

Rethinking the Region: New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East & North Africa

A curriculum resource developed for the
British Council and Social Science Research Council's
Our Shared Past Program

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Rethinking the Region:
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Executive Summary of the Project

Statement of Purpose

Recurring narratives in K-12 World History curricula in the United States, mostly told through textbooks, often occlude as much as they reveal. Broad categories used to frame ‘World History’ (civilizations, nations, religions, and regions) assume monolithic identities rather than heterogeneous, multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies. While the categories enumerated above may serve as organizing tools to describe peoples, places, and phenomena, they also generate and reify fixed notions of identity that may inappropriately ‘Other’ related communities, masking the ways in which broader societies and wide regions have historically shared practices, cultural concepts, and societal norms. For example, oversimplification of categories often results in the conflation of the history of the Middle East with the history of Islam. Curricula more responsive to that region’s diversity of traditions would correct the assumption that Islamic and Middle Eastern history are synonymous (as numerous traditions, from Manichaeism to Zoroastrianism to Christianity and Judaism have a longer history in the Middle East than does Islam, which itself has a varied and multifaceted past, within and beyond Arabia and the Middle East).

Being attentive to both the diversity of cultures within themselves and to the connections across segments of society requires nuanced approaches to the shared material, linguistic, and social worlds of peoples and civilizations. For example, pointing out the complexities of the region in its medieval past further lends itself toward nuanced explications of the contemporary Middle East and North Africa (MENA), on the understanding that modernity and postmodernity offer even more opportunity for new communities and identity formation (aided by technology, social networking, mass and rapid communication, and new media) and more possibilities for transcending traditionally constructed boundaries of region or nation. Undermining inherited assumptions about civilizational difference and cultural uniformity (too often mistakenly depicted as determinative and static over time) serves to train students and teachers alike to question the authority of given categories and to understand how the formation of those categories themselves reflects specific and contingent cultural traditions. This may be thought of as ‘thinking with’ categories of analysis, as opposed to taking categories or broad civilizational divisions for granted, as somehow being built-into historical development.

Project Goals

Our research-based curricular project analyzed the common categories used to describe and teach the Modern Middle East and North Africa in existing U.S. World History textbooks. Based on this research, we offer robust alternatives for Grade 9-12 social studies teachers and multicultural educators that integrate new scholarship and curricula on the region. To this end, we examined the ways in which the region is framed and described historically, and

analyzed categories like the ‘rise and spread of Islam,’ the Crusades, and the Ottoman Empire. Narratives surrounding these events and regions tend to depict discrete and isolated civilizations at odds with one another. To remedy this oversimplification, our work illuminates the manners in which peoples and societies interacted with each other in collaborative and fluid ways at different political and historical junctures.

This critical analysis of oversimplified categories is particularly important now, when popular Western and/or mainstream media often functions to exacerbate difference, essentialize specific gendered and racialized identities, and construct a static ‘Other’ when describing and referencing the Middle East/North Africa. Given these misconceptions found in textbooks, popular media, and other sources, it is critical to shed light on the multiple realities, truths, and experiences of the region throughout space and time and share culturally relevant and anti-racist practices and curricula that can interrupt mainstream discourses. Ultimately, our curricular interventions seek to support high school teachers, so that they can a) teach more deeply about specific categories, ideas, and topics in history, b) consider topics and perspectives that are often excluded from textbooks, and c) integrate alternate methodologies and approaches into their teaching.

Methodology and Expertise

With this in mind, the research team of scholars based at six US research universities, engaged in a multi-layered research and curricular project over the course of 15 months. Our team comprises scholars and educators from several fields and disciplines, including social studies education, comparative and international education, history, religion, anthropology, political science and area studies. As a group, the team has conducted research in a variety of capacities in and about MENA and collectively provides a multidisciplinary lens to approach the region, as well lengthy experience in curriculum development, teaching, and writing that can realistically help render more powerful curricular interventions in the study and teaching of the Modern Middle East. Furthermore, the inter-disciplinarity of the team offers a much-needed corrective to the limited and occasionally hegemonic discourses within any one traditional discipline. Taking a broad approach to the history of the region, we provide historical and theoretical context, while avoiding the pitfalls of ‘long duree’ approaches that often posit medieval answers to modern questions. Our project team is attentive to the subtleties of change over time, and the dynamics of continuity and transition, as well as to the impact of politics and materiality on historical development.

Funded by the collaborative British Council and Social Science Research Council “Our Shared Past” Grant, the research team convened several times during 2012-13 to (1) review and analyze the most commonly used high school World History textbooks in the US; (2) share analyses with each other and other researchers and experts in the fields of Middle East/North Africa studies, history, and religion; and (3) synthesize and discuss how to integrate innovative scholarship on the region into curricular guides and lesson plans for grades 9-12; and (4) generate robust curricula launched and disseminated in the Fall of 2013. Overall, this multi-faceted research and curricular project exemplifies the ways in which empirically grounded research can influence practice.

Process of Textbook Analysis

For the analysis, we examined the ways in which the region is framed and described historically in the texts, and analyzed categories like the ‘rise and spread of Islam,’ the Crusades, and the Ottoman Empire. We chose the four most widely adopted world history textbooks in the US for high school (grades 9-12) world and global history classrooms based on criteria developed by the American Textbook Council. Since some textbooks organize their content chronologically, and others thematically, we took the various formats into consideration to broadly answer the following questions, some of which have been adapted from the review guidelines of the American Textbook Council:

- How accurate is the content historically?
- What dominant narratives and themes emerge from the texts and what narratives are left out?
- Are pictorial and sidebar materials relevant to the subject matter and do they add or detract nuance to the material presented?
- How do these tools or resources in textbooks refer/provide for the teacher to facilitate a deeper engagement with the content?
- How do these texts convey social identities and cultural practices?

Using these questions as a guide, we reviewed the texts for historical accuracy, dominant and subjugated narratives, tone and normative language, relevance and context of pictorial and sidebar materials, obfuscation of agency, and omission of multiple perspectives. In doing so, we created an interpretive rubric from which to analyze the data, including categories that emerged from analysis. These were: Gender, Sexuality, Tradition/Modernity, Faith, Empire, Political System, East/West, Violence, Rationality, Identity, Culture, and Geography. Each researcher analyzed a different textbook and the principal investigator analyzed and reviewed all of them.

Results of Textbook Analysis

Upon completion of the analysis, the team met to discuss the recurring themes and issues that emerged. Below is a selection of themes/findings that emerged from this analysis.

- Conflation of Islam with the Middle East
- Islam is described in a totalizing and over-simplistic totalizing way, masking its diversity
- Ahistorical and normative language to describe histories. For instance, empires/states are either gaining power (“rising”) especially European powers or in “decline”/“decay”/“crumbling” especially non-Western powers.
- Eurocentric perspectives – events are generally described from a European, and then eventually American, vantage point.
- Text is written as a history of states, not peoples (across all geographies and cultures)
- Women are discussed in terms of being oppressed or being “given freedom” (by men or empires), but rarely as agents in history
- Visual textboxes, particularly with respect to gender, are often stereotypical (e.g. an image of veiled women, a presumably Muslim man staring at a Qur’an, etc.)

- Monolithic constructions of the region minimize linguistic, cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity or minorities in the region. (for instance, Arab Christianity, Bah'ai, Arab Jews, Kurds, etc.)
- European colonization and imperialism is not fully treated in texts, thus ignoring root causes of many contemporary conflicts
- Texts do not adequately reflect contestation, struggle and (rational) debates of region's peoples throughout history (for instance, texts ignore people's movements in the creation of modern nation-states)

After consolidating our findings, we then shared them with six other MENA specialists in the United States, Lebanon, and Egypt. In turn, these scholars suggested further resources and media for us to synthesize and integrate into curricula and web-based materials for 9-12 grade teachers.

After re-reviewing our findings, and reviewing the materials from the historical consultants, we framed our curriculum around the following themes: **Gender/Sexuality; Political and Social Movements; Plural Identities; Empire and Nation Building; and Arts and Technologies.** We chose these themes because they are often framed in reductive and incomplete ways in the textbooks and we thus wanted to generate lessons and curricula that integrate the multiplicity and diversity of experiences and realities. These were generated in specific response to the findings.

Curriculum Development

We spent the spring and summer of 2013 creating cohesive curricula and lesson plans that specifically responded to the results of the analysis and the resources and sources given to us by the consulting scholars. In approaching our curricula, we wanted to illuminate the ways in which peoples and societies not only interacted in collaborative and fluid ways, but also how ordinary people were agents in shaping their own trajectories in ways that is often obscured in popular discourse. This critical analysis is particularly important in the current political milieu, when mainstream media (ordinarily, though not exclusively Western) often simplifies complex histories and identities of this region, exacerbating difference and 'Otherness' in ways that do not accurately reflect the MENA region in all its complexity (as proven in our textbook analysis).

Concluding Thoughts: The Importance of Connecting Curriculum to Research

In sum, this project is an exemplar of how rigorous academic research can inform practice. Too often, research remains in the esoteric realm of academia, and this project exemplifies how empirical study can generate practical interventions like dynamic and responsive curricula. Moreover, related to this, this project also reflects how scholars across different fields (education, history, area studies, development) and across different regions (scholars in the US and in the Middle East) can collaborate to both understand phenomena more deeply and develop targeted and responsive interventions based on their data and analyses. In this case, the research team worked collaboratively with other scholars across the globe to integrate new cutting edge resources and scholarship into the curriculum. It is specifically this level of collaboration that has yielded rich data analyses and interpretation, as well as a

vibrant and timely approach to curricular development that embodies creativity and cultural relevance.

Further, given the present political context in which the region and its peoples are demonized and misrepresented, this research and curriculum is necessary and urgent. At present, there is a dearth of nuanced and complex curricula and guides for K-12 teachers on MENA. While we have found that there has been a proliferation of resources on this region, we have also encountered that often one grand simplistic narrative is simply replaced by another one. In our curriculum, we have endeavored to avoid reductive approaches to the region and highlight multiplicity and plurality.

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There are also several people that we would like to thank for the input and assistance in developing the lessons. In particular, Nancy Khalek (Brown University) served as the chief historical consultant and assisted with the textbook analyses. We also are indebted to Leyla Amzi-Erdogular (Columbia University), Mouannes Hojairi (American University of Cairo), Ilham Khuri-Makdisi (Northeastern University), and Joshua Schreier (Vassar College) for their historical expertise, thorough feedback on the textbook analyses, and thoughtful suggestions for curricular interventions. We are as well grateful for the curricular guidance and support given by Bassel Akar (Notre Dame University, Lebanon) and Nagwa Megahed (Ain Shams University, Egypt).

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Rethinking The Region: New Approaches To 9-12 U.S. Curriculum On The Modern Middle East And North Africa

Dear Educators,

In the following pages, you will find 15 lesson plans (with appended and accompanying resources) to help US World History high school educators teach about the Middle East and North Africa in their classrooms. Born out of a need to contextualize the MENA region in a more nuanced manner, we grounded the project with a rigorous process of US World History textbook analysis and review, which subsequently served as a springboard for the curriculum design. In particular, we wanted to analyze how peoples and societies interacted collaboratively and fluidly at different political and historical junctures, and integrate this analysis into vibrant curricula for high school teachers. We find this critical analysis and subsequent curricular intervention particularly important in the current political milieu, when mainstream media often simplifies complex histories and identities of this region, exacerbating difference and ‘Otherness’ in ways that do not accurately reflect the MENA region in all its complexity.

While the Executive Summary explains the project more fully, we engaged in an intensive analysis of the most commonly used World History textbooks in US high school classrooms, and then shared these analyses with other researchers and experts in MENA History and Studies in the U.S. and in the Middle East. In consultation with the scholars, we synthesized and integrated new scholarship on the region, using this material to generate curricula, web-based materials, and study guides.

We framed our curriculum around the following themes: **Women and Gender, Plural Identities, Political and Social Movements, Empire and Nation, and Arts and Technology**. We chose these themes because they are often framed incompletely and reductively in the textbooks and we wanted to generate lessons and curricula that integrate the multiplicity and diversity of experiences and realities. The lessons—drawing heavily on primary source materials—were generated in specific response to the findings and are aligned with the Common Core Standards. These lessons can be taught sequentially or can stand alone, even within each theme, if a teacher chooses to do so. In this sense, they are designed for teachers to be able to choose when they want to pause and delve in more depth on a particular theme or topic, while still adhering to the state curriculum. We also attempted to use open source and web-based materials for many of the sources. In the event that something has been taken off the web, we hope that the references and titles provided will enable teachers to find the resources elsewhere.

In approaching the curricula, we not only wanted to illuminate how peoples and societies interacted in collaborative and fluid ways, but also wanted to show how ordinary people were agents in shaping their own trajectories. Given the present political context in which the region and its peoples are demonized and misrepresented, this research and curriculum is necessary and urgent. Our textbook analysis reiterated the simplistic ways in which this denigration happens in that particular medium, and our curriculum is meant to interrupt some of the reductive narratives that proliferate.

We are truly excited to share these lessons with you, and feel they embody creativity, cultural responsiveness, and nuanced approaches to teaching more completely about the region.

Please feel free to contact us at info@teach-mena.org with questions, concerns, and feedback, as well as to inquire about possibilities for further workshops/trainings.

Sincerely,

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF PROJECT

THEME ONE: GENDER

- Lesson 1 Women in the Middle East & North Africa: Past and Present
- Lesson 2 Using Primary Sources to Explore Gender in the Middle East & North Africa
- Lesson 3 Contemporary Realities of Women in the Middle East & North Africa

THEME TWO: PLURAL IDENTITIES

- Lesson 1 Late Ottoman Life: A Tale of Three Cities - Salonika, Jerusalem, and Istanbul
- Lesson 2 Gallery Walk of Baghdad in the Early 20th Century
- Lesson 3 Cosmopolitan Alexandria

THEME THREE: EMPIRE AND NATION

- Lesson 1 Innovations in Empire
- Lesson 2 Three Traits, Three Leaders, Three Paths
- Lesson 3 Revolutionary Poetry

THEME FOUR: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Lesson 1 “Free Trade” and the Colonial Roots of Revolt
- Lesson 2 Nationalization of AIOC in Iran, 1951-53
- Lesson 3 More than “Muslim Rage”: Popular Depictions of Public Opinion in the Middle East & North Africa

THEME FIVE: ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY

- Lesson 1 Arabic Music Across Time and Space
- Lesson 2 Innovation and Interaction
- Lesson 3 Art as Artifact

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

REFERENCES

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: WOMEN AND GENDER

Our review of the most commonly utilized World History textbooks in the United States found that the active role of Middle Eastern and North African women in society, politics, education, nation-building, and cultural formations is largely absent. Despite their enormous contributions throughout the modern historical period, women are largely portrayed in textbooks as passive, recipients of freedom, victims of oppression, or silenced behind veils. The lessons on gender and women in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) seek to disrupt these false portrayals in order to offer educators and students a more complex picture of gender relations in the MENA region from the 5th century to the present day.

The objectives of these lessons are multifold. The lessons (1) explore the multiple roles women in MENA have played historically and through to the present; (2) challenge common misconceptions about women and men in MENA; (3) discuss the diverse ways in which gender relations have been shaped by the different histories, politics, religions and cultures of the region; (4) examine how notions of gender and sexuality have shifted (and continue to shift) over time; and (5) explore the active role women have had in nation-building, social movements, the arts, and other forms of active citizenship.

Through these lessons, educators and students can engage in conversations that challenge biased media images about gender relations and how they impact both women and men in MENA. By providing dynamic and complex images, narratives, and facts, the multi-dimensional nature of women in MENA humanizes their experiences rather than reducing them to flattened stereotypes and clichés. Gender in the MENA region is as diverse and complicated as anywhere else—some experiences are empowering, others are oppressive, and many more realities fall somewhere in between these dichotomies. The present day offers a nuanced picture of sociopolitical conditions that present learners a chance to engage with many formations of gender and many diverse societies within MENA; these lessons offer a starting point for conversations that explore our shared past and our shared humanity as fellow citizens of the planet.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: WOMEN AND GENDER

TOPIC	
Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Past and Present	
LESSON OVERVIEW	In this lesson, students will brainstorm what they already know or think about women in MENA, and as a class they will label each characteristic as positive, negative or neutral. Students will create a timeline to highlight significant events and women from MENA. To culminate, students will discuss how the information challenges their previous ideas about women in the region, how women in MENA are portrayed in the media today, and how these images differ from the women featured in the timeline.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What roles have women in MENA played, historically and presently, in politics, the economy, and society? • How do images from the media differ or relate to actual women’s realities in the region?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand how specific women have influenced historical developments in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). • Challenge common misconceptions about women in MENA. • Understand the diversity of women’s experiences and realities in the MENA region.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and</p>

	<p>origin of information.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.9 Compare and contrast treatments of the same topics in several primary and secondary sources</p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 11-12:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.</p> <p><u>New York State Standards</u></p> <p>Performance Indicators Students will:</p> <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras • Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distinguish between the past, present, and future by creating multiple-tier timelines that display important events and developments from world history across time and place <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities • Examine the social/cultural, political, economic, and religious norms and values of Western and other world cultures
<p>MATERIALS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cut-up timeline slips (15 total) • Dates written on the board or on paper, in the format of a timeline from 500 A.D. to the present

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pens/pencils • Post-it notes • Optional: Clothesline and clothespins for the timeline
PROCEDURE	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Opening Activity (10 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On a board at the front of the room, write the phrase “Women in the Middle East and North Africa”. • Ask students to brainstorm any words or phrases that come to mind when they think of what they have learned from school, the media, or other sources about women in this region. • Ask students which perceptions are positive, which are negative, and which are neutral. List the value judgments on the board. • Leave the responses on the board for the remainder of the lesson. 2. <u>Main activity: Timeline (35 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make sure that a timeline from the 500s to the present is drawn somewhere in the room. Alternatively, a clothesline can be hung with dates dangling and with clothespins for students to attach their slips of paper to the clothesline. • Divide students into 15 groups, ideally in pairs. • Distribute the cut-ups “Timeline of Women and Gender Relations in the Middle East and North Africa” (one slip per group). [Optional: At the end of the activity, distribute copies of the whole timeline to all students.] • Ask students to discuss the historical event/individual on their slip of paper. • After students have discussed their historical event/individual, have them decide where on the timeline their item goes. • Once all events/individuals are lined up, have students read out chronologically the historical timeline of events and examine the images. [Variations: students can line up with their slips of paper and read out chronologically. Students can do a silent “gallery walk” to read about the events/individuals, and look at the historical timeline.] • If time permits, ask students to take post-its and fill in historical events related to women’s history or key women figures from other parts of the

	<p>world through the period of 500 A.D. to the present (adding the post-its to the timeline). Ask students to compare and contrast historical events/figures, as well as any links that may exist between them.</p> <p>3. <u>Discussion/Closing (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask students the following questions and discuss as a class: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. What did you find surprising about any of the women on the historical timeline? b. Did any of the information change the way you think about women in MENA? c. How are women from MENA portrayed in the media? Do these images differ from some of the women you learned about today? If so, how? <p>4. <u>Questions for further reflection/connection to today</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider how women have defied/challenged roles traditionally assigned to them, and what strategies they may have used to overcome barriers. • How have gender roles changed and been re-interpreted over time? What social, political, and economic factors contribute to how gender roles are shaped in a given society?
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article and images from photographic archive of Armenian photographer Maryam Şahinyan, online at <i>Hurriyet Daily News</i>' website: http://www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/archive-presents-a-half-century-of-istanbuls-faces.aspx?pageID=238&nID=7906&NewsCatID=385. • PBS's lesson plan and information on free access to the film <i>The Light in her Eyes</i>, about a Qur'anic school for girls in Damascus, Syria. [Scroll down at this link for film clips: http://www.pbs.org/pov/thelightinhereyes/lesson_plan.php]. • Review the following curricular unit, "Restoring Women to World Studies," produced by the center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Texas, Austin, and consider utilizing some of the information/lessons in the section on the Arab World, Islam, and feminism: http://www.utexas.edu/cola/orgs/hemispheres/_files/pdf/women/RestoringWomenFull.pdf.

TIMELINE OF WOMEN AND GENDER RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Note to Teacher: Divide the class in pairs. Cut up and shuffle the historical events listed. Ask each pair to discuss their event. Have the class line up in chronological order and once in order, share the events. The teacher/facilitator can create a visual timeline in the classroom with dates (from 500 A.D. to the present) for students to line up along.

555-619 A.D. Khadija was the first wife of the Prophet Mohammed (last messenger and prophet sent by God, according to Islam). She was a working business-woman. Initially, she hired the prophet to lead caravans for her trading business and later she proposed marriage to him (even though she was older than him and she had been married before). Khadija was the first person to convert to Islam.



[Roullié, Guillaume (1510-1589). Image. *Kadija al-Kubra*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Khadija_al-Kubra.jpg. Public domain.]

609-632 A.D. According to Islam, the Qur'an, the central religious text of the Muslim faith, was revealed by God to the Prophet Mohammed through the Angel Gabriel over a 23-year period. It is considered by Muslims to be the word of God. The Qur'an notes several things related to gender relations and the treatment of women, including:

- Instructing Muslims to educate daughters and sons (this was not a common practice at the time).
- Giving women the right to own and inherit property (which was not a right in Europe at the time).
- Granting women rights in divorce and the ability to divorce their husbands. Women can also refuse to marry prospective husbands.

859 A.D.



With money inherited from their father, Fatima and Mariam al-Fihri established the University of al-Karaouine in Fez, Morocco in 859 A.D. The complex also contains the largest mosque in North Africa and a religious school. The University of al-Karaouine has been declared by UNESCO as the oldest university in the world. In later centuries, many Muslim, Jewish, and Christian thinkers spent time at the University and many historical

documents/manuscripts were kept there.

[Khonsali. Photograph. 2008. *Var 132*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Var_132.jpg. Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported]

1048-
1138
A.D.

Arwa al-Sulayhi, also known as the “Noble Lady” or “Noble Queen,” was an orphan born in Yemen. Her husband became the ruler of Yemen after his father’s death, but because he was paralyzed and bedridden, he handed all his powers over to his wife, Arwa. She ruled through her husband at first, then on her own; altogether, she was in power from 1067-1138 A.D. Founded in 1996, the Queen Arwa University in Sana’a (Yemen’s capital) is named for this historical figure.

1200s
A.D.

Former slave Sultana Shagrat al-Durr became the first leader (Queen) of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt in the 1200s after successfully defeating a French invasion sent by King Louis IX of France as part of the Crusades, which were religious wars led by Christians against Muslims and other non-Christians between the 11th and 16th centuries.

1500s-
1600s
A.D.

The “Sultanate of Women” refers to a 130-period in the 16th and 17th centuries when women effectively ruled the Ottoman Empire, carrying out most political tasks except leading armies into battle. Women in the Ottoman Empire (which lasted from 1299-1923 and covered the present-day regions of Turkey, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and North Africa) had the right to own land and to have their own business. By providing political guidance to husbands and sons, many women also exercised political power over the vast empire.

1840-
1902
A.D.

Aisha Taymur was a noted poet, writer, and activist for women’s rights in Egypt. She married at the age of 14, and wrote poetry in three languages: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.

1920s

Women in Iraq organized for greater education and employment opportunities and rights for women. Aswa Zahawi founded the Women’s Rising Group, which published the journal *Leila* to advance women’s rights. By the 1970s, Iraqi women were working in large numbers, could run for political office, and had the highest literacy rates in the Middle East. As of 2012, women in Iraq make up 25% of the elected national government, a higher percentage of women political leaders than in the United States or the United Kingdom.

1923

Huda Shaarawi (1879-1947) from Egypt founded charitable organizations and schools to educate young girls. In 1919, she organized (with others such as Safia Zaghlul, pictured on the left) the largest demonstration of women protesting British colonial rule of Egypt, which lasted from 1882-1922, though British troops stayed on in Egypt until it became a republic in 1952. In 1923, Huda established the Egyptian Feminist Union, which still operates today. She also publicly removed her veil in 1923, leading to many women’s abandoning the use of the veil afterwards in Egypt. In 1945, Huda became the founding president of the Arab Feminist Union.



[Photograph. 1947. *Huda Shaarawi & Safia Zaghlul*.
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:HudaShaarawi%26SafiaZaghlul.jpg>. Public domain.]

1934 Ataturk was the founder of modern Turkey and ruled from 1923-1938. He advocated strongly for women's education and women's rights. In 1934, women were granted full suffrage (voting rights), and in 1935, eight women joined the national government before women could vote in many European countries such as France, Italy and Switzerland.

1931-present Nawal el Saadawi is a renowned writer and doctor in Egypt. She founded the Arab Women's Solidarity Association and was one of the founders of the Arab Association for Human Rights. A longtime advocate of women's rights and women's health, el Saadawi wrote *Women and Sex* (1972), which became internationally recognized. It addressed issues of violence against women. She has worked in many universities in the U.S. and Egypt, for the Egyptian government, and for the United Nations.

1993-1996 In 1993, Tansu Ciller (born in 1946), an economist and professor, became the first woman Prime Minister of Turkey. She held office until 1996. She later served as Foreign Affairs Minister of Turkey from 1996-1997. She is part of a small group of women internationally who have been elected heads of state in their countries.

1946-present Hanan Ashrawi (born in 1946) is a Palestinian politician, activist and scholar. She has served since 1996 as a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council. She has founded several organizations and worked for human rights, dialogue and democracy. In 2003, she was awarded the Sydney Peace Prize.



[Sohn, Carsten. Photograph. 2008. *ASHRAWI*.
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ASHRAWI.JPG>.
[Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported](#)]

2003 Shirin Ebadi (born in 1947) is an Iranian lawyer, human rights advocate and former judge. She founded the Defenders of Human Rights Center in Iran in 2001. In 2003, Ebadi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her work towards democracy and human rights. She was the first person from Iran ever to receive the prestigious international prize. Ebadi continues to work for children's rights, women's rights, and political freedom in Iran.

2011

Tawakkol Karman (born in 1979) is a social activist and journalist from Yemen. In 2011, she was the youngest person ever to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (along with President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and women's rights advocate Leymah Gbowee of Liberia). Karman founded the human rights group Women Journalists without Chains in 2005, and has organized regular protests against corruption and for freedom of expression and democratic rights, most notably during the Arab Spring uprisings in 2011.



[Pitt, Frank. Photograph. 2012. *Tawakkol Karman (Munich Security Conference 2012)*.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tawakkol_Karman_\(Munich_Security_Conference_2012\).jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tawakkol_Karman_(Munich_Security_Conference_2012).jpg) Attribution: [Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Germany](#)]

Source: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/mideast/timeline/text/qwomen.html> and other historical sources.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: WOMEN AND GENDER

TOPIC	
Using Primary Sources to Explore Gender in the Middle East and North Africa	
LESSON OVERVIEW	In this lesson students will work with primary sources to conceptualize the diversity among women’s roles, experiences, and realities in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Students will rotate through three stations where they examine and discuss how the photographs and pieces of writing challenge their previous views of women in MENA. Students will deepen their knowledge and understanding of gender relations in the region.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What can we learn from primary sources about women in MENA? • How have artists, writers, and photographers portrayed women? • In what ways do representations relate to diverse lived realities?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine primary source documents. • Use photographs, fiction, and writing to contextualize women’s diverse roles in MENA. • Explore the diversity of women’s experiences and realities in MENA.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of information.</p>

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.9 Compare and contrast treatments of the same topics in several primary and secondary sources.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 3

- Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities
- Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world
- Examine the social/cultural, political, economic, and religious norms and values of Western and other world cultures

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments in world history

MATERIALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary Source Activity Sheets: make copies of all pages for all students, or have enough copies of the Group 1, 2, and 3 sheets for one-third of the class. • Newsprint/Chart paper • Markers
PROCEDURE	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Primary Source Activity (50 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divide the class into three groups. Have three corners or stations set up in the room, each with one-third of the sheets (Group 1 at one station with a newsprint/chart paper and markers, Group 2 at another station with a newsprint sheet/chart paper and markers, and Group 3 at a third station with a newsprint/chart paper and markers). • Assign each group to one of the three stations. Explain that each group will rotate to each station and spend 15 minutes with the information sheets. • Tell students to read the information on the sheets at their station and make any notes from their discussion on the newsprint/chart paper using the markers provided. Ask them to consider and note down anything they found surprising or any information that challenged what they previously knew about women in the Middle East and North Africa. • After each 15 minutes, ask each group to rotate to the next station and engage with the materials there, adding any comments and thoughts to the newsprint/chart paper at that station. 2. <u>Closing (10 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After all groups have engaged with all the materials, invite all students to do a “gallery walk” to review the comments/phrases/questions students have written up on the newsprint sheets/chart paper at each station. 3. <u>Questions for further reflection/connection to today</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do we learn from primary source materials that can inform us about gender relations in the Middle East and North Africa over the past several decades? • How does gender affect men as well as women in limiting and shaping their roles in society?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do men and women work together for social change?
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have students consider this article about the group Kurd Men for Equality and their actions to bring attention to gender inequality through a Facebook campaign: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/04/25/kurdish-men-cross-dress-facebook-campaign-champion-womens-rights-iran-pictures_n_3153327.html. • Have the class screen the 2007 film <i>Persepolis</i> about the Iranian Revolution from a young woman's perspective. Entire film accessible on YouTube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fNx4Pa2Gqfk. • Choose some images from the book <i>Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity</i> by Afsaneh Najmabadi (University of California Press, 2005) to have students examine and think about gender. Consider both men's and women's roles in different societies and how these roles are shaped by different social and political realities. • The teacher can choose, or students can review, some of the posts on Muslimah Media Watch that addresses women's issues in the Muslim world: http://www.patheos.com/blogs/mmw/. • Consider screening a film from the <i>Women Pioneers Collection</i> of Arab Film Distribution's listings: http://www.arabfilm.com/item/390/.

GROUP 1: IMAGE ON POLITICAL CHANGE IN IRAN (1979)



Satrapi, Marjane. Image. *Persepolis: The Story of a Childhood*, 78. New York: Pantheon Books, 2003. <http://vickitheviking.blogspot.com/2013/04/book-review-persepolis.html>.

Questions for Discussion:

- What is happening in the image?
- What perspectives do the parents of the girl above hold about political involvement? What perspectives do the men in the last frame hold?
- What facts about the Iranian revolution might contextualize the comic by Marjane Satrapi?
- What further questions are you left with?

For more background on the 1979 Iranian Revolution, educators and students can look at the following article by Roger Cohen from *New York Times Up Front, a News Magazine for Teens*:

http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=fog18o6_TP_Iran

GROUP 2: EXCERPT FROM NAGUIB MAHFOUZ’S BOOK *MIDAQ ALLEY*
(WRITTEN IN ARABIC IN 1947 AND SET IN 1940S EGYPT)

“In spite of her fantasies of wealth, [Hamida] was not unaware of her situation. Indeed, she remembered a girl in Sanadiqiya Street who was even poorer than she. Then fortune sent a rich contractor who transported her from her miserable hovel to a fairy-tale life. What was to prevent good fortune from smiling twice in their quarter? This ambition of hers, however, was limited to her familiar world, which ended at Queen Farida Square. She knew nothing of life beyond it.

In the distance, she saw some of the factory girls approaching her. She hurried toward them; her unpleasant thoughts were now replaced by a smile on her face. In the midst of their greetings and chattering, Hamida gazed searchingly at their faces and clothes, envying them their freedom and obvious prosperity. They were girls from the Darasa district, who, taking advantage of wartime employment opportunities, ignored custom and tradition and now worked in public places just like the Jewish women. They had gone into factory work exhausted, emaciated, and destitute. Soon remarkable changes were noticeable: their once undernourished bodies filled out and seemed to radiate a healthy pride and vitality. They imitated the Jewish girls by paying attention to their appearance and in keeping slim. Some even used unaccustomed language and did not hesitate to walk arm in arm and stroll about the streets of illicit love. They exuded an air of boldness and secret knowledge.

As for Hamida, her age and ignorance had deprived her of their opportunities. She joined their laughter with a false sincerity, all the while envy nibbling at her. She did not hesitate to criticize them, even though in fun. This girl’s frock, for instance, was too short and immodest, while that one’s was simply in bad taste. A third girl was too obvious, the way she stared at men... No doubt these encounters were one of the roots of her constant rebelliousness, but they were also her main source of diversion in the long days filled with boredom and quarrels.”

Excerpt from Mahfouz, Naguib. *Midaq Alley*. New York: Anchor, 1992.
<http://online.sfsu.edu/mroozbeh/CLASS/h-115/Mahfouz, Naguib - Midaq Alley-1.pdf>.

Naguib Mahfouz (1911-2006) was an Egyptian writer who wrote more than 30 novels, hundreds of short stories, and numerous plays and movie scripts. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1988. *Midaq Alley* is the English translation of his novel *Zuqāq al-Midaq*, which was originally written in Arabic and has been translated into over 15 languages.

Questions for Discussion:

- What do we learn about the different options available to women in 1940s Egypt from this excerpt?
- What do we learn from this short excerpt about the different class backgrounds of the women mentioned?
- What further questions are you left with?

GROUP 3: IMAGES FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Background information: The National Ministry of Education was established in the Ottoman Empire in 1857. Education for all children (boys and girls) became compulsory in 1869.

Image A: Women's Teachers College. Photo taken between 1880-1893, Ottoman Empire



Frères, Abdullah. 1880-1893. Photograph. *Women's teachers college*. Library of Congress Online Database. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/item/2001700008/>.

Image B: Private School Students, Ottoman Empire. Photo taken between 1880-1893 (Istanbul, Ottoman Empire)



Frères, Abdullah. 1880-1893. Photograph. *Students, private school Mekteb-i Hamidi-yi*. Library of Congress Online Database. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/item/2001696001/>.

Image C: Group photograph of the Students of the Mirgûn Middle School for Girls. Photo taken between 1880-1893 (Ottoman Empire)



Frères, Abdullah. 1880-1893. Photograph. *Group photograph of the students of the Mirgûn (Emirgân) middle school for girls.* Library of Congress Online Database
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/item/2002716687/>.

Questions for Discussion:

- What do we learn from these three images about the educational opportunities for girls during the Ottoman Empire (1299-1923)?
- How does education contribute to society?
- What further questions are you left with?

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: WOMEN AND GENDER

TOPIC Contemporary Realities of Women in the Middle East and North Africa	
LESSON OVERVIEW	Students will review the document “Selected Countries and Gender Inequality Index Measures” and share the facts and figures that most surprised them. Additionally, students will use this document to discuss potential challenges they think might be faced by women MENA. In this lesson, students will view a video to learn about and discuss the specific challenges encountered by women in Libya. Finally, students will discuss how women in MENA are working locally to find solutions to the challenges they confront.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What contemporary realities and challenges do women face in MENA? • What diversity exists among women in the region by country, social class, etc.? • How are women in MENA responding to the challenges they encounter?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learn about diverse current realities in the region and globally. • Explore how women are challenging inequalities.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.</p> <p><u>New York State Standards</u></p>

	<p>Performance Indicators Students will:</p> <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures have affected various cultural groups throughout the world <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments in world history <p><u>Standard 3, Key Idea 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic, and religious systems in different regions of the world
MATERIALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Handout titled “Selected Countries and Gender Inequality Index Measures” (one copy per student) Print out one of these world maps for students to reference (one copy per student): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6a/CIA_WorldFactBook-Political_world.pdf http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/world.pdf Copies of this article for all students: “Arab women’s virtual uprising goes physical” by India Stoughton: http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/arab-womens-virtual-uprising-goes-physical Computer and projector to show clip from YouTube Whiteboard/chalkboard or chart paper and markers
PROCEDURE	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Gender Inequality Activity (30 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distribute “Selected Countries and Gender Inequality Index Measures” and

	<p>a world map.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask students to review the figures and facts on the handouts and share anything they find surprising or didn't know before. • Ask students, "Based on this handout, what are some of the challenges faced by women in MENA?" Record answers on the board or on a newsprint/chart paper. • Play the video <i>Libya: Seize Chance to Protect Women's Rights</i> by Human Rights Watch (1:34 min.), accessible at https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=ipnTOOj8ckg. • Ask students to discuss what challenges women in Libya face according to the video and what they are doing about them. <p>2. <u>Group Work and Article Analysis</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divide students into groups of 3-4 students each. Have each group review this article: http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/arab-womens-virtual-uprising-goes-physical/. • Ask students to discuss their reactions to the article in their groups. • Ask students to consider how women in MENA are working locally to challenge problems they identify in their societies. • Share back in the larger group and discuss further how local groups are using media and technology to address the challenges women face. <p>3. <u>Questions for further reflection/connection to today</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can people support women's activism in MENA in ways that don't silence women, but rather stand with them in solidarity? • Consider the women from MENA you have been exposed to in this lesson. How do they differ from media portrayals? • What is the role of political empowerment/representation in advancing women's rights in MENA and elsewhere?
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have students explore the International Museum of Women's online exhibit "Muslima" online at http://muslima.imow.org/. Of particular interest may be

the following resources and the Muslima toolkit, available at <http://muslima.imow.org/muslimatoolkit>. See also the additional activity “Women Artists as Activists.”

- A zine created by a Bahraini artist, entitled *Diary of a Mad Arabian Woman*, is available at: http://issuu.com/tamadher/docs/domaw_-_final_issuu.
- Interview and art of Palestinian artist Laila Shawa, available at: <http://muslima.imow.org/content/political-personal>.
- Video interview with Palestinian artist Laila Shawa on *face2face*: <http://vimeo.com/40161384>.
- Review this clip from the film *Slingshot Hip Hop*, and have students discuss how young men and women are using hip-hop to express themselves: <http://www.spike.com/video-clips/l6kxrr/slingshot-hip-hop-promo-clip>. If time permits, watch the entire film with students and discuss the arts, activism, gender, and youth.
- Have students watch the film *Osama* (set in Afghanistan) about a girl who dresses as a boy in order to have more freedom.
- Consider utilizing these lesson plans on Muslim women from around the world (not just MENA) in your classroom: <http://www.ing.org/muslim-women-beyond-the-stereotypes>. Free once you register on the site.

SELECTED COUNTRIES AND GENDER INEQUALITY INDEX MEASURES

In this chart, you will find some measures of gender equality for selected countries from across the globe.

In small groups, discuss and note down anything you find surprising or that goes against an image you have of that country, something that you didn't know before, or any questions you may have. If you need help locating countries, refer to the world map provided to you.

Country	Region	% Women in National Government	% Women who Complete High School	% Women who work outside the home (ages 15 and older)	Rank in UN Gender Inequality Index (2012)
Netherlands	Europe	37.4%	87.5%	58.3%	1
Canada	North America	28.0%	100%	61.9%	18
Israel	Middle East	20.0%	82.7%	52.5%	25
United Kingdom	Europe	22.1%	99.6%	55.6%	34
China	East Asia	21.3%	54.8%	67.7%	35
Libya	Middle East/N. Africa	16.5%	55.6%	30.1%	36
United Arab Emirates	Middle East/Gulf	17.5%	73.1%	43.5%	40
United States	North America	17.0%	94.7%	57.5%	42
Tunisia	Middle East/N. Africa	26.7%	29.9%	25.5%	46
Bahrain	Middle East/Gulf	18.8%	74.4%	39.4%	47
Cuba	Latin America	45.2%	73.9%	43.3%	63
Algeria	Middle East/N. Africa	25.6%	72.6%	34.7%	74
Rwanda	Africa	51.9%	7.4%	86.4%	76
Lebanon	Middle East	3.1%	53.0%	22.6%	78
Morocco	Middle East/N. Africa	11.0%	20.1%	26.2%	84
South Africa	Africa	41.1%	68.9%	44.0%	90
Jordan	Middle East	11.1%	68.9%	15.6%	99
Iran	Middle East	3.1%	62.1%	16.4%	107
Qatar	Middle East/Gulf	0.1%	70.1%	51.8%	117
Egypt	Middle East/N. Africa	2.2%	43.4%	23.7%	118
Saudi Arabia	Middle East	0.1%	50.3%	17.7%	145

Source: [United Nations Human Development Report 2013](http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2013/): <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2013/>.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITY ON WOMEN ARTISTS AS ACTIVISTS

Recommended time: One hour

Small Group Work [20-40 minutes]

Divide students into two groups. Have each group review one of the following artists' works. [If there is enough time, have groups switch after 15-20 minutes so that both groups explore each artist's works and interviews.]

Group 1: Zine from Bahrain by Tamadher al Fahal, Bahrain (pages 2-4 of this document)

Group 2: Interview with & images by Palestinian Artist Laila Shawa (pages 5-7 of this document)

Large Group Discussion [15-20 minutes]

After smaller groups have reviewed the interviews and images, ask students to discuss reactions in their groups.

Convene the larger group and use the following questions to guide discussion:

- What issues do the artists Tamadher al Fahal and Laila Shawa address in their work?
- How does their art challenge realities they face in their respective contexts?
- What backlash have they or might they face in using their art to challenge inequalities?
- How can the arts be used to critique or change social realities? What other examples come to mind?

Optional Closing Activity: Free write [5 minutes]

- If you could share any comments with these artists after seeing their work and reading a bit about them, what would you want to tell them?

Homework:

Have students explore the International Museum of Women's exhibit "Muslima" online at <http://muslima.imow.org/>. Students may also do an internet search to explore the work of women artists from the MENA region.

WHAT SOCIETY

WANTS ME TO DO AS A MUSLIM

نغض البصر.. مثنى وكفء ورياح.. ناقصات عقل ودين.. النساء اكثر خطا
 جهنم.. يكفن العرس.. وتكفر السكوي.. ناكراة جميل.. المرأة غورة..
 تستسفن من قبل السلطان.. الرجال قوامون على النساء..!! للرجل درجة
 عليها.. لا لتبرج لاختها تصعب فتنة.. والفتنة اشد من القتل..
 دامك بنت.. لا للخروج من البيت.. لا للدراسة والسفر من غير محرم
 عيون.. تكلمين رجل فيقول..
 خلقني من ضلع.. خلفي..
 صلته والرجل عليه..
 اصلاها و..
 و..
 ناقصات
 صور المرأة
 يكفنن
 اكثر خطا



* There are some parts of quranic verses & prophetic quotes written above. They are mentioned not as an objection against them, but as what society 'abuses', mostly by literal interpretation.

HOW ISLAM

SEES ME



muoi

EXCERPT FROM *DIARY OF A MAD ARABIAN WOMAN* BY TAMADHER AL FAHAL, BAHRAIN

“The idea behind *Diary of a Mad Arabian Woman* was born from my everyday encounters with people in Bahrain. I have realized for quite some time that the society I am living in has been condemning women in lots of ways in the name of religion. Like many, I have been raised in a conservative environment where a successful woman can be defined simply as ‘the one who gets married first and fulfills her destiny by becoming a housewife!’

This portion of thoughts has been sitting in agony at the corner of my mind. It grew bigger with time – so big that it felt like I could easily write a book about it. Eventually I shared some of my distress with the outside world in the form of a small publication.

A zine (an abbreviation of the word magazine, pronounced ‘zeen’) is a small circulation, noncommercial publication. This made the zine the perfect medium to ‘unleash the beast’ in my brain. *Diary of a Mad Arabian Woman* talks about the contradictions and conflicts in the Middle East in the eyes of a young lady. The publication touches on several topics between culture and religion in a funny, sarcastic way, capturing the feelings of a person who is struggling to define what is right and wrong.

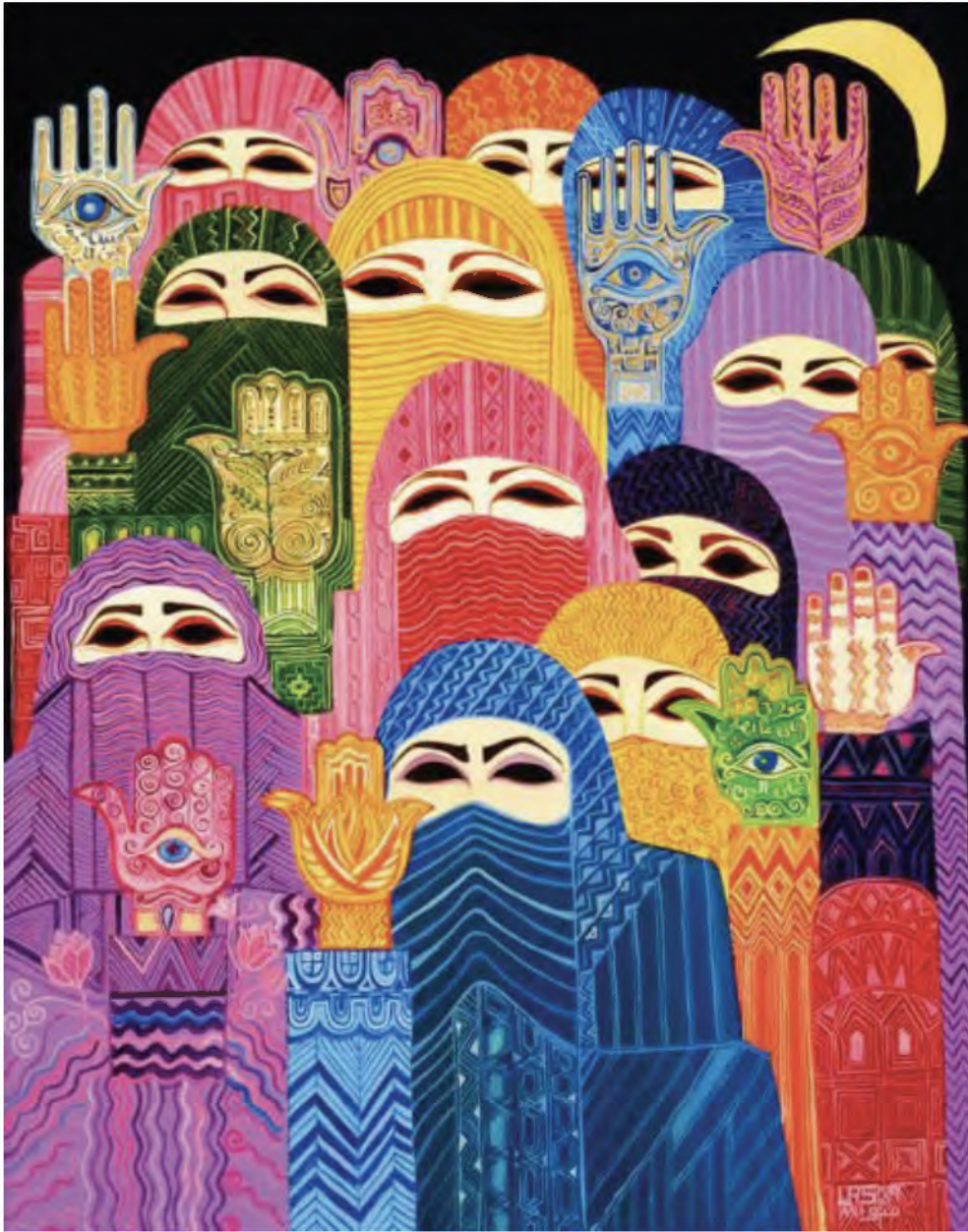
Ultimately, I was motivated to write this zine because I believe Muslim women are facing many issues in their everyday lives, from many parties. We experience the pressure of being an independent individual with a successful career, yet maintaining the principles of Islam and respecting the religion we believe in. On the other hand, there is the pressure of other cultures and the world as a whole that cast a generally wrong impression and – sometimes false images – about Muslim women. Trying to prove the opposite in both directions is challenging – but not impossible.

I am planning to do another zine, and I am trying to get as much feedback as possible on the first issue, so that the next one echoes not only the voice in my head but also the voices of many women who share my thoughts in one way or another.

Women in the Middle East had and still have an important role in shaping the true identity of Islam in many aspects of life. I believe everyone – men and women – can contribute through their strengths, and creativity is one of the most effective tools to do so. Tariq Ramadhan talked about the importance of a ‘Radical Reform’ in the Islamic world and how culture and arts can be a part of that reform. He argued that ‘the message’s universality resides precisely in this ability to accept inevitable cultural projections, claiming the right to move past earlier concepts to allow a necessary re-appropriation by present ones without ever betraying the immutable fundamentals of the religious message and its ethics.’ This was a great inspiration for me to prove that creativity can contribute to religion in many ways.”

Source: *Diary of a Mad Arabian Woman* by Tamadher al Fahal, from the International Museum of Women’s “Muslima: Muslim Women’s Art & Voices” exhibition, muslima.imow.org.

Full zine: *Diary of a Mad Arabian Woman*: http://issuu.com/tamadher/docs/domaw_-_final_issuu.



**EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH
PALESTINIAN ARTIST LAILA SHAWA,
CONDUCTED BY MUSLIMA EXHIBIT CURATOR
SAMINA ALI**

Samina Ali (SA): You have quite an impressive background: born in Gaza to wealthy parents, you studied first at a boarding school in Cairo then trained seriously in art at the Leonardo Da Vinci School of Art. Did you know at an early age that you wanted to be an artist?

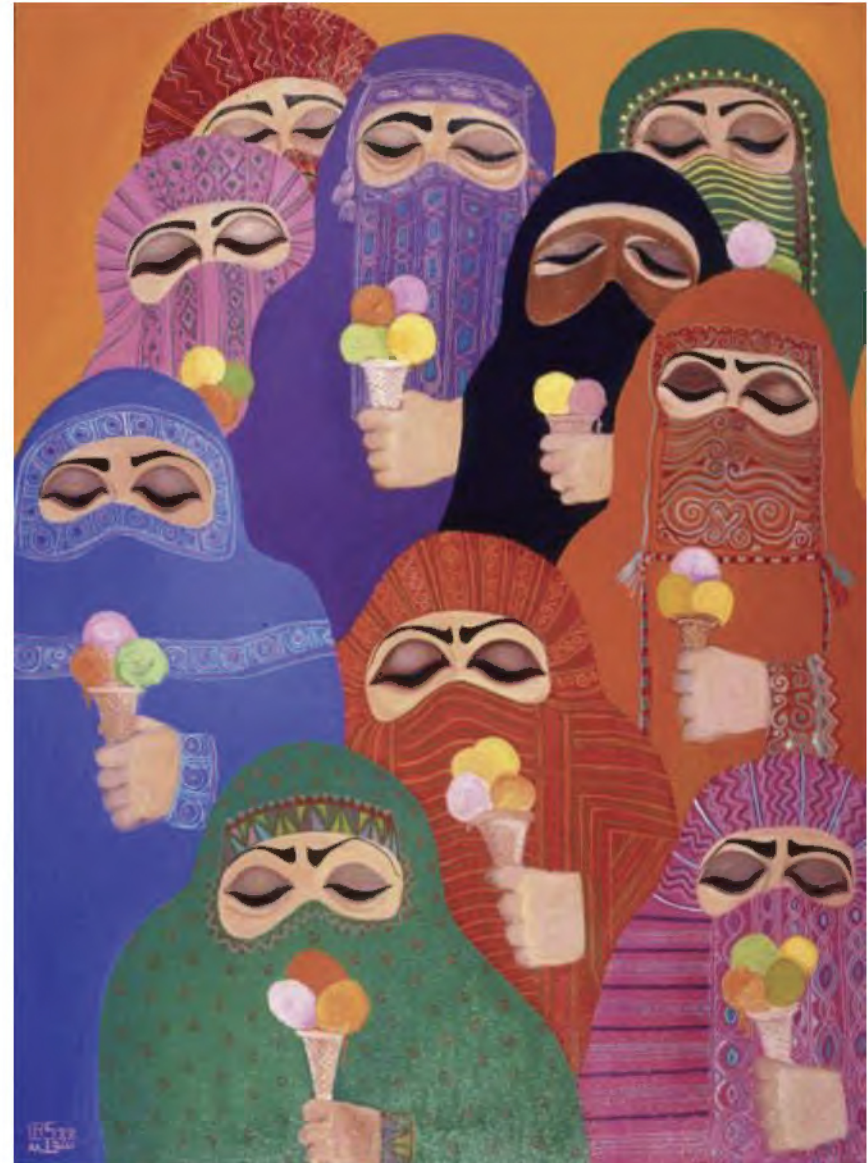
Laila Shawa (LS): I had a great curiosity about art at a very early age. I could not say if I was that aware of wanting to become an artist. I simply had an instinct for what I considered beautiful. I drew quite well, but that was the end of it. After graduating I joined the American University in Cairo (AUC) to study political science and sociology, more or less following into the footsteps of my family. I was aware that it did not satisfy me! One afternoon, I was having tea with my father and his friend, an architect who was Italian/Egyptian. In the course of conversation my Father asked me how I was faring at university, and my response was, “Not too thrilled!” My father’s friend then asked what I was reading at University, and I told him. He looked very puzzled and asked me

why, since I drew very well, did I not choose art? I looked at him in total amazement and asked where would I go for Leonardo Da Vinci art school, and that he could get me in. That was it! I looked at my father for a response, and he just shook his head and said “What a brilliant idea!” The rest is history. But it was pure coincidence that changed my life!

SA: In 1987, when you moved to London, you began a critique of the veil. *The Impossible Dream*, for instance, depicts a group of women holding ice cream cones in front of their veiled faces. It’s a humorous, catch-22 moment. What were you hoping to convey about the veil?

LS: The veil is what I would term as a *Bidaa* – something which was introduced to Islam (possibly by the Byzantines in the late 7th century), but has nothing to do with the teachings of Islam. The resurgence of the veil, starting with the Islamic revolution in Iran and its spread into the Middle East, was more of a sociopolitical phenomenon designed to control and subdue women, the so-called weaker sex, as a result of men losing control of their lives due to Western hegemony and complicit and corrupt dictatorships, in their various forms.

An incident in Gaza triggered this series of works. In the case of the Palestinians, women played a phenomenal role during the first Intifada. They stood up to Israeli soldiers while their husbands were hiding in fear of losing their jobs, as many of them worked in Israel as daily cheap labor. Their children were throwing stones at the IDF (Israeli



Defense Forces). The women defended their children and their husbands, which resulted in men losing their positions as heads of family. Women became too powerful and had to be put in their place. Hence the veiling of women, at least in Gaza – but I am sure the same applies to the rest of the Islamic World, although the reason may vary.

I come from a long line of strong women. My grandmothers were very powerful; my mother was a follower of Simon De Beauvoir. I grew up as an equal, and always believed in the power (and to some extent the supremacy) of women. Watching women subdued – but above all, seeing women accept it – is something I could not accept. My critique is more of the women themselves – their complicity in reducing their status to an invisible state, while at the same time yearning silently for the freedom Western women seem to enjoy. The tug is between the two states. So the message is obviously that they should give themselves more value and certainly more respect.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Laila Shawa was born in 1940 to one of Gaza’s old landowning families. She studied at the Leonardo Da Vinci School of Art in Cairo and Rome’s Academy of Fine Arts. After graduation Shawa went home to supervise arts and crafts education in refugee camps for UNWRA and entered into an informal apprenticeship with UN war photographer Hrant Nakasian. In 1967 she moved to Beirut to paint full-time. When the Lebanese civil war started she returned to Gaza and for the next decade collaborated on designing and building the Rashad Shawa Cultural Centre. Shawa took up residence in London in 1987 and soon after started her socio-political critique *Women and the Veil* resulting in acclaimed paintings like *The Impossible Dream*. Shawa’s pioneering work during the 1980s of utilizing photography as integral to art production has left a lasting mark on contemporary Palestinian art.

Sources:

Hands of Fatima by Laila Shawa, from the International Museum of Women’s “Muslima: Muslim Women’s Art & Voices” exhibition, muslima.imow.org.

The Impossible Dream by Laila Shawa, from the International Museum of Women’s “Muslima: Muslim Women’s Art & Voices” exhibition, muslima.imow.org.

Interview and bio sourced from the International Museum of Women’s Muslima Exhibit: <http://muslima.imow.org/content/political-personal>.
From the International Museum of Women’s “Muslima: Muslim Women’s Art and Voices” Exhibit: <http://muslima.imow.org/>.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: PLURAL IDENTITIES

The research team generated the theme “Plural Identities” based on our textbook analyses and findings. We found that the textbook authors, in an effort describe a place, often obscured the diversity of life experiences that have existed in these regions throughout time. While occasionally these were noted in sidebars, we felt that rich histories and stories across religious, ethnic, gendered, political, economic, and linguistic lines were not present enough in these texts. We also noted that many of the accounts were written or perceived from a Eurocentric perspective, contributing to the reductive ways in which the region was portrayed.

As a result, the following section provides lesson plans for teachers who may want to focus their attention on the plurality of the region. This section has three lessons that focus on multiple cities and the diversity that existed and exists in each of these. While the lessons focus more on a “people’s history approach” to the region, it is also important to note that they reflect the true geographic diversity of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) as these cities span three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe.

