INTL 8315
Comparative Politics of the Middle East
TH 3:30-6:15
214 IA Building[1]

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This graduate course explores recent scholarship on the politics of the Middle East and North Africa, with the aim of highlighting the mutual engagement of area studies and comparative politics. Most of the literature read will be from the post 2011 Arab uprisings (or Arab Spring) but we will also draw on some of the earlier important comparative politics works (as well as contributions from other disciplines) on the Middle East and North Africa on which current scholarship builds, and which it also critiques. We will cover various topics, addressed through a range of different theoretical and methodological lenses, that have long preoccupied political scientists working on the Middle East. These topics include: the persistence of authoritarianism, democratization, religion and state, civil society and political participation, Islamist movements, sectarianism, gender politics, the politics of oil, and others. Students will also work on independent research projects throughout the semester and will workshop their work-in-progress in the seminars. Each project will culminate in a research paper, or a literature review and a research proposal/prospectus, to be submitted at the end of the semester.

Seminar participation (20%)
Come to class prepared to offer reflections on the readings, pose and answer discussion questions, and provide feedback to other students on their research projects. The seminar will be largely devoted to discussion of the readings and of students' work and will rely therefore on students' contribution. Once in the semester, you will be asked to lead a seminar discussion on one of the assigned readings. This will involve a ten-minute introduction and evaluation of one of the readings, and a twenty to thirty -minute open discussion of the piece.

Presentations (20%)

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[1] The IA building is officially known as Candler Hall. "Allen Candler served Georgia in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1883 to 1891 and as Governor from 1898 to 1902. Candler also served in the Confederate Army, and as Governor, successfully lobbied for a Democratic whites-only primary based on the argument that the Democratic Party was not subject to the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibits states from disenfranchising voters based on race or skin color. In an 1899 editorial, Candler claimed that the "enfranchisement of the Negro was a crime against civilization." His tenure coincided with the most violent lynchings in Georgia history, and he was noted for his response to the lynching of Sam Hose in 1899, in which he admonished the black victims of the violence as well as the entire black community." USG created an advisory group on building names, which recommended to change the names of 75 university buildings across Georgia, including 33 at UGA, among them Candler Hall. However, the Board of Regents decided not to change any of the names.

There will be two formal presentations per student during the semester: 1) Formal presentation of an article/chapter related to the week's topic and 2) Presentation of work in progress toward the final paper (to take place in the last two weeks of the semester).

Reading Responses (20%)
By Wednesday at 8pm each week students should post a one-page (double space) review of the required readings for the upcoming Thursday class on ELC. In addition to analysis and reflection, the response should propose three discussion questions to be addressed in class.

Final Paper/Proposal (40%)
A research paper/proposal, outlining a research question, a review of the literature, research design, methods employed/to be employed, and preliminary empirical findings (if available). This should be along the lines of a proposal for the Social Science Research Council IDRF program, or to NSF. Alternatively, students can write a more extensive literature review along the lines of *World Politics* review articles.

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Required Texts

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- All articles and most chapters will be available on ELC.
- Students who need additional background on Middle East politics or are interested in teaching undergraduate Middle East politics courses in the future, can purchase: Lust, Ellen. *The Middle East*, CQ Press.
- To keep abreast of new publications, follow the Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) at http://pomeps.org
- I also highly suggest following current events in the Middle East through such sources as Al-Monitor: http: http://www.al-monitor.com
  Sada: http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/
  Foreign Policy: http://foreignpolicy.com/channel/middle-east-africa
  Al-Jazeera: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast
  New York Times: http://www.nytimes.com

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Schedule and Readings
*** Please note that this is a tentative schedule and changes will be made during the semester

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Week 1 (Jan 13): Introduction

- Read syllabus

Week 2 (Jan 20): Studying Middle East Politics

- *The Middle East*, Chapter 1: "The Making of the Modern Middle East."
- The Ethics of Research in the Middle East." POMEPS Studies, 2014. https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/POMEPS_Studies_8_Ethics.pdf
- Lewis, Bernard. "The roots of Muslim rage." *The Atlantic Monthly* 266.3 (1990): 47-60.
- Said, Edward. "Orientalism. 1978." *New York: Vintage* 1994 (1979). Introduction

- "The tragedy of the Arabs." *Economist*. July 5, 2014.
- **[P]** Tessler, Mark, Jodi Nachtwey, and Anne Banda. "Introduction: The Area Studies Controversy." In *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics*, edited by Mark Tessler. Indian University Press, 1999: *vii-xv*.

