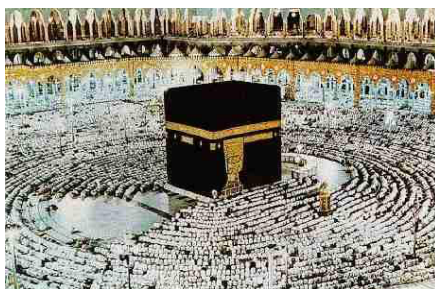


UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

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.

Politics and Development in the Middle East

This module focuses on politics and development in the Middle East. It is designed to foster innovation and active student engagement through a hybrid teaching and learning strategy. This includes collaboration with academics and universities from Westminster, the Middle East, and Southeast Asian countries. Additionally, the module includes an immersive field trip experience to Turkey.

The coursework is designed to provide students with interactive workshops focused on blog writing, reviewing, and discussions to help them better understand the subject matter. Furthermore, students will have the chance to present their research during a mini-conference, which could be held in London or during their field trip to Turkey.

Students are required to select and write one essay from a set of options. The options include topics related to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs). Samples of the essays will be chosen for presentation at the Democratic Education Network's ([DEN](#)) annual conference and eventual publication in DEN's annual book. This comprehensive approach aims to cultivate a deeper understanding of the Middle East and provides students with a platform to share their insights with a broader audience.

The module provides an in-depth analysis of the significant debates and issues related to state formation, political regimes, economic systems, religious influences, societal dynamics, and the UN SDGs. It offers a focused examination of the enduring legacies of imperialism and the profound influence of capitalism on the development patterns within the region. Moreover, it delves into the intricate political landscapes surrounding vital natural resources, such as oil, and their wide-ranging implications for the state, economy, society, and the environment. Additionally, the module explores the historical roots of authoritarianism, the complexities associated with the rise of political Islam, the challenges and prospects for democracy, and potential future development trajectories in the area.

Pending funding approval, the goal of the module is to provide students with a transformative learning experience through a 4-day trip to a Middle Eastern country, see also below. The trip will provide firsthand knowledge of the country's geography, economy, politics, society, and culture, as well as a workshop by academics from several universities in Turkey.

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 energy 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 UNSDGs 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 workshops aimed at providing students with a framework for understanding the political economy of development in the Middle East. It will cover key approaches, dilemmas, and debates related to development in the region. It will begin with an introduction to the main themes, concepts, and theories. Various explanations for the nature of development (or lack thereof) in the Middle East will be examined. Students will be expected to use different case studies to apply conceptual theories to real-life situations.

Throughout each session, students will have the opportunity to participate in both lectures and seminars/workshops. The lecturers will strive to impart essential knowledge, present theoretical perspectives, and stimulate discussions on various debates, providing a solid framework for further in-depth study. The seminars are specifically designed to assess students' comprehension of the lecture content, consider different issues, and promote active engagement and critical thinking. It is important for students to thoroughly read the core text before the seminars to ensure active participation and enriched discussions. Additionally, students may be expected to deliver presentations during the workshops.

Students' presentations are limited to 10 minutes and must be on a predetermined topic. The presentations will be graded; please refer to the details below. Approval from the module leader is required for the chosen topic.

Week 1 26/09/24	An Introduction to Development in the Middle East - FM
Week 2 03/10/24	States, the Resource Curse and Opportunity - Conversation with Dr Wojciech Ostrowski
Week 3 10/10/24	Authoritarianism - FM
Week 4 17/10/24	Regional Powers, Global Powers – Dr Roland Dannreuther
Week 5 24/10/24	Energy and the Great Powers in the Contemporary Middle East - FM
Week 6 - 31/10/24	Student Engagement Week
Week 7 07/11/24	Turkish Development Model - FM Conversation with Dr Erhan Keleşoğlu, Editor-in-Chief of Journal of Social History (Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi)
Week 8 – 14/11/24	Field Trip to Turkey
Week 9 – 21/11/24	The Emergence of Gulf States, Neoliberalism and Development in the Middle East – FM Conversation with Dr Pailin Kittisereechai, and Dr Akekalak Chaiyapumee from Kasetsart University, Thailand.
Week 10 – 28/11/24	Theocracy and Development in Iran – FM Conversation with Dr Elham Etemadi, Arkin University of Northern Cyprus.
Week 11 – 5/12/24	Students' presentation

Lecture:

Some of the **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 401, Thursday: 11:00:14:00.

