

The State in Modern Turkey and Iran, 1800–2020

Instructor: Cevat Dargın

Understanding the processes of modern state making in Turkey and Iran in relation to one another and the larger world around them is crucial for a deep understanding of the Middle East, past and present. Turkey and Iran share one of the oldest borders in the Middle East, which is based on a delicate balance of power. The two countries are heirs to rival Muslim empires, which ruled over most of the Muslim world for centuries. Iran took a radical turn towards Islamism in 1979, but Turkey's gradual path to Islamization since the military coup in 1980 is closing the gap. Both countries have imperial nostalgia; both have uneasy relations with the Arab world and the West; both are heavily involved in gender politics; both face profound environmental challenges. In the *longue durée*, however, the desire to preserve and maintain the state in both countries cuts across and overrides all other priorities, including religion.

The preservation and maintenance of the state across time, dating back far beyond the Islamic era, is an essential myth in both Turkish and Persian nationalism. Indeed, Turkish and Iranian experiences with nationalism, democracy, and the West show striking parallels: the two countries have gone through analogous developments with regards to confessionalization (Sunni versus Shi'i), (anti)colonialism, and modernization and have occupied similar positions in global power dynamics in relation to Russia, Britain, the United States, and China. Despite their differences in religion and language, they have strong cultural and economic ties and are home to shared ethnic and religious groups that are crucial to the domestic and interstate affairs of both countries.

Based on a comparative and multidisciplinary methodology, this course explores the making of the modern state in Turkey and Iran from their centralization efforts in early nineteenth century up to the mass protests in both countries in 2010s. Weekly readings and lectures are organized around common themes such as nationalism, colonialism, war, Islamism, gender, and environment that override conventional periodizations and geographical demarcations. The state will be at the center of our discussions, but not necessarily through the developments at the center. We will creatively engage with underrepresented subjects and themes pertaining to the making of the state in different ways. The course explores the political, economic, social, and cultural histories of the subject matter using academic writings alongside multimedia sources. It strives to apply and enhance the principles of inclusion, equity, and justice in terms of the material included and the ways in which lectures are imagined and designed.

Prior knowledge of the modern Middle East is desirable but not required.

Course Requirements and Grading

Weekly response papers (max 1 page), including preferred discussion questions (25%).

Participation (25%).

A final paper comparing modern state making in Turkey and Iran through a theme discussed during the semester (50%).



Turkish President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk greets the Shah of Persia Reza Pahlavi, Ankara, 1934.

Week 1: Introduction

Lecture outlining the course and introducing Ottoman and Persian Empires before nineteenth century, followed by a short discussion on the meanings of empire and nation.

Dominic Lieven. "Empire: A Word and its Meanings." In *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (New Heaven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 3–27.

Ernest Renan. "What Is a Nation?" In *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhaba (London: Routledge, 1990) [French: "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" Lecture delivered at the University of Sorbonne in 1882], 8–22.

Week 2: The Middle East and the Modern State: Reforming the Ottoman and Qajar States

Dror Ze'evi. "Back to Napoleon?: Thoughts on the Beginning of the Modern Era in the Middle East." *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 19:1 (2004): 73–94.

Kemal H. Karpat. "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 3:3 (July 1972): 243–81.

M. Şükrü Hanioglu. "The Tanzimat Era," in *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, 72–108.

Saïd Amir Arjomand. "The Shi'ite hierocracy and the state in pre-modern Iran: 1785–1890." *Archives européennes de sociologie* 22.1 (1981): 40–78.

Stephanie Cronin. "Importing Modernity: European Military Missions to Qajar Iran." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50:1 (2008): 197–226.

Suggested Multimedia

Opinion Piece: Jadaliyya Talks: Negar Razavi on The Systemic Problem of "Iran Expertise" in Washington, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hf6rq10D0OU>.

Film: The History of the Ottoman Empire - Discovery History Science, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1oan51__Cc&t=3462s&ab_channel=Discovery

Podcast: The Ottoman Tanzimat in Practice with Cengiz Kırılı hosted by Chris Gratien, <https://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2015/12/tanzimat.html>.

Photography: Of Kings and Paintings: A Documentary on Qajar Art, by Sara Nodjoumi, <https://farhang.org/programs/of-kings-and-paintings>.

