

Fall 2021

Professor Dina Le Gall

Office Hours: Please email me to arrange a phone conversation

Email: [dlegall@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:dlegall@gc.cuny.edu)

**THE GRADUATE CENTER**  
**MES 73000/HIST 78110: HISTORY OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST**  
**(Th 6:30-8:30 on Zoom)**

**Course Description**

This course introduces students to major dynamics and issues in the history of the Middle East in the past two centuries and seeks to nurture critical historical thinking about the region. We will touch on a wide range of topics, from different forms of colonial intervention, to modernizing reforms and reforming elites, the move from empire to a new state order, the politics and culture of nationalism, post-colonial states and authoritarian regimes, Islamist mobilization, and recent neo-liberal politics. Proceeding in a roughly chronological order, we will weave thematic discussions related to women and gender, environmental history, urban history, history of consumption, etc. into that framework. All along, a central arching theme of the course will be modernity: what shape it took at different times and places, how it was perceived and experienced, what challenges and tensions it engendered, who were the beneficiaries and losers.

Class discussions will be guided by reading questions posted below, one of which students will answer in writing before class. For example, we might ask: To what extent was Ottoman reform founded upon emulation of the West? How was WWI a watershed in ME political culture? How were women and gender deployed in nationalist and modernizing projects? What best explains the resilience of post-colonial ME authoritarian regimes? What has given Islamist movements (of different kinds) their purchase? Has globalization been primarily destabilizing in the ME and why?

**Readings**

Course readings (journal articles, book chapters, etc.) are posted on the course Blackboard page under Content or available as CUNY electronic resources (marked ER on the syllabus). All are listed below under the sessions for which they are assigned. You are expected to read at least a number of these critical pieces for each session.

Depending on how familiar you are with basic narratives of modern ME history, you may want to begin each session's readings with the appropriate basic narratives from the following two books (which I advise you to purchase): (1) William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. 6th Edition. Westview Press, 2016, and (2) James L. Gelvin. *The Modern Middle East: A History*. 4th Edition. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Note, however, that reading these basic narratives is just a beginning—you must proceed from these to the critical readings posted on Blackboard or available as CUNY electronic resources.

### **Course Learning Objectives**

- 1) Students will build a strong grasp of key issues and dynamics in modern ME history.
- 2) Students will develop an appreciation of scholarly debates and changing historiographical approaches to the ME and will be able to engage critically with relevant scholarly literature.
- 3) Students will be able to present effectively (orally and in writing) their analysis of various issues in ME history.

### **Coursework and Assessment**

- 1) Regular and punctual attendance and active class participation based on reading carefully the assigned literature are a critical component of this course (30% of grade).
- 2) In preparation for class, students will submit electronically by class time a careful 2-page answer (with a proper apparatus) to one of the reading questions for that class (at least 8 pieces; 40% of grade).
- 3) The final assignment is a 6-8 pages argument-based analytical essay (on one of a number of topics I will provide) (due electronically 11/27 or 12/18 depending on topic; 30% of grade).

### **CLASS AND READING SCHEDULE**

#### **Week 1 (8/26): Introduction**

#### **Week 2 (9/2): Approaches to the Study of the Modern Middle East**

##### Readings:

Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, Ch. 4-7 (ER).

Gelvin, Introductions to Parts I and II and Ch. 3-4.

- 1) Based on Lockman, discuss the premises and the merits and/or weaknesses of at least two paradigmatic approaches to the study of the modern Middle East.
- 2) How does Gelvin's book fit into existing paradigmatic approaches to the study of the modern Middle East?

#### **Week 3 (9/9): Nineteenth Century Egypt: New Political Economy and Social Change**

##### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 4-6 (relevant parts); Gelvin, Ch. 5-6 (relevant parts).

Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Introduction.

Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt*, Introduction and Ch. 4, or "Unleashing the Beast: Animals, Energy, and the Economy of Labor in Ottoman Egypt," *AHR* 118 (2013): 317-48.

