COURSE OUTLINE

THE POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Professor: Eberhard Kienle

Academic Year 2018/2019: Common core curriculum – Spring semester

COURSE DESCRIPTION

By way of analyzing the causes, dynamics, and impact of some major events and developments in the recent past (obviously including topics debated in the media and by students) the course identifies underlying structural factors that shape the politics and international relations of the geographical area commonly referred to as the Middle East and North Africa. Without neglecting actors and agency, it thus looks at current affairs in their broader social, economic and cultural context shaped by global history, referring to the relevant bodies of academic literature. Issues such as ‘civil wars’, the dislocation of states, the rise and fall of the ‘Islamic state’, Islamism, the Arab spring, recent reforms in Saudi Arabia, manifestations of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and conflict and cooperation in the Gulf will be discussed in the light of societal cleavages based on income, status, gender and cultural markers like language and religion, modes of production and distribution, relations with international actors, and state formation, all shaped by globalization, the Cold War, decolonization and earlier European domination.

LECTURES AND READINGS

Students are supposed to read in detail the required readings indicated for each session (relevant pages or chapters are indicated). These readings will be made available to students within the limits of legislation governing copyright issues.

Deliberately extensive, the list of additional readings for each session includes a number of publications that partly overlap thematically but nonetheless differ in their analysis and thus illustrate the pluralism that marks the social sciences. It nonetheless remains highly selective and cannot include numerous titles that make useful contributions to the debates. For reasons of space it focuses on authored books and edited volumes rather than on articles in academic journals specializing in the Middle East as an area or political science and related disciplines. Many of these journals may be found in the library or on-line. These readings are useful to those who are particularly interested in the subject areas concerned.

Students may also refer to the more or less regular reports and publications by think tanks such as the Carnegie Middle East Center, the Arab Reform Initiative or the International Crisis Group and current affairs coverage and analysis in media such as prominent dailies, Orient xxi, Mada Masr, Jadaliyya, etc.
The thematic sections also include writings that allow to discuss events and developments in the Middle East from a comparative and theoretical perspective. This concerns in particular (but not exclusively) the sessions in Part Two which on the basis of broader issues raised earlier in the course provide a synthetic view of the dynamics that manifest themselves in the issues discussed in Part One.

Introduction

SESSION 1: Delineating and Analyzing the Middle East: Essentialism v. Universalism

Required Readings


Additional Readings

- Brumberg, D./ Diamond, L. / Plattner, M.F. (eds), 2003, Islam and Democracy in the Middle East, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP
- Lockman, Z., Contending Visions of the Middle East, Cambridge, CUP, 2004
- Tessler, M., Area Studies and Social Science: Understanding Middle East Politics, Bloomington, U.of Indiana Press, 1999

PART ONE: CURRENT ISSUES IN MIDDLE EAST POLITICS

SESSIONS TWO AND THREE: ‘Civil Wars’, ‘Failed States’ and the ‘Islamic State’: Dynamics of Dislocation and their Limits

Required Readings

Additional Country-Specific Readings:

- Baumann, H., Citizen Hariri: Lebanon’s Neo-Liberal Reconstruction, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017
- Lackner, H., Yemen in Crisis: Autocracy, Neo-Liberalism, and the Disintegration of the State, London, Saqi, 2018

Additional Readings: Civil Wars and Failed States

- Call, C.T., Beyond the 'Failed State': Toward Conceptual alternatives, in: European Journal of International Relations, 17:2, 2010, 303-26
- Fragile States Index (Failed States Index), Annual, Washington, D.C., Fund for Peace, www.global.fundforpeace.org/fsi, annual
• Roeder, P.G. / Rothchild, D.S. (eds), Sustainable Peace, Power and Democracy after Civil Wars, Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell University Press, 2005

Additional Readings: ‘The ‘Islamic State’
• Luizard, P.-J., Le piège de Daech, Paris, La Découverte, 2015
• Roy, O., Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of the Islamic State, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017 (also available in French)
• Sallon, H., L’Etat islamique de Mossoul, Paris, La Découverte, 2018

SESSION FOUR: Beyond the ‘Islamic State’: Varities of Islam in Politics

Required Readings
• Ismail, S., Rethinking Islamist Politics, London, I.B.Tauris, 2006, chapter 1

Additional Readings
• Burgat, F., Comprendre l’Islam politique, Paris, La Découverte, 2016
• Enayat, H., Modern Islamic Political Thought, Austin, Tx, University of Texas Press, 1982,
• Haenni, P., L’Islam de marché, Paris, Seuil, 2005
• Hroub, K., Political Islam, London, Saqi, 2010
• Kepel, G., Jihad, Paris, Gallimard, 2003
• Marty, M.E. / Appleby, R.S., Fundamentalism Observed, Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago Press, 1994 (Vol 1 of the Fundamentalism Project; see also the remaining two volumes)
• Rougier, B., Qu’est-ce que le salafisme?, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2008
• Roy, O., Globalized Islam, New York, N.Y., Columbia University Press, 2004
COURSE OUTLINE

