, and Nationalism
Lecturer: **Prof Maha Ghalwash, BUE.**

The examination of the history of the Arab world during the post-independence period allows us to discern three major developments. One, most countries experienced military rule, in the person of a

charismatic former military officer. Two, such a regime oversaw the expansion of the state apparatus, ultimately establishing an authoritarian political order. Three, the popular Egyptian ruler, Nasser, relied on the idea of pan-Arabism to promote his view of the ideal Arab state. The Arab masses identified strongly with his vision of Arab unity until June 1967, when the Arabs were defeated by Israel. The demise of pan-Arabism is generally attributed to this defeat. A watershed moment, the 1967 defeat heralded significant political and economic changes in the Middle East.

Core reading
Owen, Roger (2004). *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 3rd Edition. Routledge. (Chapter 2)

Further reading
Cleveland, William L. & Martin Bunton (2013). *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 5th Edition. Westview Press (Chapter 15)
Kamrava, Mehran (2005). *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*. University of California Press. (Chapter 3)
Milton-Edwards, Beverley (2011). *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*. 3rd Edition. Polity Press. Pp. 64-79.
Owen, Roger (2004). *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East.*
3rd Edition. Routledge. (Chapter 3)
Richards, Alan & John Waterbury (2008). *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 3rd Edition. Westview Press. (Chapter 13)

WEEK 7 8 November 2019
Study trip to Cairo

WEEK 8 15 November 2019
The question of Palestine: war and 'peace' in the Middle East?

Key questions for discussion:
- What has Israel's independence meant for the Palestinian people?
- How it was perceived in the wider Middle East – on the popular, governmental, regional levels?
- What are the frameworks for diplomatic negotiations in the Middle East around the question of Palestine and the existence of Israel?

Core reading
- Beinin, Joel, Noura Erakat, Jachary Lockman, Maha Nasser and Ilana Feldman. Fifty Years of Occupation: A Forum. MERIP 5 June 2017. http://www.merip.org/mero/mero060517
- TBC

Further reading
Aruri, Naseer (2011). "United States policy and Palestine: Oslo, the Intifada and erasure." *Race & Class* 52, 3. Pp. 3-20.
Taylor, Alan R. (1982) 'The PLO in Inter-Arab Politics.' *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 11, 2. Pp.70-81.
Baumgarten, Helga (2005) 'Three Faces/ Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34(4): 25-48.
Hurub, K. (2006) *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*. London.

Jiryis, Sabry (1978). 'The Arab World at Cross-Roads: An Analysis of the Arab Opposition to the Sadat Initiative,' *Journal of Palestine Studies* vol. 7, 2. Pp. 26-61.

Khalili, Laleh (2007). *Heroes and martyrs of Palestine: The politics of national commemoration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Khalidi, Rashid (1997). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Khalidi, Rashid (2006). *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, Boston.

LeMore, Ann (2008). *International Assistance to the Palestinians after Oslo: Political Guilt, Wasted Money*, Routledge Studies on the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Lockman, Zachary, and Joel Beinin, eds (1989). *Intifada: the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation*. South End Press.

Masalha, Nur (2012). *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising history, narrating the subaltern, reclaiming memory*. London: Zed Books.

Massad, Joseph (2006). 'Return or Permanent Exile? Palestinian Refugees and the Ends of Oslo,' in The Persistence of the Palestinian Question: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians, London: Routledge. Pp. 114-128.

Rosmann-Stollman, E. (2004). 'Balancing Acts: The Gulf States and Israel,' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40, 4. Pp. 185 – 208.

Said, Edward (1989). "Intifada and independence." *Social Text* 22. Pp. 23-39.

Said, Edward (2004). *From Oslo to Iraq and the Roadmap*, Bloomsbury.

Sa'di, Ahmad H. and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds (2007). *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the claims of memory*. Columbia University Press.

Sayigh, Yezid (1997) *Armed Struggle and The Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*, Oxford University Press.

Selby, Jan. 'Administering Water Under Oslo,' Chapter 7 in *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israel-Palestine Conflict*. London: IB Tauris, 2003: 148-170.

Shlaim, Avi (2005). "The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process." in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Fawcett, 241-259. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stein, Janice Gross (2009). 'War and Security in the Middle East,' Chapter 9 in Fawcett ed., *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013: 195-214.

Smith, Charles. Chapter 8, 'Lebanon, the West Bank, and the Camp David Accords: The Palestinian Equation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1977-1984' in *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents*, 7th edition, 2010: 345-355, 362-372.