Kenneth Cuno, "The Origins of Private Ownership of Land in Egypt: A Reappraisal," in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, ed. Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury, and Mary Wilson, 195-228.

Ehud Toledano, "Social and Economic Change in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 2, ed. M. W. Daly, 252-84 (read especially pp. 270-76).

1) What are the premises, arguments, and fallacies of the modernizing/nationalist paradigm according to which Mehmet Ali's project was one of transforming Egypt from a backward Ottoman province to a prosperous modern state?

2) How did the process of Egypt's 19<sup>th</sup>-century incorporation into the modern world economy play out? How did it affect state and society? How does it bear out the dependency theory's thesis about subordination and peripheralization?

3) Some historians put at the center of Egypt's 19<sup>th</sup>-century transformation the imposition of a brutal and oppressive modern regime of knowledge, practice, and managing material and human resources. Explain and illustrate their arguments.

#### **Week 4 (9/23): Nineteenth-Century Bureaucratic Reforms and Ottoman Modernity**

##### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 4-5 (relevant parts); Gelvin, Introduction to Part II, Ch. 5, 6 (section on Lebanon).

Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, introduction and Ch. 4.

Emmanuel Wallerstein, Hale Dedeci, and Reşat Kasaba, "The Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the World Economy," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-Inan, 88-97.

Ussama Makdisi, "Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence, and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform," in *Empire in the City*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, 29-48.

Joel Beinin, "Ottoman Reform and European Imperialism, 1839-1907," in *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East*, 44-70.

1) What did the Tanzimat reformers set out to do? What were the principal thrusts of their project (in military organization, governance, the economy, education, etc.) and how do these compare with the changes introduced by Mehmet Ali and his descendants in Egypt?

2) How do Hanioglu, Wallerstein & Kasaba, and Makdisi differ in their assessment of the Tanzimat?

3) How did the Tanzimat project affect state and society, center and periphery? Who were the winners and losers? Were local economies decimated? Was society re-ordered, and how?

## **Week 5 (09/30): Turn-of-the-Century Modernity: New Discourses and Practices, Intellectual Stirrings, Revolutionary Politics**

### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 7-8.

Hanioglu, Ch. 5, 6.

Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Ch. 2.

Juan Cole, "Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890-1920," in *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. Leila Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, 344-64.

Michael Provence, "Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism, and Insurgency in the Interwar Arab East," *IJMES* 43/2 (2011): 205-225 (read esp. pp. 205-15).

Elizabeth Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," in *Public Islam and the Common Good*, ed. Dale Eickelman and Armando Salvatore, 99-125.

Leor Halevi, *Modern Things on Trial: Islam's Global and Material Reformation in the Age of Rida, 1865-1935*, Ch. 1-2.

- 1) How was the Hamidian regime a continuation of the Tanzimat or a break from it?
- 2) How was Iran's Constitutional Revolution different in its makeup and goals from the Young Turk Revolution?
- 3) What ties together the diverse intellectual stirrings, practices, protests, and revolutionary politics of this period? How do they represent something new? Why now?
- 4) How do studies of consumption help broaden or refine our understanding of turn-of-the-century Ottoman/Muslim modernity?

## **Week 6 (10/7): Post-WWI: A New State Order and Colonial/Mandatory Regimes**

### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 9, 11-12 (or Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History*, Ch. 6-8, available as ER)

Roger Owen, "End of Empires," Ch. 1 in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern ME*.

Peter Sluglett, "The Mandates: Some Reflections on the Nature of the British Presence in Iraq (1914-1932) and the French Presence in Syria (1918-1946)," in *British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, 103-127 (ER).

Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan, "Introduction," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*.

Michael Provence, "French Mandate counterinsurgency and the repression of the Great Syrian Revolt," *ibid*, 136-151.