Field trip to Turkey

We plan to take a group of students to Istanbul between the **14-18 of November 2024**. 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.

Students are required to contribute between **£150.00 towards the trip. This non-refundable deposit must be paid by the 10th of October**. The contribution will be used to cover expenses related to accommodation, food, and transport. The School of Social Sciences will cover the remaining cost.

If you are interested, email me by September 30th, 2024, 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.

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 in participating in the field trip, please submit a 400-word essay explaining how you believe the trip will enhance your studies. If selected, you will be required to write another 400 word blog post after the trip, in which you share your reflections. Additionally, you may be asked to create a 1-2-minute video describing the significance of the field trip and how it has contributed to your academic progress in this module, the course, and your future employability.

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

There is no standard textbook for this subject, as numerous books, journals, and websites address the topic and are helpful for general reading. It's beneficial to cover some of these for background and preliminary reading, as they can provide insight into the debates and discussions surrounding the subject.

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. (2016) *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.

Cantori, L. J. (2020) *Local Politics and Development in the Middle East*, London & New York: Routledge.

- 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.
- Hale, W. (2023) *The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey*, Taylor & Francis, London.
- 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.
- Mansfield, P. (2013) *A History of the Middle East*, London: Penguin
- Milton-Edwards, B. (2006) *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Özçelik, E & Özdemir, Y. (ed) (2023), *Political Economy of Development in Turkey 1838 – Present*, Springer Nature, Singapore.

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. (2013) *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*, New York: Routledge.
- Richards, A. & Waterbury, J. (2007) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rodinson, M. (1981) *Marxism and the Muslim World*, London: Zed Books.
- Yapp, M. (1996) *The Near East Since the First World War: A History to 1995*, 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
Turkish Policy Quarterly
Turkish Studies
World Development

Lecture Schedule

Introduction

Week one, 26 of October: An Introduction to Development in the Middle East
- FM

This introductory lecture will present fundamental definitions, concepts, and theories related to the Middle East, capitalism, development, underdevelopment, colonialism, imperialism, and Orientalist appropriations.

Seminar questions

- What is the significance of the “Middle East” for the study of development?
- Is the development in the Middle East distinguishable when compared to other regions?

Essential Reading:

- Clement, H. & Springborg, R. (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1, available at:
<http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=M8mTPbnNmCwC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>
- Henry, C. & Springborg, R. (2001) *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2
- Hanieh, A. (2011), *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States*. Palgrave Macmillan US. Kindle Edition. Ch. 1.

Further Reading:

- Al-Azm, S. J. 'Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse' available at <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.
- Lewis, B. (1982) 'The Question of Orientalism', *New York Review of Books*, Vol.:29, No.: 11, June 24,
- 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

Week Two, 3 rd of October: Rentier States, the Resource Curse and Blessing - WO
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In this lecture, we will examine the political economy of oil and its implications at both international and national levels. We will consider the impact of oil on the state and society, including issues such as underdevelopment, corruption, conglomerates, clientelism, and authoritarianism. We will specifically examine the concept of a rentier state and its economic, political, and social implications.

Seminar Questions

- Does oil hinder or assist development?

- 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 Weinthal, 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. [E-book], Chapter 5.

Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press. Ch 4.

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

Week Three, 10th of October: 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.
- 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, democratisation 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:

- Brancati, D. (2014) Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 313-26.
- 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

Week Four, 17th of October: Regional Powers, Global Powers – Roland Dannreuther

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

- How have the ‘Great Powers’ influenced the Middle East?
- Why isn't there a single dominant regional power?