Suggested Readings

S. V. R. Nasr. "European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States." In *Oxford History of Islam* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), 549–600

Anja Pistor-Hatam. "Iran and the Reform Movement in the Ottoman Empire: Persian Travellers, Exiles and Newsmen under the Impact of the Tanzimat." In *Societas Iranologica Europaea: Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies (1991)*, edited by Bert G Fragner (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995), 561–78

Lois Beck. "Tribes and the State in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Iran." In *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, edited by Philip S. Khouri and Joseph Kostiner (University of California Press, 1990), 185–225

Week 3: Internal Colonialism and Political Economy in Late Ottoman and Qajar Empires

James C. Scott. "Nature and Space." In *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, 11–52. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Ussama Makdisi. "Ottoman Orientalism." *American Historical Review* 107 (3), (2002): 768–96.

Selim Deringil. "'Long Live the Sultan!': Symbolism and Power in the Hamidian Regime." In *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*, 16–43. London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

Charles Issawi. "European Economic Penetration, 1872–1921." In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7, 590–607. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet. "Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains of Qajar Iran." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (2), (1997): 205–34.

Suggested Multimedia

Photography: Abdul Hamid II Collection, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/abdul-hamid-ii/>.

Book Commentary: The Ottomans by Marc David Baer review – when east met west, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/oct/22/the-ottomans-by-marc-david-baerreview-when-east-mixed-with-west>.

News: Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association Statement on Defunding of Stanford University Press, by Amy Singer, <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/38683>.

Suggested Readings

Selim Deringil. "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909)." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (1991): 345–59.

Abbas Amanat. "Introduction." In *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844–1850*, 1–20. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989.

John Foran. "The Concept of Dependent Development as a Key to the Political Economy of Qajar Iran (1800–1925)." *Iranian Studies*, 22:2/3 (1989): 5–56.

Uzi Rabi and Nugzar Ter-Oganov. "The Military of Qajar Iran: The Features of an Irregular Army from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century." *Iranian Studies*, 45:3 (2012): 333–54.

Week 4: Constitutionalism and War: From Empire to Nation State

Eric Weitz. "From the Vienna to the Paris System." *American Historical Review* (2008): 1313–43.

Şükrü Hanioglu. "The Political Ideas of the Young Turks." In *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 200–12. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Eric Jan Zürcher. "The Second Constitutional Period, 1912–18." In *Turkey: A Modern History*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2017), 93–132.

Fariba Zarinebaf. "From Istanbul to Tabriz: Modernity and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28 (1), (2008): 154–69.

Hasan Kayali. "The War Years, 1914–1918." In *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918*, 174–201. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Touraj Atabaki. "The First World War, Great Power Rivalries and the Emergence of a Political Community in Iran." In *Iran and the First World War: Battleground of the Great Powers*. (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 1-8.

Suggested Multimedia

Film: Blood and Oil: The Middle East in World War I, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jP0evPEsc30&ab_channel=JansonMedia.

Podcast: How War Changed Ottoman Society, with Yiğit Akin hosted by Chris Gratien and Susanna Ferguso, <https://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2019/10/wwi.html>

Opinion: A Century Ago, the Modern Middle East Was Born, New York Times (2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/25/opinion/middle-east-world-war-i.html>.

Suggested Readings

Ervand Abrahamian. "The Causes of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 10:3 (August 1979): 381–414.

Eugene Rogan. "The Ottoman Triumph at Gallipoli." In *The Fall of the Ottomans: the Great War in the Middle East* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015), 159–200.

Percy Sykes. "South Persia and the Great War." *Geographical Journal*, 58:2 (1921): 101–16.

Week 5: Genocide and the Modern State in Turkey

Charles Tilly. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Michael A. Reynolds. "Troubles in Anatolia." In *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires 1908–1918*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 46–81.

Richard G. Hovannisian. "The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1914." In *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 203–38

Uğur Ümit Üngör. "Genocide of Christians, 1915–1916." In *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55–106

Donald Bloxham. "Ethnic Reprisal and Ethnic Cleansing." In *The Great Game of Genocide, Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, 69–96. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Suggested Multimedia

Film: They Shall Not Perish: The Story of Near East Relief (2016),
<https://www.theyshallnotperish.com/#>.

Podcast: The Great Crime: A Podcast History of the Armenian Genocide,
<https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-great-crime-a-podcast-history-of-the-armenian-genocide/id1411124658>.