• Shehata, D., Islamists and Secularists in Egypt: Opposition, Conflict and Cooperation, London, Routledge, 2010
• Wiktorowicz, Q., M. (ed), Islamic Activism, Bloomington, Id., University of Indiana Press, 2003
• Zubaida, S., Islam, the People and the State, London, I.B.Tauris, 1993

SESSION FIVE: The ‘Arab Spring’: Contestations and Contexts

Required Readings


Additional Readings on the Arab Spring

• Achcar, G., The People Want: A radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising, Berkeley, Ca., The University of California Press, 2013; également disponible en français
• Dahi, O. S., ‘Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Revolts’, in: Middle East , 259, 2011
• Geisser, V. / Ayari, M. B., Renaissances arabes : 7 questions cle sur les révolutions arabes, Paris, Atelier, 2011
• Sadiki, L.(ed), The Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring, Abingdon, Routledge, 2014

Additional Readings on Social Movements, Resistance and Revolutions

COURSE OUTLINE

• Cefaï, D., Pourquoi se mobilise-t-on? Les théories de l’action collective, Paris, La Découverte, 2007
• Fillieule, O. et al. (eds), Penser les mouvements sociaux, Paris, La Découverte, 2010
• Goldstone, J.A., Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies, Boston, Mass., Cengage, 2002
• Huntington, S., Political Order in Changing Societies, New H., Ct, Yale University Press, 1968
• Skocpol, T., Social Revolutions in the Modern World, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994

SESSION SIX: The Survival of Authoritarianism and the Tunisian Exception

Required Readings

• Cavatorta, F., 2015, ‘No Democratic Change... and Yet No Authoritarian Continuity: The Inter-paradigm Debate and North Africa After the Uprisings’, in: British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 42:1, 2015, 135-145

Additional Readings on the Middle East

• Alexander, C., Tunisia: from Stability to Revolution in the Maghreb, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016
• Heydemann, S. / Leenders, R. (eds), Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran, Stanford, Ca., Stanford University Press, 2013
• Jebnoun, N. et al. (eds), Modern Middle East Authoritarianism, Abingdon, Routledge, 2015
• Hibou, B., La force de l’obéissance: économie politique de la répression en Tunisie, Paris, La Découverte, 2006
• Schlumberger, O. (ed), Debating Arab Authoritarianism, Stanford, Ca., Stanford University Press, 2007
• Springborg, R., Egypt, Cambridge, Polity Press, 201
Additional Readings on the Transformation of Political Regimes:


**SESSION SEVEN: Reform in Saudi Arabia? Dynamics and Constraints**

Required Readings


Additional Readings

- Hanieh, A., Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011
- Hertog, S., Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 2010
- Kechichian, J., Legal and Political Reform in Saudi Arabia, Abingdon, Routledge, 2013
- Matthiesen, T., Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring that wasn’t, Stanford, Ca., Stanford University Press, 2013
- Menoret, P., Royaume d’asphalte, Paris, La Découverte, 2016
SESSION EIGHT: Israel and Palestine: Conflict(s) and Stakes

Required Readings


Additional Readings

- Cohen, S., Israel’s Asymmetric Wars, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010
- Gelvin, J. L., The Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014
- Latte-Abdallah, S./ Parizot, C., Israelis and Palestinians in the Shadows of the Wall, Abingdon, Routledge, 2018
- Laurens, H., La question de Palestine, 5 vols, Paris, Fayard, 1999-2015
- Quandt, W.B., Peace Process, Berkeley, Ca., University of California Press, 2005

SESSION NINE: Iran, Gulf Security and the ‘Nuclear Deal’

Required Readings

Additional Readings

• Alizadeh, P. / Hakimian, H., Iran in the Global Economy: The Politics of Populism and Reform, Abingdon, Routledge, 2012
• Emery, C., US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution: The Cold War Dynamics of Engagement and Strategic Alliance, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013
• Fuertig, H., Regional Powers in the Middle East: New Constellations after the Arab Revolts, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014
• Herodote (Journal), no. 169 (thematic issue), Regards geopolitiques sur l’Iran, 2018
• Hinnebusch, R., The International Politics of the Middle East, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2nd ed, 2015
• Jumeau, T. / Razavi, S., Iranian Foreign Policy since 2001, Abingdon, UK, Routledge, 2013
• Jumeau, T. / Razavi, S., Iranian Foreign Policy since 2001, Abingdon, UK, Routledge, 2013
• Lindemann, T., International Politics of recognition, Abingdon, UK, Routledge, 2014
• Louer, L., Shiism and Politics in the Middle East, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012
• Mabon, S., Saudi Arabia and Iran: Power and Rivalry in the Middle East, London, I.B.Tauris, 2015
• Murray, D., US Foreign Policy and Iran: American-Iranian Relations since the Islamic Revolution, Abingdon, Routledge, 2009
• Waarnar, M., Iranian Foreign Policy during Ahmadinejad: Ideology and Actions, Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013
• Wehrey, F. (ed), Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017