Tilley, Virginia (2012). *Beyond occupation: apartheid, colonialism and international law in the occupied Palestinian territories*. Pluto Press, London.

Turner, Mandy (2012). 'Completing the Circle: Peacebuilding as Colonial Practice in the Occupied Palestinian Territory,' *International Peacekeeping*, 19, 4. Pp.492-507.

WEEK 9 22 November 2019
Iran: nationalism, Islamism, revolution and beyond

Key questions for discussion:

- What are the defining features of Iranian nationalism, and who says so?
- Which actors and processes have shaped its fortunes?
- How have these nationalisms interacted with competing ideologies and who has been driving this process?
- What influence have they had on nation and state building processes?
- Who participated in the Iranian revolution and why?
- What were its various possible outcomes before its resolution in an Islamic state?

- Does the Iranian revolution confirm or challenge existing theories of revolution?

Core Reading
- Kamrava, M. (2005). *The Modern Middle East: A Political History*, University of California Press. Chapter 5: The Iranian Revolution.
- Kurzman, C. (2004). *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*, Cambridge, Mass. Pp. 1-11, 163-172.

Further Reading

Chehabi, H. (2000) *Identity and Politics in Iran*. London.

Abrahamian, E. (1982). *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Princeton University Press. Pp. 496-529

Abrahamian, Ervand (1991). "Khomeini: Fundamentalist or Populist?" in *New Left Review* I-186. Pp. 102-119. http://newleftreview.org/I/186/ervand-abrahamian-khomeini-fundamentalist-or-populist

Bakhash, S. (1985) *The Reign of the Ayatollahs*, London. Pp 19-51

Bayat, M. (1983). 'The Iranian Revolution of 1978-79: Fundamentalist or Modern?', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 37, No. Pp. 30-42.

Bayat, Asef (1998). "Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40, 1. Pp 136-169.

Dunn, J. (1989). *Modern Revolutions*, London. Pp 226-252.

Halliday, F. (2003). 'The Iranian Revolution in Comparative Perspective,' in *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*. London: IB Tauris.

Halliday, F. (2005). *The Middle East in International Relations*, chapter 7: 'Modern Ideologies.'

Halliday, F. (1979). *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, Harmondsworth. Pp 20-63

Kamrava, M. (2005). *The Modern Middle East: A Political History*, University of California Press. Chapter 5.

Keddie, N. (2003). *Modern Iran: Roots of Revolution*, Berkeley.

Keddie, N. & Hooglund, E. (1986). *The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic*. New York.

Milani, M. (1994). *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*, New York. Pp 17-39

Moaddel, M. (1993). *Class, politics and ideology in the Iranian revolution*. London.

Nahas, M. (1985). 'State systems and revolutionary challenge: Nasser, Khomeini and the Middle East', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17,4. Pp 507-527.

Owen, R. (2004). *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, pp 160-164.

Parsa, M. (1989). *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*. Rutgers University Press. Chapter 8.

Povey, T. (2015). *Social Movements in Egypt and Iran*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Skocpol, T. (1994). *Social Revolutions in the Modern World.* Princeton. Pp. 240-258

WEEK 10 29 November 2019 – Dr Sharri Plonski, QMUL
The Middle East in the regional and global political economy

Key discussion questions:
- What are some of the problems with explaining Middle East politics through the concepts of 'rentierism' and 'resource curses'?
- How do national and regional Middle East political economies interact with and help constitute the global political economy?
- How does looking at Middle East politics through a material/political economy lens change our thinking about power, conflict and development (comparatively, regionally, internationally)?

Core reading

- Hanieh, Adam (2013). *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. Chapter 6: "The Regional Scale: Bringing the Gulf Arab States Back In." Pp. 123-144
- Priest, Tyler (2012). The Dilemmas of Oil Empire, *The Journal of American History*, 99, 1. Pp. 236-251

Further reading
Hanieh, Adam (2010) "Temporary Migrant Labour and the Spatial Structuring of Class in the Gulf Cooperation Council*." Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies*, 2, 3. Pp. 67-89
Mitchell, Timothy (2009). "Carbon Democracy". *Economy and Society* 38(3). Pp.399-432 (you can also have a look at the full book: T. Mitchell, (2011). *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. London: Verso Books**.**
Nitzan, Jonathan and Shimshon Bichler (2002). *The Global Political Economy of Israel* (London: Pluto Press). Chapter Five: The Weapondollar-Petrodollar Coalition. Pp. 198-273
Vitalis, Robert (2009). *America's kingdom: mythmaking on the Saudi oil frontier*. London: Verso.

