

# Department of History Crown Center for the Humanities

Lake Shore Campus 6525 N. Sheridan Road | Chicago, Illinois 60626 Phone 773.508.2221 | Fax 773.508.2153

# FALL 2015 HISTORY 322 GENALOGIES OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

HIST 322 | MWF 11:30–12:20 | IC105

Zouhair Ghazzal
Crown 547 – MWF – 12:45–1:30
(and by appointment)
(773) 508–3493

zghazza@luc.edu
http://zouhairghazzal.com/

This seminar departs from the commonly established view which sees the Arab-Palestinian-Israeli conflict mainly in terms of the political struggle for land, its resources, and its people, as if it is only a problematic of colonization of a disputed territory. Based on a set of historical, anthropological, and sociological readings, the seminar is structured on the notion of "genealogy" as a set of discursive practices that shape the Self through the Other, without attributing them, however, to a presumed "origin" Genealogy requires a great deal of historical knowledge in order to determine which representational trope has precedence, its level of pertinence in relation to other tropes, and how to root them in a history of the present, in relation to our lifeworlds. For example, the concept of "Jewish labor" (or labor tout court) becomes crucial for the colonies of settlers in late nineteenth-century Palestine to survive in a hostile environment (culturally and geographically). Such concept, once traced genealogically, would become pertinent only in relation to "Arab labor," the utopian socialism of the immigrants, and the desire to create an egalitarian society whose base is structured on a just labor polity. The discourse of "who we are" as colonial settlers (the colonization of Palestine was posed as such in the Basle declaration), and "our" engagement with the indigenous population, come together in the practice of colonization through labor. The discourse itself documents the knowledge and power relations within the communities of Jewish settlers, and in their relations to the Arab populations.

• OTTOMAN PERIOD. Up to the early twentieth century, since 1516, the entities *now* known as "Palestine" and "Israel" were under Ottoman rule: more specifically, they were included within "provinces" of the Ottoman Empire until its dismantlement amid the First World War. "Minorities" of the empire, such as the Armenians, Christians, and Jews, enjoyed a special status under what was known as the *millet* system, which also applied to Muslims as well. Basically this meant having "minority" groups with their own legal status and with their

<sup>1</sup> Labor comes before land, religion, Zionism, and anything else. Its discursive importance could be traced to the Basle declaration and Herzl's *Judenstaat*.

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religious leaders or other notables "representing" them vis-à-vis the Ottoman bureaucracy and tax-collecting; they were neither subject to conscription nor could they be recruited to top bureaucratic positions (unless they converted to Islam); they were quite often subjected to special taxes in lieu of conscription; and they had, within each city of the empire, their own neighborhoods, which were usually self-protected.

Ottoman Palestine shared the same basic social and economic structures with the rest of the empire's provinces. Besides having their own neighborhoods, according to some accounts, they had their own courts and judicial system based on Rabbinic laws. By all accounts, the Jews were only, from a purely statistical perspective, a minority in Ottoman Palestine, and this was probably true until 1914 when they accounted for no more than 80,000, compared to 555,000 as the lowest estimate usually given for the Palestinian Arab population (Smith, 25).

The percentage of Jews was even lower by the late nineteenth century. Settler colonization goes back to the 1880s when small numbers of colonial settlers from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires began an immigration process to Ottoman Palestine amid discriminatory policies in Eastern Europe and the Russian pogroms. By that time also, a Zionist ideology claiming a "Jewish homeland" and crafted on the model of the European nationalist ideologies of the nineteenth century, became quite influential in Jewish circles in Eastern and central Europe. Some dates are quite revealing here. In 1881, the Hibbat Zion, a Jewish "nationalist" group, was founded in Russia. In 1896, Theodor Herzl, an Austrian playwright and journalist, regarded as the founder of the modern Zionist (nationalist) movement, published his well-received *Der Judenstaat* (which plays on the ambiguity of *The* State of the Jews versus The Jewish State) in which the idea of a "Jewish homeland" and "state" was promoted systematically for the first time. It then became an "official" notion, at least in Jewish circles, in 1897, when the World Zionist Organization, founded at the first Zionist Congress in Basle, aimed at the creation "for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."† (Der Judenstaat limited the territorial possibilities for immigration and colonization to Palestine and Argentina only; the latter seems to have been dropped in favor of the former in Basle.) The Balfour Declaration in November 1917 was the first official statement by a key international player, the British Empire, in recognizing the rights of the Jews for a "national homeland." The declaration did not dwell into the complex issue on how this "homeland" would be established—or what was exactly meant by homeland, leaving the numerous conflicting elaborations to the White Papers.

The Arab population, its notables, politicians, bureaucrats, and representatives, were unprepared for such an event, and had little to say regarding the Jewish immigration to Ottoman Palestine which became massive after World War I. While the Jews were able to establish their own institutional organizations, creating unprecedented social and intellectual networks for their settlers, the Arab population was still enmeshed in its Ottoman patrician roots with a system of patrimonial notables as "political representatives." The Arabs thus lacked the "social dynamism" of Western societies, and the "big families" and middle classes were unprepared for and confused by the waves of Jewish immigration. The Zionist nationalist ideology, modeled on European political systems, was outside the realm of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup>For the full-text of the Basle Declaration, see Laqueur & Rubin, eds, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (Penguin, 1984, and following editions), document 4, pp. 11–12.