Selma Botman, "The Liberal Age, 1923-52," and Joel Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923—1952," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt II*, 285-308 and 309-333.

Ann Laura Stoler, "On Degrees of Imperial Sovereignty," *Public Culture* 18/1 (2006): 125-46.

1) How did the European Powers go about drawing the post-war map of the Middle East and what kinds of states and problems emerged?

2) How did the British and French exercise power in their Mandatory states? Did the Mandates represent no more than disguised colonialism, and how?

3) How did British and French rule shape local politics, economies, and societies in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt (consider short- and long-term effects on local elites, parliamentary politics, industrial development, national cohesion, etc.)?

### **Week 7 (10/14): State/Nation Building in Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia**

#### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 10, 12 (section on Saudi Arabia).

Eric Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, Ch. 10-11.

Şerif Mardin, "Religion and Secularism in Turkey," in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, ed. Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury, and Mary Wilson, esp. pp. 363-73.

Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Ch. 3.

Yeşim Arat, "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 95-112.

Houchang E. Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress codes and Nation Building Under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26 (Summer/Fall 1993): 209-21.

Abdulaziz H. Al-Fahad, "The 'Imama vs. the 'iqal: Hadari-Bedouin Conflict and the Formation of the Saudi State," in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, ed. Madawi Al-Rasheed and Robert Vitalis, 35-75.

1) Assess the Kemalist project of nation building and modernization (you may explore its premises, ask whom it benefitted and harmed or how it transformed center and periphery, evaluate its legacy in light of Turkey's recent history, etc.)

2) Compare the Kemalist project with the changes enacted under Reza Shah in Iran. How were they similar and dissimilar? What factors explain the difference?

3) How were women deployed in projects of modernization and nation building in Atatürk's Turkey and Reza Shah's Iran?

4) How was the process of state/nation-building in Saudi Arabia different from those enacted in other Arab states? Does it resemble more Reza Shah's project of state building in Iran?

## **Week 8 (10/21): British Mandate Palestine and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**

### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch.13.

Relevant chapters from Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History* (posted on Blackboard), or James Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (ER), or Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History*, Ch. 7, pp. 197-207, and Ch. 9 (ER).

Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, Ch. 1-4 (ER).

Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure," in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. E. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, 12-36.

Joel Beinin and Lisa Hajjar, *Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer*, Middle East Research and Information Project, 2014 (relevant parts).

Avi Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," in *The Israel/Palestine Question*, ed. Ilan Pappé, 171-192.

Nicholas E. Roberts, "Re-Remembering the Mandate: Historiographical Debates and Revisionist History in the Study of British Palestine," *History Compass* 9/3 (2011): 215-230.

1) Was Britain's Palestine Mandate "doomed from the outset"? How so?

2) Discuss the workings of the "Arab Revolt" of 1936-1939 and its significance in the evolution of the conflict.

3) After close to three decades of British Mandatory rule over Palestine, in 1948 the Zionists established an independent state while the Palestinian Arabs became stateless and largely refugees. Considering the whole period from 1917, how would you best account for this outcome (make sure you pay attention to alternative explanations)?

4) How unique were Britain's conduct, and failure, as mandatory power in Palestine? Or did they epitomize mandatory policies everywhere and the Mandates system itself—and how?

5) What kinds of recent interventions have shaped the historiography of Jews and Arabs under the British mandate, and how?

## **Week 9 (10/28): Nationalism and Political Culture in the Inter-War Middle East**

Readings (draw also on readings from the last four classes as needed):

Gelvin, Ch. 13 (“The Invention and Spread of Nationalisms”).

James Gelvin, “The Other Arab Nationalism: Syrian/Arab Populism in Its Historical and International Contexts,” in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, 231-48.

Philip S. Khoury, “The Paradoxical in Arab Nationalism: Interwar Syria Revisited,” *ibid*, 273-287.

Beth Baron, “Constructing Egyptian Honor,” Ch. 2 of *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender and Politics*.

