



BRISMES

British Society for Middle Eastern Studies

BRISMES GRADUATE CONFERENCE 2011 IN COLLABORATION WITH CASAW

Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World (CASAW)

مركز الدراسات المتقدمة للعالم العربي



AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

MANCHESTER
1824

Programme

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Welcome to the University of Manchester

Welcome to the University of Manchester the host of the 2011 BRISMES Post-Graduate Conference in Collaboration with CASAW.

The University of Manchester is the largest on-site university in the UK and is located in the heart of England's second city. With a distinguished history of academic achievement and an ambitious agenda for the future, our tradition of success stretches back over 180 years. The birth of the modern computer, the splitting of the atom, the founding principles of economics-these and many more world-changing innovations have their roots in our university.

The university is located in the vibrant heart of the city which boasts world-class sporting facilities and was host the 2002 Commonwealth games. The numerous museums, art galleries, libraries, as well as a huge array of restaurants, bars and night-life is only one reason why the University of Manchester has been named the most popular university in the UK.

The University of Manchester has excellent facilities and support for the study of the Middle East. In particular, the John Rylands University Library is one of the best in Europe, with a large Middle Eastern collection including one of the finest collections of manuscripts and early printed books in the U.K. Its holdings include numerous Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Hebrew and Syriac works. With more than 4 million printed books and manuscripts, over 41,000 electronic journals and 500,000 electronic books, as well as several hundred databases, the John Rylands University Library (JRUL) is one of the best-resourced academic libraries in the country.

Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Manchester

For more than a hundred years, Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Manchester has been a major centre in Britain for the study of languages, history, religions, literatures and cultures of the Middle East.

Our undergraduate and postgraduate taught programmes cover Arabic, Hebrew, Persian and Turkish as the major modern languages of the Middle East. The Middle Eastern Studies department at Manchester offers training in both modern and ancient Languages, as well as the modern history of the Middle East and the study of Islam and Judaism. All courses aim to provide students with a range of intellectual skills related to the chosen subject area, and key skills suitable for further study in the field as well as for the wider social and professional context.

The quality of our research activity has been recognised by the Higher Education Funding Council for England with the award of a 5 ("research quality that equates to attainable levels of international excellence in some sub-areas of activity and to attainable levels of national excellence in virtually all others") in the 1996 and 2001 Research Assessment Exercise. As a close-knit academic community, student-lecturer relations are relaxed and informal, with lecturers and professors readily and regularly available for consultation. Middle Eastern Studies is the editorial home of the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, a leading international periodical in the field. Middle Eastern Studies at Manchester offers exceptionally wide-ranging opportunities for research and advanced training in the history, languages, religious traditions and politics of the Middle East. Training and research supervision in all major cultures and periods of the region are delivered by experts whose publications contribute to their subject on the international level. In the 2008 Research Assessment Exercise a total of 60% of research in the Department was deemed to be in the two top quality categories of 4* (world-leading) and 3* (internationally excellent).

Research embraces the historical-literary study of classical periods, as well as current approaches in the exploration of the social, cultural, literary or religious characteristics of the contemporary Middle East. Staff research interests include modern Islamic thought, the role of women in the Muslim world, translation studies, Israeli culture, modern Jewish thought, 20th century relations between Europe and the Arab Middle East as well as Iran, alongside classical Islamic history, Shiism, rabbinic Judaism, Turkic linguistics and the pre-Islamic and Christian history of the Middle East.

Manchester offers the ideal setting for Middle Eastern Studies with its multicultural population and Middle Eastern communities. Middle Eastern Studies attracts students from wide variety of cultural and religious backgrounds, making for a lively and stimulating working environment.

The British Society of Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES)

The British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (popularly known as BRISMES) was established in 1973 to encourage and promote the study of the Middle East in the United Kingdom.

It brings together teachers, researchers, students, diplomats, journalists and others who deal professionally with the Middle East. Membership is open to all of the above, regardless of nationality - indeed regardless of where in the world you are based.

At the national level, the Society pursues a concerted strategy by impressing on national, governmental and university bodies the importance of safeguarding and expanding Middle Eastern studies. In the UK's Research Assessment Exercise, BRISMES fulfils a consultative role to the organising higher education funding bodies.

Our international links make the Society the foremost channel through which scholars outside Britain may create co-operative links with UK-based researchers. Links between BRISMES and Middle East studies associations elsewhere in the world are constantly being expanded (as is our international membership). BRISMES has traditionally played a prominent role in the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES). We also have links with The Middle East Studies Association of North America ([MESA](#)). In 2007 we became one of the Societies to receive funding from the [British Academy](#).

The well-established British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies - an internationally refereed publication with varied scholarly articles and a large book-review section - is commercially published (three times a year) by [Taylor and Francis](#) for BRISMES. If you are a member, you get it free - along with the Newsletter, which is full of information about what is happening in the field (conferences, the latest publications, research, scholarships, jobs, etc).

The Society also organises public annual lectures. Last year's lecture was given by Professor Roger Owen on 'British and French Military Intelligence in Syria and Palestine, 1914-18: Myths and Reality'. Yasir Suleiman gave the 2008 Annual Lecture on 'Arabic and I'. Previous speakers include Carole Hillenbrand, Charles Tripp and Philip Robins.

There is also, of course, the other big annual event, drawing attendance from all over the world: the BRISMES Annual Conference, which attracts the latest research on all aspects of Middle Eastern studies in Britain and beyond. Members enjoy a reduced rate here, too!

We are delighted that the Graduate Section has recently launched an E-journal called New Middle East Studies aimed at early career researchers.

The Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World (CASAW)

CASAW is the result of a UK government initiative to build crucial expertise on the Arab World based on knowledge of the Arabic language coupled with advanced research methods skills in the social and political sciences, arts and humanities.

The Centre is a collaboration between the Universities of Edinburgh, Durham and Manchester. It fields one of the largest concentrations of expertise in the UK, bringing together over 50 full-time members of staff drawn from a variety of departments in the arts, humanities and social and political sciences, all working on areas directly related to the Arabic-speaking world. CASAW's priority is to serve national strategic interests by safeguarding the future health of Arab World expertise in the UK, training the next generation of academics and providing a vital flow of expertise to sustain the needs of the public and private sectors.

The Centre substantially enhances national capacity in Arabic and Arab World studies. In addition to training an elite cadre of masters and doctoral students, it hosts eight post-doctoral fellows trained in Arabic pursuing, alongside teaching and administration, major research projects on areas such as jihad and martyrdom, minority identities and the Muslim diaspora. The critical mass of scholarly expertise available at all three universities fosters a culture of national and international collaboration, both within academia and beyond to the public and private sectors.

As part of the United Kingdom's Language-Based Area Studies Initiative the country's major funding bodies - the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council), AHRC (Arts and Humanities Research Council), HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England) and SFC (Scottish

Funding Council) - awarded the Universities of Edinburgh, Manchester and Durham £5 million to establish the Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World (CASAW) which was founded in September 2006.

About I.B. Tauris

This year's BRISMES Post-Graduate conference in collaboration with CASAW is pleased to include intellectual participation from I.B Tauris.

I.B.Tauris is an independent publishing house that has pioneered a distinctive approach to the publication of both general non-fiction and new scholarly writing in the humanities and social sciences. We aim to publish books that appeal to academics, area specialists, students and researchers as well as to a broad cross-section of general readers.

Founded in London in 1983, we now publish 300 new books internationally every year and keep approximately 3,000 books available in print either in hardcover or paperback editions – or both. A large and growing proportion of our publishing output is also now available in electronic format through libraries and collections worldwide: ask your librarian for details of e-books currently released. As we continue to digitize our backlist titles, the number of available e-books is growing all the time.

I.B.Tauris has long been recognised as one of the leading publishers on the [Middle East and the Islamic World](#) and has a major presence in [Classics and Ancient History](#), [History](#), [Geography and Social Sciences](#), [Politics and International Relations](#), [Philosophy](#), [Religion](#), [Film and Visual Culture](#), and [Fine Art](#). We also publish the popular [Tauris Parke Paperbacks](#) imprint specialising in history, travel and biography.

Other contributors

The Organisers would also like to thank the Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) and the Journal of Semitic Studies (JSS) for their generous financial support.

Council for British Research in the Levant

The Council for British Research in the Levant is the British Academy sponsored society for research into the humanities and social sciences in the Levant.

Journal of Semitic Studies

The Journal of Semitic Studies was established at the University of Manchester in 1955. It is now edited by members of Middle Eastern Studies and Religions and Theology at Manchester and published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the University. JSS has built up an international reputation as one of the leading academic journals in its field, with individual and institutional subscribers in some 45 countries and many distinguished scholars among its contributors.

It has always been a central part of the Journal's editorial policy to encompass a broad range of research within Semitic studies, with particular emphasis given to languages and literatures of both the ancient and the modern Middle East. Each issue is designed to reflect this breadth, as well as to maintain a balance of items of interest to both Arabists and Hebraists. Book reviews comprise up to half of each issue, providing extensive coverage of new publications from Europe, America and the Middle East.

