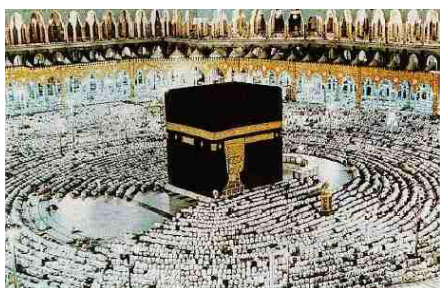


UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

School of Social Sciences
Politics and International Relations

6PIRS019W Politics and Development in the Middle East



MODULE CONVENOR

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Welcome and Introduction

Welcome to the module. This handbook provides all the information you need regarding the module's content and assessment requirements.

It includes the module's aims and learning outcomes, Lecture schedules, assessment weighting and assessment criteria, the lecture and seminar topics, essay questions and reading lists.

Why Study Politics and Development in the Middle East?

This module concentrates on the politics of development in the Middle East, investigating the extent to which this region has been structured by international political economy rather than domestic factors. It aims to introduce students to important ideas, issues, and discussions regarding the Middle East's politics and progress. It aims to enhance students' skills in understanding and analyzing regional development trends and changes in the context of the local, national, and global political and economic systems.

The module examines significant debates and issues in state formation, political regimes, economy and society, particularly considering the legacies of imperialism and the impacts of capitalism on the regional dynamics of development. It investigates the politics of critical national resources such as oil and their implications for the state, economy and society. We examine the underlying reasons behind authoritarianism, the emergence of political Islam, and potential outlooks for future development in the area.

In doing so, the module aims to:

- provide students with an introduction to Middle Eastern political economy;
- assess the impact of colonialisms;
- focus on the formation of states in the region;
- familiarise students with analytical approaches and major issues in the study of state formation there;
- develop students' understanding of the role of oil in shaping the state in a global context;
- examine the relationships between the state, economics and political development;
- expose students to the prospects of neo-liberalism, 'Islamisation' and the future development of the Middle East;
- examine development policy options and trends in the region;
- investigate the role of militarism in the region's development.

Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this module the student will be able to:

- Demonstrate an understanding of key concepts and debates relating to politics, economics and development in the Middle East;
- Understand the political economy of the region;
- Assess the formation of states, politics and societies in the contemporary Middle East and consider their contested boundaries;
- Evaluate the processes by which global actors have had an impact on the region's political and economic developments;
- Identify patterns of development and apply comparative analysis of different countries in the Middle East;
- Develop transferable skills, including critical evaluation, analytical investigation, oral presentations, communication and teamwork.

Teaching Pattern

This module consists of lectures and seminars and aims to provide students with a framework for understanding the Middle East. It covers key approaches, dilemmas, and debates related to development in the region. The module is divided into four parts. The first part introduces the main themes, concepts, and theories used to study development. The second part examines different explanations for the character (or lack) of development in the Middle East. In parts three and four, we explore proposed solutions to the region's development problem and analyze the results of development efforts.

A field trip might be organised as part of the module, depending on student cohort size, budget and time availability.

Part One: Introduction	
Week 1 – 28/09/23	What does development in the Middle East look like? - Farhang Morady
Part Two: Explanations	
Week 2 – 05/10/23	Islam in Historical Perspective - FM
Week 3 – 12/10/23	Rentier States, the Resource Curse and Opportunity
Week 4 – 19/10/23	Authoritarianism- Conversation with Mustafa Elmenshawi from Lancaster University
Week 5 – 26/10/23	Regional Powers, Global Powers – Professor Roland Dannreuther
Week 6 - 02/11/23	Student Engagement Week
Part Three: Solutions	
Week 7 – 09/11/23	Models for development – FM and Professor Ismail Siriner from Batman University, Turkey
Part Four: Results and Prospects	
Week 8 – 16/11/23	Politics and Development in Turkey: Continuity and Change – Professor Ismail Siriner from Batman University, Turkey
Week 9 – 23/11/23	Field Trip to Turkey – One Day workshop and short conference
Week 10– 30/11/23	Theocracy and Capitalism in Iran – FM
Week 11– 07/12/23	Prospects and Challenges in the Middle East - FM

Each session students will attend a lecture and a seminar. Lecturers introduce essential knowledge, theoretical perspectives and debates as a framework for further study. Seminars will be an avenue to check students' understanding of the lectures, examine different issues raised and encourage engagement and critical thinking. Students must read the core text in preparation for the seminars.

seminars will be an avenue to check students' understanding of the lectures, examine different issues raised and encourage engagement and critical thinking. Students must read the core text, respond to questions provided on discussion board, in preparation for the seminars.

Students will also present for 10 minutes a pre-chosen topic that will be graded; see below for more details.

Lecture:

Most **lectures are pre-recorded and available online**; please check the Blackboard. In addition to this, I have also provided PowerPoint slides for some of the lectures, which are available on Blackboard.

Some of the sessions will include an interview with the region's experts.

Lecture and seminar, Regent Steer, 501, Thursday: 11:00:14:00.