Michael Provence, “Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism, and Insurgency in the Interwar Arab East,” *IJMES* 43/2 (2011): 205-225 (reread).

Ussama Makdisi, *Age of Coexistence: The Ecumenical Frame and the Making of the Modern Arab World*, Introduction (esp. “Explaining the Ecumenical Frame”) and ch. 4-5 (ER).

- 1) How was WWI a watershed in ME political culture, or was it?
- 2) Did subaltern actors participate in political life in the inter-war ME, and how?
- 3) How and why were women and gender deployed in nationalist and modernizing projects?
- 4) How does the League of National Action exemplify the transformation of Arab nationalist culture in the 1930s? What distinguished the new nationalist culture, how did it come about, and whom did it represent?
- 5) In forging the nation, were nationalist elites of the period by necessity illiberal or exclusionary?

### **Week 10 (11/4): Nasser-Era Revolutionary Regimes**

#### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 15, 16, 17; Gelvin, Ch. 15.

Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History*, Ch. 10-11 (ER).

Joel Gordon, *Nasser: Hero of the Arab Nation* (all).

Omnia El-Shakry, “Introduction,” and “Etatism: Theorizing Egypt’s 1952 Revolution,” Ch. 7 of *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Post-Colonial Egypt*.

Beinin and Hajjar, *Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer* (relevant parts).

- 1) How have scholars grappled with the Nasser regime? What kind of state and society have they portrayed? What was the mainstay of the regime? How was society transformed? Consider El-Shakry’s arguments along with other views.

2) Assess Nasser's role in the Arab world: What were his goals, successes, and failures in this arena? What kind of inter-Arab system emerged? How did Nasserism affect the Arab world? Were regional politics Nasser's undoing?

3) How did the 1967 war and its aftermath transform the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli politics?

### **Week 11 (11/11): Islamist Politics**

#### Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 18; Gelvin, "Political Islam" (Ch. 20 in 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, posted on BB).

"Understanding Islamism," International Crisis Group, Middle East/North Africa Report no. 37 (2 March 2005).

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "Islamic Mobilization and Political Change: The Islamist Trend in Egypt's Professional Associations," in *Political Islam: Essays from the Middle East Report*, ed. Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, 120-135.

Salwa Ismail, "The Popular Movement Dimensions of Contemporary Militant Islamism: Socio-Spatial Determinants in the Cairo Urban Setting," *CSHS* 42/2 (2000): 363-393.

Asef Bayat, "Does Radical Islam Have an Urban Ecology," Ch. 9 in *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*.

Vickie Langohr, "Of Islamists and Ballot Boxes: Rethinking the Relationship Between Islamism and Electoral Politics" *IJMES* 33/4 (Nov 2001): 591-610; or: Marina Ottaway and Amr Hamzawi, "Islamists in Politics: The Dynamics of Participation," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, ME Program 98 (November 2008).

Charles Kurzman, "Bin Laden and Other Thoroughly Modern Muslims," *Contexts* 1/4 (2002), 13-20.

1) What kinds of explanations have scholars offered for the emergence and spread of late 20<sup>th</sup> century Islamist politics?

2) How might we categorize Islamism into distinct strands? How useful is this exercise?

3) What gives Islamist groups (of different strands) their purchase? How have they captured imaginations and built followings?

4) Have Islamists been anti-modern? Or have they been modern in their genesis and conduct, and can they be agents of socializing modernity in Muslim societies?

5) What lessons can be drawn from Islamists' participation in electoral politics since the 1980s?

### **Week 12 (11/18): Post-Colonial Authoritarian Regimes**

Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 21, 26; Gelvin, Ch. 15, 19.

Roger Owen, *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life*, Ch. 1-3 (Ch. 4-5 optional) (ER).

Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 36/2 (January 2004): 139-157.

Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, Ch. 1, 3, 5.