All of the lessons are meant to engage students as thinkers, historians, and writers, and assume that they will have an active role in the construction of knowledge. The first lesson is titled “Late Ottoman Life: A Tale of Three Cities,” and hones in on Istanbul, Jerusalem, and Salonika during the late Ottoman Empire (late 19th century through 1920). Students will build knowledge about these cities by collaboratively making meaning of many primary and secondary sources about these places before the formation of ethno- and religious centric nation-states transformed the demographics of the region. The second lesson, “Pluralistic Baghdad,” asks students to be art historians and museum curators to explore life in post Ottoman Baghdad. This is particularly important given the contemporary moment (war and occupation) in which most North Americans have come to (mis)understand this city. Finally, the third lesson, “Cosmopolitan Alexandria,” sheds light on a city known for its multiculturalism. This lesson also complicates this idea by looking at events in 1950s Egypt that affected various segments of the population differently, illuminating who benefited from this plurality and who was disadvantaged by it. Students will participate in a structured role-play that will help them unpack how these events shaped everyday lives and experiences.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: PLURAL IDENTITIES

TOPIC

Late Ottoman Life: A Tale of Three Cities: Salonika, Jerusalem, and Istanbul

LESSON OVERVIEW	Over the course of three days, students will use demographic data, texts, poems, images, songs, cartoons, and/or timelines to learn about three cities during the late Ottoman Empire: Salonika, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. On Day 1, students will analyze how the map of the Ottoman Empire changed over time. They will then use texts and images to create a web to organize new information about the Ottoman Empire. On Day 2, students will read a text about their focus city and then they will use poems, images, biographies, demographic data and other forms of media to gather more information about their city. On Day 3, students will present their information about an Ottoman city to the class.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did people live during the late Ottoman Empire? • How were Salonika, Jerusalem, and Istanbul similar? How were they different? • Why have the demographics of these places shifted over time?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the diversity and plurality of these cities under the Ottoman Empire • Analyze historical primary and secondary sources • Analyze demographic data as a means to deepen historical knowledge • Work collaboratively in making meaning of sources
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis</p>

Unit: Plural Identities

Lesson: Late Ottoman Life: A Tale of Three Cities: Salonika, Jerusalem, and Istanbul

of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.7 Integrate quantitative or technical analysis (e.g., charts, research data) with qualitative analysis in print or digital text.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras

- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events
- Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes

Standard 2, Key Idea 3

- Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history

Standard 3, Key Idea 1

- Understand how to develop and use maps and other graphic representations to display geographic issues, problems, and questions
- Investigate the characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on the Earth's surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
- Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic, and religious systems in different regions of the world
- Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth's surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)

Standard 3, Key Idea 2

- Locate and gather geographic information from a variety of primary and secondary sources (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
- Analyze geographic information by developing and testing inferences and

	<p>hypotheses, and formulating conclusions from maps, photographs, computer models, and other geographic representations (Adapted from National Geography Standards, 1994)</p>
MATERIALS	<p><u>Day 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Mystery Piece”: Image from Late Ottoman Empire: Map of Ottoman expansion: http://www.ottomansouvenir.com/img/Maps/Ottoman_Empire_Map_1359-1856.jpg • Excerpts from text about Ottoman Empire: Kafadar, Cemal. “The Ottomans and Europe, 1450-1600.” In <i>Handbook of European History, 1400-1600</i>, Vol. 2, edited by Thomas Brady, Heiko Augustinus Oberman and James D. Tracy, 589-636. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. <p><u>Day 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Map of Ottoman Empire with cities: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:OttomanEmpireIn1683.png • Graphic Organizer: Comparing Three Ottoman Cities • Students will work on the group packets on Day 2. Have packets for each group prepared on Day 1, in preparation for Round 4 activity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Salonika packet (1-2 images; poem or song; chapter on subject) ○ Jerusalem packet (1-2 images; poem or song; chapter on subject) ○ Istanbul packet (1-2 images; poem or song; chapter on subject)
NOTE TO TEACHER	<p>This is a three-day lesson that you can choose to modify. You could focus on one city, or, as explained here, jigsaw these three. For this activity, rather than focus on set texts, the teacher can select from the attached compendium of sources. Each “city packet” has many sources from which you can choose; for example, you can choose to read parts of a text, use 5 pictures, and one graph – it is up to you.</p>
PROCEDURE DAY 1	<p>1. <u>Pre-Task</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divide class into subgroups so that there are no more than 5 students in a group. • Assign each subgroup a city. One group will have Istanbul, another Salonika,

and another will have Jerusalem.

2. **Round 1: Mystery Piece (10 minutes)**

- Share the selected “Mystery Piece” image with the group. The entire class will look at the same piece. While there is some text on the map, the teacher can choose to block some of the text. As the map shows expansion over time, it tells a story.
- Individually, students write down what they think the piece is about and/or reveals. They should draw a line after all of their thoughts are jotted down.
- In the groups, students share what they think about this piece.
- At the end of the sharing, the topic surrounding the picture should have emerged. If it does not from the group, the teacher can draw it out or just make it explicit.

3. **Round 2: Enacting background knowledge (10 minutes)**

- In subgroups, students first individually write down all their background knowledge about the topic: the Late Ottoman Empire.
- Students share what they know with their group.
- Students create a collective web of what they know on a piece of chart paper using just one color marker.

4. **Round 3: Common Text (20 minutes)**

- Students read a common text about diversity in the late Ottoman Empire silently and individually.
- Students then individually code the text for new information, marking it with an “n” to distinguish what is new to them.
- Ask participants to add their new knowledge to their web about the Ottoman Empire, using a different color of marker from the first brainstorm.

5. **Round 4: Images (10 minutes)**

- The teacher chooses one image from each city’s packet to distribute to each group. Distribute one Salonika image to the Salonika group, one Jerusalem image to the Jerusalem image, and one Istanbul image to the Istanbul group.

	<p>The teacher could give a different image to each student.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students then text code the image for new information. • Ask participants to add their new knowledge to their web about the Ottoman Empire, and their particular city, using a marker color different from the first brainstorm. <p>6. <u>Round 5: Revisiting the Mystery Piece (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-show the mystery piece for each city. • Students should also go back to what they first wrote, and then write about the mystery piece again underneath the line. <p>7. <u>Debrief the experience (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compare and contrast the first and second reading of the mystery pieces. <p>Possible questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What was it like to see/hear the mystery piece for the second time? b. What made the experience so different? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask a general question about what it was like to read the successive articles. Did they know much about the topic before? Had they been curious about the topic? What inspired their curiosity?
<p>PROCEDURE DAY 2</p>	<p>Building Background Knowledge on Each City</p> <p>1. <u>Whole Class Activity (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Screen the second map of the Ottoman Empire. • Point out the cities of Istanbul, Salonika, and Jerusalem. • Ask students where they think these cities are, and then tell them that they are now part of the nation-states Turkey, Greece, and Israel. Explain that they were once Ottoman and that they will now delve into these cities in their groups.

	<p>2. <u>Main Text (25 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Give each group the MAIN text from their packet on their respective city (Salonika, Istanbul, or Jerusalem), chosen from the packet list. • Students in the same some group read text silently and individually. • Students then individually text code the article for new information. • Ask participants to add their new knowledge to their web about the Ottoman Empire, and their particular city, using a different color of marker from the first brainstorm. <p>3. <u>Jigsaw (30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hand out a different item on the city to each member of the group for a text jigsaw. • This will include demographic data, a poem, an image, another image, and a song. (May also include a variety of formats or media here: timelines, photos, short biographies, editorial cartoons, letters to the editor, narratives, portions of a novel... at different reading levels.) • Again, ask participants to text code the article for new information. • After everyone has read, share new knowledge on chart paper in yet another different-colored marker. • Have on hand extra articles, drawings, maps, or photos for those who finish early. • Everyone should examine at least two sources here, but more sources can be added if so desired.
<p>PROCEDURE DAY 3</p>	<p>1. <u>Regroup and Task Prep (30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students get back into their groups, as they will work on presenting information about their city to the class (Salonika; Istanbul; Jerusalem). • Depending on the size of the class, if they are in subgroups, there will be two groups representing each city. • Students will have to come up with a creative way of sharing what they know

	<p>about that city at that time, with the class.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible ideas (though not limited to these): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Re-enact a street scene that may have happened in that city at that time. ○ Recite poetry and music to contextualize what has been learned. ○ Create a museum of the city, curated for prospective visitors. ○ Create a commercial to advertise the city for others and perform it. • In order to structure their time and be sure that they cover what is most important, they should first generate a list of the 10 most important things they need to convey about their city. After that, they can choose a format for the presentation. • Students should spend the rest of the time drafting and/or creating what they will do for the presentations. These should be no more than 5 minutes each. <p>2. <u>Presentations (20 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each group performs the piece. • The rest of the class watches and takes notes, jotting down anything new they may have gleaned about the city based on the presentations. • They can fill this information out on the accompanying graphic organizer. <p>3. <u>Re-grouping (10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After everyone has presented, go back to the original groups and fill out the graphic organizer together, exchanging notes.
<p>PROCEDURE DAY 4</p>	<p>1. <u>Debriefing the Whole Experience (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a class, discuss the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. What did you learn about your individual cities? b. What does this tell us about the Ottoman Empire as a whole?

	<p>c. How did the activities help you synthesize information?</p> <p>d. What would you like to know more about? What remaining questions do you have?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the remainder of the class, you could choose to work on the following activities (below), or answer any remaining questions. <p>2. <u>Questions for Further Reflections/Possible Assessments/Connection to Today:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic Comparison: Present students with demographics of cities today and have them compare and contrast what has shifted. They could juxtapose this with a timeline of the 20th century and try to identify key events that led to this. This, in turn, could lead to a larger project about the emergence of modern nation-states and the effects of this on local populations. • Based on all of the texts and sources, students could create a larger museum gallery for other classes and/or the rest of the school that requires them to curate and explain. Students should be charged with finding more sources, and students can take on different roles at the museum.
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kafadar, C. <i>Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State</i>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. • Goffman, D. <i>The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe</i>. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2002. • Faroqhi, S. <i>The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It</i>. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004. • Arın, S. Documentary. <i>Topkapi Sarayı: Topkapi Palace</i>. Istanbul, Turkey: MTV, Inc. 2007. • Eldem, E., Goffman D., & Masters B. A. <i>The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. • Quataert, D. <i>The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. • Barkey, K. <i>Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective</i>.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Zilfi, M. C. *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Mazower, Mark. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- McCarthy, J. *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire*. London: Arnold, 2001.
- Çelik, Z. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley, Calif., & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993.

A TALE OF THREE OTTOMAN CITIES

Please fill out the graphic organizer about each city as you listen to the presentations from your peers. We have included other names by which these cities have been or are referred.

City	Key information about the city
<u>Salonika (Thessaloniki)</u>	
<u>Jerusalem (al-Quds)</u>	
<u>Istanbul (Constantinople)</u>	

Salonika Images

1. Late 19th century Jewish woman:
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Saloniquefemmejuiveige.jpg>. Wikipedia public domain.

 Author Unknown. (late 19th c.). Jewish Women in Thessaloniki. Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Saloniquefemmejuiveige.jpg>. Wikipedia public domain.
2. Yeni Mosque, built during the late Ottoman Period:
 Tørrissen, Bjørn Christian. 2009. *Yeni Camii*, “*New Mosque*.”
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Istanbul_2009_Yeni_Camii.JPG. Wikipedia public domain.

 Torrissen. (2009). *Yeni Camii*, “*New Mosque*.” Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Istanbul_2009_Yeni_Camii.JPG. Wikipedia public domain.
3. Historic buildings of Thessaloniki:
<http://www.marijan-birus.hr/images/Grcka/Solun/Osmanski%20Solun/Solun%201900-1917.jpg>

 Thessaloniki. (1900-1917). Retrieved from: <http://www.marijan-birus.hr/images/Grcka/Solun/Osmanski%20Solun/Solun%201900-1917.jpg>
4. Ottoman postcard of Jewish Fire Department, 1911:
 1911. Image. *Salonica Jewish Fire Department*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salonica_Jewish_Fire_Department_May_11_1911_Fire_Chief_Selomo_Barzion.jpg. Wikipedia public domain.

 Author Unknown. (1911) *Salonica Jewish Fire Department* [Ottoman postcard]. Retrieved from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salonica_Jewish_Fire_Department_May_11_1911_Fire_Chief_Selomo_Barzion.jpg. Wikipedia public domain.
5. Ottoman Souk/Bazaar (1900-1917):
<http://www.marijan-birus.hr/images/Grcka/Solun/Osmanski%20Solun/Solun%201900-1917%204.jpg>

Thessaloniki. (1900-1917). Retrieved from: <http://www.marijanbirus.iz.hr/images/Grcka/Solun/Osmanski%20Solun/Solun%201900-1917%204.jpg>

6. St. Sophia as a mosque (1910):
<http://www.marijanbirus.iz.hr/images/Grcka/Solun/Osmanski%20Solun/Solun%201900-1917.jpg>

St. Sophia as a mosque. (1910). Retrieved from: <http://www.marijanbirus.iz.hr/images/Grcka/Solun/Sv%20Sofija/Sv%20Sofija%201910.jpg>

7. Several photographs from the Sultan Abdülhamid II Collection at the Library of Congress:
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=Thessalonike&co=ahii>:

Sebah & Joaillier. 1880-1893. Photographic print. *Students, High School, Thessalonikē*.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/item/2001699231/>.

1880-1893. Photographic print. *Students, imperial military middle school, Thessalonikē*.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/item/2001699956/>.

Sebah & Joaillier. 1888-1893. Photographic print. *High School, Thessalonikē*. Retrieved from

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/item/2001699230/>.

Demographic Information

1. Chart comparing Salonika in 1890 and 1913:
http://www.marijanbirus.iz.hr/English/Greece/Thessaloniki/ottoman_thessaloniki.htm
2. Info about demographics from Salonika website (scroll down):
http://www.greecehomenet.com/html/thessaloniki_.html

Poem or Song about Thessaloniki

1. <http://www.greeksongs-greekmusic.com/thessaloniki-english-lyrics/>
2. Glykeria. “Beautiful Thessaloniki”: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m-ywJE2Ctqs>
3. “Thessaloniki” lyrics:
<http://www.ce.berkeley.edu/~coby/songtr/greek/thessal.htm>

Salonika Text

Introduction from Mazower, Mark. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.

Jerusalem Images

1. Y.M.C.A. Arab boys, Jerusalem:
 Martin H. 2010. Photograph. *Ymca boys jeru*. Original caption: *Group of Christian Arab Y.M.C.A. boys wearing kaffiyehs & ikals, August 1938*.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ymca_boys_jeru.jpg Wikimedia public domain.

 Martin H. (2010). *Ymca boys jeru* [photograph], Retrieved from
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ymca_boys_jeru.jpg Wikimedia public domain
2. Closed shops of the Jewish Quarter on the Jewish Sabbath, Jerusalem, 1900:
 Chesdovi. 2012. Image. *Shops close for Sabbath, Jerusalem 1900*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shops_close_for_Sabbath,_Jerusalem_1900.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

 Chesdovi. (2012) *Shops close for Sabbath, Jerusalem 1900* [image], Retrieved from
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shops_close_for_Sabbath,_Jerusalem_1900.jpg Wikimedia public domain
3. The Jewelry Store, Hebron glass (native jewelry shop) (1900-1920):
 FunkMonk. 2008. Photograph. *Costumes, characters, etc. Native jewellery -i.e., jewelry-shop*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Costumes,_characters,_etc._Native_jewellery_-i.e.,_jewelry-shop.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

 FunkMonk. (2008). *Costumes, characters, etc. Native jewellery -i.e., jewelry-shop* [photograph], Retrieved from
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Costumes,_characters,_etc._Native_jewellery_-i.e.,_jewelry-shop.jpg Wikimedia public domain
4. Damascus Gate (1890-1900):
 Wikipeder. 2009. Image. *Jerusalem Damaskustor um 1900*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jerusalem_Damaskustor_um_1900.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

 Wikipeder (2009). *Jerusalem Damaskustor um 1900* [image], Retrieved from
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jerusalem_Damaskustor_um_1900.jpg Wikimedia public domain

5. Jerusalem Shopkeeper early 1990s:
G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection. 1898-1964. Photograph.
Jerusalem. Vendors in open store near Ch. of H. S.
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004005985/PP/>

G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection. (1898-1964). *Jerusalem. Vendors in open store near Ch. of H. S* [photograph], Retrieved from Library of Congress Online Database
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004005985/PP/>
6. Workers in mother-of-pearl (approximately 1900-1920):
FunkMonk. Photograph. 2008. Workers in mother-of-pearl.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Workers_in_mother-of-pearl.jpg.
Wikimedia public domain.

FunkMonk. (2008). *Workers in mother-of-pearl* [photograph], Retrieved from
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Workers_in_mother-of-pearl.jpg
Wikimedia public domain
7. Postcard of Omar Mosque in Jerusalem (Dome of the Rock), 1900:
FA2010. Postcard. 2012. *Ansichtskarte Karl May Jerusalem 1900*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ansichtskarte_Karl_May_Jerusalem_1900.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

from:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ansichtskarte_Karl_May_Jerusalem_1900.jpg Wikimedia public domain
8. Western Wall, 1896, Jerusalem:
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/thomasfisherlibrary/6288716523/>

Martyr. (2006). *Bulgarian Church Sveti Stephan Istanbul postcard* [image],
Retrieved from
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bulgarian_Church_Sveti_Stefan_Istanbul_postcard.PNG Wikimedia public domain
9. The Dome of the Rock, site of Solomon's Temple, from the northwest, Jerusalem, 1896:
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/thomasfisherlibrary/6289236540/>
Martyr. (2006). *Bulgarian Church Sveti Stephan Istanbul postcard* [image],

Retrieved from

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bulgarian_Church_Sveti_Stefan_Istanbul_postcard.PNG Wikimedia public domain

10. Jerusalem Railway Station:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jerusalem_Railway_Station2.jpg

Martyr. (2006). *Bulgarian Church Sveti Stephan Istanbul postcard* [image], Retrieved from

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bulgarian_Church_Sveti_Stefan_Istanbul_postcard.PNG Wikimedia public domain

11. Old Jerusalem, 1900s:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1900s_Jerusalem_old_city.jpg

Martyr. (2006). *Bulgarian Church Sveti Stephan Istanbul postcard* [image], Retrieved from

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12. British ambulances standing on King David Street with the Montefiore quarter and Mount Zion across. The no man's land in the background in Jerusalem.

Eddau. Image. 2010. *Moses Montefiore Windmill Jerusalem 1948*.

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Moses_Montefiore_Windmill_Jerusalem_1948.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

13. Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem, View from the East before 1948:

Baránek, Daniel. Image. 2007. *Jewish Quarter (Jerusalem before 1948)*.

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jewish_Quarter_\(Jerusalem,_before_1948\).jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jewish_Quarter_(Jerusalem,_before_1948).jpg). Wikimedia public domain.

Baranek, D. (2007). *Jewish Quarter (Jerusalem before 1948)* [image], Retrieved from

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14. Jerusalem Holy Sepulcher, 1949:

Nettadi. Image. 2009. *Jerusalem Holy S 1850*.

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Nettadi. (2009). *Jerusalem Holy S 1850* [image], Retrieved from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jerusalem_HolyS_1850.jpg
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15. Peasant Family of Ramallah 1900-1910:
Jaakobou. Print. 2007. *Peasant Family of Ramallah*.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peasant_Family_of_Ramallah_1900-1910.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

Jaakobou. (2007). *Peasant Family of Ramallah* [print], Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peasant_Family_of_Ramallah_1900-1910.jpg Wikimedia public domain

Jerusalem demographics

1. Special Bulletin on Jerusalem. This bulletin features mainly maps and graphs (with historical text attached) that show shifts over time of demographics, as well as current ones:
<http://www.passia.org/publications/bulletins/english-jerusalem/EnglishJerusalem.pdf>
2. The Wikipedia site also has relevant graphs about the demographics (though they are sometimes contradictory):
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Jerusalem
3. The King-Crane commission report has detailed demographic information. More broadly, it shows how an American committee interviewed many people in greater Syria (which includes present Israel/Palestine) at the close of World War I, and “discovered” that there was a clear desire for an independent state. Statements of the Syrian National Congress (also widely available in English translation) also rejected the imposition of French or English colonial rule in the form of mandates at the time. Fascinatingly, it also suggests that the Americans once had an excellent reputation among Arab notables, particularly as a bulwark against British and French occupation. It was clear that though Jews were envisioned as one of the historic populations of Syria and thus rightful subjects of a future independent Arab country, Zionism was seen as antithetical to local aspirations for local self-determination. Thus, it shows how the British and French Mandates were imposed upon an unwilling population in greater Syria, and were not the “inevitable” consequence of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, but rather a colonial policy that allowed Zionism to become a

significant force in Palestine.

http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_King-Crane_Report

Jerusalem Poem

Darwish, Mahmoud. “In Jerusalem”:

<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/236752>

Jerusalem Texts

1. Davis, Rochelle. *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Growth of the City Outside the Walls*. This piece provides a wonderful account of late Ottoman Jerusalem and challenges the notion that it was an underdeveloped city.
http://www.badil.org/phocadownload/Badil_docs/publications/Jerusalem1948-CHAP1.PDF
2. Tamari, Salim. “Jerusalem 1948: The Phantom City.” Introduction to Jerusalem.
<http://www.jerusalemquarterly.org/ViewArticle.aspx?id=267>
3. Tamari, Salim. “Jerusalem’s Ottoman Modernity: The Times and Life of Wasif Jawhariyyeh.” This piece shows how Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived in relative peace before the rise of modern nationalist movements. Jawhariyyeh was a Greek Orthodox Arab musician in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century. Among the many fascinating recollections he shares is how he (a Christian) memorized the Quran, how Muslim children would dress up for Jewish Purim celebrations, and how people of all faiths participated in festivities connected to the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.
<http://www.jerusalemquarterly.org/ViewArticle.aspx?id=218>

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1. The Bulgarian St Stephan Church in Istanbul, before 1904:
Martyr. Image. 2006. *Bulgarian Church Sveti Stephan Istanbul postcard*.
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2. A cafe in Istanbul (1850-1882):
Bogdan. Image. 2008. *Amedeo Preziosi – Istanbul café*.
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Bogdan. (2008). *Amedeo Preziosi – Istanbul café*. Retrieved from
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3. A street in Beyoğlu, Istanbul (1880-1893):
Maurice07. Image. 2013. *A street in Beyoğlu in Istanbul*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_street_in_Beyo%C4%9Flu_in_Istanbul.jpg. Wikimedia public domain.

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4. View of the Third Galata Bridge (completed in 1875) and background Eminönü with New Mosque from Karaköy, Istanbul (1880-1893):
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5. The Ottoman archaeologist, curator, painter, and Kadikoy's first mayor Osman Hamdi's works depicting ladies:

- https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osman_Hamdi_Bey_004.jpg.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osman_Hamdi_Bey_002.jpg.
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6. *Crossing The Bridge: Sound Of Istanbul* (2005) trailer:
www.youtube.com/watch?v=fV3v5scd6EE.
 7. A scene of daily life in front of the Hayratiye Bridge on the Golden Horn in Ottoman-era Istanbul:
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 8. View of the Seraglio Point (Sarayburnu) from Pera, with the Bosphorus at left, the entrance of the Golden Horn at right, and the Sea of Marmara with the Princes' Islands on the horizon:
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 10. Tophane Palace, Constantinople between 1890 and 1900:
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Istanbul Demographics

The following article can also be used as a text, but within the document, there are several important graphs and charts:

Mutlu, Servet. "Late Ottoman Population and Its Ethnic Distribution." *Turkish Journal of Population Studies*. (2003): 3-28.
http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/nbd_cilt25/mutlu.pdf.

Istanbul Texts

1. This article is about a female photographer in Istanbul:
Utkan, Hatice. "Archive presents a half-century of Istanbul's faces." *Hurriyet Daily News*, November 28, 2011. <http://www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/archive-presents-a-half-century-of-istanbuls-faces.aspx?pageID=238&nID=7906&NewsCatID=385>.
2. Oral History Project on Late Ottoman Istanbul:
"Istanbul Memories." 2013. Retrieved from
<http://www.istanbulmemories.org/>.
3. Wikimedia Foundation. "History of Istanbul." *Wikipedia*. September 7, 2013.
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<http://geography.about.com/od/specificplacesofinterest/a/istanbul.htm>.

battle (at Meszökerestes). They were not enough, however, to persuade Mehmed to repeat his appearance, for though the war continued for another decade, no sultan appeared again at the front.

Finally, after thirteen years of struggle, the two sides felt exhausted enough to treat, and in 1606 they signed the Treaty of Sztivatorok. Neither side took major lasting achievements away from this war. Still, it was becoming clear that the balance of military might, which had for decades favored the Ottomans, was not so great as it formerly had been. The Habsburgs relieved themselves of the obligation to annual tribute, which they had paid since 1547, and the Holy Roman emperor now called the sultan his "brother" rather than his "father."

The Ottomans saved face by gaining some fortresses, taking back some castles, and reasserting control over the Danubian principalities. By this time domestic strife had grown very disruptive and disturbing to Ottoman self-confidence, so much so, that when the sultan had a grand royal mosque built (the Sultanahmet or Blue Mosque), it commemorated not the "victory" over the infidel but the suppression of Anatolian rebels in 1609.

8. THE "OTTOMAN DECLINE" IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

There are several reasons why the year 1600 is an appropriate point to conclude this overview. For one thing, the two previous decades were a time of major unrest, beginning in the countryside and known as the "Jelali revolts." In 1589 a long series of *kul* uprisings began when soldiers objected to being paid in debased coins, and, with increasing participation by city people, they continued through the next two centuries. Then, too, after a century of fairly stable money and prices, in the 1570s began a monetary instability, fueled by debasements and since 1585 by rising prices. Many villages were abandoned, their people gone to the cities, and migrations led to problems of provisioning and disrupted guild discipline in the cities.

The End of the Classical Age

It is too early to say what lay behind these phenomena, and in particular too early to blame the "rise of the Atlantic economy" for the late sixteenth-century Ottoman downturn. Even if the influx of American silver could be blamed for monetary instability, it was not behind the rural disturbances. As for population, it is hardly clear that the countryside was overpopulated, though bachelor males are heavily represented in the late sixteenth-

century urban tax surveys. If there was excess labor in the countryside, why were so many villages abandoned? One possible answer is fiscal pressure from the growing state, the chronology of which is uncertain.

Although fiscal oppression must have played a role in rural unrest, as it did in early modern France, the disturbances in Asia Minor were not peasant revolts. The rebels recruited primarily from temporarily unemployed mercenaries and displaced or disenchanting soldiers, who became all the more dangerous, as the use of firearms spread. Behind their actions lay not population growth but declining opportunities for employment by the state. The end of expansion implied that there were no new *timars* to be distributed. The value of the *sipahi* cavalry, moreover, declined with the spread of lighter firearms, and the state, as in France, resorted to tax farming and in fact reduced the number of *timars* granted. It preferred to enlarge the *kul* forces, who, unlike the *timar*-holders, were paid in cash, and to hire mercenaries on a temporary basis. The latter, out of work at war's end, would in earlier times have become frontier warriors—like the Cossacks, Uskoks, and conquistadors in other lands. They now turned to banditry and rebellion.

It all added up to both a decline and a perception of decline. The leading statesmen did not react with despair, but their confidence—like the official coinage—was being debased, and “decline and reform” grew into one of the most fertile themes in contemporary Ottoman culture. The whole complex had much in common with what was happening in contemporary Spain, where, as Ranke wrote, there came a new era “in which the Spanish monarchy, far from asserting its force over friends and foes, was rent and sub-divided by foreign politics, . . . and in which the Ottomans ceased to be feared, and began themselves to fear. These changes, we know, constitute, in no small degree, the distinctive features that mark, respectively, two periods in modern history.”³³

The Problem of the “Ottoman Decline”

Was this age, therefore, the beginning of an “Ottoman decline”? Until recently, it was taken for granted that this was so by Fernand Braudel, for example, whose *Mediterranean* describes an Ottoman empire in decline by the end of the sixteenth century. In *Civilization and Material Life*, written some years later, Braudel was ready to declare the same state “a viable entity until the nineteenth century.” He thereby simply reflected the changing winds in Ottoman historiography, in which the notion of decline has become one of the most highly contested aspects of what increasingly looks like a dated paradigm. The revisionism has some obvious implications for the historiography of the era treated in this chapter.

For one thing, traditionally the course of Ottoman history from 1400 to 1600 has been conceived in terms of power and glory which masked a series of failures that led eventually to decline and ultimately to the underdevelopment of the entire Middle East. There was military grandeur, true, political stability, and some prosperity, but no capitalism, oceanic expansion, printing press (until 1721), Renaissance, or Reformation. The subjection of this perspective to critical revision nowadays is part of the much larger reassessment of the views associated with "orientalism," the viewing of the east in terms of what it is not, i.e., the west.

New Perspectives on Ottoman and European History

The present state of revisionist research makes possible only tentative remarks, and it is important not to lapse into the apologetic position of "proving" that the Ottomans were just the same as the west, or just as advanced. Yet, some preliminary findings enable us to begin moving away from essentializing contrasts.

The European conceptualization of the Ottoman system as an "anti-Europe"—Braudel's term—is most deeply rooted in the sphere of politics: freedom vs. despotism, the rule of law vs. tyranny, and free property vs. state ownership. This vision of "Europe and the Orient" has been since the sixteenth century a most persistent conception, and it remains influential in the study of politics, economies, and histories. One well-received recent work on comparative politics, for example, convincingly develops the point that there existed a rule of law in late medieval and early modern Europe. The writer then adds:

Many opponents of the prince were imprisoned or had property seized without due process. In speaking of the rule of law in this time, it is only meant that such transgressions, if routine, entailed the probability of noble and burgher opposition, from which monarchs and emperors of the Middle East and Orient had little to fear. The edifice of law was in effect an objective, structural restraint on the crown and other powerholders.³⁴

The final point, about the Orient, is not developed or argued, it is simply a given of history. Another writer, Perry Anderson, deals with the Ottoman state as an "Asian colossus," whose "contours provide a strange contrast with those of the European Absolutism that was contemporary with it. The economic bedrock of the Osmanli despotism was the virtually complete absence of private property in land."³⁵ His evidence for this state-

ment, it turns out, consists of disappointingly uncritical readings of early modern political writers: Niccolò Machiavelli ("they are all slaves"), Jean Bodin ("when [the timariots] die, their heirs can inherit only their movable goods"), and Francis Bacon ("*nobility attempers sovereignty*").

What European writers never appreciated was the presence of social institutions and practices that delineated a public sphere of political negotiation. Guilds represented their members before the *kadis*, market supervisors, and agents of the central government; Sufi orders, in the persons of influential *shaykhs*, spoke in the name of some sector of public opinion; and the spokesmen of the charitable institutions (*waqfs*) and non-Muslim communities did not just bow and comply. In this category, too, belong other institutions and practices, such as village headmen, whose roles are little understood. Enough is known, however, to make untenable facile references to a despotic apparatus which penetrated all levels of public and social life. There was a finely tuned legal machine with widely shared standards and symbols of justice, which totally escaped students of oriental politics from Machiavelli to Max Weber. Indeed, the Ottoman empire was not unlike the later Roman empire in that, although it is conventionally depicted in terms of corruption and tyranny, its upper classes and some of its subjects considered it to live under the rule of law.³⁶

Limits on the practice of absolutism doubtless differed between the classical Ottoman state and, say, seventeenth-century France. Mehmed II, for example, the most "despotic" of the Ottoman sultans in this era, undertook an extensive program of confiscations justified by appeal to the public good, but his program had to be rescinded. His grandson, Selim, whose reputation is embodied in his epithet, "the Grim" or "the Terrible," could not return to Mehmed's policy but had to live with Bayezid II's compromise, since it was based on the law of the realm and the moral standards of his culture. Instead, Selim proclaimed an equally despotic program of converting Istanbul's remaining Greek churches into mosques. When he justified this step by the argument that the *sharia* permitted the confiscation of the properties of non-Muslims, his legal advisers said that his reading of the *sharia* was excessively literal.

The growth of Ottoman absolutism during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries might well be seen in a larger context. It was characterized by such common early modern features as bureaucratization, legal codification, and the search for more efficient tax collection. Might the Ottoman and European trends have been linked by similar forces or even contacts?

Contacts between the Ottomans and Europe

Recent Ottoman historiography tends to emphasize the porosity of the boundaries between the eastern Mediterranean world and Europe and to reject essentialization of the contrast between the two worlds. Trade, migrations, diplomacy, and even war (and enslavement of prisoners) crossed the boundaries. Trade continued the late medieval pattern of Italian merchants enjoying charters and privileges in the Levantine port cities that connected to the caravan routes and kept growing. The sixteenth century brought new actors, from different European countries, onto this scene, who obtained similar charters. By the end of the era, the Ottoman state recognized the appearance of the early modern world's little tigers by extending trading privileges to Queen Elizabeth of England's subjects in 1581 and to the Dutch early in the next century. European traders, however, by no means displaced Ottoman merchants, nor were the latter exclusively non-Muslims (as nineteenth-century accounts alleged).

The sixteenth century also saw the revival of the land routes across the Balkans, traveled by European and Ottoman merchants, Muslim and non-Muslim, and by mid-century the Levant's connections to the Asian trade also revived from the initial shock from the Portuguese voyaging around Africa. This may be the reason why the Ottomans did not continue to challenge Portugal for control of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. Generally speaking, Ottoman trade policies centered on infrastructural support for trade, on the securing of ports and sea and land routes and on the construction of bazaars and caravansarais—naturally with expectations of profit to the treasury. Several governors thus endowed Aleppo for its role as a major entrepot of the silk trade; Sarajevo and Novi Bazar were created partly to serve the trans-Balkan carrying trade; and a Jewish merchant, an Ottoman district governor in Dalmatia, and the Venetian authorities cooperated to build up Split as a rival to Dubrovnik.

Beyond these contributions to the infrastructure of trade, plus provisioning which favored imports, we have as yet no larger picture of Ottoman commercial policy. Recent emphasis on early modern developments in world trade, plus the growing understanding of eventual western dominance as the outcome of an interactive process, makes urgent our need for comparative studies of commercial policies. We know little or nothing about the merchants' practices or about the legal institutions at their disposal, and the question of technological diffusion through commerce also remains to be explored. It is nonetheless already becoming clear that in the sixteenth or even the seventeenth century, the eventual supremacy of European merchants was by no means a forgone conclusion.

A closely related topic concerns science and technology. Sixteenth-century observers, certainly, would not have understood the modern orientalist depiction of the Ottomans as an essentially inward-looking society, which did not want to learn, and, but for a few enlightened statesman, would never have learned, from the west. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Charles V's envoy who visited the Ottoman realm in the mid-sixteenth century, wrote that

no nation in the world has shown greater readiness than the Turks to avail themselves of the useful inventions of the foreigners, as is proved by their employment of cannons and mortars, and many other things invented by Christians. They cannot, however, be induced as yet to use printing, or to establish public clocks, because they think that their scriptures would no longer be scriptures if they were printed, and that, if public clocks were introduced, the authority of their muezzins and their ancient rites would be thereby impaired.³⁷

The inventions themselves aside, why did Busbecq write only of the Ottomans' readiness to borrow and adapt things invented by others? The question contains two issues, one about technological innovation and the other about openness to using the inventions of others. Was Busbecq biased in that he failed to concede the former to the Ottomans? Probably not. However, the role of the craftsman, the technician, and the innovator in Ottoman society, and attitudes toward their skills, have hardly been investigated, and what is known does not support a categorical statement.

When did science and technology become "European" from an Ottoman point of view? The Ottomans do not, for instance, seem to have associated gunpowder and firearms with the Europeans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In oceanic discoveries, however, a European advantage was recognized. Piri Reis, the Ottoman sailor-cartographer who in 1513 drew, following a Columbus map, one of the earliest surviving pictures of the New World's coastline, observed that the infidels had recently scored some enviable advances in geographical knowledge. He then moved immediately to a type of argument later to appear repeatedly in Islamic westernization discourse, that the new discoveries were based on ancient learning from a book stolen from the Near East. In other words, to import infidel knowledge was really just to reappropriate one's own. Once again, the evidence suggests that the whole notion of "westernization," implying an essential difference between east and west, needs to be rethought for the whole period before the eighteenth century.

It is true, certainly, that Mehmed II was more interested in what the "Franks" were doing than most of his successors were, but this does not mean that the Ottoman court's interest in European culture can be reduced to a linear process of decline since his time. Piri Reis, for example, produced his map not on command but on his own initiative as a navigator, having acquired the necessary information from the fluid world of the Mediterranean sailors. He did present it to Sultan Selim upon the conquest of Egypt, which is why it is preserved in the palace library.

Some of the interest in things western was revived at court during the first third of Süleyman's reign. Under the grand vezirate of Ibrahim Pasha (1523-36) in particular, the links seem to have been active to various European artists, sources of luxury goods, and European mercantile communities at Istanbul. A son of a Venetian doge, for example, was one of the sultan's closest advisors and his appointee to oversee the most prestigious new conquest, Ottoman Hungary. The grand vezir himself, a native of the island of Parga in Venetian territory, was largely responsible for the good standing of this son of a doge and more generally for the links with European politics and culture. Ibrahim watched "ballet" performances with classical themes held in the Frankish quarter of Istanbul.

The Ottoman Identity

Yet, to look at contacts and interaction is not enough, for the main point is to go beyond construing these relations in terms of two clearly delineated and separate entities—Europeans and Turks. We must reconstruct the Ottoman point of view, taking into account that inclusiveness was one of the most basic forces in the Ottoman identity.

Ottoman inclusiveness should not be attributed only to the *kuls* of the Porte, themselves of non-Turkish birth, for many who joined the Ottoman enterprise and acquired *timars* or other military or civil posts also came from non-Turkish, non-Muslim backgrounds. They all eventually became as Ottoman as anybody else. This fact is of vital significance for our interpretation of the political struggles within the Ottoman elite, which are often anachronistically seen in ethnic terms as conflicts between the *devshirme* and the old Turcoman families, that is, between non-Turks and Turks. Many *timar*-holders were also of non-Turkish origins, as were many members of the *ulema*, the ranks of which were not closed to those born to, say, Arabic-, Kurdish-, or Greek-speaking families.

The Ottomans, after all, did not call themselves "Turks," nor their land "Turkey," for these were European terms which ethnicized—much as the eastern use of "Franks" for Europeans did—what was basically a supra-

ethnic identity. Indeed, the still current uses of "Ottoman" and "Turk" or "the Ottoman empire" and "Turkey" as interchangeable terms is comparable to the use of "Italy" for the Roman empire or "Italians" for the ancient Romans.³⁸

The worst consequence of continuing this ethnicization of the Ottoman tradition is that it masks the imperial character of Ottoman history. One illustration must serve to support this point. Sinan Pasha, baptized "Scipione" as son of a Genoese nobleman and a Turkish woman, was captured by Muslim seamen and presented to the Ottoman court, where he grew up and graduated to a distinguished career as admiral and vezir. A loyal and successful Ottoman and a Muslim, he maintained a lively correspondence with family and friends in his native Genoa.

This does not mean that the problematic aspects of the relationships between Ottomans and Europeans disappear. For one thing, there is no Ottoman counterpart to the voluminous literature in various European languages about "the Turks." Although this difference is important to understanding the different roles of education and knowledge about the other in the age when the two worlds competed for hegemony, it cannot be reduced to an Ottoman lack of "curiosity" about foreign lands, as often is done. A Venetian or French diplomat may have needed to learn Turkish, but the Ottoman court was easily supplied with servants competent in European languages. For example, when the court interpreter Ferhad, a Hungarian by origin, died in 1576, his son was brought to Istanbul from his *timar* in northern Anatolia and given his father's position, because of his knowledge of Hungarian affairs and the pertinent languages.³⁹

Focus on such examples, of course, makes it easy to confine the area of shared discourse to those who were of European origin, that is, to an "anomalous" stratum of renegades. The point is that the renegades could strike Ottoman roots so easily just because they were not anomalous, because they already had much in common with numerous others in this society, in which migration and conversion were common. There was a shared discourse even beyond the migrants and converts, because there were shared interests.⁴⁰

Shared Discourse of the Ottoman and European Worlds

The roots of shared discourse and interests lay not only in interactions but in a complex of common traditions of the ancient Near Eastern/Mediterranean civilizations and of the Abrahamic religions. For example, the Jewish physicians who came into the Ottoman empire from Iberia after 1492, whatever their unique qualities, were also steeped in the familiar

humoralism of Galenic medicine. Emigrés and visitors from Europe would hardly feel totally lost, moreover, in an intellectual world that shared a respect for ancient Greek learning in general and Aristotle in particular. A late sixteenth-century wave of political pamphleteering, for example, included a Turkish translation (from Arabic) of Aristotle's *Politics*.

Ottoman scholars were not necessarily removed from the current scene of science in Europe either. When Taqi ad-Din arrived at Istanbul from Egypt in 1577, he not only brought a deep knowledge of medieval Muslim astronomy, which the Europeans also knew, but he was reputed to be aware of developments among the Franks. Does this make Ottoman astronomy as "advanced" as European astronomy? Not necessarily. Among other things, we must note that Istanbul's observatory was not, as other establishments of that nature were, turned to long-term astronomical observation—it was pulled down sometime after 1579. The efforts of Taqi ad-Din were up-to-date for his time—his measurements of the supernova of 1579 were as accurate as Tycho Brahe's, and they should not be judged by the standards of the subsequent Scientific Revolution in Europe.⁴¹

In religious thought and philosophy, too, some things were shared. Despite the differing traditions of Christian, Jewish, and Islamic piety, parallel developments occurred. For example, the neoplatonic revival of late medieval Europe has its counterpart in the Muslim world, where Sufi metaphysics, also imbued with neoplatonism, dominated intellectual life. Further, the waves of apocalypticism in Europe and in the Ottoman world during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were not only synchronous, they apparently were in contact with one another.⁴² The heresies, too, had much in common, else how could Bedreddin have attracted such strong followings among the Christians of the Balkans?

Shared Rhythms of the Ottoman and European Worlds

Beyond shared elements of culture, the shared rhythms of a number of Eurasian commonwealths lend some justification to the term, "the early modern world." The Ottoman empire partook of many of the changes generally thought of as characteristic of early modernity, including some of the most important economic and social ones. Population growth and urbanization, along with commercialization and inflation of prices, affected both the eastern and the western Mediterranean regions. The Middle East, which lay between different zones of the Old World, naturally felt the acceleration of world trade. One does not have to be a monetarist, for example, to acknowledge the impact of American silver via Europe on Ottoman markets in the later sixteenth century. Money flowed across all borders,

and the German *groschen* lent its name to the *gurush*, which the Ottomans used for centuries.⁴³ Curiously enough, these developments are seen as signs of both European growth and of Ottoman decline.

In Ottoman culture, too, there are clear signs of a "modern" mentality in the sixteenth century. New cultural forms deliberately departed from the past or sought competitive dialogues with the "classics." A group of literati in early sixteenth-century Bursa, for example, decided not to continue reproducing new versions of the same old (Persian and Arabic) stories. One member produced an amusing novella—a sort of tongue-in-cheek counterpart of Martin Guerre's story—in which the themes of love, communication, and identity are explored in the midst of an original narrative. This "Bursan realism" also gave rise to new uses of a recently created Persian genre, the versified "city thrillers," of which dozens were set in western Anatolian and Balkan cities during the sixteenth century. Often they open with descriptions of monuments, soon moving on to depictions of flirtatious young men and women.

The Ottoman imperial identity and ideology nonetheless found its principal expression not in literature but in monumental urban architecture. The Ottomans took pride in grand cityscapes, especially the internationally famous one of Istanbul, and dotted them with an architecture of "fresh idiom," as one Ottoman writer described the style of Mehmed II's complex at Istanbul. Recent studies have begun revising the traditional judgment, that Ottoman architecture was a traditional and non-western style, through the study of its connections with contemporary building in Renaissance Italy. The best Ottoman work, which was achieved around 1550 by an architect called Sinan, can be seen as part of broader Mediterranean architecture of the Renaissance era, which consciously departed from medieval traditions and looked for freshness of expression. Sinan's autobiography leaves no doubt that he engaged in self-conscious dialogue and competition with the monumental traditions of late Antiquity and early Byzantium.

The sixteenth-century growth of schools, based on notably the charitable institution of the *waqf*, and the spread of written at the expense of oral culture, notably in histories and hagiographies, indicate a growth of literacy and suggest a secularization of culture. The maxim, religion subsumes everything in Islam, is generally invalid, but particularly so for the Ottoman empire, which was built over a long period of experimentation in frontier circumstances. The Ottomans emerged from this experience with a cultural bricolage of classical Islamic legal traditions with Inner Asian and Byzantine elements, and the syncretic nature of their achievement is es-

pecially clear in the realm of law, where the *kadis* were expected to adjudicate cases on the basis of the sacred *sharia*, local custom, and the written codes of *kanun*.

Elements of desacralization can also be observed in social life, notably in the transition from *ahi* confraternities to guilds, which combined traditional religious elements with a professional life which was trans-religious, at least in the trades practiced by adherents of more than one faith.

The most obviously desacralizing agent in Ottoman life of this period, however, was the coffeehouse.⁴⁴ The bright idea, according to Ottoman historians, came to two enterprising Syrian merchants, and the first coffeehouses appeared in Istanbul in the 1550s. They were soon all the rage, for reasons which remain little understood, but the initial reaction of the *ulema* allows no doubt that these new sites of sociability were considered dangerously beyond the control of the *sharia*. Women, of course, could not enter the coffeehouses, but they did use the public baths, which had similar social functions.

The sixteenth century also saw a widening gulf between elite and popular cultures, as the latter's beliefs and practices came under a new criticism from the former. Some of this criticism, perhaps, was related to the more structured orthodoxy required in the classical age, because of the challenge from dissents, especially the Safavid "heresy."

It remains now to ask whether the regional identities in the three Muslim empires of this era—Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal—present us with a parallel to the emergence of proto-national identities in Europe. No unifier ever threatened this configuration, for the Muslim world knew no world conqueror after Timur. The changes between his time and the end of this era are revealed by the accounts of the two peerless travelers of the pre-industrial Muslim world, Ibn Battuta of the fourteenth century and Evliya Chelebi of the seventeenth. Their respective imaginations of "the world to be seen" display quite different sets of criteria. Ibn Battuta left his North African home to see the whole Muslim world and a bit more, going all the way to China. Evliya Chelebi spent even more time on the road and wrote an even longer account, but his horizons remained within the boundaries of the "well-protected Ottoman domains" (with side trips to Austria and Iran). When Chelebi wrote of imaginary journeys, they carried him not to other Islamic lands but to Europe and the Americas.

Paths of Ottoman and European Divergence

The fact that, in reality, these regional-imperial identities were much less tightly woven than were the proto-nationalities of Europe leads us to rec-

ognize the divergent elements in the histories, both in- and outside the Islamic world. Among the three major Muslim empires, to begin with, only the Iranian state maintained its integrity of territory and identity during the era of nation-states. The Ottoman empire, by contrast, dissolved and was dissolved into more than twenty nation-states, a process of which no end is yet in sight.

The religious realm also displays important divergences. At first glance the sundering of Catholic Christendom and the splitting of Sunni Islamdom seem similar as well as being contemporaneous. The Protestant Reformation and Safavid Shi'ism could and were seen as backstabbing treason by the Habsburgs and the Ottomans respectively, who were comparably eager to lead an imagined universal community of the faithful. A closer look, however, reveals very important differences. While the Ottoman repression of heresy could turn very violent, it had no institutional counterpart to the Inquisition. Moreover, the nature of the Safavid challenge demonstrates that the tribal element was still very strong, if declining, in sixteenth-century Middle Eastern politics.⁴⁵

If the survival of tribal nomadism rendered the Middle East less modern than Europe, the treatment of religious minorities apparently better accords with modern expectations of religious toleration. The Ottoman attitude in this respect, however, simply continued the ancient Islamic principle of *dhimma*, the covenant assumed to exist between rulers of the dominant Islamic faith and people of certain other religions. The covenant provided autonomy to different communities in the practice of their faith and in managing their educational and legal affairs, so long as they remained loyal to the state, paid a special head tax, and conformed to certain norms of public behavior.

Beyond these generalities, the historian of the non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman empire must treat gingerly this subject, since it is dangerously open to either abuse or romanticization of the Ottoman legacy. Thus, while Balkan nationalisms have in general tended to portray Ottoman rule as an unqualified yoke, Jewish history has lent itself to images of the Ottoman empire as a pluralist utopia. The truth, needless to say, lies somewhere in between, although, however harsh their experience, until the twentieth century the Ottoman Jews escaped forced conversion or ghettoization.

The place of women in the Ottoman order, one defined largely by Islamic tradition, always seemed strange to westerners. The comparison, explicit or implicit, often begins with the veiling of women and the segregation of genders. Restrictions on the appearance in public and the mobility

of women were certainly much greater in Ottoman society, and in many other Islamic societies, than in Europe. While women may have played important roles in public life, they did so primarily from within the (sultanic or other) household, so that their activities were invisible except to family members and servants. Both Ottoman and European authors long regarded the "intrusion" of harem women in political life—beginning with Hürrem (Roxelana), Süleyman's slave-concubine and, later, wife—as illegitimate and a sign of decadence. Among European travelers, women's invisibility often turned into their sole or main mark of status in the Orient, a fascination not yet dead today. Yet, within the framework of legal inequality of genders, Muslim women did have access to property rights, divorce, conjugal rights, and although most of this lies beyond the scope of our treatment here, it might be noted that the comparison might look very different, if veiling and segregation were of lesser priority. On the other hand, it is true that, in Ottoman Muslim eyes, a social and religious life that brought the sexes face-to-face in a variety of ways clearly constituted a European peculiarity. Prince Jem, the royal hostage, expressed his astonishment at these liberties in a couplet: "Turned out to be strange, this town of Nice / One can get away with anything one commits." One wonders if, for all that, patriarchy was any less imposing among the Europeans.



Many issues raised in these paragraphs remain to be studied, some for the first time. Some apparent parallels are bound to be found superficial on closer scrutiny, other, new ones may be yet discovered. There nevertheless remains the inescapable fact that the two worlds, western Christian and Ottoman Muslim, perceived each other as other, and that their historical trajectories *display enough significant divergences to validate this perception*. Yet, it also seems worthwhile to suggest that if the essentialized, bipolar view of the world—western and other—ought to be abandoned, if the unique qualities of modern European history are to be understood, rather than merely assumed, and if representations of otherness are to be studied as historical constructs, then Ottoman history can provide some of the most fruitful comparative agendas to historians of Europe.

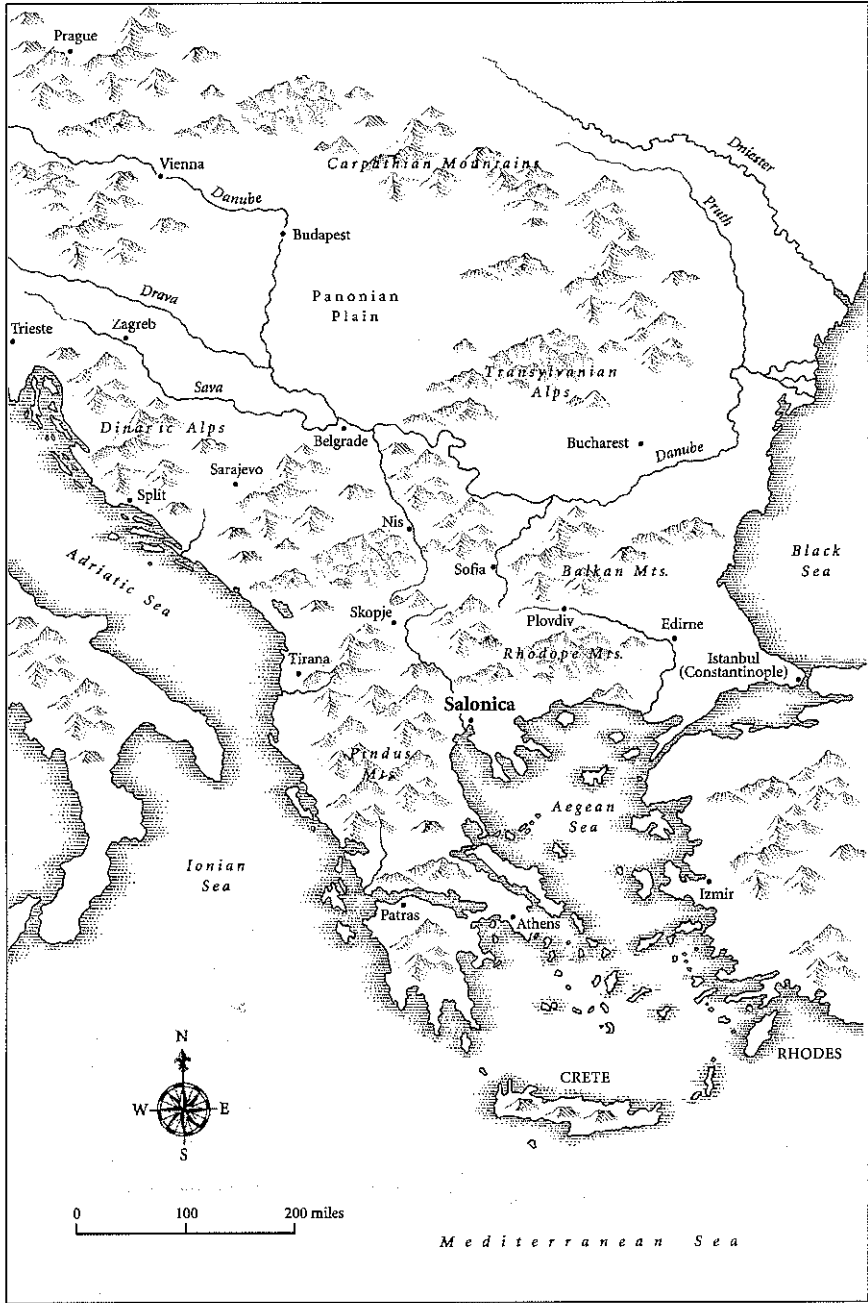
Introduction

Beware of saying to them that sometimes cities follow one another on the same site and under the same name, born and dying without knowing one another, without communicating among themselves. At times even the names of the inhabitants remain the same, and their voices' accent, and also the features of the faces; but the gods who live beneath names and above places have gone off without a word and outsiders have settled in their place.

ITALO CALVINO, *Invisible Cities*¹

THE FIRST TIME I visited Salonica, one summer more than twenty years ago, I stepped off the Athens train, shouldered my rucksack, and left the station in search of the town. Down a petrol-choked road, I passed a string of seedy hotels, and arrived at a busy crossroads: beyond lay the city centre. The unremitting heat and the din of the traffic reminded me of what I had left several hours away in Athens but despite this I knew I had been transported into another world. A mere hour or so to the north lay Tito's Yugoslavia and the checkpoints at Gevgeli or Florina; to the east were the Rhodope forests barring the way to Bulgaria, the forgotten Muslim towns and villages of Thrace and the border with Turkey. From the moment I crossed the hectic confusion of Vardar Square—"Piccadilly Circus" for British soldiers in the First World War—ignoring the signposts that urged me out of the city in the direction of the Iron Curtain, I sensed the presence of a different Greece, less in thrall to an ancient past, more intimately linked to neighbouring peoples, languages and cultures.

The crowded alleys of the market offered shade as I pushed past carts piled high with figs, nuts, bootleg Fifth Avenue shirts and pirated cassettes. Tsitsamis's bouzouki strained the vendors' tinny speakers, but it was no competition for the clarino and drum with which gypsy boys were deafening diners in the packed ouzeris of the Modiano food mar-



The topography of the Balkans

Introduction

ket. Round the tables of *Myrovolos Smyrni* (Sweet-Smelling Smyrna), its very name an evocation of the glories and disasters of Hellenism's Anatolian past, *tsipouro* and *mezedes* were smoothing the passage from work to siesta. There were fewer back-packers in evidence here than in the tourist dives around the Acropolis, more housewives, porters and farmers on their weekly trip into town. Did I really see a dancing bear performing for onlookers in the meat market? I certainly did not miss the flower-stalls clustered around the *Louloudadika* hamam (known also according to the guidebooks as the Market Baths, the Women's Baths, or the *Yahudi Hamam*, the Bath of the Jews), the decrepit spice warehouses on *Odos Egyptou* (Egypt Street), the dealers still installed in the old fifteenth-century multi-domed *bezesten*. This vigorous commercialism put even Athens to shame: here was a city which had remained much closer to the values of the bazaar and the souk than anything to be seen further south.

Athens itself had eliminated the traces of its Ottoman past without much difficulty. For centuries it had been little more than an overgrown village so that after winning independence in 1830 Greece's rulers found there not only the rich cultural capital invested in its ancient remains by Western philhellenism, but all the attractions of something close to a blank slate so far as the intervening epochs were concerned. Salonica's Ottoman years, on the other hand, were a matter of living memory, for the Greek army had arrived only in 1912 and those grandmothers chatting quietly in the yards outside their homes had probably been born subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid. The still magnificent eight-mile circuit of ancient walls embraced a densely thriving human settlement whose urban character had never been in question, a city whose history reached forward from classical antiquity uninterrupted through the intervening centuries to our own times.

Even before one left the packed streets down near the bay and headed into the Upper Town, tiny medieval churches half-hidden below ground marked the transition from classical to Byzantine. It did not take long to discover what treasures they contained—one of the most resplendent collections of early Christian mosaics and frescoes to be found anywhere in the world, rivalling the glories of Ravenna and Istanbul. A Byzantine public bath, hidden for much of its existence under the accumulated topsoil, still functioned high in the Upper Town, near the shady overgrown garden which hid tiny *Ayios Nikolaos Orfanos* and its fourteenth-century painted narrative of the life of Christ. The *Rotonda*—a strange cylindrical Roman edifice, whose mul-

Introduction

tiple re-incarnations as church, mosque, museum and art centre encapsulated the city's endless metamorphoses—contained some of the earliest mural mosaics to be found in the eastern Mediterranean. Next to it stood an elegant pencil-thin minaret, nearly one hundred and twenty feet tall.