Essential Reading:

- Dannreuther, R. and Ostrowski, W. (2013), ‘The Political Economy of Global Resources’, eds. *Global resources: conflict and cooperation*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- 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
- Lusic, I. (1997): ‘The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political ‘Backwardness’ in Historical Perspective’, *International Organization*, 51(4): 653—683
- *Further Reading:*
 - Dannreuther, R. (2024) ‘Oil, materiality and International Relations’ in *Advanced online publication*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00471178241231726>
 - 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, F. (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.
- Morady, F. (2020) *Contemporary Iran: Politics, Economy, Religion*, Bristol: Policy Press.

<p>Week Five, 24th of November: Energy, and the Great Powers in the Contemporary Middle East- FM</p>
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Since the conclusion of World War II in 1945, the United States has risen to become a preeminent global power, wielding its influence across the international stage. With the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, the collapse of the Soviet Union removed its challenger, establishing the US as the singular leading force. This unfettered dominance has enabled the US to project its influence through various means, including direct military interventions such as those witnessed in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, as well as leveraging economic sanctions. Iran, in particular, has been subject to the latter following the 1979 Revolution. However, the US now confronts new challenges from the ascent of China and a decline in its own economic competitiveness. This lecture assesses the specific tools utilized by the US, such as the power of its currency and imposition of sanctions, to uphold its hegemony and enforce its authority on the global stage.

Seminar Questions

- How do dollars support US hegemony?
- Have economic sanctions worked in the Middle East?

Essential Reading:

- Akbarzadeh, S. (2013) *America's Challenges in the Greater Middle East: the Obama Administration's Policies*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Baylis, J. and Smith, S. eds. (2017) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Callincos, A. (2009), *Imperialism and Global Political Economy*, Polity, London.
- Dannreuther, R. (20215) "Energy security and shifting modes of governance" in *International Politics*.

- Kiernan, V. (2020), *From White Settlement to World Hegemony*, Verso, London.
- Kohli, A. (2020), *Imperialism and the Developing World: How Britain and the United States Shaped the Global Periphery*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Van de Graaf, T. (2013) "The "Oil Weapon" Reversed? Sanctions Against Iran and US-EU Structural Power." *Middle East Policy* 20, no. 3 (2013): 145-163.

Further Reading:

- Bertaut, C., Beschwitz, B. von and Curcuru, S. (2023), 'The International Role of the U.S. Dollar' Post-COVID Edition, available at www.federalreserve.gov.
- Geva, B. (1991), 'The Clearing House Arrangement', *Canadian Business Law Journal*, 19(1), pp.135.
- Kiely, R. (2017) *The Rise and Fall of Emerging Powers: Globalisation, US Power and the Global North-South Divide*, Palgrave, London.
- Kiely, R. (2008) *The New Political Economy of Development: Globalisation Imperialism and Hegemony*, Palgrave, London.
- Lenway, S. A. (1988), "Between war and commerce: economic sanctions as a tool of statecraft." *International Organization* 42, no. 02 (1988): 397-426.
- Meagher, D. (2020), 'Caught in the economic crosshairs: secondary sanctions, blocking regulations, and the American sanctions regime', *Fordham Law Review*, 89(3), pp.1006.
- Petras, J. (2019), *US Imperialism: The Changing Dynamics of Global Power*, Taylor & Francis, New York.
- Njølstad, O. (2004) "Shifting Priorities: The Persian Gulf in US Strategic Planning in the Carter Years." *Cold War History* 4, no. 3 (2004): 21-55.

Week Six, 31st of October: Student Engagement Week

Week Seven, 7th of November: Turkish Development Model

Conversation with Dr Erhan Keleşoğlu, Editor-in-Chief of Journal of Social History (Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi)

This week, we will continue from the previous lecture but assess the Turkish model of development. We focus on its evolution since the 1980s following the introduction of neoliberal economic policies. The lecture will thoroughly assess the continuity and transformation from the principles of Kamalism to the contemporary era, aiming to analyse how present-day Turkey has been shaped by its historical context and integration into the global capitalist system.

