

PROTEST POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Fall 2021

Instructor:	Semuhi Sinanoglu	Time:	Tue 1-3 pm
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Office Hours:	Th 10-11 am, or by appointment		

Course Objectives: This course aims to provide an overview of important explanatory factors for the collective mobilizations in the Middle Eastern politics. The course is organized thematically, but it also follows major turning points chronologically. We will investigate key topics such as the legacies of colonial state on the formation of collective identities; the repercussions of patrimonial capitalism and rentier state on resource mobilization; the impact of autocratic ruling bargains on contentious politics, and the role of foreign intervention in a comparative perspective, by covering different countries under each theme. Middle East exhibits a great diversity in terms of level of economic development, social mobilizations, and state capacity among others. The main expected learning outcome of this course is to capture this intra-regional variation and deconstruct blanket-explanations for the region's politics. Secondly, Middle Eastern studies have so long suffered from exceptionalism. The thematically-organized structure of the course aims to equip students with tools of analysis and contextual information to draw conclusions beyond the regional politics. The course will also invite students to adopt analytical frameworks that attribute agency to people and challenge over-deterministic accounts of social change. They will be encouraged to be attentive to social mobilizations under different types of autocratic ruling bargains. Lastly, through in-class discussions and debates with invited guests, students will follow current events across the region so that they can identify major actors, events, and institutions, especially in the context of social mobilizations.

Requirements & Grading Policy:

- **Participation (10%):** Regular attendance is crucial for getting the most out of this course. In addition to the readings listed in the course outline, we will cover news articles, watch videos, and organize group discussions in class. Please note that you are expected to actively participate in these conversations. I'll take into consideration your active participation, not attendance.
- **Short Presentations (10%):** You will brief the rest of the class about a set of readings you choose. You'll sign up for **one country-focus reading** and **one recommended readings** across different weeks. I'll distribute a sign-up sheet in our first class. You should go beyond summarizing the articles, make connections with the general topic, provide your critical engagement with these readings, and most importantly, connect them with current developments in that country, if possible. I expect you to extract important historical details and the core of the argument, and present them in a succinct, critical and accessible way to others. The output/medium of your presentation may take different formats: **(4-6 min. presentation per reading)**
 - You may record your presentation in advance and run it in class;
 - You may deliver your presentation on-the-spot.

Regardless, you are highly encouraged to prepare PowerPoint presentations or some visual materials to keep your friends engaged. **Please send the materials to me via email one day before the class.** You may find some tips on how to deliver a high-quality presentation below:

- Make sure you relay the basic argument of the reading as well as key historical events; but do not spend more than 2-3 min. to give an overview. Try to connect it to the required readings, readings from previous weeks, and/or contemporary events in the region.

- A high quality presentation may take the following structure, though this is just a suggestion; and you are free to follow another flow/structure, too. First, in the very beginning, provide an overview of the presentation, a road map. Set the agenda first. Second, summarize the reading and communicate the main take-away. Third, share with us your overall take. What's your view on the topic? You are expected to support your argument with evidence (either by connecting it with other readings or referring to some events/incidents in the region etc.)
- You will be evaluated on the basis of your 1) ability to synthesize, 2) to summarize quickly, succinctly, and to-the-point, 3) and style of presentation. Do not just read it from paper. Be as engaging as possible. Ask questions to your audience to make sure they are following you. Share interesting anecdotes/puzzling statistics to intrigue them, etc.
- **Connecting-the-dots(30%):** Even though we cover different topics in different weeks, they are all connected, in one way or the other. You'll write **two articles** (around 1500 words each) that connects the dots between topics covered throughout. To give you an idea of what I mean by connecting-the-dots: e.g. You may write about public opinion under rentier regimes by combining the week on rentierism and the week on public opinion, etc. You are expected to use **both required AND recommended** readings in the syllabus hand-in-hand with non-academic sources such as news articles. **As for academic sources, you are expected to cite ONLY sources listed in the syllabus, that's why there are so many recommended readings outlined here.** I don't expect you to conduct extra research to find relevant sources.
 - You should pitch your ideas to me first with a headline and short paragraph that outlines the basic contours of your argument/topics to be covered one week before the deadlines. The articles are due on **October 19** and **November 16**, respectively.
 - Avoid long, convoluted sentences. Make your writing as accessible as possible.
 - In your paper, you are expected to advance an argument. This is not just a summary of readings. Your paper must be argumentative. You must have a concise and clear thesis statement in your introduction, which encapsulates the overall argument, and throughout, you must closely follow your thesis statement. Your introduction must have a good 'hook' in the beginning, and argumentative road map for the rest of the paper.
 - A coherent set of arguments and evidence should be deployed to support the thesis statement. Arguments and evidence must be sophisticated and persuasive. The connection between each supporting argument and the thesis statement should be made clear.
 - The flow of your argumentation must be well-structured. There should be no jumps or gaps.
 - Each paragraph should have only one main idea and a clear topic sentence.
 - Your writing must be clear and concise. Proof-read before you submit.
 - Do not exceed the word limit. You'll be penalized. You should learn how to write concisely!
 - Cite properly. All materials that require citation should be cited. Use [Chicago author-date citation style](#).
- **Final Exam (35%):** There will be a 3-hour long open-book examination on **TBD** with a time window of 48 hours. You'll be graded based on the following criteria:
 - You must cite properly and with page numbers. Use [Chicago author-date citation style](#). You are expected to refer to all readings relevant to the question. Your answers must be concise, to-the-point, and well-structured.
 - You should refer to specific concepts, arguments, key historical events and figures covered in class and the readings to signal your level of engagement with the course materials. You must support your argument(s) with evidence retrieved from the course materials.