Field trip to Turkey

We plan to take a group of you to Istanbul between the **22-27 of November 2023**. This depends on the number of students and whether it is logistically possible to travel. We intend to take a maximum of 20 students, as it is impossible to manage more.

The students must contribute £150:00 toward the trip. You must provide a **£150.00 non-refundable deposit that must be paid by the 10th of October** towards the trip. This will be used towards expenditure such as food, transport, beverages and entrance to the places. The School of Social Sciences will cover the rest of the cost.

If you are interested, email me by September 30th, 2023, as we must organise the logistical aspect of the trip before the term starts. We cannot accept students to the journey if we receive an email after this deadline.

Our objective for this trip is to understand better Turkey's emergence as a prominent country in the region and beyond. During our stay in Istanbul, we aim to provide our students with first-hand experience of the country's diverse development. To achieve this, we will hold 2-3 lectures at our partner university and explore the cultural landmarks of Istanbul.

If you are interested to come to the field trip, you must write 400 words on why you think this field trip would benefit your study. If you go, we expect you will write two blogs of 400m words each on your perception before going to Istanbul, and the second one will be on your reflection after we return. You must also video-record 2 minutes to explain; (a) what were the significance of the field trip and (b) how it would help you academically for this module, the course and your employability.

Core Reading List (see also your online reading lists on BB)

There is not a standard textbook as there are plenty of books, journals and websites, which address this subject and are useful for general reading. It is useful if you can cover some of them for background and preliminary reading as they can give you some idea of debates and discussions sounding the subject.

- Achcar, G. (2004) *Eastern Cauldron: Islam, Afghanistan, Palestine and Iraq in a Marxist Mirror*, London: Pluto Press.
- Adib-Moghaddam, A. (2006) *The International Politics of the Persian Gulf: A Cultural Genealogy*, London & New York: Routledge.
- Alnasrawi, A. (1991) *Arab Nationalism, Oil, and the Political Economy of Dependency*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Bromley, S. (1994) *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Crystal, J. (1995) *Oil and Politics in the Gulf*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehteshami, A. (2007) *Globalization and Geopolitics in the Middle East: Old Games, New Rules*, London: Routledge.
- Hakimian, H. & Moshaver, Z. (eds.) (2001) *The State and Global Change: The Political Economy of Transition in the Middle East and North Africa*, Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.
- Hanieh, A. (2011), *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States* . Palgrave Macmillan US. Kindle Edition.
- Hanieh, A. (2013) *Lineages of Revolt : Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*. Haymarket Books.
- Hanieh, A. (2018) *Money, Markets, and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hosseini, S.E., (2020) An Outlook on the Global Development of Renewable and Sustainable Energy at the Time of Covid-19. *Energy Research & Social Science*, p.101633.
- Hourani, A. (2005) *A History of the Arab Peoples*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Lewis, B. (2002) *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle East Response*, Phoenix.
- Milton-Edwards, B. (2006) *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press.

General Reading:

- Ahmad, A. (2008) 'Islam, Islamisms and the West', in *Global Flashpoints: Reactions to Imperialism and Neoliberalism*, Socialist Register, Vol. 44, ed. by Leo Panitch & Colin Leys, pp. 1–37.
- Choueiri, Y. M. (ed.) (2008) *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gerner, D. (ed.) (2000) *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Henry, C. & Springborg, R. (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Hourani, A. & Khoury, P. & Wilson, M. C. (2009) *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Hroub, K. (ed.) (2009) *Political Islam: Context versus Ideology*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Mansfield, P. (2003) *A History of the Middle East*, London: Penguin.
- Ó Tuathail, Gearóid & Dalby, Simon & Routledge, Paul (eds.) (2006 [1998]) *The Geopolitics Reader*, 2nd edn. (1st edn.), London & New York: Routledge
- Owen, R. (2004) *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd edn., New York: Routledge.
- Richards, A. & Waterbury, J. (2007) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 3rd edn., Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rodinson, M. (1981) *Marxism and the Muslim World*, London: Zed Books.
- Siegel, P. N. (1986) *The Meek and Militant: Religion and Power Across the World*, London: Zed Books.
- Yapp, M. (1996) *The Near East Since the First World War: A History to 1995*, 2nd edn., New York: Longman.

Journals

- Arab Studies Journal*
- Arab Studies Quarterly*
- BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (Middle East)*
- British Journal of Middle East Studies*
- Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*
- Critique: Critical Studies of the Middle East (critical)*
- Development and Change*
- Foreign Affairs*
- Foreign Policy*
- Human Development*
- International Journal of Middle East Studies*
- Iranian Studies*
- Israel Studies Journal*
- Journal of Development Studies*
- Journal of Development Economics*
- Journal of Political Economy*
- Journal of Palestine Studies*
- Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*
- Middle East Contemporary Survey (yearly updates on economics and politics)*
- Middle East Economic Digest (contemporary economic issues)*
- Middle East International*
- Middle East Policy (contemporary)*
- Middle East Report [MERIP] (critical)*
- Middle East Studies*
- Middle Eastern Studies (historical and contemporary)*
- Political Quarterly*
- Review of International Political Economy*
- The Middle East (current events)*
- The Middle East Journal (contemporary)*
- Third World Quarterly*

Lecture Schedule

Introduction

Week 1: What does development in the Middle East look like? [FM]

This introductory lecture will present basic Middle East-related definitions, concepts and notions, relevant theories of capitalism, the nature and meaning of development and under-development, colonialism's and imperialism's geostrategic, geography and Orientalist appropriations.