Photography: Armenian Deportees, 1915-16, by Armin T. Wegner,
<https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-great-crime-a-podcast-history-of-the-armenian-genocide/id1411124658>.

Suggested Readings

Keith David Watenpaugh. "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927." *American Historical Review*, 115:5 (2010): 1315–39.

Stephan Astourian. "The Armenian Genocide: An Interpretation." *History Teacher*, 23:2 (1990): 111–60.

Vasileios Mechanetsidis. "The Genocide of the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, 1913–1923: A Comprehensive Overview." *Genocide Studies International*, 9:1 (2015): 104–73.

Walter Richmond. "From War to Genocide." In *The Circassian Genocide* (New Brunswick Rutgers University Press, 2013), 54–75

Week 6: Nationalism and Authoritarian Modernization: Interwar Turkey and Iran

John Breuilly. "Reform Nationalism outside Europe." In *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, (Pages TBA).

Dankwart A. Rustow. "The Army and the Founding of the Turkish Republic." In *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, edited by Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher, 164–208. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.

Arang Keshavarzian. "Turban or Hat, Seminarian or Soldier: State Building and Clergy Building in Reza Shah's Iran." *Journal of Church and State*, 45:1 (2003): 81–112.

John R. Perry. "Language Reform in Turkey and Iran." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17:3 (1985): 295–311.

Erik Jan Zürcher. "The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic." In *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation-Building from the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, 136–50. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.

Houchang Chehabi. "Dress Codes for Men in Turkey and Iran." In *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, edited by Touraj Atabaki, and Erik J. Zürcher, 209–37. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.

Niyazi Berkes. "Ziya Gökalp: His Contribution to Turkish Nationalism." *Middle East Journal*, 8:4 (1954): 375–90.

Suggested Multimedia

Film: The End of the Ottoman Empire, <https://vimeo.com/ondemand/endoftheottomanempire>.
The Story of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Incredible Turk (1958),
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6lAnXU1a-A&ab_channel=npatou

Podcast: Opium Smuggling in Interwar Turkey and Beyond with Daniel-Joseph Macarthur-Seal hosted by Nir Shafir, <https://podtail.com/en/podcast/history-of-modern-turkey/opium-smuggling-in-interwar-turkey-and-beyond/>.

Suggested Readings

Yusuf Akçura, and Ismail Fehmi. "Yusuf Akçura's Üç Tarz—I Siyaset ("Three Kinds Of Policy")." *Oriente Moderno*, 61:1/12 (1981): 1–20.

Ziya Gökalp. "The Ideal of Nationalism." In *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 71–88.

Afshin Marashi. "The Nation's Poet: Ferdausi and the Iranian National Imagination." In *Iran in the 20th Century: Historiography and Political Culture*, edited by Touraj Atabaki, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 93–112.

Charles Kurzman. "Weaving Iran into the Tree of Nations." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 37:2 (May 2005): 137–66.

Atabaki, Touraj. "Time, Labour Discipline and Modernization in Turkey and Iran." In *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and State in Turkey and Iran*, edited by Touraj Atabaki (London I. B. Tauris, 2007), 1–16.

M. Brett Wilson. "The First Translations of the Qur'an in Modern Turkey." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 41:3 (2009): 419–35.

Week 7: The Turkish and Iranian States in the Global Periphery: WWII and the Cold War

Steven R. Ward. "Sidelined: The World at War in Iran." In *Immortal, Updated Edition: A Military History of Iran and Its Armed Forces* (Washington, DC Georgetown University Press, 2014), 151–80

John M. Vander Lippe. "A Cautious Balance: The Question of Turkey in World War II." *The Historian*, 64:1 (2001): 63–80.

Michael B. Bishku. "Turkey and Iran During the Cold War." *Journal of Third World Studies*, 16:1 (1999): 13–28.

Roberts, Geoffrey. "Moscow's Cold War on the Periphery: Soviet Policy in Greece, Iran, and Turkey, 1943–8." *Journal of Contemporary History* 46:1 (2011): 58–81.

Mark J Gasiorowski. "The 1953 Coup d'Etat in Iran." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19.3 (August 1987): 261–86.

Ümit Cizre Sakallıoğlu. "The Anatomy of Turkish Military's Political Autonomy." *Comparative Politics*, 29:2 (1997): 151–66.

Suggested Multimedia

Film: Darbe (Coup), A documentary film about the 1960, 1971, 1980, and 1997 military interventions and coups d'etat in Turkey, by Elif Savas,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_kb7LmYpmQ&ab_channel=LAKB2011.