This is an important text in helping you to understand how mainstream approaches treat/engage with political economy debates in the Middle East but you should read it critically – only after you've read some of the other texts:
Luciani, G. 'Oil and Political Economy in the International Realtions of the Middle East', in L. Fawcett (ed), International Relations of the Middle East, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 [3rd ed.]) pp103-126.

A Little More Theoretical:
Cowen, D and Smith, A (2009). After Geopolitics? From the Geopolitical Social to Geoeconomics. *Antipode,* 41(1), p. 22-48.
Khalili, Laleh (2018). "The infrastructural power of the military: The geoeconomic role of the US Army Corps of Engineers in the Arabian Peninsula." *European Journal of International Relations*, 24(4). Pp. 911-933.

WEEK 11 6 December 2019
The politics of resistance II: the Arab Uprisings and its global interconnections

Key discussion questions:
- What forms of popular politics and activism have been possible under the authoritarian governments of the Middle East?
- In what ways do the events associated with the Arab Uprisings challenge and/or reinforce the analytical concepts and theories traditionally used to explain the politics of the region?

Core Reading
- Prashad, Vijay and Amar, Paul eds. (2013) 'Introduction,' in *Dispatches from the Arab Spring: Understanding the New Middle East*, Verso.
- Gana, Nouri (2013) 'Tunisia' in Prashad and Amar eds. *Dispatches from the Arab Spring: Understanding the New Middle East*, Verso.
- El-Ghobashy, Mona (2011) 'The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution,' *Middle East Report* 258, Spring.
- Gause, F. Gregory, 2011. Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The myth of authoritarian stability, *Foreign Affairs* 90, 4. Pp. 81-90.

Further Readings

Documentary film: The Square. Directed by Jehane Noujaim, 2013. http://thesquarefilm.com

Blog about Egyptian street art: https://suzeeinthecity.wordpress.com/

Abou-El-Fadl, Reem, ed. (2015) *Revolutionary Egypt: Connecting Domestic and International Struggles,* London: Routledge.

Allmeling, Anne (2011), "Media & Mass Communications: The limits of Facebook and Twitter," *Al Arabiya* English. Available at: http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/06/16/153573.html

Anderson, Lisa (2011). "Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya." *Foreign Affairs* 90, 3.

Bayat, Asef (2003). 'The "Street" and the Politics of Dissent in the Arab World,' *Middle East Report*.

Beinin, Joel (2012). "The Rise of Egypt's Workers," *The Carnegie Papers*. Available at: http://carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=48689

Beinin, Joel (1989). "The State, Capital and Labor in Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 21. Pp. 71-90.

Beinin, Joel (2001) *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters five and six.

Burke III, Edmund, ed. (1993). *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Chalcraft, John and Noorani, Yassin, eds. (2007). *Counterhegemony in the colony and postcolony*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Dahi, Omar S. (2011) "Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Revolts," *Middle East Report* 259.

Hamdy, Basma and Don Karl (Stone) (2014). *Walls of Freedom = Judara al-hurriyah: Street art of the Egyptian revolution*. Berlin: From Here to Fame Publishing.

Harb, Zahera (2011). "Arab Revolutions and the Social Media Effect,"*M/C Journal* 14. http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php./mcjournal/article/viewAticle/364/0.

Ismail, Salwa (2011). "Authoritarian Government, Neoliberalism and Everyday Civilities in Egypt," *Third World Quarterly* 32, 5. Pp. 845-862.

Ismail, Salwa (2011). 'Epilogue: Civilities, Subjectivities and Collective Action: preliminary reflections in light of the Egyptian Revolution,' *Third World Quarterly*, 32(5).

Ismail, Salwa (2012). "The Egyptian Revolution against the Police," *Social Research* 79, 2: 435-462.

Ismail, Salwa (2011). "The Syrian Uprising: Imagining and Performing the Nation," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Pp. 538-549.

Khamis, Sarah and Vaughn, Katherine (2011). "Cyberactivism in the Egyptian Revolution: How Civic Engagement and Citizen Journalism Tilted the Balance," *Arab Media and Society* 13. Available at: http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=769

Lynch, Marc (2011). "Tunisia and the New Arab Media Space," *Arab Media and Society* 1. Available at: http://lynch.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/15/tunisia_and_the_new_arab_media_space

Lynch, Marc (2003). "Beyond the Arab Street: Iraq and the Arab Public Sphere," *Politics and Society* 31, 1. Pp. 55-91.

Lynch, Marc (2011). "Blogging the New Arab Public," *Arab Media and Society* 1 (2007) Available at: http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20070312155027_AMS1_Marc_Lynch.pdf

Marzouki, Nadia, "From People to Citizens in Tunisia," *Middle East Report* 259.