1) How have authoritarian regimes entrenched themselves in power in the post-colonial ME? What explains their resiliency?

2) How were the Ba'th regimes of Saddam Hussein and Hafiz al-Assad similar and dissimilar? What did they share with Nasser's regime, or did they?

3) According to Wedeen, how did Hafiz al-Assad's regime use cultural production, rhetoric, and public rituals? How does her inquiry broaden our understanding of the workings of authoritarianism?

**Week 13 (12/2): Saudi Arabia and Post-Revolutionary Iran: Contesting Regional Powers, Contesting Islams**

Readings:

Cleveland, Ch. 20

Guido Steinberg, "The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State: 1745 to the Present," in *Saudi Arabia in the Balance*, ed. Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman, 11-34.

Peter Mandaville, "Saudi Arabia: Religious Legitimacy Cuts Both Ways," in *Islam and Politics*, pp. 207-229.

Peter Mandaville, "Iran: Revolutionary Islam and the Clerical State," in *Islam and Politics*, pp. 245-65; or Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, ch. 6 ("The Islamic Republic").

Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival*, Ch. 5-6 ("The Battle of Islamic Fundamentalisms" and "The Tide Turns").

1) How have the Saudis deployed Wahhabi Islam as an instrument of rule and handled the public role of Islam and the relations between state and *'ulama*?

2) What accounts for the emergence of Islamist opposition in Saudi Arabia, ostensibly the Islamic state par excellence? What kinds of tensions have been at work? What strands of Islamist opposition have emerged in the kingdom since 1979?

3) How is Iran's Islamic Republic an Islamic state, or is it? How is it a unique political creature, or is it?

4) What is the “Shia Revival” posited by Nasr’s book? How has it evolved since 1979 and what kind of Sunni backlash has it generated? How would you critique Nasr’s arguments?

5) Discuss the paradox of a Saudi regime preoccupied with maintaining domestic political stability while nurturing a global network of Wahhabi-supported institutions that have spread potentially destabilizing Wahhabi-Salafi activism throughout the Muslim world.

#### **Week 14 (12/9): In the Wake of the “Arab-Spring” Uprisings**

##### Readings:

Gelvin, Conclusion

Roger Owen, *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life* (reread relevant chapters).

*Islamism after the Arab Spring: Between the Islamic State and the Nation State* (Brookings Institution Report, January 2017).

Graeme Wood, “What ISIS Really Wants,” *The Atlantic*, March 2015.

Joel Beinin and Lisa Hajjar, *Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer* (relevant parts).

Peter Beinart, “I No Longer Believe in a Jewish State,” *The New York Times*, July 8, 2020.

Andrew Arsan, *Lebanon: A Country in Fragments*, Introduction and Ch. 5.

Faysal Itany, “Why Did Lebanon Let a Bomb-in-Waiting Sit in a Warehouse for 6 Years?” *The New York Times*, August 5, 2020.

Robert F. Worth, “Inside the Iraqi Kleptocracy,” *The New York Times Magazine*, July 29, 2020.

1) What did the Arab uprisings of 2011 share with each other (or not)? How does their legacy reflect on the present state of the Arab world and on previous assessments of Arab politics?

2) Has Islamism been defeated? Is ISIS to blame?

3) Is a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict still feasible given the developments of the past two decades and before? Is there an alternative and what might it look like?

4) Is Ideology in Middle Eastern politics dead? Have neo-liberalism, kleptocracy, and survival in power taken over? What do you make of Arsan’s argument that such realities, as exhibited in Lebanon, are far from uniquely Middle Eastern?

## FURTHER READINGS/BOOKS OF INTEREST

### Week 3:

Timothy Mitchell. *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Eve Troutt Powell. *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*. University of California Press, 2003.

Liat Kozma. *Policing Egyptian Women: Sex, Law, and Medicine in Khedival Egypt*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011.