Seminar questions

- What is the “Middle East”?
- What is the significance of the “Middle East” for the study of globalization and development?
- Is the Middle East exceptional?

Essential Reading:

- Hanieh, A. (2011), *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States*. Palgrave Macmillan US. Kindle Edition.
- Henry, Clement & Springborg, Robert (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1, pp. 1-19 [Available here: <http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=M8mTPbnNmCwC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>]
- Gourevitch, P., 1978. The second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics. *International organization*, 32(4), pp.881-912.

Further Reading:

- Al-Azm, S. J. 'Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse' < <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article20360>
- Bromley, S (1994) *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development* (Cambridge: Polity), ch. 1 & 5
- Halliday, F. (1993) 'Orientalism' and Its Critics', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 20(2): 145—163.
- Henry, C. & Springborg, R. (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2
- Lewis, B. (1982) 'The Question of Orientalism', *New York Review of Books*, Vol.:29, No.: 11, June 24,
- Lockman, Z. (2004), *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge: CUP).

- Salih, Mohamed M.A. (2014) *Economic Development and Political Action in the Arab World*. London: Routledge, Ch. 6
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Introduction pp. 1-28

Part 2: Explanations

Week 2: Islam in Historical Perspective [FM]

This week's lecture is somewhat historical, by covering different periods we demonstrate, evolutions of Islam, variety of interpretations, conservatism, reformism and radicalism. It shows that against some suggestions that Islamists have always been against development, this lecture highlights that in different periods especially during the Abbasid, the advancement in science, technology and medicine was remarkable. Indeed, today, some so-called Islamic countries such as UAE, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iran, Malaysia and, are economically very developed. Hence, I will highlight the line of continuity from the 7th century, the birth of Islam and changes in the contemporary period.

Seminar Questions:

- Has Islam hindered or helped development?
- What is political Islam? Are there any differences within political Islam? If so, why are they important?
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Essential Reading:

- Ahmed, A. (2002) *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, Routledge, London.
- Rodinson, M. (2002) *Muhammad: Prophet of Islam*, Tauris.
- Jung, D. (2007). Islam and Politics: A Fixed Relationship?. *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 16(1),
- McGlinchey, E. (2005) 'The Making of Militants: The State and Political Islam in Central Asia', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 25, 3, 2005.

Further Reading:

- Bayat, A. (2007) *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford: SUP), Ch. 1
- Beinin, Joel and Joe Stork eds. (1996), *Political Islam: A Reader* (London: IB Tauris).
- Cohen, A (ed.) (2005). *Democracy, Islam and The Middle East*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Diamond, L.; Plattner, M. F. and Brumber, D. (eds.) (2003). *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press

- Halliday, F. (1996) *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, (Tauris, London, 1996)
- International Crisis Group, *Is Radical Islam Inevitable in Central Asia? Priorities for Engagement*, Asia Report 72, 22 December 2003.
- Khalid, A. (2007) 'Islam in Opposition', in A. Khalid, *Islam after Communism*, University of California Press, ch. 6.
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- Kedourie, E. (1992) *Democracy and Arab Political Culture*. Washington: Washington Institute. Preface & Introduction. Available here: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/DemocracyandArabPoliticalCulture.pdf.pdf>
- Lewis, B. (1990) 'The Roots of the Muslim Rage', *The Atlantic*, September 1990
- Matteo, F. (2010) Islamic radicalism and the insecurity dilemma in Central Asia: The Role of Russia. In R. Dannreuther and L. March (eds) (2010) *Russia and Islam* (Routledge).
- Milton-Edwards, B. (2000). *Contemporary politics in the Middle East*. Polity Press. Ch. 5
- Megoran, N. (2005) 'Framing Andijon, narrating the nation: Islam Karimov's account of the events of 13 May 2005', *Central Asian Survey*, 27(10), 2008, pp. 15-31.
- McGlinchey, E. (2005) 'The Making of Militants: The State and Political Islam in Central Asia', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 25, 3, 2005) pp. 554-566.
- Molcott, M. B. (2007) *Roots of Radical Islam in Central Asia*, Carnegie Paper No. 77, January.
- Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Naumkin, V.V. (2005) *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Between Pen and Rifle*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_77_olcott_roots_final.pdf
- Owen, R. (2004) *State Power and Politics the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Routledge) Ch. 9
- Sayyid, S. (2003) *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*, Z Books: London

Part 2: Explanations

Week 3: *Rentier States, the Resource Curse and Blessing* [FM]

This lecture will explore the political economy of oil and its implications at both international and national levels. It will consider the impact of oil on the state and society: underdevelopment, corruption, conglomerates, clientelism and authoritarianism. The lecture will also examine the notion of rentier state and its economic, political and social implications.