- Each week, readings are classified into three categories: Required, country-focus, and recommended. For the exam, you are only expected to use required readings and one country-focus reading per week as well as lecture notes.

- **Collective Assignment - Podcast (15%):** You'll form a working group of 2-3 to prepare a podcast together. As a group, you'll pick up a specific topic and produce content to be published on **our course's Twitter account**, if you feel comfortable with it and if this posting does not jeopardize your safety in any way.

To give you some ideas: Middle Eastern countries dealt with the [COVID-crisis in varying ways](#) - autocratic regimes seized this pandemic as an opportunity for undermining popular mobilizations and crackdowns on civil society. You can create some comparative content and poke around the question of how. On the same topic, this pandemic hit some populations, especially historically marginalized and disadvantaged communities, more than others. You might probe how they fare in different countries. How did the pandemic impact their solidarity? You can explore other topics such as the impact of emerging technologies such as AI and big data analytics on autocratic surveillance, the future of protest movements in post-oil economies as oil-based ruling bargains are collapsing, the current state of LGBTQ+ mobilizations in the region, to cite a few. It is up to you to define the scope and come up with an idea. **If you'd like to conduct interviews** with civil society activists, politicians, journalists, academics from the region, I will be more than happy to share my contacts with you!

- You should pitch your idea to me by **October 19**. The deadline for the final output is **December 7**.
- The podcast should be around half-an-hour long. Make sure you collectively decide on the format of your podcast: you may choose to interview multiple scholars/activists who are specialized in the topic of your choosing; or you may come up with a conversational format in which you discuss the topic among yourselves. If you need help with reaching out to experts, let me know.
- You should have a structure and a script to follow. Start with a music and host intro and attract your audience's attention. Inform us why this topic matters, and why we should continue to listen to your podcast. Introduce us the topic.
- There should be at least two different segments in your podcast, covering different aspects of the topic at hand, divided by a sound effect or music clip.
- At the end, recap the conversation, and offer an overview.
- Don't worry too much about the technicalities – what matters most is that you structure the podcast in advance, and there is some resemblance to the podcast format. Otherwise, I don't expect you to produce high-tech, professional podcasts.
- Please just make sure that you canvass the relevant landscape well. Your conversation must rely on evidence and be theoretically-informed. You must conduct some research beforehand on the topic. Your podcast should be engaging and informative.
- Let me hear your views on the topic. In other words, do not just pass on others' opinions - engage with the issue from your point of view. Also, I want you to enjoy your collective work! Have fun! Get to know each other!
- I will use the following rubric to grade your podcast: podcast structure (20), style (20), content (60).
- **Extra Credit/Optional - Data Geeks Workshop:** Depending on demand, I will conduct an extra workshop (2 hour long) and present available datasets on Middle Eastern politics, such as [the Carnegie Middle East Governance and Islam Dataset](#). We will run together quick statistical analyses using these datasets and do some data visualizations. 3.5% toward participation score.

Grade Appeal: If you wish to appeal your grade for any of the assignments, you must send me a one-paragraph explanation why you think the grade you received does not accurately evaluate and reflect your work **in a week after the posting of grades**. Be advised that your mark may go either up or down during the appeal process. The penalty for **late submissions** is 5% per day. Extensions will be granted for valid and documented reasons. Late submissions should be requested in advance of the due date. All written assignments and presentation materials must be submitted to Quercus. Students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Email Policy and Office Hours: I typically respond to emails swiftly, but please allow 48 hours for a response. I will host on first-come-first-served basis **virtual office hours** using Zoom. If you prefer a 1-on-1 meeting, please contact me via email.

Important Dates and Deadlines:

Activity	Date/Deadline
Decide on which readings you'd like to present	September 14
Connecting-the-dots I	October 19
Set up your working group and pitch your idea for podcast	October 19
Connecting-the-dots II	November 16
Exam	TBD
Podcast deadline	December 7

Accessibility: Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the Accessibility Services Office as soon as possible.

Academic Integrity: Cheating and plagiarism are serious academic offenses. For further information on plagiarism, please check [this article](#).

Course Outline: All course materials will be uploaded to Quercus. I'll also upload guiding questions for each week to facilitate your reading.

| Week 1 (Sep. 7): Introduction — How to Study the Middle East?**Required:**

- Yom, Sean L. 2018. "Introduction: The Middle East & North Africa in Comparative Perspective." In *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, eds. Mark Gasiorowski and Sean L. Yom, 1-44. New York: Routledge.
- Gasper, Michael. 2020. "Why Can't You Find the Middle East on a Map?" In *Understanding and Teaching the Modern Middle East*, edited by Omnia El Shakry, 15-34. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Recommended:

- Said, Edward W. 2003. "The Scope of Orientalism." *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 31-112.
- Gasper, Michael. 2013. "The Making of the Modern Middle East." In *The Middle East, 13th Edition*, edited by Ellen Lust, 1-72. London: Sage Publications.
- Anderson, Lisa. 1999. "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 et al., 1-10. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lockman, Zachary. 2004. "Said's Orientalism: a book and its aftermath." *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 182-214.
- Lockman, Zachary. 2016. "We Shall Have to Understand it." *Field Notes: The Making of Middle East Studies in the United States*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1-19.
- Gause, Gregory F. 2011. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability." *Foreign Affairs* (July/August).
- Schwedler, Jillian, and Janine A. Clark. 2018. "Encountering the Mukhabarat State." In *Political Science Research in the Middle East and North Africa: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, edited by Janine A. Clark and Francesco Cavatorta, 23-34. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rivetti, Paola, and Shirin Saeidi. 2018. "What Is So Special about Field Research in Iran? Doing Fieldwork in Religiously Charged Authoritarian Settings." In *Political Science Research in the Middle East and North Africa: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, edited by Janine A. Clark and Francesco Cavatorta, 35-45. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pellicer, Miquel, and Eva Wegner. 2018. "Quantitative Research in MENA Political Science." In *Political Science Research in the Middle East and North Africa: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, edited by Janine A. Clark and Francesco Cavatorta, 187-96. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yahya, Maya. 2019. "The Middle East's Lost Decades: Development, Dissent, and the Future of the Arab World." *Foreign Affairs* (November/December).
- Lynch, Marc. 2021. "Taking Stock of MENA Political Science after the Uprisings." *Mediterranean Politics*.
- Bank, André, and Jan Busse. 2021. "MENA Political Science Research a Decade after the Arab Uprisings: Facing the Facts on Tremulous Grounds." *Mediterranean Politics*.
- Masoud, Tarek. 2021. "The Arab Spring at 10: Kings or People?" *Journal of Democracy* 32(1): 139-54.

I Week 2 (Sep. 14): State Formation, Colonialism, and Popular Movements during Decolonization

Required:

- Blaydes, Lisa. 2017. "State Building in the Middle East." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 487-504.
- Chalcraft, John. 2016. *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Chapter 2. New York: Cambridge University Press. Selected pages: 198-200, 206-215, 269-280, 286-296, 300-301, 303-310.

Recommended:

- Owen, Roger. 2003. *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of Modern Middle East*. Chapter 1-3. New York: Routledge, 5-55.
- Davis, Muriam H. 2020. "Decolonization and the Reconfiguration of the Global Order." In *Understanding and Teaching the Modern Middle East*, edited by Omnia El Shakry, 85-100. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Saouli, Adham. 2020. "States and state-building in the Middle East." In *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System*, edited by Raymond Hinnebusch and Jasmine Gani, 40-50. New York: Routledge.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1988. "An Appearance of Order." *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 2002. "Can the Mosquito Speak?" *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 19-53.
- Adalet, Begum. 2018. *Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey*. Chapter 1-2. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 23-84.

I Week 3 (Sep. 21): Autocratic Ruling Bargains I: Patrimonialism and Economic Reform. Does Capitalism Bring about Democracy?

Required:

- Cammett, Melani. 2013. "The Political Economy of Development in the Middle East." In *The Middle East, 13th Edition*, edited by Ellen Lust. London: Sage Publications, 161-208.

Recommended:

- Heydemann, Steven. 2004. *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East: The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited*. Introduction. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-34.
- [UNDP, Arab Human Development Report](#).
- IMF. 2016. *Economic Diversification in Oil-Exporting Arab Countries*. April.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 2002. "The Object of Development." *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 209-243.
- Richards, Alan, et al. 2014. *A Political Economy of the Middle East, 3rd Edition*. Chapter 3-5. PA: Westview Press.
- Adly, Amr. 2013. *State Reform and Development in the Middle East: Turkey and Egypt in the Post-liberalization Era*, Chapter 4. New York: Routledge, 70-115.

- Cammett, Melani. 2007. *Globalization and Business Politics in Arab North Africa: A Comparative Perspective*. Chapter 3. New York: Cambridge University Press, 55-79.
- Hertog, Steffen. 2020. "Segmented market economies in the Arab world: the political economy of insider-outsider divisions." *Socio-Economic Review*.
- Kamrava, Mehran. 2017. "State-Business Relations and Clientelism in Qatar." *Journal of Arabian Studies* 7.1(April): 1-27.
- Diwan, Ishac, et al. 2015. "Pyramid Capitalism: Political Connections, Regulation, and Firm Productivity in Egypt." Policy Research Working Paper 7354. The World Bank.
- Rijkers, Bob, et al. 2016. "Are Politically Connected Firms More Likely to Evade Taxes? Evidence from Tunisia." *The World Bank Economic Review* 30: 166-175.
- Alvaredo, Facundo, et al. 2018. "Inequality in the Middle East." VoxEu, August 13.
- Leenders, Reinoud. 2020. Timebomb at the Port: How Institutional Failure, Political Squabbling and Greed Set the Stage for Blowing up Beirut. Arab Reform Initiative Research Paper.

I Week 4 (Sep. 28): Autocratic Ruling Bargains II — Oil and Rentier State. Does Oil Wealth Shield Autocrats from Popular Movements?

Required:

- Richter, Thomas. 2020. "Oil and Rentier State in the Middle East." In *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System*, edited by Raymond Hinnebusch and Jasmine Gani, 225-37. New York: Routledge.