Accommodation in Manchester

Hotels

Holiday Inn Express Manchester City Centre 3*Self Classified Hotel
2-4 OXFORD ROAD , MANCHESTER, M1 5QA

Days Hotel Manchester City 3* Self Classified Hotel
Weston Building Sackville Street, Manchester City Centre, M1 3BB

Ibis Manchester Charles Street 2* Self Classified Hotel
Charles Street , Manchester, M1 7DG

IBIS MANCHESTER CENTRE 2* AA Assessed Hotel
94 PORTLAND STREET , MANCHESTER, M1 4GX

The Merchants Hotel 1* Self Classified Hotel
31 Back Piccadilly , Manchester, M1 1HP

Hilton Chambers – Hostel 3*
15 Hilton Street, City Centre, M1 1JJ

The Commercial Hotel: 2* Self Classified Inn
125 Liverpool Road , Manchester, M3 4JN

The Mitre Hotel: *3 Visit England Assessed Small Hotel
1 3, Cathedral Gates , Manchester, M31SW

Hotel International: 34 London Road, City Centre, Manchester, M1 2PF

Internet Sites for booking: www.laterooms.com and www.booking.com

Also, worth trying <http://www.mbs.ac.uk/aboutus/conference-hotel/hotel-services.aspx>

and

<http://www.chancellorshotel.co.uk/hotel>

Locations and Maps



The Conference Programme

**BRISMES Postgraduate Conference 2011, in collaboration with CASAW -
University of Manchester**

13 Jan 2011			
Time	Uni Place 4.204	Uni Place 4.213	Uni Place 4.214
9.00 - 9.30			
9.30 - 9.50	Welcome - Prof. Kersti Börjars (Dean)		
9.50 - 9.55	Welcome - Prof. Keith Brown (Head SLLC)		
9.55 - 10.00	Welcome - Dr. Oliver Bast (Head MES)		
10.00 - 11.00	Keynote Speech - Mr. Alistair Newton, BRISMES President (plus Q&A)		
11.15 - 11.30	-		
11.30 - 12.00	-BRISMES Postgraduate GMA General Member Assembly		
12.00 - 12.50	-	Panel 1	
13.00 - 14.00	-Lunch		
14.00 - 15.45	-Panel 2	Panel 3	Panel 4
15.45 - 17.00	-Panel 5	Panel 6	Panel 7
17.00 - 17.15	-		
17.15 - 18.00	-Keynote Speech - Dr. Dalia Mostafa, CASAW		
20.00	Dinner - Topkapi Restaurant, Deansgate		
14 Jan 2011			
Time	Uni Place 4.204	Uni Place 4.213	Uni Place 4.214
9.00 - 9.30			
9.30 - 10.15	NMES e-Journal Launch		
10.15 - 11.30	-Panel 8	Panel 9	Panel 10
11.35 - 12.50	-Panel 11	Panel 12	Panel 13
13.00 - 14.00	-Lunch		
14.00 - 15.30	-IB Tauris - 'How to get your PhD published' (presentation, plus Q&A)		
15.30 - 15.45	-		
15.45 - 17.00	-Panel 14	Panel 15	Panel 16
17.00 - 17.30	-Closing session (wine and refreshments)		

Panels

Panel 1: **Economy and Religion in Syria** (Chair) Esther Meininghaus

Roman-Oliver Foy Local actors experience confronting the implementation of a state farm then confronting its liquidation: the al-Assad Estate

Whilst the Syrian Agrarian Reform during the 1960s was mainly redistributive, it involved the introduction of some state farms. These were liquidated from 2000 onwards, and the lands was being distributed by plots of 2 to 8 ha (1 ha = 2,47 acre) to different types of beneficiaries (former landholders before the introduction of the state farm, former employees during the times of state farms, etc). From surveys conducted in 2009 and 2010, we will present trajectories and strategies of local actors confronting the changes in land status in one of the larger state farms in Syria: the al-Asad Establishment. How did former landholders (often beneficiaries of the "redistributive" Land Reform) experience the confiscation of their land by the state? What did the newcomers, i.e. those who used to be employed in the state farm, think about their new land of welcome and their employment in the State Farm? How do they experience the current configuration?

Shin Yasuda: Travel Agency in Syrian Shi'ite Religious Tourism: Its History, Role, and Impact

The aim of this presentation is to explore the role of travel agencies in Syrian Shi'ite religious tourism and its impact on the culture of religious visits (*ziyāra*). Nowadays, Syrian Shi'ite religious tourism is introduced as one of the most successful examples of the development in Islamic visits and of transnational religious sites especially for Shi'ite people. There are now many famous religious sites in Syria, and more than three million people undertake religious visits to the shrines in Syria from Iran, Iraq, the Gulf States, South Asia, Central Asia and other countries every year.

Most previous studies have described the development of Syrian Shi'ite visits as an expansion of Iranian and Shi'ite influence in Syria, and as a tool for the Iranian and Shi'ite ideological representation in Syria. However, it is more important to look at the expansion of the tourism industry in Syrian Shi'ite visits. Nowadays, most religious visitors use travel agencies and religious tours to come to Syria, and travel agencies improve their tours and services in relation to the religious tourists. In other words, travel agencies for Syrian Shi'ite religious tourism are strongly involved in Syrian Shi'ite visits and have distinctly contributed to the development of Syrian Shi'ite visits, and have also changed the culture around these. In this paper, therefore, I will explore in what ways the travel agencies in Syrian Shi'ite religious tourism have changed the culture of religious visits by considering the history, role and impact of the travel agency in Syrian Shi'ite religious tourism.

Panel 2: Iran History (Chair) Edgar Klüsener

Mansoureh Ebrahimi: Reflections from British Documents after the 1953 Coup in Iran: From August 19 to December

The present study investigates Britain's involvement in Iran after the 1953 *coup*. The above mentioned *coup* is a vital milestone in the study of the contemporary history of Iran, in that it determines its future incidents in a new overt aspect, the coup that ousted Prime Minister Mosaddeq from power. Mosaddeq was arrested and imprisoned after the coup. At the same time, there were some prominent incidents created by the new prime minister, Major-General Fazlollah Zahedi, who was Britain's agent. He tried hard to suppress Mosaddeq's supporters through predetermined covert plans from Britain. The present article investigates two main targets. In the first place, it intends to study the British strategies to deal with various events which happened, particularly after the coup. Secondly, it attempts to elucidate diverse responses from various groups in Iran. A

qualitative approach has been used to examine how British documents have shed a new light on the history of the 1953 *coup*. The main resource used in this study is given to documents from archival research. The result of the study manifests that, through the coup plan and via controlling the internal circumstances of Iran after the coup, the British were the most considerable factor in changing the domestic and foreign policies of Iran. The Shah took control of the government and sought total control over the country. As a result, there was a relatively quiet condition at the end of 1953 in Iran.

Eddie Wastnidge: Pragmatic Politics: Iranian Foreign Policy towards Central Asia since 1991.

Since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, Central Asia has assumed renewed importance in Iranian foreign policy thinking. The region has played a significant role in Iran's historical geography, and Persian cultural influence continues to be felt in the region today. The impending twenty year anniversary of the independence of the Central Asian republics represents an opportunity to reflect on relations between Iran and the wider region. Despite the popular focus on the revisionist aspects of Iran's foreign policy outlook, its approach towards Central Asia reveals a more pragmatic foreign policy in action. This paper outlines the ways in which the Islamic Republic has attempted to expand its influence in the former Soviet states through its pragmatic policies. Building on previous work into Iran-Central Asia relations, I chart the evolution of Iran's foreign policy in the region since 1991. In addition to examining the ways in which pragmatism underpins Iran's economic engagement, the paper highlights the political intentions also evident in its cultural endeavours. In making use of its historical weight and promoting a particular image of itself as culturally akin to the countries of Central Asia, Iran has strategically sought to further its position in the region through soft power. I will demonstrate why Iran has chosen to follow this

pragmatic route and assess the degree of success it has had in elevating Iran's standing amongst the Central Asian nations.

Alexander Nachman: The Political Theology of US Foreign Policy vis-à-vis Iran: 1950-1973

Realism and liberalism could be understood as the two primary opposing political theories, in the United States, during the years of the Cold War. Liberalism, promoting rationality, technological development, and international law to thwart war and promote progress, as opposed to realism, which stressed the need for national interest and Jeffersonian-based foreign policy (a 'balancer' of powers). The manifestation of these two discourses in United States foreign policy, however, is clearly visible pertaining to the policies that officials adopted toward Iran. Viewed within the context of a Cold War narrative of opposing ideologies, the language that framed policy and necessity with regards to Iran and the Middle East has distinct and often ignored historical roots in political theology and the inter-war period (1922-1933). It is through this historical narrative that America's Cold War and Iran policy could be understood, thereby illuminating contemporary concerns and problems in politics that are rooted in history. America's policy toward Iran is very much steeped in this history and characterized by these various, albeit confused, discourses. Contemporary debates concerning Iran tend to ignore these facts, creating a depoliticized arena in which politics is attempted but never fulfilled. The conclusions that I desire from my work include the possibility that the Cold War did not exist as America or the Soviet Union framed it, but rather as a discourse of polarization, alienation, and capital/economic interest. Additionally, that the United States was not so concerned with democracy, but rather with securing its interests in a global battle field; a battle in which the United States did not quite participate to the extent that it appeared.

Roweena Abdul Razak: US-Iranian Relations during the Khatami Presidency: Perception and Attitudinal Changes

This paper seeks to examine Iran's relations with the United States during Mohammad Khatami's presidency, which saw an improvement in bilateral ties. This was brought about by a change in perception and attitude between the two countries. The Iranian Revolution of 1979, with its strong anti-Western sentiments resulted in Iran's isolation. The hostage crisis, which lasted for 444 days, caused the nadir in US-Iranian relations. However, with the ascendancy of more reform-minded and pragmatic leaders beginning with Hashemi Rafsanjani, followed by Khatami, ties with the West began to thaw. This paper will begin by providing an overview of Iran-US relations from 1979 until the beginning of Khatami's leadership. This will be followed by an examination of the factors that brought about a change in Iranian approach and perception towards the United States. For instance, from being identified as "The Great Satan", such rhetoric was muted. Concomitantly, there were also changes of perception by Washington towards Iran. This was perhaps epitomised when the then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright publically acknowledged the hope of rebuilding relations with Iran. Bilateral ties however, did not improve to the same extent as Iran's relations with other Western countries. Despite Khatami's positive attitude towards the United States, Iran was not willing to formalise ties. This paper will conclude by making some observations on how perception can play a role in influencing foreign ties, including making references to the current state of Iran-US relations under Ahmadinejad.