Seminar Questions

- Does oil hinder or assist development? Discuss with examples.
- How has oil wealth reshaped the oil producing countries in the Middle East?
- In what ways did the state-formation of the oil-states in the Middle East differ from the European experience?
- Abundant oil reserves always lead to a rise of authoritarian regimes. Do you agree?

Essential Reading:

Luong, P. J. and Weintal, E. (2010) 'Oil Is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States', *Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics*, Cambridge.

Dannreuther, R. and Ostrowski, W. (2013), 'The Political Economy of Global Resources', eds. *Global resources: conflict and cooperation*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. [E-book], Chapter 5.

Schwarz, P. (2008), 'The Political Economy of State-Formation in the Arab Middle East: Rentier States, Economic Reform, and Democratization', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15:4, 599-621.

Humphreys, M. Jeffrey, Sachs, J. and Stiglitz, J. (2007), 'What Is the Problem with Natural Resource Wealth?', *Escaping the Resource Curse*. In Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey D. Sachs, and Joseph E. Stiglitz. New York: Columbia University Press.

Further Reading:

- Beblawi, Hazem and Luciani, Giacomo (1987) *The Rentier State* (Croom Helm, London)
- Crystal, J. (1995) *Oil and Politics in the Gulf*, Cambridge University Press.
- Luciani, G. (2013) 'Oil and political economy in the international relations of the Middle East', in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford: OUP, ch. 4.
- Nonneman, G. (2001) 'Rentiers and autocrats, monarchs and democrats, state and society: the Middle East between globalisation, human "agency", and Europe', *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1, January, pp. 175-195.
- Omeje, K. (ed.) (2008) *Extractive Economies and Conflicts in the Global South: Multi-Regional Perspectives on Rentier Politics*, Aldershot (UK): Ashgate, esp. chs. 1, 2, 13 & 14.
- Smith, B. (2004) 'Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (April), pp. 232-46, <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1519880>.
- Salih, Mohamed M.A. (2014) *Economic Development and Political Action in the Arab World*. London: Routledge, Ch. 4

Part 2: Explanations

Week 4: Authoritarianism [FM]

One of the most pervasive features of Middle Eastern politics is its supposed authoritarianism. This session will examine the causes and the implications of authoritarianism. We will also look at the reasons why authoritarian states have emerged in the Middle East. Finally, we will question whether Middle Eastern can move away from authoritarianism.

Seminar Questions:

- ‘Middle Eastern politics are inherently authoritarian.’ Discuss.
- Why are there so many authoritarian states in the Middle East?
- Has authoritarianism hindered or helped development?

Essential Reading:

- Menshawy, M. (2021) ‘Sovereignty alignment process: strategies of regime survival in Egypt, Libya and Syria’, *Third World Quarterly*, August, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2021.1965872>
- Menshawy, M. (2021) *Leaving the Muslim Brotherhood: Self, Society and the State*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bellin, E. (2004). The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective. *Comparative politics*, 139-157.
- Hinnebusch, R. (2006) Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique, *Democratization*, 13:3, 373-395.
- Diamond, L. (2002), ‘Thinking about hybrid regimes’, *Journal of Democracy*, 2002, pp. 21- 35.

Further Reading:

- Bratton; N. Van de Walle, (1994) Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa. *World Politics*, 46(4), 1994, pp. 453-489.
- Brancati, D. (2014) Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 313-26.
- Brownlee, J. (2009) Portents of Pluralism: How hybrid regimes affect democratic transitions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 515-32.
- Hale, H. (2010) Eurasian politics as hybrid regimes: The case of Putin’s Russia. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 1(1).
- Henry, Clement & Springborg, Robert (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press. Ch. 5
- McFaul, M., The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Non-Cooperative Transitions in the Post-communist Worlds, *World Politics*, 54(2), 2002, pp. 212-244.
- Merkel, M. (2010) Are dictatorships returning? Revising the ‘democratic rollback’ hypothesis. *Contemporary Politics*, 16(1), 17-31.

- Owen, R. (2005) *State Power and Politics the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Routledge, Ch. 2 & 10)
- Posusney, M. P. (2005) 'The Middle East's Democracy Deficit in Comparative Perspective' in Posusney, M. P. and Angrist, M. P. (eds.) *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*. Lynne Rienner: London. pp. 1-20
- Williams, P. J. (1994) Dual Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Popular and Electoral Democracy in Nicaragua. *Comparative Politics*, 26(2), pp. 169-185.

Part 2: Explanations

Week 5: Regional Powers, Global Powers - **[FM]**

This week, we explore the significance of geopolitics. Firstly, we account for the rise of so-called 'regional powers' in the Middle East, and explore how their presence and activity has shaped development in the region. Secondly, we look at so-called 'global powers' – in particular the United States – and their geo-strategic interests in the Middle East. Finally, we look at the idea that the Middle East lacks a 'Great Power', and that this lack in part explains problems of development in the region.