Like many visitors before me, I found myself particularly drawn to the Upper Town. There, hidden inside the perimeter of the old walls, was a warren of precipitous alleyways sometimes ending abruptly, at others opening onto squares shaded by plane trees and cooled by fountains. One had the sense of entering an older world whose life was conducted according to different rhythms: cars found the going tougher, indeed few of them had yet mastered the cobbled slopes. Pedestrians took the steep gradients at a leisurely pace, pausing frequently for rest: despite the heat, people came to enjoy the panoramic views across the town and over the bay. Down below were the office blocks and multi-storey apartment buildings of the postwar boom. But here there were few signs of wealth. Abutting the old walls were modest whitewashed homes in brick or wood—often no more than a single small room with a privy attached: a pot of geraniums brightened the window-ledge, a rag rug bleached by the sun served as a door mat, clotheslines were stretched from house to house. Their elderly inhabitants were neatly dressed. Later I realized most had probably lived there since the 1920s, drawn from among the tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor who had settled in the city after the exchange of populations with Turkey. Their simple homes contrasted with the elegantly dilapidated villas whose overhanging upper floors and high garden walls still lined many streets; the majority, once grand, had been badly neglected: their gabled roofs had caved in, their shuttered bedrooms lay open to public view, and one caught spectacular glimpses of the city below through yawning gaps in their frontage. By the time I first saw them most had been abandoned for decades, for their Muslim owners had left the city when the refugees had arrived. The cypresses, firs and rosebushes in their gardens were overgrown with ivy and creeping vines, their formerly bright colours had faded into pastel shades of yellow, ochre and cream. Here were vestiges of a past that was absent from the urban landscape of southern Greece—Turkish neighbourhoods that had outlived the departure of their inhabitants; fountains with their dedicatory inscriptions intact; a dervish tomb, now shuttered and locked.

With later visits, I came to see that these traces of the Ottoman past offered a clue to Salonica's central paradox. True, it could point, as

Introduction

Athens could not, to more than two thousand years of continuous urban life. But this history was decisively marked by sharp discontinuities and breaks. The few Ottoman monuments that had endured were a handful compared with what had once existed. The old houses were falling down and within a decade many of them had collapsed or been demolished. Some buildings have been recently restored and visitors can see inside the magnificent fifteenth-century Bey Hamam, the largest Ottoman baths in Greece, or admire the distinguished mansion now used as a local public library in Plateia Romfeï. But otherwise the Ottoman city has vanished, exciting little comment except among preservationists and scholars.

Change is, of course, the essence of urban life and no successful city remains a museum to its own past. The expansion of the docks since the Second World War has obliterated the seaside amusement park—the Beshchinar gardens, or Park of the Princes—where the city's inhabitants refreshed themselves for generations; today it is commemorated only in a nearby ouzeri of the same name. In the deserted sidings of the old station, prewar trams and elderly railway carriages are slowly disintegrating. Even the infamous swampy Bara—once the largest red-light district in eastern Europe—survives only in the fond memories of a few ageing locals, in local belles-lettres, and in its streets—still bearing the old names, Afrodite, Bacchus—which now house nothing more exciting than car rental agencies, garages and tyre-repair shops.

But ridding the city of its brothels is one thing and eradicating the visible traces of five centuries of urban history is quite another. What, I wondered, did it do to a city's consciousness of itself—especially to a city so proud of its past—when substantial sections were at best allowed to crumble away, at worst written out of the record? Had this happened by accident? Could one blame the great fire of 1917 that had destroyed so much of its centre? Or did the forced exchange of populations in 1923—when more than thirty thousand Muslim refugees departed, and nearly one hundred thousand Orthodox Christians took their place—suddenly turn one city into a new one? Was the sense of urban continuity, in other words, which had so powerfully attracted me to Salonica at the outset, an illusion? Perhaps there was another urban history waiting to be written in which the story of continuity would have to be told rather differently, a tale not only of smooth transitions and adaptations, but also of violent endings and new beginnings.

For there was another vanished element of the city's past which I was also beginning to learn about. On the drive into town from the air-

Introduction

port, I had caught intriguing glimpses of substantial nineteenth-century villas hidden behind rusting railings and overgrown weeds amid the rows of postwar suburban apartment blocks. The palatial three-storey pile in its own pine-shaded estate, now the main seat of the Prefecture, turned out to have been originally the home of wealthy nineteenth-century Jewish industrialists, the Allatinis; this was where Sultan Abdul Hamid had been kept when he was deposed by the Young Turks and exiled to the city in 1909. Along the same road was the Villa Bianca, an opulently outsize Swiss chalet, home of the wealthy Diaz-Fernandes family. On the drive into town, one passed a dozen or more of these shrines to the eclectic taste of its fin-de-siècle elite—Turkish army officers, Greek and Bulgarian merchants and Jewish industrialists.

Turks and Bulgarians figured prominently in the histories of Greece I had read, usually as ancestral enemies, but the Jews were in general remarkable only for their absence, enjoying little more than a bit-part in the central and all-important story of modern Greece's emergence onto the international stage. In Salonica, however, it would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that they had dominated the life of the city for many centuries. As late as 1912 they were the largest ethnic group and the docks stood silent on the Jewish Sabbath. Jews were wealthy businessmen; but many more were porters and casual labourers, tailors, wandering street vendors, beggars, fishermen and tobacco workers. Today the only traces of their predominance that survive are some names—Kapon, Perahia, Benmayor, Modiano—on faded shopfronts, Hebrew-lettered tombstones piled up in churchyards, an old people's home and the community offices. There is a cemetery, but it is a post-war one, buried in the city's western suburbs.

Here as elsewhere it was the Nazis who brought centuries of Jewish life to an abrupt end. When Kurt Waldheim, the Austrian politician who had served in the city as an army officer, was accused of being involved in the deportations, I came back to Salonica to talk to survivors of Auschwitz, resistance fighters, the lucky ones who had gone underground or managed to flee abroad. A softly spoken lawyer stood with me on the balcony of his office and we looked down onto the rows of parked cars in Plateia Eleftherias (Freedom Square), where he had been rounded up with the other Jewish men of the city for forced labour. Two elderly men, not Jewish, whom I bumped into on Markos Botsaris Street, told me about the day the Jews had been led away in 1943: they were ten at the time, they said, and afterwards, they broke into their homes with their friends and found food still warm on the table. A forty-year-old woman who happened to sit next to me on the

Introduction

plane back to London had grown up after the war in the quarter immediately above the old Jewish cemetery: she remembered playing in the wreckage of the graves as a child, with her friends, looking for buried treasure, shortly before the authorities built the university campus over the site. Everyone, it seemed, had their story to tell, even though at that time what had happened to the city's Jews was not something much discussed in scholarly circles.

A little later, in Athens, I came across several dusty unopened sacks of documents at the Central Board of Jewish Communities. When I examined them, I found a mass of disordered papers—catalogues, memoranda, applications and letters. They turned out to be the archives of the wartime Service for the Disposal of Israelite Property, set up by the Germans in those few weeks in 1943 when more than forty-five thousand Jews—one fifth of the city's entire population—were consigned to Auschwitz. These files showed how the deportations had affected Salonica itself by triggering off a scramble for property and possessions that incriminated many wartime officials. I started to think about deportations in general, and the Holocaust in particular, not so much in terms of victims and perpetrators, but rather as chapters in the life of cities. The Jews were killed, almost all of them: but the city that had been their home grew and prospered.

The accusation that Waldheim had been involved in the Final Solution—unfounded, as it turned out—reflected the extent to which the Holocaust was dominating thinking about the Second World War. Sometimes it seemed from the way people talked and wrote as though nothing else of any significance had happened in those years. In Greece, for example, two other areas of criminal activity—the mass shootings of civilians in anti-partisan retaliations, and the execution of British soldiers—were far more pertinent to Waldheim's war record. There were good reasons to deplore this state of cultural obsession. It quickly made the historian subject to the law of diminishing returns. It also turned history into a form of voyeurism and allowed outsiders to sit in easy judgement. I sometimes felt that I myself had become complicit in this—scavenging the city for clues to destruction, ignoring the living for the dead.

Above all, unremitting focus upon the events of the Second World War threatened to turn a remarkable chapter in Jewish, European and Ottoman history into nothing more than a prelude to genocide, overshadowing the many centuries when Jews had lived in relative peace, and both their problems and their prospects had been of a different kind. In Molho's bookshop, one of the few downtown reminders of ear-

lier times, I found Joseph Nehama's magisterial *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, and began to see what an extraordinary story it had been. The arrival of the Iberian Jews after their expulsion from Spain, Salonica's emergence as a renowned centre of rabbinical learning, the disruption caused by the most famous False Messiah of the seventeenth century, Sabbetai Zevi, and the persistent faith of his followers, who followed him even after his conversion to Islam, formed part of a fascinating and little-known history unparalleled in Europe. Enjoying the favour of the sultans, the Jews, as the Ottoman traveller Evliya Chelebi noted, called the city "our Salonica"—a place where, in addition to Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian, most of the inhabitants "know the Jewish tongue because day and night they are in contact with, and conduct business with Jews."

Yet as I supplemented my knowledge of the Greek metropolis with books and articles on its Jewish past, and tried to reconcile what I knew of the home of Saint Dimitrios—"the Orthodox city"—with the Sefardic "Mother of Israel," it seemed to me that these two histories—the Greek and the Jewish—did not so much complement one another as pass each other by. I had noticed how seldom standard Greek accounts of the city referred to the Jews. An official tome from 1962 which had been published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its capture from the Türks contained almost no mention of them at all; the subject had been regarded as taboo by the politicians masterminding the celebrations. This reticence reflected what the author Elias Petropoulos excoriated as "the ideology of the barbarian neo-Greek bourgeoisie," for whom the city "has always been Greek." But at the same time, most Jewish scholars were just as exclusive as their Greek counterparts: their imagined city was as empty of Christians as the other was of Jews.²

As for the Muslims, who had ruled Salonica from 1430 to 1912, they were more or less absent from both. Centuries of European antipathy to the Ottomans had left their mark. Their presence on the wrong side of the Dardanelles had for so long been seen as an accident, misfortune or tragedy that in an act of belated historical wishful thinking they had been expunged from the record of European history. Turkish scholars and writers, and professional Ottomanists, had not done much to rectify things. It suited everyone, it seemed, to ignore the fact that there had once existed in this corner of Europe an Ottoman and an Islamic city atop the Greek and Jewish ones.

How striking then it is that memoirs often describe the place very differently from such scholarly or official accounts and depict a society

of almost kaleidoscopic interaction. Leon Sciaky's evocative *Farewell to Salonica*, the autobiography of a Jewish boy growing up under Abdul Hamid, begins with the sound of the muezzin's cry at dusk. In Sciaky's city, Albanian householders protected their Bulgarian grocer from the fury of the Ottoman gendarmerie, while well-to-do Muslim parents employed Christian wet-nurses for their children and Greek gardeners for their fruit trees. Outside the Yalman family home the well was used by "the Turks, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews, Serbs, Vlachs, and Albanians of the neighbourhood." And in Nikos Kokantzis's moving novella *Gioconda*, a Greek teenage boy falls in love with the Jewish girl next door in the midst of the Nazi occupation; at the moment of deportation, her parents trust his with their most precious belongings.³

Have scholars, then, simply been blinkered by nationalism and the narrowed sympathies of ethnic politics? If they have the fault is not theirs alone. The basic problem—common to historians and their public alike—has been the attribution of sharply opposing, even contradictory, meanings to the same key events. Both have seen history as a zero-sum game, in which opportunities for some came through the sufferings of others, and one group's loss was another's gain: 1430—when the Byzantine city fell to Sultan Murad II—was a catastrophe for the Christians but a triumph for the Turks. Nearly five centuries later, the Greek victory in 1912 reversed the equation. The Jews, having settled there at the invitation of the Ottoman sultans, identified their interests with those of the empire, something the Greeks found hard to forgive.

It follows that the real challenge is not merely to tell the story of this remarkable place as one of cultural and religious co-existence—in the early twenty-first century such long-forgotten stories are eagerly awaited and sought out—but to see the experiences of Christians, Jews and Muslims within the terms of a single encompassing historical narrative. National histories generally have clearly defined heroes and villains, but what would a history look like where these roles were blurred and confused? Can one shape an account of this city's past which manages to reconcile the continuities in its shape and fabric with the radical discontinuities—the deportations, evictions, forced resettlements and genocide—which it has also experienced? Nearly a century ago, a local historian attempted this: at a time when Salonica's ultimate fate was uncertain, the city struck him as a "museum of idioms, of disparate cultures and religions." Since then what he called its "hybrid spirit" has been severely battered by two world wars and everything they brought with them. I think it is worth trying again.⁴

IN THE 1930s, the spirit of the Sufi holy man Mousa Baba was occasionally seen wandering near his tomb in the upper town. Even today house-owners sometimes dream that beneath their cellars lie Turkish janissaries and Byzantine necropolises. One reads stories of hidden Roman catacombs, doomed love-affairs and the unquiet souls who haunt the decaying villas near the sea. One hears rumours of buried Jewish treasure guarded by spirits which have outwitted the exorcists and proved themselves too strong for Mossad agents, former Nazis and anyone else who has tried to locate the hidden jewels and gold they protect.

But Salonica's ghosts emerge in other ways too, through documents and archives, the letters of Byzantine archbishops, the court records of Ottoman magistrates and the hagiographies of the lives and extraordinary deaths of Christian martyrs. The silencing of the city's multifarious past has not been for lack of sources. Sixteenth-century rabbis adjudicate on long-forgotten marital rows, business wrangles and the tribulations of a noisy, malodorous crowded town. The diary of a Ukrainian political exile depicts unruly Jewish servants drunk in the mud, gluttonous clerics, a whirl of social engagements, riots and plague. Travellers—drawn in ever-increasing numbers by the city's antiquities, by the partridge and rabbits in the plains outside, by business, art or sheer love of adventure—penned their impressions of a magical landscape of minarets, cypresses and whitewashed walls climbing high above the Aegean. From the late nineteenth century—though no earlier—there are newspapers, more and more of them, in half a dozen languages, and even that rarity in the Ottoman lands—maps. As for the archives, they are endless—Ottoman, Venetian, Greek, Austrian, French, English, American—compiled conscientiously by generations of long-departed foreign consuls. Drawing on such materials, I begin with the city's conquest by Sultan Murad II in 1430, delineate its daily life under his successors, and trace its passage from the multi-confessional, extraordinarily polyglot Ottoman world—as late as the First World War, Salonican boot-blacks commanded a working knowledge of six or seven languages—to its role as an ethnically and linguistically homogenised bastion of the twentieth-century nation-state in which by 1950, more than ninety-five per cent of the inhabitants were, by any definition, Greek.

The old empires collapsed and nations fought their way into being,

identities changed and people were labelled in new ways: Muslims turned into Turks, Christians into Greeks. Although in Salonica it was the Greeks who eventually got their state, and Bulgarians, Muslims and Jews who in different ways lost out, it is worth remembering that elsewhere Greeks too lost out—in Istanbul, for example, or Trabzon, Alexandria and Izmir, where thousands died during the expulsions of 1922. Cities, after all, are places of both eviction and sanctuary, and many of the Greek refugees who made a new home for themselves in Salonica had been forced from their old ones elsewhere.

Similar transformations occurred in cities across a wide swathe of the globe—in Lviv, for instance, Wroslaw, Vilna and Tiflis, Jerusalem, Jaffa and Lahore. Each of these endured its own moments of trauma caused by the intense violence that has accompanied the emergence of nation-states. Was the function of the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property after 1948, for example, handing out Arab properties to new Jewish owners, very different from that of the Greek Service for the Disposal of Jewish Property founded in Salonica five years earlier? Both systematized the violence of dispossession and sought to give it a more lasting bureaucratic form. Thanks to their activities, the remnants of former cities may also be traced through the trajectories of the refugees who left them. A retiree clipping her roses in a Sussex country garden, an elderly merchant in an Istanbul suburb and an Auschwitz survivor in Indianapolis are among those who helped me by reviving their memories of a city that is long gone.⁵

By 1950, when this book concludes, Salonica's Muslims had been resettled in Turkey, and the Jews had been deported by the Germans and most of them killed. The Greek civil war had just ended in the triumph of the anti-communist Right, and the city was set for the rapid and entirely unexpected pell-mell postwar expansion which saw its population double and treble within thirty or forty years. A forest of densely packed apartment blocks and giant advertising billboards sprouted where in living memory there had been cypresses and minarets, stables, owls and storks. Its transformation continues, and today Russian computer whiz-kids, Ghanaian doctors, Albanian stonemasons, Georgian labourers, Ukrainian nannies and Chinese street pedlars are entering Salonica's bloodstream. Many of them quickly learn to speak fluent Greek, for the city's position within the modern nation-state is unquestioned: the story of its passage from Ottoman to Greek hands has become ancient history.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: PLURAL IDENTITIES

TOPIC Gallery Walk of Baghdad in the Early 20th Century

LESSON OVERVIEW	In this three-day lesson students will learn about life in Baghdad in the early 20 th century. They will begin with a gallery walk where they describe, analyze, and interpret images and texts that depict life in Baghdad. Additionally, students will read several texts about Baghdad and they will discuss how the texts reveal what life was like in the city in the early 20 th century and aspects of life that surprised them. Finally, students will draw on the themes that emerged in class to create a collage that reflects their new or changed views of life in Baghdad.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did various communities co-exist in Baghdad? • How is this different to contemporary portrayals of the city? How is it similar? Why is this history often left out of mainstream sources?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the multicultural and religious life of Baghdad in the early 20th century. • Articulate a more complex and textured view of the city than that what is offered in mainstream news and media sources. • Synthesize and apply this knowledge using an artistic and creative medium.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.</p>

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.7 Integrate quantitative or technical analysis (e.g., charts, research data) with qualitative analysis in print or digital text.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events
- Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes

Standard 2, Key Idea 3

- Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history

Standard 3, Key Idea 1

- Understand how to develop and use maps and other graphic representations to display geographic issues, problems, and questions
- Investigate the characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on the Earth's surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
- Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic, and religious systems in different regions of the world
- Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth's surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)

Standard 3, Key Idea 2

- Locate and gather geographic information from a variety of primary and secondary sources (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
- Analyze geographic information by developing and testing inferences and hypotheses, and formulating conclusions from maps, photographs, computer models, and other geographic representations (Adapted from National Geography Standards, 1994)

<p>MATERIALS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Graphic Organizer: Describe, Analyze, Interpret, and Remaining Questions • Items for Gallery Walk <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Photographs of Old Baghdad: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://www.slideshare.net/tonyrocca/beautiful-baghdad http://www.slideshare.net/guest11444/old-baghdad-presentation ○ Photograph of the celebration of the Christian Catholic feast of Corpus Christi in Baghdad in the 1920s. The Patriarch, Bishops, and Priests of the Chaldeans (the most numerous of Iraq’s Catholics), and the Syrian (Syriac) Catholic and Armenia Catholic Bishops are seen with their priests, deacons and students marching through the streets of Baghdad close to the old Christian Quarter of Aqd al-Nasara: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BaghdadCorpus1920.jpg ○ Musical theater group in Baghdad, 1920s: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ComedianpartyBaghdad.jpg ○ Jewish family in Baghdad, early 20th century: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://blog.toursinenglish.com/2012/10/mizrahi-conflict.html ○ Abdul Hamid Collection of Baghdad: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=Iraq&co=ahii ○ Photo essay: “Once Upon a Time In Baghdad”: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/18/once_upon_a_time_in_baghdad_iraq#2 ○ A horse-drawn carriage in Baghdad, late 1930s: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baghdad-Carriage_1930.jpg ○ Abu-Hanifah Mosque in Baghdad, 1900: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abu_Hanifah_Mosque_1900.jpg ○ German Baghdad Railway. Photo taken between 1900 and 1910. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baghdad_Railway_LOC_04665u.jpg • Smaller Texts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Shohat, Ella. “Reflections by an Arab Jew”. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://www.bintjbeil.com/E/occupation/arab_jew.html ○ Somekh, Sasson. “Review of Baghdad, Yesterday”. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/man/summary/v020/20.1.somekh.html • Large Text: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Chapters 1, 2, and 3 from Kirtikar, M. <i>Once Upon a Time in Baghdad</i>. • Old magazines for collage • Glue, paper, scissors, etc. for collage
<p>NOTE TO</p>	<p>The purpose of the gallery walk is for students to explore multiple texts, images, and sources that are either placed around the room on walls, or set up in stations</p>

TEACHER	at tables. It allows students to work collaboratively, examine multiple historical documents, and/or respond to a collection of quotations, texts, and images to more deeply understand a historical period or event.
PROCEDURE DAY 1	<p><u>Gallery Walk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparation: Set-up texts, images, clips, etc. around the room in gallery fashion, so that students can peruse them at particular stations (either on the wall or at the tables). Make sure they are numbered. • As students come in, either assign them in pairs or let them match up on their own. <p>1. <u>Review, Describe, Analyze, Interpret (10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain to students that they will be going on a gallery walk, during which they will examine sources and be asked to describe, analyze and interpret information. • To explain, project on an overhead or hold up an image of the Empire State Building (or something else that exists in contemporary U.S. culture and/or society). • As a class, ask students to describe what they see. They should not attach meaning to it but simply low inference describe. (They may say “tall building, narrow, somewhat austere...”) • Next, ask students to analyze the image: What is this image? What can we say based on our description about what this image is? (It is likely a large office building, and is meant to hold lots of people. It is the Empire State Building.) • Next, ask students to interpret, based on the analysis, “What does this image tell us about this society? (They might say “It tells us that people in the society see themselves as grand.” or “This is likely a capitalist society.”) • Finally, ask what remaining questions they might have, for instance: Who built the Empire State Building (workers)? Who funded it? Was there opposition to it? • Now distribute the graphic organizers to students so that they can collect information. <p>2. <u>Gallery Walk (45 minutes)</u></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In pairs, students should spend about 45 minutes going from station to station, collecting data on the images and texts of Baghdad in the 1930’s. • As they go from station to station, they should fill out the accompanying graphic organizer. For each artifact, they should “Describe,” “Analyze,” and “Interpret.” They should leave the last column blank (for new information). • Students should make sure they do not crowd each other and should spread out as they peruse. <p>3. <u>Finalizing (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the gallery walk, the pairs sit down and clarify any points on their graphic organizers. • They should bring the papers the next day as well.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2</p>	<p><u>Debrief of Gallery Walk and More Information on Baghdad</u></p> <p>1. <u>Review of Gallery Walk (30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have students take out their graphic organizers. • As a class, the teacher should go over each item and see what students came up with. • When there have been several ideas shared, the teacher should reveal what the document or image is. • Students can record any new information in the appropriate box on the graphic organizer. • Repeat process for all images and items. <p>2. <u>Texts on Baghdad (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students quietly read two small texts about Baghdad. • Students pair share with the person next to them: What did they learn about life in this city? <p>3. <u>Large text on Baghdad (30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read Margo Kitaker’s chapters on her life in Baghdad.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students should finish reading it for homework. • Ask them to identify key passages from the text that stand out to them.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 3</p>	<p><u>Life in Baghdad</u></p> <p>1. <u>Debrief of text (25 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have students get into groups of 4-5 to do “Three Levels of Text Protocol.” • In their groups, they will engage in “rounds.” • From their passages, they should choose one they want to share with their group. • Each round consists of one person at a time using 3 minutes to address all three levels: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Level 1: Read the passage aloud. b. Level 2: State what you think about the passage and what surprised you. c. Level 3: Describe what you think this excerpt tells us about Baghdad • Each other member of the group has up to one minute to comment on the passage if s/he chooses to. • Continue with the next round. <p>2. <u>Baghdad Collage (35 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the same groups, students make a collage, using images, texts, and words, about early 20th century Baghdad. • Their collage should reflect <u>at least three</u> new themes that have emerged from the activities. • They should spend the rest of the period preparing for this. They could finish this as an at-home project or finish it in school the next day. • Be sure to have them present. <p>3. <u>Questions for Further Reflections/Connection to Today:</u></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider having a discussion around how the media portrays Baghdad today. Possibly begin with a web (What do you think of when you hear “Baghdad”?) when starting the unit. • Have students engage in an oral history and interview project related to these themes.
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bashkin, O. “Aspects of Pluralism in the Iraqi Public Sphere.” <i>The Other Iraq: Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq</i>. 19-87. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009. • Bashkin, O. <i>New Babylonians: A History of Jews in Modern Iraq</i>. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, (2012). • Raffo, Heather. <i>Heather Raffo’s 9 Parts of Desire: A Play</i>. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2006. • Kirtikar, M. <i>Once Upon a Time in Baghdad</i>. London: Xlibris, 2011. • Samir, N. Documentary. <i>Forget Baghdad: Jews and Arabs – The Iraqi Connection</i>. Germany, Switzerland: TagTraum Cologne, Gerd Haag, SF DRS, Teleclub, and Dschoint Ventschr Filmproduktion, 2002.

GRAPHIC ORGANIZER FOR GALLERY WALK
(Reproduce as necessary)

RETHINKING THE REGION: New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

Item number	Describe	New Information
	Analyze	
	Interpret	
	Remaining Questions	
Item number	Describe	New Information
	Analyze	
	Interpret	
	Remaining Questions	
Item number	Describe	New Information
	Analyze	
	Interpret	
	Remaining Questions	

Once Upon a Time in Baghdad

*The Two Golden Decades
The 1940s and 1950s*



Margo Kirtikar Ph.D.

3

The City of Peace

The Cosmopolitan Baghdad of my Youth

Forget the Baghdad of today for a moment and step with me into a recent forgotten past. Let me show you the Baghdad of my memories, a city of about 550'000 inhabitants, spread on both banks of the 1400 km long river Tigris. The Tigris runs from the north of Iraq as does the Euphrates river to the south, before both rivers flow into the Persian Gulf, *Shatt al Arab*. It is the Tigris, the heart and soul of the city of the Caliphs that makes Baghdad, the cradle of civilization in ancient Mesopotamia of the Sumerian, the Babylonian and the Assyrian civilizations. The city structure is vast for those days and has several centres. On the East bank of the river is a large quarter called *Al-Rusafa*, here we find several shrines and tombs of famous revered Imams. *Al Karch* is another large quarter found on the banks of the Tigris with *Al Mansour Mosque*. On the western bank of the river are the orchards and walled in gardens. It is said that the word 'Baghdad' means 'God Given' a meaning derived from Persian, *Bagh* meaning God and *dad* meaning given. During the *Abbasid Caliphate*, 800 years ago, when Baghdad was the centre and the jewel of the Islamic world, a Poet by the name of *Ammu Ibn al Ala* wrote 'Consider the man who lives and dies in Baghdad. It is as if he moves from one heaven to another.' The Baghdad that I know from the 40s and 50s is a peaceful cosmopolitan city, flat and dusty, with an oriental exotic charm. Thick stemmed, tall, palm trees fan the clear blue skies above. During the season they are pregnant with bunches of honey coloured sweet dates, providing the natives with both food and shade

from the burning hot sun. Typical Baghdad houses have first wooden bays with latticed windows and inner open courtyards. Some of the nicest old town houses of Baghdad are found along *al Rashid Street*. On the West bank of the river are the more modern houses each with surrounding gardens and high brick walls. On the opposite riverbank are government buildings, hotels and middle and upper class mansions. The streets and alleys in the very old parts of the city are narrow and the housing is low and clustered together. As we move away from the old buildings and shops, we see a Mosque and then several *Kahwas*, coffee shops and restaurants. Occasional parks and trees and flowers line the wide streets allowing ample room for the maze of traffic. Automobiles, bicycles, donkey and horse-drawn carriages crawl or race down the road with no specific traffic order.

It is the right season and farmers are preparing themselves to climb up the palm trees to pluck the dates. They gather their *dishdashas*, long gowns, between their legs and tuck one end in front in their belt. With the help of a wide leather strap around the tree and around their waist they climb swiftly and effortlessly with their bare feet to the top to reach the dates. The poor natives' favourite food is the Iraqi *khibis*, flat bread with fresh sweet dates. It is both delicious and healthy. There are several varieties of Iraqi dates, dry or moist, large and small, hard or soft, but all without exception sweet, tasty and nourishing. Let's move on to look at the brightly coloured golden mosques and blue minarets, towering over other buildings. Church bell towers and high cathedrals topped with carved shiny crosses, stand proudly above the sea of flat buildings, to greet the rising golden sun every morning. Shops, schools, hotels, hospitals, cinemas, museums, libraries, cemeteries, commercial and public office buildings are scattered all over the city along both banks of the river Tigris and stretch out beyond, in all directions. Baghdad is a growing city buzzing with oriental sounds and vibration.

At dawn, the cocks crow with zeal to announce the beginning of another day in Baghdad, the city of *Ali Baba* and the backdrop to the tales of *One Thousand and One Nights*. I stir, to tear myself away slowly and reluctantly from the land of dreams, to find my way back to the land of the conscious. Faintly, we hear the chants of the Muezzin. Perched on a minaret of a mosque, the devotee recites verses from Kor'an, in a soft harmonious voice, calling everyone for morning prayers, reminding one and all, of the presence of God the Almighty all around us. My eyes still closed, I listen to the prayer, as I

I lie in bed warm and snug under the covers. It is soothing to my soul. Very slowly I stir, yawn and stretch as I sit up and just as slowly, the city of Baghdad awakes, yawns and stretches as we both, fully awake now, listen to the Muezzin leading this morning prayer with the words *Saddakka Allahul Addhim*. Praise be to God the Great. As the Muezzin's voice fades away, I make my way to the bathroom to prepare myself for the gift of another day. In the city, the faint din of traffic begins, softly at first, then gradually continues to grow into a loud mad roar of sounds, shouts, screeches and honks, clippety clop of carriage horses and donkeys braying, as everyone rushes to get to their destinations. Nothing to compare with today's standards of noisy cities for sure, but for those days it was loud enough. Hundreds of radios are turned on everywhere, one after another, full blast. There is the wailing of the ageless Arab classical singer *Um Kalthoum*, revered by one and all in the entire Arab world. Her voice mixes and blends with the voice of the most popular composer and male singer of the forties and fifties, *Abdel Wahab* blaring out from other radios farther away. Somewhere else rises the distinctive sad voice of *Asmahan*—a legend and a great favourite of all the Arabs. They say that she had a liaison with King Farouk of Egypt, but then she was suspected to have been spying for the British, so *King Farouk* had her killed. Or so the rumour goes. The car she was in fell off a bridge down into the river Nile. The story is told again and again still today, whenever there is a gathering of Arabs anywhere in the world and *Asmahan's* voice is heard. She was young, beautiful and famous, on her way to becoming a big star. Her sudden death made her immortal. Just about every Arab, even today, owns a tape of these three famous Arab singers. Amazingly, thanks to modern technology, all of them can be heard and seen on *you tube* today.

Shops, small and large, offering a variety of local and imported goods, cinemas, hotels, banks and offices line the streets. *Shareh al Rashid* is the main, busiest and longest street in Baghdad snaking through from the North Gate to the South Gate. It was the first illuminated street built in Baghdad in 1917 by *Khalil Pasha*. Scattered here and there are restaurants, kebab stands and of course, the inevitable *kahwas*, some with an open front, frequented by men only. Men sit, smoke and drink their tea served in *istikans*, small narrow glass cups without a handle. They sip sweet or bitter Turkish coffee in mini coffee cups, play *tawla* or *dominos* while they exchange small talk. Merchants of fabrics, carpets, antiques, grains, dates, leather and wood as well as farmers and

estate agents frequented the *kahwas*. Young and old engaged in heated debates; writers and journalists in one corner of a *kahwa* while painters, sculptors, poets and singers debate in another corner. My father frequents a *kahwa* near where we live in the early forties. He enjoys his game of *tawla* before dinner. Some men prefer to puff on a water pipe, *nerkile*, as they share their thoughts, business and life experiences. Music and songs from radios here turned to happy Arab folk music. Popular singers of the moment, like *Sabah*, *Feiruz* or *Farid al Atrash* who was *Asmahan's* brother singing love songs and ballads, make the background to the noisy busy atmosphere in the *kahwas*. 'Margo, go and fetch your father,' my mother says, 'dinner is ready.' Until I was about ten I didn't mind running over to the *kahwa* to fetch my father. After that I was too self-conscious to walk in to the *kahwa* with all the men staring me or teasing me, so my mother sends my sister *Laura* to tell him that dinner is ready. Sometimes it is difficult for him to tear himself away from his game especially if he is winning in which case we need to go for him more than once tugging at his sleeve to pull him away.

Tantalizing oriental smells greet all those who are on foot. Whiffs of coffee and spices, grilled kebab or bread baked either in *tannours* or bakeries blend with smells of the Tigris and fish, a whiff of scented flowers or sand from the desert. Occasionally the pleasant smells are interrupted by some pungent smell of horse dung or foul stench of garbage, depending on which part of the city we happen to be passing through. The diversity of sounds and street noises, music blasting away from every corner, loud shrieks of children playing on the streets and people talking with loud voices, does not disturb anyone. Arabs have a habit of talking at the top of their voices, which often gives the impression that they are shouting or quarrelling but in reality they're just communicating with exaggerated emotions and intensive passion, not different to some Italians or Spaniards. Arab eardrums have long accustomed themselves to the daily ruthless onslaught of a mixture of loud fervent chatter, traffic noise, donkeys braying, peddlers' cries, *arabana* bells, mules and music. As if that is not enough, at various hours of the day, we hear church bells, beckoning Christians to mass or the *Muezzin* calling Moslems to prayer. The heart-rending melancholic or happy rhythmic variations known to Arab music seem to blend in unison with all other day sounds.

As our taxi joins the line of traffic on the main road, we get lost in the confusion of cars and small buses as they zigzag their way through a maze of

streets, all without exception impatient to reach their goal. There is no meter, the price is set according to the distance by the driver which is negotiated before. Our taxi driver does what all other drivers do as they race through the streets with their vehicles. One hand is on the wheel and the other is permanently pressed on the horn as a warning for everyone to run for their lives. They are oblivious to the loud protests and curses hurled at them by some of the pedestrians who, annoyed at the stupidity and insensitivity of the drivers, shake their hands threateningly to express their outrage. Some of the drivers reply by taking their hand off the horn for a split of a second, to hurl back their own abuses at the pedestrians, as they wave their arm to emphasize their words, telling them in no uncertain terms, to go to you know where. Both pedestrians and drivers having given vent to their tempers, feeling all the better for it, carry on with their journey, muttering to themselves and shaking their heads each at the stupidity of the other, '*himar*' donkey, our driver mutters under his breath, '*he walks as if he owns the road, he can't help it, no brain poor guy*' and then adds one more time for good measure, '*himar.*'

Traffic policemen, clad in crisp white uniforms and hard tropical white helmets during the hot summer months change to black uniforms and black helmets in winter. They perch on high pedestals at every crossroad. Their chests inflated, they feel destined for their meaningful role in life. With great authority they vigorously wave their arms in every direction and blow their whistles, in an attempt to introduce some order into this mad chaos. To confuse everyone and upset the whole scene, along roll the *arabanas* carrying passengers, clad in western attire or *dishdashas* and *abayas*, who choose to travel to their destination at an old fashioned more pleasant pace. The long gowned *arabanchi*, coachman, his head covered with an *irkal*, is perched high in front in the driver's seat. He steers his two horses through the maze, a long whip in one hand that he uses ever so lightly, more to shoo off flies rather than to urge the horses to move faster. The carriage weaves its way in a slow trot through the city while he looks down at everyone, calm and detached, refusing to be swallowed into the frenzy of the modern traffic. The horses go to a slow rhythm of *clippety clop, clippety clop*, dutifully pulling the carriage, oblivious to the madness, action and noise around them. Now our taxi forced to slow down behind an *arabana*, tries to steer to the left and then go to the right in his attempts to overtake the slow horse drawn carriage, his left hand permanently on the honk. He is not the least bit concerned about us passengers at the back

being thrown from one side to the other, '*imshi yaba*' go on move, sticking his head out of the window, he screams in frustration to a pedestrian. Finally he manages to slip through and overtake. There are no traffic rules and anything goes where no traffic policemen are seen. In the late fifties, traffic lights are introduced in Baghdad but no one, no one takes any notice of them. After a while the traffic police give up in exasperation. They turn off the lights and policemen come back on duty again and I don't recall that the traffic lights are ever turned on again before I leave Baghdad in 1959.

People of all races, cultures and religions, go about their various destinations. Men clad in the traditional Arab long gowns, some of them wearing the *irkal* on their heads and *dishdashas*, walk along side by side rubbing shoulders with westerners and Arab *Effendis, gentlemen*, in western suits and their women dressed in the most modern fashions of the period. Amongst the fashionably dressed walk occasionally Moslem women covered with black *abbayas*. Here and there we might see a woman with a black thin veil covering her face but they are so rare they don't really stand out. The drab monotonous modern day strict Moslem fashion-wear including headscarves for women simply did not exist. The majority are dressed in western fashion style. A few Arab *effendis* wear suits but then have a red *tarboush* on their heads with a black tassel that swings from side to side as they walk. A headdress fashion for men taken over from the Egyptians, there are many pictures of King Farouk wearing a red *tarboush*.

Sometimes we see a few women wearing colourful saris and their men dressed in the neat Nehru suit look, their tunic jacket buttoned up to the neck. Across the street, a couple of Pakistani women with their traditional short dresses on top of slim legged pants, disappear into a large department store, probably run by their relatives. Over there are a couple of Kurdistanis, men with smiling wrinkled faces bronzed by the sun, dressed in their colourful native baggy pants pass by probably on their way to do heavy work somewhere. The fabric hangs in thick folds between their legs, thick brightly coloured sashes cover their waists and fancy turbans are wrapped around their heads. They look like they had just stepped out of an Arabian Night movie. '*You can drop us in front of the Omar al Khayam Hotel,*' we say to the taxi driver, pay him his fee and are happy to leave him. We walk into the oriental style luxurious hotel where we plan to have our lunch. As we walk into the hotel lobby, we have to look closer to tell the origins of the Europeans and other foreigners sitting or

standing conversing in the lobby. The lobby is packed with French, German, Italian, British, American and Egyptians, Greeks, Turks, Persians, Kuwaitis, Jordanians, Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians and Armenians not to mention the mixed races. The hotel management is usually Lebanese, Syrian, Kuwaitis or Armenians who've lived in Baghdad all their lives. The personnel who serve are usually Iraqi Assyrians, Kurds or Moslems. Jews, Moslems and Christians all mingle together. They eat, work and shop side by side in pleasant co-existence, accepting and respecting each other, their diversities, their different cultures and customs, each knowing their place and each minding their own business. If anybody has any unpleasant thoughts in their heads, they make sure to keep them to themselves for the moment and to vent them out perhaps later in the privacy of their homes. No one is interested in disturbing the peace.

Back to *al Rashid* street shops loaded with attractive goods to sell line the main streets. Everything is available in abundance. There are the western style shops and many more overfilled Arab style shops. Here is *Orosdibak* our department store on *al Rashid* street. It is our first large two-floor department store in Baghdad full of everything our heart desires to buy under one roof. The French introduced department stores in Damascus in the 1930s, but this idea did not reach Baghdad until the early 50s. Private comestibles run by Lebanese owners offer imported foods European style mainly for foreigners; tinned and pre-packed foods, cheddar cheese, crackers, corned beef, ham, bacon, and much more. Many locals accustomed to western cuisine who can afford to, also frequent these comestibles. My parents frequented this store for cheddar cheese and bacon and some other imported foreign goods.

Many Pakistani merchants own stores for clothes, fabrics, shoes, accessories and other imported goods. *Mr. Kothari*, as everyone called him, is a dark skinned Pakistani and a friend of my father's whom we often see at parties with his beautiful young ivory skinned wife. He owns a huge clothes store on *al Rashid* street. My father likes to shop at *Mr. Kothari's* store who is very proud and delights in showing off his Indian wife, who against all the rules has her hair cut short and wears it loose just below her ears. Her short hair reveals an inner rebellious nature that she keeps under control in public. In my imagination I have already understood their story, I decided, she was forced into marriage, there was no other explanation for me. She was so pretty and had such a kind face, and he was so ugly and had such an angry face. I am full of admiration for her. She wears exquisite bright coloured silk saris and her silky light ivory

waist is always left bare and she is always smiling. Poor *Mr. Kothari* in contrast is older and not pleasant to look at with big bulging red eyes, and he has the habit of using a coat of powder on his face and neck in an attempt to cover his shiny black skin. Sometimes, at parties, we children giggling couldn't help commenting. '*Look at Mr. Kothari. He's got an extra coat of powder on his face today,*' to which my mother promptly intervenes, '*shush, children, stop that immediately. He can hear you.*' '*But mama, he doesn't understand Arabic.*' Then my father interrupts, '*yes he does, be quiet now.*' So we swallow our giggles. '*Mr. Kothari is a good merchant and a good soul.*' '*He has a good head for business and makes a lot of money,*' people say with great respect in their voices. Some admire him and others envy him. He loves to show off his wealth for everyone to see. He adorns his wife with expensive jewelry, a diamond for her nose, gold and precious stones for her ears, forehead, neck, upper arms, wrists and fingers. She even wears golden rings on her pretty toes, always visible with her toenails painted bright red, in fancy expensive Indian sandals. During the months of July and August *Mr. Kothari* closes his large store and takes his wife back to India for a holiday. In spite of all their wealth *Mrs. Kothari* looks at the world with sad eyes and *Mr. Kothari's* laugh is artificial and loud. Perhaps that is because they have remained childless after ten years of marriage. Let's take a peak now at a visit to the famous local bazaars.

'*Yalla ya Margo hurry up, we're all ready to leave,*' my mother calls. *Yalla* means come on, let's go. I have to tear myself away from one of my favourite past times, listening to a play on the radio. My mother, sister and I hail a passing *arabana* and we're on our way to the *souk*. Rain or shine, *souk al Shorja*, the bazaar is crowded. Everything is available in abundance, where even the least privileged can find something to buy or then to steal. The *souk* is a large maze of narrow streets with arcades of shops and stalls hiding large warehouses and craftsmen's workshops behind, some built on lifted wooden platforms. A special quarter is assigned for each craft, goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths and jewelry are in the one alley, while carpet sellers, textiles, drapers and fabrics are in another. One or more long alleys are reserved for food, spices, kitchen utensils and perfumes are found with ladies' wear and cosmetics. Stalls and stalls of shoes for the whole family and all leatherwear are there too. We girls hold on tight to our mother's hand, it is so easy to get lost in this labyrinth. Exquisite silk for dresses or elaborate brocades for curtains, handmade carpets, saffron, fruits, nuts, tailors and letter writers, not

do not forget the vendor selling fresh drinking water. He carries the water in a large sheepskin bag with the strap slung over one shoulder and across the front of his chest, with a connecting hose under his arm. The water bearer flips four or five copper *tassas*, bowls, in his hand so they roll like a pack of cards. He bangs them against each other to make a loud clanging noise to catch the attention of the passers by as he calls out 'maii, maii,' water, water, who wants a drink of fresh cold water. 'Mama, ana atshana,' I'm thirsty my sister says. My mother calls the water bearer. We all have a drink, it's fresh, clean water. It tastes good. Bottled water does not exist, only local sweet lemonade soda. We prefer to drink a lot of fresh plain water.

In one of the stalls sits the letter writer cross-legged on the wooden floor of his small booth. He is busy writing with feather and ink. An illiterate woman in a black *abaya*, including a black thin veil covering her face, sits in front of him at the edge of the stall with her legs dangling. All we can see are her hands covered with henna and her feet also covered with a design of henna in open slippers. As the letter writer dips his feather in the ink, he listens intently above the din as she tells him what to write. The letter is addressed to her son who has left home to live and work somewhere else and from whom she has not had any news for weeks. I hear her explain the address to the letter writer and he writes down on the envelope: To the hand of *Aziz Khaled*, who lives with his uncle the honourable *Hadji Hamid* in the village, opposite the bakery of *Abu Adnan*! In some old villages there were no street names, but everyone knew everyone else, so the letter was sure to arrive to its destination. The letter writer's services are in demand, as there are many illiterates who want to send private letters to far away relatives or perhaps to send the occasional official letter to a government department.

The concept of the *souks* of the Middle East, which still exists to this day, is the pre-runner of the modern malls, as we know them in the West, minus the bargaining bit. From dawn to dusk people bustle around, selling and buying while swearing their sincerity. They bargain and haggle and *Allah's* name is mentioned a thousand times over, his ears must ring non-stop. Beggars beg in the name of *Allah* and sellers swear they are giving the buyer the best bargain, in the name of *Allah*. Buyers swear in the name of *Allah* that they cannot afford the price demanded. *Allah*, I suppose, is well aware that they are all lying but he forgives them all for using his name in vain because they are at least thinking of him. No one would ever dream of denying the other the pleasure of bargaining.

Both the salesperson and the customer enjoy the exchange of wit. It is a part of the game and everyone gladly indulges in it. My mother often buys fabric at the *souk* to sew dresses for us. She's very clever with her hands. I've been with her and with my father many times to the *souks* so I can say bargaining, like backgammon is in my blood. A modern business term for bargaining is negotiating, but in the West they've limited that to the big business world. Let's listen in on a typical bargaining transaction in an Arab *souk*.

'Greetings to you,' my mother greets the salesperson as she nears a stall.

'*Ahlan wa sahlan. Sabah al khair.*' Welcome, good morning, the salesman quickly replies with a respectful smile coming slowly to the front of the stall.

'*Yaba, how much the meter?*' She points to one roll of fabric that takes her fancy.

'*Wallah, for you especially lady,*' scratching his chin, '*I have a very special price. How many meters do you need?*' And as he answers he follows her eyes, and reaches over to the roll of fabric of her choice and flips it fast between his two experienced hands, unrolling meter upon meter of the fabric. Then he reaches out again and again and flips open several other rolls of similar colourful fabrics in his eagerness to hold her interest.

'*I like this one here. I'll need about six meters. But it depends on how much you want for a meter,*' she says as she points to one of the rolls of her choice.

'*I swear by the name of Allah the Great, for you I shall make it two dinars per meter. Allah is my witness,*' and he points with his index finger to heaven to emphasize, '*I am earning nothing on this. That makes twelve dinars for six meters ya khatoun.*'

'*No, no, that's far too much. I'm going to have to look elsewhere then.*' And she makes as if she's turning away to go.

'*Wait, wait, where's the hurry? For you khatoun, lady, I shall give it as a gift. Ten dinars then for the six meters, now that is really a rock bottom price and I won't tell my partner at the back, or he will think I'm crazy.*'

'*I don't have that much money on me. I want to make dresses for my little girls. I can give you six dinars not one fils more.*' She, knowing very well that no such partner existed at the back of the stall, and he, knowing very well that she could afford it.

'*Wallah, you are one smart lady,*' smiling '*you're going to bankrupt me. But because you have such beautiful eyes, dear lady, I shall accept nine dinars. You must have pity on me. I have children too.*'

'May Allah bless and protect your children and keep them healthy. Eight dinars, not one penny more.'

'May Allah bless and protect your children too lady. Your wish is my command. Eight dinars, it shall be then,' he says in exaggerated resignation. 'I shall cut six meters for you and I will give you a little extra as a gift even though, Allah is my witness, I am making no profit on this.' My mother nods in agreement and smiles to show that she is pleased. True to his word he cuts a generous twenty centimetres extra, folds the fabric and wraps it.

'Mabrouk' he says, enjoy, as he hands the packet to my mother. Money is exchanged as agreed.

'Shukran. Ma'assalaama.' Thank you and goodbye.

'Ma'assalaama.' Go in peace.

The whole transaction is carried out in slow motion, words are exchanged in a sing song fashion elaborating on the words *Allah* as each one sizes up the other before they speak.

Customers who buy expensive things such as carpets are often served tea or coffee while choices and discussions are taking place. Like magic a boy appears from nowhere who takes the order, disappears for a few minutes and reappears with a small brass tray bearing small glasses of sweet tea or mini cups of strong sweet or bitter coffee. Extravagant rich words of thanks and praise are exchanged all the time and always with a mention of *Allah* who is present, blesses and protects everyone concerned, present and absent family members too. A simple dry hallo or goodbye does not exist. In the Arab world people meet and part with much ado, coming and going in peace, always blessed, protected and accompanied by or then in extreme cases when in a fight cursed by God. Arabic is an ancient flowery rich language existing since before B.C. and has not really evolved much. My mother walks away smiling, happy with her purchase and all the sweet talk that she received, very well aware it is all nothing but a game. The shopkeeper smiles because he in reality, has received a good price for his goods. Neither feels cheated or short-changed and both enjoyed the pleasant friendly interaction. Bargaining takes know-how and finesse. It demands sensitivity, to know how far to go and when to stop, or else both would separate annoyed with each other and the world. After the long drawn-out interaction both parties should feel happy, the salesman with what he receives as fair payment for his goods and the customer departs thinking the purchase was a real bargain.

Summertime is the time for a variety of melons. We eat a lot of iced watermelons to satisfy the thirst in the hot weather. My father buys a fresh giant size watermelon every day on his ride home from work with the *arabana*. The *arabanchi* stops the carriage and waits while my father steps down to do his purchase. When its the season, Arab farmers set up shops at every corner, full of watermelons, small and large, stacked from floor to ceiling, to be sold by the day's end. Not one fruit is sold unless a little slice is cut and given to the buyer to taste for approval. The farmer digs the knife-edge into the melon and cuts out a little triangle piece and gives it to my father to taste. My father tastes and shakes his head in disapproval, '*not sweet enough*' he says. The farmer does not argue, he discards it on a smaller heap to the far side, picks up another and cuts out a small piece again and hands it over to my father who tastes it and this time he nods with pleasure '*hei zeina*' this one is good, he says. Shops full of a variety of other fresh fruits and vegetables of the season grown locally are plentiful everywhere. Sweet melons, bananas, oranges, apples, pears, grapes, sweet lemons are available in abundance. A large variety of plums and berries, pomegranates, figs, peaches, apricots, plus a large selection of vegetables and salads, whatever is in season is aplenty. The one-man kebab stands are on every corner. There is nowhere else in the world that I know of where kebab tastes as it does in Iraq. The Iraqi large round flat bread baked in the earthen *tannour*, the native round earth oven, is wrapped around minced lamb meat on a skewer grilled on an open fire, with fresh greens and *simak* spice. All Iraqis make an attempt to reproduce this particular taste at their homes when away from Baghdad but it is not possible to replicate the original scrumptious Iraqi *kebab*.

Baghdad owes its existence to the Tigris river and the riverbanks are accessible for all the people to enjoy. The fishermen cross the river in their round *Quffas* transporting their wares from one side of the riverbank to the other. Earlier on, at the beginning of the century, larger *Quffas* were used to transport people from one riverbank to the other. On beautiful cool summer evenings, families, lovers, poets, artists wander on the open embankments and stroll on the riverbanks. Ordinary people live by and on the river, which is a communication highway, a source of food and a playground for the Baghdadis. The capital's *Abu Nawas* Avenue is well known and celebrated for the fish restaurants overlooking the Tigris. The only time Baghdad is ever quiet is during the month of *Ramadhan* when the city looks like a ghost town during

the day and comes to life after sunset. A popular saying comes to my mind as I write this. In Arabic we say, '*Layali Baghdad ma ahlaaha*,' translated to English, the sentence word for word means—the nights of Baghdad how beautiful they are. What is meant in these few words, includes the cool breeze, the pleasant temperature, the clear skies, the twinkling stars, the river, the moon and the people with a joy for life. Continuous aggressive loud recitals of the verses from the Kor'an from the minarets of Baghdad do not dominate the sounds of the city and we do not see men prostrate themselves in prayer on the streets at all hours of the day. This is reserved to the mosques and private quarters. The Baghdad and its people of the 40s and 50s is a far cry from the demolished and anguished Baghdad and its tormented people of today.

Destiny at Work

Love comes to Baghdad Spring 1938

When my thoughts wander back to Baghdad, the romantic tale of how and where my parents met takes on a life of its own, showing how destiny sometimes weaves and plots events with a specific purpose in mind. Their story dates back to the late 1930s when my father, a young adventurer from India travelling through the Middle East, finally settled down in the yet undeveloped but progressing city of Baghdad. My father was always happy to talk about his past and tell us stories of how he met our mother, so aided with my gift of vivid imagination, I feel I can easily reconstruct here the happenings based on his many detailed tales.

It's Baghdad in the late 30s. Imagine two young men, in light summer suits, strolling down al Rashid Street, the most famous street that snakes for miles from north to south, through the heart of the city of Baghdad. Stores, large and small, bulging with native and foreign tantalizing goods, owned by salesmen eager to help passers by lighten their purse, line both sides of the long narrow street. The atmosphere hums with the noise of traffic, loud music blaring from many radios and people chatter. Passers by, drawn to the young men's magnetic energy, turn around to stare with obvious pleasure at the two men strolling down on one side of the pavement. The young men were obviously in their best element, exuding health and prosperity from every pore. This does not go unnoticed by a bunch of barefooted, thin waifs who stand in a corner of a dirty dark alley waiting to pounce at their next prey.

Mischievous dark eyes sparkle from dark smeared faces as they study their approaching victims. Clad in tattered light clothes they run to the young men to surround them. With smudged faces beaming they chant as loud as they can in unison: *'Allah ykhalik, ya sayed,'* May God protect you sir, just one coin and God will be merciful to you. Their hands outstretched, little palms open to the sky, they expect coins to drop from heaven through the hands of these two men. The young men in deep conversation are accustomed to this kind of intrusion, they stop good naturedly reach into their pockets and when their hands emerge with some small coins, shrieks of delight from the waifs make passers by smile. With elaborate gestures the coins are distributed between the related boys. *'Shukran, shukran,'* thank you, thank you. That done, the well dressed men continue on their way resuming their conversation, while the boys quickly hide away their new earned coins, retreat back to the corners of the dark alley and prepared themselves to attack their next target.

The young men walk on to carry on with their conversation before the interruption. *'William Bernard Mukund Kirtikar, so tell me, how does that sound to you Alexios?'*

'Sounds impressive, a bit long, but definitely impressive. I must say.' Both men spoke perfect English with a British accent.

'Well, that's my official name on paper. I am now known as William Kirtikar for short.'

'Why didn't you change your family name too? Kirtikar sounds Indian and very foreign.' Alexios wanted to know.

'I have no intention of denying my origin. I mean how can I? I look Indian after all and besides, I am proud to be Indian. But as a first name, if I want to settle down in this part of the world, and to continue to work with the British, William is easier than Mukund. I have a Commonwealth British passport remember.'

'Yes I suppose, you're right.'

'How about you, your name is a mouthful too. Alexios Portokalos!'

'No, I'm keeping my name. I have no intention of spending the rest of my life in Iraq. I'm Greek and I intend to go back to Greece when I'm good and ready to settle down and to marry a nice Greek girl.'

It was early afternoon. With an air of confidence, hands in pockets, the two young men were on the way back home. They had finished with their work for the day, had enjoyed a local dish of kebab in a nearby restaurant and

were ready for their afternoon siesta. William had confided in his friend earlier of his desire to get married.

'You know William, if you are serious about getting married and settling down in Baghdad, then you really need to go to Damascus.'

'Oh, why Damascus?'

'Damascus is well known all over the Middle East for its girls. Syrian girls are not only beautiful they are educated and intelligent as well, and what more they are excellent cooks. The Syrian cuisine is famous. Everybody knows that.'

'Really, I didn't know that. I haven't made it to Syria yet. Why don't we go to Damascus for our next vacation? If you promise, that is not to look for a wife for me. I am the romantic type you know. I have to fall in love. You know heart pounding and all that.'

'OK, I promise,' Alexios laughed, *'I'll arrange for the tickets and hotel for both of us then, shall I?'*

'Come to think of it Alexios, I know an English lady, a missionary, who recently moved to Damascus. I'd completely forgotten about that. I met her in Basrah two years ago and we've been corresponding since. I can write to her to reserve accommodations for us.'

'Excellent, sounds good to me. You take care of that then and I'll take care of the tickets.'

Alexios and William walked back home for the obligatory afternoon nap. Home for them were rooms rented in a boarding house run by an Iraqi Christian widow. Her husband had died of a heart attack, leaving her alone in a huge house, which she had promptly turned into a boarding house and a flourishing business. Later that day William sat down to write his letter to Miss Strong, his elderly missionary friend in Damascus, while Alexios made his way to the travel agency to purchase the tickets for their trip to Damascus.

And so it came to pass that William travelled with his friend Alexios to Damascus. It was spring 1938. At the age of thirty-three, William had had plenty of time to enjoy a bachelor's life. He, like many other young foreign professionals, now had a good job as senior accountant with Balfour Beatty, a British Oil Company established in Iraq after World War One. He had a secure income and a promising future stretched out before him. It was an excellent time for him to settle down and raise a family.