Panel 3: Iranian and Iraqi War Narratives (Chair)

Jennifer Chandler: Death to the Patriarch: Uncovering Dissent in Iran-Iraq War fiction

This paper will address how patterns of dissent in anti-war fiction written about the Iran-Iraq war, display a narrative of masculinity which is not predicated upon patriarchal structures, as has previously been understood, but rather fraternal male homosocial bonding. Through the examination of fiction written by Davud Ghaffarzadegan, Muhsin al-Ramli and Ahmad Mahmoud, this paper will address not only why the role of the father/patriarch is deeply contested or at the very least entirely absent from Iran-Iraq war fiction but also emphasise how female characters and more marginalised masculinities remain subordinated to hegemonic ideals of masculinity, despite their rewriting from patriarchy into fraternity. Just as patriarchy upholds normative standards of male behaviour, fraternity which despite rewriting traditional understandings of hegemonic masculinity still subsumes alternative narratives of male and female behaviour. As such, this paper maintains that despite the subversive nature of anti-war fiction it often ends up mirroring the very power practices it seeks to condone.

Hawraa al-Hassan: Representations of Enemies in Saddam Hussein's Novels and Iraqi War Narratives

This paper will attempt to look at a specific kind of 'othering' with both cultural and political implications, and within an ethnically and religiously diverse Arab country: Iraq. The four novels of Saddam Hussein have received much media attention in the West and the Arab world, but have rarely been well understood in either. I hope to shed some light on the representation of enemies in the two allegorical novels in Saddam's *oeuvre*: *Zabiba and the King*, the dictator's first novel and *Begone Demons!* his last. This will include symbolic representations of the Ba'ath party's traditional 'trinity' of enemies: the West (mainly the United States

and Britain), Iran and Israel. The novels will also be placed in the wider context of a large-scale, state-dominated cultural and literary phenomenon, which was initiated as a response to the Iranian Revolution and the eight year war with Iran. During this relatively short period, over 75 novels and short story collections were mass produced in order to swamp an otherwise variegated cultural scene, and to forcefully impose views of a dehumanised Iranian 'Other'. This served as a justification both for the unnatural act of killing and the decision to go to war with a neighbouring Muslim country. The paper will also discuss and give examples in the novels of exaggerated expressions of Iraqi nationalism, used as a means of asserting cultural superiority and fostering a sense of xenophobia and racism vis a vis an inferior 'Other'. It ultimately explores what happens when 'othering' becomes an important agenda in State policy; both a condition for war and a result of it.

Shirin Saeidi: Gender and the Iran-Iraq War: Configuring Feminist Approaches for Examining the State

Re-historicising and juxtaposing the everyday experiences of Leftists, secular and Islamists during the 1980-88 period in Iran, this paper offers distinct feminist approaches for studying the state. Through an examination of the affective realms of violence, it highlights the ways in which emotions and the body can be used to govern local and international sites. By presenting new approaches for examining the state, the paper also challenges feminist claims that nationalism at a time of intense political violence undermines the nations' ability to destabilise patriarchal gender and sexual norms. Ultimately, the paper claims that the relationship between the state, gender, and sexuality holds no constant position, and must be studied with this perspective to reveal the evolving approaches employed by women and men during engagements with the nation-state.

Hilary Cornish: Conflicting Identity: Gender, Race and Culture in British Soldiers' Narratives of the 2003 Iraq War

Drawing on a post structuralist discourse analysis, this paper will examine the depiction of Iraqi 'Others' by the British Armed Forces in the recent conflict in Iraq. Looking at Soldiers autobiographical accounts, and official doctrine and articulations, the paper charts the soldiers narratives of their gendered and racial identity through their depiction of Iraqi others. As the war emerged into a protracted counterinsurgency, the relationships between the combatants both Iraqi and Coalition became more central to the outcome of the conflict. This paper argues that certain narratives of gender and race/culture serve to hinder the rhetorical aims of the invasion, and what is purported to be best practice in 'counter-insurgency' warfare. The necessary focus on winning the 'hearts and minds' of the Iraqi populace renders the radical Othering of conventional warfare impossible. The conflicting demands of conflict and reconstruction can be seen in the narrative accounts of Iraqi others, and their complex interaction with ideas of gender and race/culture has considerable impact on the process of the war.

Panel 4: International Relations of the Middle East (Chair) Ozan Ozavci

Ismail Numan Telci Shifting Perception of Turkey in Middle Eastern Societies: A Social Constructivist Approach

Turkish flags waving in Beirut, crowds chanting for Erdoğan in Gaza, loads of Syrian tourists at the Istanbul Atatürk Airport and at least an article about Turkey appearing in any newspaper in Cairo everyday. Turkey's image has been shifting in the Middle East significantly. The ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) government of Turkey has been conducting a very active foreign policy, which aimed at portraying the country as a regional power and at improving relations with its neighbours. The architect of Turkey's new foreign policy in the region,

Ahmet Davutoğlu, insistently emphasizes the importance of the social and historical similarities that Turkey shares with Middle Eastern societies. This very basic argument was developed through a social constructivist explanation of Turkish foreign policy toward the region, particularly in the last seven years. In his famous book, *Strategic Depth*, he argues that Turkey holds more common historical and cultural elements with Middle Eastern countries than it does with its European neighbours. This is one part of the study. The other contribution of Davutoğlu consists of his efforts to create a new structure in the region that accommodates friendly relations between neighbours, free flow of citizens among states and more economic cooperation. Davutoğlu argues that in this new structure Turkey plays the role of a catalyser in order to construct a new understanding and order in the Middle East. That is where I would like to contribute to the studies on this new phenomenon by analyzing Turkey's new policies from a social constructivist point of view.

Sebastian Sali: Insights from the Outsiders: Turkish-Israeli Self-Perception in the Middle-Eastern Conundrum

It is widely recognised that relations between Turkey and Israel are currently experiencing the coolest point of their recent history. Many commentators tend to explain this dynamic through the mainstream approach within the more general framework of the new AKP's assertive foreign policy: because of Ankara's inclination towards Islamism, its fast-growing economy and renewed self-confidence, Turkey does not need any more to unconditionally accept Israel's conduct in the *Middle East*. Therefore, they argue, there is no longer room for a privileged relationship between Ankara and Jerusalem. However such an interpretation fails to examine the inter-subjective relation between the perceptions of self/other(s) and its implications for foreign policy. This paper will argue that this new stage of Turkish-Israeli relations can be better explained and understood by taking into consideration the cognitive shift that the AKP introduced regarding Turkey's (multiple) identity and its

mutual constitutive relations with foreign policy. This paper analyses from this perspective the current dynamic and attempts to assess possible developments for relations between Turkey and Israel in the foreseeable future, against the background of the Middle East political Situation.

Guiliana Tripelli Perceptions of Peace

The aim of this paper is to discuss the evolution of perceptions about the Israeli – Palestinian conflict and the possibility of peaceful resolution from 1993 to the present. The paper will compare the researcher's perceptions with perceptions from within, and it will highlight relations with media discourse. The aim is to question whether there exist patterns of understanding among these discourses, on which beliefs they rest and how their evolution may differ after key historical events. The paper will introduce and explain the "peace camp", an initial, direct activity with Israeli, Italian and Palestinian students during which the researcher became involved with this conflict (1993), and the perceptions which emerged from that context. It will then describe similarities and differences with mainstream media discourse (The New York Times) about the Oslo agreement of 1993. In the second part the paper will illustrate perceptions which have emerged from the new role of the researcher as PhD candidate, and especially from working in the field in 2008. These will be compared with new perceptions from within gathered through interviews with some of the participants to the "peace camp". Lastly, the evolution of perceptions of the researcher and the interviewees will be briefly compared with shifts in external perception caused by international breaking news. Such analysis aims at understanding similarities and discrepancies between discourses about peace in the Middle East during their evolution over time, in order to assess the strength of media coverage and direct experience in shaping perceptions.

Anna Peczeli: The 'self' and the 'other: Arab and Israeli perceptions and attitudes to the Middle Eastern Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

Issues of 'self' and 'other' have long been a source of tension and cohesion in the region. After the Middle East was divided into different nations, the unity and the so called Arab 'umma' lived on in the perception of Arabs versus Jews. Israel has long meant the unifying 'other' for the Arab community, but the Israeli state identity was also strengthened by this concept. Over time, however, the region went through so many changes that this one-dimensional contrast nowadays starts to lose significance in several aspects. One of these challenging issues is the question of nuclear weapons. Whilst at the very beginning Israel was considered as the ultimate threat to the security of the Arab people, today the picture is much more fragmented. After the region witnessed the rise of Iran, which currently seeks to develop all stages of the nuclear fuel cycle, the perception of a new 'other' has restructured the nuclear concept of the Middle East. From the Israeli perspective, the Arab adversary has been taken over by Iran, but it is interesting to note that Iran has also become the number one challenge to the Gulf region in terms of nuclear threat. On the other hand, for the rest of the Arab community, the Israeli nuclear arsenal remains the central issue. Finally, we must also mention the simultaneous pressure from outside that is urging the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region. In my paper I would like to examine these shifting perceptions, and outline the biggest obstacles to, and chances of, a Middle Eastern Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone.