Ottoman Palestinian élite, as they misunderstood Zionism and the ideology of the nation-state, the emphasis on labor, and what it meant to be modern under such circumstances. Zionist settlements in Palestine were modeled on European experiments elsewhere, initially the French colonization of Algeria (First Aliya) and subsequently Bismarck's germanization of East Prussia (Second Aliya).<sup>2</sup> In a settler situation, pre-accumulation is an inherent advantage settlers have over the indigenous population. The settler pre-accumulation is twofold: capital, which is accumulated elsewhere but pours into the colony; immigration, which, in addition to violence, can transform the colony's demography in favor of settlers. From the Second Aliya (1904–14) forward, Zionist settlers enjoyed a pre-accumulated capital that neither expected nor sought profit but increasingly became ideological capital. Thus shielded from the capitalist marketplace, Labor Zionism cooperative settlements were beholden to ideological productivity and labor but not to profit.

- BRITISH MANDATE. As a result of the dismantlement of the Ottoman Empire and the Sykes-Picot Agreement in May 1916, Palestine and Iraq became, since 1920, part of the British mandate system, while Lebanon and Syria were under the French mandate. The mandate in Palestine was characterized by an effort from the Arabs to curb Jewish immigration to Palestine while the Zionists did their best to go beyond the limits imposed by the British. This led, in May 1939, to an official proclamation in one of the White Papers in which the British acknowledged that the Balfour Declaration "could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country." The Paper nevertheless authorized Jewish immigration at a maximum yearly pace of 15,000 for five years (Smith, 104). The mandate was also marked by a multitude of riots, terrorist and military acts (especially after the establishment of the underground Zionist military organizations like the Haganah and Irgun), in addition to direct confrontations (in August 1929, 133 Jews and 116 Arabs were killed from Muslim riots over claims to the accessibility of the Wailing Wall). Commissions and United Nations teams proposed several partition plans (in July 1937, the Peel Commission recommended partition; followed by a U.N. partition plan in November 1947 which the Zionists approved but the Arabs rejected), none of which was applied. With the British inability to satisfy anyone, the underground military group known as the Haganah took the offensive in April 1948, following the British withdrawal from Palestine.
- THE PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL on May 14, 1948, marks a new phase in the conflict. Prior to the proclamation, the conflict was localized between Jewish and Arabs groups, the paramilitary underground Zionist organizations, and the British administration. With the proclamation of the Israeli state, state violence and lawfare (notably, the 1950 Law of Absentees' Property) were added with dire consequences to what under the mandate were no more than organized paramilitary settlers under the Yishuv. Moreover, the conflict would be transformed into a regional inter-state conflict with the two super-powers acting as patrons (the US would become Israel's main arm supplier, after the French ceased to do so amid the 1967 six-day war, while the USSR would supply arms to Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Libya, among others). The regional conflict would be marked by five Arab-Israeli wars, the crucial one being, of course, the six-day war in June 1967 when Israel occupied the Syrian Golan Heights, the Jordanian West-Bank, and the Egyptian Sinai Desert, including the Gaza

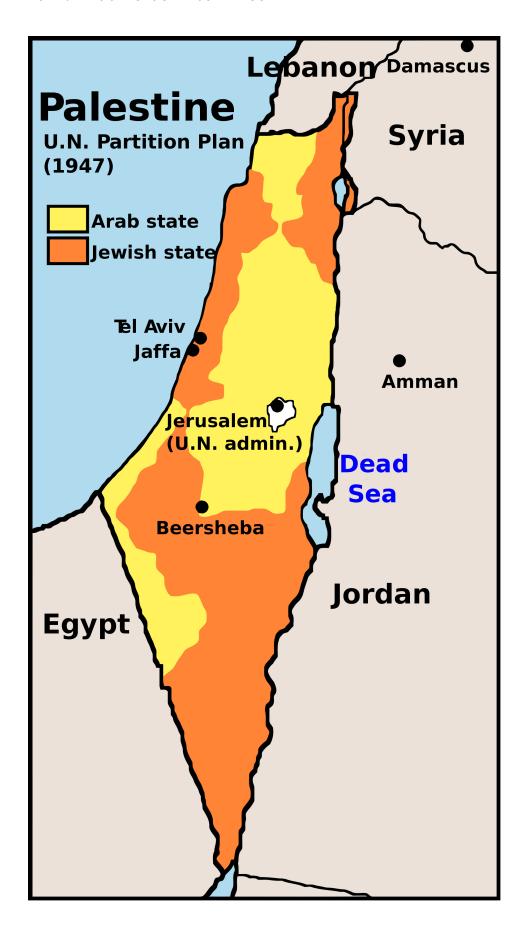
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Shafir, Land, Labor and Origins, with which we will begin the semester.

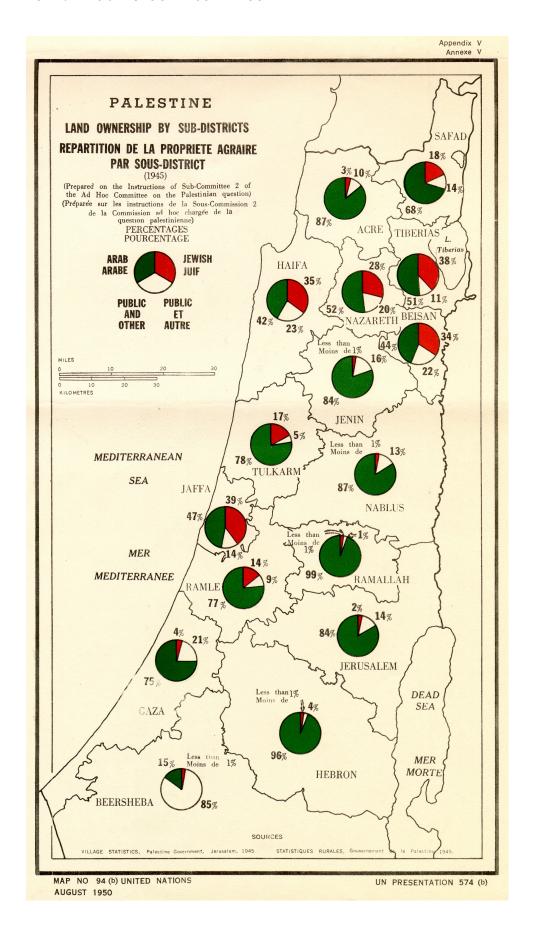
Strip (which, since June 1994, is formally under the autonomous Palestinian administration, while controlled by the Islamist group Hamas).