Week 3 (Jan 27): Authoritarianism

- Ross, Michael. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53:3 (2001).
- Herb, Michael. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 37:3 (2005).
- Bellin, Eva. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." Comparative Politics 36, no. 2 (2004): 139–57.
- Wedeen, Lisa. *Ambiguities of domination: Politics, rhetoric, and symbols in contemporary Syria*. University of Chicago Press, 2015. (Chapter 1).
- Herb, Michael. "Princes and parliaments in the Arab world." *The Middle East Journal* 58.3 (2004): 367-384.
- **[P]** Jones, Calvert W. "Seeing Like an Autocrat: Liberal Social Engineering in an Illiberal State." Perspectives on Politics 13, no. 1 (2015): 24–41.

Week 4 (Feb 3): Democratization and Democratic Backsliding

- Guest Lecture: Dr. Kim Guiler
- Jamal, Amaney A. *Of Empires and Citizens: Pro-American Democracy Or No Democracy at All?* Princeton University Press, 2012. (Chapter 1).
- Rogenhofer, Julius Maximilian, and Ayala Panievsky. "Antidemocratic populism in power: comparing Erdoğan's Turkey with Modi's India and Netanyahu's Israel." Democratization 27.8 (2020): 1394-1412.
- Esen, Berk, and Sebnem Gumuscu. "Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey." *Third World Quarterly* 37.9 (2016): 1581-1606.
  [P] Stacher, Joshua (2012) *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria* (Stanford University Press (selections).

Week 5 (Feb 10): Elections

- Lust, Ellen. "Competitive clientelism in the Middle East." *Journal of Democracy* 20.3 (2009): 122-135.
- de Miguel, Carolina, Amaney Jamal, and Mark Tessler. "Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out?" (2014).
- Masoud, Tarek. *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. (Chapter 1 & 4).
  [P] Corstange, Daniel. *The Price of a Vote in the Middle East: Clientelism and Communal Politics in Lebanon and Yemen*. Cambridge University Press, 2017. (Chapter 1).
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Week 6 (Feb 17): Civil Society and Social Movements

- <mark>Jamal, Amaney. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton University Press, 2007: 1-20, 50-95, 127-138. (available online through UGA library)</mark>
- Langhor, Vicky. "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics: Egypt and Liberalizing Arab Regimes." *Comparative Politics* (June 2004).
- Wedeen, Lisa. "The Politics of Deliberation: Qat Chews as Public Spheres in Yemen." *Public Culture* 19: 1. (2007): 59-84.
- Salime, Zakia. "Securing the Market, Pacifying Civil Society, Empowering Women: The Middle East Partnership Initiative." *Sociological Forum*. Vol. 25. No. 4. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010.
- **[P]** Pearlman, Wendy. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." Perspectives on Politics 11, no.2 (2013), 387-409.

Week 7 (Feb 24): Religion and the State

- Fish, Steven. "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* 55 (October 2002).
- Lust, Ellen. "Missing the Third Wave: Islam, Institutions and Democracy in the Middle East," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (June 2011).
- Bellin, Eva. "Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study of Religion and Politics," *World Politics* 60:2. (January 2008): 315-347.
- Tessler, Mark. "Religion, religiosity and the place of Islam in political life: insights from the Arab barometer surveys." *Middle East Law and Governance* 2.2 (2010): 221-252.
- **[P]** Hoffman, Michael and Amaney Jamal. "Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives." *The Journal of Politics* 76.3 (2014): 595-606.

Week 8 (March 3): Islamists in Opposition and in Power

- Schwedler, Jillian. "Can Islamists become moderates? Rethinking the inclusion-moderation hypothesis." *World Politics* 63.02 (2011): 347-376.
- El-Ghobashy, Mona. "The metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37.03 (2005): 373-395.
- Cammett, Melani, and Pauline Jones Luong. "Is there an Islamist political advantage?" Annual Review of Political Science 17 (2014): 187-206.
- **[P]** Cammett, Melani and Sukriti Issar. "Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: The Political Geography of Welfare in Lebanon." *World Politics* 62. (July 2010).