Panel 5: Iran History (Chair) Denis Volkov

Bazilenko Vsevolod: Historical and political peculiarities of the epoch in the memoirs of Sheikh Muhammad-Ali "Hazin" (1692 - 1766)

The «Tazkirat al-ahval», written in Persian by Sheikh Muhammad-Ali "Hazin" (1692-1766), is a unique source for the study of the histories of both Iran and Afghanistan. The author was a well educated member of a noble Iranian family. He was involved in many important events in Iranian and Afghan history of the first half of the 18th century. Based on his travels through the country, "Hazin" depicted Iranian society and political developments of the period towards the end of the Safavid dynasty. His memories reflect changes in the political map of the region such as the invasion of rebellious Afghan tribes headed by Mir Mahmud (1717-1725) into Iran in 1720; the Turkish occupation of Western Iran in 1723 and the Iranian resistance to it, or the raids by the Tahmasp II (1722-1732) army headed by Nadir (1688-1747). Sheikh Muhammad-Ali "Hazin" participated in real battles at the outskirts of Isfahan in 1721 - 1722, and he was an eyewitness to the victory of the Iranian army over Afghans near the town of Damgan. In his autobiographical sketch, "Hazin" provides personal impressions of many of the outstanding political and military leaders of his time. He had an opportunity to come into close contact with the likes of Tahmasp II, and Nadir Afshar as well as with various other Iranian, Afghan and Indian rulers. The historical value of Sheikh Muhammad-Ali "Hazin's" memories «Tazkirat al-ahval» can hardly be overestimated in comparison with the well-known works of other historiographers of this particular period in the history of the Middle East.

Elmira Khalilova: Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (1831 - 1896) - A Ruler, Reformer, and Person of his Epoch

Naser ad-Din Shah was not a typical representative of monarchs of Qajar dynasty, which ruled in Iran in 1796 - 1925. Entering the power at

the age of 17 he managed to demonstrate a long-living political activity during his nearly half a century reign. Naser ad-Din Shah and his glorious prime-minister Mirza Taqhi Khan Farahani widely known as "Amir Kabir" had the mutual considerable impact on all spheres of Iranian culture of the time. Shah and Amir Kabir were the authors of the radical political, economic and social changes which took place in Iran in the second half of 19th century. From time to time Naser ad-Din Shah traveled along his country, but he got his historical title "Shah The Traveller" owing to his famous several trips to Europe via Russia. His numerous memoirs in Persian show us its author as an interesting intelligent person with acute mind and mild humor. Reforms by Naser ad-Din Shah and Amir-e Kabir which were aimed at strengthening Iran met a severe criticism and open resistance from the Iranian conservative establishment, Shiite clergymen and rebellious representatives of Iranian heterodoxy such as Babiis, Shaykhis and some Sufi orders. The close friend and companion of Naser ad-Din Shah, Sadr-e A'zam (prime-minister) Amir Kabir became the first victim of this resistance. He was forced to retire and was executed later according to Shah's farman (order). Historians consider Naser ad-Din Shah as the most outstanding and popular ruler of the Qajar dynasty.

Bits Ghazali: Persian Merchants and Traders Activities in Siam

Persian merchants and traders played a significant role in the early history of trade and commerce in Southeast Asia. However records about the history of their presence have rarely been written and researched. Thus the main objective of this paper is to trace the Persian communities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The paper also highlights the importance of Persian communities in Siam official establishment under the reign of King Narai. The main analysis of this study is focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' Persian merchant communities and how active their presence in the Southeast Asian waters was. The results of my research show that Persian merchants and traders gave a great

impact to the Siam culture and society in that period which is still sensed nowadays.

Panel 6: Identity (Chair) Edgar Klüsener

Henrietta Wilkins: The impact of identity on Lebanese foreign policy

Incorporating wider international relations theory, this paper focuses on how identity issues have determined foreign policy in Lebanon in the context of the 2006 war between Hezbollah and Israel. It focuses on how substate and suprastate identities have contributed to a weak and divided Lebanese state, and how this has affected the state's behaviour within wider systemic structures. It argues that the nature of the Lebanese state and the regional system influenced Lebanese foreign policy cannot be understood without first understanding the role played by identity. Identity is the key factor, because it is embedded in the Lebanese state through its confessional makeup, which has created a weak and ineffectual state and allowed external actors to penetrate Lebanon's political affairs. Identity has also allowed the development of competing foreign policy agendas within Lebanon because different identity groups perceive things differently, particularly threats to the state and their position in it, and they develop their own, often competing, foreign policy agendas in coordination with their external proxies. This was seen in the 2006 war, which was part of a wider struggle between the Sunni and the Shia for control of post-Syria Lebanon, in which internal Lebanese alliances bandwagoned with different external actors to bolster their domestic position. The need to account for these divergent foreign policy agendas has weakened the capacity of the government to make foreign policy decisions, and forced it to focus on securing external support to help combat internally destabilising forces, rather than on creating policies against external threats.

Iller Zoltan Sudanese forced identity: How to continue after the South separates?

Sudan belongs to both the Arab world and to Eastern Africa, where Juba's strong and quickly growing commercial and diplomatic ties with Uganda and Kenya increasingly dominate the political landscape. Given its location and its cultural, ethnic and religious heterogeneity it is hardly surprising that Sudan is also the country of multiple conflicts. The Southern question and the Darfuri may serve as two examples that have also provoked attention in the West. The root cause of the numerous conflicts of the Sudan is the forced Arab-Islamic identity that Khartoum tried to forge and still desperately wants to enforce on the whole country. This strategy led to positive discrimination of the Riverine tribes and to the marginalization of the Southerners, the Darfuris, the Nuba, the Beja and the Nubians. The late John Garang's dream of a "New Sudan", a country where no second class citizens, no forced customs and identity exist, died years ago when Khartoum decided to run against its own destiny and to enforce its unjustified power till the very end. The South will vote on their own future in January. In case Khartoum will not derail the referendum, Southern Sudan will separate. As the world is watching whether Khartoum will let the referendum really happen, Darfur is burning more than ever before. This paper examines the current situation before the referendum in Sudan and weigh the possible consequences its outcome may have. Will Omar al Bashir and the inner circle of the NCP be able to change or will the conflicts continue until only the lower Nile remains under the control of Khartoum?

Ameena al-Rashid Nayel: Arabism / Islamism Discourse in the Middle East: Assertiveness or Exclusion?

In an attempt to challenge dominant racial discourses in the Middle East, this paper will provide an account on how the discourse of Arabism and Islamism is constructed in the Middle East. It examines the religious

text and the implications of the hegemonic discourse of exclusion. The paper provides an alternative discourse challenging the constructed images and perceptions about the Middle East. This paper explores the discourse of Arabism and Islamism in the Middle East. How the discourse construct the Other and the Difference in the racialized politics of the region. The constructed variations of the identity Muslim and the identity Arab in the region and the implications on the construction of the authentic Islamism and authentic Arabism. religion, ethnicity and class are important sites for the formation, negotiation, change and contestation of Islamism and Arabism. The paper therefore discusses the possibility of alternative discourses and ways to challenge the dominant ones. Departing from the politics of exclusion, to the politics of assertiveness, and challenging the racial dominant discourses. The paper includes an account on the religious text discourse in asserting and preserving exclusion and racial discourse.

Panel 7: GCC (Chair) Esther Meininghaus

Fatemeh Shayan: Portraying the US Other in the Persian Gulf region in the post-Saddam era: the GCC States' perspective

Even though the GCC states, especially the small ones, are since 2003 depending on the US to guarantee their security, they believe that the US does not contain the Self. In such a setting, both the public and state representatives of the GCC states have securitized the US policies and its military presence in the region. As a result, the analysis of the underlying reasons for anti-US sentiments among the public and the states of GCC in the Post- Saddam era are explored in more depth. Of particular importance for this paper is that I take a closer look at the opinion polls. On top of that, I examine both political and societal security threats at the same time within the Copenhagen School and the process tracing method. The result of this paper is that after 2003, the voice of public is heard

more forceful, and that opens up a mixed window to trace the real reasons of anti-US demonstrations. Finally, the most important reasons for the hate of the US in the region are the inappropriate policies of the US, the religious viewpoints of the states and the publics, and anti-globalist outlooks to the US.

Prajakti Kalira: Central Asia and the GCC: Case of Uzbek-Saudi Relations

The Middle East and Central Asia are in contact since the 8th century. Whether it is a common Muslim heritage and culture, or trade links and intellectual exchanges, the two regions have remained intertwined in various ways even when Uzbekistan was part of the Soviet Union. The Middle East represented a natural ally for Uzbekistan and the rest of Central Asia after those gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) represents successful (oil based) economies with potential for economic investment and large markets for goods and labour. Coupled with a common Muslim heritage, the GCC came to be an important organisation to interact with for the newly developing region of Central Asia. There is space for creating affinity and a sense of shared experience for Saudi Arabia and Uzbekistan. This paper looks at the relationship between the GCC and Central Asia, and Saudi Arabia and Uzbekistan as a case study in particular. It focuses on historical aspects while at the same time highlighting the prospects of future interaction, which can be mutually beneficial for the two countries and also both regions. Today, figures for the Uzbek diaspora vary from anywhere between 400,000 and 800,000 Uzbeks in Saudi Arabia, who first migrated after the 1917 revolution, while Uzbekistan is home to the largest Arab population in Central Asia. Ethnic Uzbeks hold positions in Saudi Arabian ministries, diplomatic services, commerce and other spheres of public life even today.

Adel Al-Toarifi: State identity and foreign policy in the Middle East: The Saudi-Iranian Case

In modern times, state identity is part of any state's character and image, yet there appear to be wide disagreements among Middle Eastern scholars on what type of role it plays in foreign policy, and to what extent it informs decision-making in the region. Although this problem is not limited to the Middle East, the region does stand out in the debate on identity and foreign policy due to the growing role of sectarianism and religious/nationalist movements. Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism and Political Islam are active forces in the region, and it is difficult to mention any regional feud that has not been coloured by identity in one way or another. The state identity approach suggests that foreign policy is affected by the identity the state chooses to embrace. This identity is formed over time by the political apparatus of the state, and is constructed out of prevailing religious and nationalistic identities. Furthermore, it assumes that foreign policy choices are a product of state identity preferences. The Middle East includes a number of examples where foreign policy decisions and choices do not match what the state claims to be or represent state identity. Saudi Arabia and Iran are considered among the most active players in shaping the foreign policy agenda within the region today, with both standing as vivid examples where state identity often informs foreign policy decisions, yet the two states have acted in some cases in ways that seem contradictory to what they claim to be. This paper aims to highlight the importance of state identity in Middle East foreign policy practices. I will be reviewing current discourses on identity in regional politics and discussing the current debates concerning the evolution of regional norms and the normative constraints that Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism impose on foreign policy decision-making in the region. The paper will also help introduce the Saudi-Iranian case into the general debate concerning state identity and foreign policy in the region.