Seminar questions:

- How does Turkish secularism explain its current development?
- What is Turkish Neoliberalism, and has it supported development?
- Has religion played a role in Turkish development?

Essential Reading:

- Anderson, Perry (2008) 'Kemalism: After the Ottomans', *London Review of Books*, Vol. 30, No. 17 (11 September), <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n17/ande01.html>.
- 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.
- Morady, F. and Şiriner, İ., 2011. Islamism, Globalisation and Development in Iran and Turkey: Fundamentalism or Reconciliation with Capitalism?. *Political Economy, Crisis & Development*, p.153.

Further Reading:

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

Week 08, 9 and 10: Field Trip to Turkey – 14-18 of November 2024

This week's schedule encompasses the content of three weeks' worth of material from the module. It will span 4 days of field trips and will include participation in several workshops.

Week 11, 21st of November: The Emergence of Gulf States, Neoliberalism and Development in the Middle East

In the sphere of Middle Eastern politics, there is substantial attention from scholars and practitioners regarding the concepts of private, national, and religious "models" of development. These are seen as potential paradigms or examples for the advancement of other states in the region. However, the emergence of Gulf states in the neoliberal era demonstrated that development is not strictly confined to one model or the other; instead, it is an integrated and global process. For example, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Qatar seized the opportunity presented by IMF and World Bank-imposed policies in the Middle East by taking a proactive approach to investing in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Morocco. The implementation of new liberal policies has bolstered their increasing involvement in the region. This lecture will delve into the impact of these developments over the recent decades.

Seminar questions:

- Are Middle Eastern countries exceptionally developed compared to other regions?

- What are the main features of their development?
- Are their models of development viable?

Essential Reading:

- Ehteshami, A. Horesh, N. (2019) *How China's Rise is Changing the Middle East*, Taylor & Francis, London.
- 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
- Hvidt, M. (2019) *Social and Economic Development in the Contemporary Arab Gulf States*, Denmark, University of Southern Denmark Press.
- Mahdavi, M. & Keskin, T. (2022) *Rethinking China, the Middle East and Asia in a 'Multiplex World'*, Brill, London.
- Miniaoui, H. (ed.) (2020) *Economic Development in the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries: From Rentier States to Diversified Economies*, London, Springer.
- Temiz, K. (2021) *Chinese Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East*, Taylor & Francis, London
- Zaccara, L. & Haghirian, M. (2022) *China's Economic and Political Presence in the Middle East and South Asi*, Taylor & Francis, London.

Further Reading

- Ehteshami, A. Horesh, N. (2017) *China's Presence in the Middle East: The Implications of the One Belt, One Road Initiative*, Taylor & Francis, London.
- Hanieh, A. (2013) *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*. Haymarket Books.

Week Twelve, 28th of November: Theocracy and Capitalism in Iran - FM

This session will examine the intricate complexities of the Iranian political system and its profound implications for the country's development post-1979. In stark contrast to previous sessions, the lecture will assess the interplay between Islam and theocracy, shedding light on how these factors have shaped Iran's trajectory of capitalist development.

Seminar Questions

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

Essential Reading:

- Gohardani, F. & Tizro, Z. (2019) *The Political Economy of Iran: Development, Revolution and Political Violence*, London: Palgrave.
- Maloney, S. (2015) *Iran's Political Economy Since the Revolution*, United Kingdom: Cambridge.
- 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>
- Kirkham, K. (2022) *The Political Economy of Sanctions: Resilience and Transformation in Russia and Iran*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Week Thirteen, 5th of December: Students Mini-Conference, Presentation

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

During the course of the semester, you must write four distinct blog posts that serve the purpose of reflecting on and evaluating the diverse array of lectures, discussions, and significant arguments that surface during the workshops. Each blog entry is expected to be 400 words in length and should encompass an in-depth exploration of important concepts, theories, and their practical applications within the scope of the course material.

To write your blog, it's important to attend your classes and reflect on the different topics covered in the lectures. We may discuss your blogs during the seminar class, and you might need to present a review as well.