Week 9 (March 17): Arab Uprisings and Aftermath

- <u>Guest Lecture: Dr. Lama Mourad</u>
- Mourad, Lama. "Modes of ordering: labelling, classification and categorization in Lebanon's refugee response." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 31.4 (2018): 544-565.
- Bellin, Eva. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44, no. 2 (2012): 127-149.

- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. "Why the Modest Harvest?" *Journal of Democracy* 24.4 (2013): 29-44.
- Stepan, Alfred, and Juan J. Linz. "Democratization Theory and the" Arab Spring". *Journal of Democracy* 24.2 (2013): 15-30.
- Gause III, F. Gregory. "Why Middle East Studies missed the Arab spring: The myth of authoritarian stability." *Foreign Affairs.* 90 (2011).
- **[P]** Angrist, Michele Penner. "Understanding the success of mass civic protest in Tunisia." *The Middle East Journal* 67.4 (2013): 547-564.

Week 10 (March 24) Conflict, Order, Violence

- Guest Lecture: <u>Refugee Voices</u>
- POMEPS: From Mobilization to Counter-Revolution (pp. 3-7, 18-19, 25-37, 63-69): <u>http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/POMEPS_Studies_20_Mobilization_Web-REV.pdf</u>
- Hashemi, Nader, and Danny Postel. *Sectarianization: Mapping the new politics of the Middle East* (selections).
- <u>https://www.cfr.org/article/syrias-civil-war</u>
- "America's Abandonment of Syria." *The New Yorker,* April 2020.
- Blanch, Andrea K. "Women Reborn: A case study of the intersection of women, religion and peacebuilding in a Palestinian village in Israel." 4.2 (2012): 30-59.
- **[P]** Manekin, Devorah, and Tamar Mitts. "Effective for Whom? Ethnic Identity and Nonviolent Resistance." *American Political Science Review* (2021): 1-20.

Week 11 (March 31) Gender and the State

- Guest Lecture: <u>Dr. Mona Tajali</u>
- Ross, Michael. "Oil, Islam, and women." *American Political Science Review* 102.01 (2008): 107-123.
- Moghadam, Valentine. "Modernizing women and democratization after the Arab Spring." *The Journal of North African Studies* 19.2 (2014).
- Kandiyoti, Deniz (1988) 'Bargaining with Patriarchy,' Gender and Society 2: 274-290.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others." *American anthropologist* 104.3 (2002): 783-790.
- On Teaching Gender and Islam in the Middle East: An Interview with Lila Abu Lughod <u>https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/41129</u>
- **[P]** Cherif, Feryal. "Culture, Rights, and Norms: Women's Rights Reform in Muslim Countries." *Journal of Politics* 72. (October, 2010): 1144-60.

Week 12 (April 7): Gender, Religion, and Activism

- Mahmood, Saba. "Feminist theory, embodiment, and the docile agent: Some reflections on the Egyptian Islamic revival." *Cultural anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202-236.

- Ben Shitrit, Lihi. "Women, freedom, and agency in religious political movements: Reflections from women activists in Shas and the Islamic movement in Israel." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 9.3 (2013): 81-107.
- Clark, Janine and Jillain Schwedler. "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism in Islamist Parties." *Comparative Politics*. (April 2003): 293-309.
- Deeb, Lara. *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton University Press, 2011 (Introduction and chapter 7).
- **[P]** Nielsen, Richard A. "Women's Authority in Patriarchal Social Movements: The Case of Female Salafi Preachers."

Week 13 (April 14): Gender and Party Politics

- Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Eleanor Gao. "Small Tribes, Big Gains: The Strategic Uses of Gender Quotas in the Middle East." Comparative Politics 49, no. 2 (2017): 149–67.
- Ben Shitrit, Lihi Ben. "Authenticating representation: Women's quotas and islamist parties." Politics & Gender 12.4 (2016): 781-806.
- Masoud, Tarek, Amaney Jamal, and Elizabeth Nugent. "Using the Qurʾān to Empower Arab Women? Theory and Experimental Evidence From Egypt." Comparative Political Studies 49, no. 12 (2016): 1555–98.
- **[P]** Blaydes, Lisa. "How Does Islamic Local Governance Affect the Lives of Women?" Governance 27, no. 3 (2014): 489–509.

Week 14 (April 21): Students' presentations

Week 15 (April 28): Students' presentations

Final Paper Due: May 11 at 5pm.