• THE PURPOSE OF THIS SEMINAR is to analyze, in the first weeks, the historical roots of the conflict as outlined above. The rest of the semester is divided into themes. We first explore the origins and causes of the Palestinian refugee problem. On what basis have the policies of pushing the Palestinians out of their own lands been established? What are the ideological foundations of such exclusionist actions? Which groups, institutions, and apparatuses were involved? Besides the historical and political importance of a problem of this magnitude, there is also a moral and ethical dimension attached to it: How justifiable is an exclusionist ideology of the type propagated by the early Zionists? Are "nationalist" ideologies exclusionist by definition?

# References

- Gabriel Piterberg, "Israeli Sociology's Young Hegelian: Gershon Shafir and the Settler-Colonial Framework," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, XLIV(3), Spring 2015, 17–38.
- Patrick Wolfe, "Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine *Nakba* and Zionism's Conquest of Economics," *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 1 (2012).
- Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Avi Raz, The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War (Yale University Press, 2012).
- Yonatan Shapiro, *The Formative Years of the Israeli Labor Party: The Organization of Power 1918–1930* (London: Sage, 1976).
- Baruch Kimmerling, Zionism and Territory: The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics (University of California, 1983).
- Gabriel Piterberg, Returns of Zionism: Myths, Politics and Scholarship in Israel (Verso, 2008).
- Patrick Wolfe, Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event (London: Cassell, 1999).
- Samadar Lavie, Wrapped in the Flag of Israel: Mizrahi Single Mothers and Bureaucratic Torture (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014).





#### **GENERAL**

There are weekly readings that we'll discuss collectively in class. Your participation is essential for the success of the course. You will be asked to do presentations of individual chapters or topics.

You'll have to submit three interpretive essays based on our weekly readings: you'll receive sets of questions for each. Each paper counts as 25 percent of the total. All interpretive essays are take-home and you'll be given a week to submit them. The purpose of the interpretive essays is to give you the opportunity to go "beyond" the literal meaning of a text and adopt interpretive and "textual" techniques. All essays and papers must be submitted on time according to the deadlines set below.

First Interpretive Essay	25%	
Second Interpretive Essay	25%	
Final Interpretive Essay	25%	
Presentations, Sakai postings, and class	25%	
attendance and participation		

- It is essential that you complete all readings on time, and that you come to class well prepared. Always come to class with the required book: we'll discuss all readings extensively and interpret passages.
- University regulations require a minimum 70 percent attendance record. If you are absent for more than a week, or if you submit a late paper, or you are unable to attend your assigned presentation, or your attendance record for the semester is low, you must in all such situations provide me with a written statement of apology with valid documentation (hospitalization, accident, jury duty, travel, etc.).
- All interpretive essays are based on our weekly readings, and consist of a single essay for
  which you'll receive the appropriate prompt on Sakai a week prior to the dates below—
  you'll submit them in class at the specified deadlines.
- All papers should follow the procedures outlined below in the section on papers.
- Essays should only be submitted in class. Do not send any material as an e-mail attachment. Do not submit your papers outside the classroom.
- It's your responsibility to submit all essays *in class* on time at the deadlines below. Late papers will be graded accordingly, and papers submitted a week after the deadline will be graded F.
- You must also submit, in addition to the printed hard copies, an *identical* electronic file of each paper in the assignment section on Sakai.
- Each non-submitted paper will receive the grade of F, and your final grade will be averaged accordingly.
- If you do not show up for your assigned presentation, you'll be graded F, unless you post a 2,000-word synopsis on Sakai.
- Presentation assignments will be posted on Sakai every week and by email one week in advance. They consist of individual chapter assignments. The same chapter could be assigned to more than one student, and a minimum 1,000-word synopsis must be posted individually by each student on Sakai forum 2 at least 24 hours before the presentation.

## READINGS

This schedule is subject to change, pending on our progress during the semester. Additional readings may be posted on Sakai. Dates of interpretive essays indicate when the essays are due.

• Week 1: August 24, 26, 28

Gershon Shafir, Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, California University Press.

• Week 2: September 2, 4

Shafir (continued)

• Week 3: September 7, 9, 11

Shafir (continued)

• Week 4: September 14, 16, 18

Walter Laqueur, Israel-Arab Reader, Penguin 0-14-024526-6.

• Week 5: September 21, 23, 25

Laqueur (continued)

# October 9: first interpretive essay

• Week 6: September 28 & 30 and October 2

Laqueur (continued)

• Week 7: October 7 & 9

Anita Shapira, Land and Power, Stanford 0804737762.