**Panel 8: Classical to Contemporary poetry in the Middle East
(Chair) Jennifer Chandler**

Helen Carmichael Singing in the Rain: Perceptions of Iraq and Arab World through Poetry

Benedict Anderson's theory of the 'imagined community' focuses largely on the novel as a means of creating a shared sense of national identity and this has been taken up by other scholars, notably Bhabha and Brennan. However, I intend to show through my presentation that an anthology of poetry can be an equally valid means of constructing perceptions of the individual, the nation (Iraq) and the wider Arab world. The Iraqi poet Badr Shakir al-Sayyab's 1960 collection *Hymn of the Rain (unshudat al- matar)* presents a complex meditation on both Pan-Arab and Iraqi national identity. The collection contains poems which create a Pan- Arab community by evoking an Arab geography from the Rif to the Gulf and a shared Arab history, while praising contemporary independence movements. Simultaneously however, they critique Iraqi identity by questioning why the Iraqis are failing to rebel successfully. The Arab world is portrayed through heroes: Jamila Bohired, 'Abd-al-Nasser and a variety of unnamed rebels from North Africa, while the Iraqis are depicted as crouching fearfully in the dark. Arab history is narrated through a series of past triumphs while Iraq's past is seen as endless failed cycles of Mesopotamian fertility myths. This study will therefore provide a new perspective on the complex and shifting perceptions on national and regional identity.

Adel Khamis al-Zahrāni: Innovative Imitators: Restudying Arabic Neo-Classical Poetry

This paper attempts to restudy neoclassical Arabic poetry by placing it in its social and political contexts in order to understand the main factors which led to the classical approach of its poets. In addition, the paper attempts to explore the innovative side of neoclassical poets by outlining

the contributions made by some neoclassical poets such as Ahmad Shawqī. Modern history of Arabic poetry began with a wave of reviving Arabic classical poetry; particularly Abbasid poetry, which attempted to imitate it in regard to both form and content. Poets who practised this are most usually described as Imitators, Revivalists, or Neoclassicals. Their school has become widely known as the Neoclassicalism trend, or Revivalist School (*al-Madrasa al-Ihiyā'iyya*). This generation of poets experienced the first contact with the modern West, and saw their Arab identity endangered by a foreign culture invading their world, as such they found their salvation in going back to the golden age of Arab culture and recalling the glories of the past. One of these glories was of course Arab poetry. However, these poets were also influenced by Western culture. Even though this school has been credited with successfully reviving Arabic poetry after an age of decline which had lasted for centuries, they have not been credited with improving or adding anything new to Arabic poetry. They were condemned by the following generation of simply repeating what ancient Arab poets had composed and not contributing any innovations to Arabic poetry. This criticism was also later adopted and repeated by some scholars and literary historians. Although, it might be possible to find an excuse for the next generation which strived to break the restrictions of traditional poetry through sharp criticism of their ancestors, it is not acceptable for later critics and scholars to arbitrarily repeat criticism without conducting a totally fresh survey with new tools and methods.

Ekaterina Pischurnikova: The Unwritten Code Of Honour "Pashtoonwali": Its Role for the Life of Afghan Society and its Reflection in Classic and Contemporary Afghan Poetry

The Pashto society is well known for its conservatism mainly based on the "Pashtoonwāli" Code of Honour which dates back to the ancient times. The Code itself has never been codified as a such and provides Afghans with basic rules and regulations regarding relationships among both

members of a clan and within different clans. Afghan classic literature has multiple allusions to the text of the Code that, when compared, reveal a remarkable tendency. Almost all outstanding poets of that time structure the poetic environment of their poems so that to oppose the statements stipulated under the Code. Unable to contradict the Code in public, their imaginary poetic world satisfies their desire to get rid of the conservative morale. The article provides a selection of citations grouped according to the moral notions in the Code that they undermine. Therefore, poetry seems to function as a method of escapism for educated Pashto aristocracy of the Classic period. In contrast, Pashto modern poetry does not manifest this feature which might evidence that the obligation to follow the Code is weakening. It is unlikely, however, that the Code is falling into oblivion with contemporary Pashto society.

Panel 9: Political Islam (Ozan Ozavci)

Esztella Csiszar: The Rise and Fall of the Tunisian Islamist Movement from Discourse Theory Perspective

Approaching the political participation of the Tunisian Islamist movement by applying the epistemological and methodological tools of discourse theory provides a new horizon of interpretation. In the centre of our attention lies the political identity of Tunisian Islam. We concentrate on the discursive construction of Islam in order to avoid the trap of essentialism. Islam in the Islamist political discourse functions as a signifier unifying all Muslims. The struggle for the interpretation of Islam between the Islamist movement and the Tunisian regime can be understood as a struggle for acquiring hegemony over the discourse. The aim of this paper is to shed light on this struggle over hegemony, employing poststructuralist discourse approach. It argues that the re-Islamisation discourse of the Islamic Tendency Movement formed a key social antagonism with the secular discourse of the first president, Habib

Bourguiba. The overthrow of Bourguiba in 1987 by Zin el-Abidine Ben Ali then resulted in the dislocation of his discourse, opening up possibilities for new discourses to compete for the hegemonic position through developing a new type of social antagonism. With its focus on the construction of "Tunisian Islam", the discourse of the new president opposed and excluded the Islamist movement. The Islamist en-Nahdha Party was banned and practically eliminated after the 1989 elections, after its leader, Rachid Ghannouchi, went into exile. While the reality of an Islamist threat in regard to the Tunisian regime cannot be verified at present, from the discourse theory perspective it seems certain that the threat of the Islamist movement as the constitutive other of social antagonism in the hegemonic discourse cannot disappear as long as the discourse exists.

Volkan Yilmaz: Revisiting Debates on the Relationship between Welfare Regime and Islam in Turkey: Is Religion a Significant Factor?

After a long period of disregard towards developing countries in welfare regimes literature, scholars such as Maurizio Ferrera and Martin Rhodes pioneered in bringing the welfare systems of Southern European countries into the academic scrutiny in the late 1990s. In response to the portrayal of these countries' welfare systems as "underdeveloped" versions of Esping-Andersen's typology of 'three worlds of welfare', these scholars investigated the peculiarities of the political-economic development paths and differences in the institutional set-up of these countries. Given the successful identification of the similar features that have been prevalent among these countries' welfare systems (i.e. occupational fragmentation in social security system, universal health care provision, and the significant role of family as a social-clearing house), this valuable attempt paved the way to the recognition of a 'Southern European cluster' as a distinct welfare system. By noting the similarities between political

economic structures and welfare systems of these countries and Turkey, Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder categorized welfare regime in Turkey as reminiscent of Southern European counterparts (namely Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal) in the early 2000s. As the welfare systems of individual countries alter over time due to changes that occur in their political dynamics, scholars continue their efforts to critically keep track of current transformations within welfare systems. In the case of Turkey, one significant factor, that is Islam, has been noted in the literature which are argued to account for the trajectory of the current transformation and the peculiar characteristic of the country's welfare system . Against this background, this paper questions the assumptions and arguments made by the current literature on the significant role of Islam and suggests that religion has only a limited explanatory power in investigating public welfare provision in the country.

Sebnem Kemis: The Islamic Womens Rights Activism in Turkey: Prospects and Limitations for a Pluralistic Construction of Citizenship

The activism of Islamic women's right in Turkey had emerged as a reaction to the discriminatory policies of the secularist state. The most apparent manifestation of the discrimination is the ban on headscarf depriving the veiled women of their rights to education, to work and to be elected. Employing the discourse of women's rights and liberal conception of equal citizenship, the Islamic women's rights activists have challenged the homogenizing image of ideal female citizen as secular and Westernized and demanded a more pluralistic construction of citizenship. Thus, their mobilization has promises for a wider democratic inclusion and the expansion of the citizenship rights. However, they use the concepts of rights, freedoms and equal citizenship in a selective way so that it allows only the legitimization of their own demands whereas they exclude LGBTQ rights, abortion and non-marital sexual intercourse from the field of rights

and freedoms. My primary research question is how the Islamist women's right activists' perceptions of body, sexuality and morality reflect on their discourses of women's rights and gender equality. Secondly, I will examine what kind of promises and constraints the projects of the Islamic women's rights activists presents for female citizens. To what extent does their struggle have a potential to transform the existing regime of rights toward a wider democratic inclusion? At the same time, what kind of inconsistencies and limitations are there in their understanding of rights and freedoms? Since the red lines of Islamic women's movement are LGBTQ rights and the issues of adultery and abortion, I will focus on the Islamist women's right activists' perceptions of sexual and bodily rights and LGBTQ rights.

Panel 10: Syria's Public Relations from the Region's "Bad Boy" to a Successfully Crafted Image?

(Chair) Esther Meininghaus

Panel description:

This panel, pre-organised by PhD candidates at the Centre for Syrian Studies at St Andrews, draws attention to the drastically changing perceptions about Syria. While the longstanding authoritarian regime was seen as a pariah throughout most of Bashar al-Asad's years in power, recently it has been able to come back on the international stage. Through case studies on entirely different levels of analysis – foreign policy, domestic reforms, and transnational individuals – the panel will show that, against prevailing views, the Syrian leadership is actively and consciously involved into building its image abroad and exploiting these images to its political gain.

Francesco Belcastro: Syria and Arabism: A Tale of Power versus Identity?