Podcast: The Iranian Coup of 1953: Overthrow of a Prime Minister,
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3cswpt1>.

Suggested Readings

- Ali M Ansari. "The Myth of the White Revolution: Mohammad Reza Shah, 'Modernization' and the Consolidation of Power." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 37:3 (2001): 1–24.
- Richard F. Pfaff. "Disengagement from Traditionalism in Turkey and Iran." *Western Political Quarterly*, 16:1 (1963), 79-98.
- Kayaoglu, Barin. "The Limits of Turkish-Iranian Cooperation, 1974–80." *Iranian Studies*, 47:3 (2014): 463–78.
- Edmund Herzig. "Iran and Turkey: Between Central Asia and The Arab World." *Security Dialogue* 27:4 (1996): 485–87.

Week 8: The Islamist Turn and the State in Turkey and Iran: Late Twentieth Century

- Sena Karasipahi. "Comparing Islamic Resurgence Movements in Turkey and Iran." *Middle East Journal*, 63:1 (2009): 87–107.
- Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi. "Thinking the Unthinkable: The Revolutionary Movement in Iran." In *Foucault in Iran: Islamic Revolution after the Enlightenment*, 19–54. University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Hamid Enayat, "Iran: Khumayni's Concept of the 'Guardianship of the Jurisconsult.'" In *Islam in the Political Process*, edited by James Piscatori (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 160–80
- Mehbi Abedi. "Ali Shariati: The Architect of the 1979 Islamic Revolution of Iran." *Iranian Studies*, 19:3/4 (1986): 229–34.
- Feroz Ahmad. "The Islamic Assertion in Turkey: Pressures and State Response." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 4:1/2 (1982): 94–109.
- Bekim Agai. "Islam and Education in Secular Turkey: State Policies and the Emergence of the Fethullah Gülen Group." In *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, edited by Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 149–71

Suggested Multimedia

Film: Iranian Revolution, BBC,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=87gaBfqvWOY&ab_channel=KnowNothing.

Podcast: The Iranian Revolution, The History Ho, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/w3cswqms>.

Opinion: The Cold War-era Origins of Islamism in Turkey and its Rise to Power by Behlül Özkan, <https://www.hudson.org/research/13807-the-cold-war-era-origins-of-islamism-inturkey-and-its-rise-to-power>.

Suggested Readings

- Şerif Mardin. "Religion, Ideology and Consciousness in the Ottoman Empire at the End of the Nineteenth Century" and "The Saint and his Followers." In *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989 [Pages TBA].
- Nikki Ragozin Keddie. "The Origins of the religious-radical alliance in Iran." *Past and Present*, 34 (July 1966): 70–80.
- Theda Skocpol. "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society*, 11:3 (May 1982): 265–83.

Week 9: Limits of the State: The Kurdish Challenge in Turkey and Iran

- Sabri Ates. "The End of Kurdish Autonomy: The Destruction of the Kurdish Emirates in the Ottoman Empire." In *The Cambridge History of the Kurds*, edited by Hamit Bozarslan, Cengiz Gunes, and Veli Yadirgi, 73–103. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- David McDowall. "The Qajars and the Kurds." In *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 3rd ed., 66–86. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.

- Martin van Bruinessen. "A Kurdish Warlord on the Turkish-Persian Frontier in the Early Twentieth Century: Isma`il Agha Simko." In *Iran and the First World War: Battleground of the Great Powers*, edited by Touraj Atabaki, 69–93. London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.
- Andrew Mango. "Atatürk and the Kurds." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35: (1999): 1–25.
- Wadie Jwaideh. "Kurdish Rebellions in Turkey" and "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad." In *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development*, 203–18, 243–66. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- Kemal Kirişçi and Gareth M. Winrow, *The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict*. (London: Franc Cass, 1997), 67–118.
- Nader Entessar. "The Kurdish Conundrum and the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1979–2003." In *The Kurdish Question Revisited*, edited by Stansfield, Gareth R. V., and Mohammed Shareef, 307–218. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Suggested Multimedia

- Film: The Mystical Dervishes of Kurdistan, (1970–75),
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fhwr5Och790&ab_channel=TRACKS.
- Photography: The World's Most Dangerous Mountains, by Alex Perry,
<https://www.outsideonline.com/outdoor-adventure/exploration-survival/kolbars-smuggling-kurds-iraq-iran-border/>.
- Podcast: Dilek Kurban on Turkey, the Kurdish question and the ECHR,
<https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/turkey-book-talk/dilek-kurban-on-turkey-the-9tRswVTjahW/>.
- News: Turkey threatens to block Finland and Sweden Nato bids by Yaroslav Lukov & Matt Murphy, BBC, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61472021>.