• Week 8: October 12, 14, 16

Shapira (continued)

• Week 9: October 19, 21, 23

Benny Morris, The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem (Cambridge)

• Week 10: October 26, 28 & 30

Morris (continued)

# November 6: second interpretive essay

• Week 11: November 2, 4, 6

Amos Nadan, The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate (Harvard).

• Week 12: November 9, 11, 13

Nadan (continued)

• Week 13: November 16, 18, 20, 23

Ilana Feldman, Governing Gaza (Duke).

• Week 14: November 30 & December 2, 4

Gunning, Jeroen. *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*. Columbia University Press, 2010.

# December 10: final interpretive essay

## **PAPERS**

For all your papers follows the guidelines recommended in the Turabian guide, or in *The Chicago Manual of Style,* 15th ed.

Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 5th ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Intended for students and other writers of papers not written for publication. Useful material on notes and bibliographies.

Please use the following guidelines regarding the format of your papers:

- use 8x10 white paper (the size and color of this paper). Do not use legal size or colored paper.
- use a laser printer or a good inkjet printer and hand in the original.
- only type on one side of the paper.
- should be double spaced, with single spaced footnotes at the end of each page and an *annotated bibliography* at the end (see bibliography below).
- keep ample left and right margins for comments and corrections of at least 1.25 inches each.
- all pages should be numbered and stapled.
- a cover page should include the following: paper's title, course number and section, your name, address, e-mail, and telephone.
- Poorly and hastily written papers may not be accepted, or at least will not receive appropriate comments.

#### **ELECTRONIC FORUM**

This course is listed on the Loyola Sakai webpage to freely post messages and conduct discussions: login at <<u>sakai.luc.edu</u>> and follow the instructions.

- There are three forums: for the readings, national and world events, and presentations. Check all instructions online on each forum.
- You must post each week a message on national or world events.
- By the end of the semester each student should have posted 14 messages.
- Posted messages, presentations, and class attendance and participation count as 25% of the final grade.

## SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

# 1. Islam & The Early Empires—General

The *Qur'ân* is the holy book of the Muslims (in all their different factions and sects) delivered by God in Arabic to the community of believers (*umma*) through the "medium" of the Prophet Muhammad in sessions of "revelation" (*wahî*). Thus Arabic is not only the language of the Qur'ân (and the Sunna), but also a divine language, the language of God. All translations of the Qur'ân are thus considered as illegitimate and inaccurate. There are several such "translations"/"interpretations" available. A classical one would be that of A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford University Press). For a recent "reading" of the Qur'ân, see Jacques Berque, *Relire le Coran* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993).

R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History. A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton University Press, 1991), is a long annotated and commented bibliography thematically organized. Recommended for all those looking at the best in the field for sources available in English, French and German. Some references to primary sources, mainly Arabic medieval sources, are also included. The problem with this "inquiry" is that it excludes from its field of investigation all publications in modern Arabic, as well as Turkish and Persian. In short, this book is an excellent tool for a primary survey on the status of the Middle Eastern Studies field in Europe and North America.

Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols. (Chicago University Press, 1974), is a landmark study on the "origins" of Islam and its historical evolution into empires. Recommended for those interested in Islam within a comparative religious and geographical perspective.

Ira Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies (Cambridge University Press, 1988), is a complete fourteencentury history of Islamic societies. Chapters vary in depth and horizon. No particular focus—Tedious to read.

Bernard Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), is a thematically organized book with chapters on literature, jurisprudence, sufism, the cities, the Ottoman and modern experiences. Includes hundreds of illustrations and maps.

Watt, W. M., Muhammad at Mecca (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); Muhammad at Medina (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), both are classics describing the life of the Prophet and his first achievements in Mecca and Medina.

Franz Rozenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952); 2d rev. ed., 1968.

Roy Mottahedeh, Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society (Princeton University Press, 1980), an excellent book, based on primary sources from Southern Iraq that describe the process and concept of bay'a in early Islamic thought.

Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History* (London: Croom Helm, 1981). Jacob Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton University Press, 1980).

Lassner, Jacob, Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Art of 'Abbâsid Apologetics' (American Oriental Series, number 66.) New Haven: American Oriental Society. 1986.

The History of al-Tabarî (State University of New York Press, 1989), is a multi-volume series of the translation of the "History" of Tabarî, one of the major historians and interpreters of the Qur'ân of the early Islamic and empire periods.

al-Shâfi'î, Risâla. Treatise on the Foundations of Islamic Jurisprudence, translated by Majid Khadduri (Islamic Texts Society, 1987). Shâfi'î was the founding father of one of the four major schools of Sunni jurisprudence and the Risâla contains some of his major theoretical foundations on the notions analogy, qiyâs, and the ijmâ', consensus of the community.

Martin Lings, Muhammad. His Life Based on the Earliest Sources (Rochester, 1983).

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Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammad* (Pantheon, 1971), is an interesting interpretation of the early Islamic period based on a social and economic analysis of the Arabian Peninsula at the dawn of Islam.

M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History. A New Interpretation*, 2 vol. (Cambridge University Press, 1971), is an attempt towards a new interpretation of the 'Abbâsid Revolution of the eight century as a movement of assimilation of Arabs and non-Arabs into an "equal rights" Empire.

Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Cambridge, 1991). See also the great classic of Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

Ignaz Goldziher, Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law (Princeton University Press, 1981).

Fred Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton University Press, 1981), reconstructs the early Islamic Conquests (futûhât) from a wealth of Arabic chronicles and literary and ethnographic sources.

Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago University Press, 1988), discusses the notion of "government" and "politics" in Islamic societies.

Ann Lambton, Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia. Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th-14th Century (The Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988).