Seminar Questions

- Are there any 'Great Powers' in the Middle East? If not, why?
- How have the United States shaped the development of the Middle East?

Essential Reading:

- Gerges, Fawaz A. "The Obama approach to the Middle East: the end of America's moment?." *International Affairs* 89, no. 2 (2013): 299-323.)
- Hudson, Michael C. (2013), "Geopolitical shifts: Asia rising, America declining in the Middle East?." *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 6, no. 3 (2013): 458-466.
- Lynch, M. (2013) 'The Middle East Power Vacuum' *Foreign Policy*, available here: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/10/25/the_middle_east_power_vacuum
- Lustic, I. (1997): 'The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective', *International Organization*, 51(4): 653—683

Further Reading:

- Bromley, S. (1991), *American Hegemony and World Oil: The Industry, the State System and the World Economy* (London: Polity Press), Postscript.
- Brown. L. C. (1984) *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules Dangerous Game* Ch. 1
- Cockburn, A. and Cockburn, P. (2002) *Saddam Hussein: An American Obsession*, London: Verso.

- Fawcett, L. (2013) 'Alliances and Regionalism in the Middle East' in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), ch. 4.
- Halliday, F. (2007) *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*, Cambridge: CUP..
- Harvey, D. (2005) *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: OUP).
- Hinnebusch, R. (2003). *The international politics of the Middle East*. Manchester University Press.
- Kendall-Taylor, A (2011) 'Domestic balancing acts in the Caspian Petro-States' in Overland, I. *Caspian Energy Politics*
- Legrenzi, M. and Calculli, M. (2013) 'Middle East Security: Continuity and Change' in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford: OUP, ch. 4.
- Lustic, I. (1997): 'The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective', *International Organization*, 51(4): 653—683
- Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Week 6 - Student Engagement Week

Part 3: Solutions for Development

Week 7: Models for development **[FM]**

Scholars and practitioners have often looked to national 'models' as potential guides or examples for development in other Middle Eastern states. Following the 1979 Revolution, Iran sought to project its theocratic state as potential model for others in the region to follow. More recently, Turkey has been heralded as "an example of a modern, moderate Muslim state that works". This week, we analyse why these nations have been presented as models, and question whether it is possible for other Middle Eastern states to follow their example.

Seminar questions:

- Are Middle Eastern countries developed?
- If so, which model of development have they followed?
- What are the main features of their development?
- Are their models of development viable?

Essential Reading:

- Hakimian, H. & Moshaver, Z. (eds.) (2001) *The State and Global Change: The Political Economy of Transition in the Middle East and North Africa*, Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

- Hanieh, A. (2011), *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States* . Palgrave Macmillan US. Kindle Edition.
- Hanieh, A. (2018) *Money, Markets, and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Further Reading

- Hanieh, A. (2013) *Lineages of Revolt : Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*. Haymarket Books.

Part 3: Solutions

Week 8: Structural Adjustment and (neo)liberalism - [FM]

This week we are using a different style of delivering the session. It will be a conversation/interview with Sahar Taghdisi Rad about structural adjustment and neoliberalism and its impact on the Middle East and North African countries. We hope you will also engage in discussion and ask questions of Sahar.

Seminar questions:

- What are the key politics and policies of neoliberalism?
- How have the policies of neoliberalism been implemented in the Middle East, and by whom?
- Has neoliberalism been beneficial for development? If so, how? If not, why?

Essential Reading:

- Achcar, G. (2013) *The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprising*. Saqi Books. Ch. 2 & 3
- Hanieh, A. (2013) *Lineages of Revolt : Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*. Haymarket Books. Ch. 3

Further Reading:

- Beinin, J. (2001) *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: CUP, ch. 6.
- Buzenberg, B. (2007) *Baghdad Bonanza: The Top 100 Private Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan*, “Windfalls of War II” project, Washington: Center for Public Integrity, November, <http://projects.publicintegrity.org/WOWII/>.
- Docena, H. (2005) *Iraq's Neoliberal Constitution*, Silver City, NM & Washington, DC: *Foreign Policy In Focus*, 2 September, http://fpif.org/iraqs_neoliberal_constitution/.
- Owen, R. (2006) *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London: Routledge. Ch. 7
- Haddad, T. (2016), *Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territories*, London, I.B.Tauris.

Part 4: Results and Prospects for Development

Week 9: Theocracy and Capitalism in Iran [FM]

This lecture will cover the complexity of the political system in post-revolutionary Iran, and its implications wider world. It will focus on the relationship between Islam and theocracy on the one hand, and Iran's trajectory of capitalist development on the other.

Seminar Questions

- Islamic Republic is a unique model for development?
- Why different governments in Iran failed to deliver progressive change?