Suggested Readings

- Hamit Bozarslan. "An Overview of Kurdistan of the 19th Century." In *Routledge Handbook of the Kurds*, edited by Michael M. Gunter, 48–61. London: Routledge, 2019.
- Martin van Bruinessen. "Genocide in Kurdistan?: Suppression of the Dersim Rebellion (1937–38) and the Chemical War Against the Iraqi Kurds (1988)." In *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*, edited by George J. Andreopoulos, 141–70. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- Hakan Özoğlu. "Kurdish Protonationalism: The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State: Evolving Identities, Competing Loyalties, and Shifting Boundaries*, 69–86. Albany: SUNY Press, 2004.

Week 10: Reimagining the State: Gender and Sexuality Politics in Turkey and Iran

- Fanny Davis. *The Ottoman Lady. A Social History From 1718 to 1918*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986, 229–43.
- Şule Toktaş. "Nationalism, Modernization and the Military in Turkey: Women Officers in the Turkish Armed Forces." *Oriente Moderno*, 23:84 (2004): 247–67.
- Deniz Kandiyoti. "Against All Odds: The Resilience and Fragility of Women's Gender Activism in Turkey." In *Gender, Governance and Islam*, edited by Deniz Kandiyoti, Nadjé Al-Ali, and Kathryn Spellman Poots, 80–100. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.
- Afsaneh Najmabadi. "Nineteenth-Century Transformations." In *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*, 1st ed., 26–60. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.
- Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet. "Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900–1941." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32:1 (May 2005), 29–46.
- Adele K. Ferdows. "Women and the Islamic Revolution." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 15:2 (1983): 283–98.

Mona Tajali. "Islamic Women's Groups and the Quest for Political Representation in Turkey and Iran." *Middle East Journal*, 69:4 (2015): 563–81.

Suggested Multimedia

Watch: Divorce Iranian Style (1998),

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yYaRb070r8E&ab_channel=RealStories.

Podcast: Effeminacy and the Construction of Masculinity in the Turkish Army: The Curious Case of the Pink Certificate, Sexuality and Gender in Turkey, with Tankut Atuk, <https://podcasts.ceu.edu/content/effeminacy-and-construction-masculinity-turkish-army-curious-case-pink-certificate>.

News: Turkey formally quits treaty to prevent violence against women, Reuters, www.cnn.com/2021/07/01/europe/turkey-istanbul-convention-women-intl/index.html.

Suggested Readings

Afsaneh Najmabadi. "Mapping Transformations of Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in Modern Iran." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 49:2 (2005): 54–77.

Shahla Haeri. "Temporary Marriage: An Islamic Discourse on Female Sexuality in Iran." In *In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-revolutionary Iran*, edited by Mahnaz Afkhami and Erika Friedl (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 98–114.

Donald Quataert. "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29:3 (1997): 403–25.

Mona Hassan. "Women Preaching for the Secular State: Official Female Preachers (Bayan Vaizler) in Contemporary Turkey." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43:3 (2011): 451–73.

Amy DePaul. "Re-Reading 'Reading Lolita in Tehran.'" *MELUS*, 33:2 (2008): 73–92.

Week 11: Reimagining the State: Environment and State in Turkey and Iran

Elsbeth Whitney. "Lynn White Jr.'s 'The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis' after 50 Years" *History Compass*, 13:8 (2015): 396–410.

Abbas Amanat. "Environment and Culture: An Introduction." *Iranian Studies*, 49:6 (2016): 925–41.

Saghar Sadeghian, "The Caspian Forests of Northern Iran during the Qajar and Pahlavi Periods: Deforestation, Regulation, and Reforestation." in *Iranian Studies*, 49 (6), (2016), 973–996.

Kaveh Madani, Amir AghaKouchak, and Ali Mirchi. "Iran's Socio-economic Drought: Challenges of a Water-Bankrupt Nation." *Iranian Studies*, 49:6 (2016): 997–1016.