Dominique Urvoy, *Ibn Rushd (Averroes)* (Routledge, 1991). Henry Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (Princeton University Press, 1960), is an analysis and interpretation of Hayy ibn Yaqzân.

Salma Khadra Jayyusi, editor, *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1993). See also L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 1250 to 1500 (Chicago University Press, 1990).

# 2. The Ottoman Empire

#### • REFERENCE

For a general social history of The Ottoman Empire, see H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Volume One, 2 parts (London: Oxford University Press, 1950-57).

For a general chronological history of the Ottoman Empire, see Stanford Shaw & Ezel Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1977). See also M. A. Cook (ed.), *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730* (Cambridge University Press, 1976).

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For a narrative account of the rise of the Ottoman Empire viewed from the standpoint of historical geography, see Donald Edgar Pitcher, An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire. From earliest times to the end of the Sixteenth Century with detailed maps to illustrate the expansion of the Sultanate (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).

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## • GENERAL HISTORIES

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Peter Mansfield, The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).

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# • THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE INTER-STATE SYSTEM

Alexander H. de Groot, The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic (Leiden, 1978).

Leopold von Ranke, The Ottoman and the Spanish Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York: AMS Press, 1975).

Gustav Bayerle, Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1972).

J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record*, 2 vol. (Princeton, 1956), contains a selection of administrative documents, edicts, and treaties since 1535.

## • WORLD-SYSTEM THEORY

There has been numerous studies within the last two decades that describe in economic terms how the Ottoman societies have reacted to what is now known as the process of "incorporation" of the Ottoman Empire in the world-economy. Despite their merits, "world-systems" analyses are weak in understanding and interpreting cultures and social structures. See for example, Immanuel Wallerstein & Resat Kasaba, "Incorporation into the World-Economy: Change in the Structure of the Ottoman Empire,1750-1839," in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont & Paul Dumont, eds., Économie et sociétés dans l'Empire ottoman (Paris: CNRS, 1983), 335-54. Some of the most recent titles in "world-systems" include the following:

Huri Islamoglu-Inan, ed., *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

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#### • SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

Halil Inalcik, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), is a reproduction of a series of articles on the "beginnings" of the Ottoman Empire, the impact of the *Annales* school on Ottoman historiography, etc., by a leading figure in the field of Ottoman studies. See also by the same author his collected studies under the title *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978).

Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation of the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700," Archivum Ottomanicum, 6(1980), 283-337, reproduced in Inalcik (1985), discusses the transformation of the Ottoman tax-farming system from the timâr to the iltizâm. See also Bruce McGowan, Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800 (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Kemal H. Karpat, Ottoman Population: Demographic and Social Characteristics (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). This book attempts, on the basis of original archive materials, to show the demographic dimension of Middle Eastern and Balkan societies under Ottoman rule in the 19th century. See the review of Inalcik in IJMES, 21/3 (1989).

Ömer Lutfi Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East," *IJMES*, 6(1975), 3-28. A classical article which analyzes the effects of one of the first debasements of the Ottoman currency in the 16th century.

Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. by V. L. Ménage (Oxford, 1973) discusses, among others, the relation between the Islamic *sharî'a* and the Ottoman *qânûn*.

Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis (eds.), Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society. Volume 1, The Central Lands; Volume 2, The Arabic-Speaking Lands. (New York, 1982), contains a wide range of articles on "minority" groups in the Ottoman Empire.

On women in the Ottoman Empire, see Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady. A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression* (Princeton University Press, 1982), stresses the key role of the British in the elimination of the trade in black slaves from Africa and the importance of the Ottoman's own actions in abolishing trade in white slaves from the lands around the Black Sea.

Suraiya Faroqhi, Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650 (Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Charles Issawi, *Economic History of Turkey* (Chicago, 1980), is an account, mainly based on the European consular correspondence of the 19th century, of the Turkish economy during the period of Western colonialism and imperialism.

Gabriel Baer, "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds," *IJMES*, 1(1970), 28-50. Haim Gerber, "Guilds in Seventeenth-Century Anatolian Bursa," *Asian and African Studies (AAS)*, 11(1976), 59-86. Orhan Kurmus, "Some Aspects of Handicraft and Industrial Production in Ottoman Anatolia, 1800-1915," *AAS*, 15(1981), 85-101. Edward C. Clark, "The Ottoman Industrial Revolution," *IJMES*, 5(1974), 65-76. Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," *Economic History Review*, 8(1937), 20-37.

Jacques Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1977) focuses on the effects of French imperialism on the Ottoman Empire in general and on some Arab Provinces in particular (Syria and Lebanon).

#### • THE STATE, IDEOLOGY, & RELIGION

Serif Mardin, The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought (Princeton University Press,1962) studies the effects of Western "liberal" thought on the Ottoman intelligentsia of the 19th century and the "origins" of the Tanzīmāt reforms of 1839. See also by the same author, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES), 2(1971), 197-211. See also R. C. Repp, The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy (London: Ithaca, 1986) and J. R. Barnes, An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire (Leiden: E.J. Brill,1986). Richard L. Chambers, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Tanzimat" in Nikki R. Keddie (ed.), Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions Since 1500 (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972).

Cornell H. Fleisher, Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1546-1600 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). The Ottoman 16th century through the eyes of the historian Mustafa Ali. See the critical review article (especially on the much debated issue of "decline") by Rhoads Murphey, "Mustafa Ali and the Politics of Cultural Despair," IJMES, 21(1989), 243-255; idem, Regional Structure in the Ottoman Economy (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987). A Sultanic memorandum of 1636 A.D. concerning the sources and uses of the tax-farm revenues of Anatolia and the coastal and northern portions of Syria.