Essential Reading:

- Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Morady, F. (2011) Who rules Iran? 'The June 2009 election and Political turmoil' in *Capital and Class*, Vol. 35. No 1, pp39

Further Reading:

- Bayat, A. (2009) 'Iran: A Green Wave for Life and Liberty', *Open Democracy*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/iran-a-green-wave-for-life-and-liberty>

Part 4: Results and Prospects for Development

Week 10: Neoliberalism and Development in Turkey - FM

This session will discuss Turkish development since the 1980s and assess the impact of Neoliberalism on the country and its consequences.

Seminar Questions

1. What is Turkish Neoliberalism, and has it supported development?
2. Isn't the state relevant in the Turkish economy?
3. Has religion played a role in Turkish development?

Essential Reading:

- Hale, W. (2014), *The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey*, London, Routledge.
- Keydar, C. (1987), *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*, London, Verso.

Further Reading:

- Özçelik, E. and Özdemir, Y. (2020), *Political Economy of Development in Turkey: 1838 – Present*, London, Palgrave Macmillan.

Part 4: Results and Prospects for Development

Week 11: Development in Gulf Countries - [FM]

Seminar Questions

- What is development model in Gulf Countries?
- In what way/s Gulf countries approach to development has been successful?

Essential Reading:

Hvidt, M. (2019), *Social and Economic Development in the Contemporary Arab Gulf States*, Denmark, University of Southern Denmark Press

Hanieh, A. (2018) *Money, Markets, and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hanieh, A. (2011), *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States* . Palgrave Macmillan US. Kindle Edition.

Miniaoui, H. (ed.) (2020), *Economic Development in the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: From Rentier States to Diversified Economies*, London, Springer.

Further Reading

Hanieh, A. (2013) *Lineages of Revolt : Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*. Haymarket Books.

Niblock, T. (2018), *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf*, London, Routledge.

Session 12 – International Relations, Middle East and Energy Security [FM]

In this session we will apply International Relations Theories (realism, liberalism and critical approaches) in order to understand different ways in which we can think about the link between energy security, conflict and corporation in the context of the Middle Eastern region. The session will also summarise a number of themes discussed in the module.

Seminar Questions:

- What do we understand by energy security?
- Under what circumstances have consumer countries been able to use energy as a foreign policy tool?
- Do sanctions on oil exports – such as those on Iran – constitute a sound foreign policy tool?
- Why does the United States maintain a military presence in the Gulf?

Seminar Readings:

- Dannreuther, Roland. "Energy security and shifting modes of governance." *International Politics* (2015).
- Van de Graaf, Thijs. "The “Oil Weapon” Reversed? Sanctions Against Iran and US-EU Structural Power." *Middle East Policy* 20, no. 3 (2013): 145-163.

- Rovner, Joshua, and Caitlin Talmadge. "Hegemony, force posture, and the provision of public goods: The once and future role of outside powers in securing Persian Gulf oil." *Security Studies* 23, no. 3 (2014): 548-581.

Further Readings:

- Akbarzadeh, Shahram. *America's challenges in the Greater Middle East: the Obama administration's policies*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Lenway, Stefanie Ann. "Between war and commerce: economic sanctions as a tool of statecraft." *International Organization* 42, no. 02 (1988): 397-426.
- Energy, National Security and the Persian Gulf Report of a Workshop. MIT Security Studies Program Working Paper May 2008.
- Barnes, Joe, and Amy Myers Jaffe. "The Persian Gulf and the geopolitics of oil." *Survival* 48, no. 1 (2006): 143-162.
- Njølstad, Olav. "Shifting Priorities: The Persian Gulf in US Strategic Planning in the Carter Years." *Cold War History* 4, no. 3 (2004): 21-55.
- Yoshihara, Toshi, and Richard Sokolsky. "United States and China in the Persian Gulf: Challenges and Opportunities, The." *Fletcher F. World Aff.* 26 (2002): 63.
- Khan, Mohd Naseem. "The US policy towards the Persian Gulf: Continuity and change." *Strategic Analysis* 25, no. 2 (2001): 197-213.
- Wilson, Ernest J. "World politics and international energy markets." *International Organization* 41, no. 01 (1987): 125-149.

Assessment Rationale and coursework

Assessment rationale

This exercise is designed to help you better understand the course material while enhancing your writing and presentation skills.

CW1: Learning portfolio

You will need to produce four 400-word blogs to demonstrate your understanding of the module. Attending the course is essential as you must reflect on various sessions covered in the lectures. Your blog should focus on concepts and theories the lecturers cover and how you can apply them to your coursework, presentation, and essay. During the seminar class, we may discuss your blogs, and you may be required to present a review.

Blog 1: students are expected to read the module handbook and demonstrate their understanding of the course and the expectations. The due date for submission is the 29th of September 2023.

Grading Criteria

Your blog should demonstrate that.

- You clearly understand the concepts, theories, and policies covered in the module, such as Orientalism, neoliberalism, and essentialism.
- It should outline the expectations for attendance and submitting coursework 1, 2, and 3.
- You clearly highlight that the module has different sessions divided into different sections.
- Demonstrate your understanding of the reading list.
- Please let me know if this is clear.