Khaled Fahmy. *In Quest of Justice: Islamic Law and Forensic Medicine in Modern Egypt*. University of California Press, 2018.

Aaron G. Jakes. *Egypt's Occupation: Colonial Economism and the Crises of Capitalism*. Stanford University Press, 2020.

### Week 4:

Selim Deringil. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

Ussama Makdisi. *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Eugene Rogan. *Frontiers of State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Trans Jordan, 1850-1921*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Iris Agmon. *Family Culture and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005.

Christine M. Philliou. *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Rogan, Eugene. *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*. Basic Books, 2015.

### Week 5:

Jens Hansen. *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Afsaneh Najmabadi. *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*. University of California Press, 2005.

Samira Haj. *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Nile Green. *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840-1915*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Selim Deringil. *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Houri Berberian. *Roving Revolutionaries: Armenians and the Connected Revolutions in the Russian, Iranian, and Ottoman Worlds*. University of California Press, 2019.

Week 6:

Elizabeth Thompson. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Parental Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Toby Dodge. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Laura Robson. *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. University of California Press, 2017.

Week 7:

Sybel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba (eds.). *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Washington University Press, 1997.

Cyrus Schayegh. *Who Is Knowledgeable Is Strong: Science, Class, and the Formation of Modern Iranian Society, 1900-1950*. Berkeley: UC Press, 2009.

Toby Jones. *Desert Kingdom: How Oil and Water Forged Modern Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010

Amit Bein. *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Hale Yilmaz. *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reform and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1945*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013.

Week 8:

Rashid Khalidi. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Nadia Abu El-Haj. *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. The University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Mark Levine. *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Sandra M. Sufian. *Healing the Land and the Nation: Malaria and the Zionist Project in Palestine, 1920-1947*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Sherene Seikaly. *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine*. Stanford University Press, 2015.

Week 9:

James Gelvin. *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Michael Provence. *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Orit Bashkin. *The Other Iraq: Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Benjamin Thomas White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.

Nancy Reynolds. *A City Consumed: Urban Commerce, The Cairo Fire, and the Politics of Decolonization in Egypt*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Hanan Hammad. *Industrial Sexuality: Gender, Urbanization, and Social Transformation in Egypt*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2016.

Michael Provence. *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge University press, 2017.

Week 10:

James Jankowski. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.

Joel Gordon. *Revolutionary Melodrama: Popular Film and Civic Identity in Nasser's Egypt*. University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Laura Bier. *Revolutionary Womanhood: Feminism, Modernity and the State in Nasser's Egypt*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Omar D. Foda. *Egypt's Beer: Stella, Identity, and the Modern State*. University of Texas Press, 2019.

Week 11:

Gilles Kepel. *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Salwa Ismail. *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2003.

Yesim Arat. *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2005.

Lara Deeb. *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. Princeton University Press, 2013.

Assef Bayat (ed.). *Post-Islamism: The Many Faces of Political Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Week 12:

Eva Bellin. *Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor and the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Bassam Haddad. *Business Networks in Syria: The Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Joseph Sassoon. *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Week 13:

David Commins. *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*. I. B. Tauris, 2006.

Madawi al-Rasheed. *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Pascal Ménoret. *Joyriding in Riyadh: Oil, Urbanism and Road Revolt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Madawi al-Rasheed. *Muted Modernists: The Struggle over Divine Politics in Saudi Arabia*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015.

Mark C. Thompson, *Being Young, Male and Saudi: Identity and Politics in a Globalized Kingdom*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Week 14:

Sune Haugbolle. *War and Memory in Lebanon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Dina Rizk Khoury. *Iraq in Wartime: Soldiering, Martyrdom, and Remembrance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013

Asef Bayat. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Andrew Arsan. *Lebanon: A Country in Fragments*. London: Hurst & Company, 2018.

Lisa Wedeen. *Authoritarian Apprehensions: Ideology, Judgment and Mourning in Syria*. University of Chicago Press, 2019.