Cornell H. Fleisher, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and 'Ibn Khaldûnism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 18/3-4(1983), 198-220.

Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 1968[1961]) A survey of the first Turkish pan-movements till the proclamation of the Turkish Republic and its aftermath. See also Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism* (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1979).

Kemal H. Karpat, "The Transformations of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908," IJMES, 3(1972), 243-81.

Carter Findley, Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922 (Princeton University Press, 1980); idem, Ottoman Civil Officialdom. A Social History (Princeton University Press, 1989) reassesses Ottoman accomplishments and failures in turning an archaic scribal corps into an effective civil service.

For a political anthropology of the Ottoman Empire and the cultural barriers for its development, see Ilkay Sunar, *State and Society in the Politics of Turkey's Development* (Ankara, 1974).

## 3. The Arab Provinces. General.

The work of Charles Issawi gives the best synthesis of the economic development of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt). Among his numerous works, *Economic History of the Middle East* (Chicago, 1966), *Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa* (New York, 1982), *The Fertile Crescent, 1800-1914*, *A Documentary Economic History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Another excellent work of economic synthesis is Roger Owen's *The Middle East in the World Economy* (London: Methuen, 1981).

William Polk & Richard Chambers, eds., Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East (Chicago, 1968) contains some key articles by Karpat, Chevallier, Berque, Hourani, and others. Highly recommended.

#### 4. Syria, Lebanon, & Palestine

The Lebanese historiography did not progress much beyond the classical works of Chevallier (1971), Harik (1968), and Smilyanskaya (1965), despite a number of interesting recent publications in the field.

Dominique Chevallier, La société du mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe (Paris, 1971) is a complete study on the economic, cultural, and political effects of the industrial revolution on Mount Lebanon during the 19th century. See also by the same author, Villes et travail en Syrie, du XIXe au XXe siècle (Paris, 1982).

Iliya Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society, Lebanon, 1711–1845* (Princeton, N. J., 1968), is very powerful in analyzing the cultural transformations of the societies of Mount Lebanon. The chapters on the process of "rationalization" (in the sense of Weber) of the Maronite Church are among the best in the field.

I. M. Smilyanskaya's thesis, *Krestyanskoe dvizhenie v Livane* (Moscow, 1965), is unfortunately only available in the original Russian with a complete Arabic translation (Beirut, 1971). Some chapters are translated in English in Issawi (1966 & 1988). Smilyanskaya's thesis is an attempt to explain the peasant's movements of the 19th century in terms of class struggle rather than inter-confessional struggles.

Boutros Labaki, *Introduction à l'histoire économique du Liban* (Beirut, 1984), focuses mainly on the production of silk in Mount Lebanon during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Leila Fawaz, Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth Century Beirut (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), covers the rapid evolution of Beirut during the 19th century from a small provincial town to a key commercial city.

William Polk, *The Opening of South Lebanon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), is another classical study of Mount Lebanon.

Mikhâyil Mishâqa, Murder, Mayhem, Pillage, and Plunder. The History of the Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Centuries, translated from the Arabic by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Albany: State University of New York Press,1988), is a 19th century chronicle by Mishâqa (1800-1888) who among other things served as financial comptroller to the Shihâb emirs of Hâsbayyâ and in his later years was a physician and consul to the United States in Damascus.

Thomas Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt, 1725-1975* (Stuttgart, 1985), discusses the immigration of Syrians (mainly Christians) to Egypt starting with the Ottoman period.

A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria* (Oxford, 1961), analyzes the role and function of the Protestant missionaries in Syria from the 1820s till the opening of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866.

Abraham Marcus, The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity. Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), would be interesting to compare with Brown, People of Salé concerning the social and economic structures of Arab/Islamic cities. See also Bruce Masters, The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East. Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750 (New York University Press, 1988).

Karl K. Barbir, Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708-1758 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), focuses on the politics of the notables during the 18th century, the governorship of the 'Azm, and the political and economic importance of the pilgrimage for Damascus.

Philip Khouri, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1983), discusses the formation, during the *Tanzimât* period and after the Land Code of 1858, of provincial bureaucracies composed mainly of Damascene land-owners belonging to the traditional notable's class.

Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, Families in Politics. Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries (Stuttgart, 1985), is a more complete version of Khouri's thesis on Damascus. Her division of the city in three "conflicting" parts and the maps provided are the best parts of the book.

William Polk (ed.), "Document: Rural Syria in 1845," Middle East Journal, 16(1962), 508-14.

Roger Owen, ed., Studies in the Economic and Social History of Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Carbondale, Ill., 1982), contains a series of well written articles on the effects of foreign investments in Palestine.

Neville J. Mandel, *The Arabs and Zionism Before World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) focuses on the Arab and Ottoman reactions (mainly by leading politicians and intellectuals) to Jewish immigration to Palestine during the last four decades of Ottoman rule.

Kenneth Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine*, 1917-1939 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984) is in some aspects a complementary study to Mandel's *Arabs and Zionism*. Highly recommended for those interested in the social and economic dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. See also Gershon Shafir, *Land and Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 1882-1914 (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

David Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1986), has a number of interesting articles on the economy of Palestine at the turn of this century. Problems related to the demography, the system of *iltizâm*, and the *waqf* (Gabriel Baer), are well covered. See also Moshe Ma'oz (ed.), *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1975). On the Jews of the Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire, see Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of the Arab Lands. A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979).