We may also upload your blog to DEN's online magazine, but we need your agreement to do so. <http://insidewestminster.co.uk/> You may want to include this in your CV and LinkedIn as it is essential for your employability.

Blog 1: Students are expected to read the module handbook and demonstrate their understanding of the course and its expectations. Here are some questions that you may consider answering:

- What concepts and theories will we cover, and why are they significant to the study of the Middle East?
- Can you identify 2-3 articles or book chapters that may help you develop some concepts and theories? Read the introduction of the article or the book chapter to gather some ideas.

The due date for submission is the 30th of September 2024.

Grading Criteria

- Your blog should show:
- Your understanding of the concepts and theories covered in the module, such as Orientalism, rentier states, and neoliberalism.
- Your ability to demonstrate understanding of the reading list and its relevance to the concepts and theories covered in the module.

Blog 2: summarise the critical points covered in sessions 2, 3, and 4, with a deadline for submission on the 21 of October 2024.

- Summary the critical points covered in sessions 2, 3, and 4, and assess the relevance of the concepts and theories to understanding the Middle East.
- Identify from the recommended readings the critical points of the problems of the region and possible solutions. For example, rentier state, power and authoritarianism, and development.

Grading Criteria

Your blog should cover

- Your understanding of the critical points covered in sessions 2, 3 and 4.
- Successfully recognised and articulated the significance of the concepts and theories with thorough and well-founded reasons.
- Understanding and relevance of the readings.
- **Blog 3:** The Significance of sessions 5, 7, and 8, which are summarised in this blog, with a submission deadline of the 20th of November 2024.
- How relevant are the concepts and theories of sessions 5, 7 and 8, and why would you have or will you apply them to your coursework?
- Identify relevant articles/books you have read to develop your understanding of these concepts, theories, and development models that will assist you with your presentation and final coursework.

Grading Criteria

Your blog should cover

- Analysis of the significance of various concepts, theories, and arguments related to the Middle East.
- Summarise the article and explain its relevance to your coursework or essay.

Blog 4: Summarise the critical points from sessions 9 and 10 in this blog. The submission deadline is on the 16th of December 2024.

- Providing insights into the major themes and approaches that have contributed to your understanding of the problems in the Middle East and the various solutions available.
- How and why would you apply the themes you have learnt to your essay?

Grading Criteria

Your blog should cover

- What are the application and significance of concepts and theories in your essay, and how would you use them?
- What articles and books will you be considering when writing your essay and why?

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.

Grading Criteria

- Clear PowerPoint presentation
- Demonstrate relevant concepts, theories and their application
- Provide appropriate arguments and evidence to support them with sufficient references to readings
- Appropriate bibliography that you have researched for the presentation
- Must complete your presentation in 10 minutes.

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 – 30/09/2024 B2- 21/10/2024 B3- 18/11/2024 B4- 16/12/2024
CW 2 Presentation	25%	NONE	N/A	Presentation: 10 minutes of individual presentation 16/12/2024
CW3 Essay	50%	30%	N/A	Essay, 2000 words 09/01/2025

Essay Questions

1. Discuss the importance of natural resource wealth in the development of energy-producing countries in the Middle East.
2. Is Middle Eastern development 'exceptional'? If so, what accounts for this 'exceptionalism'?
3. What policies have the Middle Eastern countries implemented to address sustainable development, given their high reliance on natural resources in the region? Provide examples from two countries.
4. What role has religion played in shaping the political economy of the Middle East?
5. What role do the great powers play in the Middle East, and why?
6. How do you explain the persistence of conflict in the Middle East?

7. Are petrodollars an important factor that keeps authoritarian regimes in power? Discuss this claim by analysing a country in the Middle East.
8. Is democratic change and social improvement in the Middle East more likely to come through revolution or the ballot box?
9. How has the Ukraine war impacted energy production and development in the Middle East?

Note - If there are any questions or topics that you would like to explore which still need to be 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 must be revised 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, and 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 need to improve with regard to a number of the features mentioned above. Generally, the analysis and evaluation may be poor, so the work fails to convey a 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 (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 need to be better 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 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 is 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/I-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.