Additional References (by topic)

Studying Middle East Politics

- Anderson, Lisa. "Too Much Information: Political Science, the University and the Public Sphere." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no.2 (2012): 385-396.
- Bayat, Asaf. "Arab Revolutions and the Study of Middle Eastern Societies." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 3 (2011): 386.
- Heydemann, Steve. "Defending the Discipline: Middle East Studies After 9/11." *Journal of Democracy* 13:3. (2002): 103-107.
- Calhoun, Craig. "Libyan Money, Academic Missions, and Public Social Science." *Public Culture* 24, no.1 (2012): 9-45.
- Anderson, Lisa. "Politics in the Middle East: Opportunities and Limits in the Quest for Theory." In *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics,* edited by Mark Tessler. Indian University Press, 1999.
- Bayat, Asef. "Studying Middle Eastern Societies: Imperatives and Modalities of Thinking Comparatively." *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin.* (Winter 2001): 1-8.
- Haddad, Bassam. "Knowledge production on the Middle East in times of upheaval." *PS* 46, no.2 (2013).

Authoritarianism

- Albrecht, Holger. "How can opposition support authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt." *Democratization* 12.3 (2005): 378-397.
- Brownlee, Jason. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies." *World Politics*. (July 2007).
- Herb, Michael. "Princes and parliaments in the Arab world." *The Middle East Journal* 58.3 (2004): 367-384
- Lucas, Russell E. "Monarchical authoritarianism: survival and political liberalization in a Middle Eastern regime type." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36.01 (2004): 103-119.
- Benhabib, Seyla. "The new legitimation crises of Arab states and Turkey." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 40.4-5 (2014): 349-358.
- Hess, Steve. "From the Arab spring to the Chinese winter: The institutional sources of authoritarian vulnerability and resilience in Egypt, Tunisia and China." *International Political Science Review* (2013)
- Menaldo, Victor. "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs." *Journal of Politics* 74, no. 3 (2012): 707-722.

- Lust-Okar, Ellen. *Structuring conflict in the Arab world: Incumbents, opponents, and institutions*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Yom, Sean L. and F. Gregory Gause III. "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 4 (2012): 74-90.
- Wedeen, Lisa. "Seeing like a Citizen, Acting like a State: Exemplary Events in Unified Yemen." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45. 2003: 680-713.
- Brownlee, Jason. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Cambridge University Press, 2007 (selections).
- Stacher, Joshua. *Adaptable autocrats: regime power in Egypt and Syria*. Stanford University Press, 2012 (selections).
- Byman, Daniel. "Regime Change in the Middle East: Problems and Prospects." *Political Science Quarterly* 127, no.1 (2012): 25-46.

Elections

- Elgindy, Khaled. "Egypt's Troubled Transition: Elections without Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 35, no. 2 (2012): 89-104.
- Carey, John M. and Andrew Reynolds. "The Impact of Election Systems." *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 36-47.
- Blaydes, Lisa. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Lust, Ellen. "Elections and Parties." In *The Arab Uprisings in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Marc Lynch. Columbia University Press. (forthcoming).
- Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. "Multi-party elections in the Arab world: Institutional engineering and oppositional strategies." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36.4 (2002)
- Brownlee, Jason. "Executive Elections in the Arab World: When and How Do They Matter?" *Comparative Political Studies*. (2011): 807-828.
- Ahmed, Amel. "Revolutionary blind spots: The politics of electoral choice and the Egyptian transition." Middle East Law and Governance 3 (2011), 3-12.
- Keshavarzian, Arang. "Contestation without Democracy: Elite Fragmentation in Iran." In *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*. Edited by Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Angrist. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005.

Civil Society and Social Movements

- Leenders, Reinoud. "Collective action and mobilization in Dar'a: An anatomy of the onset of Syria's popular Uprising." *Mobilization* 17, no.4 (2012), 419-434.
- Beinin, Joel and Frédéric Vairel, eds. *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011 .
- Augustus, Norton R. *Civil Society in the Middle East*. BRILL (1995) 1-25.
- Clarke, Killian. "Unexpected Brokers of Mobilization: Contingency and Networks in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising." *Comparative Politics* 46.4 (2014): 379-397.