Every family in the world has the odd child, the rebel, who doesn't fit in the mould and who doesn't live up to the parents' expectations. My paternal

grandparents, who were from Bombay, India, it seems had three of them, three of their seven offspring who opposed all traditional values, went against the tide accepting all the consequences that followed. The first-born was known to the family as *Dada* which was a title given to the eldest son, as a sign of respect. *Dada*, who was gentle and kind and of a placid disposition, had run off and without his parents' consent, had married a Christian girl, a Eurasian, whose mother was Indian but whose father was German. Not only was she not a Hindu but to make matters worse, she was of half European blood. This was considered a double insult in those days, as half-castes, were looked down upon, both by the Europeans and even more so by the Indians. The offspring of mixed races floated in between accepted by neither one nor the other. Those of Indian and British parentage were known as Anglo-Indians and since there were not that many Indians who married Germans in those days, Doris *Dada's* wife was considered Anglo-Indian. The family was horrified that *Dada* had also decided to embrace the Christian faith. My father who was conservative and proud to be an Indian was the first to reproach his older brother *Dada*. They had a fierce dispute. There was an exchange of angry and deep wounding words ending with them swearing never to speak to each other ever again. Their unforgiving traditional mother, angry and heart-broken disowned her eldest son. Soon after that, her second eldest son *Prabakar* came home one day to announce that he was leaving home to marry a widow, older than himself, who had two children. This was even a bigger scandal for the family, and one that the unforgiving mother could not accept. Widows in India in those days were outcasts. *Prabakar* was in turn, disowned by the angry and relentless mother. My father, religious and conventional in his youth, could not understand his brother. The same angry scene was repeated as with his eldest brother and another brotherly bond was forever brutally severed. My father had his own good reasons for being angry with his two older brothers. He was the one next in line, which meant as the oldest boy in the family, according to their custom, he was now left to carry the responsibilities of the family on his shoulders.

In the early twentieth century there was a strong caste system in India. My grandfather came from the *Kshatriyas* caste, which was the second highest in Hinduism, traditionally a caste of rulers, aristocrats and warriors. Their origin was from Rajasthan in the north of India. My grandmother who was from the *Brahmin* caste, traditionally the highest caste of priests and scholars,

had married him in spite of the fact that he was considered to be below her caste. He was a wealthy man so that must have made the difference in class palatable. The family was in the cinema business, during the first decades of the twentieth century. My grandfather's brother, *Siddhart*, was addicted to gambling and one fine day he did what chronic gamblers eventually do. He gambled away everything the family owned. He then ended up in prison for not being able to pay other debts that he had incurred. The whole family was thrown overnight into the arms of shame and poverty. The calamity was the cause for my grandfather to die of a heart attack. His weak heart could not bear the shock of financial ruin and the burden of shame. My grandmother was left alone, furious, penniless and bitter with the remaining seven children. With the two older brothers gone, my father was the oldest at twenty and the youngest sister just turned eight.

But it was not over. The next blow came when my grandmother demanded that he, *Mukund*, my father, should now pledge his life to the temple and become a Hindu Priest as befit a Brahmin. This was her most innermost wish, she told him. My father, however, had no such ambition. He had a fit, he refused and it was now his turn to have a nasty scene with his mother. He informed her of his intentions to travel, to see the world. According to him she was enraged and felt so let down by her three older sons that she cursed my father and swore never to speak to him ever again. He tried to plead with her, to understand, but she would not budge, she refused to have anything to do with him. He decided it was best for him to leave his birthplace Bombay immediately. With a saddened heart but armed with enthusiasm for life and his love for adventure, my father left in search of his luck. At least, this way, he could contribute to help relieve the family's dire economic situation, he thought. He never saw or spoke to his mother ever again. He left India, travelled far, worked hard and was to send his mother regular monthly payments for the next twenty years until she died. She never forgave him and my father was to live the rest of his life, with the thought of his mother's curse forever present at the back of his mind. Until the day my father died, he really believed every misfortune that befell him, or us his family, was due to his mother's curse. Healthy, tall, dark and handsome in the true sense of the words, my father at twenty-one left his beloved Bombay in search of the unknown. His mother had forbidden his younger brothers and sisters to speak to him. So he was surprised when at the last moment, his younger brother *Raghu* turned up at

the station to wish him goodbye. *'Mukund, take care of yourself and be sure to write to me.'* *'I will, Raghu, I will. You watch your health. Take good care of our mother and our little brother and sisters. Have patience with her, she's old fashioned and stubborn. I will send you money as soon as I find a job. I promise.'* *'Will I ever see you again Mukund?'* *'Only God knows Raghu, I don't.'*

This was the time in India when Mahatma Ghandi was striving for India's independence. There were scenes of fighting and bloodshed, in spite of all Ghandi's attempts to have a peaceful agreement with the British. My father was a peace loving man, who abhorred all violence. I came to know my father as someone who could not bear to see anyone hurting and in that respect, later, he was of no help or support to us as kids, if and when we had an accident no matter how trivial, or were seriously ill. At any sign of blood or any kind of pain or suffering, he would disappear and only re-appear when the coast was clear. For a long time, I could not understand this, as it was contrary to his kind and nurturing character. He could not bear to see anyone in distress physically as he suffered their pain along with them. He was of no help at all to those who really suffered. Just as well my father never had to serve in any army. He would have made a bad soldier. He was much too sensitive. At the age of twenty-one my father journeyed north, with no specific goal in mind and stopped along the way in all the major cities where he could find work. He had also inherited a gambling gene, but contrary to his uncle, he was able to keep it under control and was always prudent when he did gamble. When he could not find work, he gambled to make the money he needed to send to his mother. His twelve-year journey, as I can piece it together from the bits and pieces that I heard from him and from my mother over the years, must have taken him to Hyderabad, Karachi, Baluchistan, Abadan, Afghanistan and other exotic cities. Then on to different cities in Turkistan and in Persia where at Bushire he crossed the Persian Gulf to Bahrain. He lingered for months sometimes years in each of these cities. From there he continued heading north to Kuwait and Basrah and finally arrived in Baghdad. I had often heard him talk about all these places as he delved into his past while drinking his early morning *istikan chai*.

The discovery of oil in Iraq at the beginning of the twentieth century had brought several British Petroleum companies who established themselves in the main city of Baghdad and they needed educated employees with a good command of the English language. My father, like many Indians, was

a mathematician and had a great mind for numbers. With a brain equal to a computer it was not hard for him to find work. He was also a linguist. In addition to the many Indian languages he spoke, some of which I remember were Hindi, Urdu, Gujarathi and Marathi, he had an excellent command of the English language as well as Persian and Afghanistani which he had acquired over the years as he lived and worked in Afghanistan. He later learned Arabic as well. He was able to converse, translate and conduct business easily in any of these languages. My father was a self-educated man as he had never completed university and because of his gift with numbers he always worked in finances. With his gift for languages, he often was the mediator between the British and the Arab Sheikhs. Being an avid reader of philosophy, history, religion and politics he was a lover of the written word and owned a large collection of books. He slept little and spent the early hours of dawn each day with God, his books and his thoughts. I do not recall my father ever doing any manual work. I have never seen him change a light bulb. His beautifully shaped strong hands were always soft to the touch, his nails always perfectly manicured. My mother found this detailed attention to his appearance amusing. I was accustomed to seeing my father admiring himself in the mirror, a vain streak that we all inherited from him in particular my younger brother Zuzu, who used to admire himself in the mirror in the habit of saying, 'look at me I'm so handsome!' I don't recollect seeing my mother ever admiring herself in the mirror.

The young men William and Alexios, travelled to Damascus to spend their two-week vacation. Miss Strong, the missionary friend, met them at the station and accompanied them to their lodgings. Dressed comfortably in white summer shirts and linen pants, dashing à la Clark Gable style, they were eager to tour the ancient oriental city with its many historical sites. It was during this vacation and on such an outing that my father saw my mother walking with a girlfriend on the street in the old city of Damascus. The very moment he set eyes on her, Cupid, who I do believe accompanies all those who secretly and genuinely long to fall in love, shot his arrow. He hit home and my father was smitten from the first moment he laid eyes on my mother. Later on he enjoyed telling us this part of the story over and over again. He delighted in telling us just how enraptured he was, how he had followed her home and made a note of her address. His eyes shone and his face actually looked younger and glowed, as he told us how he hurried back to Miss Strong, announced that

he had found the girl he wanted to marry and begged her to help him. Now that he had found her, he hadn't the faintest idea what to do next. And, Miss Strong, his missionary angel agreed to do whatever she could to help him. Through her local contacts she found out who the girl's family was. She found out the girl's name, age and ascertained that she was indeed free. She then arranged a meeting with the family, to ask for her hand in marriage, according to the local customs of the time, on behalf of the handsome exotic foreigner.

My mother was eighteen, a shy pretty girl educated in French schools, as Syria was then under French rule. She was from *Beit Nahat*, House of Nahat, an old Syrian family, who were Greek Orthodox Christians. Her father who had recently died, was an *Oud* Craftsman by profession. He built *Ouds*, the Arabic equivalent to a guitar, by hand. My Syrian grandfather according to my mother also loved to play the *Oud* and sing. He was easygoing and a romantic. The family was comfortable but not wealthy. He left a legacy though that was not to be appreciated until several decades later. His hand-made *ouds* are considered to be treasured antiquity. I know this because in the eighties, when I was living in Manhattan, my mother came from London to visit me with her younger sister, my aunt Georgette, who lived in Washington. We three went out one day shopping for Arabic food in Brooklyn, where there is a large Arab community. When Arabs meet anywhere in the world, regardless of whether they know each other or not, they immediately enter into a conversation about home and families, exchanging names and news. We walked into one store and were sharing our delight at finding a variety of familiar Arabic foods, discussing what we wanted to buy and what quantity. The owner of the store obviously recognizing our Syrian Arabic accent came over to us and greeting us politely, said, *'I hear you speaking Arabic, where are you from?'* *'Shaam'* my mother replied. *'Ahlan wa sahlan. Welcome. I am from Halab. From which house are you?'* *'Beit Nahat'* my aunt answered. *'Beit Naht,'* he said rubbing his chin. *'Tell me, do you know Antun Nahat by any chance, the oud maker?'* he asked with excitement. *'That was our father!'* Both my mother and my aunt replied simultaneously. *'Ya Allah! I don't believe it! What an honour!'* He couldn't hide his thrill. *'Wait, please wait, I must show you something.'* He ran to the back of the store and up the stairs to where his family presumably lived. He reappeared in a few minutes beaming, with an instrument in his hands, holding it gently, as if it were a precious baby. He handed it to my mother to look at. It was an old *oud*, shiny, polished clean and obviously well cared for. We smiled and admired

the *oud* sharing his pleasure. 'You don't understand,' he said 'look inside, look in here!' Pointing to the hole in the front of the *oud* he handed it to my aunt. My aunt looked through the hole in the front. She gasped in surprise. 'Yvonne, look, look, it's baba's photograph!' She handed the *oud* to my mother who in turn looked through the hole. 'That's our father's photograph, that's his signature.' She cried, she was so touched she burst into tears of joy. This particular *oud* was hand crafted by my grandfather *Antun Nahat* in Damascus over half a century before. We could see his photograph and name inside. Naturally we wanted to buy the *oud* from him but the storekeeper refused to part with his antique *oud*, not for any price, he was so proud to own it. He invited us for Turkish coffee and *baklawa*, while he told us the story of how he had gone to great lengths to acquire it. He mentioned something about four of such *ouds* made by my grandfather that he knows of, which are still in circulation amongst the antique musical instruments collectors. This was all new for us we had no idea. Many years after that episode in Brooklyn I discovered that there is a website *Nahat Museum* on the internet today about the famous *Nahat* family of *oud* makers, in Damascus, and my grandfather *Antun* is mentioned there of course and there's even a photograph of him on this website, moustache and all! Incredible!

My grandmother whose name was *Zekiyeh* and who was destined to play a big role in my life, was left alone to fend for herself and her five children. The eldest son, my uncle *Fouad* was considered to be the head of the family now. He was in his early twenties and he took his unexpected role of power very seriously, exercising his newly found authority on the family, and in particular on the younger girls. The eldest sister, *Marie*, who was the odd child of this family, had married a young man whom she had fallen in love with, but she was unhappy with him and she had returned to her parent's home with her two little children. Soon after she filed for divorce. In the thirties, in Damascus, this must have caused a scandal. Women were supposed to marry for life for better or for worse. But she was having none of that nonsense. Her young husband turned out to be a playboy and a gambler, and what more he was abusive. She was granted her divorce but she lost her children. Her husband's family were wealthy and his parents managed to get custody of the two children. My mother's two older brothers had to find work while *Yvonne* and her fourteen-year old younger sister *Georgette* went to school.

In those days, Indians were rarely seen in Syria. When this exotic stranger turned up to ask for the hand of young Yvonne in marriage, in a way one could say, it came as a blessing to the family. For her it was a chance to get away from the clutches of her overbearing authoritarian brother. The foreigner from India was little older, at thirty-three, but he was a gentleman, handsome and he made a favourable impression. He won everyone's heart with his charm and impeccable manners and all were in agreement that the marriage takes place. There was, however, one little obstacle. When the family heard that he was a Hindu, they demanded that he convert to Christianity first. He had no problem with that, so he agreed. Miss Strong the missionary, who had already influenced him to change his name, helped him. My father became an Anglican, English Catholic, because that was the only Church that existed in Damascus, where the Priest could speak English and because Miss Strong herself was Anglican. The obstacle to the liaison was thus removed. The eighteen-year old, ingenuous girl was swept off her feet, starry-eyed she was flattered by all the attention she was receiving.

There was an episode though that my mother liked to tell us children about, but mostly when my father was not around. On the day of their wedding, which was taking place in Beirut, Lebanon, my mother already in her wedding gown, shortly before the ceremony was about to take place, when she suddenly got cold feet. *'I changed my mind. I don't want to get married. I don't know this man, I can't marry him.'* She turned to her sister Georgette, taking off her ring. *'Here take this ring and give it back to him. Tell him the marriage is off.'* Georgette confused but feeling important to be caught in the midst of this turn of events, did as she was told. She ran off to deliver the message to the bridegroom but soon came back running back breathless. *'Yvonne, Yvonne, come quick, come and look he's standing out on the balcony and is going to jump.'* *'What do you mean?'* *'If you refuse to marry him he says, he doesn't want to live. He prefers to die. He's going to jump to his death!'* All this was taking place in the hotel where everyone was staying and where the ceremony was to take place. It pleased my mother to tell us this story with a twinkle in her eyes. She'd smile and say, *'I felt sorry for him. What could I do? I had no choice. I had to marry him or else he would have killed himself. I couldn't let that happen.'* When we asked our father if this were true, he just grunted, smiled and changed the subject or walked out of the room. As I grew older it became clear to me from whom I had inherited my passion and love for drama so I can get my way.

Over the years and in the course of his travels, my father had quite obviously lost his myopic view of the old traditions, superstitions, religious and belief systems that he had been indoctrinated with. He had evolved, ridding himself of heavy chains that held him back and had acquired new thoughts, beliefs and habits. He was much more open-minded and tolerant than when he had left India so many years before. He felt guilt and remorse for having been so harsh and judgemental with both his older brothers and he wished he could see them again to make amends. Over the years the brothers exchanged many long letters. December 28, 1938 charismatic and worldly William married young and demure Yvonne. Family, relatives and friends, all attended the church ceremony and celebrated together for the rest of the day. The young couple spent a two-week honeymoon in Lebanon and soon after they were on their way to their new life together in Baghdad, The new foreign member of the family was welcomed into the bosom of the Syrian family. He proved to be a very generous and kind cousin/brother/son-in-law and the whole family loved and respected him. They saw each other often. Members from the *Nahat* family were invited to visit in Baghdad every year and just as regularly my mother with us children, visited her family every summer.

I arrived on this planet in 1939 in Baghdad during the cold winter month of November. The very same year the then King Ghazi who was anti-British, was killed in a car accident. Some believe to this day it was a foreign conspiracy and during an angry demonstration in Mosul the British Consul was killed. In 1941 British troops landed in Basrah but the Iraqi government demanded that they leave the country. Instead Britain re-invaded Iraq and martial law was declared. About 150 Jews were killed and Arab nationalist leaders were hanged or imprisoned. The British asserted themselves in Iraq. I was baptized in the Anglican Church and Miss Strong was my Godmother. I was to correspond with her until her death many years later after she had retired back to England. Once a year at Christmas time, my father helped me write the obligatory letter. *'Margo, it's time to write your letter to your Godmother.'* Needless to say I did not look forward to that, but dutifully I fetched paper and pen and sat down to write a letter to someone I hardly knew. In those early years my father helped me to word my letters. Later on when my English improved I managed it on my own. Just as regularly I received one letter a year from her. Two decades later, a few months after my arrival in the UK from Baghdad,

I visited Miss Strong for a weekend in Tunbridge Wells, Kent. She was over eighty by then but still sharp as a razor. She had her own suite in an old people's home, with her own furniture all around her. She was obviously well taken care of in every way but for me coming from the Middle East, where a large family lives together, sometimes with four generations under one roof, it was strange, and I felt sorry for her. Until then I really did not know anyone who lived alone and had no family at all. Miss Strong died soon after my visit. For some reason, my father felt closer to her than I did, I think he had adopted her as his surrogate mother, to me she was a stranger.

The question of just how much we inherit through our genes from our parents, grandparents and ancestors or how much of our own family or individual karma we bring along with us at our birth and how much our environment and the culture we are born into influence our character is still an open question in spite of all our science and technology. I was born a rebel and of course I was the odd one in our family. I was the first child and from the moment I was born, in accordance with Arab custom, everyone who knew my parents well, called them *Abu* and *Um* Margo. First names in the Arabic culture are reserved for people of the same age or older relatives and very intimate friends only. Two years later my sister Laura was born. My parents continued to be known to everyone outside the family as *Abu and Um* Margo, as I was the first-born. Things changed, however, when five years later, my brother George was born. If you are familiar with Arab customs you can now guess what happened. '*Mabrouk, mabrouk, Abu George.*' They congratulated my father on the birth of his son. '*Mabrouk Um George.*' Immediately, from the moment my brother George popped out, my parents ceased to be *Abu and Um Margo*. I was discarded, no longer recognized, I was now less important and moved down to second grade! Such is the custom still today. The boy always takes precedence over the girl no matter what age. My memories go back to when I was two years and to one episode even before that. But although I have no conscious recollections of my feelings at the time of George's birth, I am sure that, subconsciously, I felt deep hurt at being degraded in status within seconds of his birth. That was to be the first of many cruel blows that my little sensitive, feminine ego was to receive in the years that followed. I was five going on to six. The more blows my feminine ego was subjected to as I grew older, the more resentment I harboured, in our male dominated world, for being caste aside in favour of a male, for not being rewarded or appreciated,

rejected or discredited and all because I was female. I dreamt about going west one day where I imagined women to be free, emancipated, independent, respected and equal.

We were a God fearing family but we were not fanatically religious. We attended church sporadically, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Anglican, Assyrian, it did not make any difference. Church was church and attendance at Easter and Christmas was a must. I personally always enjoyed the Orthodox church of Damascus most of all, the service was in Aramaic and the church smelt strongly of frankincense and candles. I loved that. Many a time did I make the trip on foot through the narrow alleys of the old town of Damascus, with my grandmother. I skipped and half ran next to her holding her hand, as she'd explain, *'I must light a candle for St. George so that he sends us a boy.'* She prayed to St. George for my mother to have a boy and a solemn promise was made to call the baby George. Had I had even had an inkling what a baby brother would mean to my status in the family I surely would have objected and would have rather prayed for another sister. The reason why so many first-born sons of Arab Christian families, are named George in Syria and Lebanon, is due to the fact that mothers and grandmothers pray to St. George for a boy. The orthodox priests wear long black robes, black hard tall caps, have long hair tied at the back in a knot, a long beard and they chant and pray in Arabic or Aramaic very similar to Russian Orthodox churches. The churches were always packed solid for the Christmas midnight mass. People stood in the aisles and all the way behind near the main doors so that one could hardly come into the church once mass had begun.

I recall in particular Christmas mass in Baghdad. A crowd of young women who always came in late and stood together at the back in the aisles, as if ready to be the first to leave the church once mass was over. They looked different because of the way they dressed. Their clothes were ostentatious, they had lots of eye make up and bright red lipstick, some with curly red hair and others with blond or black long hair, long red fingernails and very high heeled shoes. People around us nudged each other with their elbows and I could hear them whispering. *'Look, look, here they come, the bad foreign girls. Look at the way they dress, shameless prostitutes.'* I personally couldn't get enough of them they were all very pretty I thought as I stared to get an eyeful. *'What's prostitutes, mama?'* I whispered looking up to my mother tugging at her skirt. *'Shush, be quiet and don't stare. They are just bad women.'* *'At least they remember Jesus at*

Christmas time. Another would whisper. *'Yeah, they come to cleanse their soul and ask God to forgive them their sins.'* Even at my young age I recognized envy in their voices. *'But why are they bad? What did they do, mama?'* I persisted I wanted to know. *'Turn around, look front and stop asking questions. You're too little to understand and watch your candle don't burn anyone.'* A gentle slap on my head usually accompanied this. I could see some of the men turning around curiously, trying to get a good look, and their wives pinching their arm or slapping their shoulder telling them to turn around and look in front. I figured prostitutes have something to do with men that wives and mothers did not approve of. I wondered what it was. But I forgot about it as soon as we left church, only to be reminded again at the Christmas midnight mass the following year. Some years later, I gathered that most of these women were Greeks, Egyptians, Armenians or East Europeans.

Although my father converted to Christianity and often read the Bible early mornings, at heart he always remained a Hindu. In the years that followed after he left India, he learned to embrace Christianity as well as have understanding for the Moslem and the Jewish religions without discarding his Bhagavad Gita. I was convinced of this because he worked with and had many Jewish friends and he also spent a lot of time with Sufis for whom he had a great deal of respect. He had many *Mullah* friends with whom he loved to philosophize about life. Sufis are a branch of the Islam, a spiritual and peace-loving sect. Sufism has survived over centuries despite persecution even by their fellow Muslims. My father loved to tell funny wise tales of *Mullah Nasruddin*, a legendary Sufi character famous for his satirical and philosophical tales, who lived during the thirteenth century. I must have heard each of his favourite tales a hundred times over. My mother usually gave us an exasperated look with pursed lips, whenever my father started one of his tales about *Nasruddin*, but we humoured him and we laughed each time, as if it were the first time we'd heard it, which of course pleased him no end.

It did not become clear to me until much later in my life that I was unappreciative of the fact that I grew up in a home where there was a very healthy open attitude towards religion and yet the presence of God was constant with us. This was a liberating attitude, which enriched our lives in every way, leaving no room for prejudice towards people of different beliefs or culture. Neither of my parents encouraged gossip. My father was too good-natured to listen or talk badly about anyone and my mother who didn't speak much

in the first place, frankly couldn't be bothered. We embraced people who my parents found to be kind, polite, refined, easy going and open minded no matter what their backgrounds were. There was always a healthy respect for the differences and customs of others. I can still hear my father's voice telling me again and again. *'There are two types of people in this world, Margo, the good and the bad. It doesn't matter what background, race or religion people have. Just keep away from the bad people.'* I did not appreciate my heritage and my parents until I was an adult living in the western world.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

PLURAL IDENTITIES

TOPIC Cosmopolitan Alexandria	
LESSON OVERVIEW	Over the course of two days, students will gain an understanding of the multi-faceted nature of life in Alexandria during the early- to mid-20 th century. They will read and analyze a text to gain background knowledge on the city and then each group will create a timeline and discuss the implications of historical events on the city. Finally, students will participate in “Café Conversations” where they will represent a variety of characters in Alexandria at that time. Each student will determine their character’s stance towards a historical event using evidence from the texts.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why was Alexandria considered a cosmopolitan city? • How did the events in 1950’s Egypt affect the various people in Alexandria?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand how the rise of Nasser and pan-Arabism affected Egypt. • Understand the multifaceted nature of life in Alexandria.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or</p>

Unit: Plural Identities

Lesson: Cosmopolitan Alexandria

ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.6 Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.8 Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and

civilizations during particular eras and across eras

- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history
- Understand the development and connectedness of Western civilization and other civilizations and cultures in many areas of the world and over time

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Evaluate the effectiveness of different models for the periodization of important historic events, identifying the reasons why a particular sequence for these events was chosen
- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events
- Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how circumstances of time and place influence perspective
- Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes

Standard 2, Key Idea 3

- Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities
- Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history
- Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed; by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth’s surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994) <p><u>Standard 3, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Locate and gather geographic information from a variety of primary and secondary sources (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
MATERIALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Voices from Cosmopolitan Alexandria”: http://www.bibalex.org/attachments_en/Publications/Files/2013032016331232778_voicesfromcosmopolitanalexandria.pdf Timeline of Events Character Chart Graphic Organizer Text: “Cosmopolitan: A Tale of Identity from Ottoman Alexandria”: http://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/3892592/jasanoff_cosmopolitan.pdf?sequence=2
NOTE TO TEACHER	Through this role-play conversation, students will understand the multifaceted nature of Alexandrian life. They will represent a character and perspective and come to understand the multitudes of experiences across lines of gender, ethnicity, class, and occupation that shaped Alexandria at this time.
PROCEDURE DAY 1	<p>1. <u>Background on Alexandria (30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groups of three read background text about Alexandria in the mid-20th century. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Preface b. Intro of “Voices” c. http://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/3892592/jasanoff_cosmopolitan.pdf?sequence=2 (Teacher Note: Choose excerpts from this text, as you see fit.) As they read, they should underline what they consider key information. When they are finished, each student should write down any remaining questions.

- In their groups, students share what they thought was most important.
2. **Time Line (10 minutes)**
- In same groups, teacher hands out timeline of mid-20th century events.
 - In groups, students discuss what the effects of these events might have been on Alexandria, based on what they read.
 - NOTE: This can also be cross-linked with the lessons on Political Movements and Nation and Empire.
3. **Preparing for “Café Conversation” (20 minutes)**
- Teacher selects characters and biographies from the text “Voices from Cosmopolitan Alexandria.” Make sure that there are many different types of characters across ethnic, gender, and religious lines. It is up to the teacher to choose the multiple roles.
 - Teacher selects an issue from the timeline that will frame the discussion among the characters. Here are possibilities:
 - a. World War II
 - b. 1952 Revolution
 - c. 1956 War (Suez)
 - d. 1961 Nationalization of the private sector
 - Teacher assigns students a character. Depending on the size of the class, the teacher could assign each student a different character, though the likely scenario will be that the teacher will need to divide the class into two or three groups and have multiple students playing the same character.
 - Give students the background narrative of their character from the collection “Voices from Cosmopolitan Alexandria.” This includes the story, images, etc.
 - Upon reading the narrative and looking at the accompanying pictures, each student fills out a character chart for his/her character. This includes information about gender, age, family status (married, single, number of children, etc.), occupation, education level and significant life events.
 - After filling out the chart, students hypothesize how they feel about the event and matter at hand (chosen from one of the four above). They should free-

	<p>write about this, providing at least three pieces of evidence that might support their stance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If multiple students are playing the same character, they can work together to develop the character chart and discuss how this character might feel. • Teacher should ensure that students accurately represent their character’s point of view before the Café Conversation begins.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2</p>	<p>1. <u>Café Conversations 35 minutes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students settle into characters and review notes from day before. • Explain to students again that they will get into character for a conversation. Teachers and students should establish common norms for having the conversation. Explain that while they are getting into character, they must also treat the topic with seriousness and respect. • Divide the class into 3-4 groups (jigsaw) so that each group has students representing different personalities. In this format, many Café Conversations will be happening simultaneously. If one group ends early, you can let them go around the room and listen to the conversations other groups are having. • Explain to students that during the conversation, each will represent his/her assigned character in a discussion about the assigned topic. Students will begin the conversation with introductions. After this is done, the conversation will start with a possible question posed by one pre-selected character: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. What are your feelings about siding with the Allies in the War? b. How do you feel about Nasser and the Revolution? c. How do you feel about all of the British and French being expelled during this Suez crisis? d. How do you feel about the nationalization of foreign assets? <p>The conversation should run for about 20 minutes, but can be extended.</p> <p>2. <u>Journal writing (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the Café Conversations have wrapped up, each student will write a personal journal entry reflecting on their experience at the café. The journal

	<p>entry should be 1-2 pages. These are possible prompts.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What was your character’s point of view going into this event? How did it feel for your character to hear these different perspectives? Why and how, if at all, was your character influenced by other characters? b. How did it feel for you to participate in this conversation? During what part of the conversation did you feel most comfortable? Least comfortable? Why do you think that is? c. What did you learn about this moment in history from participating in this activity? How does it make you understand what was happening in Egypt at this point in time? <p>3. <u>Debrief (10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whip-around: One thing you learned and one thing you want to know more about. <p>4. <u>Questions for Further Reflections/Connection to Today:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For a final assessment, students may write an essay about the topic from their own perspective, explaining the ways in which it impacted the city.
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read: http://blogs.denverpost.com/captured/2013/07/09/egypt-1952-revolution-free-officers-movement-military-rule/6183/

CHARACTER CHART

Please include relevant information about your character here, including the following:

Name	
Ethnicity	
Age	
Occupation (or past occupation)	
Education Level	
Gender	
Marital Status/Number of children	
Significant Life Experience	
Other relevant information about yourself	

Based on what you know about your character, how does s/he feel about the event? Please free-write a response from her or his perspective.

Key Events in Egypt in the Mid-20th Century

Developed by Sahara Pradhan

World War II

Before World War II broke out, there were numerous foreign nationals living for many generations in Cairo and Alexandria. When World War II broke out, Egypt became implicated when Italy (part of the Axis) sent forces stationed in Libya to launch an invasion into British-held Egypt in September 1940. The Allied forces led a counterattack (Operation Compass) that proved successful and allowed the Allies to advance further into Egypt. Also during this time, the Italians of Egypt, who were substantial in number, were greatly affected. Nearly all of the men were arrested, and nearly all Italian property was seized. This left many Italian women and their children in poverty.

The end of World War II greatly altered the political alignment and social structure of the world, particularly as the victors of the war – the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the United Kingdom, and France – became the permanent members of the Security Council of the newly formed United Nations. The USSR and the United States emerged as rival superpowers, setting the stage for the Cold War, which lasted for the next 46 years. Moreover, many countries began to decolonize in Asia and Africa, eroding the influence of the European great powers. This also set the stage for emerging revolution in Egypt.

Revolution in Egypt

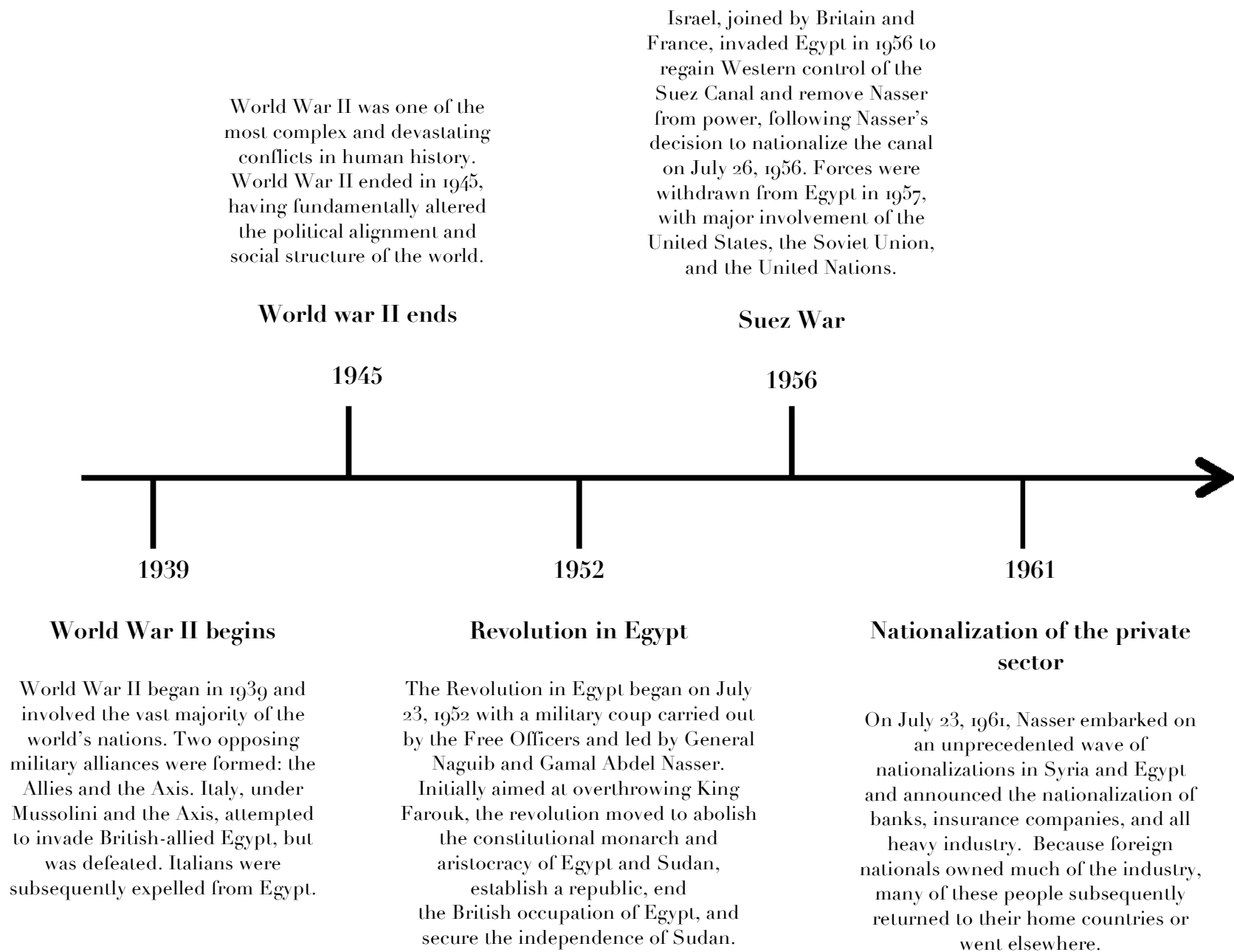
The Egyptian Revolution of 1952, also known as the 23 July Revolution, began on 23 July 1952, with a military coup d'état by the Free Officers Movement, a group of army officers led by Muhammad Naguib and Gamal Abdel Nasser. The revolution was initially aimed at overthrowing King Farouk. However, the movement had more political ambitions, and soon moved to abolish the constitutional monarchy and aristocracy of Egypt and Sudan, establish a republic, end the British occupation of the country, and secure the independence of Sudan. The revolutionary government adopted a staunchly nationalist, anti-imperialist agenda, which came to be expressed chiefly through Arab nationalism and international non-alignment. The revolution was seen as problematic for Western imperial powers, especially the United Kingdom which had occupied Egypt since 1882, and France. Both of these countries were feeling the effects of rising nationalist sentiment in their colonies throughout the world and were threatened with losing them. Western powers were also cautious of the Free Officers Movement's strong support of the Palestinian cause. Many of the foreign nationals in Egypt were starting to leave under the new regime.

Suez Crisis of 1956 and Nationalization

Things came to head between Egypt and the Western powers in 1956, when crisis erupted over the Suez Canal. Though free passage at that point was normally granted to all who used the canal, Britain and France desired control of it for both commercial and colonial interests, though the new regime definitely felt it should be under Egyptian control. Meanwhile, in an attempt to persuade Egypt to ally with the West, the United States and Britain promised to give aid to Egypt to construct the Aswan High Dam in the Nile. However, when Nasser accepted an arms deal with Czechoslovakia, fueling Cold War flames, the U.S. retracted this aid. In response, Nasser nationalized the canal, making it the property of the Egyptian State. Nasser intended to use the funds raised from the operation of the canal to pay for the Dam, and he did intend to compensate the Suez Canal Company for its loss.

As a result, British and French forces joined with Israel in an attack to overthrow Nasser and gain control of the Suez Canal. The joint effort defeated the Egyptian army quickly, and within ten days, British and French forces had completely occupied the Suez region. Egypt responded by sinking 40 ships in the canal, blocking all passage. The United Nations, as well as the U.S., sought to resolve the conflict and pressured the two European powers to back down. Eventually, Britain and France backed down and withdrew, and control of the canal was given back to Egypt in March 1957. The Egyptian government was allowed to maintain control of the canal as long as they permitted all vessels of all nations free passage through it.

The Suez Crisis brought forth a host of new issues with regard to residency in Egypt. Nasser brought in a set of regulations that imposed rigorous requirements for residency and citizenship in Egypt. This affected many of the groups living there, including British, French, Greek, and Italian nationals, as well as both Egyptian and foreign-born Jews. These groups were forced to leave the country, greatly diminishing the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of Egypt. This greatly affected Alexandria, in which so many foreign nationals lived.



RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: EMPIRE AND NATION

It is perhaps unsurprising that in our review and analysis of five of the most popular history textbooks assigned in U.S. high schools, the theme of Empire and Nation emerged. Specifically, we noticed that while attention was given to the empires that emerged in (and extended beyond) the MENA region, these empires were often simply reduced to “Muslim” empires. Certainly, many of these empires did have Muslim majority populations and rulers, but by naming these empires “Muslim,” the diversity of the region, and indeed of the empires themselves, is hidden. Furthermore, as with other units in the resource, we found that the writing is done from a very Eurocentric perspective and that the “Muslim world” — as it is often referred to in the texts — is portrayed as somewhat backward and often contrasted with the “modern” European civilization (which was never referred to as the “Christian world”). Here, modernity is implicitly and at times explicitly equated with ‘better’ and ‘more rational.’ This unit therefore seeks to broaden the view of Empire and Nation within the region by reflecting on the diversity of the people within the MENA region through an illustration of the differing styles of leadership and constructions of identity; ways of governing; and the treatment of minorities in response to colonialism and imperialism.

A central objective of the unit is to challenge the notion that innovation is solely a Western concept. A second objective is to show the ways in which colonial encounters shaped the ideas of Nation in the MENA region. This is reflected through an examination of both secular and religious leaders in three different countries within the region as well as through poetry and various revolutions within the region.

The first lesson — titled “Innovations in Empire” — examines the millet system, which was established to organize minorities during the Ottoman rule. The second lesson, “Three Leaders, Three Traits, Three Paths,” highlights both secular and religious leaders that galvanized their respective nations in very different ways and with very different understandings of nationalism. The final lesson, “Revolution Poetry,” explores the unique history of poetry and the role it has played in inspiring revolutions across the Middle East.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: EMPIRE AND NATION

TOPIC Innovations in Empire

LESSON OVERVIEW	In this lesson, students will learn about empires and expansion, specifically in regards to the Ottoman Empire. Initially, the students will identify the meanings of the following word pairings: assimilation/conformity vs. integration/accommodation, tolerance vs. freedom, and nationalism vs. unity. Using these ideas, students will either agree or disagree with a series of statements and they will defend their choice using prior knowledge. The class will make connections to these discussion terms and the ways in which empires expand and organize. Then, in small groups, students will create a vision of a modern society (using pre-determined demographics or ones made by the teacher) and will discuss the power relations, decision-making processes, and values of their society. Finally, students will compare their society to the millet system in the Ottoman Empire.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are ways in which empires expanded and absorbed new populations? • Should assimilation be a goal for society?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the pros and cons of assimilation versus autonomy within an Empire. • Understand how minority groups were organized and treated during Ottoman rule. • Understand the ways in which the millet system was innovative for its time.
STANDARDS	<u>Common Core Standards</u>

	<p><i>Common Core Grade 11-12:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.</p> <p><u>New York State Standards</u></p> <p>Performance Indicators Students will:</p> <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world <p><u>Standard 3, Key Idea 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic, and religious systems in different regions of the world • Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth’s surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
<p>MATERIALS</p>	<p><u>Day 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agree/disagree cards to tape on either side of the room • Tape • Demographic cards • Landscape (piece of blank paper)

	<p><u>Day 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overview of the Millet System handout • Teacher Resource: Summary of the Millet System Using Glossary Words • Millet system graphic organizer • “Our Shared Past” handout
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 1</p>	<p>1. <u>Activate Background Knowledge (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher writes the following pair of words on the board and asks students to reflect what these words mean in the context of their lives through a free write. (10 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. assimilation/conformity vs. integration/accommodation b. tolerance vs. freedom c. nationalism vs. unity • Teachers should ask a few students to share their thoughts before moving into the human barometer activity. (5 minutes) <p>2. <u>Human Barometer (30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher should post agree/disagree signs on either side of the room. • Teacher will then read the following statements (based on the above terms) and ask students whether they agree or disagree with statements. Students will move to either side of the room depending on whether they agree or disagree. Teacher will then ask each side to defend their perspective: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Speaking English fluently ought to be a requirement for U.S. citizenship. [Assimilation] b. Immigration of low-skilled workers should be allowed, as they take jobs Americans do not want. [Tolerance] c. Journalists should be able to criticize the government without consequence. [Freedom] d. All students should be required to say the Pledge of Allegiance. [Nationalism]

	<p>e. Effective decision-making is rooted in unity rather than conflict or debate. [Unity]</p> <p>f. Students should not be allowed to wear religious clothing or symbols in schools. [Conformity]</p> <p>g. Muslim students should be allowed to say their Friday prayers on school grounds as long as it does not interfere with class. [Integration/Accommodation]</p> <p>3. <u>Debrief (20 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher should try to make connections with what the students shared in their free-writes with their reactions to the statements. Teacher can start by asking students what they know about how societies are organized, for example: by wealth, ethnicity, race, age, gender, or ability. Students might note that societies are organized through a division of labor and decision-making that is rarely, if ever, equal. Teachers may locate visual displays (see example resources in resources section) to illustrate the numerous and complex ways in which communities, societies, and even the world can be organized. • The teacher should then debrief and connect how the statements relate to the words on the board and to the central theme of Empire by focusing on social organization and how expanding the empire meant incorporating people from different ethnic/racial/linguistic/religious backgrounds. <p>Teachers may refer to millet system teacher resource handout for ideas for this discussion.</p>
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2</p>	<p>1. <u>Refresher (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remind students of the discussion from their last class. Re-write words on the board from the discussion in the last class. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. assimilation/conformity vs. integration/accommodation b. tolerance vs. freedom c. nationalism vs. unity <p>2. <u>Small group activity (35 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain to students that they will now be engaging in small group work as a

continuation of the previous class.

- Break students into groups of four. Remind students to assign a group spokesperson, a note-taker, a timekeeper, and a person to keep them on task. Each group will be presenting their work to the class after the activity is over.
- Assign each student within the group a demographic card (see suggested demographic cards handout. Teachers are also encouraged to create their own.)
- Prompt students to review their card and think of ways to represent that demographic in their small groups. Instruct students to create their vision of a modern society, negotiating with each other and creating a visual representation of what that society should look like and how that society should be organized.
- Ask students to answer the following questions:
 - a. Who has the power in your society? Who is powerless?
 - b. How are decisions made in your society?
 - c. Using the provided landscape, visually draw your society: where do people live, and how much land do they own in relation to others?
 - d. Decide the majority religion and language of your society (keeping in mind daily interactions, official business interactions, etc.).
 - e. If a conflict were to break out in the region (example: an invasion or controversial policy), what type of system is set up to negotiate disputes and/or find solutions?
 - f. What kind of values does the society espouse (relate to the words on the board)?

3. Mini presentations (20 minutes)

- Each group will present their society or school and highlight the decisions their groups made in regards to the aforementioned questions.

4. Homework

- Instruct students to read the description of the millet system and to fill out the millet system graphic organizer. Advise students to take notes on any

	changes they would make to their society (from the activity) based on the reading.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 3</p>	<p>1. <u>Review (10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask students to review the millet system handout. Highlight important aspects of the millet system to inform later discussion (see further references). <p>2. <u>Small group work (10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instruct students to return to their groups and review their society from the last class. The group can agree to make any changes to their society based on what they now know about the millet system. <p>3. <u>Open discussion (20 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open the class to a discussion, addressing the following questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. What was your overall vision of your society? For example, what does your society (school) actually look like? b. How did organization of groups play a role in your modern society (school)? c. How was it similar to or different from the millet system of the Ottoman Empire? d. What were some of the group similarities and differences when this system was put in place during the Ottoman Empire? e. What made the millet system so innovative for its time? <p>4. <u>Questions for Further Reflections/Connection to Today (10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Reflecting on the group activity, what was the process like? b. What did it feel like to represent your demographic? Connect this to contemporary issues in the U.S., e.g., immigration. c. Reflecting on your role, how were you viewed in the group? Were there challenges? For example, did you have to compromise on your personal vision of society? How so?

	<p>c. Reflecting on your role, how were you viewed in the group? Were there challenges? For example, did you have to compromise on your personal vision of society (school)? How so?</p> <p>d. Did you make any changes to your society (school)? Why or why not?</p> <p>e. What are the remnants of the millet system in the MENA region?</p> <p>f. How possible or desirable is the idea of different governance for different minority groups? Could this model of government work today?</p>
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Browse: http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/maps_interactives This website provides interactive tools to illustrate the relationship between socioeconomic status and geography. • Browse: http://www.theglobaleducationproject.org/mideast/info/maps.html This website includes contemporary and historical maps of MENA, including ethnic regions of Iraq. The website also includes country profiles and other applicable online resources.

GLOSSARY

Accommodation: Individuals and groups establish harmony in circumstances that arise as a result of competition and/or conflict and/or differences (often considered synonymous with ‘adaptation’). An example of accommodation is to acknowledge and observe different groups’ religious holidays.

Assimilation: The blending of two previously distinct groups into one (socially, culturally, and even economically). More often than not, however, the process involves the minority absorbing and incorporating into the culture of the majority group.

Colonialism: An imperial process in which one sovereign state gradually expands its territories by occupying and incorporating new territory and settling its people on those lands, frequently through political, psychological, and economic control. Often, this appropriated territory is not only geographically a long way away from the imperialist nation but is also equally distant from it culturally, economically, and politically. Traditional colonial practice was to take control over specific, circumscribed areas, purely in order to further colonists’ commercial (trading) interests and strategies.

Imperialism: Any process, including military aggression, through which a nation establishes and enforces her rule and control over others’ lands. Imperialist expansion is like a race to seize control over whole (often large) areas, even when there is no prospect of any immediate economic benefits for the conquerors (as was the case in many of the areas taken over in Africa in the late 19th century).

Conformity: Individuals live up to the expectations or rules of society. Those who break the rules of society, e.g., speaking or dressing differently from everyone else, threaten its strength and its ability to stick together (See: Unity).

Empire: A political unit having an extensive territory (typically gained through conquest) or comprising a number of territories or nations and ruled by a single supreme authority. Examples include the Akkadians, Babylonians, Persian, Romans, and Ottomans.

Freedom: The ability to think or speak or act without restraint or fear of punishment.

Integration: An additive bicultural strategy in which groups are able to preserve their religious, cultural, and linguistic identities while fully participating in their adopted home country’s civic and political life.

Nation: A large aggregate of people united by common descent, history, culture, religion, or language, inhabiting a particular country or territory with a clear geographical location and recognized borders.

Nationalism: Serves as a form of unity (See: Unity) within a state. Efforts are made to ensure that individuals are loyal and proud to be from the place they are from. An example includes reciting the Pledge of Allegiance.

Tolerance: A way of treating others' individuality with respect. Accepting and appreciating the diversity of the world in an attempt to seek peace and harmony.

Unity: Ties in a group or society that bind people together as one. These ties are typically based on family relationships and/or shared values.

Sources:

“Empires.” Kidipede: History and Science for Kids.

<http://www.historyforkids.org/learn/government/empires.htm>

Sociology Guide – A Student’s Guide to Sociology. <http://www.sociologyguide.com/basic-concepts/>

“Solidarity.” Wikipedia. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solidarity>

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. <http://plato.stanford.edu/>

Teaching Tolerance. <http://www.tolerance.org/about>

“Imperialism” (pdf). Comenius Network. http://ccll-eu.eu/cms02/fileadmin/daten/Dateien/teaching_material/Italien/Imperialism_advanced_level_student.pdf

OVERVIEW OF THE MILLET SYSTEM

The Ottoman Empire was born in the 15th century when the Ottomans conquered the eastern Byzantine Empire and its capital, Constantinople, in 1453 under the rule of Sultan Mehmed II (pictured). By the 16th century, under Sultan Suleiman I, the empire reached its peak, and the Ottomans ruled parts of Eastern Europe, southwestern Asia, and northern Africa.

As the empire grew into Europe, more and more non-Muslims came under Ottoman authority. For example, in the 1530s, over 80% of the population in Ottoman Europe was not Muslim. In order to deal with these new Ottoman subjects, Mehmed instituted a new system, later called the millet system.



Under this system, each religious group was organized into a *millet*. Millet comes from the Arabic word for “nation,” indicating that the Ottomans considered themselves the protectors of multiple nations. The self-governing millets were created on the basis of religious affiliation because ideas of ethnicity and nationalism did not reach the Ottoman Empire until the late 19th century. The three main non-Muslim millets were Orthodox Christian, Jewish, and Armenian (of which the Orthodox Christian millet was the first and largest millet since Constantinople had historically been the center of the Orthodox Christian world, and still had a large Christian population). There was also a Muslim millet, which was “superior” compared to the other millets because it shared the same religion as that of the rulers. The Ottoman Empire related to Christians and Jews as *dhimmmis*, which meant that they were “people of the book”. As such, they were protected and allowed religious freedom, but were required to pay a special tax, called *cizye*. Thus religious minorities were able to maintain their customs so long as they showed loyalty to the sultan.

Each millet was allowed to elect its own religious figure to lead them. In the case of the Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Patriarch (the Archbishop of Constantinople) was the elected leader of the millet. The leaders of the millets were allowed to enforce their own religion’s rules on their people. Islamic law (Shariah) had no jurisdiction over non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. The leader was also obliged to ensure payment of taxes and obedience to the empire. Each millet thus had its own administrative, social, legal, and educational systems. By organizing society in this way, the Ottomans made sure

that no single authority figure would be able to dominate the whole community, be it Muslim or non-Muslim.

When intercommunal conflicts did arise, they were not allowed to spiral out of control. Most of the cases brought to court were related to matters of trade, or financial exchanges, members of different communities engaged in daily life. In cases of crime, people would be punished according to the rules of their own religion, not Islamic rules or rules of other religions. For example, if a Christian were to steal, he would be punished according to the Christian laws regarding theft. If a Jew were to steal, he were to be punished according to Jewish laws, etc. The only time Islamic law would come into account was if the criminal was a Muslim, or when there was a case involving two people from different millets. In that case, a Muslim judge was to preside over the case and judge according to his best judgment and common law.

The millet system did not last until the end of the Ottoman Empire. As the empire weakened in the 1700s and 1800s, European intervention in the empire expanded. When the liberal *Tanzimat* (an attempt to “modernize” the Ottoman Empire) were passed in the 1800s, the millet system was abolished, in favor of a more European-style secularist government. The Ottomans were forced to guarantee vague “rights” to religious minorities, which in fact limited their freedoms. Instead of being allowed to rule themselves according to their own rules, all religious groups were forced to follow the same set of secular laws. This actually ended up causing more religious tension in the empire and played a role in its downfall.

Sources:

Carey, Andrea. “Millet System of the Ottoman Empire.”

<http://courses.washington.edu/disisme/Our%20Encyclopaedia/84135754-Bo1E-4A3A-BBA4-8BD129E3C331.html>

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<http://lostislamichistory.com/non-muslim-rights-in-the-ottoman-empire/>

“Empires.” Kidipede: History and Science for Kids.

<http://www.historyforkids.org/learn/government/empires.htm>

“Millet System.” World History: The Modern Era. ABC-CLIO.

SUMMARY OF THE MILLET SYSTEM USING GLOSSARY WORDS (Teacher Resource)

The millet system is an example of an **empire** – the Ottoman Empire, specifically – seeking to promote harmony rather than succumbing to the fate of so many empires before it (mainly, breaking into factions or smaller states as empires become too unwieldy to manage and inevitably weaken over time). In that regard, the millet system was a novel system of organization that recognized differences among its diverse ethnic and religious groups and allowed religious communities within the umbrella to rule themselves since **assimilating** non-Muslims and non-Turks into Ottoman society had previously proved less effective. Rather than forcing groups to **conform** to the majority’s standard, there was an underlying emphasis rooted in **freedom** (i.e. freedom of religion) and **tolerance**, respecting those who held different views. While this rule of law might raise the question of whether or not it represents tenuous efforts at **unity** and solidarity, it certainly speaks to the value of forms of **accommodation** and **integration**, such as truce, mediation, and compromise as a means of creating and sustaining social cohesion. However, each millet eventually became very independent, with its own facilities, such as schools, hospitals and churches. This, and the millets’ differing views, made it no longer possible for distinct ethnic and religious groups to continue to live harmoniously side by side. Due to the rise of **nationalism** and the advent of European **colonialism**, the Ottoman Empire began to crumble.

EMPIRE AND NATION UNIT: DEMOGRAPHIC CARDS

Suggested population demographic cards. Alternatively, teachers can create their own.

<p>Red</p> <p>5% of the population.</p> <p>Holds the majority of the society’s wealth.</p> <p>Highly educated (doctors, lawyers).</p> <p>Speak the “boca” language.</p> <p>Are monotheistic: share same faith as Yellow.</p> <p>Traditionally lived near the sea.</p>	<p>Orange</p> <p>20% of the population.</p> <p>Craftsmen, artisans, writers, etc.</p> <p>Level of wealth is varied.</p> <p>Speak a variety of languages: “boca,” “fum,” and “bouche.”</p> <p>Follow a variety of religions.</p> <p>Traditionally nomadic.</p>
<p>Yellow</p> <p>40% of the population.</p> <p>Poorest demographic of society. Farmers, manual laborers.</p> <p>Speak the language “fum.”</p> <p>Are monotheistic: share same faith as Red.</p> <p>Traditionally rural people.</p> <p>Have historically had conflicts with Green.</p>	<p>Green</p> <p>35% of the population.</p> <p>Middle class. Teachers, public servants, police officers.</p> <p>Speak the language “fum.”</p> <p>Follow no religion.</p> <p>Traditionally enjoy city life.</p> <p>Have historically had conflicts with Yellow.</p>

“OUR SHARED PAST” MILLET SYSTEM GRAPHIC ORGANIZER

	Ottoman Empire	Your Society
What purpose does the millet serve?		
What groups constitute the millet?		
What are similarities across the millets?		
What are potential areas of conflict between the millets?		

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: EMPIRE AND NATION

TOPIC Three Traits, Three Leaders, Three Paths	
LESSON OVERVIEW	In this lesson, students will create a timeline to learn about significant historical events in the MENA region. The class will use the timeline and regional maps to frame their discussion about how the region changed over the course of the 20 th century. Using this historical knowledge, students will analyze speeches by Attaturk, Aflaq, and Al-Banna – leaders from Turkey, Syria, and Egypt respectively, to discuss their leadership styles with a specific focus on the various kinds of nationalism in the MENA region.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do ideas of empire and nation manifest in different ways? • What are the origins of (different forms of) nationalism in the MENA region? • Should individuals be credited for national-level changes?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the ways in which colonial encounters shaped the ideas of nation in MENA. • Understand the ways in which events in particular in one place influence another during a similar time period. • Understand how particular leaders influenced the paths their respective states took and be able to relate it to current politics and events in the region. • Understand the diversity in manifestations of nationalism in MENA.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p>

Unit: Empire and Nation

Lesson: Three Traits, Three Leaders, Three Paths

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history
- Understand the development and connectedness of Western civilization and other civilizations and cultures in many areas of the world and over

	<p>time</p> <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluate the effectiveness of different models for the periodization of important historic events, identifying the reasons why a particular sequence for these events was chosen • Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events • Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how circumstances of time and place influence perspective • Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities • Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history • Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth’s surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994) <p><u>Standard 3, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate and gather geographic information from a variety of primary and secondary sources (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
MATERIALS	<p><u>Pre-Class Activity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timeline Sheets / Template

	<p><u>Day 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assorted colored markers • Map or Maps of the MENA region • Homework (for each student/per group) • Leader bio sketch • Country background • Primary source excerpt • Glossary of terms (from Millet lesson) <p><u>Day 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Question Sheet • Graphic Organizer
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>PRE-CLASS ACTIVITY</p>	<p>1. <u>Pre-Class Activity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students will contextualize and map the time period under study from the Modern period to present day. As such, there are several ways a teacher may wish to conduct this activity: <p><u>Option A:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assign students a country from the MENA region and instruct them to research and list the major events in this country’s history on the timeline sheets provided. A list of countries is provided below. Depending on the class size, the teacher may wish to assign each student a country or instruct several students to work on a particular country. The countries in bold are essential: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Algeria • Egypt • Iran • Iraq • Israel • Jordan • Libya • Lebanon • Morocco • Palestine • Saudi Arabia • Syria

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tunisia • Turkey • Yemen <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students should also be instructed to briefly research the events that they find. <p><u>Option B:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide students a list of the major events in the Middle East (see teacher resource handout: Modern Middle East Timeline). Ask them to research the ones in bold and to add any other major world events that were occurring at the time (e.g. World War I; independence movements in South Asia). Alternatively, the teacher can add these major events to the timeline him/herself.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 1</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Timeline Review (35 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher will project maps of the region or hand out a series of smaller maps that reflect how the region has changed over the course of the 20th century (If internet and smart board is available, the teacher can show the following 90 second interactive map: Imperial History of the Middle East available at: http://www.mapsofwar.com/ind/imperial-history.html). Teacher will post large poster sheets with a timeline around the classroom. The timeline will have 5 (or 10) year intervals from 1900 to present day. (5 minutes) • The teacher will then instruct the students to map their assigned country's major events on the timeline. Each country should be represented by a different color on the timeline so that the events are more visually meaningful. (20 minutes) • Once the timeline is complete, the students will be given ten minutes to read the timeline. (10 minutes) 2. <u>Discussion (15 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open the class to a discussion, addressing the following questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) What were the significant events that were happening during the rise of leaders Attaturk, Aflaq, and Al-Banna? b) Were these events in isolation? How did certain events in one country have an impact on other countries and/or the region at large?