Chris Gratien. "The Stench of Progress." In *The Unsettled Plain: An Environmental History of the Late Ottoman Frontier* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2022), 56–93

Eyüp Özveren, and Selin Efşan Nas. "Economic Development and Environmental Policy in Turkey: An Institutional Critique." *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 36:5 (2012): 1245–66.

Suggested Multimedia

Film: Traveling Iran by train | DW Documentary, 2017,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lqSoLVkYYu0&ab_channel=DWDocumentary.

Podcast: *An Environmental History of the Late Ottoman Frontier*,

<https://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2022/03/gratien.html>.

News: 1) "Iran Water Shortage Protests Result in 3rd Death, Extend Into 7th Day". *Voice of America*. July 22, 2021.

2) "Confronting climate change, Turkey needs "green" leadership now more than ever" Tomer Barak, Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak, January 25, 2022.

<https://www.mei.edu/publications/confronting-climate-change-turkey-needs-green-leadership-now-more-ever>.

Suggested Readings

- Keith McLachlan. *The Neglected Garden: The Politics and Ecology of Agriculture in Iran*. I. B. Tauris, 1988, 65–104.
- Kaveh L. Afrasiabi. “The Environmental Movement in Iran: Perspectives from Below and Above.” *Middle East Journal*, 57:3 (2003): 432–48.
- Satoshi Abe. “Iranian Environmentalism: Nationhood, Alternative Natures, and the Materiality of Objects.” *Nature and Culture*, 7:3 (2012): 259–84.
- K.T. Evered and E. Ö. Evered. “A Conquest of Rice: Agricultural Expansion, Malaria, & the State in Turkey.” *Historia Agraria: Revista de Agricultura e Historia Rural* 68 (2016): 143–78.

Week 12: Totalitarian State(?): Contemporary Iran and Turkey

- Elizabeth Shakman Hurd. “Contested Secularisms in Turkey and Iran.” In *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations*, edited by E. S. Hurd. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 65-83.
- Saeed Ghasseminejad, Behnam Ben Taleblu, and Eliora Katz. “Evolution Toward Revolution: The Development of Street Protests in the Islamic Republic of Iran.” *Journal of International Affairs*, 73:2 (2020): 147–62.
- Edibe Sözen and M. Hakan Yavuz. “The Gezi Protests: An Outburst at Turkey’s Shatter-Zone.” *Insight Turkey*, 16:1 (2014): 147–62.
- Jenny B. White. “Islam and Politics in Contemporary Turkey.” In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4, 357–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Uzi Rabi and Ben Mendales. “The Failed 2016 Coup d’Etat and the Birth of Post-Modern Turkey.” *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 40:4 (2017): 22–42.
- Murat Güneş Tezcur. “Muslim Reformism in Comparative Perspective.” In *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey the Paradox of Moderation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 48-63.

Suggested Multimedia

- Film: A Gift from God. (2019), a documentary film about the failed military coup attempt in Turkey in 2016, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt11646412/>.
- Opinion Piece: Turkey’s Path to Totalitarianism by Michael Rubin, <https://www.commentary.org/michael-rubin/recep-tayyip-erdogan-turkey-totalitarianism/>.
- News: Inside Higher Education: Peace Petition Signatories Face Continued Prosecutions, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2019/07/01/about-700-academics-have-been-criminally-charged-turkey-their-signatures-petition>.
- Podcast: Iran’s Presidential Election, With Suzanne Maloney, June 15, 2021, <https://thepresidentsinbox.podbean.com/e/iran-s-presidential-election-with-suzanne-maloney/>.

Suggested Readings

- Refat Sayed Ahmad. “Religion and the State in Turkey and Iran: A Comparative Overview.” *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 7:1 (2014): 36–53.
- Nilüfer Göle. “Gezi: Anatomy of a Public Square Movement.” *Insight Turkey* 15:3 (2013): 7–14.
- Fred H. Lawson. “Syria’s Mutating Civil War and Its Impact on Turkey, Iraq and Iran.” *International Affairs*, 90:6 (2014): 1351–65.
- William Kang and Jaechun Kim. “Turco-Iranian Alignment: Balancing or Bandwagoning with the US?” *Journal of International and Area Studies*, 23:1 (2016): 17–32.
- Fuat Keyman. “Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Arab Spring Era: From Proactive to Buffer State.” *Third World Quarterly* (2016): 1–14.