Gabriel Baer, "The Dismemberment of Awqâf in Early 19th Century Jerusalem," AAS, 13(1979), 220-41. This article, based on the law-court registers of Jerusalem, shows that the process of the "dismemberment" of the waqf is only a judicial device to transform it to the status of a quasi private property.

Philip Matar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem. al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement* (Studies of the Middle East Institute, 1988), offers a comprehensive biography of Muhammad Amin al-Husayni, the principle leader of Palestinian nationalism during the British Mandate.

Muhammad Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988). Justin McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine. Population Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1990), shows that Arabs were a large majority in Palestine up to 1947.

Avi Shlaim, *The Politics of Partition. King Abdullah, The Zionists, and Palestine, 1912-1951* (Columbia University Press, 1990), focuses on the secret Arab-Zionist agreement to partition Palestine.

Zouhair Ghazzal, L'économie politique de Damas durant le XIXe siècle. Structures traditionnelles et capitalisme (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1993).

#### 5. Iraq

Hanna Batatu, The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq (Princeton University Press, 1978), covers extensively the rise and fall of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) in the 1940s in the second part of the book, while the first part is an introduction to the Iraqi society from a profile of its landowning and other social "classes." Finally, a third part deals, though less extensively than for the Communists, with the formation of the Ba'th and the coming to power of Saddâm Husayn. The three parts seem like three different narratives without a major thread to bring them together. Extensive use of the Foreign Office archives that the British left in Iraq.

Samir al-Khalil, Republic of Fear. The Inside Story of Saddam's Iraq (Pantheon, 1989), analyses the logic of Iraqi "totalitarianism." Important insights on the ideology of the Ba'th party, its organization, and its links with

other state organizations such as the army, the *mukhābarāt*, etc. See also by the same author, *The Monument. Art, Vulgarity and Responsibility in Iraq* (University of California Press, 1991).

#### 6. Iran

Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet. Religion and Politics in Iran* (Pantheon, 1985), is an analysis of some of the main intellectual movements in Iran prior and during the Islamic Revolution in 1978 as seen through the eyes of a "character" under the pseudonym of Ali Hashemi. However, despite this focus on the education and becoming of a single Iranian '*âlim*, the overall point of the book remains unclear.

Abrahamian, Ervand. Iran Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University Press, 1982.

Afary, Janet. The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906–1911. Columbia University Press, 1996.

Arjomand, Saïd Amir. After Khomeini: Iran Under His Successors. Oxford University Press, USA, 2009.

Dabashi, Hamid. Masters & Masterpieces of Iranian Cinema. Mage Publishers, 2007.

Kurzman, Charles. The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran. Harvard University Press, 2005.

## 7. Turkey

Serif Mardin, Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey. The Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi (SUNY, 1989), raises the question of religious fundamentalism in Turkey through the case of Said Nursi and his movement.

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Altinay, Ayse Gül. The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic. University of Washington Press, 2002.

Bozdoğan, Sibel, and Reşat Kasaba. Rethinking modernity and national identity in Turkey. University of Washington Press, 1997.

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Göktürk, Deniz, Levent Soysal, and Ipek Türeli. Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe? Routledge, 2010. Keyder, Çağlar. The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey 1923-1929. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press,

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Rabasa, Angel. The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey. RAND Corporation, 2008.

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White, Jenny B. Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics. University of Washington Press, 2003

Yavuz, M Hakan. The Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Parti. 1st ed. University of Utah Press, 2006.

Yavuz, M. Hakan. Islamic Political Identity in Turkey. Oxford University Press, USA, 2005.

#### 8. Egypt

André Raymond's seminal work *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au 18ème siècle* (Damascus, 1973-4) in 2 volumes is a must for the economic history of Egypt during the 18th century. Compare with Marcus (1989) and Brown (1976) on the concept of Arab/Islamic cities.

For the 19th century and in particular the Muhammad Ali experience in "modernization," a revisionist work is Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge, 1984).

Judith Tucker, Women in Nineteenth Century Egypt (Cambridge University Press, 1985), discusses the problems in the historiography of women in Middle Eastern societies.

Bryon Cannon, *Politics of Law and the Courts in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (University of Utah Press, 1988), explores the interaction between local and international factors, both political and economic, that affected the establishment of an effective civil and criminal court system in Egypt during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), examines the peculiar methods of order and truth that characterize the modern West through a re-reading of Europe's colonial impact on 19th century Egypt.

Beinin, Joel and Zachary Lockman, Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Peter Gran, *Islamic Roots of Capitalism*. *Egypt, 1760-1840* (University of Texas Press, 1979). Gran's main hypothesis is that the output of the *'ulamâ'* marked "developments in secular culture and were supportive of capitalism."

Gabriel Baer, Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times (Jerusalem, 1964).

Juan R.I. Cole, Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East. Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement (Princeton University Press, 1993), focuses on the 'Urâbî movement as a broadly based social revolution hardly underway when it was cut off by the British. A challenge to traditional élite-centered theories.

Abir, M. "Modernization, Reaction and Muhammad Ali's 'Empire'." *Middle Eastern Studies* 13, no. 3 (October 1, 1977): 295–313. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4282660.

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Fahmy, Ziad. Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation Through Popular Culture. Stanford University Press, 2011.

Farah, Nadia Ramsis. Egypt's Political Economy: Power Relations in Development. American University in Cairo Press, 2009.

Ginat, Rami. Egypt's Incomplete Revolution: Lutfi al-Khuli and Nasser's Socialism in the 1960s. annotated edition. Routledge, 1997.