	<p>3. <u>Key Terms (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher may wish to go over glossary with key terms (particularly nationalism, colonialism) and relate to this particularly lesson, which focuses on nationalism. <p>4. <u>Assign Homework</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hand out the speeches by Attaturk, Aflak, and Al-Banna to each student. Assign students one of the three leaders to study. Instruct them to do research and take notes on the leader they are focusing on. They should prepare a short biosketch of the leader. <p><u>Prompt:</u> We will be discussing nationalism in our next class. As you do your research, think about how ideas of empire and nation are manifested in different ways.</p> <p><u>Questions to Consider:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Who was this individual? What are some of their key accomplishments? What do you know about the context in which this individual lived? What is your understanding of your assigned leader’s view of nationalism? Do you think that this individual can be single-handedly credited for advancing their notion (or brand) of nationalism? Why or why not? Whose voices are missing? What aspects of this nationalism do we see in contemporary world events focusing on the MENA region (including Turkey)?
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2</p>	<p>1. <u>Small Group Activity (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organize class into groups according to the leader they studied. Hand out questions and graphic organizer (three groups or six groups, depending on class size). Instruct students that they will have 15 minutes to fill out the graphic organizer on the leader they studied. <p>2. <u>Small group discussion (20 minutes)</u></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instruct students to jigsaw into new groups; make sure that students represent all three leaders/perspectives in each group. Instruct students to help each other fill out the remaining graphic organizer. <p>3. <u>Open Discussion (20 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion (refer to essential questions) • What aspects of nationalism do we see in contemporary world events focusing on the MENA region? • How is nationalism represented and embodied by these leaders? • What were major similarities and differences between three leaders? • What is the relationship between the actions and ideas of these leaders and the legacies of colonialism?
<p>REFLECTION /EXTENSION ACTIVITIES</p>	<p><u>Reflection 1: Contemporary Nationalism</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers can lead a discussion on how students can draw from these materials to understand the way nationalism is constructed today or at a particular period the teacher wishes the students to focus on (e.g., American Revolution, Cold War, post-9/11, etc.). <p><u>Extension Activity 1: Missing Voices</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alert students of the most glaring connection among the three world leaders – they were all men. How did women play a role during this time, particularly in the spirit of nationalism? The teacher can provide the notable example of Umm Kulthum, “The Lady of Cairo.” Her voice was revered in the MENA region as she seamlessly combined classical folk songs and love poems with Quranic verses (refer to the resource below). Encourage students to identify other women who shaped nationalistic efforts during this period (perhaps related to the country they researched for homework). • In addition, an entire curriculum on Um Kulthum is available from Al Bustan Seeds of Culture: http://albustanseeds.org/digital/kulthum/for-educators/lesson-plans/#.Ue6CwxaPAW8. <p><u>Extension Activity 2: Inciting Revolution Through Social Media</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social media played a significant role in the contemporary Arab Uprisings.

	<p>Aside from activists calling for revolution, Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi used Twitter to communicate with people. What if Attaturk, Aflaq, and Al-Banna had had access to social media? What kinds of things do you think they would tweet? In small groups, come up with five tweets for each leader to reflect their brand of nationalism. Then discuss the role of social media and revolution. Extend to discuss other popular media used during the contemporary revolution such as art (graffiti), music (hip-hop), etc.</p>
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Browse: Brief timeline of the Middle East: http://www.teachmideast.org/essays/28-history/42-timeline-of-the-middle-east-in-the-20th-century • Listen: Um Kulthum: http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=124612595 • Browse: Um Kulthum curriculum http://albustanseeds.org/digital/kulthum/#.UIKsABZmSfQ • Listen: Audio of Ataturk's 1933 speech: http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,31350/biography-of-aturk.html

EMPIRE AND NATION UNIT: TIMELINE ACTIVITY

Fill in the major political (and other relevant) events for the country you were assigned.

	1910	1915	1920	1925
Egypt				
Iran				
Jordan				
Palestine				
Syria				
Turkey				

	1930	1935	1940	1945
Egypt				
Iran				
Jordan				
Palestine				
Syria				
Turkey				

	1950	1955	1960	1965
Egypt				
Iran				
Jordan				
Palestine				
Syria				
Turkey				

	1970	1975	1980	1985
Egypt				
Iran				
Jordan				
Palestine				
Syria				
Turkey				

	1990	1995	2000	2005
Egypt				
Iran				
Jordan				
Palestine				
Syria				
Turkey				

	2010	2015	2020	2225
Egypt				
Iran				
Jordan				
Palestine				
Syria				
Turkey				

CONTEMPORARY MIDDLE EAST TIMELINE RESOURCE FOR TEACHERS

1918	Britain and France occupy former Ottoman Empire lands
1919-21	Franco-Syrian War
1919-23	Asia Minor Catastrophe, a wide-scale conflict, reshapes Anatolia as continuous fighting incorporates the newly founded Republic of Turkey, Armenia, France, Greece and numerous revolts
1922	Egypt is granted nominal independence from the United Kingdom
1922-23	French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon British Mandate for Palestine comes into effect Transjordan is an autonomous region under the Mandate for Palestine
1925	Sheikh Said rebellion of Kurds against Turkey
1927-30	Ararat rebellion of Kurds. Republic of Ararat is declared, but dissolved upon defeat
1932	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia declared in unification of Najd and Hejaz
1933-36	Tribal revolts in Iraq of Assyrians in Simele, Shia in the south, and Kurds in the north
1934	Saudi-Yemeni War
1935	Persia becomes Iran
1937	Dersim rebellion, the largest uprising of the Kurds against Turkey. Massive casualties
1939-1945	Mediterranean and Middle East Theatre
1946	Transjordan becomes Kingdom of Jordan
1946	Kurdish Republic of Mahabad declared along with Azerbaijan People's Government, but defeated by Iranian military forces and dissolved
1947	UN General Assembly proposes to divide Palestine into an Arab and Jewish state
1948	Israel declares independence and Arab-Israeli war erupts. Petroleum becomes important political factor
1952	After a revolution in Egypt the monarchy is overthrown
1952	The French begin to withdraw from Tunisia
1953	The US overthrows the Mossadegh government by organizing a coup d'état in Iran
1954	Gamal Abdel Nasser becomes president of Egypt
1954	Central Treaty Organization
1956	Suez Crisis Tunisia gains independence from the French
1961	First Kurdish-Iraqi War erupts in north Iraq
1963	Ba'ath Party comes to power in Iraq under the leadership of General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr and Colonel Abdul Salam Arif
1964	Abdul Rahman Arif stages military coup in Iraq against the Ba'ath Party and brings his brother, Abdul Salam Arif, to power
1967	Six-Day War. Israel occupies Sinai, Golan heights, West Bank, and Gaza
1967	Kurds revolt in Western Iran. The revolt is crushed
1968	Ba'athists stage second military coup under General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr,

Unit: Empire and Nation

Lesson: Three Traits, Three Leaders, Three Paths Handout 2

	Saddam Hussein is made vice president of Iraq
1970	Gamal Abdel Nasser dies, Anwar Sadat becomes president of Egypt
1971	The Aswan High Dam is completed with Soviet help in finance and construction Independence of Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and the UAE
1973	Yom Kippur War
1974	The PLO is allowed to represent the people of Palestine in the UN
1974-75	Second Kurdish-Iraqi War
1975-90	Lebanese Civil War
1976	Syria invades Lebanon
1978	Camp David Accords
1979	Iranian Revolution Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty Saddam Hussein becomes president of Iraq
1980-89	Iran-Iraq War results in 1-1.25 million casualties. Iraq uses chemical weapons against Iran and rebel Kurds. Large scale economic devastation and surge in oil prices affect the global world economy
1981	Murder of Anwar Sadat
1982	Israel invades Lebanon
1987-1990	First Intifada
1991	The Gulf War
1993	Oslo Accords
1994	Civil war in Yemen
2000	Israeli troops leave Lebanon
2003	The 2003 Iraq War
2004-10	Sa'dah insurgency in Yemen
2005	Syrian troops leave Lebanon as a result of the Cedar Revolution
2006	The 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict Saddam Hussein executed for "crimes against humanity"
2010-	Arab Uprisings

Source:Adapted from Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Middle_Eastern_history.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC

Excerpts from speech delivered by Kemal Ataturk on the
Tenth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Republic
Delivered on the 29th of October at the Ankara Hippodrome

The Turkish Nation!

We are in the fifteenth year of the start of our way of liberation. This is the greatest day marking the tenth year of our Republic.

May it be celebrated.

At his moment, as a member of the great Turkish nation, I feel the deepest joy and excitement for having achieved this happy day.

My citizens,

We have accomplished many and great tasks in a short time. The greatest of these is the Turkish Republic, the basis of which is the Turkish valiancy and the great Turkish culture.

We owe this achievement to the cooperative progress of the Turkish nation and its valuable army. However, we can never consider what we have achieved to be sufficient, because we must, and are determined to, accomplish even more and greater tasks. We shall raise our country to the level of the most prosperous and civilized nations of the world. We shall endow our nation with the broadest means and sources of welfare. We shall raise our national culture above the contemporary level of civilization.

Thus, we should judge the measure of time not according to the lax mentality of past centuries, but in terms of the concepts of speed and movement of our century.

Compared to the past, we shall work harder. We shall perform greater tasks in a shorter time. I have no doubt that we shall succeed in this, because the Turkish nation is of excellent character. The Turkish nation is intelligent, because the Turkish nation is capable of overcoming difficulties of national unity, and because it holds the torch of positive sciences.

I must make it clear with due emphasis, that a historical quality of the Turkish nation, which is an exalted human community, is its love for fine arts and progress in them. This is why our national ideal is to constantly foster and promote, with all means and measures, our nation's excellent character, its tireless industriousness, intelligence, devotion to science, love for fine arts and sense of national unity.

This ideal, which very well suits the Turkish nation, will enable it to succeed in performing the civilized task falling on it in securing true peace for all mankind.

The Great Turkish Nation, you have heard me speak on many occasions over the last fifteen years promising success in the tasks we undertook. I am happy that none of my promises have been false ones which could have shaken my nation's confidence in me.

Today, I repeat with the same faith and determination that it will soon be acknowledged once again by the entire civilized world that the Turkish nation, who has been progressing towards the national ideal in exact unison, is a great nation. Never have I doubted that the great, but forgotten, civilized characteristics and the great civilized talents of the Turkish nation, will, in its progress henceforth, rise like a new sun from the high horizon of civilization for the future.

The Turkish nation,

I express my heartfelt wish that you will celebrate, after each decade elapsing into eternity, this great national day, in greater honor, happiness, peace and prosperity.

How happy is the one who says "I am a Turk."

Source: <http://www.columbia.edu/~sss31/Turkiye/ata/ata.html>

THE NEW ARAB GENERATION

Michel Aflaq

Excerpt from lecture: In Memory of the Arab Prophet

Delivered on the 5th of April 1943 at the University of Damascus

Dear attendees,

We are today celebrating the memory of the hero of the Arabs and Islam, an Islam that has been born through pains Arab pains and these pains have come back to the land of the Arabs much more fiercely and deeply today than anything the old Arabs of the Jahiliyah had known. So this should inspire in us a cleansing corrective revolution such as the one carried (before) by the banner of Islam. There is no one to accomplish this but the new Arab generation, who alone can understand its need and is capable of carrying it through. That is because the pains of the present have prepared this generation to take on the responsibility of this revolution, driven by the love for their land and its history, and enabling them to discover its spirit and direction.

We members of the new Arab generation carry a non-political message that is based on faith and ideology, not theories and rhetoric. We are not afraid of that sectarian group that carries foreigners' weapons, that is driven by a chauvinistic hatred of Arabism, because Allah, nature, and history stand on our side. They do not understand us because they are foreign to us. They are foreign to the concepts of truth, substance, and heroism and are a small, insignificant, and superficial forgery.

Those who will understand us are only those with life experiences who understand the life of Muhammad from the inside of its moral experience and in its historical destiny. Only the earnest, who reject lies, hypocrisy, back-stabbing, and gossip in every step they take, will overcome these obstacles and keep advancing, increasing their vigor as they move ahead. Only those who suffer will understand us, those who have been infused with the bitterness of their pain and the blood of their wounds, and envision a positive scenario of the future of Arab life, a picture which we wish to be happy and content, rising strongly, filled with luster and purity.

Only the believers will understand us, those true believers in Allah. We may not be seen making a show of praying with those praying or fasting with those fasting, but we believe in Allah because we are in dire need of His guidance. Our burden is heavy, and our path is difficult, and our goals are distant. We arrived at this faith and did not start with it. We gained it through hardship and pain, and we did not inherit it nor receive it as an inheritance in traditional ways. For those reasons, this conviction, this faith is very precious to us because we

have ownership of it and it is the fruit of our hard labor.

I cannot imagine a young Arab man who comes to understand the harm that has penetrated the heart of his nation and realizes the dangers that threaten its future, especially those coming from outside it, and at the same time, fails to realize that the Arab nation should continue its life to fulfill the message it has not completed as of yet, and to realize its potential which it has not completely fulfilled yet, and that the Arabs have not spoken yet all that they should speak, and have not done yet all that it is in their power to do.

I can not imagine that such a young man will relinquish the belief in God, which is the belief in truth and the necessary victory of what is true, and will fail to dedicate himself to work in the path of ensuring the victory of that which is truth.

Translated by Mr. Ziad Shaker el Jishi, and revised by Mr. Husayn al Kurdi, Mrs. Xavière Jardez, and Ms. M. Yoshinari.

Source (and for full text): <http://albaath.online.fr/English/Aflaq-00-In-Memory-of-the-Arab-Prophet.htm>

THE 50-POINT MANIFESTO OF HASSAN AL-BANNA

1936 (Excerpts from 50 points)

A. Political, judicial and administrative sectors

- 1- An end to party rivalry, and a channeling of the political forces of the nation into a common front and a single phalanx.
- 2- A reform of the law, so that it will conform to Islamic legislation in every branch.
- 3- A strengthening of the armed forces, and an increase in the number of youth groups; the inspiration of the latter with zeal on the bases of Islamic jihad.
- 4- A strengthening of the bonds between all Islamic countries, especially the Arab countries, to pave the way for practical and serious consideration of the matter of the departed Caliphate.
- 5- The diffusion of the Islamic spirit throughout all departments of the government, so that all its employees will feel responsible for adhering to Islamic teachings.
- 6- The surveillance of the personal conduct of all its employees, and an end to the dichotomy between the private and professional spheres.
- 8- An end to bribery and favoritism, with consideration to be given only to capability and legitimate reasons [for advancement].
- 9- Weighing all acts of the government acts in the scales of Islamic wisdom and doctrines; the organization of all celebrations, receptions, official conferences, prisons and hospitals so as not to be incompatible with Islamic teaching; the arranging of work-schedules so that they will not conflict with hours of prayer.

B. Social and educational sectors

- 2- Treatment of the problem of women in a way which combines the progressive and the protective, in accordance with Islamic teachings, so that this problem - one of the most important social problems - will not be abandoned to the biased pens and deviant notions of those who err in the directions of deficiency or excess.
- 14- The confiscation of provocative stories and books that implant the seeds of skepticism in an insidious manner, and newspapers which strive to disseminate immorality and capitalize indecently on lustful desires.
- 20- The annexation of the elementary village schools to the mosques, and a thoroughgoing reform of both, as regards employees, cleanliness, and overall custodial care, so that the young may be trained in prayer and the older students in learning.
- 21- The designation of religious instruction as a basic subject in all schools, in each according to its type, as well as in the universities.
- 22- Active instigation to memorize the Qur'an in all the free elementary schools; making this memorization mandatory for obtaining diplomas in the areas of religion and (Arabic) language; the stipulation that a portion of it be memorized in every school.
- 24- The cultivation of the Arabic language at every stage of instruction; the use of Arabic alone, as opposed to any foreign language, in the primary stages.
- 25- The cultivation of Islamic history, and of the national history and national culture, and the history of Islamic civilization.

- 27- An end to the foreign spirit in our homes with regard to language, manners, dress, governesses, nurses, etc.; all these to be Egyptianized, especially in upper class homes.
- 28- To give journalism a proper orientation, and to encourage authors and writers to undertake Islamic, Eastern subjects.

Economic sector

- 1- The organization of zakat (charity) in terms of income and expenditure, according to the teachings of the magnanimous Sacred Law; invoking its assistance in carrying out necessary benevolent projects, such as homes for the aged, the poor, and orphans, and strengthening the armed forces.
- 2- The prohibition of usury, and the organization of banks with this end in view. Let the government provide a good example in this domain by relinquishing all interest due on its own particular undertakings, for instance in the loan-granting banks, industrial loans, etc.

Source: <http://pointdebasculecanada.ca/articles/1456.html>

GRAPHIC ORGANIZER: THREE TRAITS, THREE LEADERS, THREE PATHS

Use (primary) evidence and quotes to support your responses.

	Attaturk (Turkey)	Aflaq (Syria)	Al-Banna (Egypt)
<p>What significant events occurred during the time in which these individuals were coming to power?</p>			
<p>Describe their particular view (or brand) of nationalism.</p>			
<p>List three specific actions they took that illustrate their views of nationalism.</p>			

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: EMPIRE AND NATION

TOPIC Revolutionary Poetry	
LESSON OVERVIEW	The lesson will begin with a brief discussion about the contemporary Arab Uprisings using video clips, images and newspaper articles. Students will read three poems from the 1920s and they will identify language in the poem that refers to revolution, uprising, dissatisfaction, etc. Students will discuss how the poems apply to the recent uprisings and they will end the lesson with a free write session in which they must agree or disagree with a historian's statement and support their opinion using evidence from the poems and the class discussion.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are reasons for revolutions? • When is a revolution over? What happens afterwards? • In what ways does popular culture reflect people's lives from a particular historical period?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the importance of studying history to understand current events. • Understand the varying catalysts for revolution. • Understand the value and role that popular culture plays in revolution.
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and</p>

origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Evaluate the effectiveness of different models for the periodization of important historic events, identifying the reasons why a particular sequence for these events was chosen
- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events
- Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how

	<p>circumstances of time and place influence perspective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed; by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History) Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth’s surface (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)
<p>MATERIALS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poems Free write handout
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 1</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Activate Background Knowledge (10 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher begins class by asking students if they have ever heard of the Arab Uprisings (aka “The Arab Spring”). <ol style="list-style-type: none"> If no one has, teacher explains briefly that the Arab Uprisings began in Tunisia and spread across the MENA region. If some have, teacher can follow by asking whether this was the first

revolution of its kind in MENA.

- c. Teacher will then explain that there have in fact been several Egyptian revolutions (if students have done Lesson 2, with the timeline, then the teacher can refer to that). The teacher will briefly discuss the Egyptian Revolution of 1919 when the Egyptians joined together to oust the British and the Tunisian Revolution of 1954 when Tunisia gained independence from the French (and even these were not the first revolutions in the region).
- d. The teacher will then move the discussion to the more contemporary Arab Uprisings. Teacher may wish to use a short video clip or share images/newspaper articles that provide an overview of the Arab Uprisings (see further resources section for ideas).

2. Poetry and the Arab Uprisings (10 minutes)

- Hand out poems and instruct students to read the poems in silence.
- Prompt students to underline any words that stand out to the students. In particular, students should think of the words that they can connect to revolution, uprisings, dissatisfaction with the status quo, etc.

3. Discussion: Before Revolution (15 minutes)

- Discussion questions:
 - a. What stands out for you in the first two poems?
 - b. What is the driving force idea or emotion behind the poems?
 - c. Verses from these poems have been heard in the more recent Arab Uprisings. How can these readings of the revolution in the early 20th century be applied to the recent revolutions in the MENA region (for example, Egypt)?

4. Discussion: After Revolution (25 minutes)

- Discussion questions:
 - a. This third poem was written several years after the Egyptian Revolution. What kinds of issues does this poem raise?
 - b. Do you think the revolution was a success?

	<p>c. What do you think inspired al-Shabi to write these poems?</p> <p>d. What do you think he hoped this poem might achieve?</p> <p>e. Why do you think al-Shabi’s poem was evoked during the more recent Arab Spring?</p> <p>f. What emotions are evoked when you read these poems?</p> <p>g. Why might poetry be such a powerful tool?</p> <p>h. Can you think of other instances in which poetry has been used in politics?</p> <p>i. The contemporary Arab Uprisings began in Tunisia and then spread to other parts of the MENA region (and beyond), including Egypt. What can these poems teach us about what we might expect after the Arab Uprisings?</p> <p>5. <u>Free Writings (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hand out sheet with Basheer Nafi quote (alternatively, teacher can project/write it on the board). <p style="margin-left: 40px;">“My feeling is that we are witnessing a second wave of the Arab liberation movement... In the first wave, the Arabs liberated themselves from colonial powers and foreign domination. I think now, the very heart of the Arab world, the backbone of the Arab world, is leading the move towards freedom and democracy and human rights.” From Al-Jazeera interview with historian Basheer Nafi: http://blogs.aljazeera.com/blog/middle-east/live-blog-311-egypt-protests.</p> Instruct students to spend five minutes making a case on whether they agree with this statement based on what they’ve learned from the poems today (and from their own personal knowledge of the Arab Uprisings).
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Read: “Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests”: http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline Read: “Arab Spring, Fall, and After: An update on the leaders and countries where protests have turned violent”

(summaries): <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/11/23/world/middleeast/Arab-Spring-and-Fall.html?scp=5&sq=arab%20spring&st=cse>

- **Watch:** “How the Arab Spring began” (BBC video clip): <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16212447>
- **Browse:** What does the Arab Spring mean to young people? Students submit photos and add a reflection (slideshow): http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/speakout/world/jan-june12/arabspring_01-20.html
- **Watch:** A one-hour 2011 episode from Al Jazeera’s monthly program *Empire*. The episode explores topics like the catalyst of Tunisia, the impact of youth activism & social media, the influence and control of the media, the role of the West, democratization, etc. (*YouTube*): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QxY87ZkT618>
- **Read:** Occupy Wall Street to compare the Arab Spring to other ongoing social movements (slide show): <http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2011/10/03/us/20111004-OCCUPY.html>
- **Read:** The Arab Spring: <http://kellogg.nd.edu/outreach/arabspring.shtml>

Poetry, Art, Music

- “The Poetry of Revolution” (*Huffington Post*): http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-lundberg/the-poetry-of-revolution_b_828282.html
- “The Poetry of Revolt” (*Jaddaliya*): <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/506/>
- “Tunisian Poet’s Verses Inspire Arab Protesters” (NPR): <http://www.npr.org/2011/01/30/133354601/Tunisian-Poets-Verses-Inspire-Arab-Protesters>
- “Tunisia’s Lessons in Revolution” (*The Egyptian Independent*): <http://www.egyptindependent.com/opinion/tunisia-lessons-revolution>
- Translations of Abu al-Qasim al-Shabi’s “If the People Wanted Life One Day”: <http://arablit.wordpress.com/2011/01/16/two-translations-of-abu-al-qasim-al-shabis-if-the-people-wanted-life-one-day/>
- Hip-Hop’s response to the Arab Awakening:

<http://www.movements.org/blog/entry/soundtrack-of-the-arab-awakening/>

- “The Revolution has a Soundtrack”: <http://www.aaiusa.org/blog/entry/The-Revolution-Has-A-Soundtrack/>
- “Art Attack: How Graffiti Was Used to Condemn the Regime’s Oppression in Egypt”: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/art-attack-how-graffiti-was-used-to-condemn-the-regimes-oppression-in-egypt-8533466.html>
- Alternate translations of the poems are available at <http://aasilahmad.net/abu-al-qasim-al-shabi-the-poet-of-the-tunisia-and-egyptian-revolution/>

REVOLUTIONARY POETRY

Before Revolution:

The two poems below are written by the Tunisian poet Abul Qasim al-Shabi (1909-1934), in the late 1920s during which time the French still ruled Tunisia. These poems later inspired the revolution of 1956 that led to Tunisia's independence from the French and could also be heard in the streets of Tunisia during the protests that led to the 2011 Arab Spring.

To the Tyrants of the World

Abul Qasim al-Shabi

Imperious despot, insolent in strife,
Lover of ruin, enemy of life!
You mock the anguish of an impotent land
Whose people's blood has stained your tyrant hand,
And desecrate the magic of this earth,
sowing your thorns, to bring despair to birth,
Patience! Let not the Spring delude you now,
The morning light, the skies' unclouded brow;
Fear gathers in the broad horizon's murk
Where winds are rising, and deep thunders lurk;
When the weak weeps, receive him not with scorn
Who soweth thorns, shall not his flesh be torn?
Wait! Where you thought to reap the lives of men,
The flowers of hope, never to bloom again,
Where you have soaked the furrows' heart with blood,
Drenched them with tears, until they overflowed,
A gale of flame shall suddenly consume,
A bloody torrent sweep you to your doom!

Translated into English by AJ Arberry

Will to Live (excerpt)

Abul Qasim al-Shabi

If one day, a people desire to live,
then fate will answer their call
And their night will then begin to fade,
and their chains break and fall.

Translated into English by Elliot Colla

After Revolution:

The Egyptian poet Bayram al Tunisi (1893-1961) wrote this poem in the late 1920s or early 1930s, a few years after the Egyptian revolution of 1919 that led to independence from the British. In it, Bayram al Tunisi expresses his disappointment with the Wafd party (which he had originally supported) and attacks class differences between the haves and the have-nots in Egypt.

The Egyptian Worker

Bayram al-Tunisi

Why do I walk barefoot, while I sew your shoes?
Why is my bed bare, while I fluff your mattresses?
Why is my house a ruin, while I build your cupboards?
Is this my destiny?
God will settle accounts with you!
You live in houses on high.
I build them.
You sleep in brocaded sheets.
I weave them.
You own wheels of gold.
I make them run.
By God, it is not envy.
But I do remind you.
From dawn to dusk the hammer is in my hands.
I bear this burden all the same until my day of rest.
The son of the streets is clothed, while I dress in rags.
You shun my steps.
And I recoil from addressing you.
Why do you tear me down, when I build up your glory?
I clothe you in cotton and linen.
On my burial day my family finds no shroud for me,
Not even sympathy, as I leave you forever.

Translated by Joel Beinin in his article
“Writing Class: Workers and Modern Egyptian Colloquial Poetry (Zajal)”

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Our review of commonly used World History textbooks found that textbook authors often excluded key social and political movements throughout the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). When the topics were discussed, our analyses found that they were often framed from a Eurocentric vantage point, and they solely highlighted the effects of these movements on international affairs and external interests. These framings correspond to how public protest in the MENA region is typically represented, and tend to neglect how and why social and political movements begin, as well as what significance they hold, from the perspectives of those who participate in them. Given the current groundswell of protest and political activism throughout the region, we believe that it is important for teachers and students to critically engage with the rich history of anticolonial protest and movements for greater accountability and rule of law that have characterized the region since the 19th century. This may in turn foster a deeper understanding of current events by providing a historical context for previous political movements and struggles for justice.

The lessons in this unit have been designed with the several interrelated objectives in mind:

- To critically interrogate dominant representations of political thought in MENA as symptoms of a “clash of civilizations” or recurring bouts of “Muslim rage”
- To link political and social movements with the specific social, economic, historical, and political circumstances in which they have occurred
- To highlight how ordinary citizens have played a role in shaping social and political developments in the region
- To provide opportunities for student-directed learning to critically consider the political history of the region from different vantage points

As they participate in these lessons, students and teachers will have opportunities for critical reflection and to connect the past to the present. A diverse range of readings, historical documents, video footage, and political cartoons provide students with new opportunities to supplement, challenge, and go beyond the content in their textbooks with respect to social and political movements in the Middle East. The activities in the lessons are similarly designed to provide students with opportunities to consider history from more than one perspective, and as a result, challenge the authority of a text or prevailing cultural representation.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

TOPIC “Free Trade” and the Colonial Roots of Revolt	
LESSON OVERVIEW	In groups, students will research two case studies (Persia and Egypt) and they will present their findings to the class. Using this information, the class will discuss the political and economic impacts of colonialism and how these historical experiences have shaped political views in the region. Finally, students will use images from the 1919 Egyptian Revolution and 19 th century Persia to analyze how the images convey popular sentiment and how they complement the texts they read.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did the expansion of European colonialism affect Middle Eastern economies? • What role did trade play in the growth of European empires? • Why did different people and groups mobilize against colonialism?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand that “empire” is a concept that is defined, discussed, and understood in different ways • Examine the relationship between military conquest and economic concessions • Understand how practices of empire and colonialism were linked to economic protest and larger anti-colonial political movements • Examine two historical social movements and forms of protest against foreign rule
STANDARDS	<u>Common Core Standards</u>

Common Core Grade 9-10:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Understand the development and connectedness of Western civilization and other civilizations and cultures in many areas of the world and over time
- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives

- Understand the broad patterns, relationships and interactions of cultures and civilizations during the particular eras and across eras

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events
- Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes

Standard 2, Key Idea 3

- Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities
- Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments in world history

Standard 3, Key Idea 1

- Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic and religious systems in different regions of the world
- Analyze how the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of the Earth's surface (Taken from *National Geography Standards, 1994*)

Standard 4, Key Idea 1

- Analyze the effectiveness of the varying ways in which societies, nations, and regions of the world attempt to satisfy their basic needs and wants by utilizing scarce resources
- Explain how economic decision making has become global as a result of an interdependent world economy

<p>MATERIALS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Graphic Organizer: Egypt and Persia Case Study • <i>Guardian</i> article “So-called free trade talks should be in the public, not corporate interest”: http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/economics-blog/2013/jul/05/free-trade-talks-public-corporate-interest • Materials for the Persia Case Study <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. “Concessions in the Qajar Period.” <i>Encyclopedia Iranica</i>: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/concessions#pt12 b. “Iranian resistance to Tobacco Concession, 1891-1892”: http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/iranian-resistance-tobacco-concession-1891-1892 c. “Iranian Women and the Struggle for Democracy: The Tobacco Boycott and the Constitutional Revolution”: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2010/04/iranian-women-and-the-struggle-for-democracy-i-the-pre-revolution-era.html d. Handout: Photos from 19th Century Persia: • Materials for the Egypt Case Study <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Egypt-Muhammad Ali, 1805-48: http://www.mongabay.com/history/egypt/egypt-muhammad_ali_1805-48.html b. “Egyptians Campaign for Independence, 1919-1922”: http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/egyptians-campaign-independence-1919-1922 c. “The Egyptian Revolution of 1919”: http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/HIST351-10.3.1-Egyptian-Revolution-of-1919.pdf d. Handout: Photos from the 1919 Egyptian Revolution
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 1</p>	<p>1. <u>Opening Activity: Warm up and brainstorm (5-10 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers can open this activity by telling students that in 1872, Nasir al-Din Shah, the ruler of Persia (present day Iran, which should be shown on a map if students do not know where it is), granted an enormous economic concession to a British man named Baron Julius de Reuter (the eponymous founder of the Reuters news service). This deal was issued in part because the Shah of Iran was in a weak financial position, and maintaining his lavish royal lifestyle required large sums of money. In exchange for a percentage of future profits to the royal court, this deal would have given Reuter exclusive rights to carry out business ventures in Persia, including the creation of a national bank, the construction of railways and mines, and the development of land irrigation, among other activities. Had it lasted, this concession would

	<p>have given Reuter an enormous amount of economic power in Persia, but it was cancelled at the objection of the Russian government, which viewed the concession as damaging to their own interests in Persia. Reuter was later offered a smaller, more modest concession to build the Imperial Bank of Persia. Ask the students to consider this vignette and try to connect it to the present day by posing the following question for discussion:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What would happen if the government today made a deal to sell the rights and control of our communications, banks, utilities, roads, airports, etc. to one individual or private entity? b. What are some of the effects that such a deal would have? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You may also ask students to consider what might happen when a government cannot control economic activity. Have students record their ideas on the board so that all of their responses are visible to their peers. Following this warm up activity, teachers may introduce the essential questions of this unit, and explain the aims and process of the lesson. <p>2. <u>Main Activity: Two Case Studies</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divide the class into halves. One group will work on Persia, the other on Egypt. Students should use their graphic organizers to cull information from the given materials for their assigned case study. Students can be assigned to smaller sub-groups to read each source more deeply, and share and discuss their findings within their larger group.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2</p>	<p>1. <u>Main Activity: Two Case Studies</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each group will be given 10-15 minutes apiece to report their findings to the entire class. Students may use the information they included in their graphic organizers to organize their presentation. Each group should elect a small team of speakers to present their findings. Students working on the other case study can use this opportunity to ask clarifying questions of the presenting group, and to add information about the second case to their graphic organizers. • Following the presentations, the teacher can facilitate a broader discussion that encourages a comparative understanding of the two case studies. Some possible topics for this broader discussion may include the following: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What long-term impacts do you think colonialism had on the

economic and political development of these two countries?

- b. How do you think these historical experiences have shaped political views in Egypt and Iran, and other countries in the region that have had experiences with European colonialism?
- c. What did you learn during this activity that you found to be surprising?

- Collectively, ask students to look photos from the 1919 Egyptian Revolution Handout and describe and interpret the images – what do they tell us about popular sentiment, and who participated?
- Similarly, students can look at the photos from 19th century Persia and describe and interpret the images – how do these images complement the texts the students read?

Assessment:

- There are different assessment possibilities for this lesson. Two suggestions are listed below.

Option A:

- Connections to Today: Following the case study activity and discussion of the two cases, students can read the *Guardian* article “So-called free trade talks should be in the public, not corporate interest”:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/economics-blog/2013/jul/05/free-trade-talks-public-corporate-interest>
- This opinion piece by Nobel Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz critically examines the United States’ refusal to give up cotton subsidies in the latest round of WTO talks, and the negative effect this position has on small farmers in lower-income countries. In reading this article, students should write a 2-3 page response paper on how they see the practices of free trade described in the news article connecting to the historical cases of Egypt and Persia. They can utilize the information gathered in their graphic organizers to supply evidence and examples as they construct their arguments.

Option B:

- Opportunity for Independent Study:

	<p>During the 19th century, European powers often made use of their militaries to negotiate trade agreements that were favorable to their economic interests. Some of these treaties include:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The 1813 Gulistan Treaty between Persia and Russia The 1828 Turkmanchay Treaty between Persia and Russia The 1838 Balta-Liman Treaty (also known as the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838) The 1857 Treaty of Paris between Persia and the UK <ul style="list-style-type: none"> As an independent study, students may go online to learn more about these treaties, as well as the circumstances and conflicts that set the stage for them. They can also learn about the political, economic, and social implications of these treaties, including political and social movements that emerged as a result of these developments. Teachers may consult the following texts to select relevant excerpts for students to read, or to adapt material to create handouts or summaries for students. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Quataert, Donald. <i>The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922</i>. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Bonakdarian, Mansour. <i>Britain and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911: Foreign Policy, Imperialism, and Dissent</i>. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006. Keddie, Nikki. <i>Qajar Iran and the Rise of Reza Khan, 1796-1925</i>. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2012. Students can create a 3-5 page report on one or more of these treaties, and should strive to incorporate and make use of maps, photos, and artifacts in their reports.
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Read: Chapter 1: “Who is an imperialist?” from <i>Empire</i> by Stephen Howe. This text presents a concise but advanced overview of the idea of “empire,” and key definitions of terms such as <i>empire</i>, <i>imperialism</i>, and <i>colonialism</i>. Students can use this text as a reference to learn more about the concepts and also to learn about some key historical examples of empire and colonialism. Read: <i>The Strangling of Persia</i> by W. Morgan Shuster. Shuster was an

American advisor who served as Imperial Treasurer to the Qajar government in Persia following the 1906 Constitutional Revolution in Iran. Shuster was removed from his position after only a year, due to objections by the British government. Shuster's book is a valuable primary source, offering a personal narrative on the role of the British and Russian governments in shaping Iranian politics. Full text available online at <http://archive.org/details/stranglingofpersoo1925mbp>

- **Read:** Naguib Mahfouz's novel *Palace Walk*, paying special attention to his descriptions of protest during the 1919 revolution. Students can address the following question: How does a fictionalized account of the Revolution compare to the non-fiction materials used in class to introduce the topic?
- **Browse:** The Travelers in the Middle East Archive (TIMEA) is a digital archive that focuses on Western interactions with the Middle East, particularly travels to Egypt during the 19th and early 20th centuries. TIMEA offers electronic texts such as travel guides, museum catalogs, and travel narratives, photographic and hand-drawn images of Egypt, historical maps, and interactive GIS (Geographic Information Systems) maps of Egypt and Cyprus. In addition, TIMEA provides educational modules that set the materials in context and explore how to conduct historical research: <http://timea.rice.edu>.

GRAPHIC ORGANIZER FOR EGYPT AND PERSIA CASE STUDY ACTIVITY

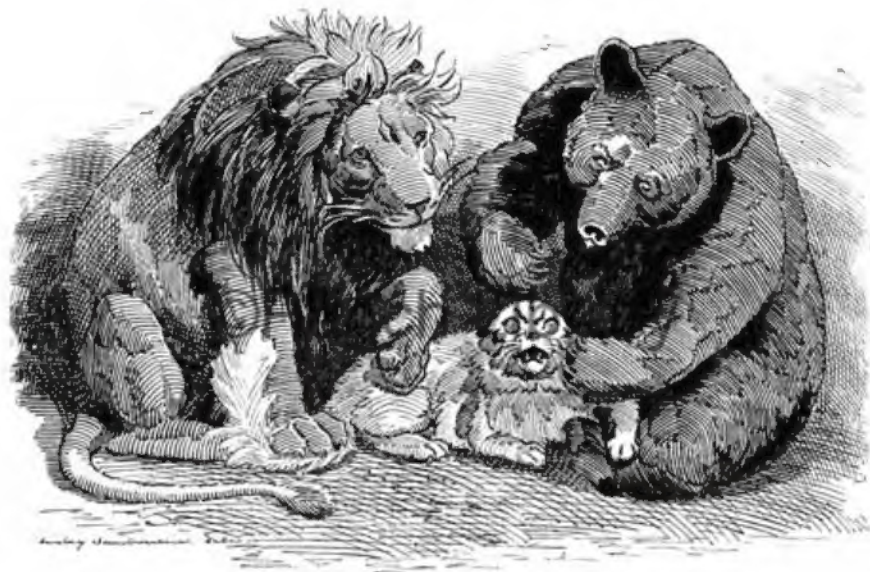
QUESTIONS	PERSIA	EGYPT	ADDITIONAL NOTES
What might be some reasons for Britain wanting to keep weak rulers in place in Persia and the Ottoman Empire?			
What economic advantages did Britain enjoy in Egypt and Persia as a result of such arrangements (i.e., weak rulers)?			
How did economic concessions and free trade agreements impact the local economies in Egypt and Persia?			
How did the Egyptian and Iranian public pressure their governments and resist colonial rule, specifically during the Tobacco Protest and Constitutional Revolution in Iran, and the 1919 Revolution in Egypt?			

PHOTOS FROM 19TH CENTURY PERSIA

Russian and British Spheres of Influence in 19th Century Persia



The Harmless Necessary Cat: Russian Bear, British Lion, and Persian Cat



THE HARMLESS NECESSARY CAT.

BRITISH LION (to Russian Bear): "LOOK HERE! YOU CAN PLAY WITH HIS HEAD, AND I CAN PLAY WITH HIS TAIL, AND WE CAN BOTH STRIKE THE SMALL OF HIS BACK."
 PERSIAN CAT: "I DON'T REMEMBER HAVING BEEN CONSULTED ABOUT THIS!"

RETHINKING THE REGION: New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

PHOTOS FROM THE 1919 EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION



Figure 17. "An Egyptian lady goes out in her carriage with the members of her family the day of the big holiday—8 April—to participate in the manifestations of joy, and her sister has raised the beloved Egyptian flag." Photograph by Ramses Company. *Al-Lata'if al-Musawwara*, 5 May 1919, 6.



Figure 18. Enlargement of the woman holding the flag (figure 17). Cover of *al-Musawwar*, 7 March 1969.



Figure 16. "A splendid scene took place that happy day [8 April 1919]: the undertaking of Egyptian ladies to cheer the people and the nation." Photograph by the Ramses Company, 8 April 1919. *Al-Lata'if al-Musawwara*, 21 April 1919, 6.

Source: Images from Baron, Beth. *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*. 2007.

afterlives in the contemporary world: both the 'real world' of geopolitics and the various intellectual fields involved in studying or arguing about colonialism and its various 'posts'.

Chapter 1

Who's an imperialist?

The very word empire, as we shall see, has had a complicated history and many different, fiercely contested meanings. It has also been intertwined with several other, mostly newer but equally contentious words: imperialism, colonialism, and latterly neo-colonialism, globalization, and others. A great range of compound terms has also been thrown into the stew at different times and places: informal empire, sub-imperialism, cultural imperialism, internal colonialism, postcolonialism, and many more. All these labels tend to come attached to heavy luggage: a great weight of history and ideology, sometimes of elaborate theorizing, sometimes of raw emotion. To make everything just that bit more difficult still, the relationships of these various terms to one another are also all much debated, and sometimes much confused. One indicator of that might be that there has been hesitation over what the very title of this 'Very Short Introduction' should be: 'Empire', the plural 'Empires', 'Imperialism', or perhaps 'Colonialism'.

The difficulties involved are not just conceptual but political and emotional. Defining something as imperial or colonial today almost always implies hostility to it, viewing it as inherently immoral or illegitimate. If someone calls, say, American actions in Afghanistan, British policies in Northern Ireland, or Chinese ones in Tibet 'imperialist' or 'colonialist', they may or may not be alluding to some weighty theory about the causes or character of those actions. They

are, though, almost certainly telling us one thing quite clearly: they very much dislike whatever it is they are talking about.

The idea that empire is a Bad Thing suffuses almost all our imaginative worlds too: in the literature of science fiction and fantasy, in popular cinema, in video and computer games. In the *Star Wars* films, the bad guys are the Evil Empire. In *The Lord of the Rings*, the wicked Sauron controls an empire and schemes to rule over all. Noble Gondor, by contrast, is a 'realm' or a kingdom - even though some analysts of Middle Earth's historical sociology would doubtless call Gondor's large, multi-ethnic political system an imperial one. Hobbits, meanwhile, live in a small republic with no monarch and indeed hardly any government at all. The oddest twist to this is that the Shire of the Hobbits is so obviously England, although when the book was written, its author's 'England' still ruled a global empire. And in J. R. R. Tolkien's youth, the mass media, popular culture, and much of the art of the day would have reflected an image of empire seemingly almost the opposite of today's. To be an empire builder was to be an adventurer, a hero, a selfless labourer for others' well-being. Such approving imagery dominated depictions not only of modern Britain but of ancient Rome. It extended far beyond the empire-owning countries, across Europe, the Atlantic and even the globe. In countries like Ireland and Poland, which not only possessed no colonies but were seen by many as the victims of others' colonialism, writers and artists were nonetheless enthralled by visions of imperial greatness. Pioneer Indian or Egyptian nationalists, Pan-Africanists, and Pan-Arabists raged against the European empires which ruled their lives. But, far more often than is usually now recalled, they were also led on by ideas that in the mists of the past, they too once had empires of their own - and might in future have them once more.

Ideas about empire have not only changed across the past century from general approval to near-universal distaste; they have also seemed to spread and multiply beyond all limit or control. 'Imperialism', as a word, has gone imperial; 'colonialism' has

colonized our languages. They do not only span the galaxies and the parallel universes of science fiction. They have come to be used, at the extreme, to describe anyone's, any group's, or anything's supposed superiority, or domination, or even just influence, over any other person, or group, or thing. Some of these uses are clearly metaphorical; others seem to be intended literally. Our everyday lives are 'colonized', in a wide range of current rhetorics, by technology, by bureaucracy, or by the advertising industry. Almost any large organization in commerce, finance, media, or even sports is an 'empire' to those who dislike it. For some fans of rival British football clubs, Manchester United is 'the Evil Empire': and the label is not *entirely* a joke nor, perhaps, *only* a metaphor.

Even leaving aside such rhetorical excesses, the political uses of these words may seem quite unmanageably wide and various. The same people, at different times or according to different viewpoints, could be seen as imperialists and as victims of imperialism, as colonizers, colonized, and postcolonial. In the later 18th century, white settlers on the eastern seaboard of North America, after mostly destroying the earlier inhabitants and enslaving Africans, began to see themselves as victims of domination from England. They were colonists - and, in a slightly later language, colonialists - who also mounted the world's first successful anticolonial revolution. White Australians are clearly heirs to a colonial project of British expansion and settlement. In some eyes, they remain colonialists vis-à-vis Aboriginal Australians, who are still underprivileged, marginalized, and deprived of many of their ancestral lands. Yet many Australians see themselves, with some justice, as coming at least as much from an *anticolonial* political tradition, which struggled for and won effective independence from Britain. In so far as that struggle was successful, Australia today is - at least by some definitions of another much-disputed word - a postcolonial society. Others again argue, though, that Australia remains tied to the remnants of British imperial power, at least in that it is not a fully sovereign Republic, but formally subject to the British Monarchy - or even because social attitudes are still



2. Resisters: Skeletons with battle injuries, excavated at Maiden Castle, Dorset, England. These were most likely British defenders of the Durotriges people, killed fighting against the Roman invasion in c.45 CE.

influenced by what a former Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, called a 'cultural cringe' towards the old imperial masters. To complete the circle, certain conservative Australian politicians raise the alarm that their country risks being 'colonized' by large-scale Asian immigration, or subject to a 'new imperialism' from Japanese and other Asian economic powers.

The terms 'empire' and 'imperialism', at their most general, have been used to refer to any and every type of relation between a more powerful state or society and a less powerful one. In order to arrive at a more usefully specific understanding, we need to delve a little into the histories of the words.

The word 'empire' comes, of course, from the Latin *imperium*: for which the closest modern English equivalent would perhaps be 'sovereignty', or simply 'rule'. For the Romans, it denoted a dual capacity: to wage war, and to make and execute laws. An 'emperor' was originally a victorious general, later a supreme magistrate – though the military overtones of the title never disappeared. But it also came, even in later Republican Rome, to have a further connotation: size. *Imperium* came to mean rule over extensive, far-flung territories, far beyond the original 'homeland' of the rulers. As the term was taken up again in the early-modern period, by European Christian monarchs and their publicists, it usually – indeed increasingly – carried this connotation; though some rather petty rulers, like Anglo-Saxon kings in parts of England, also occasionally and vaingloriously called themselves emperors. But it carried also two further, and for some time probably more important, associations. One was of *absolute* sovereignty, acknowledging no overlord or rival claimant to power. When Henry VIII of England had his realm proclaimed an 'empire' in the 1530s, the main intention was to assert that he owed no allegiance to, and would tolerate no interference from, either the Papacy or the secular power with which it was aligned, the Habsburg domains. The other was found especially in the most explicitly religious uses of the term: an aspiration to universality. Christian empire was in

principle boundless, as the Roman *imperium* to which it was partial heir had claimed to be. Everyone outside was a barbarian (an idea Rome had adapted from the Greeks).

With the advent of a universalist, Christian monotheism, the notion was added that all these outsiders were by definition not only uncivilized but ungodly. A very similar idea, though expressed of course in different language, came to be held by early Islamic rulers; while a more distantly related belief was espoused also by Chinese thinkers. Thus for such inferior peoples to be brought under the sway of universal empire by conquest would also be to bring them access to civilization and true religion – though Christians and Muslims differed on whether this meant they should be converted by force. Conquest was therefore morally justified, even divinely ordained. A new, perhaps more intense drive for expansion, peculiar to the Christian and Islamic West, was thus created. This whole complex of ideas also eventually became associated with two further notions; those of nationality and of race. The association was complex, and is much argued over, though most historians tend to see nationalism, and racialized thought, as much more modern additions to the ancient and medieval core.

Moving from early self-understandings to modern attempts at definition, these have been extremely numerous and various: some notably vague, others immensely elaborate, indeed ponderous. A kind of basic, consensus definition would be that an empire is a large political body which rules over territories outside its original borders. It has a central power or core territory – whose inhabitants usually continue to form the dominant ethnic or national group in the entire system – and an extensive periphery of dominated areas. In most cases, the periphery has been acquired by conquest. But sometimes, especially in the medieval world, expansion comes about by the intermarriage of ruling families from two previously independent states: historians have used such labels as 'composite monarchy' for the resulting units. And in some modern instances, the people of the peripheral territory may have chosen willingly to

be brought under the control of the imperial centre. Nineteenth-century British governments, for example, claimed – not always honestly – that new areas coming under their control did so because their inhabitants positively begged to be protected by British power. Thus such places were not conquered colonies, but 'Protectorates'. Later, and with more justification, Britain and France argued that the scattered, mostly small overseas territories which remained under their rule in the early 21st century did so in part because the people of British Gibraltar or the Falklands islands, or French Martinique, wanted it that way.

Empires, then, must by definition be big, and they must be composite entities, formed out of previously separate units. Diversity – ethnic, national, cultural, often religious – is their essence. But in many observers' understanding, that cannot be a diversity of equals. If it is, if there is no relation of domination between 'core' and 'periphery', then the system is not an empire but deserves a title such as 'commonwealth'. So 20th-century British governments argued that they were engineering a gradual transformation from a London-dominated empire to a Commonwealth, a free association of equals. In somewhat similar fashion, the rulers both of the Soviet Union and the post-Soviet Russian federation insisted that these were not imperial systems, because all their component parts had equal rights – at least on paper.

Empires always involve a mixture of direct and indirect rule. The central power has ultimate sovereignty, and exercises some direct control, especially over military force and money-raising powers, in all parts of its domain. But there will usually be some kind of decentralized, 'colonial', or 'provincial' government in each of the empire's major parts, with subordinate but not trivial powers of its own. These authorities may be – indeed in most imperial systems, usually are – headed by men sent out from the dominant centre. But their leaders, and certainly their more junior administrators or enforcers, may also be 'locals', drawn from the ranks (often, indeed,

from the pre-conquest ruling orders) of the dominated people. In many empires, ancient and modern, there was a general tendency over time for imperial rulers to devolve ever more power to such groups. In the long run, of course, this might lead to the gradual breakup of the empire itself. But, as we shall see, many historians argue that the key to understanding empire lies in the bargains struck between imperial centre and local 'collaborators'. No empire could last for long if it depended entirely on naked power exerted from the centre outwards. The different kinds of collaboration – it's a word often carrying hostile overtones, especially from Second World War Europe, but will be used here in a more neutrally intended sense – will therefore be a major theme in these pages. In almost all empires, local intermediaries might enjoy much autonomy within their own spheres, and command considerable wealth, power, and status, in return for delivering their people's obedience, financial tribute, and military services to the centre.

Empire

The emphasis on intermediaries, collaborators, bargains, and decentralization should not, however, be pushed too far. Empire was also often, indeed perhaps typically, established and maintained by violence. Sometimes extreme violence: some historians would say that most episodes of genocide and mass murder in world history have been associated with empire-building. We shall explore this link below. In the modern world, the idea of empire has also usually been associated with European, white rule over non-Europeans, with 'racial' hierarchies and racist beliefs. Some analysts, again, build this association into their very definitions of empire and colonialism. But this causes some obvious problems. If neither conquerors nor conquered are 'European' – or if both are – should the resulting system be called imperial? Should we say, for instance, that the polities ruled by Ming emperors, or by Ottoman ones, were somehow not 'proper' empires? Or that they may have been empires, but their activities were not 'imperialist' or 'colonialist' because those labels are stamped 'whites only'? Not many historians feel comfortable with such manoeuvres. It is more sensible, surely, to say that the modern European colonial empires



3. Collaborators: Roman ceremonial cavalry helmet found at Ribchester, Lancashire, England, 2nd century CE. The wearer was probably a Sarmatian Slav from the Danube basin – recruited from one of the empire's extreme peripheries, serving at its other extremity.

were special kinds of imperial system, and that ideas about 'race' were part of what made them special – and explore the implications of those differences. Further on, we shall try to do just that.

Most analysts, then, seem to agree that an empire is formed, most often by conquest, out of a dominant 'core' and a dominated, often economically exploited 'periphery'. These are usually geographically separate, clearly bounded places. In modern seaborne empires, they might indeed be thousands of miles apart. In other cases, though, the geographical lines between them might be blurred. Core and periphery might even be closely intermingled, inhabiting the same physical spaces: ideas like 'internal colonialism', which we shall also explore below, were developed to try to explain such situations. And it has not always been at all clear where the core ends and the periphery begins. For instance, for a considerable period Ireland was part of the United Kingdom (as a portion of it still is), and Algeria part of France. But many people in those places came to believe that they were not really treated as members – let alone equal members – of the core populations, but as parts of the colonized periphery. Many of them, moreover, decided that they did not *want* to be part of the imperial centre, even if it would have them: they wanted separation.

Such people, though, did not pursue political independence only – or, they would insist, even mainly – because they were not accepted as equals in London or Paris. They did so, they said, because they were culturally different: different enough to form a clearly separate nationality, which deserved and needed to be self-governing. As this implies, in most – maybe all – imperial systems the distinction between centre and periphery, dominant and dominated, was not just one of physical location, political power, or economic clout: it was seen in terms of cultural difference. 'Culture' is, of course, yet another of those large, baggy, rather shapeless words which this story keeps stumbling over. It is, like 'empire', 'colonialism', and our other key words, far more often invoked than defined. In modern imperial systems (and *perhaps* in many ancient ones too), however,

it was typically believed that the dominant core people were clearly culturally different from, and superior to, the politically subordinate, peripheral ones. The crucial markers of difference might vary widely in different circumstances: including language, religion, physical appearance, types and levels of technology, even sexual behaviour. There was huge variation, too, as to whether imperial rulers tended to emphasize such differences or to downplay them, to see them as fixed for all time or as things that should be gradually erased by educating the colonized in the colonizers' ways. (The standard view, which is *partly* accurate, is that ancient Roman and modern French imperialists stressed the latter, the British the former.)

We shall be exploring some of these complexities, at least a little way, in later chapters. But in a place like French Algeria, the dividing lines seemed pretty clear-cut. One side was mainly Christian, French-speaking, light-skinned, comparatively prosperous; the other Muslim, Arabic or Berber-speaking, darker-skinned, and poorer. Some important groups, it is true, did not fit clearly into either camp: most obviously, Algeria's large Jewish population. But they tended to be ignored in much argument about the country's future. Indeed one of the most famous modern analyses of empire, heavily based on Algerian experience – that of Frantz Fanon – saw a total, unbridgeable chasm between the two cultures as *the* defining feature of colonial situations. Its inevitable consequence, in Fanon's view, was extreme violence.

As such conflict duly developed during the 1950s, increasingly, one side identified itself as French – even if many of these people's ancestors had actually come from places like Spain or Malta – the other as Algerian. Almost all those in the first group who had lived in Algeria chose to move, or return, to mainland France when Algeria became independent. They did so amidst much bitterness, whose legacies still haunt France, and more violently Algeria, today.

As Ireland cultural identities, and the divisions between them,

seemed less sharply defined. It was far more common, and apparently easier, to think of oneself as British *and* Irish than it was to be both French and Algerian. To feel forced to choose one or the other, amidst divided affections and loyalties, was for many a painful experience. One can easily imagine a similar pain being felt by many people in Roman Britain as the legions departed. To which culture did one really belong? Where was one's true home? Indeed such a Romano-British dilemma *has* repeatedly been imagined, by literally hundreds of modern writers – especially by British ones in the later years of Britain's empire, when the drawing of parallels with the decline of Roman power became almost obsessive. A little later the theme of feeling culturally divided, even schizophrenic, torn between local tradition and colonial – then global – modernity became perhaps the most constantly recurring preoccupation of African, Asian, and other 'postcolonial' writers and artists.

Empire Empire, it is thus suggested, always involved cultural diversity. It often rested on, and its rulers sometimes justified themselves by reference to, deep cultural divisions and inequalities. But it also inevitably produced many kinds of cultural interchange, of synthesis, mixture, or – in a word that has become exceedingly fashionable among modern students of colonialism – hybridity. For some scholars, such hybridity is its most important continuing legacy.

Others, though, question this stress on cultural legacies, as opposed to the economic or political consequences of empire. We could say indeed that there are two main lines of division and dispute among students of the modern empires: lines which overlap more than a little. One is over how much one should emphasize the power and purposefulness of colonial rulers, as against the degree of autonomy and initiative retained by the colonized. The second is about the centrality of culture to colonialism, and vice versa. Should we see modern empires as first and foremost cultural phenomena, or as political or economic ones?

Obviously enough, empire has been all these things. But some would say that another aspect was more important than any of them. Empires did not only involve rulers expanding their power, nor administrators or soldiers travelling from capital to province and money travelling in the other direction, nor even the flow of commodities, ideas, beliefs, or cultural habits from place to place. It also, nearly always, entailed the mass movement of people – even of entire peoples. Our knowledge of such movements in the ancient empires is often very sketchy, and sometimes clouded in myth. Historians nowadays tend to think that some of the 'great migrations' and even great invasions of early history may actually have involved quite small numbers of people. A few of them may never have happened at all. When the Vandals and later the Arabs swept across North Africa, or perhaps when Israelites conquered Canaan, it was not a matter of one population replacing another, but probably of a quite thin layer of new rulers superimposed on the existing inhabitants, who later, gradually, took on the culture and identity of their conquerors. At least, this happened with Arabs and Israelites: the Vandals seem to have left little by way of a cultural legacy (perhaps one of them smashed it). The cheering thing about this revised picture of ancient history is of course that, so far as it is correct, many of the mass slaughters that we read about in the Bible and elsewhere may also never have happened.