Blog 2: summarize the critical points covered in sessions 2, 3, and 4, with a deadline for submission on the 20th of October 2023.

- You must summarize the critical points covered in sessions 2, 3, and 4.
- How relevant are the concepts and theories to understand the Middle East?
- When you are writing your blog, please read and refer to the weekly readings that we have recommended.

Blog 3: The critical points of sessions 5, 7, and 8 and summarised in this blog with a submission deadline of the 17th of November, 2023.

- How relevant are the concepts and theories.
- Would you apply them to your presentation or essay?
- When you are writing your blog, please read and refer to the weekly readings that we have recommended.

Blog 4: summarise the critical points of sessions 9, 10, and 11 in this blog, with a submission deadline on the 1st of December 2023.

- Discuss the significance of the theories and their application.
- When you are writing your blog, please read and refer to the weekly readings that we have recommended.
- How and why would you apply them to your essay?

An optional blog about a possible field trip to Turkey.

If we go on a field trip, you may write 1 blog (instead of 9, 10 and 11) to reflect on

- the impact of the journey on your learning (instead of 9, 10 and 11) to reflect on
- Your understanding of the country
- The critical conceptual and theoretical areas of different sessions (lectures) provided in Turkey and how these developed your understanding of the country.
- Share your perspective on the Middle East after the field trip. Is it different?

CW2: Presentation

The individual presentation (10 minutes presentation max followed by a Q+A session) allows the student to undertake, present, and defend a detailed analysis of the debates surrounding Middle East politics and development. Students will have to demonstrate their capacity to engage with this debate with appropriate critical insight, showing how this topic helped the students to clarify their understanding of debates and perspectives on issues related to the Middle East.

CW3

The essay is 2,000 words long and allows students to develop and apply their research skills and knowledge through empirical and theoretical analysis of Middle East politics and development.

Assessment methods and weightings

Assessment name	Weighting %	Qualifying mark %	Qualifying set	Assessment type (e.g. essay, presentation, open exam or closed exam)
CW1 Portfolio	25%	NONE	N/A	Learning Portfolio: 4 blogs of 400 Words B1 – 29/09/2023 B2- 20/10/2023 B3- 17/11/2023 B4- 15/12/2023
CW 2 Presentation	25%	NONE	N/A	Presentation: 10 minutes of individual presentation 15/12/2023
CW3 Essay	50%	30%	N/A	Essay, 2000 words 09/01/2024

We will not accept presentations after 07/12/2023.

Essay Questions

1. Is Middle Eastern development 'exceptional'? If so, what accounts for this 'exceptionalism'?
2. Examine how the process of state formation in a Middle Eastern country has influenced the current political environment.

3. What role has religion played in shaping the political economy of the Middle East?
4. Has energy helped or hindered politics or development in the Middle East?
5. In what ways has authoritarianism been an obstacle to development?
6. What role did the great powers play in the Middle East, and why?
7. How do you explain the persistence of conflict in the Middle East?
8. 'Petro-dollars are an important factor that keeps authoritarian regimes in power but not the only one'. Discuss this claim through the analysis of one country in the Middle East.
9. Compare and contrast at least two different initiatives that were put forward to address the ills of the resources curse in the Middle East.
10. Is democratic change and social improvement in the Middle East more likely to come through revolution or the ballot box?

Note - If there are any questions or topics that you would like to explore which have not been covered in the above list, please feel free to bring them up with me and we can work together to develop a suitable question.

Feedback on Assessment

Feedback will be available via Blackboard within 3 weeks of submission (15 working days). Feedback can also be obtained by discussing with a module leader during feedback and support hours.

Assessment criteria

Essay grading scheme

Essay assessment is a complex process that cannot be reduced to a simple formula. However, it is possible to articulate some of the features that your lecturers will expect to find in each of the marking categories.

First class essays (70-100%) will: address the question or title; follow a structured and signposted sequence; demonstrate familiarity with the relevant literature; present an analysis and evaluation of the ideas and theories discussed; reveal internal integration and coherence; use references and examples to support the claims and arguments made; provide detailed references and sources in the

bibliography or reference section; be written in good and grammatically correct English. Differences within the range are usually attributable to differences in the quality of analysis and evaluation and internal integration and coherence.

Upper second class essays (60-69%) will: address the title; follow a structured sequence; demonstrate familiarity with relevant literature; use references and examples. The difference between essays in this class and a first class piece of work is often the quality of the analysis and evaluation presented and the degree to which it is integrated around its central theme.

Lower second class work (50-59%) may show weaknesses with regard to a number of the features mentioned above. Generally, the analysis and evaluation may be poor, so that the work fails to convey an unified consideration of the topic under discussion. Often, for example, ideas and theories will be presented but not related to each other, so that the reader is left to draw his / her own conclusions. This may also mean that the material presented is not used to address the question but is simply included as vaguely relevant. Finally the sequential structure of essays in this category could usually be improved.