SESSION TEN: Refugees and International Migration

Required Readings

• Boulby, M. / Christie, K. (eds), Migration, Refugees, and Human Security in the Mediterranean, Springer, Cham, 2018, 3-21

Additional Readings

• Agarin, T. / Nancheva, N. (eds), A European Crisis: Perspectives on Refugees, Solidarity and Europe, Stuttgart, Ibidem, 2018
COURSE OUTLINE

- Bertelsmann-Stiftung (ed), Escaping the Escape: Toward Solutions for the Humanitarian Migration Crisis, Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 2017
- Chatty, D., Syria: The Making and Unmaking of a Refugee State, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018
- Chowdhury, M. / Rajan, S.I. (eds), South Asian Migration in the Gulf, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018
- Dorai, M.K. / Audebert, C. (eds), Migration in a Globalized World, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2010
- Dudley, D. / Sasikumar, K. (eds), European Refugee Crisis, vol 45 of: Political and Military Sociology: An Annual Review, Abingdon, Routledge, 2018
- Fargues, P. et al. (eds), Migration from North Africa and the Middle East, London, I.B. Tauris, 2015
- Freedman, J. / Kivilcim, Z., A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis, Abingdon, Routledge, 2017
- Hugo, G. et al. (eds), Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration, Springer, Cham, 2018
- Knudson, A. / Hanafi, S. (eds), Palestinian Refugees: Identity, Space and Place in the Levant, Abingdon, Routledge, 2010
- Wihtol de Wenden, C. / Benoit-Guyot, M. (eds), Atlas des migrations: un équilibre mondial à inventer, Paris, Autrement, 2018
- Winckler, O., Arab Political Demography, Brighton, Sussex University Press, Third edition, 2017

PART TWO: UNDERLYING TRENDS AND STRUCTURAL FEATURES

SESSION ELEVEN: Politics and State Formation in their Historical and International Context

Required Readings
- Saouli, A., The Arab State: Dilemmas of Late Formation, Abingdon, Routledge, 2012, chapter 2

Additional Readings on the Middle East
COURSE OUTLINE

- Hinnebusch, R., The International Politics of the Middle East, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2nd ed., 2015

Additional Readings on State Formation and Related Dynamics

- Luciani, G. / Salamé, G. (eds), Démocraties sans démocrates, Paris, Fayard, 2006, also available in English

SESSION TWELVE: The Transformation of Societies and Political Economies

Required Readings


Additional Readings on the Political Economy of the Middle East

- Beblawi, H. / Luciani, G. (eds), The Rentier State, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016 (new edition)
• Herb, Michael, 2005, No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development and Democracy, in: Comparative Politics, 37:3, 297-316
• Hinnebusch, R. A., Syria: Revolution from Above, Abingdon, Routledge, 2001
• Issawi, C., An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa, Abingdon, Routledge, 2006
• Moghadam, V. M., Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East, 3rd ed, Boulder, Co., Lynne Rienner, 2013
• Owen, R., State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, 3rd ed., Abingdon, Routledge, 2004

Additional Readings on Societies in the Middle East
• Barth, F., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference (Introduction), Bergen/ Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1969
• Batatu, H., Syria’s Peasantry, the Descendants of its Lesser Rural Notables and Their Politics, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1999
• Bayat, A., Life as Politics, Stanford, Ca., Stanford University Press, 2009
• Beinin, J., Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001
• Bennani-Chraibi, M. / Fillieule, O. (eds), Résistances et protestations dans les sociétés musulmanes, Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 2003B
• Bianchi, R., Unruly Corporatism, Oxford /New York, N.Y., Oxford University Press, 1989
• Bozarslan, H., Sociologie politique du Moyen-Orient, Paris, La Découverte, 2011
• Coon, C.S., Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York, N.Y., Krieger Co., 1976
• Eisenstadt, S.N. / Lemarchand, R. (eds), Political Clientelism, Patronage and Development, Beverley Hill, Ca., Sage, 1981.
• Gellner, E. / Waterbury, J. (eds), Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies, London, Duckworth, 1977
• Goldberg, E., The Social History of Labor in the Middle East, Boulder, Co., Westview, 1996
• Johnson, M., Class and Client in Beirut, London, I.B. Tauris, 1988
• Van Nieuwewehuize, C.A.O., Commoners, Climbers and Notables, Leiden, Brill, 1997
• Zubaida, S., Islam, the People and the State, London, I.B.Tauris, 2009