Recommended:

- POMEPS. 2019. *The Politics of Rentier States in the Gulf*. (January/33).
- Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Chapter 3. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cammett, Melani, et al. 2019. "Is Oil Wealth Good or Bad for Private Sector Development?" ERF Working Paper 1299. Cairo: ERF.
- Hertog, Steffen. 2010. "Defying the Resource Curse: Explaining Successful State-owned Enterprises in Rentier States." *World Politics* 62(2): 261-301.
- Hertog, Steffen. 2016. "Rent Distribution, Labour Markets and Development in High Rent Countries." LSE Working Paper 40(July).
- Mahdavi, Paasha. 2020. "Institutions and the 'Resource Curse': Evidence From Cases of Oil-Related Bribery." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(1): 3-39.
- Aytaç, Selim, et al. 2014. "Why Some Countries Are Immune from the Resource Curse: The Role of Economic Norms." *Democratization* 23(1): 71-92.
- Wright, Joseph, et al. 2013. "Oil and Autocratic Regime Survival." *British Journal of Political Science* 45(2): 287-306.
- Smith, Benjamin. 2017. "Resource Wealth as Rent Leverage: Rethinking the Oil-Stability Nexus." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34(6): 597-617.
- Moshashai, Daniel, et al. 2018. "Saudi Arabia Plans for Its Economic Future: Vision 2030, the National Transformation Plan and Saudi Fiscal Reform." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 47(3): 381-401.

I Week 5 (Oct. 5): Autocratic Ruling Bargains III — Autocrats and the Elite

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

Country Focus: Egypt

- Blaydes, Lisa. 2011. "Elections and Elite Management." *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 48-63.

Country Focus: Iraq

- Sassoon, Joseph. 2012. "The Ba'th Party and the Army." *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 129-61.

Country Focus: Iran

- Ostovar, Afshon. 2016. *Vanguard of the Imam: Religion, Politics, and Iran's Revolutionary Guards*. Chapter 1 & Chapter 13. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-18 & 235-42.

Country Focus: Turkey

- Esen, Berk, and Sebnem Gumuscu. 2018. "Building a Competitive Authoritarian Regime: State-Business Relations in the AKP's Turkey." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 20(4): 349-72.

Recommended:

- Schlumberger, Oliver. 2021. *Puzzles of Political Change in the Middle East: Political Liberalisation, Authoritarian Resilience and the Question of Systemic Change*. Bonn: German Development Institute.
- Albrecht, Holger, and Dorothy Ohl. 2016. "Exit, Resistance, Loyalty: Military Behavior during Unrest in Authoritarian Regimes." *Perspectives on Politics* 14(1): 38-52.
- Lawson, Fred. 2007. "Intraregime Dynamics, Uncertainty, and the Persistence of Authoritarianism in the Contemporary Arab World." In *Debating Arab Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Durability in Nondemocratic Regimes*, edited by Oliver Schlumberger, 109-28. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Quinlivan, James T. 1999. "Coups-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24(2): 131-65.
- Grawert, Elke. 2016. "Introduction: Political Economy of the Military and Nonstate Armed Groups in the Middle East and North Africa." In *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, edited by Elke Grawert and Zeinnab Abul-Magd, 1-22. New York: Rowman Littlefield.
- Abul-Magd, Zeinab. 2016. "Egypt's Adaptable Officers: Business, Nationalism, and Discontent." In *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, edited by Elke Grawert and Zeinnab Abul-Magd, 23-42. New York: Rowman Littlefield.
- Springborg, Robert. 2017. "The Rewards of Failure: Persisting Military Rule in Egypt." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44(4): 478-96.
- Kiyani, Ghashia. 2021. "Coups-Proofing and Political Violence: The Case of Iraq." *Middle Eastern Studies*: 1-17.
- El Tarouty, Saffnaz. 2015. *Businessmen, Clientelism, and Authoritarianism in Egypt*. Chapter 4. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 85-112.
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2018. *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein*. Chapter 9-10. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 237-304.

- Haddad, Bassam. 2011. *Business Networks in Syria: The Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience*. Chapter 1-2. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gurakar, Esra Ceviker. 2016. *Politics of Favoritism in Public Procurement in Turkey: Reconfigurations of Dependency Networks in the AKP Era*. Introduction. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Siham, Alatassi. 2021. "The Role of the Syrian Business Elite in the Syrian Conflict: A Class Narrative." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*: 1–13.
- Jones, Calvert W. 2019. "Adviser to the King: Experts Rationalization, and Legitimacy." *World Politics* 71(1): 1-43.

I Week 6 (Oct. 12): READING WEEK

I Week 7 (Oct. 19): Autocratic Ruling Bargain IV — Autocrats and the Masses

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

- Kamrava, Mehran, ed. 2014. *Beyond the Arab Spring: The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East*. Chapter 1. New York: Oxford University Press, 17-46.

Country Focus: Turkey

- Gurakar, Esra, and Tuba Bircan. 2019. "Redistributive politics, clientelism, and political patronage under the AKP." In *Clientelism and Patronage in the Middle East and North Africa: Networks of Dependency*, edited by Laura Ruiz de Elvira et al., 71-94. New York: Routledge.

Country Focus: Jordan

- Rodriguez, Luis M. 2019. "Patronage and clientelism in Jordan: The monarchy and the tribes in the wake of the Arab Spring." In *Clientelism and Patronage in the Middle East and North Africa: Networks of Dependency*, edited by Laura Ruiz de Elvira et al., 211-230. New York: Routledge.

Country Focus: Lebanon

- Zakaria, Patty. 2019. "Assessing the impact of sectarian patronage in Lebanon." In *Corruption and Informal Practices in the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Ina Kubbe and Aiysha Varraich, 65-76. New York: Routledge.