In and around the great imperial systems of modern times, the mass migrations – and sometimes the mass murders – are clearly no myth. Most obviously, they carried tens of millions of Europeans all over the globe, where they formed settler minorities (usually privileged, dominant ones) in many places, and vast majorities in others. The latter – all of North and much of South America, Australia, New Zealand, and smaller enclaves elsewhere – are sometimes, not inappropriately, called 'neo-Europes'. They form a big part of the story of modern world empire: in some ways the most important part of all. These were in the main voluntary migrations; but millions of others, especially Africans, traversed oceans and continents against their will, transported as slaves

across the Atlantic – and, in a pattern far less well recorded or commemorated, the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Somewhere in between were the vast Chinese and Indian diasporas, spreading around Asia and then the world, including traders and willing settlers but also, later, vast numbers of ‘indentured labourers’ whose condition was often little if any better than slavery. These were the biggest waves of migration that followed and helped form the tides of empire; but there were hundreds of other, smaller patterns. Eventually Armenian communities could be found, often as merchants, right across Eurasia, Lebanese on all the shores of the Atlantic, European Jews yet more widely spread.

Since the end of formal colonial empire, the flows of mass migration have been even more complicated and multi-directional; though they have still often followed routes first established in colonial times. And they have mostly reversed the direction of earlier imperial migrancy; going in the main from ex-colonies to former metropolises, or more broadly from poor regions to rich, from south to north, from country to city.

Still other kinds of migration are only just now beginning to receive the attention they deserve. Plants, animals, and perhaps most importantly, microbes also went everywhere that empire spread. The environmental systems of the world were transformed by what some now call ecological imperialism.

If the word ‘empire’ today usually carries negative overtones, then the same is even more true of ‘imperialism’. It has also been even more variously defined, more fiercely and continuously argued over, than ‘empire’. If an empire is a kind of object, usually a political entity, then imperialism is a process – or in some understandings, an attitude, an ideology, even a philosophy of life. That makes it inherently even harder to define than empire. Imperialism is much the newer of these words, first widely used only near the end of the 19th century. Yet entire books – rather large ones – have been written on the history of its different uses, while literally hundreds

of volumes have been devoted to proposing, criticizing, or summarizing numerous rival ‘theories of imperialism’.

The first uses seem, like most recent ones, to have been hostile: but unlike many of them, they were very specific. ‘Imperialism’ initially meant the policies of Napoleon III in France during the 1860s – his ostentatious but feeble effort to revive the glories of his mighty uncle’s reign a half-century earlier. Soon, though, it started to be used to refer specifically to external policies; mainly in relation to the attitudes towards foreign affairs of British Tory Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli and his successors. The stress on *attitudes* is important here: for most late-Victorian users of the word, imperialism did not mean the *facts* of dominance, conquest, or overseas expansion, but a policy, a philosophy, or just an emotional attitude of enthusiasm for such things. For some British critics, the label was interchangeable with ‘jingoism’ – a word adapted from a belligerent music-hall song and used to mean thoughtlessly aggressive patriotism. (Later an Austrian economist, Joseph Schumpeter, was to build a whole theory round the idea that imperialism stemmed from mindless aggression, expansion as an end in itself.) It was thus entirely self-consistent to say that one was opposed to imperialism, but a great friend of the British empire: many British liberal and early socialist politicians said exactly that.

Around 1890–1900, though, in Britain and elsewhere, the word started to be used by supporters as well as opponents of expansionist colonial policies. For the first and (as it soon turned out) last time, lots of people happily called *themselves* imperialists. Because of the popularity of such views – and because the period saw the rapid expansion of various European empires, especially in Africa – slightly later historians often called this the era of ‘the New Imperialism’ or even ‘the Age of Imperialism’. Such terminology was further encouraged by a variety of arguments, coming mainly from radical and socialist thinkers, about the relationship between colonial expansion and industrial capitalism. The most enduringly fruitful of these arguments came from the British radical-liberal

J. A. Hobson. A century later, scholarly debate on the economics of modern empire still revolves around his claim that European expansion was driven by the search for new fields of investment. Even more globally influential, though – at least so long as world Communism was a dynamic force – was Lenin's view that 'imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism'. Imperialism wasn't just linked to monopolistic capitalism, nor even a consequence of it – they were really one and the same thing. This had two rather pleasing implications for Communists: that by definition, only capitalist countries could be imperialists; and that, also by definition, the imperialist stage of capitalist development must be the last stage before its collapse.

Lenin's theory (or in hostile critics' eyes, his terminological conjuring trick) was widely persuasive, even for non-Marxists. This caused enduring confusion, for it was repeatedly muddled up with notions of 'imperialism' as meaning the policies of European colonial powers, or of the United States, or of any allegedly expansionist power – or just plain simple, general-purpose aggressiveness. Some writers, in slightly more discriminating fashion, use the word to mean all kinds of domination or control by one set of people over another, but especially by one state (or group of them) over others. Thus one could speak of 'formal' and 'informal' imperialism: the first meaning physical control or full-fledged colonial rule, while the second implied less direct but still powerful kinds of dominance, like Britain's 19th-century hegemony in Chile and Iran, or the USA's more recent role in much of central America.

That broad, and admittedly fuzzy-edged, definition will be used here; though we will have regularly to remind ourselves that its employment in any particular situation is always potentially contentious. What those who use the word in and about the present usually mean, however, is something like the following. A small group of powers today dominates and exploits the rest of the world. You can think of those powers in terms of states, or of economic actors (transnational companies, financial institutions, etc.) or even

– in the style of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri – as a singular new world empire. Equally, according to ideological taste, you can characterize them as first and foremost capitalist, or as Western, white, Christian, Judaeo-Christian, secular, liberal-democratic, and so on. However described, they do form an entity, an 'it', whose undisputed leader, symbol, and greatest force is the United States. For some contemporary critics, indeed, as for orthodox Communists in the Cold War era, 'imperialism' is effectively a simple synonym for American foreign policy. It has, on this view, important continuities with the formal colonialism of the 19th and 20th centuries – indeed may share the same essential, exploitative aims – although it now operates mostly not through direct colonial rule, so much as through local client regimes, and through less formalized, less obvious economic, diplomatic, cultural, and other means of control. But when it feels its interests are threatened, it *will* intervene directly, and with massive, vindictive military force: from Vietnam in the 1960s, through Kuwait and Kosovo, to Afghanistan in 2002.

A minor oddity of modern academic – and political – language is that the word 'imperialism' has undergone a sharp decline in popularity, while 'colonialism' has zoomed up the citation charts. There are various possible reasons for this. One is that although most of the writers concerned are politically on the left, they want to distance themselves from the Marxist overtones which many understandings of 'imperialism' had accumulated – and especially from the orthodox Soviet definitions that had entered circulation via Lenin. Another might be that 'imperialism', as we've just seen, is a disagreeably muddled and fractious term, while 'colonialism' is potentially a more precise one. If that were so, it would be rather a good reason for the change. The trouble is, it *isn't* so: colonialism is being used just as variously and contentiously as imperialism ever was. Its younger relative 'postcolonialism' seems even more elastic. To some people, it's an all-purpose label for the entire state of the contemporary world. To others it's just the tag for a few Professors of English Literature, their books, and courses. Like most 'post'

words, it seems to involve coming after something – so some view its use as dangerously misguided, for implying that colonialism is utterly dead and done with. On the other hand, it's often unclear just what comes after what: a recent book of literary studies is rather mind-bendingly entitled *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, whilst another literary scholar suggests (admittedly with tongue slightly in cheek) that *Beowulf* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* could be read as postcolonial texts'.

We shall come back to the idea of the postcolonial in the final chapter – and hopefully in a less murky fashion than that. In the meantime, if we're to treat the current ubiquity of the label 'colonialism' as more than just an indication of how nerdishly many academics follow fashions and repeat each other (it *is* that; but not only that) we need to scratch a little around its roots too. 'Colony', 'colonist', 'colonial', and by extension the much more modern 'colonialism' derive, like 'empire', from Latin. Originally, a 'colony' just meant a farming settlement; then later a place – increasingly, a distant place – to which agricultural settlers migrated. In English before the 19th century, a 'colony' was a place to which people migrated, and in which they farmed: the word 'plantation' also carried the same meaning and was used interchangeably. Thus not all overseas possessions were called colonies: only ones where there was substantial British settlement (which also tended, of course, to mean places where the previous inhabitants were slaughtered or expelled). New England and New South Wales were colonies, Bengal or Bathurst were not.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, though, the meaning shifted and widened. All distant areas subject to political rule or control by other, mostly European, states began to be called colonies, whether or not Europeans settled permanently there. This remains the most common usage, and is one which this book from now on will broadly follow. But just to uphold the general rule that nothing in this field is straightforward, some 19th- and even 20th-century writers carried on using the older meanings. The words

spawned an 'ism' only more recently still. Unlike imperialism and the other related words, it seems to have been used with almost exclusively hostile intent right from the start. Moreover, not only were those early uses mainly polemical, they also tended to be, deliberately, rather selective. That is, colonialism was thought of not as a system of conquest and rule, but as being a term to apply to such systems where, and only where, the conquerors were European or North American. This tendency has often been carried over into more recent, academic, and analytical uses of the word. Sometimes this is done deliberately and explicitly, by way of arguments that European or Western forms of colonialism are not just the most important kinds in modern history, but the only ones to which the term should be applied. This might be because instances of non-European countries invading, occupying, or denying rights to others are seen mostly, if not entirely, as side effects, consequences, or mere inept imitations of European and US actions. Alternatively, it might involve an argument that colonialism properly so called is a global system, whereas oppression of one Asian or African people by another has only localized consequences. Thirdly, it could be because colonialism is seen as necessarily linked to ideologies of white racial superiority or domination, which are naturally absent or very weak in 'South-South' or 'intra-Third World' conflicts.

None of these, clearly, are trivial or foolish arguments: though the first surely becomes harder to sustain the further the old European colonial empires recede into history, while the second is less plausible when the parties to 'South-South' antagonism have nuclear armories, as with Indian-Pakistani confrontation. As for the third, there might be merit in following the suggestion of Charles W. Mills and thinking in terms of 'global white supremacy as a political system' rather than 'imperialism' or 'colonialism'. Such a description, for all its ponderousness, would capture the implied argument more accurately and less confusingly than is done by bending the concept of colonialism in yet another ideologically overburdened direction. As we shall be suggesting later, systems of colonial rule and schemata of racial thought have often been closely

linked in the past few centuries – but they are not Siamese twins. They can, and often do, exist apart from one another. Indeed one lively recent book about the British empire argues that its rulers were always more concerned with social status than with race.

Most often, in any case, modern studies of empire and of colonialism do not exclude non-European conquerors on account of any of those arguments: rather, they simply forget them. For example, the frequent repression of the Kurds by the various states who have ruled them is almost never discussed using the category of colonialism. But what distinguishes the actions of the Turkish army against rebellious Kurds in the 1930s and again the 1990s, or those of Iraq in 1988, from British or French colonial-era punitive expeditions to beat up dissident tribes? The only important difference is that the Turkish and Iraqi efforts appear to have been considerably more brutal than almost any campaign on the British North-West Frontier or French West Africa; to the point of being, so many analysts have charged, genocidal in intent. To take a yet bloodier example, where again is raised the spectre of genocide, as well as the full repertoire of classic colonial justifications including the rhetoric of the ‘civilizing mission’, what could be a more direct descendant of 19th-century colonial conquests than Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor?

The ghost of pre-modern ideas about colonies, seeing them as places of agrarian settlement, still hangs around the modern debates. Quite often, and quite confusingly, it seems to be assumed that colonial rule necessarily involves large-scale migrancy and settlement of European populations in non-European regions. In some places, of course, it did – especially the ‘neo-Europes’ of the Americas and south Pacific. In many others, notably most of colonial Africa and Asia, it did not. In such places, colonial domination was often exercised by a tiny handful of European soldiers and bureaucrats, plus a few traders and missionaries, none of whom intended to become permanent residents in the colony. Just as not all racism was colonial, and not all colonialism racially

defined, so by no means all colonialism involved settlers – and far from all mass migration, even within the boundaries of empire, should necessarily be called colonialist. The large post-1945 movement of people from British and French colonies into the cities of the ‘mother countries’ is, rightly, hardly ever described in that way. And the unique, almost uniquely complex, unendingly embattled case of Palestine–Israel should remind us, if nothing else, how complex these relationships could be.

In almost all that we have said so far, the focus has been on *states* as empire builders. Nearly always, the expanding and conquering body was indeed a state. But sometimes – especially with early-modern European overseas expansion – non-state organizations took the lead. Trading companies became conquerors and even, in effect, turned themselves into governments, maintaining armed forces, raising taxes, making and enforcing laws: the most spectacularly successful example was the British East India Company in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Yet such companies were hardly ever *independence* agents: their position depended on government-granted monopolies, their functions and personnel often overlapped with or blurred into those of the state itself, and they often relied on their ‘mother countries’ armed forces for their ultimate defence. Most obviously, the great British colonial companies were dependent on the protection of the Royal Navy.

In the much more recent past, something rather similar has happened again, if on a smaller scale. In war-torn parts of Africa, private companies, especially those involved in mining, have become the effective rulers of substantial territories, even recruiting their own armed forces or employing mercenaries from private ‘security’ firms. In early 2002, the British government even floated the idea that international peacekeeping operations might be contracted out to such private bodies.

Some clarity . . . and its limits

We have been following a sometimes tortuous path through a maze of arguments and definitions. We have come out, though, with what should be a set of usable, if rough-edged, concepts.

An **empire** is a large, composite, multi-ethnic or multinational political unit, usually created by conquest, and divided between a dominant centre and subordinate, sometimes far distant, peripheries.

Imperialism is used to mean the actions and attitudes which create or uphold such big political units – but also less obvious and direct kinds of control or domination by one people or country over others. It may make sense to use terms like cultural or economic imperialism to describe some of these less formal sorts of domination: but such labels will always be contentious. Some analysts also use terms like **dependency** – closely associated with economic underdevelopment – to describe these relationships. And they are clearly bound up with ideas about the newest of all these words: **globalization**. The ‘anti-globalization’ protestors who have confronted police forces in numerous world cities over the past few years evidently see globalization and imperialism as just two names for the same thing. Theories and rhetorics which express more positive views of the phenomenon, conversely, often tend to exaggerate the newness of the trends which they describe: the growth in transnational flows of goods, money, ideas, information, and people, with the allegedly resulting decline in the powers of the nation-state. All these have a much longer history, which scholars are only just beginning to trace. Much of this is, of course, the history of empires, which were the great transnational forces of earlier ages and the main engines of what some are now calling ‘archaic’ and ‘early-modern’ global society.

Colonialism is something more specific and strictly political: systems of rule by one group over another, where the first claims the

right (a ‘right’ again usually established by conquest) to exercise exclusive sovereignty over the second and to shape its destiny. Usually, this political domination is ‘long-distance’: the rulers of one bit of land exercise rule over another, separate one, whether the latter is a neighbour or on the far side of the world. But in a few cases – perhaps including apartheid-era South Africa, and parts of Latin America – the rulers and the ruled occupied the same physical space. Terms like **internal colonialism**, though again highly contentious, may be appropriate here.

Colonization refers to large-scale population movements, where the migrants maintain strong links with their or their ancestors’ former country, gaining significant privileges over other inhabitants of the territory by such links. When colonization takes place under the protection of clearly colonial political structures, it may most handily be called **settler colonialism**. This often involves the settlers entirely dispossessing earlier inhabitants, or instituting legal and other structures which systematically disadvantage them.

Finally, after the end of colonial rule, its effects still persist in innumerable different ways – though there is, of course, constant wrangling over how far various 21st-century miseries, especially in Africa, should be ‘blamed’ on the colonial legacy. A great range of terms has been used as collective designations for the parts of the globe once subject to colonialism: the Third World, the Less Developed (or, more optimistically, the Developing) Countries, the South, and more. The most popular today, and seemingly the most straightforward, is simply ‘the **postcolonial world**’. But the straightforwardness is rather deceptive, for as we’ve already noted and will explore further, ‘postcolonial’, with its various -isms and -ities, is also employed in a bewildering variety of other ways. Another, once popular tag for what came after colonial rule is **neo-colonialism**. The term has fallen out of favour, and was always widely abused in Cold War polemics, but might still be quite useful for postcolonial situations where an outside power – usually, but not

always, the former colonial ruler – still exercises very great, though half-hidden influence in ways that greatly resemble the older patterns of more open domination. France's role in some of her former African colonies comes readily to mind here.

For all these categories and concepts, there will be borderline cases, and contentious ones. For example, the indirect or informal political control exercised by the former Soviet Union over Poland, or by the United States over the Philippines, might (or might not, according to political preference) be described as imperialism. But it is not colonialism, since Poland and the Philippines retained formal political sovereignty. Nor is it colonization, since Russian or American migrants did not settle in Poland or the Philippines in significant numbers or exercise domination there. Much earlier, of course, large parts of Poland and the Philippines experienced both colonialism and colonization at the hands of Germany and Spain respectively. To take some still more controversial instances: the modern conflict in Northern Ireland is a colonial one in the eyes of Irish Republicans and of many international observers, emphatically not so in those of British governments and of Ulster Unionists. In the view of many Serbs, what happened in Kosovo in the 1990s was first a kind of creeping, but aggressive colonization by Albanians in historically Serbian land, then – when Serbs tried to defend themselves – full-scale imperialist war by the USA and its allies against Serbia. To Albanians, Kosovars, and most outside commentators, the case was entirely the reverse: the colonization, the regional imperialism, the aggression, and the guilt all lay with the Serbs, not their opponents. The Islamic militants who attacked New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 believed they were striking a blow against imperialism. To most Americans and Europeans, such a claim seemed utterly grotesque. But many people in poorer countries, even if they did not approve of these murderous acts, seemed to understand very well what the attackers said they were about. Quite obviously, defining 'empire' or 'colonialism' more precisely than these rival political forces do



PARIS EST PROPRE

GRACE A NOUS LES IMMIGRES QUI N'AIMONS PAS VOIR LES URINES ET LES GROTTES DES CHIENS SANS NOUS. CETTE VILLE SERAIT PEUT-ETRE LA SCORIE DE CROTTES

4. *Paris is Clean* – thanks to postcolonial African and Asian migrants literally doing the dirty work. The same could have been said of almost every Western European and North American city.

won't help much in resolving their conflicts – though equally, a bit more clarity would certainly do no harm.

Therefore, even after all these attempts at clarification, the reader should beware! These are *my* stabs at definition, though naturally they draw on the ideas of many other writers. Other works, including most of those highly recommended at the end of this one, offer a huge variety of different ways of understanding the crucial concepts in the field. (And there are other books, aimed at students, with titles like 'Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies', which seem to me to suggest quite unhelpful and confused terminology.) Indeed

no two authorities seem to agree on even the most basic issues of definition. Perhaps they never will, for the subject is so highly charged with political passions and emotion. That can make the historical study of empires frustrating, but is also part of what makes it ever-mobile and exciting.

Chapter 2

Empire by land

Empires can be categorized in all kinds of ways: ancient and modern, centralized and decentralized, ultra-brutal and relatively benign, and so on. Perhaps the most basic and important distinction, though, is between those that grew by expansion overland, extending directly outwards from original frontiers, and those which were created by sea-power, spanning the oceans and even the entire globe. The second, mainly European kind has been the most powerful and dynamic in the modern world – roughly the last 500 years. The first, land-based form of empire, however, is by far older, and has been created by more varied kinds of people: Asians, Africans, and pre-Columbian Americans as well as Europeans. It has also proved longer lasting. The European seaborne empires were almost entirely dismantled between the 1940s and the 1970s. But the Soviet state, which collapsed only in the 1990s, is seen by many as the last great land empire. Other commentators disagree, and would say that another one still exists in 2002: the vast multi-ethnic political system ruled from Beijing.

This chapter looks at the long history of land-based imperial systems, both ancient and modern. Many political systems of the ancient world are routinely described as empires – from Egypt to Babylon or the early states in what are now India and China. We shall briefly sketch the basic character of some of these, but look a little more closely at imperial Rome, since the Roman empire was a

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

TOPIC Nationalization of AIOC in Iran, 1951-53	
LESSON OVERVIEW	At the beginning of class, students will respond to the central questions for the lesson: Do countries have the right to control their own resources? Should an outside country be able to keep most of the profits from the resources of another country? After discussing their opinions, the class will break into three groups (Iranian Advocates, British Advocates, and the Hague Tribunal) to prepare for a class debate on the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran. Each group will use research to construct their argument. The lesson will conclude with a class debate in which students present their arguments, ask clarifying questions, and come to a decision regarding the nationalization of Iranian oil.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How was nationalization linked to Iranian sovereignty (independence)? • Who stood to gain from such acts, and who stood to lose?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore the ethical dimensions of foreign ownership of sovereign resources • Engage students in collaborative inquiry • Reinforce critical thinking through comparative analysis and public debate • Make use of artifacts and historical sources to synthesize an evidenced-based position • Articulate and analyze alternative viewpoints
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p>

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.8 Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.9 Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.

Common Core Grade 11-12:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Understand the development and connectedness of Western civilization and

other civilizations and cultures in many areas of the world and over time

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events
- Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Identify historical problems, pose analytical questions or hypotheses, research analytical questions or test hypotheses, formulate conclusions or generalizations, raise new questions or issues for further investigation
- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments in world history
- Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed; by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History)

Standard 3, Key Idea 1

- Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic and religious systems in different regions of the world

Standard 4, Key Idea 1

- Analyze the effectiveness of the varying ways in which the societies, nations, and regions of the world attempt to satisfy their basic needs and wants by utilizing scarce resources

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understand the nature of scarcity and how nations of the world make choices which involve economic and social costs and benefits
MATERIALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Time</i> Man of the Year Mohammad Mossadegh: http://mohsen.banan.i.byname.net/content/republished/doc.public/politics/iran/mossadeq/1951TimesManOfTheYear/main.pdf <i>New York Times</i> timeline: http://partners.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/o416ooiran-coup-timeline.html British political cartoons from the 1950s Historical overview: http://www.coldwar.org/articles/50s/iranian_overthrow.asp Text of D'Arcy Concession: http://20thcenturymiddleeast.wikispaces.com/file/view/d_Arcy+Oil+Concession.pdf Overview of how and why the British navy went from coal to oil: http://www.epmag.com/archives/digitalOilField/5911.htm Oil nationalization in Iran: http://www.iranchamber.com/history/oil_nationalization/oil_nationalization.php Poem by Allen Ginsburg: "Subliminal" Graphic Organizer Optional: History of BP ("First Oil, Early History, Throughout World War II, Post War"): http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/about-bp/our-history.html
PROCEDURE DAY 1	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Opening Activity: Taking a Position (10 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have students spend ten minutes writing their thoughts in response to the following questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Do countries have a right to control their own resources? Should an outside country be able to keep most of the profit from the resources of another country? <u>Share and Discuss Student Responses (10-15 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take time to hear from the students and to elicit some discussion. Direct the students to get up and move to different corners of the room to physically

	<p>create a spectrum of responses. Once students position themselves, engage them in discussion. Who felt that countries should control their own resources? Who disagreed with that position? What reasons do they give to support their positions?</p> <p>3. <u>Introduce Coming Activity (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Break students into the following three groups and introduce the coming activity. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Iranian Advocates b. British Advocates (British government, Anglo-Iranian Oil Company officials) c. Hague Tribunal • These groups represent important parties in the oil nationalization dispute between Iran and the United Kingdom. Each group will assume the role they have been assigned to make a case for whether the Iranian government had a right to nationalize its oil industry in 1951. Each group should make use of the materials above (readings, cartoons, NYT timeline, etc.) to construct an argument.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2-3</p>	<p>1. <u>Review the Evidence, Construct an Argument</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The three groups of students will use the same materials in order to find evidence for and construct their argument. Together, they will review the material and compile information in the graphic organizer. This will allow students to decide how to create their arguments for or against nationalization (and anticipate their opponent's arguments as well). Students assigned to the Tribunal will do the same, but will have a separate role in the debate activity. Students may use the archival materials to understand the representations of Iranians, and to shed light on how they were perceived by the English and American media.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 4</p>	<p>1. <u>Assessment-Presentation and Public Debate on Nationalization of Oil</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This will be a peer-driven assessment centered on the question introduced at the beginning of the week:

- a. Do countries have a right to control their own resources?
- b. Should an outside country be able to keep most of the profit from the resources of another country?

- The Iranian side will argue for nationalization, while the British side will argue against. Each side will have an equal amount of time in which to make their arguments. Students should use their graphic organizers to reference the material and provide specific examples to support their arguments. Students should also use their graphic organizers to take notes on the points made by each side and their use of evidence.

2. Activity structure and timeframe (40-60 minutes)

- If possible, ask for a student volunteer from another class to serve as a timekeeper. If this is not possible, students in the Tribunal group should take turns serving as the timekeepers for each segment. It should be different students to ensure that one student is not responsible for timekeeping the entire period, which will limit their ability to participate in the activity.

3. Iranian Group presents their case (7-10 minutes)

- Students define the issue, identify the importance of the issue, and explain the larger implications of the issue. They will use the material to provide evidence for their positions.

4. Clarifying Questions from British Group (3-5 minutes)

- This time can be used to ask about sources and ask clarifying questions, in order to gather more information from the opposing group that will help the British group strengthen their argument.

5. British Group Presents their case (7-10 minutes)

- Students define the issue, identify the importance of the issue, and explain the larger implications of the issue. They will use the material to provide evidence for their positions.

6. Clarifying Questions from Iranian Group (3-5 minutes)

- This time can be used to ask about sources and ask clarifying questions, in order to gather more information from the opposing group that will help the Iranian group strengthen their argument.

	<p>7. <u>Iranian Rebuttal (4-6 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> During the rebuttal, the group will critique the British group’s arguments and show the weaknesses therein. Did the British group refute the claims made by the Iranian side? <p>8. <u>British Rebuttal (4-6 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> During their rebuttal, the British group will critique the Iranian arguments and show the weaknesses therein. Did the Iranians compellingly consider all of the evidence? <p>9. <u>The Tribunal’s decision (10-15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In this group, the students will also assess the material using the graphic organizers, and will also take notes on how each side uses and presents the arguments. The tribunal group will “recess” to deliberate the arguments, discuss a verdict, and present it with an explanation of their reasoning, as well as an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of both sides’ arguments.
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 5</p>	<p>1. <u>Recap and Reflect (30-45 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students can be organized by groups to engage in a class-wide discussion. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What did you think about the process? What materials were most useful in making the case? What sources of information would have been helpful to have? How did the class process compare to actual history (see the summary of ICC judgment in additional resources)? After hearing both sides of the argument, how do you understand the acts of nationalization now? How have your views changed? As a concluding point, remind the students that in 1953, the British and American governments organized a coup d’état against the Iranian government and overthrew Mossadegh, restoring the Shah to power. Ask the students what kind of impact that might have had on the relations

	<p>between the US and Iran.</p> <p><u>Additional opportunity for reflection</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Look at the BP company history webpage: (http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/about-bp/our-history/history-of-bp.html). Why do you suppose that they neglect to mention the coup as part of their company history? Do you agree with the characterization of the D’Arcy concession as a “gentleman’s agreement”? • Read Allen Ginsburg’s poem “Subliminal.” Ask students to consider what he is lamenting how might their particular character or group respond to the poem?
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read: Kinzer, S. <i>All the Shah’s Men</i>. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2003. • Read: <i>Time</i> magazine articles from the Mossadegh era: http://www.mohammadmossadegh.com/news/time-magazine/ • Browse: International Court of Justice summary of Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. (United Kingdom v. Iran) verdict: http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?sum=82&code=uki&p1=3&p2=3&case=16&k=ba&p3=5

The d'Arcy Oil Concession

Between the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, of the one part, and William Knox d'Arcy, of independent means, residing in London at No. 42, Grosvenor Square (hereinafter called "the Concessionnaire") of the other part;

The following has by these presents been agreed on and arranged-viz.:

Article 1. The Government of His Imperial Majesty the Shah grants to the concessionnaire by these presents a special and exclusive privilege to search for, obtain, exploit, develop, render suitable for trade, carry away and sell natural gas petroleum, asphalt and ozokerite throughout the whole extent of the Persian Empire for a term of sixty years as from the date of these presents.

Article 2. This privilege shall comprise the exclusive right of laying the pipelines necessary from the deposits where there may be found one or several of the said products up to the Persian Gulf, as also the necessary distributing branches. It shall also comprise the right of constructing and maintaining all and any wells, reservoirs, stations, pump services, accumulation services and distribution services, factories and other works and arrangements that may be deemed necessary.

Article 3. The Imperial Persian Government grants gratuitously to the concessionnaire all uncultivated lands belonging to the State which the concessionnaire's engineers may deem necessary for the construction of the whole or any part of the above-mentioned works. As for cultivated lands belonging to the State, the concessionnaire must purchase them at the fair and current price of the province.

The Government also grants to the concessionnaire the right of acquiring all and any other lands or buildings necessary for the said purpose, with the consent of the proprietors, on such conditions as may be arranged between him and them without their being allowed to make demands of a nature to surcharge the prices ordinarily current for lands situate in their respective localities.

Holy places with all their dependencies within a radius of 200 Persian archines are formally excluded.

Article 4. As three petroleum mines situate at Schouster, Kassre-Chirine, in the Province of Kermanschah, and Daleki, near Bouchir, are at present let to private persons and produce an annual revenue of two thousand tomans for the benefit of the Government, it has been agreed that the three aforesaid mines shall be comprised in the Deed of Concession in conformity with Article 1, on condition that, over and above the 16 per cent mentioned in Article 10, the concessionnaire shall pay every year the fixed sum of 2,000 (two thousand) tomans to the Imperial Government.

Article 5. The course of the pipe-lines shall be fixed by the concessionnaire and his engineers.

Article 6. Notwithstanding what is above set forth, the privilege granted by these presents shall not extend to the provinces of Azerbadjan, Ghilan, Mazendaran, Asdrabad, and Khorassan, but on the express condition that the Persian Imperial Government shall not grant to any other person the right of constructing a pipe-line to the southern rivers or to the South coast of Persia.

Article 7. All lands granted by these presents to the concessionnaire or that may be acquired by him in the manner provided for in Articles 3 and 4 of these presents, as also all products exported, shall be free of all imposts and taxes during the term of the present concession. All material and apparatuses necessary for the exploration, working and development of the deposits, and for the construction and development of the pipe-lines, shall enter Persia free of all taxes and Custom-House duties.

Article 8. The concessionnaire shall immediately send out to Persia and at his own cost one or several experts with a view to their exploring the region in which there exist, as he believes, the said products, and in the event of the report of the expert being in the opinion of the concessionnaire of a satisfactory nature, the latter shall immediately send to Persia and at his own cost all the technical staff necessary, with the working plant and machinery required for boring and sinking wells and ascertaining the value of the property.

Article 9. The Imperial Persian Government authorises the concessionnaire to found one or several companies for the working of the concession.

The names, "statutes" and capital of the said companies shall be fixed by the concessionnaire, and the directors shall be chosen by him on the express condition that, on the formation of each company, the concessionnaire shall give official notice of such information to the Imperial Government, through the medium of the Imperial Commissioner, and shall forward the "statutes", with information as to the places at which such company is to operate. Such company or companies shall enjoy all the rights and privileges granted to the concessionnaire, but they must assume all his engagements and responsibilities.

Article 10. It shall be stipulated in the contract between the concessionaire, of the one part, and the company, of the other part, that the latter is, within the term of one month as from the date of the formation of the first exploitation company, to pay the Imperial Persian Government the sum of 20,000 sterling in cash, and an additional sum of 20,000 sterling in paid-up shares of the first company founded by virtue of the foregoing article. It shall also pay the said Government annually a sum equal to 16 per cent of the annual net profits of any company or companies that may be formed in accordance with the said article.

Article 11. The said Government shall be free to appoint an Imperial Commissioner, who shall be consulted by the concessionaire and the directors of the companies to be formed. He shall supply all and any useful information at his disposal, and he shall inform them of the best course to be adopted in the interest of the undertaking. He shall establish, by agreement with the concessionaire, such supervision as he may deem expedient to safeguard the interests of the Imperial Government.

The aforesaid powers of the Imperial Commissioner shall be set forth in the "statutes" of the companies created.

The concessionaire shall pay the Commissioner thus appointed an annual sum of 1,000 sterling for his services as from the date of the formation of the first company.

Article 12. The workmen employed in the service of the company shall be subject to His Imperial Majesty the Shah, except the technical staff, such as the managers, engineers, borers and foremen.

Article 13. At any place in which it may be proved that the inhabitants of the country now obtain petroleum for their own use, the company must supply them gratuitously with the quantity of petroleum that they themselves got previously. Such quantity shall be fixed according to their own declarations, subject to the supervision of the local authority.

Article 14. The Imperial Government binds itself to take all and any necessary measures to secure the safety and the carrying out of the object of this concession of the plant and of the apparatuses, of which mention is made, for the purposes of the undertaking of the company, and to protect the representatives, agents and servants of the company. The Imperial Government having thus fulfilled its engagements, the concessionaire and the companies created by him shall not have power, under any pretext whatever, to claim damages from the Persian Government.

Article 15. On the expiration of the term of the present concession, all materials, buildings and apparatuses then used by the company for the exploitation of its industry shall become the property of the said Government, and the company shall have no right to any indemnity in this connection.

Article 16. If within the term of two years as from the present date the concessionaire shall not have established the first said companies authorised by Article 9 of the present agreement, the present concession shall become null and void.

Article 17. In the event of there arising between the parties to the present concession any dispute of difference in respect of its interpretation or the rights or responsibilities of one or the other of the parties therefrom resulting, such dispute or difference shall be submitted to two arbitrators at Tehran, one of whom shall be named by each of the parties, and to an umpire who shall be appointed by the arbitrators before the proceed to arbitrate. The decision of the arbitrators or, in the event of the latter disagreeing, that of the umpire shall be final.

Article 18. This Act of Concession, made in duplicate, is written in the French language and translated into Persian with the same meaning.

But, in the event of there being any dispute in relation to such meaning, the French text shall alone prevail.

From James Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 154-156.

1951 Man of the Year: Mohammed Mossadegh
January 7, 1952

1 Mohammed Mossadegh: Challenge of the East

Once upon a time, in a mountainous land between Baghdad and the Sea of Caviar, there lived a nobleman. This nobleman, after a lifetime of carping at the way the kingdom was run, became Chief Minister of the realm. In a few months he had the whole world hanging on his words and deeds, his jokes, his tears, his tantrums. Behind his grotesque antics lay great issues of peace or war, progress or decline, which would affect many lands far beyond his mountains.

His methods of government were peculiar. For example, when he decided to shift his governors, he dropped into a bowl slips of paper with the names of provinces; each governor stepped forward and drew a new province. Like all ministers, the old nobleman was plagued with friends, men-of-influence, patriots and toadies who came to him with one proposal or another. His duty bade him say no to these schemes, but he was such a kindly fellow (in some respects) that he could not bear to speak the word. He would call in his two-year-old granddaughter and repeat the proposal to her, in front of the visitor. Since she was a well-brought-up little girl, to all these propositions she would unhesitatingly say no. "How can I go against her?" the old gentleman would ask. After a while, the granddaughter, bored with the routine, began to answer yes occasionally. This saddened the old man, for it ruined his favorite joke, and might even have made the administration of the country more inefficient than it was already.

In foreign affairs, the minister pursued a very active policy—so active that in the chancelleries of nations thousand of miles away, lamps burned late into the night as other governments tried to find a way of satisfying his demands without ruining themselves. Not that he ever threatened war. His weapon was the threat of his own political suicide, as a willful little boy might say, "If you don't give me what I want I'll hold my breath until I'm blue in the face. Then you'll be sorry."

In this way, the old nobleman became the most world-renowned man his ancient race had produced for centuries. In this way, too, he increased the danger of a general war among nations, impoverished his country and brought it and some neighboring lands to the very brink of disaster.

Yet his people loved all that he did, and cheered him to the echo whenever he appeared in the streets.

The New Menace. In the year of his rise to power, he was in some ways the most noteworthy figure on the world scene. Not that he was the best or the worst or the strongest, but because his rapid advance from obscurity was attended by the greatest stir. The stir was not only on the surface of events: in his strange way, this strange old man represented one of the most profound problems of his time. Around this dizzy old wizard swirled a crisis of human

destiny.

He was Mohammed Mossadegh, Premier of Iran in the year 1951. He was the Man of the Year. He put Scheherazade in the petroleum business and oiled the wheels of chaos. His acid tears dissolved one of the remaining pillars of a once great empire. In his plaintive, singsong voice he gabbled a defiant challenge that sprang out of a hatred and envy almost incomprehensible to the West.

There were millions inside and outside of Iran whom Mossadegh symbolized and spike for, and whose fanatical state of mind he had helped to create. They would rather see their own nations fall apart than continue their present relations with the West. Communism encouraged this state of mind, and stood to profit hugely from it. But Communism did not create it. The split between the West and the non-Communist East was a peril all its own to world order, quite apart from Communism. Through 1951 the Communist threat to the world continued; but nothing new was added—and little subtracted. The news of 1951 was this other danger in the Near and Middle East. In the center of that spreading web of news was Mohammed Mossadegh.

A Matter of Conscience. The West's military strength to resist Communism grew in 1951. But Mossadegh's challenge could not be met by force. For all its power, the West in 1951 failed to cope with a weeping, fainting leader of a helpless country; the West had not yet developed the moral muscle to define its own goals and responsibilities in the Middle East. Until the West did develop that moral muscle, it had no chance with the millions represented by Mossadegh. In Iran, in Egypt, in a dozen other countries, when people asked: "Who are you? What are you doing here?" the West's only answer was an unintelligible mutter. Charles Malik, Lebanon's great delegate to the U.N., put it tersely: "Do you know why there are problems in the Near East? Because the West is not sure of itself." The East would be in turmoil until the West achieved enough moral clarity to construct a just and fruitful policy toward the East.

In the U.S., the core of the West, the moral climate was foggy. Scandal chased scandal across the year's headlines. Senator Estes Kefauver revived the Middle Ages morality play, on television. Kefauver's reluctant mummies were followed by basketball players who rarely threw games—just points, and West Pointers who were taught a rigid code of honor which did not seem to apply when the football squad took academic examinations.

None of 1951's scandals indicated thoroughgoing moral depravity, or even idiocy—just an inability to tell right from wrong if the question was put (as it usually was) in fine print. This uneducated moral sense led congressional committees through a sordid trail of mink coats and other gifts to Government officials. Casuistry reached a high point with the official whose conscience told him that it was proper to accept a ham under twelve pounds, but not a bigger one. Democratic Chairman William Boyle resigned his job under a cumulus cloud of influence peddling, and his successor was hardly in office before clouds gathered over him too. The public worked up quite a head of indignant steam over scandals in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, which was taking more of

its money than ever before. This indignation fell like a load of hay on Harry Truman. Perhaps it would be the understatement of the year to say that 1951 was not Truman's year.

Other Men of 1951. Nor was it Dean Acheson's year—except in the sense that he survived it. By his firm and skillful handling of the Japanese Treaty conference his forepaws out of the public's dog-house, and proved once again that he would be a masterful Secretary of State if all the U.S.'s enemies could be disposed of with a gavel. Yet all through 1951, Acheson's State Department was still caught as tight as Brer Rabbit in Tar Baby. The useless and impossible effort to justify its past mistakes consumed its energies. In this year-long waste of time, Senator Joe McCarthy, the poor man's Torquemada, played Tar Baby.

Credit for the big diplomatic achievement of the year goes not to the State Department but to a Republican—John Foster Dulles, who, step by careful step, won nearly all of the free world to accept the Japanese Peace Treaty, and thereby handed Communism a stunning diplomatic defeat. But the Japanese Treaty was more a beginning than an end. Whether it became the keystone of a more successful U.S. policy in the Far East would depend on how well U.S.-Japanese relations were handled in the future.

Matthew Ridgway and his valiant men in Korea did all that men could be expected to do—and more. But the Korean war had been in an uneasy stalemate since May.

France's General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny turned the tide against the Communist advance in Indo-China. At year's end, however, De Lattre lay ill in Paris, and the Indo-China war was far from won.

In 1951's first months, it looked as if Eisenhower would certainly be the Man of the Year. Never in recent history has Europe experienced such a lifting of heart as it got from Ike's inspiring presence and his skillful, patient incubation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In December 1950, NATO seemed just another paper plan doomed to failure. By April 1951 it was a psychological reality: Europeans began to believe that Europe could and would be defended. By year's end, NATO was a military reality, with six U.S. and twelve European divisions in the field. Defeatism faded, neutralism began to fade, because arms came into being; and the fading of defeatism made more arms possible. Europe, for a change, was moving in a virtuous circle.

Through no fault of Ike's, the heart-lift and the arming both slowed down. At year's end, Britain and France were in bad economic trouble. Headway had been made on the German problem, but the Germans, with the tragic consistency of their character, were again pushing and shoving into a bargaining position.

Ike in Europe registered a big net gain, although Europe was still in no position to beat off a Russian attack. Ike in the U.S. was a fascinating political riddle, and, to millions, the best hope in 18 years of replacing the New-Fair Deal. On the record, Ike was not the Man of 1951; 1952 might be his year. Or Robert Taft's. Or, in spite of 1951's scandals, Harry Truman's.

The outstanding comeback of 1951 was Winston Churchill's. In his first two

months of office he moved with the utmost caution, apparently trying to prove that he could be almost as colorless as a Socialist. This might be good politics, but it did not make big news.

The Old Soldier. Many thought Douglas MacArthur the logical choice for Man of the Year. The arguments were impressive: 1) he was winning the Korean war, in so far as he was permitted to win it, when he was fired; 2) his speech before Congress breathed a sense of high public duty long absent from U.S. affairs; 3) the Japanese Treaty was a monument to his bold and generous effort to find a new U.S. relationship with Asian peoples; 4) to millions of Americans, he remained the No. 1 U.S. hero, by no means faded away.

However, by year's end MacArthur had abdicated a position of national leadership to become spokesman for a particular group. Some passages in his later speeches were ambiguous and inconsistent with his own basic line of thought and action. These ambiguities, plus the distortion of MacArthur by his friends of the Hearst and McCormick press, led some to conclude that MacArthur was an isolationist; others, that he was an imperialist. Both tags were absurd, yet the figure of MacArthur in U.S. life was neither as clear nor as large in December as it had been in April.

Nevertheless, his Congress speech still sang in the nation's conscience. It contained a brilliant passage applicable to 1951's biggest news—the turmoil in the Middle East. Asian peoples, MacArthur said, would continue to drive for independence from the West and for material progress, and this drive "may not be stopped." The U.S. must "orient its policies in consonance with this basic evolutionary condition, rather than pursue a course blind to the reality that the colonial era is now past and the Asian peoples covet the right to shape their own destiny. What they seek now is friendly guidance, understanding and support, not imperious direction; the dignity of equality, and not the shame of subjugation."

No George Washington. The U.S. vaguely agreed with MacArthur's plea: it wanted to feel sympathy toward the aspirations of Asian peoples. After all, material progress and national independence are both classic American doctrines, and the U.S. could envision itself as playing Lafayette to Asian George Washingtons. But in terms of Asian realities, the Lafayette-Washington picture was sheer sentimentality, and, like all sentimentality, led to bad morals. MacArthur knew the discouraging facts of Asian politics. He wanted the U.S. to face the facts and build a policy upon them. The U.S.—or at least its official leadership—was appalled by the facts. Just as it had recoiled from Nationalist China, crying "Corruption," so in 1951 the U.S. recoiled from the corruption, hatred, fanaticism and disorganization of the Middle East.

Mossadegh, by Western standards an appalling caricature of a statesman, was a fair sample of what the West would have to work with in the Middle East. To sit back and deplore him was to run away from the issue. For a long time, relations with the Middle East would mean relations with men such as Mossadegh, some better, some much worse.

The Iranian George Washington was probably born in 1879 (he fibs about his age). His mother was a princess of the Kajar dynasty then ruling Persia; his father was for 30 years Finance Minister of the country. Mohammed Mossadegh entered politics in 1906. An obstinate oppositionist, he was usually out of favor and several times exiled. In 1919, horrified by a colonial-style treaty between Britain and Persia, he hardened his policy into a simple Persia-for-the-Persians slogan. While the rest of the world went through Versailles, Manchuria, the Reichstag fire, Spain, Ethiopia and a World War, Mossadegh kept hammering away at his single note. Nobody in the West heard him.

They heard him in 1951, however. On March 8, the day after Ali Razmara, Iran's able, pro-Western Premier, was assassinated, Mossadegh submitted to the Iranian Majilis his proposal to nationalize Iran's oil. In a few weeks a wave of anti-foreign feeling, assisted by organized terrorism, swept him into the premiership.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., most of whose stock is owned by the British government, had been paying Iran much less than the British Government took from the company in taxes. The U.S. State Department warned Britain that Iran might explode unless it got a better deal, but the U.S. did not press the issue firmly enough to make London listen. Mossadegh's nationalization bill scared the company into concessions that were made too late. The Premier, whose mind runs in a deep single track, was committed to nationalization--and much to the surprise of the British, he went through with it, right down to the expulsion of the British technicians without whom the Iranians cannot run the Abadan refinery.

Results: 1) the West lost the Iranian oil supply; 2) the Iranian government lost the oil payments; 3) this loss stopped all hope of economic progress in Iran and disrupted the political life of the country; 4) in the ensuing confusion, Iran's Tudeh (Communist) Party made great gains which it hoped to see reflected in the national elections, due to begin this week.

Tears & Laughter. Mossadegh does not promise his country a way out of this nearly hopeless situation. He would rather see the ruin of Iran than give in to the British, who, in his opinion, corrupted and exploited his country. He is not in any sense pro-Russian, but he intends to stick to his policies even though he knows they might lead to control of Iran by the Kremlin.

The suicidal quality of this fanaticism can be seen in the two men closest to Mossadegh in politics. Ayatulla Kashani is a zealot of Islam who has spent his life fighting the infidel British in Iraq and Iran. He controls the Teheran mobs (except those controlled by the Communists), and his terrorist organization assassinated Razmara. Hussein Makki controls the oil-rich province of Khuzistan, in which the Abadan refinery lies. When the British got out, Mossadegh put Makki in charge of the oil installations. Makki's view on oil: close up the wells, pull down the refinery and forget about it. Neither Makki, Kashani nor Mossadegh has ever shown any interest in rational plans for the economic reform and development of their country.

Sometimes the crisis through which Iran is passing depresses Mossadegh to the point of tears and fainting spells. Just as often, he seems to regard the state of affairs with a light heart. When he came to the U.S. to plead his cause, mercurial Mossadegh was so ready with quips, anecdotes and laughter that Secretary Acheson thought the visitor should be reminded of the gravity of the situation. At a Blair House luncheon where Mossadegh was guest of honor, Acheson told a story: a wagon train, crossing the American West, was attacked by Indians. A rescue party found the wagons burned, and the corpses of the pioneers lying around them. The only man still alive lay under a wagon, with an arrow through his back. "Does it hurt?" he was asked. The dying man whispered: "Only when I laugh." Acheson looked pointedly at Mossadegh—who just doubled up with appreciative laughter.

Before he left the U.S., empty-handed, Mossadegh's name was thoroughly familiar knew just what the News meant when it reported his return to the Iranian Majilis and his victory there, under the headline:

2 MOSSY WINS, 0 TO 0, ON A WET FIELD

Five Grim Conclusions. The fact that Iranians accept Mossadegh's suicidal policy is a measure of the hatred of the West—and especially the hatred of Britain—in the Near and Middle East. The Iranian crisis was still bubbling when Egypt exploded with the announcement that it was abrogating its 1936 treaty with Britain. The Egyptian government demanded that British troops get off the soil of Egypt. Since the British were guarding the Suez Canal, they refused. The Egyptians rioted, perhaps in the belief that the U.S., which had opposed any use of force in Iran, would take the same line in Egypt. The U.S., however, backed the British, and the troops stayed. But now they can only stay in Egypt as an armed occupation of enemy territory. Throughout the East, that kind of occupation may soon cost more than it is worth.

Since Mossadegh's rise, U.S. correspondents have been swarming over the Near and Middle East. Their general consensus is that:

1) The British position in the whole area is hopeless. They are hated and distrusted almost everywhere. The old colonial relationship is finished, and no other power can replace Britain.

2) If left to "work out their own destiny" without help, the countries of the Middle East will disintegrate. The living standard will drop and political life become even more chaotic. (Half a dozen important political leaders in the Near and Middle East were assassinated during 1951.)

3) Left to themselves, these countries will reach the point where they will welcome Communism.

4) The U.S., which will have to make the West's policy in the Middle East, whether it wants to or not, as yet has no policy there. The U.S. pants along behind each crisis, tossing a handful of money here, a political concession there.

At the height of the Egyptian crisis (the worst possible moment), the U.S., Britain, France and Turkey invited Egypt to join a defense pact. The invitation was promptly rejected.

5) Americans and Britons in the Near and Middle East spend a large part of their energies fighting each other. No effective Western policy is possible without Western unity.

The word "American" no longer has a good sound in that part of the world. To catch the Jewish vote in the U.S., President Truman in 1946 demanded that the British admit 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine, in violation of British promises to the Arabs. Since then, the Arab nations surrounding Israel have regarded that state as a U.S. creation, and the U.S., therefore, as an enemy. The Israeli-Arab war created nearly a million Arab refugees, who have been huddled for three years in wretched camps. These refugees, for whom neither the U.S. nor Israel will take the slightest responsibility, keep alive the hatred of U.S. perfidy.

No enmity for the Arabs, no selfish national design motivated the clumsy U.S. support of Israel. The American crime was not to help the Jews, but to help them at the expense of the Arabs. Today, the Arab world fears and expects a further Israeli expansion. The Arabs are well aware that Alben Barkley, Vice President of the U.S., tours his country making speeches for the half-billion-dollar Israeli bond issue, the largest ever offered to the U.S. public. Nobody, they note bitterly, is raising that kind of money for them.

The Deep Problem. What is the right answer to the seething problem of the Middle East? It is much easier to see past U.S. mistakes, sins of omission and commission, than to plot a wise and firm future course. The U.S. success in Turkey, gratifying as it is, does not give much guidance on Western policy in the Arab countries and in Iran. Turkey had passed through a drastic process of modernization which in most of the Moslem world is still to come. But the U.S. cannot wait for Kemal Ataturks who are not in sight.

The West's new relationship with the East must start at a much deeper level than efforts at economic help or military alliance. Economic and military cooperation will be of little use unless they are part of a Western approach that involves the whole range of culture—especially religion and law.

In the current issue of Foreign Affairs, Lebanon's Malik brilliantly lays the groundwork for such a change in Western attitude. Malik sums up:

"The disturbing rise of fanaticism in the Near East in recent years is a reaction to the thoughtlessness and superficiality of the West...In all this we are really touching on the great present crisis in Western culture. We are saying when that culture mends its own spiritual fences, all will be well with the Near East, and not with the Near East alone. The deep problem of the Near East must await the spiritual recovery of the West. And he does not know the truth who thinks that the West does not have in its own tradition the means and the power wherewith it can once again be true to itself."

In its leadership of the non-Communist world, the U.S. has some dire respon-

sibilities to shoulder. One of them is to meet the fundamental moral challenge posed by the strange old wizard who lives in a mountainous land and who is, sad to relate, the Man of 1951.

I reasonable reply Courteously
But fear being kicked in the balls or charged with possession of two Ears
When Law comes on like worst Creeps
Thank God I'm not a Criminal lest I suffer more than mere 1960
paranoia
I can't even commit a crime with a Clean Conscience any more.

Oct. 1960

SUBLIMINAL

One million editorials against Mossadeq and who knows who Mossadeq¹
is any more?
Me a Democracy? I didn't know my Central Intelligence was arming
fascist, noodnicks in Iran
This true story I got from High Sources Check-yr local radio announcer.
All I remember's nasty cartoons in N.Y. Mirror long-faced Mossadeq
blubbering in a military court in Persia
looking the opposite of a serious hair'd Central Intelligence Agent sipping
borscht cocktails at a Conservative egghead soirée
Whom I wanted for daddy Man of Distinction that year
I was working in Market Research.
Who threw poison onion Germs in Korea?
Do big fat American people know their Seoul from a hole in the ground?
Will Belgians ever get out of Congo so King Leopold's ghost stop
screaming in Hell?
What Civilization the Uranium Addicts been selling us niggers?
The Mass Media have taken over Poetry U S A
Harold Ickes rushed upstairs to hear H.V. Kaltenborn on Pearl Harbor
Day.
That is an entity, a single public Consciousness, has come
But I am not sure it's really me— "Don't make waves?"
Hoover gets up Republican Convention 1960 says

¹ Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq: Iranian premier who in 1951 nationalized the oil industry and was then overthrown through C.I.A. efforts in 1953. He was given a public trial where he wept aloud in court denouncing American intervention, and was mocked by Time magazine for his tears. Official confirmation of U.S. intervention didn't come until 1974-5 revelation of scandalous C.I.A. activities, though it had been reported unofficially in the press by the time of Mossadeq's death in 1967.

"Communists beatniks & eggheads" are America's Number 3 Menace
 What who me? Is I th'Egghead Communist beatnick?
 Postmaster General Summerfield plastered obscene sex signs all over my
 post office
 brought Eisenhower a copy of Lady Chatterley's Lover
 Eisenhower he's the President of the United States in the White House
 with all the dirty words underlined Ike glances Shrieks agrees
 "Terrible ... we can't have that." Exact words quote deadpan my
 Newsweek
 Aint that a National Issue?
 How'd an old Fuck like that run my Nation?
 Who put him in then?
 You you dirty son of a bitch I sound like Kenneth Rexroth paranoiac—
 I asterisked the poetic words in my first book to get it printed
 and U.S. government seized it when ship wafted it over from England
 I bit his hand he dropped the case.
 But Juvenile vice-cops grabbed it in Frisco my publisher had to go to jail
 one afternoon
 and Naked Lunch was banned in America up yours with a nude yellow
 grapefruit
 and I had to rush out to Chicago & ruin my stomach orating before
 mobs
 Because the University of Chicago was banning Naked Lunch plates
 from its starving Body
 U. of C. produces atom bombs & FBI men
 and when I asked Columbia U why doncha invite Kruschef give a speech
 in the Camp David Spirit type days
 It said I quote "The State Department hasn't asked us to," giggling &
 bashful like it had to pee
 Columbia is very Historical, they even had Eisenhower for President.
 They turn out the cream of the crop, fresh young faces that guide the
 Nation
 O My enemy Columbia University! How I would like to strangle you
 with a giraffe's footprint!
 Master Kerouac was barred from the campus as an "unwholesome
 element" in 1942
 Enter the Silent Generation. It got a monkey on its back in Korea
 and then went advertising, or camped back to Columbia to teach the
 young.
 It's all subliminal either you get fucked or you don't dearie

That's why American poetry stank for 20 years.
Not that this is poetry, it's just shoveling the Garbage aside for Eternity.
I'm taking a stand! Hot Dog!
It's what's known as being responsible even tho it's the sheerest nonsense.
Just moving my frankfurter!
Crap on all you Critics. You Norman Podhoretz, go screw the stars,
King of the Jews—
you Lionel Trilling get back on the Mystic wagon before Infinity chops
your head off,
and the rest of you, Nat Hentoff, dumb Vanden Haag, mute inglorious
L. Simpson, hypocritic Kazin, Brustein-Wechsler, Journalists
attacking Kerouac, Corso & myself, snoopers, creeps, hung up idiots,
Incompetents, sneaks & dumbbells, quacks,
here, have a piece of my immortality, I mention your names.
Some of these are my friends but I have been requested to exhibit a sense
of responsibility
& hitherto have been too tender & kind vain egotistical to answer public
attacks.
As for Time Life Daily News the liberal Post the Partisan Review
all Yellow Journalism take your filthy fathead hands off my genitals, I
am the Muse!
Go sniff the saintly footprints I left at Columbia!
The philistines are running America! Left right Center! Shoulder Arms!
Onions!
Yes I want riots in the streets! Big orgies full of marijuana scaring the
cops!
Everybody naked fucking on Union Square to denounce the Military
Junta in San Salvador!
Why did we Crucify Mankind Upon a Cross of Gold?
Whatsa matter our secret CIA plot to unseat Syngman Rhee
flopped & delayed till Korean students rioted & took over the scene?
That's a military secret I'm a prophet I know lots of military secrets
I think I'll tell a couple to the Universe and go to Jail
I've been investigating— I think I'll be unamerican a few minutes
See how it feels like— eek! I just saw FBI
hiding behind my mother's skull.
This is a private matter between me & my conscience
Why those newspapers all staring at me like that?
Big eyes on the editorial pages searching my soul for secret affiliation
afflictions

And pinocchio long noses in literary columns sniffing up my ass to smell
Immutability.

It's only laughing gas dearies. Stick that up your dirty old savings
account—

and big long mustache headlines waving at me in wet dreams &
nitemares!

O I just wish I were Mayakovsky! or even Neruda!

As it is I'll have to settle for reincarnation as a silly Blake.

Walt Whitman thou shdst be living at this Hour!

The average American Male & Female took over the ship of state
400 of them got smashed up over July 4 Weekend celebrating!

Democracy! Bah! When I hear that word I reach for my feather Boa!

Better we should have a big jewish dictatorship full of Blintzes:

Better a spade Fish queen run our economics than

Kennedy that tired old man whose eyes speed back & forth like taxicabs
rather reptilian what?—

O Nixon's tired eyes! & Kennedy's hurried glance! O that America
should be hung up on these two idiots while I am, alive!

It's silly but it's serious. What is truth? said Pilate

Washing his hands in an atom bomb.