Gordon, Joel. Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution. Oxford University Press, USA, 1992.

Hanna, Nelly. In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century. Syracuse Univ Press, 2003.

Mitchell, Timothy. Colonising Egypt. University of California Press, 1991.

Ziadeh, Farhat J. "Law of Property in Egypt: Real Rights." *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 26, no. 2 (April 1, 1978): 239–271.

#### 9. The Maghreb

What is interesting in the Moroccan case is that this society has not been subject to Ottoman rule. Hence it could be used as a background for a comparative analysis with the Ottoman societies.

Abdallah Laroui's Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain, 1830-1912 (Paris: Maspero, 1977), is a monumental study on how the idea of Moroccan "nationalism" evolved through the existence of "internal" institutions (mainly the Makhzen). Highly recommended.

Schroeter, Daniel J., Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844-1886 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). An account of Essaouira in its heyday, as the city was opening to foreign penetration, sheds light on the problems of traditional societies in the age of European economic imperialism. Compare with the classical study of Kenneth L. Brown, People of Salé. Tradition and Change in a Moroccan City, 1830-1930 (Harvard University Press, 1976).

Edmund Burke III, "The Moroccan Ulama, 1860-1912: An Introduction" in Nikki R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions Since 1500* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972).

Carl L. Brown, The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey, 1837-1855 (Princeton University Press, 1974).

Peter Von Sivers, "The Realm of Justice: Apocaliptic Revolts in Algeria (1849-1879), Humaniora Islamica, 1(1973), 47-60.

# 10. The Modern Middle East Within an Anthropological & Historical Perspectives

Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge, 1992), presents the state, society, religion and the military within a comparative perspective.

Dale F. Eickelman, *The Middle East. An Anthropological Approach*, 2nd. ed. (Prentice-Hall, 1981, 1989), covers a wide variety of topics from the villages and cities to self, gender and sexuality. Depth of treatment varies from one chapter to another—some chapters, like the one on the cities, are purely disappointing while others fail to come up with an approach from the multitude of secondary studies that the author relies on. A crucial book for an overview on the current state of anthropological literature on the Middle East.

Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford University Press, 1990), originally published in Paris as *Le sens pratique* (1980), is a pioneering study on the social "practices" of the Kabyles in Algeria, based on a field work in the 1950s, and with tremendous philosophical, epistemological and anthropological implications. Recommended for those who would like to take account of the most recent discoveries in the "social sciences," and most notably anthropology and combine them with their own historical findings.

Dresch, Paul, Tribes, Government and History in Yemen (Oxford University Press, 1990).

Goldberg, Harvey E., Jewish Life in Muslim Libya: Rivals and relatives (Chicago University Press, 1990).

Haeri, Shahla, Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Iran (Tauris, 1990), on the status of women and the types of marriages (in particular the mut'a, pleasure marriage) in contemporary Iran.

Rosen, Lawrence, *The Anthropology of Justice: Law as Culture in Islamic Society* (Cambridge UP, 1989), is an important study on the practice of law in Morocco. Rosen starts with the basic assumption that law in every society is part of the cultural system, and then proceeds to show that "bargaining" is an essential "concept" towards an understanding of the "practice" of Islamic law. A breakthrough in the study of law in general.

Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State. Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (California University Press, 1992), discusses the transmission, conservation and interpretation of the *fiqh* (jurisprudence) literature from one generation to another in the context of an Islamic society like Yemen. Focuses on details that historians usually avoid. Recommended for those interested in history within an anthropological perspective.

Michael Fischer and Mehdi Abedi, *Debating Muslims. Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition* (Wisconsin University Press, 1990). Written in a post-modernist Derridean style, this book is supposed to show that all kinds of Islamic practices wherever they're located are always in a permanent process of adaptation and re-adaptation to the social realities of a particular period. This is done through a re-assessment of the previous

mainly "textual" traditions. Thus, according to our authors, it is the various hermeneutical traditions that save Islam (or any other religion for that matter) from any dogmatism—even though they note a fear of différance in the Islamic traditions. Shortly prior to publication, the authors have added an annex on Salman Rushdi's *The Satanic Verses* which is probably the best thing ever written on this highly controversial book. For one thing, the authors show quite convincingly that Rushdi's knowledge of his "Islamic material" was very close to the "authoritative sources" of Islam.

Smadar Lavie, *The Poetics of Military Occupation. Mzeina Allegories of Bedouin Identity Under Israeli and Egyptian Rule* (California University Press, 1990). This book, based on extensive fieldwork on the South Sinai desert, borrows several post-modernist and deconstructionist approaches from literary criticism and creatively applies them to the Mzeina Bedouins. Thus the book is constructed around several "allegorical characters"—the Shaykh, the mad-woman, the old-woman, the ex-smuggler, and the "one who writes about us," i.e. the author herself who had decided at one point to leave the Bedouins and *write* about them at Berkeley. The "allegorical characters" are supposed to show the Bedouins-in-transition between their old kinship and survival oriented ideology towards "modernity," i.e. the male Bedouins as part of a cheap and under-paid Israeli laborforce. Her text is inserted with large "dialogues"—or "interviews"—to emphasize the author's "textual" approach: translate practices into "texts" with meaning.

Lila Abu-Lughod, Veiled Sentiments. Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society (University of California Press, 1986), reflects on the politics of sentiment and the relationship between ideology and human experience.

Virginia R. Domínguez, People as Subject, People as Object. Selfhood and Peoplehood in Contemporary Israel (Wisconsin University Press).