Country Focus: Morocco

- Lawrence, Adria. 2020. "Social Movements, Parties, and Political Cleavages in Morocco: A Religious Divide?" In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.

Recommended:

- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections Under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-22.
- Wegner, Eva, and Francesco Cavatorta. 2018. "Revisiting the Islamist–Secular Divide: Parties and Voters in the Arab World." *International Political Science Review*: 1-18.
- Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East*. Chapter 1. New York: Basic Books.
- Gengler, Justin J., et al. 2019. "“Why Do You Ask?” The Nature and Impacts of Attitudes towards Public Opinion Surveys in the Arab World." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-22.

- Spierings, Niels. 2020. "Democratic Disillusionment? Desire for Democracy after the Arab Uprisings." *International Political Science Review* 41(4): 522-37.
- Aydogan, Abdullah. 2020. "Party Systems and Ideological Cleavages in the Middle East and North Africa." *Party Politics* (January).
- Storm, Lise. 2020. "Political Parties in the Middle East." In *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System*, edited by Raymond Hinnebusch and Jasmine Gani, 136-52. New York: Routledge.
- Martínez, José Ciro. 2017. "Jordan's Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: The Production of Feeble Political Parties and the Perceived Perils of Democracy." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44(3): 356-72.
- Gengler, Justin, et al. 2020. "Refinancing the Rentier State: Welfare, Inequality, and Citizen Preferences toward Fiscal Reform in the Gulf Oil Monarchies." *Comparative Politics* (June).
- Hertog, Steffen. 2020. "The 'Rentier Mentality', 30 Years on: Evidence from Survey Data." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 47(1): 6-23.
- Corstange, Daniel. 2018. "Kinship, Partisanship, and Patronage in Arab Elections." *Electoral Studies* 52: 58-72.
- Cammett, Melan, and Sukriti Issar. 2010. "Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon." *World Politics* 62(3): 381-421.
- Alrababa'h, Ala', and Lisa Blaydes. 2020. "Authoritarian Media and Diversionary Threats: Lessons from 30 Years of Syrian State Discourse." *Political Science Research and Methods*: 1-16.
- Bush, Sarah Sunn, et al. 2016. "The Effects of Authoritarian Iconography." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(13): 1704-38.
- Nugent, Elizabeth R. 2017. "The Psychology of Repression and Polarization in Authoritarian Regimes." Middle East Initiative Working Paper (June).
- Eibl, Ferdinand. 2021. "Welfare States in the Middle East." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Corstange, Daniel, and Erin York. 2021. "Clientelism, Constituency Services, and Elections in Muslim Societies." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.

I Week 8 (Oct. 26): Other Side of the Coin - Understanding Popular Mobilizations

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2015. "Introduction: Understanding the Consequences of the Arab Uprisings - Starting Points and Divergent Trajectories." *Democratization* 22(2): 205-17.

Country Focus: Jordan

- Josua, Maria. 2016. "Co-Optation Reconsidered: Authoritarian Regime Legitimation Strategies in the Jordanian 'Arab Spring.'" *Middle East Law and Governance* 8: 32-56.

Country Focus: Egypt

- Nugent, Elizabeth, and Chantal E Berman. 2018. "Ctrl-Alt-Revolt? Online and Offline Networks during the 2011 Egyptian Uprising." *Middle East Law and Governance* (10): 59-90.

Country Focus: Iran

- Conduit, Dara, and Shahram Akbarzadeh, eds. 2018. "The Iranian Reform Movement since 2009." *New Opposition in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 119-150.

Country Focus: Tunisia

- Antonakis-Nashif, Anna. 2016. "Contested Transformation: Mobilized Publics in Tunisia between Compliance and Protest." *Mediterranean Politics* 21(1): 128-49.

Country Focus: Libya-Syria

- Moss, Dana M. 2016. "Transnational Repression, Diaspora Mobilization, and the Case of The Arab Spring." *Social Problems* 63(4): 480-98.

Country Focus: Saudi Arabia

- Pan, Jennifer, and Alexandra A. Siegel. 2019. "How Saudi Crackdowns Fail to Silence Online Dissent." *American Political Science Review*: 109-25.

Country Focus: Palestine

- Dornschneider, Stephanie. 2021. "Exit, Voice, Loyalty ... or Deliberate Obstruction? Non-Collective Everyday Resistance under Oppression." *Perspectives on Politics*: 1-16.

Recommended:

- Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44: 127-49.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan, ed. 2004. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1-36.
- Beinin, Joel, and Frédéric Vairel, eds. 2011. *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bayat, Asef. 2017. *Revolution without Revolutionaries: Making Sense of the Arab Spring*. Introduction. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Abu-Rish, Ziad. 2014. "Protests, Regime Stability, and State Formation in Jordan." In *Beyond the Arab Spring: The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East*, edited by Mehran Kamrava, 277-312. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Al-Ajlouni, Laith Fakhri, and Allison Spencer Hartnett. 2019. "Making the Economy Political in Jordan's Tax Revolts." *MERIP* (February).
- Tripp, Charles. 2013. "Symbolic Forms of Resistance: Art and Power." *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 256-308.
- Hintz, Lisel. 2016. "Mapping the Contours of Identity Contestation: Hybridization, Polarization, and Self-Marginalization." Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies.
- Ketchley, Neil. 2017. *Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-45.
- Abou El Fadl, Khaled. "Failure of a Revolution: The Military, Secular Intelligentsia and Religion in Egypt's Pseudo-Secular State." In *Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring: Rethinking Democratization*, edited by Larbi Sadiki, New York: Routledge, 199-214.