If you don't think the Chinese don't hate us, you're just not Hep.

Get with it, Big Daddy, I been to South America

Like, it swings there, everybody gets high on Starvation

Like get with it Cat, you better stash your wheat,

I hear the sirens of the Fuzz downstairs in the subconscious

and dont you know, like, Alice Red Gown she got *Reasons*.

Now where was It I sent my extra little army in 1917?

I lost it somewhere in my bloomers— O there it is fighting with General
Wrangle in Siberia

Heavens! What a bad show— you better tell General MacArthur
shit or Get off the Pot.

And that Invasion

of Mexico was such a camp! I never had
such a good time fucking all them bandits and learning how to dance La
Cucaracha!

Let's spend our 50th Wedding anniversary there in Prince Maximilian's
Palace.

What'd you say about my United Fruit? Don't be Nasty you lower class
piece of trade.

I'll show you who's Miss Liberty or Not—
 I got what it takes! I got the 1920's (Snap yr fingers kid!)
 I got Nostalgia of Depression! I got N.R.A.!
 I got Roosevelt I got Hoover I got Willkie I got Hitler I got Franco I got
 World War II!
 I got the works (cha! cha!) I got the atom bomb¹
 I got Cancer! I got Fission! I got legal Prohibition!
 I got the Works! I got the Fuck law! I got the Junk Law! I got hundred
 billion bucks a year!
 Yassah! Yassah! I got Formosa! (Catch me man) I got Chiang Kai-shek!
 and I got my Central Intelligence getten rid of him right now!
 I got a million planes flying over Siberia! I got
 10,000,000 upstanding young americans chargin' on the ricefields of
 China
 Jazzin and waltzen and shootin and hollering all day!
 Whoopee! I got crosseye yellow cities in every corner of the world.
 I got the old umph! I got my Guantánamo! I even got my old Marines!
 You'd think I was an old thing way back from the 19th Century
 With Isadora Duncan Oscar Wilde & the Floradora Sextette!
 But I still got my old man, my handsome lovin blond Marines!
 I'm Miss Hydrogen America! I'm Mae in Cobalt West! I'm the Sophie
 Tucker of Plutonium Forever!
 I'm the red Hot Mama of Tomorrow! Aint nobody gonna burn down
 my Miami Hotels!
 Didn't they cost 10 million dollars and I hired the best Architects!
 I even built a couple in Havana where the livin's cheap.
 Nosiree I'm up to date I hadda face lift and got a hot new corset in Los
 Alamos
 and some airlift brassieres outa Congress and some gold pumps in Texas!
 and I gotta boyfriend he's a millionaire tax collector from Hollywood!
 He's the artistic type!
 I'm gonna make whoopee next ten years before I blow my gasket,
 I'm gonna take on the whole American Legion in one night
 Just like that cute little Presidential Candidate Kennedy Fellow! (He's
 the intellectual type)
 I'm gonna make the Rosicrucians scream!

* * *

¹ This and neighbor lines formed basis for some of A.G.'s soundtrack commentary in Jonas Mekas' 1962 film, *Guns of the Trees*.

Ah, how sad to get hung up in this way, like on Hungary.
 Belinski worried about Russia in 1860! And Dostoyevsky's hero really
 worried about socks.
 It'll all pass away and then I'll be answerable to gloomier onions, we'll all
 weep.
 I shouldn't waste my time on America like this. It may be patriotic
 but it isn't good art. This is a warning to you, Futurists, and you Mao
 Tse-tung-...

Nov. 1, 1960

I write this type poetry on Heroin
 O Capitalists & Communists you shd get in bed with me
 bring your pencils & notebooks
 lie there snorting out revolutions and epidemics famines and excess grain
 production
 Gold standards and Ezra Pound hamming it up in the Puzzle Factory—
 Is anyone really a fink?
 My contention is not original sin or stutterless Billy Budds
 We all eat germs & die
 It's like America's so dumb
 It's like Eisenhower was so dumb, so dumb Truman, so dumb Stalin
 Hitler rushing into a war with Russia
 Silly but the psychopathic bourgeoisie figured he knew what he was
 doing
 Just like America figures Somebody Up There Loves Me
 and knows what he's doing—
 aided by Divine Intuition plus Secret Service Corps of trained Univacs
 to figure the waves of Time and the exact dot point of germy stress
 but they just aren't that SMART
 I'm smarter than Eisenhower
 tho he has greater sources of Information
 I have greater aptness at Awareness to
 Widen the area of consciousness of the Universe—
 I know when the plum blossoms are falling
 I know when I am pushing does he?
 He whoever, Castro, Kennedy, whoseever Elected King—
 Not running for election I have time to take Heroin
 and lay in my bed and figure it out—
 What's happening who's starving where who's got the gelt ...

GRAPHIC ORGANIZER FOR OIL AND NATIONALIZATION DEBATE

SOURCE	Possible Pro-Nationalization Aspects of Source	Possible Anti-Nationalization Aspects of Source	Information From This Source Used in Iranian Argument	Information From This Source Used in British Argument	Additional Notes
TIME Magazine: Man of the Year Mohammad Mossadegh					
New York Times Timeline					
Historical British political cartoons					
Coldwar.org Historical Overview					

D'Arcy Concession					
Article on British Navy going from coal to oil					
Iran Chamber text: "Oil Nationalization in Iran"					
Allen Ginsburg, "Subliminal"					

Feel free to take notes on additional sheets of paper as needed.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

TOPIC

More than “Muslim Rage”: Popular Depictions of Public Opinion in MENA

LESSON OVERVIEW	In the first part of the lesson, students will view clips from <i>Argo</i> and <i>Planet of the Arab</i> . Based on the clips, students will discuss common themes, how people are depicted, how certain depictions can contribute to the “Otherizing” of a group, and how this might lead to the development of a rationale for political action in MENA. Students will read “The Roots of Muslim Rage” and discuss the limitations of making religion the main cause of political action and public opinion. In part two, students will read an excerpt from the graphic novel <i>Persepolis</i> . While reading, students will take notes on how the author describes the political opposition to the Shah and the different kinds of people who protested his rule. Finally, students will examine the <i>Newsweek</i> piece “Muslim Rage.” The class will discuss the hashtag #muslimrage, which emerged on Twitter following the story. Students will have time to search for #muslimrage on Twitter and respond to what they found by sharing the tweets that most transformed or destabilized the meaning of the events. They will also analyze and discuss how the use of social media can affect the impact of public events.
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do media representations both shape and reflect our understandings of political currents in MENA? • How is public opinion in MENA often depicted by Western media sources? • How might our understandings change by looking at how people from the region and the diaspora use media to respond to these depictions and/or represent themselves?
LESSON	<u>Learners will be able to</u>

OBJECTIVES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gain experience in critical media analysis by examining popular representations of public opinion and political thought in MENA across print, visual, and digital formats • Recognize recurring representations of public opinion as “Muslim rage” across different media formats • Critically and comparatively discuss the limitations of religious identity as a one-size-fits-all category of analysis • Explore and articulate alternate viewpoints through online research
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 9-10:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.4 Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.5 Analyze how a text uses structure to emphasize key points or advance an explanation or analysis.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.8 Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author’s claims.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.9 Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.</p> <p><i>Common Core Grade 11-12:</i></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear</p>

the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.4 Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, analyzing how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term over the course of a text (e.g., how Madison defines *faction* in *Federalist* No. 10).

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.5 Analyze in detail how a complex primary source is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text contribute to the whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

New York State Standards

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how circumstances of time and place influence perspective
- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events

	<p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments in world history • Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed; by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History)
<p>MATERIALS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Persepolis</i>. Graphic novel. Sections 1-7. • Introductory sequence to the film <i>Argo</i> (2012): http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_6RGeqNFaQM • <i>Planet of the Arabs</i>: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1ZNEjEarw • Lewis, Bernard. “The Roots of Muslim Rage.” <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> (1990): http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/?single_page=true • “They Hate Us Because of Their Religion”: http://thinkprogress.org/media/2012/09/17/856741/joe-scarborough-on-the-entire-muslim-world-they-hate-us-because-of-their-religion/ • “Meet AbdelRahman Mansour Who Made 25 January A Date to Remember,” <i>Jadaliyya</i>: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/9772/meet-abdelrahman-mansour-who-made-25-january-a-dat • <i>Newsweek</i> magazine cover: “Muslim Rage,” September 12, 2012: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/09/17/newsweek-muslim-rage-cover_n_1890124.html • Graphic Organizer <p>Optional</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ali, Ayaan Hirsi. “Muslim Rage & The Last Gasp of Islamic Hate.” <i>Newsweek</i> (2012): http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/09/16/ayaan-hirsi-ali-on-

	the-islamists-final-stand.html
PROCEDURE	
DAY 1	<p>1. <u>Opening Activity (25-30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Set the stage by discussing with students how different media constitute an important source of information about the world. Paraphrasing Arthur Miller, the media is “a nation talking to itself.” Screen the <i>Argo</i> and <i>Planet of the Arabs</i> video clips for the students. As students view the videos, they should write down the ways in which Iranians and Arabs are represented. They will use these notes to participate in the ensuing discussion. (15 minutes) After the students have seen the clips, ask them to discuss the common themes that emerge from the visual imagery. What stood out to the students? What is the dominant emotional state of the people depicted in these videos? How might this contribute to the “Otherizing” of a group? How might this connect to a rationale for political action in MENA, according to these videos? (10-15 minutes) <p>2. <u>A Textual Analysis (25-30 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have students read Bernard Lewis’ “The Roots of Muslim Rage” (15-20 minutes). As they read, have students use the graphic organizer to identify the reasons Lewis gives for why the “Muslim World” hates “the West.” Ask them to try to identify points of similarity in the article and in the videos they have just viewed. After finishing the article, students should use the information collected in their graphic organizers to provide examples and engage in a broader discussion about the reading and the videos (10-15 minutes). Some possible questions to consider for a class-wide discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. What are your thoughts on the interchangeable way in which Lewis uses the terms “Muslim world/lands of Islam” and “the Middle East?” What does this suggest about identity in the Middle East? b. What are the limits of making religion the main force of political action and public opinion? How would one then describe local politics in terms of a “Christian rage” or a “Jewish rage”? How would such a characterization be perceived? c. Thinking about your own experiences, what might get lost in

	<p>overemphasizing religion as an explanation for how and why people think and act?</p> <p>d. What problems can we anticipate if, instead of religion, we used race or gender or socioeconomic status to explain how people act?</p> <p>3. Homework: Read sections 1-7 from the graphic novel <i>Persepolis</i>. Students should take notes on how the author describes the political opposition to the Shah of Iran, and which kinds of people were protesting the Shah’s rule.</p>
<p>PROCEDURE</p> <p>DAY 2</p>	<p>1. Opening Activity (10 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have students share their reactions to <i>Persepolis</i>. Ask students for their thoughts, and whether seeing an Iranian perspective on the Iranian Revolution has changed their understanding of that period in history. Have the students discuss the different social and political groups mentioned in <i>Persepolis</i> that opposed the Shah’s rule. <p>2. Optional Transition (5 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Screen the clip “They Hate Us Because of Their Religion”: http://thinkprogress.org/media/2012/09/17/856741/joe-scarborough-on-the-entire-muslim-world-they-hate-us-because-of-their-religion/. Ask students for their reactions to the argument made by the journalist, and what larger message it is sending to the viewing audience. <p>3. Main Activity (35-40 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use the <i>Newsweek</i> cover (“Muslim Rage”) as a hook to introduce the next activity. Ask students for their initial thoughts on the image and what messages it conveys. Explain to the students that <i>Newsweek</i> magazine tried to start a social media discussion of the cover photo and story by encouraging readers to use the hashtag #muslimrage. See further references below for additional context on this if needed. Tell the students that a lot of people used the hashtag following the release of the story, but not in the way that was envisioned by the magazine. Breaking students into small groups (as accessibility to computers will allow), have them search twitter.com for tweets using the hashtag #muslimrage. Ask them to write down examples of tweets that most transformed or destabilized meaning. Students should search Twitter for 10-15 minutes. Afterwards, have the students write their favorite tweets on the board and/or

read them aloud to their classmates. Ask the students to consider how their tweets (and those of their classmates) could challenge the power of traditional media (newspapers, television, magazines, etc.) to shape debates about social issues. What happens when media becomes interactive? What possibilities exist for everyday people to change or challenge media representations?

4. **Concluding Activity (10 minutes)**

- Screen the AbdelRahman Mansour interview for students. If time permits, ask them how they would compare this interview and its depiction of social organizing and protest with those that are more commonly visible in American media.

5. **Assessment**

- There are different ways to assess how students understand the limits of using religion as an explanation for politics in MENA. The multiple chances for critical discussion provide opportunities for formative assessment. Below are some other possible assessment approaches that show engagement with the essential questions and mastery of the learning objectives.

- Option 1:** Students could write a short essay (2-3 pages) about how Marjane Satrapi’s depiction of the revolution in *Persepolis* contrasts with the one shown in *Argo*. How did their understanding of the Iranian Revolution change after reading *Persepolis*?

Optional: Students can combine the reading of *Persepolis* with Chapter 3 from Maziar Behrooz’s *Rebels with a Cause: The Failure of the Iranian Left*.

- Option 2:** Reflecting on the in-class #muslimrage activity and the AbdelRahman Mansour interview, students may write about how social media provides possibilities to move beyond simple consumption of the news. In what ways does the “Day of Rage” Rahman called for on January 25, 2011 differ from the typical depictions of “Muslim rage?”
- Option 3:** To show what they have learned across these different activities, students can write a short essay detailing how they will respond the next time someone tries to explain MENA politics and public opinion as “Muslim rage.” What strategies will they use to

	illustrate the limitations of religious identity as a one-size-fits-all category of analysis?
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss: Global Connections: Connecting Questions: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/mideast/questions/types/index.html What are some typical misperceptions and stereotypes Westerners hold about Islam and MENA, and vice versa? • Read: Chapter 3 of Maziar Behrooz’s <i>Rebels with a Cause: The Failure of the Iranian Left</i> for further information on the Iranian Revolution and the role of leftist organizations and student movements in Iranian politics before and after the Revolution. • Read: Chapter 2 of Edward Said’s <i>Covering Islam</i>, for further information and context on how the media treated the Iranian revolution and hostage crisis. • Watch: Edward Said lecture on the “Clash of Civilizations”: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=boBzrqF4vmo&list=PL61E0C4CFC1B7328F&index=1 • Read: “Newsweek's 'MUSLIM RAGE' Cover Draws Angry Protest”: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/09/17/newsweek-muslim-rage-cover_n_1890124.html for <i>Newsweek</i> magazine cover image, additional context on the <i>Newsweek</i> article, and coverage of “Muslim Rage” after the Libya bombing of the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi. • Read: “Days of Rage” by Steven Coll: http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2012/10/01/121001taco_talk_coll

GRAPHIC ORGANIZER: MORE THAN “MUSLIM RAGE”

Please fill out the graphic organizer about each source as you read the article.
You will use these observations to participate in the discussion.

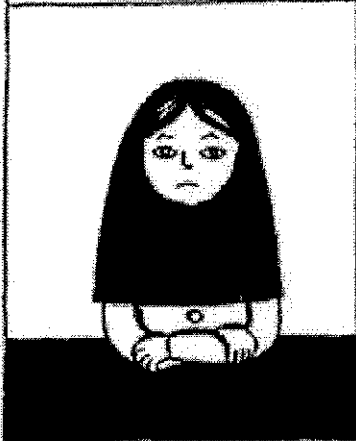
Source	Key points on Hatred of West	Depictions of MENA and Muslim people
“The Roots of Muslim Rage”		
<i>Argo</i>		
<i>Planet of the Arabs</i>		

Unit: Political and Social Movements

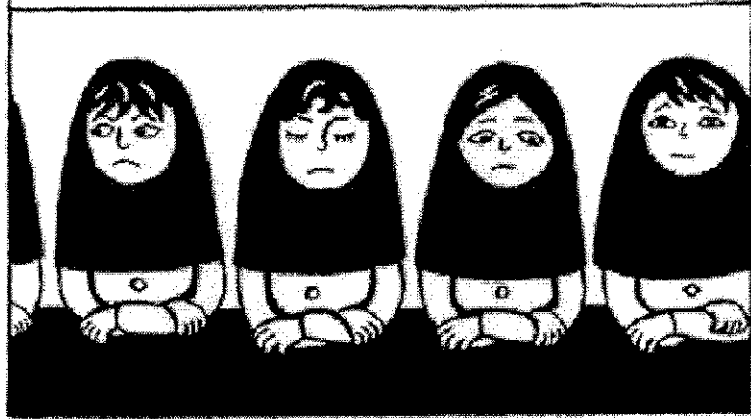
Lesson: More than “Muslim Rage”: Popular Depictions of Public Opinion in MENA Graphic Organizer 1

THE VEIL

THIS IS ME WHEN I WAS 10 YEARS OLD. THIS WAS IN 1980.



AND THIS IS A CLASS PHOTO. I'M SITTING ON THE FAR LEFT SO YOU DON'T SEE ME. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: GOUNAZ, MAHSHID, NARINE, MINNA.



IN 1979 A REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE. IT WAS LATER CALLED "THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION".



THEN CAME 1980: THE YEAR IT BECAME OBLIGATORY TO WEAR THE VEIL AT SCHOOL.



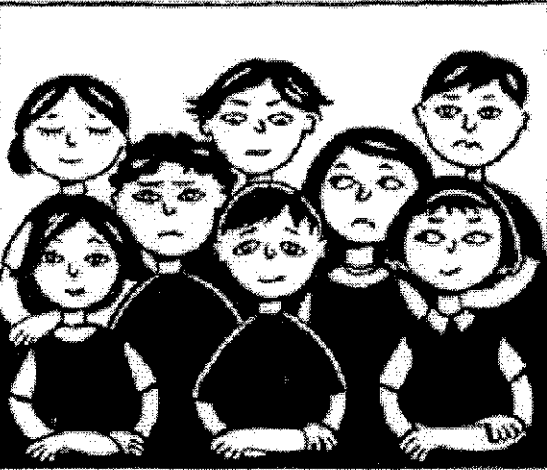
WE DIDN'T REALLY LIKE TO WEAR THE VEIL, ESPECIALLY SINCE WE DIDN'T UNDERSTAND WHY WE HAD TO.



AND ALSO BECAUSE THE YEAR BEFORE, IN 1974,
WE WERE IN A FRENCH NON-RELIGIOUS SCHOOL.



WHERE BOYS AND GIRLS WERE TOGETHER.



AND THEN SUDDENLY IN 1980...

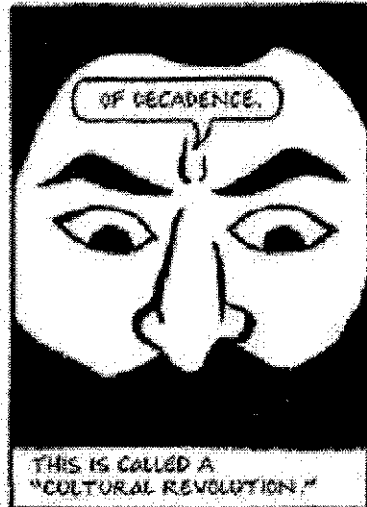


ALL BILINGUAL SCHOOLS
MUST BE CLOSED DOWN.



THEY ARE SYMBOLS
OF CAPITALISM.

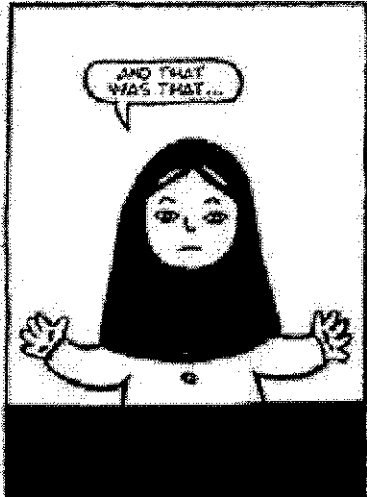
BRAVO!
WHAT WISDOM!



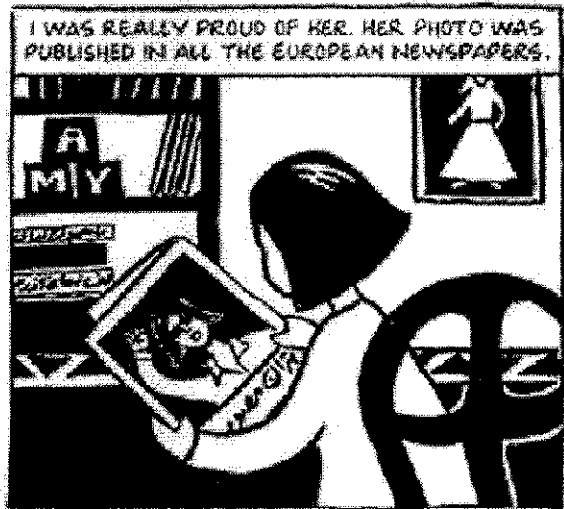
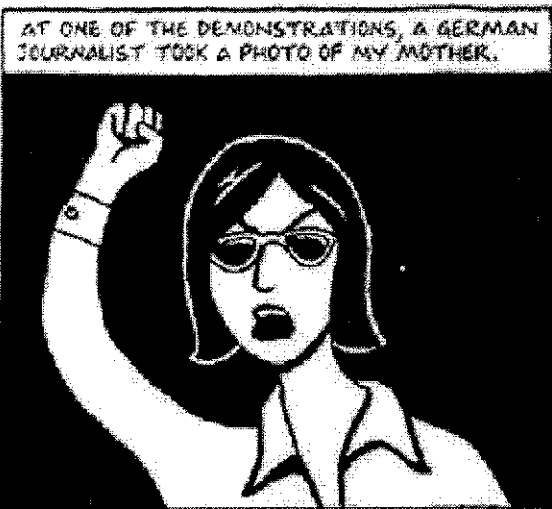
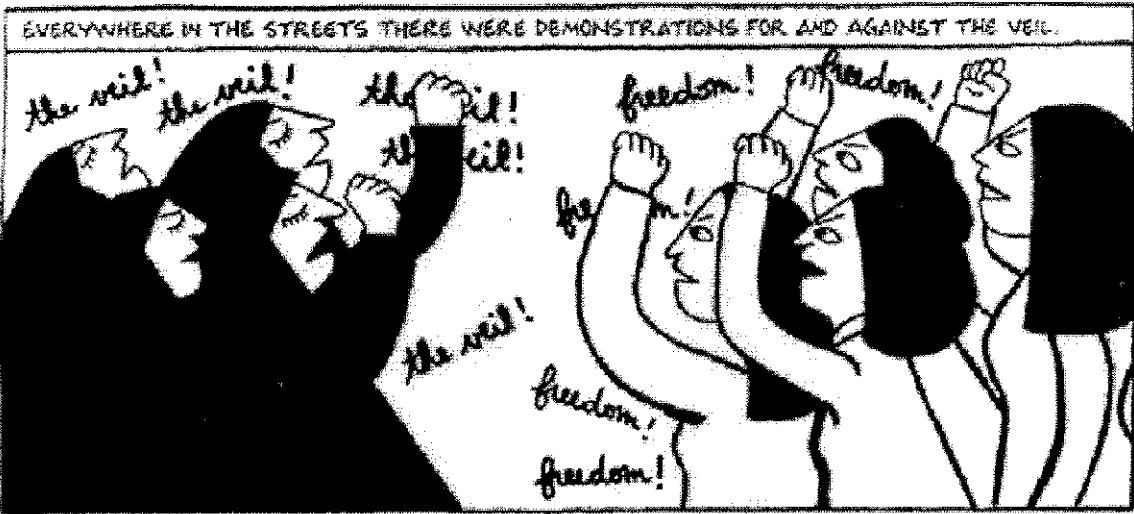
OF DECADENCE.

THIS IS CALLED A
"CULTURAL REVOLUTION!"

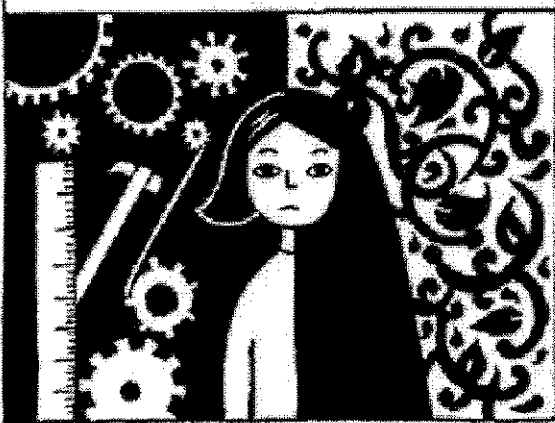
WE FOUND OURSELVES VEILED AND SEPARATED FROM OUR FRIENDS.



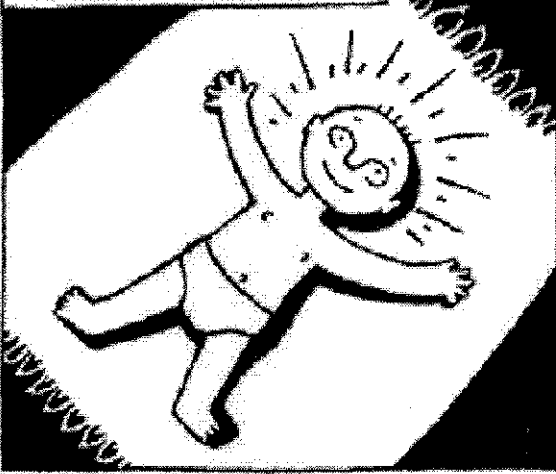
AND THAT
WAS THAT...



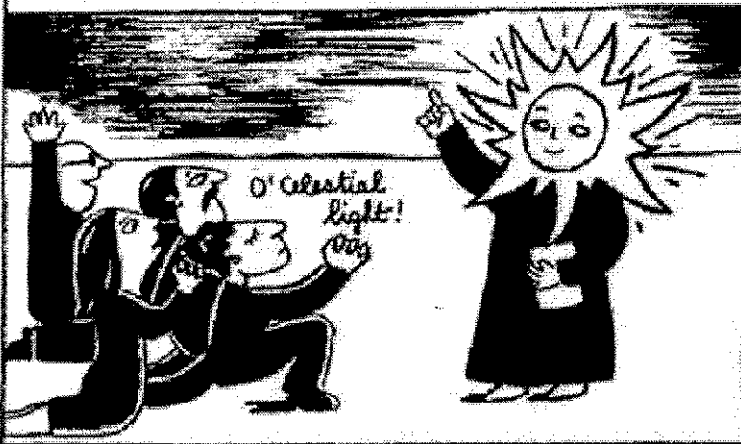
I REALLY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO THINK ABOUT THE
VEIL. DEEP DOWN I WAS VERY RELIGIOUS BUT AS A
FAMILY WE WERE VERY MODERN AND AVANT-GARDE.



I WAS BORN WITH RELIGION.



AT THE AGE OF SIX I WAS ALREADY SURE I WAS THE LAST
PROPHET. THIS WAS A FEW YEARS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.



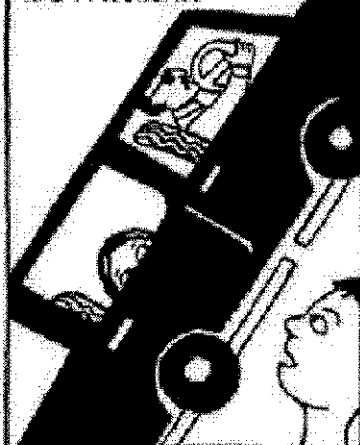
BEFORE ME THERE HAD BEEN A FEW OTHERS.



I WANTED TO BE A PROPHET...



BECAUSE MY FATHER HAD A CADILLAC.



AND, ABOVE ALL, BECAUSE MY GRANDMOTHER'S KNEES ALWAYS ACHED.



LIKE ALL MY PREDECESSORS I HAD MY HOLY BOOK.



THE FIRST THREE RULES CAME FROM ZARATHUSTRA. HE WAS THE FIRST PROPHET IN MY COUNTRY BEFORE THE ARAB INVASION.



I ALSO WANTED US TO CELEBRATE THE TRADITIONAL ZARATHUSTRIAN HOLIDAYS, LIKE THE FIRE CEREMONY,



BEFORE THE PERSIAN NEW YEAR, NOROOZ, ON MARCH 21ST, THE FIRST DAY OF SPRING.



ONLY MY GRANDMOTHER KNEW ABOUT MY BOOK.



RULE NUMBER SIX: EVERYBODY SHOULD HAVE A CAR.

RULE NUMBER SEVEN: ALL HANDS SHOULD EAT AT THE TABLE WITH THE OTHERS.

RULE NUMBER EIGHT: NO OLD PERSON SHOULD HAVE TO SUFFER.



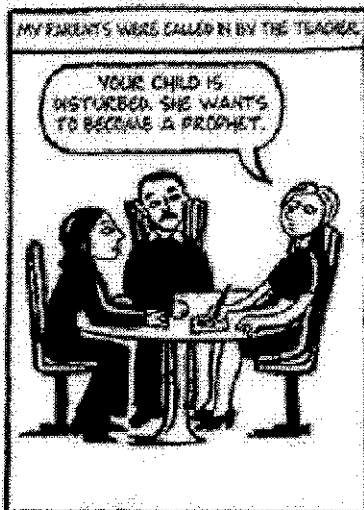
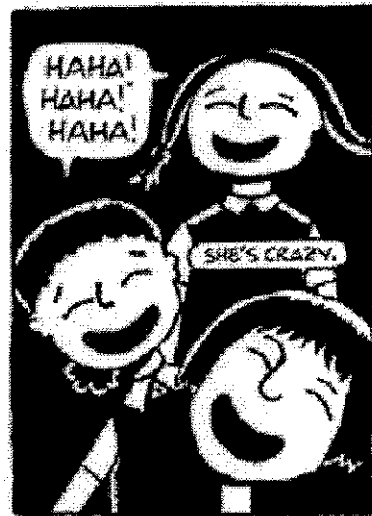
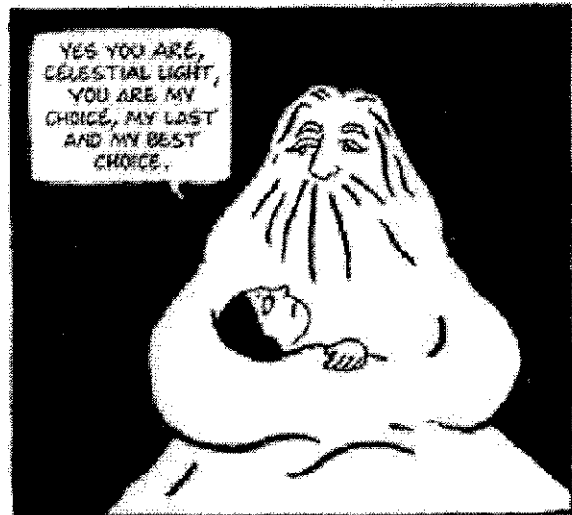
IN THAT CASE, I'LL BE YOUR FIRST DISCIPLE.

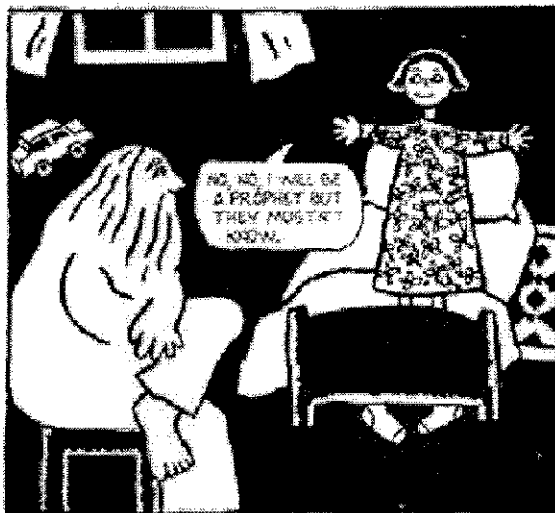
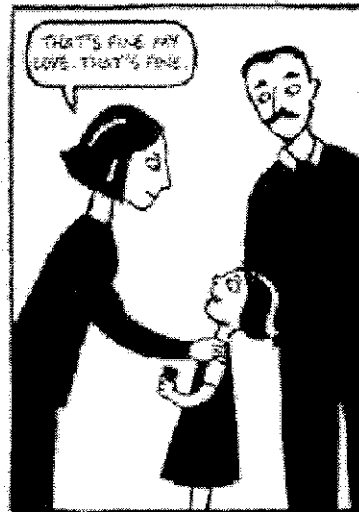
REALLY?



BUT TELL ME HOW YOU'LL ARRANGE FOR OUR PEOPLE NOT TO SUFFER?

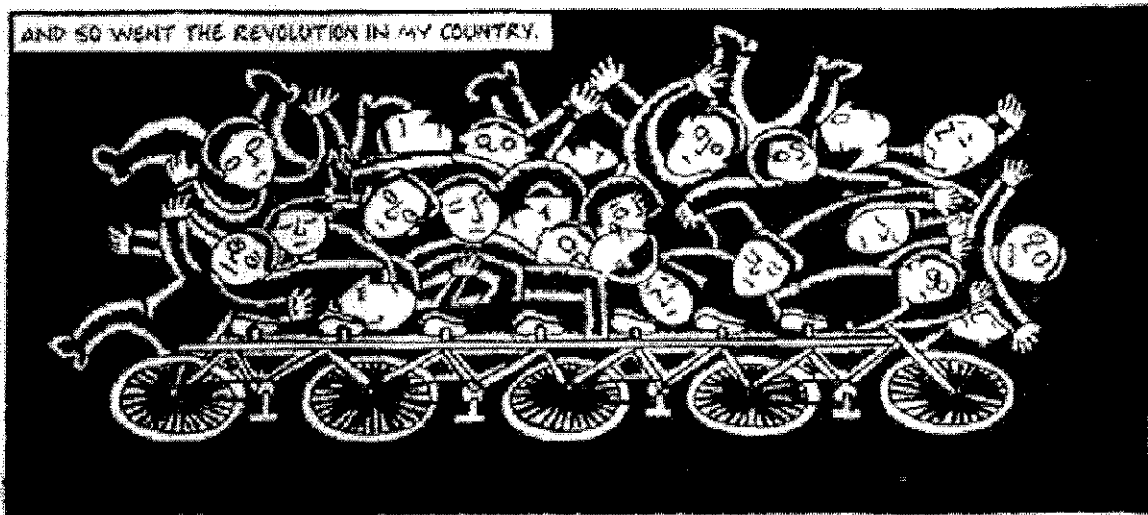
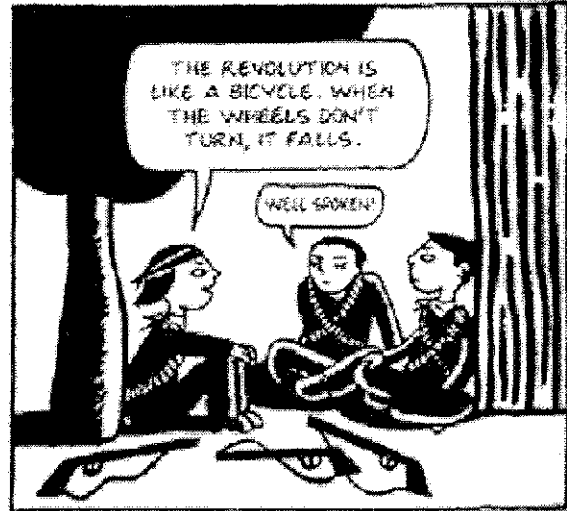
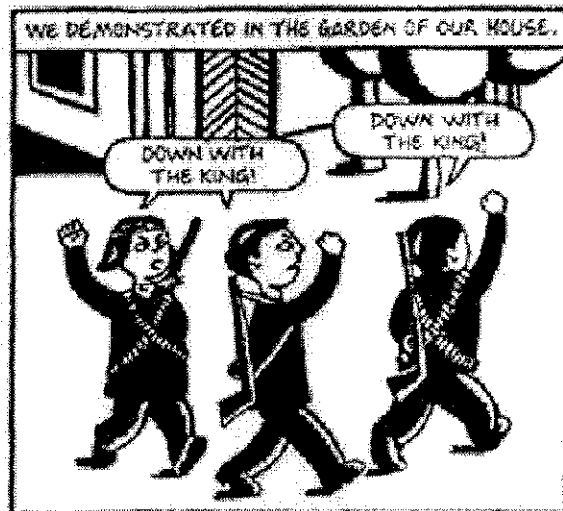
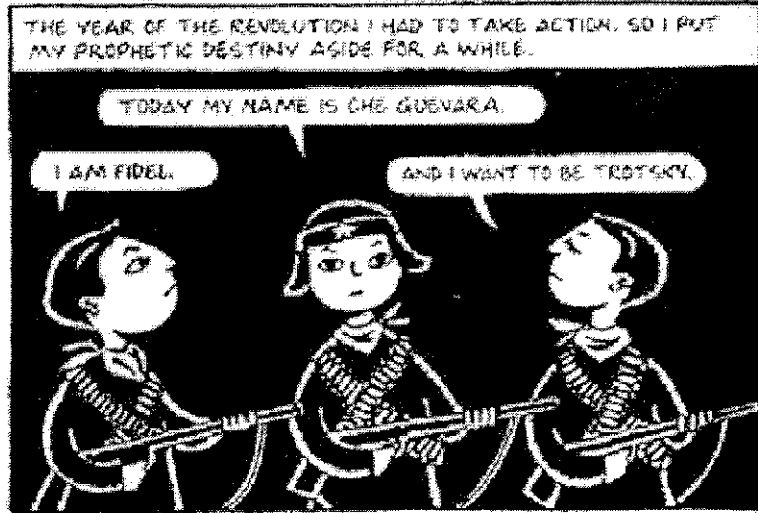
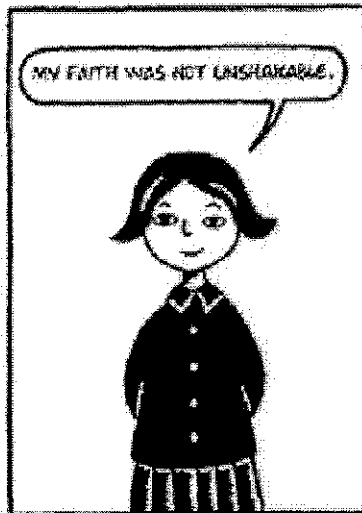
IT WILL SIMPLY BE FORBIDDEN.







THE BICYCLE



"AFTER A LONG SLEEP OF 2500 YEARS, THE REVOLUTION HAS FINALLY AWAKENED THE PEOPLE."



"2500 YEARS OF TYRANNY AND SUBMISSION" AS MY FATHER SAID.

FIRST OUR OWN EMPERORS.



THEN THE ARAB INVASION FROM THE WEST.

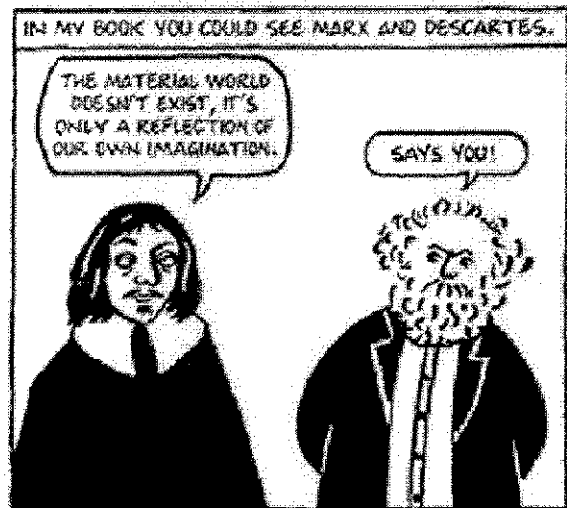
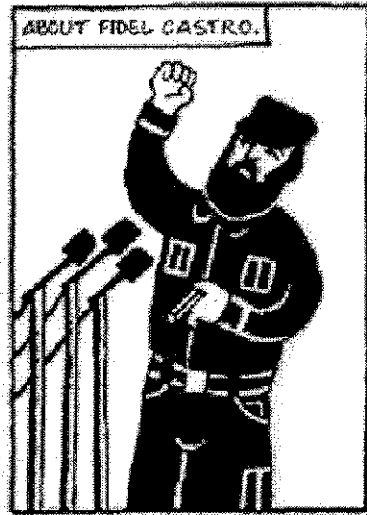


FOLLOWED BY THE MONGOLIAN INVASION FROM THE EAST.

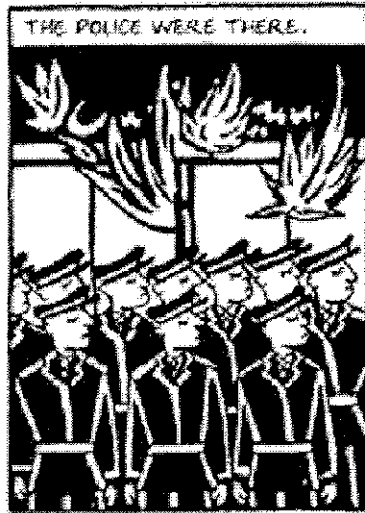
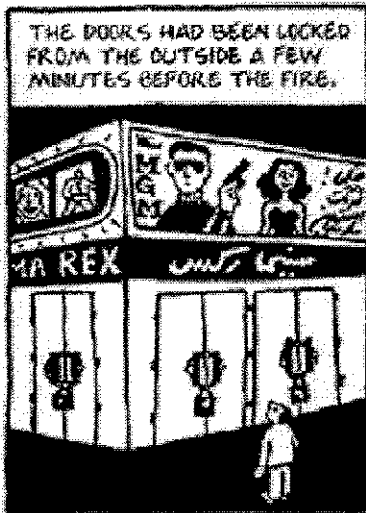
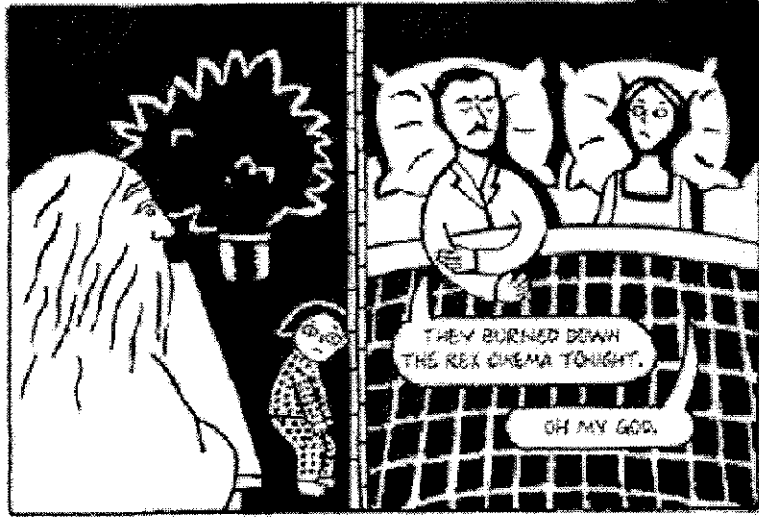
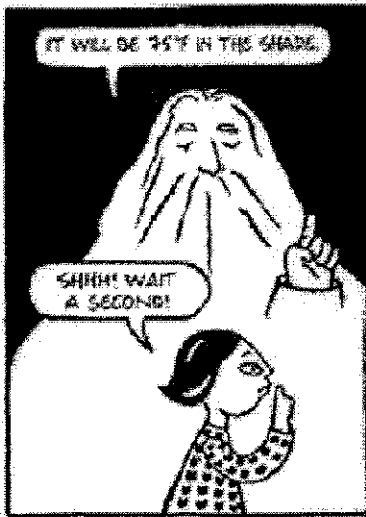


AND FINALLY MODERN IMPERIALISM.

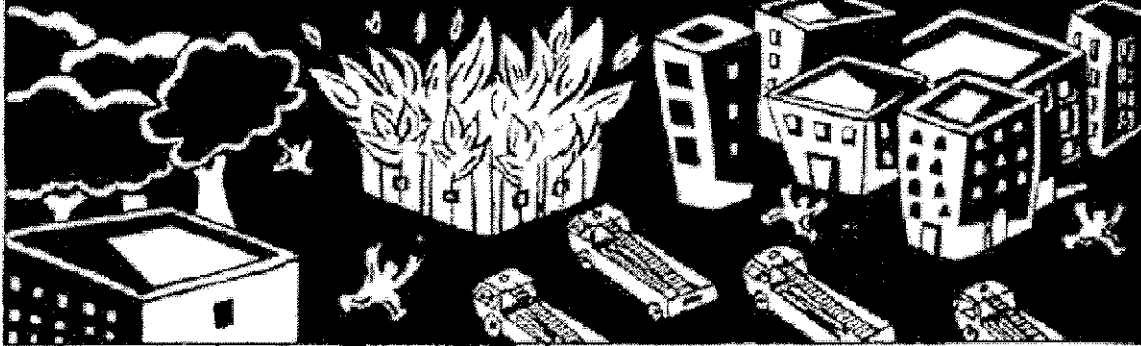




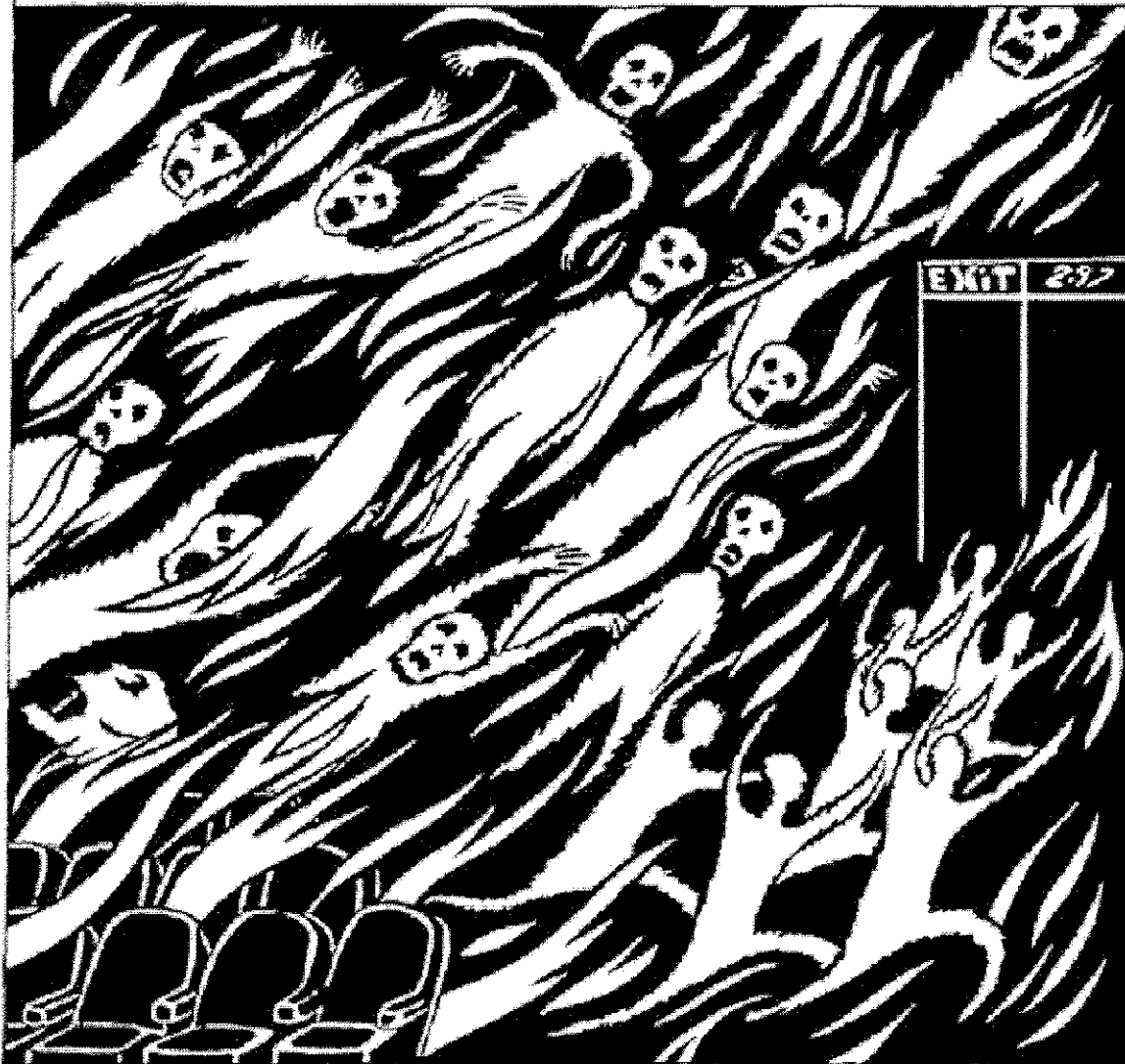


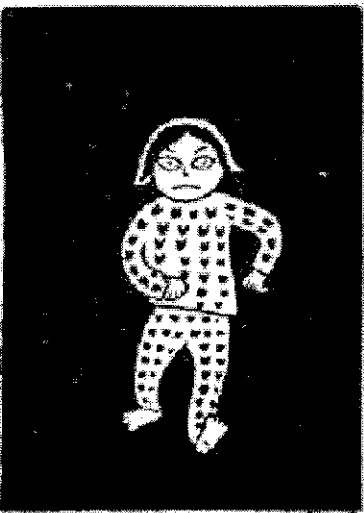
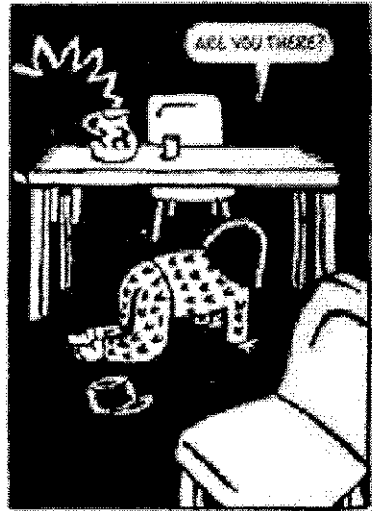
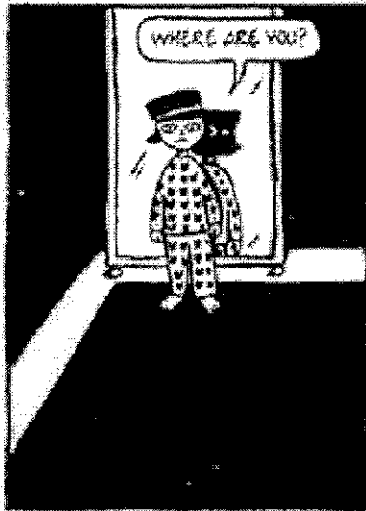


THE FIREMEN DIDN'T ARRIVE UNTIL FORTY MINUTES LATER.



THE BBC SAID THERE WERE 400 VICTIMS. THE SHAH SAID THAT A GROUP OF RELIGIOUS FANATICS PERPETRATED THE MASSACRE. BUT THE PEOPLE KNEW THAT IT WAS THE SHAH'S FAULT!!!





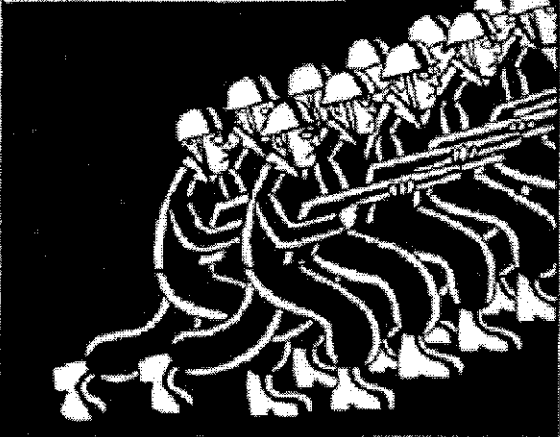


THE WATER CELL

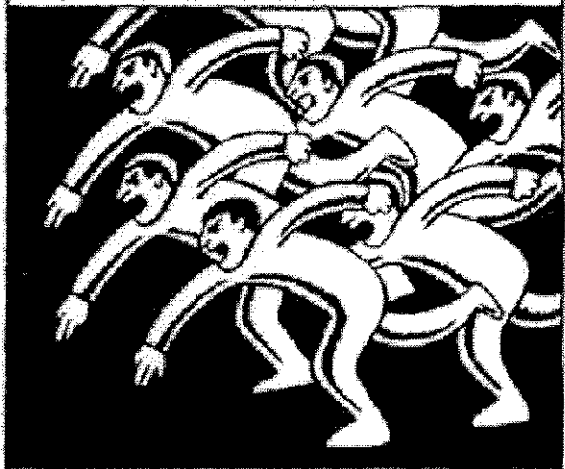
MY PARENTS DEMONSTRATED EVERY DAY.



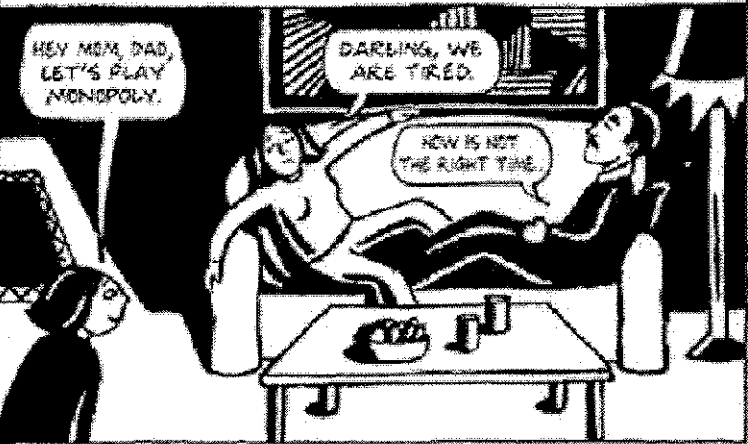
THINGS STARTED TO DEGENERATE. THE ARMY SHOT AT THEM.



AND THEY THREW STONES AT THE ARMY.



AFTER MARCHING AND THROWING STONES ALL DAY, BY EVENING THEY HAD ACHES ALL OVER, EVEN IN THEIR HEADS.



HEY MOM, DAD, LET'S PLAY MONOPOLY.

DARLING, WE ARE TIRED.

NOW IS NOT THE RIGHT TIME.



MONOPOLY! I CAN'T BELIEVE IT. HAHA!

IT IS NEVER THE RIGHT TIME!



AT THE TIME THE REPUBLICAN IDEAL WAS POPULAR IN THE REGION BUT EVERYBODY INTERPRETED IT IN HIS OWN WAY.

GANDHI IN INDIA



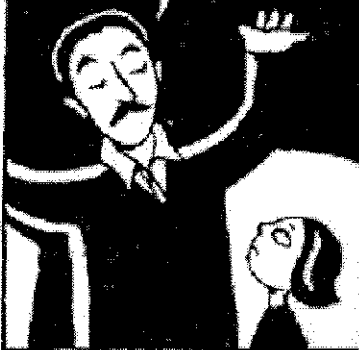
THE HINDUS AND THE MUSLIMS MUST MAKE PEACE TO OVERTHROW THE BRITISH.

ATATURK IN TURKEY



WE, THE TURKS, ARE SECULAR WESTERNERS. FOR PROOF, LOOK AT MY GREEN EYES.

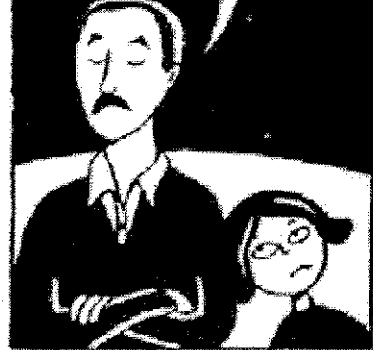
SO THE FATHER OF THE SHAH WANTED TO DO THE SAME.



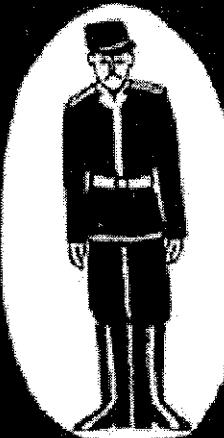
BUT HE WASN'T EDUCATED LIKE GANDHI, WHO WAS A LAWYER...



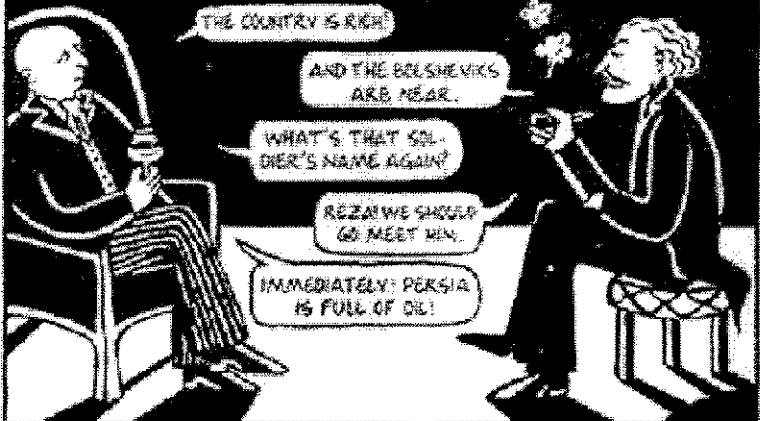
... NOR WAS HE A LEADER OF MEN LIKE ATATURK, WHO WAS A GENERAL.



HE WAS AN ILLITERATE LOW-RANKING OFFICER.