Third class Report (40-49%) tend to have weaknesses with regard to most of the features mentioned above. They tend not to address the question in a precise way, to be poorly structured and show little by way of analysis or evaluation of the ideas presented. This, of course, means that they are not well integrated. Finally, the grasp of the literature demonstrated in such an essay may not be good, though it will be adequate in the sense that there are no major misconceptions or obvious omissions.

Failed essays (30-39%) are, at best, manifestly failing with regard to a number of the features mentioned above. In particular, their demonstration of familiarity with the literature is usually poor and their structure difficult to discern. Essays which are of extremely poor quality will receive marks that are under 30%. We use the full spectrum of marks.

For further information about grading of coursework, including an essay grading scheme: see the [DPIR BA Course Handbook](#) (pp.47-48)

Word Limit Policy

Each assessment will have a specified word length range (i.e. a word count which includes the main text and notes but excludes the bibliography). The department does not permit a margin of 10% over the stated word limit: the word count is the absolute maximum. Students should be aware that the marker will not consider any work after the maximum word limit has been reached within the allocation of marks. Please note that the exclusion of concluding material in excess of the permitted maximum word count may substantively reduce the quality of the coursework submitted. It may also mean that the eligible part of the submission fails to include information needed to meet the stated learning outcomes for the

assessment. In this way, students will be penalised for a failure to be concise and for failing to conclude their work within the word limit specified.

Submission of coursework

All coursework on this module is submitted via Blackboard only. It will automatically be scanned through the Turnitin Plagiarism Detection Service software.

- i. You DO need to include your name and student ID on the first page of your assignment.

To submit your assignment:

- i. Log on to Blackboard at <http://learning.westminster.ac.uk>;
- ii. Go to the relevant module Blackboard site;
- iii. Click on the 'Assessments' link on the left-hand side;
- iv. Click on the link to the relevant assignment;
- v. Follow the 'upload' and 'submit' instructions.

A two-minute video showing the submission process can be found by following this link:

- ii. <http://www.youtube.com/user/SSHUniWestminster#p/u/0/l-ZQs4nSWL4>

You will receive separate instructions about how and when you will receive feedback on your work.

It is a requirement that you submit your work in this way. All coursework must be submitted by 1pm on the due date. If you submit your coursework late but within 24 hours or one working day of the specified deadline, 10% of the overall marks available for that element of assessment will be deducted, as a penalty for late submission, except for work which obtains a mark in the range 40 – 49%, in which case the mark will be capped at the pass mark (40%).

If you submit your coursework more than 24 hours or more than one working day after the specified deadline you will be given a mark of zero for the work in question.

Late work and any claim of mitigating circumstances relating to coursework must be submitted at the earliest opportunity to ensure as far as possible that the work can still be marked. Late work will not normally be accepted if it is received more than five working days after the original coursework deadline.

Once the work of other students has been marked and returned, late submissions of that same piece of work cannot be assessed.

Online feedback via GradeMark

The Department of Politics and International Relations offers online feedback on written coursework via GradeMark (accessed via Blackboard). Failure to submit your essay via Blackboard will mean that your coursework will not be graded and subsequently will not count towards your assessment for this module.

FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING COURSEWORK

In addition to the information contained in this Module Handbook, which is specific to the assessment for the module, you need to be aware of general guidance and policies for coursework submission in Politics & IR.

Instructions and guidance relating to these and other procedures can be found in the **PIR Red Book**. You should consider this your 'How To' guide. The *PIR Red Book* can be found on the [Politics and International Relations Blackboard site](#).

The current version of the **Politics and IR Course Handbook** provides detailed information about regulations relating to:

- Submitting your work
- Late submission
- Plagiarism and referencing
- Mitigating circumstances
- Word limits
- Essay grading

The *Politics and IR Course Handbook* can be found on the [Politics and International Relations Blackboard site](#).

For information about Academic progression, condoned credits, and referral opportunities, see the [Handbook of Academic Regulations](#) (section 17).

USEFUL INFORMATION & CONTACTS

Fitzrovia Registry, fitzregistry@westminster.ac.uk 020 7911 5884, first floor, 115 New Cavendish Street: all the rules on modules/changing modules/course, changing seminar group + mitigating circumstances.

Disability: if you have an undeclared disability and/or are in need of support, you sign-up for a drop-in appointment or a longer appointment by calling 02350668800 or emailing DLS@westminster.ac.uk. You can also sign-up for a disability advisor appointment, a Specific Learning Difficulty advisor appointment, or a Specialist Study Skills appointment. For those who suspect they have dyslexia and dyspraxia, there is a preliminary screening (not a diagnosis) that they can do online and they can discuss the results in person. The DLS also provide mental health mentors who help registered students manage the impact of their conditions on their studies. For more information visit: www.westminster.ac.uk/disability.

Counselling & Wellbeing (counselling@westminster.ac.uk): if you need any support with mental health/counselling issues, the University has a free counselling service at the Cavendish Campus. For more information visit: westminster.ac.uk/counselling.