- Kurzman, Charles. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61(1): 153-70.
- Rivetti, Paola. 2017. "Political Activism in Iran: Strategies for Survival, Possibilities for Resistance and Authoritarianism." *Democratization* 24(6): 1178-94.
- Harris, Kevan, and Zep Kalb. 2018. "How years of increasing labor unrest signaled Iran's latest protest wave." *The Washington Post*, January 19.
- Berman, Chantal. 2021. "Islamist Mobilization during the Arab Uprisings." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.

I Week 9 (Nov. 2): Women as the Drivers of Social Change

Invited Guest: TBA

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

- Moghadam, Valentine M. 2018. "Explaining Divergent Outcomes of the Arab Spring: The Significance of Gender and Women's Mobilizations." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6(4): 666-81.

Country Focus: Saudi Arabia

- Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 2013. *A Most Masculine State: Gender, Politics, and Religion in Saudi Arabia*, Introduction. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-42.

Country Focus: Iran

- Barlow, Rebecca. 2018. "The Women's Movement and State Responses to Contentious Campaigns in Iran." In *New Opposition in the Middle East*, edited by Dara Conduit and Shahram Akbarzadeh, 15-40. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Country Focus: Turkey

- Altan-Olcay, Özlem, and Bertil Emrah Oder. 2021. "Why Turkey's withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention is a global problem?" *openDemocracy*, June 2.

Country Focus: Tunisia

- Khalil, Andrea. 2014. "Tunisia's Women: Partners in Revolution." In *Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring: Rethinking Democratization*, edited by Larbi Sadiki, 285-300. New York: Routledge.

Country Focus: Palestine

- Jad, Islah. 2014. "Between Religion and Secularism: Islamist Women of Hamas." In *On Shifting Ground: Muslim Women in the Global Era*, edited by Fereshteh Nourai-Simone, 256-94. New York: The Feminist Press.

Recommended:

- Tripp, Charles. 2013. "Body Politics: Women's Rights and Women's Resistance." *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 176-219.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz, ed. 1996. *Gendering the Middle East: Emerging Perspectives*. Chapter 1. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Bush, Sarah S., and Eleanor Gao. 2017. "Small Tribes, Big Gains: The Strategic Uses of Gender Quotas in the Middle East." *Comparative Politics* 49(2): 149-67.

- Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Amaney A. Jamal. 2015. "Anti-Americanism, Authoritarian Politics, and Attitudes about Women's Representation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Jordan." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1): 34-45.
- Ross, Michael. 2008. "Oil, Islam and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 107-123.
- Masoud, Tarek, Amaney Jamal, and Elizabeth Nugent. 2016. "Using the Qur'an to Empower Arab Women? Theory and Experimental Evidence From Egypt." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(12): 1555-1598.
- Hoodfar, Homa, and Fatemeh Sadeghi. 2009. "Against All Odds: The Women's Movement in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Development* 52(2): 215-23.
- Moghissi, Haideh. 2008. "Islamic Cultural Nationalism and Gender Politics in Iran." *Third World Quarterly* 29(3): 541-54.
- Arat, Yesim, and Sevet Pamuk. 2019. "Women's Call for Democracy." *Turkey between Democracy and Authoritarianism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 228-61.
- Human Rights Watch. 2018. Audacity in Adversity: LGBT Activism in the Middle East & North Africa.
- Amar, Paul, and Omnia El Shakry. 2013. "Introduction: Curiosities of Middle East studies in queer times." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45(2): 331-335.

I Week 10 (Nov. 9): Solidarity and Collective Identity after Civil War and Conflict

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

Country Focus: Iraq

- Mousa, Salma. 2019. "Creating Coexistence: Intergroup Contact and Soccer in Post-ISIS Iraq." Working Paper.

Country Focus: Turkey

- Belge, Ceren, and Semuhi Sinanoglu. 2020. "Containing Ethnic Conflict: Repression, Co-optation, and Identity Politics." Working Paper.

Country Focus: Libya

- Lacher, Wolfram. 2019. "Think Libya's warring factions are only in it for the money? Think again." *The Washington Post*, April 10.

Country Focus: Lebanon

- Alijla, Abdalhadi. 2021. "Lebanon Gone Wrong: Inequality and Trust in Lebanon." *Trust in Divided Societies: State, Institutions, and Governance in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine*. London: I.B. Tauris, 93-116.

Recommended:

- Sørli, Mirjam E., et al. 2005. "Why Is There So Much Conflict in the Middle East?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 141-65.
- Mazur, Kevin. 2019. "State Networks and Intra-Ethnic Group Variation in the 2011 Syrian Uprising." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(7): 995-1027.
- Heydemann, Steven. 2018. "Civil War, Economic Governance and State Reconstruction in the Arab Middle East." *Daedalus* 147(1): 48-63.