Neo-Classical Realism aims to explain state behaviours and foreign policy outcomes by integrating non-systemic variables and structural dimension. One of these variables is the role of "identity". This paper will look at the case study of Syria in order to explore the possible contribution of Realism to the study of the effect of identity on foreign policy. Syria's dual identity (national versus Arab) represents in this extent a particularly relevant case study: Damascus' foreign policy presents both realist state-interest behaviours and aspects that seem to prove Syrian policy makers' commitment to the Arab cause. Syria has portrayed itself as the "beating heart of the Arabic nation": this paper will argue that Syrian elites have used Arabism to forge the country's identity and achieve a certain degree of internal consensus as Arab identity was the only available unifying factor. Once the regime has been consolidated, Arab identity has been a powerful tool of Damascus' foreign policy. Nonetheless, Syria has in several occasions shown behaviours that could reflect a real "unselfish" commitment to the Arab cause. As the support for a set of core themes (such as the Palestinian cause) has progressively become the parameter by which the support for the Arab National cause is shown, Syria's score on these themes represents a good way to measure the extent to which Damascus has pursued Arab interests or has used the Arab cause as a tool to achieve "national" foreign policy goals.

Britta Froelicher: The External Perceptions of Syria's Economy and Economic Reforms

Syria's economy is in a time of transition. The last twenty years have been ones of dramatic change for Syria, both internally and externally. The early 1990s necessitated a new way of thinking about the economy as funding from the Soviet Union dried up. The invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and American rhetoric about recreating the Middle East

created political and economic instability and tension. Today, Syria calls itself a 'social market economy' in which the government works closely with business interests. However, limiting which individuals are given various industrial sectors or large companies also limits the government's exposure to reformist pressure. The external perception of Syria's economy is relatively negative. Most scholars find that Syria is moving into a Russian-style 'crony capitalism', in which well-connected individuals have de-facto monopolies with the government's blessing. The 'transition paradigm' states that as countries move towards market-based economies, governments are under internal pressure to reform towards a more accountable and possibly democratic form of government. Today, even the most ardent defenders of the transition theories must admit that the Middle East in general and Syria in particular failed to follow this pattern. My research hypothesizes that the reasons for this course of development have little to do with culture and religion or that – as the 'transition paradigm' tried to claim – any particular form of development is 'natural'. Rather, the negative external perceptions of Syria's economy also impact the desire and ability of western governments to interact positively with Syria, creating a self-perpetuating cycle of mistrust and suspicion. Furthermore, security concerns deepen an existing conservatism towards reform internally.

Tina Zintl: Ambassadors Abroad, Cosmopolitans at Home? The Role of Syria's Expatriates and Repatriates for Syria's Image Campaign

Since the founding launch of the Union for the Mediterranean in 2008, Syria has been regaining diplomatic ground after disastrous international relations following the Hariri assassination. Also, its move towards a "social market economy", continuous passing of reform laws and modernising rhetoric has helped to brighten up its image. Simultaneously, Syria under Bashar al-Asad's rule has reached out to its diaspora citizens, e.g. creating a Ministry of Expatriates in 2002. Several 'reformist' cabinet

ministers spent considerable time abroad, often gaining a university degree and/or working experience there. This paper investigates the role of persons who, by virtue of their biography, do not fit neatly into the categories "north" and "south": Syrian expatriates and highly-skilled returnees. How do they shape Syria's image abroad, and has their influence increased over recent years?

- How do they see themselves? Do they capitalize on their transnational experiences for political purposes? If so, who rallies for, who against the Syrian leadership?
- To what degree has the Syrian regime been able to use them as "ambassadors" or modernizing technocrats? In contrast, how much does it fear them as "westernized oppositionists"?
- Considering their excellent foreign language skills and their mostly secular worldview: to what extent do foreign organizations and companies enlist them as co-operation partners and what impact does this have on Syria's image?

My paper will explore these questions and argue that transnational Syrians exert major influence on their native country's course of action and image, which is all too often overlooked in the predominant dichotomy of "us" versus "them".

Panel 11: Western Perceptions of the Middle East (Chair) Ann Williams

Erhan Ayaz: The Role European Union in the Middle East Peace Process

The aim of this paper is to analyze the role of European Union in the situation of the Middle East Peace Process. The paper focuses on the EU's position in the Middle East. In the making of peace in the region, the EU has employed various instruments with varying and questionable degrees of effectiveness. There is no doubt that the EU's aim was peace in the

region, and in Europe, but the role of the EU has to change from 'payer to player'. Although the European Union attempts to change its role, its problems concerning the Common Foreign and Security Policy continue to exist even after the Lisbon Treaty. Such policies as the European Neighbourhood Project and European Mediterranean Partnership were insufficient to shift their role from 'payer to player'. The European Union's performance is not enough for promoting the peace in the Middle East. Its trade and commercial relations continued to be threatened by mounting tensions triggered by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Iranian nuclear question and the lack of statehood in Iraq. The United States and Russia increased their role in the region but the EU did not. According to this, the EU can increase his role by solving the Israel-Palestinian Conflict. This paper focuses on the political power of the European Union in the peace making process in the region and its role in the Middle East Quartet. The events of 9/11 and terrorist attacks in Madrid and London provide us with a possible starting point to rethink the importance of the widely accepted concept of 'the Middle East' and its future relations with Europe.

D. Markakis: US Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: The Pursuit of Hegemony?

The promotion of 'democracy' abroad has been a feature of US foreign policy since the earlier part of the twentieth century, accompanying its rise into unipolarity. This paper will argue that, as part of the policy of democracy promotion in the Middle East, the US has sought to gradually replace proxy authoritarian governments with elite-centric democracies. From a neo-Gramscian perspective, this strategic shift can be seen as a move from coercive to consensual forms of control; the underlying aim being the maintenance of social order and the stability of the states concerned. This is part of a long-term US strategy, evidenced in other regions such as Latin America, which ultimately aims at the achievement of a Gramscian hegemony; that is the internalization by other societies of the US interpretation of 'democracy', and associated norms and values, as

the natural order. The paper will seek to make an original argument by outlining an analytical framework, derived from the neo-Gramscian approach, to examine contemporary US democracy promotion in the Middle East, and in the process link it to the concept of hegemony.

Daniel Gugan: Structural Changes in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, the topic of my presentation, has serious importance for both of the cooperating partners. The European Union has to build up its own independent foreign policy, and for this purpose its close neighbourhood is obviously the best area to start with. To build up a region of peace and prosperity in its surrounding region is also highly important both for socio-economic and security reasons. For the Mediterranean partner countries, this partnership is also essential as it is a good chance for them to develop their economies and to reintegrate into the international commerce. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership was established in 1995 on the Barcelona Conference, but in the framework of my presentation I will also discuss both the premises and the follow-up of it: the Union for the Mediterranean. The core point of my presentation will be the different institutional structure of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean, and most important: the reasons behind it. We can see the de-politicization of the Partnership through this institutional change as a step-back from the original ambitious plans, but the fact that the founding of it did not change much raises the question if it is really a step-back, or only a re-financing of priorities. This dilemma is further complicated if we explore the different attitudes of the participating countries in the MENA region, and also the different interests and ambitions of the EU-member states towards the partnership.

Panel 12: Sports, Religion and Youth Activities (Chair) Sevinc Elaman

Ahmed Tohami Youth activism and division across ideological lines in Egypt

Egyptian youth culture enjoys a visible presence and certain acknowledgement from society and media that was unseen in the 1980s or 1990s. In recent years, Egyptian youth activists have found new independent platforms for cultural expression and networking in the emerging blogosphere and in social media such as Facebook. Much of the new dynamics in society and politics is generated by a relatively small group of professional activists, and encompassed by thousands of individuals in a way which can be described as internet-based activism. Some observers argue that the emerging technologies which empower their efforts could have a disproportionate impact even if a mass base is not achieved. While the print and broadcast media traditionally have been controlled by the elite, new social networking technologies present the possibility of a much richer public sphere than has existed before. The main objective of this study is to look closely at youth activism and at divisions across ideological lines in Egypt. A cultural polarization still prevails between religious trends on the one hand and the Westernized trend on the other hand. Another new trend is the debate about the Coptic issues among activists from both Muslim and Coptic youth groups. Lastly there is a debate among Islamic groups themselves, some of them represent the formal institutions like Eazher and most of them are not formal like Muslim Brothers and Slafy groups and more recent preachers like Amro Khaled.

Sertac Sehlik: We have always been modern': Customers of Women-only Gyms in Istanbul

My research aims to explore how veiled women construct their subjectivities by engaging in physical exercise in women-only sports

facilities in Turkey. More specifically, I am interested in the ways in which veiled Muslim women construct certain subjectivities through physical fitness regimens or by decorating their bodies with clothing at the crossroads of modernity, consumption, desire, body, religion and the state -- in the alternative spaces that are tailored in accordance with their demands. In particular, I examine how veiled women's engagement in exercise plays an important role in their struggle to express their subjectivities. In order to understand the complexity of this process of negotiation, this paper focuses on the narratives of the new veiled women who actively use the women-only sports facilities in Istanbul, while contending that the way they articulate the two opposing discourses not only represents an uneasy entanglement between Islamic piety and secular modernity, but also opens up alternative interpretations of these discourses. This study is derived from the data gathered from an ethnographic fieldwork, which took place in two women-only gyms: Cemal Kamacı, Istanbul's biggest public (owned by municipal government) recreation center; and Okyanus (Ocean), the most popular private women-only gym in Istanbul. The methodology includes participant observation and semi-structured interviews with customers, trainers and the administrators of the mentioned gyms.