- Meirowitz, Adam and Joshua Tucker. "People Power or a One Shot Deal? A Dynamic Model of Protest." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no.2 (2013): 478-490.
- Benski, Tova and Lauren Langman. "The effects of affects: The place of emotions in the mobilizations of 2011." Current Sociology 61.4 (2013): 525-540.
- Härdig, Anders C. "Beyond the Arab revolts: conceptualizing civil society in the Middle East and North Africa." *Democratization* ahead-of-print (2014): 1-23.
- Ismail, Salwa. "The Syrian Uprising: Imagining and Performing the Nation." Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism 11: 3 (2011): 538-549.
- Leenders, Reinoud and Steven Heydemann. "Popular Mobilization in Syria: Opportunity and Threat, and the Social Networks of Early Risers." *Mediterranean Politics* 17, no.2 (2012): 139-159.
- Meirowitz, Adam and Joshua Tucker. "People Power or a One Shot Deal? A Dynamic Model of Protest." American Journal of Political Science 57, no.2 (2013): 478-490.
- Pearlman, Wendy. *Violence, nonviolence, and the Palestinian national movement*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Bayat, Asef. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change Politics*. Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Bayat, Asef. *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007: Chapter 1
- Schwedler, Jillian. "Cop Rock: Protest, Identity and Dancing Riot Police in Jordan." *Social Movement Studies* 4:2. (2005): 155-175.
- El-Mahdi, Rabab. "Enough! Egypt's Quest for Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 42. (2009): 1011-1039.

Religion and the State

- Elsayyad, May. "Voting Islamist or voting secular? An empirical analysis of voting outcomes in Egypt's "Arab Spring"." *Public Choice* 160.1-2 (2014): 109-130
- Hefner, Robert, ed. *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism Contestation, Democratization*. Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Yavuz, M. Hakan. *Secularism and Muslim democracy in Turkey*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- An-Na'im Na, Abdullahi Ahmed. *Islam and the secular state: Negotiating the future of Sharia*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Bayat, Asef. "The Making of Post-Islamist Iran." *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2013. 35-65.
- Tepe, Sultan. "Religious Parties and Democracy: A Comparative Assessment of Israel and Turkey." *Democratization* 12:3. (June 2005): 283-307.

Islamists in Opposition and in Power

- Lefèvre, Raphaël. *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria*. Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *The Muslim Brotherhood: evolution of an islamist movement*.

Princeton University Press, 2015.

- Clark, Janine. "Threats, Structures and Resources: Cross-Ideological Coalition Building in Jordan." *Comparative Politics*. (October 2010): 101-119.
- Euban, Roxanne L. *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism.* Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Mitchell, Richard Paul. *The society of the Muslim Brothers*. Oxford University Press, USA, 1993.
- Masoud, Tarek. "Are They Democrats: Does It Matter? " *Journal of Democracy* 19.3 (2008): 19-24.
- Brown, Nathan. *When Victory is Not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics.* Cornell University Press, 2012: Chapters 1, 6 and 7.
- Hamid, Shadi. *Temptations of power: Islamists and illiberal democracy in a new Middle East*. Oxford University Press, 2014 (selections).
- Sadowski, Yahya. "Political Islam: Asking the Wrong Questions?" *Annual Review of Political Science* (2006): 215-240.
- (POMEPS) Rethinking Islamist Politics http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/POMEPS_Studies6_IslamistPolitics.pdf
- (POMEPS) Works in Progress Islamism in the IS Age http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/POMEPS_Studies_12_ISAge_Web.pdf

Gender and the State

- Angrist, Michele Penner. "War, Resisting the West, and Women's Labor: Toward an Understanding of Arab Exceptionalism." *Politics and Gender* 8. (2012): 51-82.
- Blaydes, Lisa and Drew Linzer. "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalism Islam." *World Politics* 60:4. (July 2008).
- Charrad, Mounira. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. California: University of California Press, 2001: 1-13, 145-241.
- Charrad, Mounira M., and Amina Zarrugh. "Equal or complementary? Women in the new Tunisian Constitution after the Arab Spring." *The Journal of North African Studies* 19.2 (2014): 230-243.
- Donno, Daniela and Bruce Russett. "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages?" *World Politics* 56:4. (2004): 582-607.
- Langhi, Zahra. "Gender and state-building in Libya: towards a politics of inclusion." *The Journal of North African Studies* 19.2 (2014): 200-210.
- Al-Rasheed, Madawi. *A most masculine state: Gender, politics and religion in Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Ali, Zahra. *Women and gender in Iraq: Between nation-building and fragmentation*. Vol. 51. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Atshan, Sa'ed. *Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique*. Stanford University Press, 2020.
- Massad, J. 2002. Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World. Public Culture, 14(2), 361-386.