- Heydemann, Steven. 2018. "Reconstructing Authoritarianism: The Politics and Political Economy of Postconflict Reconstruction in Syria." *The Politics of Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. POMEPS Studies 30: 14-21.
- [International Crisis Group, Crisis Watch](#)
- Belge, Ceren, and Ekrem Karakoç. 2015. "Minorities in the Middle East: Ethnicity, Religion, and Support for Authoritarianism." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(2): 280-92.
- Cakmak, Cenap. 2018. "Statehood, Autonomy, or Unitary Coexistence? A Comparative Analysis of How Kurdish Groups Approach the Idea of Self-Determination." In *Comparative Kurdish Politics in the Middle East: Actors, Ideas, and Interests*, edited by Emel Elif Tugdar and Serhun Al. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 113-36.
- O'Driscoll, Dylan, and Bahar Baser. 2020. "Referendums as a Political Party Gamble: A Critical Analysis of the Kurdish Referendum for Independence." *International Political Science Review* 41(5): 652-66.
- Halhalli, Bekir. "Kurdish Political Parties in Syria: Past Struggles and Future Expectations." In *Comparative Kurdish Politics in the Middle East: Actors, Ideas, and Interests*, edited by Emel Tugdar & Serhun Al, 27-56. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Özçelik, Burcu. 2020. "Explaining the Kurdish Democratic Union Party's Self-Governance Practices in Northern Syria, 2012-18." *Government and Opposition* 55(4): 690-710.
- Gade, Emily Kalah, et al. 2019. "Networks of Cooperation: Rebel Alliances in Fragmented Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(9): 2071-97.
- Ide, Tobias. 2018. "Climate War in the Middle East? Drought, the Syrian Civil War and the State of Climate-Conflict Research." *Current Climate Change Reports* 4(4): 347-54.
- Daoudy, Marwa. 2020. *The Origins of the Syrian Conflict*. Chapter 1. New York: Cambridge University Press, 3-23.
- ACLED. 2019. "Inside Ibb: A Hotbed of Infighting in Houthi-Controlled Yemen."
- Al-deen, Maysa. 2019. "The Houthi-Tribal Conflict in Yemen." *Sada Journal*, April 23.
- Fraihat, Ibrahim. 2016. *Unfinished Revolutions: Yemen, Libya, and Tunisia after the Arab Spring*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Wester, Karin. 2020. *Intervention in Libya: The Responsibility to Protect in North Africa*. Introduction (skim through Chapter 8-9). New York: Cambridge University Press.

I Week 11 (Nov. 16): Religious and Sectarian Groups

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

Country Focus: Iraq

- POMEPS. 2019. *Religion, Violence, and the State in Iraq*. (35/October) (skim through).

Country Focus: Syria

- Wimmen, Heiko. 2017. "The Sectarianization of the Syrian War." In *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*, ed. Frederic Wehrey. New York: Oxford University Press, 61-87.

Country Focus: Lebanon

- Bahout, Joseph. 2017. "The Unraveling of Taif: The Limits of Sect-based Power-sharing in Lebanon." In *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*, ed. Frederic Wehrey. New York: Oxford University Press, 135-56.

Country Focus: Egypt

- Masoud, Tarek. 2014. "Islam's Organizational Advantage? Or, Why Voters Think Islamists Are Leftists." *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 155-82.

Recommended:

- Ayooob, Mohammed, and Danielle N. Lussier. 2020. *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in Muslim Societies, 2nd Edition*. Chapter 1-2. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Tessler, Mark. 2015. "How and why explanations vary across countries." *Islam and Politics in the Middle East: Explaining the Views of Ordinary Citizens*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hoffman, Michael. 2020. "Religion and Tolerance of Minority Sects in the Arab World." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(2-3): 432-58.
- Stein, Ewan. 2020. "Islam and Islamic movements and MENA politics." In *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System*, edited by Raymond Hinnebusch and Jasmine Gani, New York: Routledge, 153-64.
- Menshawy, Mustafa, and Khalil Al-Anani. 2021. "Becoming an Ex: Dynamics of Disengagement from Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood after 2011." *Middle East Law and Governance* 13(2): 215-31.
- Brooke, Steven Thomas. 2021. "Islamist Organizations and the Provision of Social Services." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lust, Ellen, et al. 2021. "Voting for Islamists: Mapping the Role of Religion." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kuran, Timur. 2012. *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East*. Part 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-44.
- Kuru, Ahmet. 2019. *Islam, Authoritarianism, and Underdevelopment: A Global and Historical Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 2008. *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*. Chapter 4-5. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 148-211.
- Boyraz, Cemil. 2019. "The Alevi Question and the Limits of Citizenship in Turkey." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 46(5): 767-80.
- Carkoglu, Ali, and Ezgi Elci. 2019. "Alevi in Turkey." In *Routledge Handbook of Minorities in the Middle East*, edited by Paul S Rowe. New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, Asher and Menachem Lazar. 2019. "Electoral Choice and Religion: Israel." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Lachapelle, Jean. 2021. "Repression of Islamists and Authoritarian Survival in the Arab World: A Case Study of Egypt." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Ibrahim, Vivian. 2019. "Tracing the Coptic Question in Contemporary Egypt." In *Routledge Handbook of Minorities in the Middle East*, edited by Paul S Rowe. New York: Routledge.
- Stewart, Megan A. 2021. "The Islamic State as a Revolutionary Rebel Group: IS's Governance and Violence in Historical Context." In *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*, edited by Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones. New York: Oxford University Press.

I Week 12 (Nov. 23): International Politics and Foreign Interventions

Required: Pick up one country-focus to read.

Country Focus: Iran

- Ostovar, Afshon. 2017. "Sectarianism and Iranian Foreign Policy." In *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*, edited by Frederic Wehrey, 87-111. New York: Oxford University Press.