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein (1997), *Labor and the State in Egypt: Workers, Unions and Economic Restructuring*, New York.

Stephen Zunes (1999). *Unarmed resistance in the Middle East and North Africa*, Blackwell Publishing. Chapters 3 and 4.

Van Dam, Nicholas (1996). *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society under the Ba'th Party,* London. Pp. 136-145.

Volpi, Frédéric (2011). "Framing Civility in the Middle East: Alternative Perspectives on the State and Civil Society," *Third World Quarterly*, 32, 5. Pp. 801-806

Waterbury, John and Kazemi, Farhad (1991) *Changing Patterns of Peasant Protest in the Middle East*, Miami, Florida: International University Press.
Wedeen, Lisa (1999). *Ambiguities of Domination*, Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. 87-142.
Zubaida, Sami (1991). "Class and Community in Urban Politics," in *Islam, the People and the State*, London: IB. Tauris.

WEEK 12 13 December 2019
Conclusion: Contemporary issues in the Politics of the Middle East

10) CONTACT SHEET

What do I need to know?	Where should I look for help?
1. I have a question about a **specific module**, assessment, lecture or seminar.	The **module Moodle site** and module guides will contain most of this information. If the information is not there email the module leader, their contact details can be found on the module Moodle site and in the module guide (available on the module Moodle site). You can also find a list of all contact details in the course guide (available on the DSS Moodle site).
2. I am having difficult with study skills and assessment writing in general.	The Learning Resources centre will be able to help you with this. Please see this link for further details: http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/student-life/student-services/libraries-skills-for-learning If your question is about a specific assessment, please see question 1.
3. I would like to change my degree programme.	You should arrange to speak to your course director: Criminology: Rashid Aziz Sociology: Matthew Bond or Julien Morton International Relations: Daniela Lai Politics: Lisa Pine History: Charlotte Clements
4. I am having personal issues which are affecting my studies	You should make an appointment to see your personal academic tutor who will be able to advise you. A list of personal tutors will be on the DSS student Moodle page. For health and wellbeing services at LSBU, please see this link: http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/student-life/student-services/health-wellbeing

5. I am unable to see my timetable online	Here is a handy guide on how to view your timetable and who to contact in case of issues. http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/117667/timetable-guide.pdf If you are unsure of where you should be for a particular lecture or class, please email the module leader.
6. I need to apply for extenuating circumstances for an assessment.	You will need to complete an extenuating circumstances form. Details and information can be found by logging into MyLSBU > My Course > Exams and Assessments > Extenuating circumstances Direct link: https://my.lsbu.ac.uk/my/portal/My-Course/Exams-Assessments/Extenuating-circumstances
7. I would like to change my optional modules.	You can change your options any time before the deadline to choose your options. After the start of teaching, you can only change your optional module(s) by the end of Week 2. Please contact the course administrator Haydrol Hanson with the name of the module you wish to leave and the one you wish to join: hansonh@lsbu.ac.uk
8. I will miss lectures/classes due to reasons outside of my control.	For details on attendance, please see this link: https://my.lsbu.ac.uk/my/portal/My-Course/Course-Administration/Attendance You should let your module leader and the course administrator know if you are going to be absent.
9. I need to be enrolled on a moodle site.	Please contact the course administrator Haydrol Hanson hansonh@lsbu.ac.uk
10. I need a reference for a potential employer or institution	Please see this link for more information: https://my.lsbu.ac.uk/my/portal/My-Course/Course-Administration/Student-Reference-Requests If you need an academic reference, you should ask your personal tutor (level 4 and 5 students) or Project supervisor (level 6 students).
11. I would like to see my marks	For marks on specific assessments, please go the relevant module Moodle site, assessment section, click on the link where you have submitted your assessment. Please note that marks on Moodle are always provisional as they do not reflect capping and penalties that may occur due to late submission or Academic misconduct. Final results will only be released after the Subject Area Board takes place (please see question 12 for results)

12. I would like to see my results	Final results will only be released after the relevant Board takes place. You will be able to access your final results via MyLSBU > My Course > My results
13. I need an official transcript of my results	Please go to the Student Administration Office in Borough Road, room BR201 or contact the Course Administrator: hansonh@lsbu.ac.uk Please note that lecturers and Course Directors are unable to access and issue transcripts
14. I would like to know when teaching starts and ends	Please log into MyLSBU > My Course> Academic Calendar Direct link: https://my.lsbu.ac.uk/my/portal/My-Course/Academic-Calendar