John McManus: Celebrities, social activists, or simply hooligans? Shifting perceptions of Çarşı Beşiktaş football fans

When the words 'football fan' are mentioned, the perception is often of hooligans and loutish behaviour. Not so with supporters for one of Turkey's largest teams – Beşiktaş. The club's fan group, called Çarşı, have managed to carve a very different image within the cultural currents of contemporary Turkey. Alongside their support for the team, Çarşı fans are famous for expressing a strong socialistanarchist political and ethical standpoint, manifested from unfurling anti-nuclear power banners at matches to taking part in labour-solidarity marches. Such actions are, in

part, a response to the rapidly unfolding cultural consequences of the shift, since the 1980s, to a neo-liberal economic framework in Turkey. With football, this process has led to a massive increase in the commercialisation and commodification of the game, just as it has done across Europe. My engagement with the conference theme takes two parts. The first looks at how Çarşı have exploited this rapid change to control and shape the group's identity within Turkey, utilising a more liberalised and individual-driven media to get their faces on television or exploiting the increased emphasis being placed on 'brands' and labels to transform their group from simply 'supporters' into an ethical and political collective, engaged in and supporting charitable activities across Turkey. The second part broadens out to look at how, amongst other football supporters groups in Europe, Çarşı are perceived (and see themselves) as European, not Middle Eastern. I will finish by suggesting that the integration of Turkish teams into the sporting calendar of Europe is a key activity serving to 'Europeanise' the culture of Turkey. As such, looking at football fans can help add nuance to the perception of Turkey's place in the Middle East.

Panel 13: Minorities (Chair) Jennifer Chandler

Laura Smith Shifting: Perceptions of the Egyptian Shi'a: Enemy from within?

The so-called Shi'i crescent and Shi'i revival in the Middle East have been highlighted by Western and Sunni Arab governments since the invasion of Iraq in 2003, stimulated by fears of the expansion of Iranian power. In this context, questions have been raised about the nature and loyalty of Arab Shi'i communities across the region. In Egypt, Shi'ism has since the 1980s frequently been linked with suspicions of Iranian designs. Age-old religious polemics revolving around Sunni-Shi'i identity have been broadened to incorporate new political spheres. Thus we hear about *al-madd al-shi'i*, and Iranian neo-Safavid and neo-imperialist agendas. My

paper addresses how these shifting perceptions affect the Shi'i minority community in Egypt, and how the Shi'a perceive their place within Egyptian society. Do they constitute a threat from within, seeking to challenge Sunni religious and political authorities, with financial and moral support from abroad? What is the nature of their links with non-Egyptian Shi'a and Shi'i *da'wa*, and are they part of a 'wave' of conversion? What is their status vis-à-vis the state and how do they articulate with Islamic discourses in contemporary Egypt? Do the rumours and propaganda about the identity of the Egyptian Shi'a community correlate with reality? By considering the nature and perspectives of the little-investigated Shi'i minority community in Egypt, particularly those of prominent Shi'i activists and intellectuals, my paper will consider how the Shi'i 'self' is defined in relation to the Sunni 'other', and how this relates to evolving perceptions of Shi'ism in present-day Egypt and beyond.

Mehdi Solhi Andarab: Turkish Media and the Azerbaijani Minority in Iran

The role of the media, in general, in the process of language learning is undeniable. Turkish media, in particular, is unbelievably popular among 25-30 million Azerbaijani people who live in Iran. Nearly all Azerbaijani Turkish speakers who live in Iran watch Turkish channels through Turksat. Various channels provided by Turkish media are enjoyed by a large number of people ranging from child to adult. Turkey Turkish and Azerbaijani Turkish, lexically and grammatically, have many features in common; to such an extent that speakers of these languages have little difficulty communicating with each other. In addition, the concept of 'identity' or 'ethnic identify' has always been a controversial issue during the past years. Turkish and Azerbaijani people, historically and culturally, share many values and cultural characteristics. Hence, the role of Turkish media in shaping and reinforcing the nearly-lost ethnic identify of Azerbaijani Turkish speakers is indisputable. This article, on the one hand, tries to investigate the role of the Turkish media in the process of second

language learning and, on the other hand, examines its effect on the formation and reinforcement of the ethnic identity of the Azerbaijani people who live in Iran.

Perveen Ali: Palestinians in the "No Man's Land": The Spatial Politics of Displacement in Iraq's Border Zones

The 2003 war in Iraq led to the displacement of 15,000 Palestinian refugees forced from their homes in Iraq by threats of violence at the hands of militia groups who filled the power vacuum following the invasion. Often construed as destabilizing forces and security threats, these refugees were denied entry to neighboring states and were forced to reside in a series of ad hoc camps in or near the "no-man's lands" between the borders of Iraq and its neighboring states. Caught up in a cycle of displacement and re-emplacement, exclusion and inclusion, their very movements along the border zones became bordering practices, not only tracing the spatial divisions between states, but also marking the geopolitical definitions of who belonged within the state. These refugees embodied the security and identity threats posed to the citizen body within, enabling new formations of state and political identity in Iraq and its neighbors. This paper considers how politico-legal practices towards Palestinian refugees in Iraq's border zones functioned as spatial practices, instrumentalizing the border in the project of producing specific forms of state identity in an attempt to foreclose other possible spatial and political configurations. It further asks how the border zones in turn functioned as law, as spaces of both isolation and resistance, shaping processes of state formation and territorialization within the region, as the meaning of being human became intertwined with the meaning of the state, and notions of justice became contingent on the violent containment and suppression of otherness.

Panel 14: Psychologies of Otherness (Chair) Sevinc Elaman

Anat Goldman: Psychological aspects of Muslim "Otherness" in 19th Century Orientalist paintings

The choices and representations of the Muslim "Other" in nineteenth century Orientalist painting, this paper argues, were in many ways instrumental for the construction of European identity. A comparative analysis of over 350 paintings by more than 70 different artists showed similar psychological mechanisms in diverse representations of similar topics, These psychological mechanisms shaped the way Westerners looked at the Orient and, in turn, reveal the complexities that shaped 19th century European identity and its most prominent inner conflicts. The paper sees Orientalist painters as part of a large group of artists and intellectuals that shared common values, beliefs and ideas, which underlay nineteenth-century European identity. Such an identity went beyond local differences and particular identities. As part of the larger process of consolidating a broader European identity, this group of painters used "High Art" as a means to define the Orient and its people as its ultimate "other". The meeting points of Orientalist painters and their objects was not necessarily a real one, but its impact on western perceptions and expectations of the orient may have exceeded possible consequences of any actual encounter.

Olivia Luce: Malek Bennabi's 'schizophrenic' approach to Algerian national identity

Malek Bennabi, an Algerian nationalist thinker born in 1905, has historically been seen as an intellectual bridge, an 'Islamist Humanist' in the words of Allan Christelow, contributing to the modernist and reformist reconciliation of French and Islamic intellectual thought. This paper hopes to demonstrate how Bennabi's approach is not so much reconciliatory but rather juxtapositional, his ideas coming sometimes from mixed perspectives. This will be achieved with a survey of Bennabi's treatment

of Algerian and Muslim identity in his literature to identify those aspects of his ideas which indicate duality in approach and perspective, essentially in his intellectual personality. In the case of Bennabi, this pertains to the existence of traditionally Muslim and progressively French attitudes which are not so much internally reconciled as with Islamic modernism but existing side-by-side. The paper will then indicate some of the reasons for this contradictory tendency in his intellectual formation and social conditioning, which resulted in a deliberate endeavour to immerse himself in both camps to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of different 'civilisations'. Finally, the paper will conclude by evaluating the impact of this approach on the reception of Bennabi's work in Algeria and across the Muslim world, together with the significance of his ideas on the post-independence process of nation building in Algeria.

Kelly al-Dakkak: On Islamic Self and Christian Other: The Intellectual Arguments of Mohamed Talbi in Transition

This paper seeks to trace the thought of Tunisian public intellectual Mohamed Talbi, a man made famous for his opinions on the critical importance of interfaith dialogue. In his influential work of 1992, *cIyāl Allāh*, Talbi described a framework, justified via religious sources and classical methodologies, wherein all faiths have a claim to the Truth and a chance at religious salvation, although he argues that Islam is privileged among them. Based upon this understanding, Talbi articulated a vision of religious dialogue free from proselytizing and encompassing all forms of belief and systems of non-belief, although his work focused primarily on dialogue between Islam and the Catholic Church. Since that time, Talbi has spoken of his frustrations at the positions of his Christian partners in dialogue. In addition, he has addressed in the strongest language the speech of Pope Benedict XVI at the University of Regensburg. In reaction to these developments, Talbi's recent work seeks to locate a peaceful way forward for modern Muslims and Christians; as his frustrations with the

limitations of interfaith dialogue mount, his positions draw ever closer to a French laïcité. This article will contrast Talbi's earlier work on interfaith dialogue with his 2007 book, *Li-Yatma'anna Qalbī*, in an attempt to trace the intellectual journey of a Tunisian thinker who attempted to consciously break down boundaries between Arab, Islamic self and European, Christian other. The source material for this project will consist of the original work of Talbi in Arabic, as well as a series of interviews that I conducted with Talbi in 2007.

Panel 15: Representations of Iran (Chair) Denis Volkov

Edgar Klüsener Changing Representations of Iran in the Press of the GDR from 1960-72

This paper investigates how the press of the (East-) German Democratic Republic reported on Iran. The primary questions asked are: How did the state's official ideology of Marxism-Leninism effect style and content of news and articles; to what extent did the Soviet Union's foreign policy, which the GDR had to follow, impact upon the representations of Iran, and, finally, how was the diplomatic and economic competition with the Federal Republic of (West-) Germany reflected. The press of the former GDR was organised according to the principles of Lenin's theory of the press. Hence, print-publications were exclusively understood as a tool for the ruling party; their primary function was do indoctrinate rather than to inform. The liberal concept of the press as an independent fourth estate which both constitutes a public sphere and is also actively entangled in a complex web of economic and political power relations, does therefore not apply to the press in a Marxist-Leninist society. What we read about Iran in the press of the GDR must therefore be the official view of the country, its society and its culture. However, this paper argues that the official view as expressed in the press has as much been informed by the East German variant of Marxist-Leninist ideology and by

the country's economic interests as it has been tainted by common European cultural perceptions of the oriental other in general and pre-war German representations of Iran in particular.