Country Focus: Kuwait

- Yom, Sean. 2015. *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East*. Chapter 3-4. New York: Columbia University Press.

Country Focus: Syria

- Phillips, Christopher. 2016. *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 213-39.

Recommended:

- Legrenzi, Matteo, and Gregory Gause III. 2016. "The International Politics of the Gulf." In *International Relations of the Middle East, 4th Edition*, edited by Louise Fawcett, 304-323. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marzo, Pietro, and Francesco Cavatorta. 2020. "An exceptional context for a debate on international relations? Toward a synthetic approach to the study of the MENA's international politics." In *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System*, edited by Raymond Hinnebusch and Jasmine Gani, 312-323. New York: Routledge.
- Yom, Sean. 2020. "US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Logic of Hegemonic Retreat." *Global Policy* 11(1): 75-83.
- POMEPS. 2020. *Sectarianism and International Relations*. (March/38).
- Hudson, Michael. 2016. "The United States in the Middle East." In *International Relations of the Middle East, 4th Edition*, edited by Louise Fawcett, New York: Oxford University Press, 356-79.
- Salloukh, Bassel F. 2017. "Overlapping Contests and Middle East International Relations: The Return of the Weak Arab State." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50(3): 660-63.
- Kamrava, Mehran. 2018. "Multipolarity and Instability in the Middle East." *Orbis* 62(4): 598-616.
- Evron, Yoram. 2017. "China's Diplomatic Initiatives in the Middle East: The Quest for a Great-Power Role in the Region." *International Relations* 31(2): 125-44.
- Fawcett, Louise. 2017. "States and Sovereignty in the Middle East: Myths and Realities." *International Affairs* 93(4): 789-807.

| Week 13 (Nov. 30): Popular Mobilizations on Israel/Palestine**Required:**

- [POMEPS. 2020. *Israel/Palestine: Exploring A One-State Reality*. \(July/41\).](#)

Recommended:

- Smith, Charles. 2017. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents, 6th Edition*. Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Laquer, Walter. 2003. *A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel*. New York: Schocken.
- Herzl, Theodor. 1902. *Old New Land*.
- Rubinstein, Amnon. 2000. *From Herzl to Rabin: The Changing Image of Zionism*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers.
- Burg, Avraham. 2009. *The Holocaust is Over; We Must Rise from its Ashes*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Said, Edward. 1992. *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Vintage.
- Massad, Joseph. 2006. *The Persistence of Palestinian Question*. New York: Routledge.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 2007. *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 2009. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ben-Porat, Guy, and Bryan S. Turner. 2011. *The Contradictions of Israeli Citizenship: Land, Religion and State*. New York: Routledge.
- Watzman, Haim. 2003. *Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel*. London: Picador.
- Turner, M., and O. Shweiki, eds. 2014. *Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy: De-development and Beyond*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Allen, Lori. 2013. *The Rise and Fall of Human Rights: Cynicism and Politics in Occupied Palestine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Jamal, Amaney. 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Morris, Benny. 2012. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sinanoglu, Semuhi. 2016. "[5 disturbing facts about living under occupation](#)," *Middle East Monitor*, August 22.

I Country-Historical Background Readings

- **Turkey:** Zurcher, Erik. 2004. *Turkey: A Modern History*. New York: I.B. Tauris.
- **Lebanon:** Abraham, A.J. 2008. *Lebanon in Modern Times*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- **Egypt:** Sayyid-Marsot, A. Lutfi. 2007. *A History of Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- **Iraq:** Marr, Phebe. 2017. *The Modern History of Iraq*. New York: Routledge.
- **Syria:** Reilly, James. 2018. *Fragile Nation, Shattered Land: The Modern History of Syria*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

I Film/Documentary Suggestions

Any suggestion to expand this list is more than welcome.

Lawrence of Arabia (1962)	678 (2010)
Battle of Algiers (1966)	Et maintenant on va où? (2011)
Lion of the Desert (1980)	Asmaa (2011)
Yol (1982)	Jodaeiye Nader az Simin (2011)
Nargess (1992)	The Reluctant Fundamentalist (2012)
Al-irhab wal kabab (1992)	Syngué sabour (2012)
Ta'm e guilass (1997)	My Sweet Pepper Land (2013)
Nimeh-ye penhan (2001)	Al Midan (2013)
Vizontele (2001)	The War in October (2014)
Terra incognita (2002)	Anthony Bourdain: Parts Unknown (2015)
Lakposhtha parvaz mikonand (2004)	Tickling Giants (2016)
Zozo (2005)	The Caliph (2016)
The Forgotten Refugees (2005)	Sykes-Picot: Lines in the sand (2016)
Niwemang (2006)	Decadence and Downfall (2016)
Takva (2006)	L'insulte (2017)
Omaret yakobean (2006)	De sidste mænd i Aleppo (2017)
Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People (2006)	Ali's Wedding (2017)
Blood and Oil: The Middle East in World War I (2006)	City of Ghosts (2017)
Bikur Ha-Tizmoret (2007)	The Dictator's Playbook: Saddam Hussein (2018)
Sous les bombes (2007)	Tomorrow's Children (2018)
Persepolis (2007)	The Angel (2018)
Vals Im Bashir (2008)	Capharnaüm (2018)
İki Dil Bir Bavul (2008)	For Sama (2019)
Ehky ya Scheherazade (2009)	The Cave (2019)
Incendies (2010)	Ramy (2019)
	The Dissident(2020)