Gender, Religion, and Activism

- Singerman, Diane. "Youth, Gender and Dignity in the Egyptian Uprising." Journal of Middle East Women's Studies 9, no.3 (2013): 1-27.
- Olimat, Muhamad S. *Arab Spring and Arab Women: Challenges and Opportunities*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Elsadda, Hoda. "Women's rights activism in post-Jan25 Egypt: Combating the Shadow of the First Lady Syndrom in the Arab World." *Middle East Law and Governanc*e 3 (2011), 84-93.
- Hafez, Sherine. "The revolution shall not pass through women's bodies: Egypt, uprising and gender politics*." The Journal of North African Studies* 19.2 (2014): 172-185.
- Johansson-Nogues, Elisabeth. "Gendering the Arab Spring?" *Security Dialogue* 44, no.5-6: 393-409.
- McKanders, Karla Mari. "Anatomy of an Uprising: Women, Democracy, And The Moroccan Feminist Spring." *BU International Law* Journal 32 (2014): 147-227.
- Hatem, Mervat. "Economic and Political Liberation in Egypt and the Demise of State Feminism." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24: 2. (1992): 231-251.
- MacLeod, Arlene. "Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo." *Signs* 17. (Spring 1992): 533-557.
- Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. "Hijab and Choice." In *Innovation in Islam*, edited by Mehran Kamrava. University of California Press, 2011: 190-212.
- Ahmed, Leila. *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence from the Middle East to America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of Modern Debate*. Yale University Press, 1992. (Selections).
- Barlas, Asma. *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Quran*. Texas University Press, 2002.
- Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Al-Ali, Nadje. *Secularism, gender and the state in the Middle East: the Egyptian women's movement*. Cambridge University Press, 2000. (Selections).
- Blaydes, Lisa, and Drew A. Linzer. "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam." World Politics 60, no. 4 (2008): 576–609.

Arab Uprisings

- https://pomeps.org/arab-uprisings-bibliography-books
- https://pomeps.org/arab-uprisings-bibliography-articles
- Pearlman, Wendy R. *We crossed a bridge and it trembled: Voices from Syria*. Custom House, 2017
- Bayat, Asef. *Revolution without Revolutionaries*. Stanford University Press, 2017.
- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. "Why the Modest Harvest?" *Journal of Democracy* 24.4 (2013): 29-44.
- Stepan, Alfred, and Juan J. Linz. "Democratization Theory and the" Arab Spring". *Journal of Democracy* 24.2 (2013): 15-30.

- Masoud, Tarek. "Why Tunisia?" *Journal of Democracy* 29.4 (2018): 166-175.

Sectarian Politics

- Louër, Laurence. *Shiism and politics in the Middle East*. Hurst, 2012. (Intro, Chapter 4, Conclusion).
- Madawi Al-Rasheed, "Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* (11:3, 2011)
- Wehrey, Frederic M. *Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013 (Selections).
- Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*
- F. Gregory Gause III, "Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War," Brookings.
- Kingston, Paul WT. *Reproducing sectarianism: Advocacy networks and the politics of civil society in postwar Lebanon*. SUNY Press, 2013.
- Matthiesen, Toby. *Sectarian gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that wasn't*. Stanford University Press, 2013.
- USIP Series on Sectarianism in the Middle East http://www.usip.org/publications/usip-series-sectarianism-in-the-middle-east

Media

- Lynch, Marc. *Voices of the new Arab public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East politics today*. Columbia University Press, 2006 (selections).
- Howard, Philip N. and Muzammil M. Hussain. "The Role of Digital Media." *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 3 (2011): 35-48.
- Salvatore, Armando. "New Media, the "Arab Spring", and the Metamorphosis of the Public Sphere: Beyond Western Assumptions on Collective Agency and Democratic Politics." *Constellations* 20 (2013)
- Khamis, Sahar, Paul B. Gold, and Katherine Vaughn. "Beyond Egypt's 'Facebook Revolution' and Syria's 'YouTube Uprising:' Comparing Political Contexts, Actors and Communication Strategies." *Arab Media & Society* 15 (2012)
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