Ann Williams T.B.C

Ben Offiler Shaping (American) Perceptions: Intellectuals, the media, and Iran

This paper will explore US attitudes regarding Iran, comparing prevailing views of the 1960s with those of today. It will be split into two sections; the first will look at US intellectuals, the second at the role of the US media. These two sections will intersect closely as, in 2010 especially, the views of intellectuals and media are often intertwined and both help to form perceptions held by the US public about Iran. By looking at the work of prominent US intellectuals in these periods, this paper will examine their motivations and the degree of influence they had/have on United States Iran policy. For the 1960s, I will look at the work of Princeton academic T. Cuyler Young and occasional government official Richard Cottam. For the contemporary period, I will use two case studies of intellectuals that intersect with the 'new media;' Scott Lucas, founder of the foreign policy blog Enduring America, and Flynt Leverett and Hillary Mann Leverett of the blog Race For Iran. The second section will look at the attitudes of the mainstream US media and attempt to dissect how it has sought to portray the ruling Iranian regime of their time, as well as how they view opposition movements within Iran. The paper as a whole will interrogate Douglas Little's thesis of American Orientalism in order to see whether it can properly be applied to intellectuals and the media who deal with Iran, both during the Cold War and the twenty-first century. By using a number of comparative case studies this paper will attempt to cast light on what factors form public opinion, as well as highlight some similarities and differences between 1960s attitudes and today.

Panel 16: Perception and Reality (Chair) Ozan Ozavci

Graham Jevon: Anglo-Jordanian Relations and the Dismissal of Glubb: Perception versus Reality

On 1 March 1956 King Hussein of Jordan dismissed the commander of his army, John Glubb – a British officer who had served in Jordan for twenty-six years. Within the broad context of Anglo-Jordanian relations Glubb's dismissal is considered either a minor hiccup, or the abrupt end of thirty-three years of British dominance. While erring toward the former, this paper argues that Glubb's abrupt dismissal actually proved to be a blessing in disguise for Britain. In her recent study on the foreign policy of President Carter, Nancy Mitchell argues that the Cold War lost focus in the late 1970s and because of this, 'perception not only trumped reality, it created it.' The dismissal of Glubb provides a neat framework within which to demonstrate how Britain experienced a similar struggle between perception and reality in the Middle East in the mid-1950s. Britain, like the US in the 1970s, struggled to cope with the reality of its declining status and challenges to its dominance. This bred a British perception that skewed reality which, in-turn, increased Hussein's frustrations and prompted him to take decisive action. British perception, not only trumped reality, it created it. However this did not mark the end of the traditional close relationship between Britain and Jordan; it revived it. The abruptness of Glubb's dismissal brought reality into focus. It shifted Britain's perception and influenced the manner in which it conducted itself, to the extent that the reality of a Glubb-less Jordan trumped the pre-dismissal British perception of it.

Yuko Tochibori: The Dynamics of the Transformation of Images about al-Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā'iri

Al-Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā'iri (1807/8–83), known as the resistance leader against the French colonial army in Algeria, continues to attract attention for his actions and ideas even today. This presentation aims to analyze the shifting images of him through an investigation of a number of discourses and their possessors. First, the French authors of the colonial era considered 'Abd al-Qādir as the farouche adversary and at the same time as an admirable hero for his bravery. Eight years after the defeat in 1847, he moved to Damascus. His rescue of 12,000 Christians caught in conflict with Muslims in 1860 was a highly regarded action based on humanism. These portrayals of 'Abd al-Qādir explain how he was perceived by the Europeans. Secondly, in the inter-war era (1918-1939), the Algerian nationalist discourses implanted him in national history, which was described as the history of resistance since ancient times. 'Abd al-Qādir was considered mainly as the resistance hero. Throughout the Liberation War (1954–62), his portrayal as father of the state and the symbol of decolonization has been used as an important tool for the consolidation of the governmental power. Today, the image of 'Abd al-Qādir has been revived particularly as an interlocutor between religions and cultures. The incorporation of his image in modern society neglects the attitudes of Algeria and France towards their social problems, recognition of history and future relationship.

Lawrence W. McMahon Subject/Object, Edward Said, and the Contradictions of Middle East Studies in the United States

In his new preface to the twenty-fifth anniversary edition of *Orientalism*, Edward Said writes, "For all its often noted defects and problems, the American university—and mine, Columbia, in particular—is still one of the few remaining places in the United States where reflection and study can take place in an almost-utopian fashion." Many have

criticized Said's *Orientalism* by suggesting that he uses Foucault's knowledge-power formula in a flawed way. Indeed, the formula precludes unmediated knowledge of the object, and Said is perfectly well aware of this. Yet, in practice, Said's theory simply reinvigorates "Middle East Studies" in a thinly-disguised gesture to produce "more objective" scholarship, whilst the original Foucauldian formula allows for no such "objectivity" and, moreover, questions the entire concept of "Middle East Studies." Said's *Orientalism*, therefore, ends in a contradiction. In the United States, academic Middle East Studies is divided into two opposed factions: a large, but isolated, "Left" represented most prominently by the Middle East Studies Association; and a smaller, but more publicly influential, "Right". The Right quite unapologetically creates "useful knowledge". The Left, on the other hand, purports itself to oppose these causes of the Right. And yet this Left still has to "create" knowledge of an object, and it has to do so within a social and institutional setting, and so it runs up against the same contradiction which lies at the heart of *Orientalism*. In Said's own terms, his project is possible only insofar as that social and institutional setting in which Middle East Studies operates has a "utopian" character. There is, therefore, a logical reason why Said must insist on the "utopian" character of a place like Columbia University, and yet the problem remains that the theorists on whom Said relies (such as Gramsci, Lukacs, or Foucault) would never call the university utopian. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to these largely unacknowledged contradictions.

List of Participants

Khalilova	Elmira	St.Petersburg University, Oriental Department
Davey	Richard	University of Manchester, CASAW
Ozavci	Ozan	University of Manchester
Klusener	Edgar	University of Manchester
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Ahmad	Abdel-Hadi	Queens University
Csiszar	Eszteella	Corvinus University of Budapest
McManus	John	Oxford University
Ebrahimi	Mansoureh	National University of Malaysia
Goetze	Katharina	University of Oxford
Shteivi	Ahmad	Misurata university
Ayaz	Erhan	Near East University
Mohamad Ghazali	Rabitah	University of Edinburgh
Colleau	Morgane	Univeristy of Exeter, UK
Bazilenko	Vsevolod	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Russian Academy of Sciences
Meininghaus	Esther	University of Manchester
Al-Dakkak	Kelly	University of Oxford
Yasuda	Shin	Kyoto University, Japan
Goldman	Anat	University of Washington
Luce	Olivia	University of Oxford
Giuliana	Tripelli	Glasgow University Media Group
Offiler	Ben	University of Nottingham
Ali	Perveen	London School of Economics
Dionysis	Markakis	London School of Economics
Yilmaz	Volkan	University of Leeds
Nachman	Alexander	New School University
Carmichael	Helen	SOAS
Filimonova	Alina	Lomonosov Moscow State University
Zintl	Tina	University of St Andrews
Prajakti	Kalra	Cambridge Central Asia Forum
Tochibori	Yuko	Kyoto University
Mohammadzadeh	Babak	London School of Economics
Colleau	Morgane	University of Exeter
Sehlik	Sertac	University of Cambridge
Khalilova	Elmira	St. Petersburg University
Telci	ismail numan	Sakarya University
Tohami	Ahmed	Durham University
Farhan Mujahid Chak	Farhan	Qatar University
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Illes	Zoltan	Corvinus University of Budapest
Belcastro	Francesco	University of Saint Andrews
McMahon	Lawrence	Georgetown University
Jane	Jackman	Durham University
Gugan	Daniel	Corvinus University of Budapest
Abbas	Abbas	PhD Student
Saeidi	Shirin	Cambridge University

Shafaie
Cornish
Foy
McDaid
Olivia
Volkov

Shirin
Hilary
Roman-Oliver
Maev
Luce
Denis

SOAS
Edinburgh University
PhD Student
University of Liverpool
University of Oxford
University of Manchester

Conference Organisers

Edgar Klüsener is in the second year of his PhD and is writing his thesis on representations of Iran in the press of the former German Democratic Republic.

Jennifer Chandler is in the second year of her PhD at the University of Manchester, funded by CASAW, and is writing her thesis on Representations of Masculinity in Iran-Iraq War Novels as a comparative study.

Esther Meininghaus is a third year PhD candidate at the University of Manchester. She is working on the institutional history of the General Union of Syrian Women (established in 1967).

Rick Davey is in the final year of his PhD at the University of Manchester, writing A Sketch Grammar of Coastal Dhofari Arabic (Oman) for his thesis. He is a CASAW member and current award holder.

Ozan Ozavci submitted his doctoral thesis titled "Aspects of Liberalism in Turkey: The Case of Ahmet Agaoglu" in 2010. He is currently conducting research on republican thought in Turkey with a focus on the impact of Emile Durkheim on Turkish intellectual and political life.

Sevinc Elaman is in the third year of her PhD at the University of Manchester and is writing her thesis on the Representation of the New Woman in the works of Edith Wharton and Hlaide Edib Adivar.

Denis Volkov is in the first year of his PhD at the University of Manchester and is writing his thesis on Russia's foreign policy towards Iran in the 1900s-1930s and the role of Russia's scientists/experts.

Ann Williams is a PhD Candidate at the University of Manchester

Farzin Nadim is a PhD Candidate at the University of Manchester