A BLESSING FOR THE VERY INFLUENTIAL BRITISH WHO SOON LEARNED OF HIS PROJECTS.



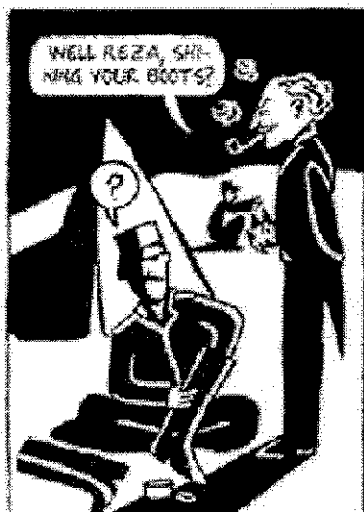
THE COUNTRY IS RICH!

AND THE BOLSHEVIKS ARE NEAR.

WHAT'S THAT SOLDIER'S NAME AGAIN?

REZA! WE SHOULD GO MEET HIM.

IMMEDIATELY! PERSIA IS FULL OF OIL!



WELL REZA, SHINING YOUR BOOTS?



WHEN YOU ARE EMPEROR, YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE WILL SHINE THEM FOR YOU.



EMPEROR, ME?
BUT OF COURSE, MY FRIEND. IT'S MUCH BETTER THAN BEING PRESIDENT.

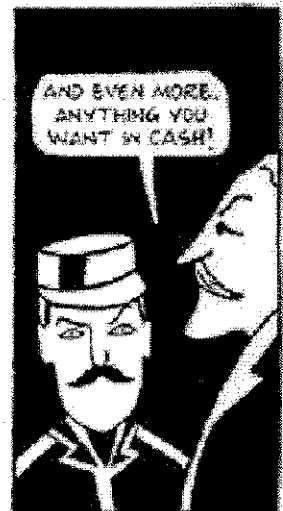


BUT THERE ALREADY IS AN EMPEROR! I WANT TO CREATE A REPUBLIC.

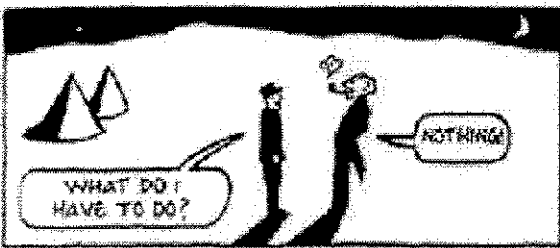
THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS ARE AGAINST IT AND THEY'RE RIGHT. A VAST COUNTRY LIKE YOURS NEEDS A HOLY SYMBOL.



YOU WILL HAVE EVERYTHING. POWER, SHOE SHINERS...



AND EVEN MORE... ANYTHING YOU WANT IN CASH!

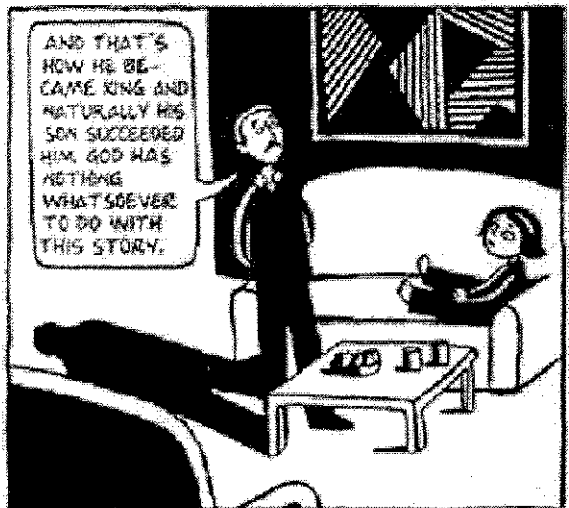


WHAT DO I HAVE TO DO?

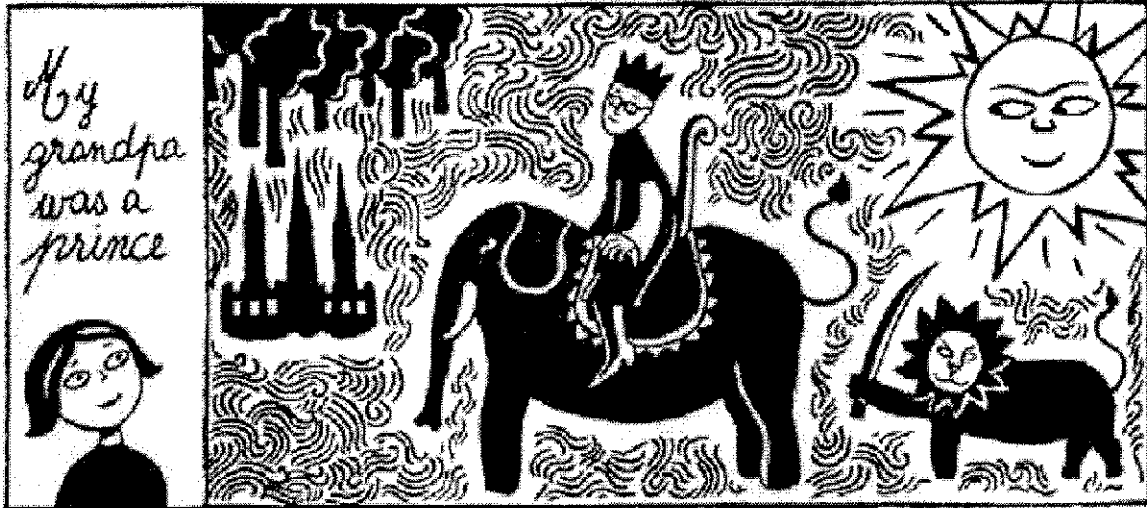
NOTHING!

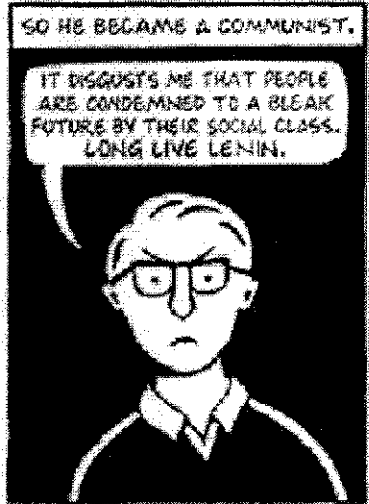


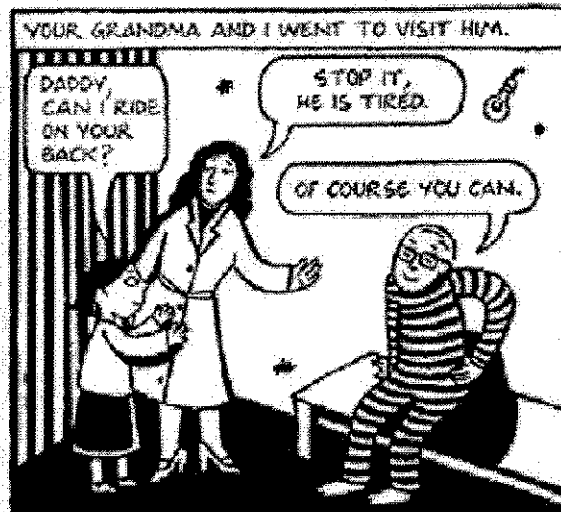
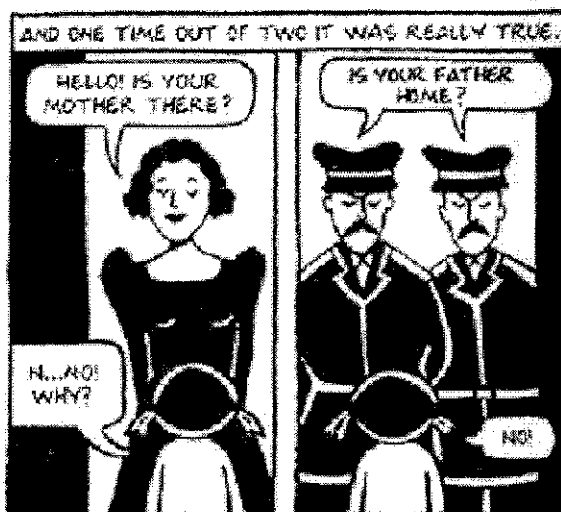
YOU JUST GIVE US THE OIL AND WE'LL TAKE CARE OF THE REST.



AND THAT'S HOW HE BECAME KING AND NATURALLY HIS SON SUCCEEDED HIM. GOD HAS NOTHING WHATSOEVER TO DO WITH THIS STORY.









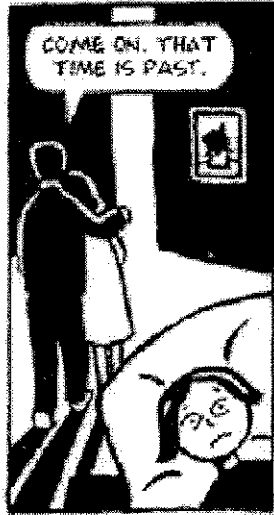
GIDDYAP!
GIDDYAP!



THE POOR MAN IN
PRISON HAD
DESTROYED HIS
HEALTH. HE HAD
RHEUMATISM.



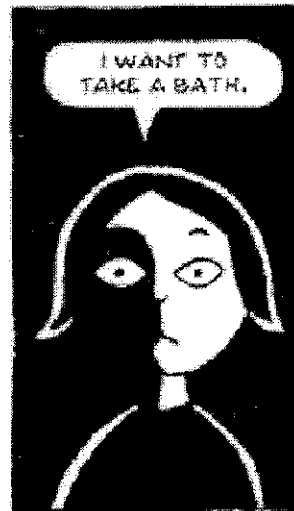
ALL HIS LIFE HE
WAS IN PAIN.



COME ON. THAT
TIME IS PAST.



DO YOU WANT TO
PLAY MONOPOLY?

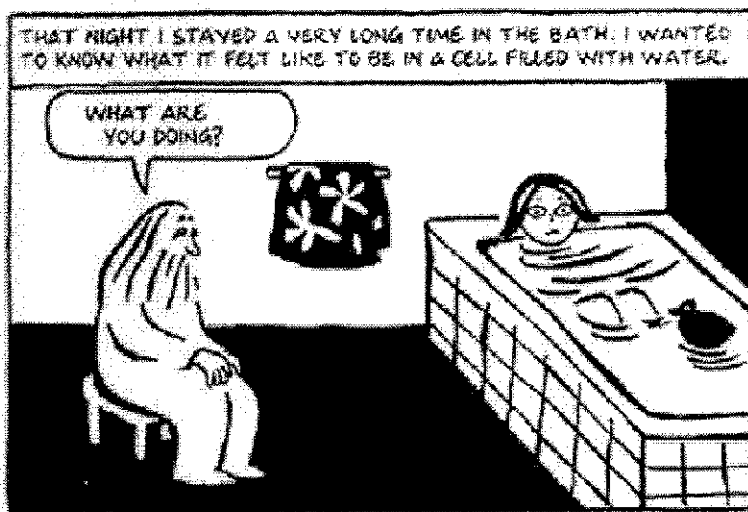


I WANT TO
TAKE A BATH.



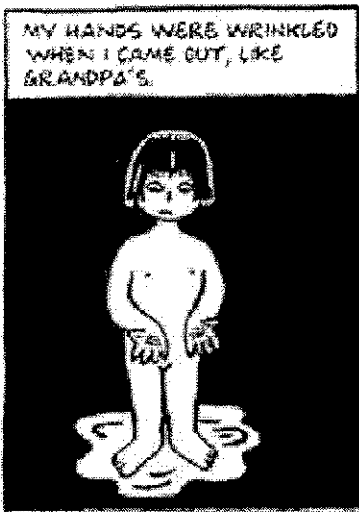
WE CAN PLAY AFTER YOUR
BATH IF YOU WANT TO.

NO! I WANT TO
TAKE A REALLY
LONG BATH.

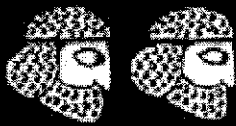


THAT NIGHT I STAYED A VERY LONG TIME IN THE BATH. I WANTED
TO KNOW WHAT IT FELT LIKE TO BE IN A CELL FILLED WITH WATER.

WHAT ARE
YOU DOING?

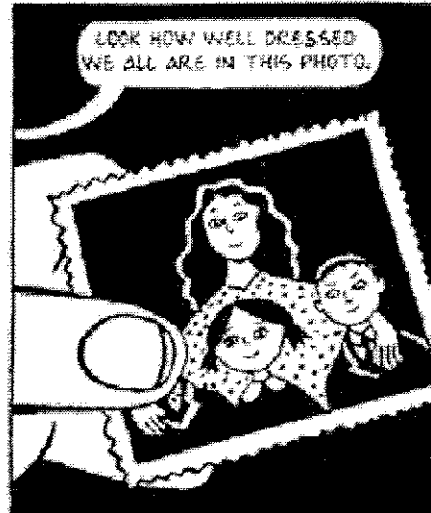


MY HANDS WERE WRINKLED
WHEN I CAME OUT, LIKE
GRANDPA'S.



PERSEPOLIS





HE EVEN WENT TO THE GRAVE OF CYRUS THE GREAT, WHO RULED OVER THE ANCIENT WORLD.

CYRUS, REST IN PEACE, WE ARE LOOKING AFTER PERSIA.



ALL THE COUNTRY'S MONEY WENT INTO RIDICULOUS CELEBRATIONS OF THE 2500 YEARS OF DYNASTY AND OTHER FRIVOLITIES... ALL OF THIS TO IMPRESS HEADS OF STATE, THE POPULATION COULDN'T HAVE CARED LESS.



I AM SO HAPPY THAT THERE IS FINALLY A REVOLUTION BECAUSE THE SHAH...



I'M HUNGRY!



I BOUGHT YOU SOME BOOKS, YOU WILL SEE WHY THE PEOPLE ARE REVOLTING.

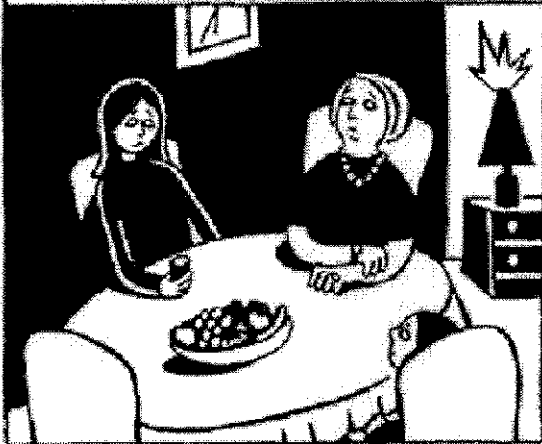
SHE WON'T TELL ME ABOUT GRANDPA.



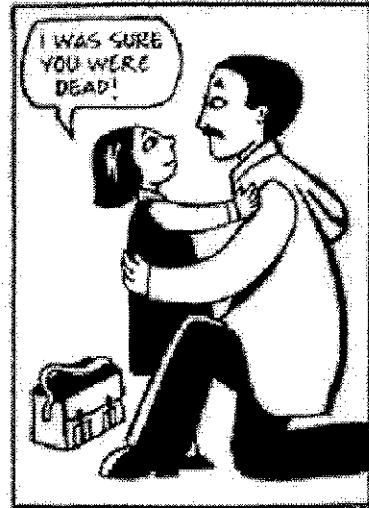
HE TOOK PHOTOS EVERY DAY. IT WAS STRICTLY FORBIDDEN. HE HAD EVEN BEEN ARRESTED ONCE BUT ESCAPED AT THE LAST MINUTE.

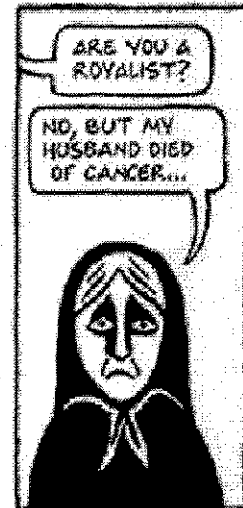
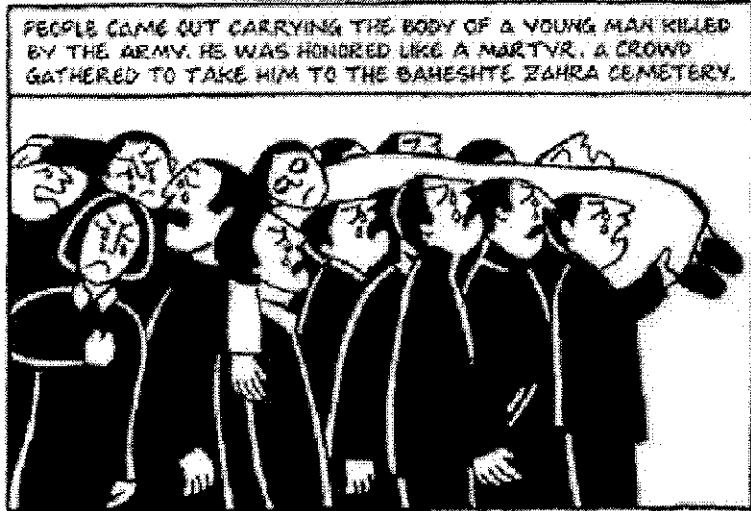
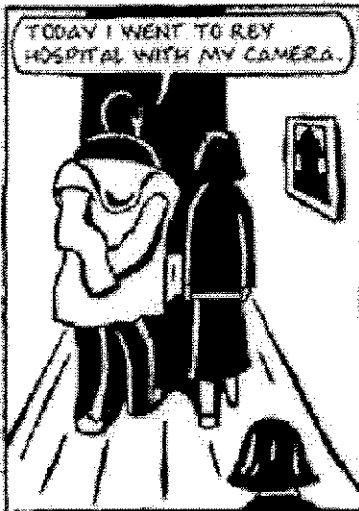


WE WAITED FOR HIM FOR HOURS. THERE WAS THE SAME SILENCE AS BEFORE A STORM.



I THOUGHT THAT MY FATHER WAS DEAD, THAT THEY HAD SHOT HIM.







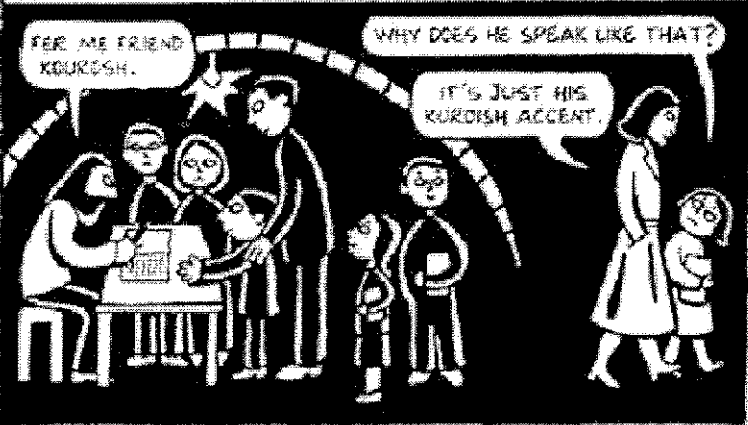


THE LETTER

I'D NEVER READ AS MUCH AS I DID DURING THAT PERIOD.



MY FAVORITE AUTHOR WAS ALI AKHRAF DAREVISHIAN, A KIND OF LOCAL CHARLES DICKENS. I WENT TO HIS CLAUDESTINE BOOK-SIGNING WITH MY MOTHER.

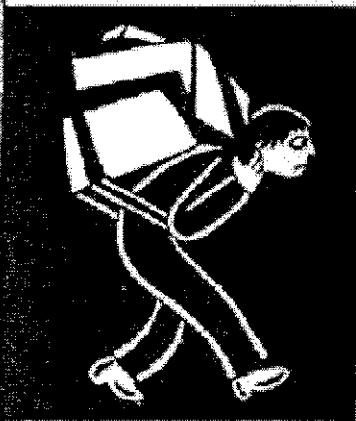


SEE ME FRIEND KOURDISH.

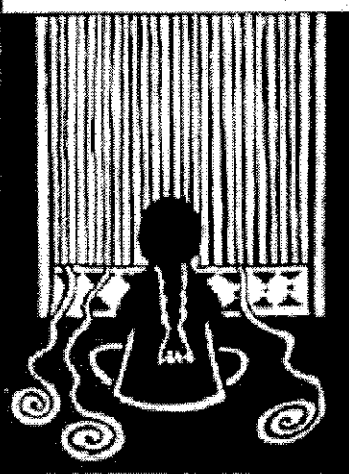
WHY DOES HE SPEAK LIKE THAT?

IT'S JUST HIS KURDISH ACCENT.

HE TOLD SAD BUT TRUE STORIES: REZA BECAME A PORTER AT THE AGE OF TEN.



LEHA WOVE CARPETS AT AGE FIVE.

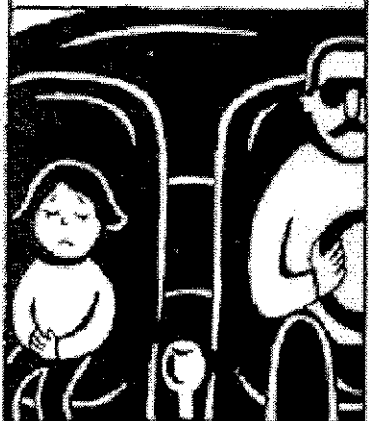


HASSAN, THREE YEARS OLD, CLEANED CAR WINDOWS.



GET DOWN FROM THERE, STUPID!

I FINALLY UNDERSTOOD WHY I FELT ASHAMED TO SIT IN MY FATHER'S CADILLAC.



THE REASON FOR MY SHAME AND FOR THE REVOLUTION IS THE SAME: THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASSES.



BUT NOW THAT I THINK OF IT... WE HAVE A MAID AT HOME!!!





AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION, IN 1978, SHE FELL IN LOVE WITH THE NEIGHBOR'S SON. SHE WAS SIXTEEN YEARS OLD.

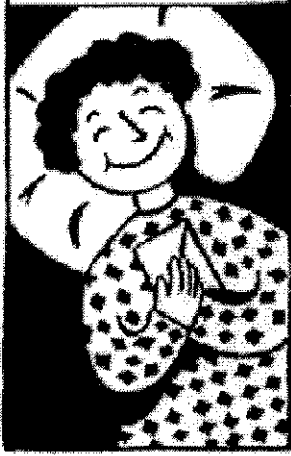


CAN YOU HELP ME LACE MY SHOES?

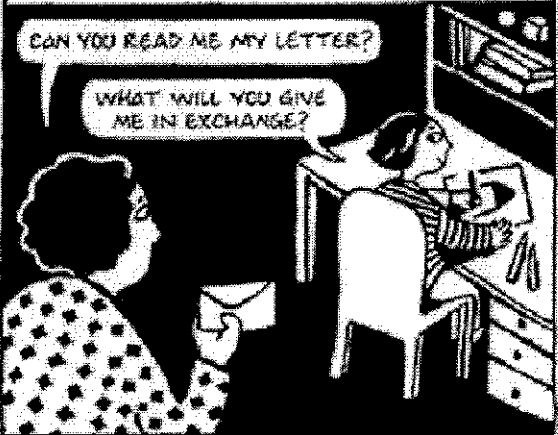
EVERY NIGHT THEY LOOKED AT EACH OTHER FROM THE WINDOW OF MY ROOM.



UNTIL THE DAY HE SLIPPED HER A LETTER.



LIKE MOST PEASANTS, SHE DIDN'T KNOW HOW TO READ AND WRITE...



CAN YOU READ ME MY LETTER?

WHAT WILL YOU GIVE ME IN EXCHANGE?

MY MOTHER HAD TRIED TO TEACH HER BUT APPARENTLY SHE WAS NOT VERY TALENTED.



SO LET'S REPEAT. M AS IN...

CARROT!

SO I WROTE THE LETTERS FOR HER. ONE EACH WEEK FOR SIX MONTHS.

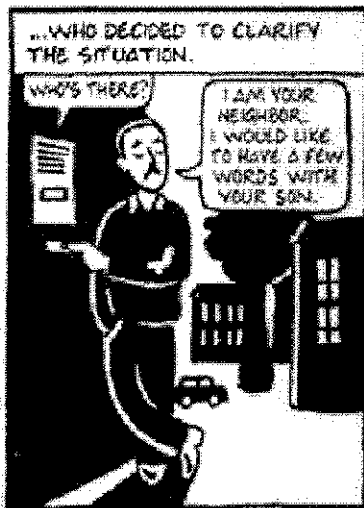


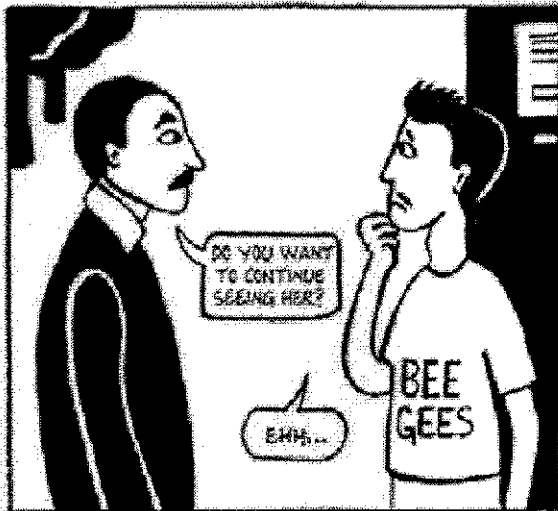
MY DEAR MOSSEIN, I MISS YOU A LOT. IT HAS BEEN THREE DAYS SINCE I SAW YOU AT THE WINDOW. I OFTEN TALK ABOUT YOU TO MY SISTER.

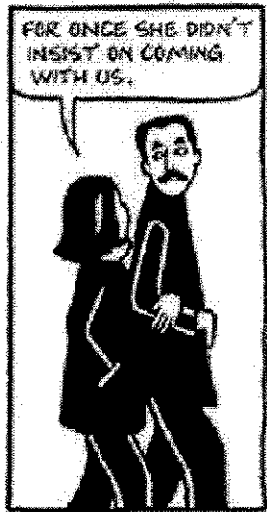
WHICH SISTER?

YOU!

I WAS VERY DEVOTED.

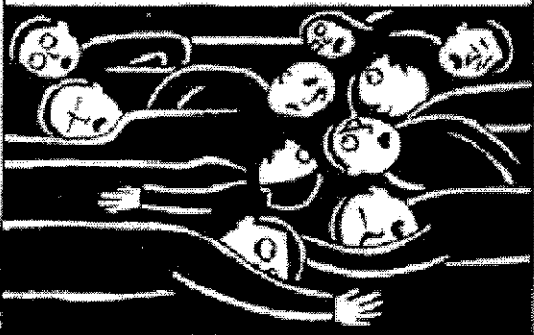








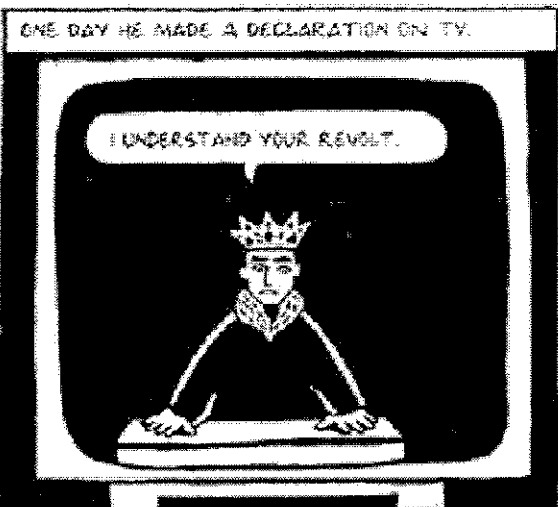
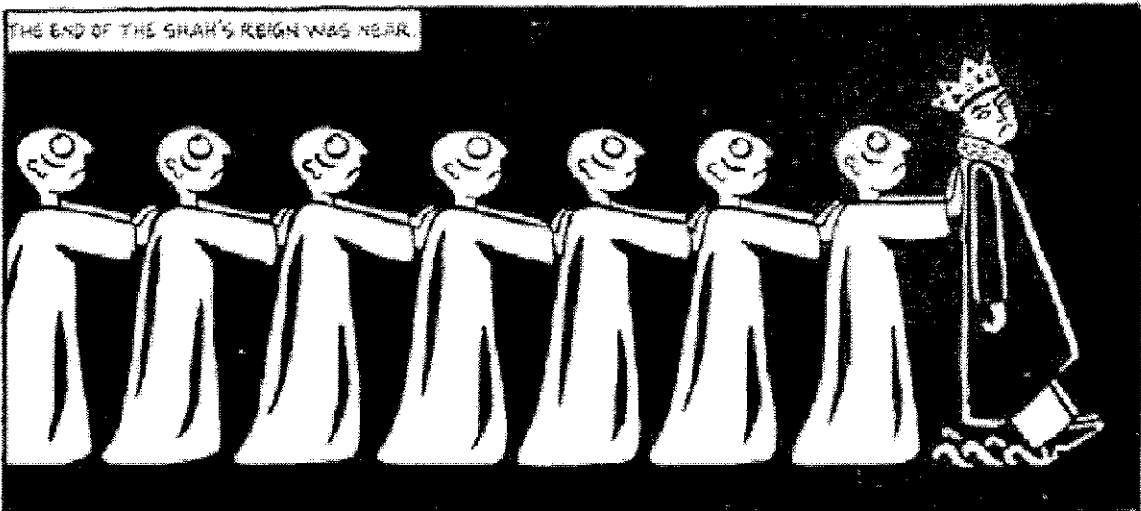
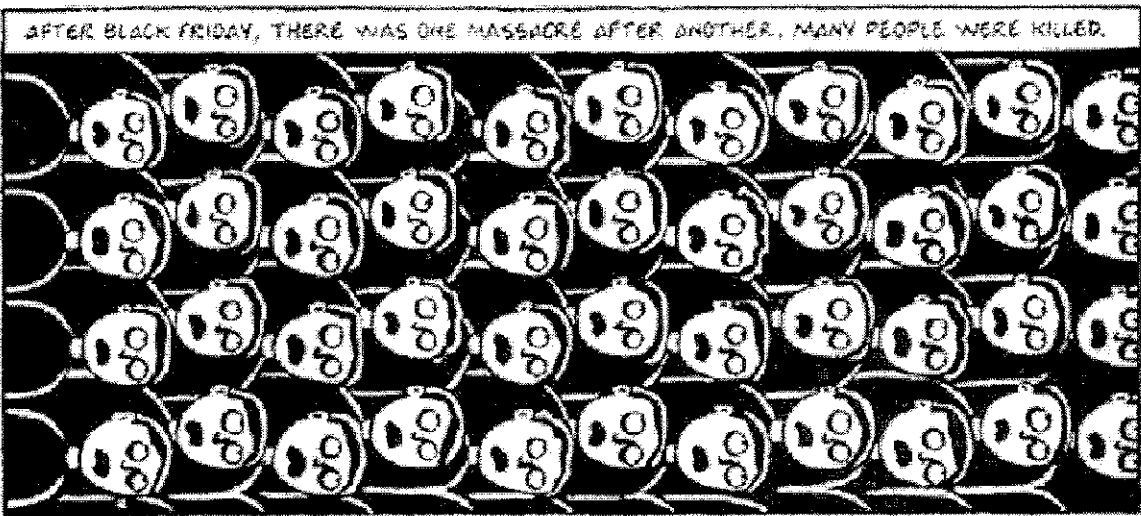
WE HAD DEMONSTRATED ON THE VERY DAY WE SHOULDN'T HAVE! ON "BLACK FRIDAY" THAT DAY THERE WERE SO MANY KILLED IN ONE OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS THAT A RUMOR SPREAD THAT ISRAELI SOLDIERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SLAUGHTER.

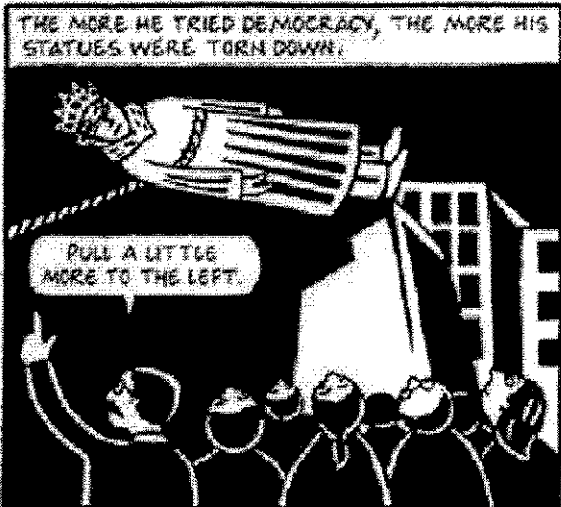
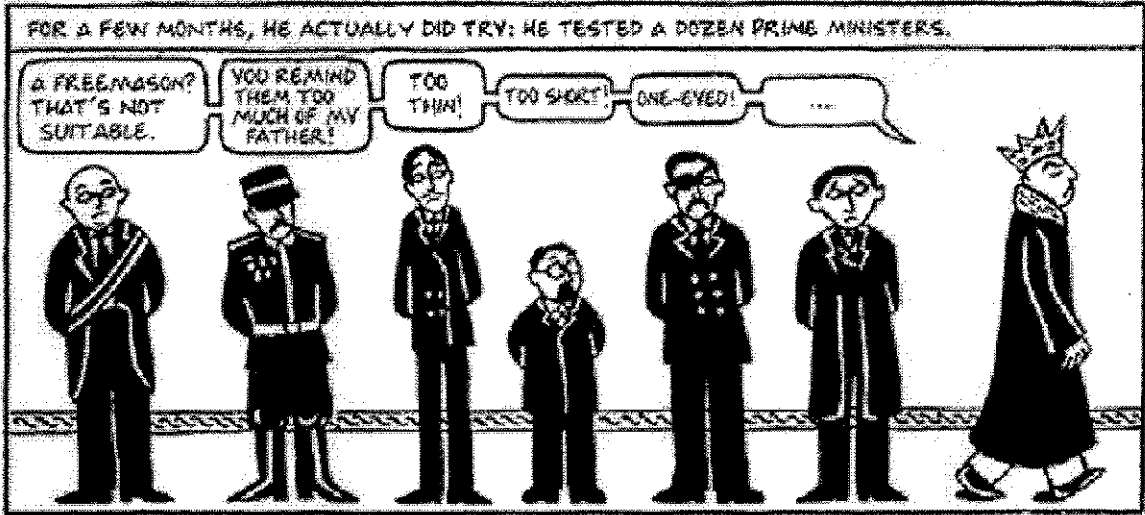


BUT IN FACT IT WAS REALLY OUR OWN WHO HAD ATTACKED US.



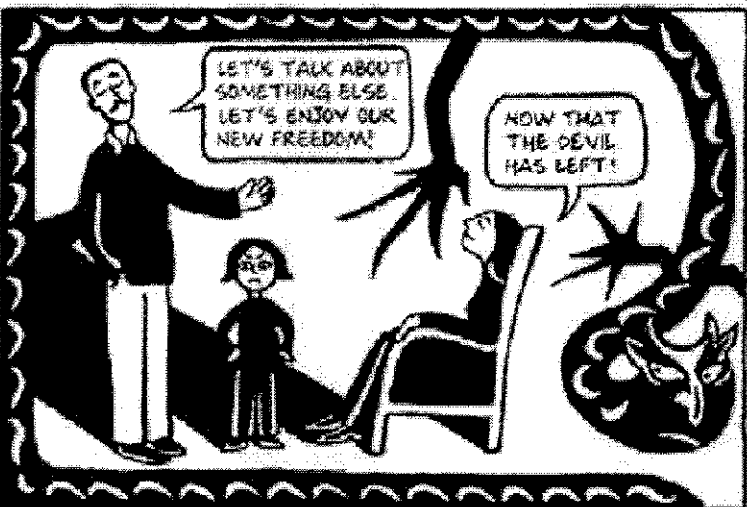
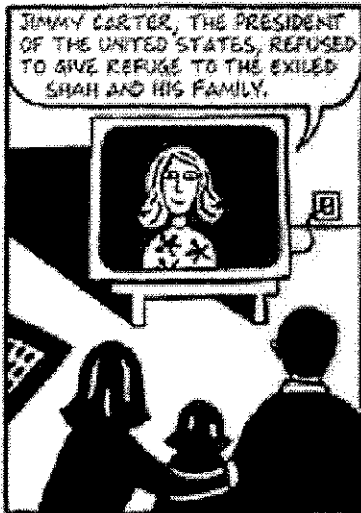
THE PARTY





THE DAY HE LEFT, THE COUNTRY HAD THE BIGGEST CELEBRATION OF ITS ENTIRE HISTORY.





AFTER ALL THIS JOY, A MAJOR MISFORTUNE TOOK PLACE: THE SCHOOLS, CLOSED DURING THIS PERIOD, REOPENED AND...



CHILDREN, TEAR OUT ALL THE PHOTOS OF THE SHAH FROM YOUR BOOKS.

BUT SHE WAS THE ONE WHO TOLD US THAT THE SHAH WAS CHOSEN BY GOD!



TEACHER! SHE SAYS THAT THE SHAH WAS CHOSEN BY GOD!!



SATRAP! YOU SHOULDN'T SAY THINGS LIKE THAT. STAND IN THE CORNER!

THESE STRANGE PHENOMENA WERE EVERYWHERE.



HELLO DEAR NEIGHBORS.

HELLO.

HELLO! ALL THOSE DEMONSTRATIONS WERE REALLY TIRING BUT WE FINALLY SUCCEEDED.

LOOK! A BULLET ALMOST HIT MY WIFE'S CHEEK. LIBERTY IS PRICELESS.



OH!

WHAT NERVE! SHE ALWAYS HAD THAT NASTY SPOT. IF WE WEREN'T NEIGHBORS, HE WOULD HAVE SAID SHE'S A MARTYR RAISED FROM THE DEAD.



IT IS MOST IMPORTANT.

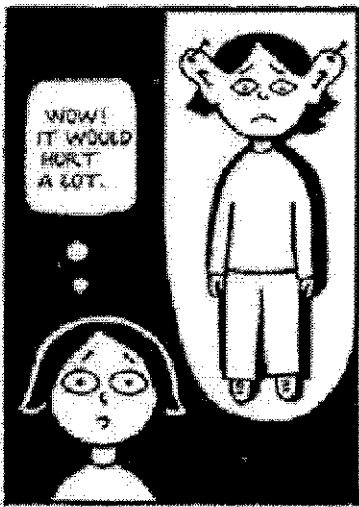
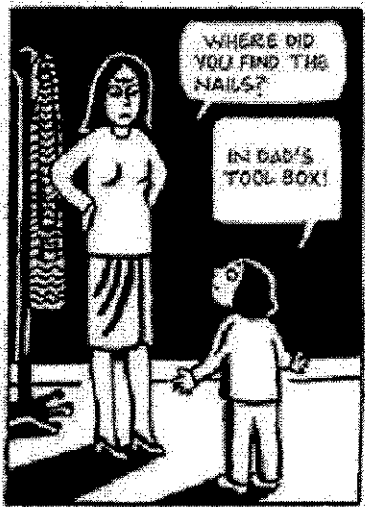
THE BATTLE WAS OVER FOR OUR PARENTS BUT NOT FOR US.

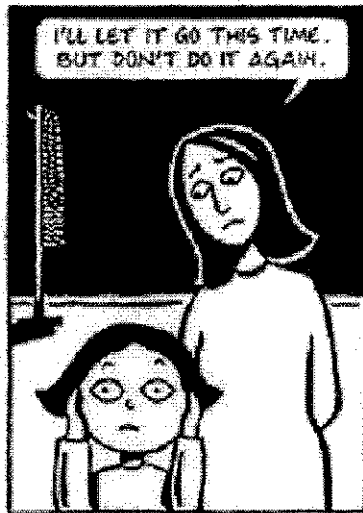


MY FATHER SAYS RAMIN'S FATHER WAS IN THE SAVAK*. HE KILLED A MILLION PEOPLE.

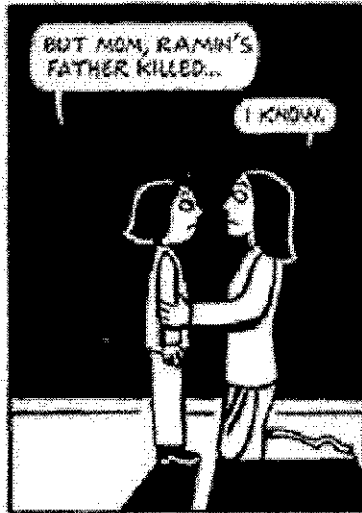
A MILLION?

* SECRET POLICE OF THE SHAH'S REGIME.





I'LL LET IT GO THIS TIME. BUT DON'T DO IT AGAIN.



BUT MOM, RAMIN'S FATHER KILLED...

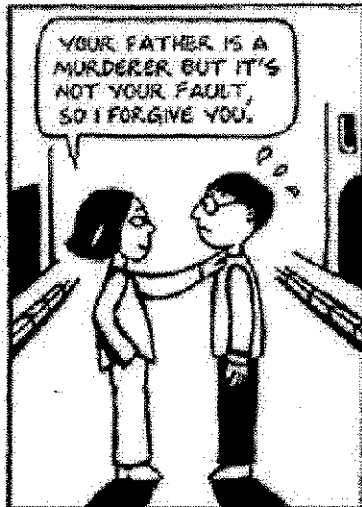
I KNOW.



HIS FATHER DID IT, BUT IT'S NOT RAMIN'S FAULT.



ANYWAY IT IS NOT FOR YOU AND ME TO DO JUSTICE. I'D EVEN SAY WE HAVE TO LEARN TO FORGIVE.



YOUR FATHER IS A MURDERER. BUT IT'S NOT YOUR FAULT, SO I FORGIVE YOU.



HE IS NOT A MURDERER! HE KILLED COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNISTS ARE EVIL.



MY GOD! HE REPEATS WHAT THEY TELL HIM. HE WILL UNDERSTAND LATER...



YOU HAVE TO FORGIVE!

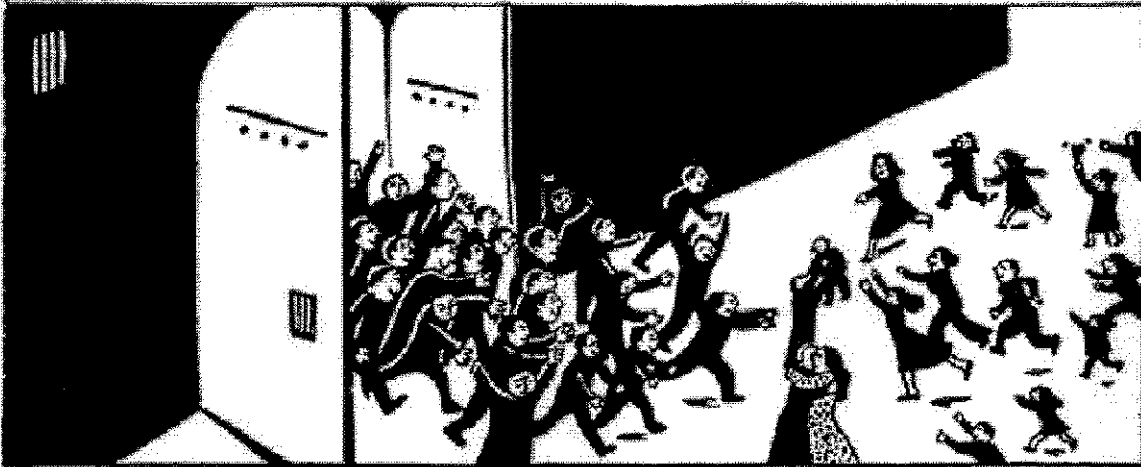
YOU HAVE TO FORGIVE!

I HAD THE FEELING OF BEING SOMEONE REALLY, REALLY GOOD.

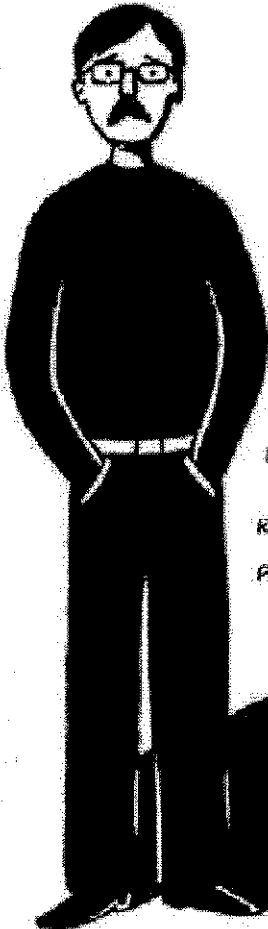


THE HEROES

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS WERE LIBERATED A FEW DAYS LATER. THERE WERE 3000 OF THEM.



WE KNEW TWO OF THEM.



SIAMAK JARI

BORN
FEBRUARY 20, 1945

IN LURISTAN

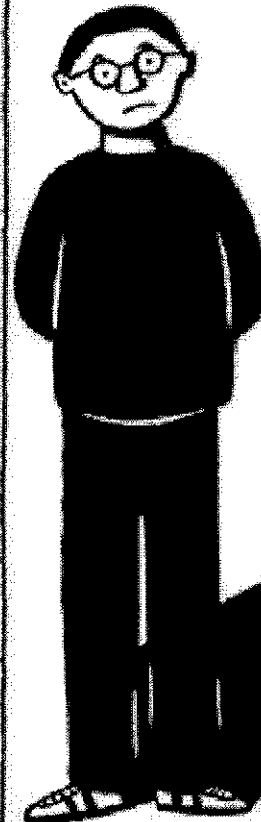
PROFESSION:
JOURNALIST

CRIME: WROTE
SUBVERSIVE ARTICLES
IN THE KEYHAN

DATE OF IMPRISONMENT:
JULY 1978

RELEASED: MARCH 1979

POLITICAL CONVICTION:
COMMUNIST



MOHSEN SHAKIBA

BORN
NOVEMBER 22, 1947

IN RACHT

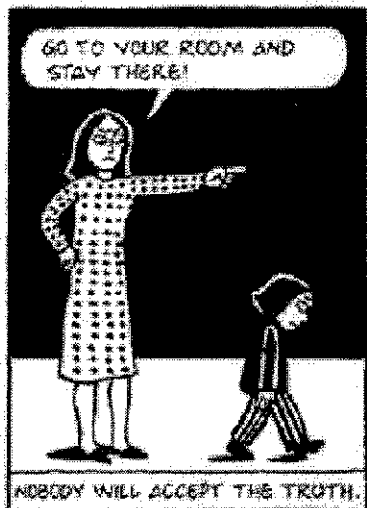
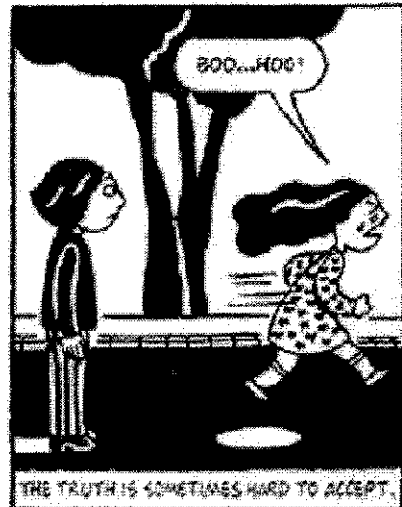
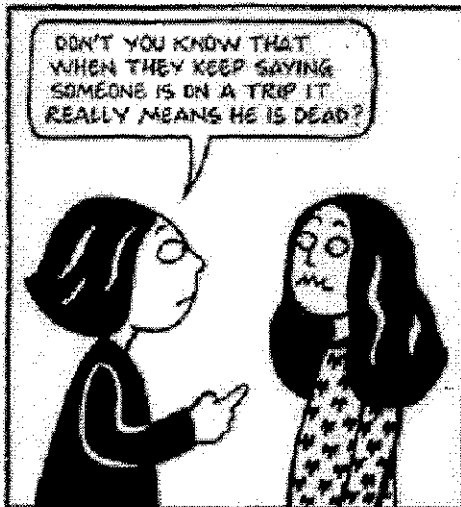
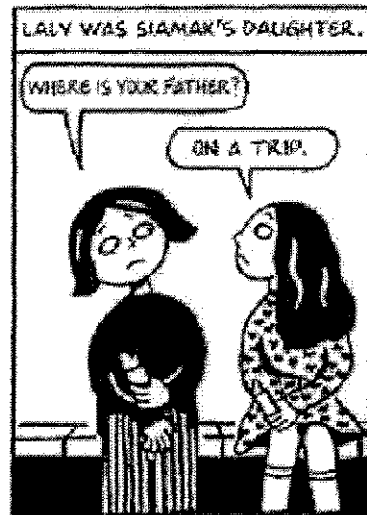
PROFESSION:
REVOLUTIONARY

CRIME:
REVOLUTIONARY

DATE OF IMPRISONMENT:
APRIL 1971

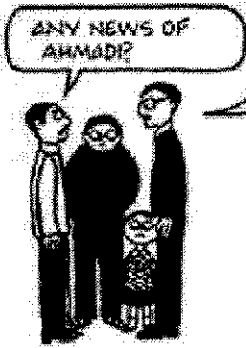
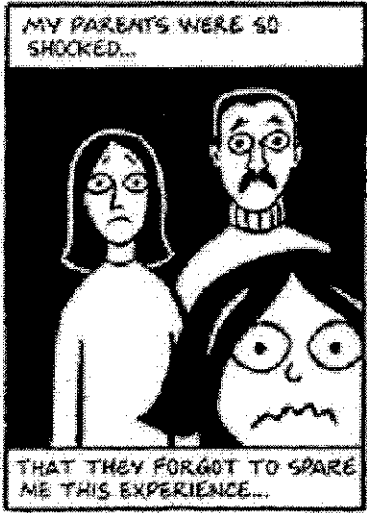
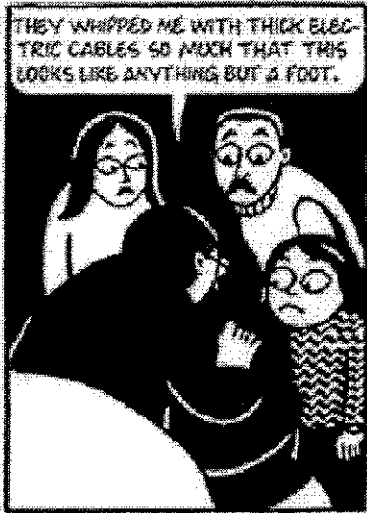
RELEASED: MARCH 1979

POLITICAL CONVICTION:
COMMUNIST

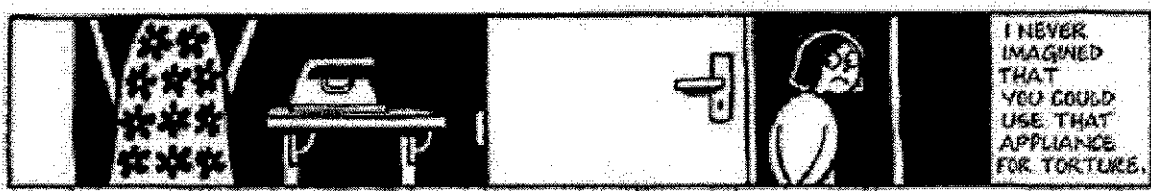
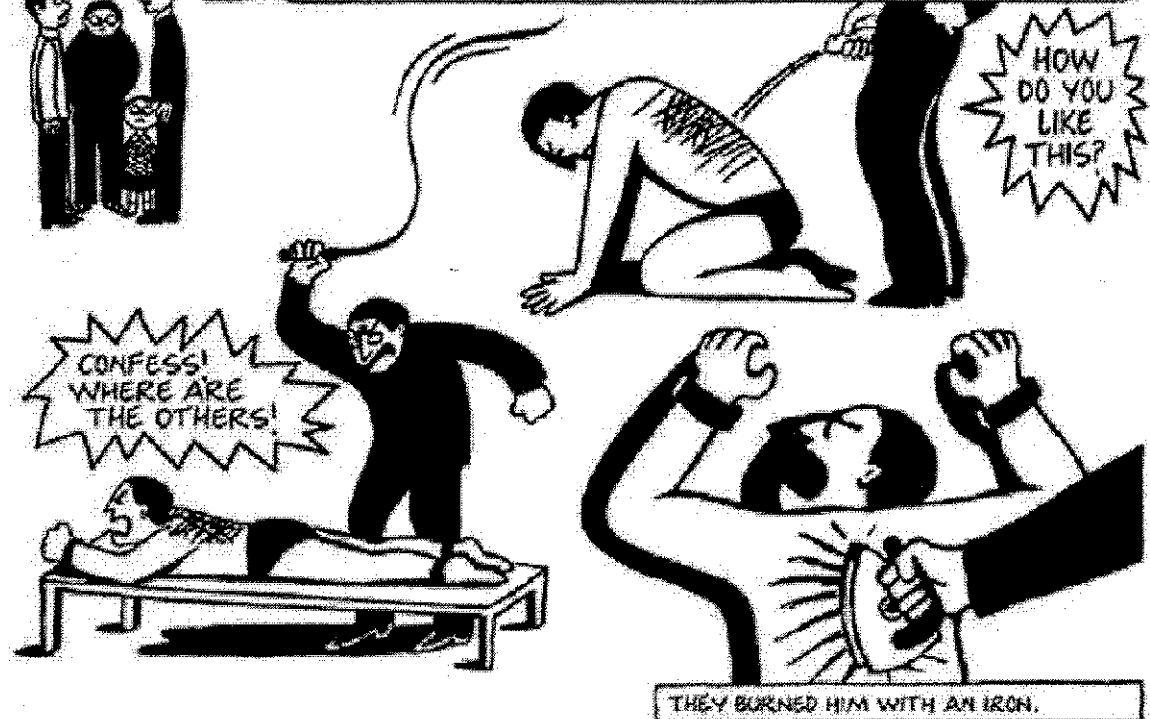


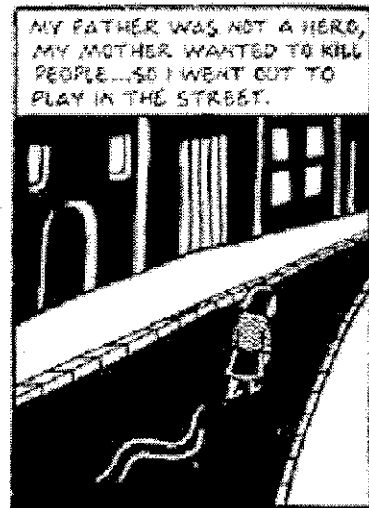
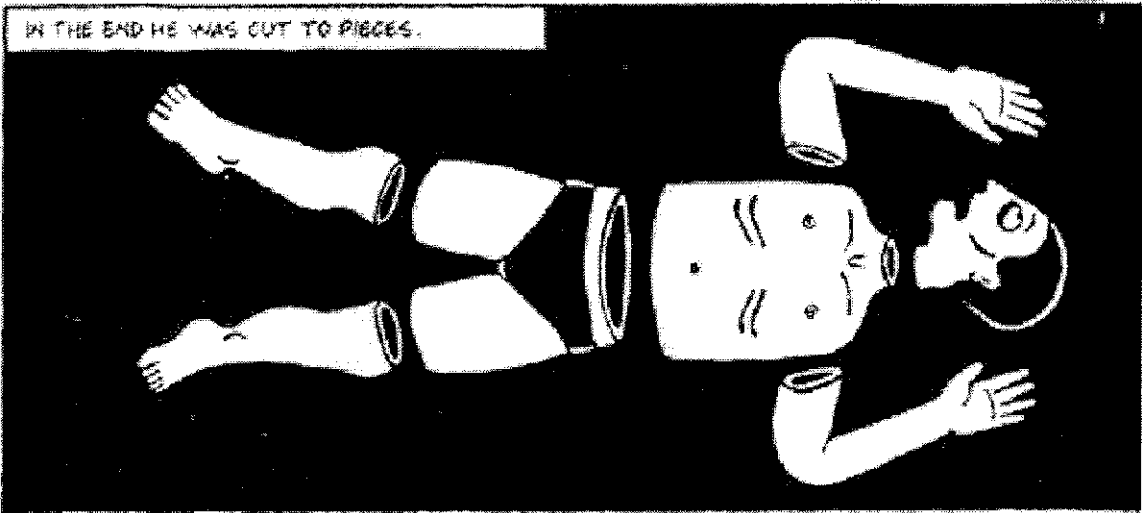






AHMADI... AHMADI WAS ASSASSINATED. AS A MEMBER OF THE GUERRILLAS, HE SUFFERED HELL. HE ALWAYS HAD CYANIDE ON HIM IN CASE HE WAS ARRESTED, BUT HE WAS TAKEN BY SURPRISE AND UNFORTUNATELY HE NEVER HAD A CHANCE TO USE IT... SO HE SUFFERED THE WORST TORTURE...







RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY

This unit offers students an opportunity to engage in their own historical reading of the arts and technology through images, music, and texts that represent some of the varied forms of cultural production and innovation that have emerged from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) during different historical periods. The lessons focus on artistic and scientific pursuits that highlight the social and political engagement of MENA peoples and illustrate the circulation of ideas about innovation and social change.

Importantly, this unit seeks to address a critical gap in the ways that MENA peoples have been portrayed in contemporary US World History textbooks. An analysis of high school textbooks revealed that historical narratives commonly obscure the active role and contributions of peoples in the region to the advancement of social, political, cultural, and scientific change, within and beyond the region. Furthermore, the role of MENA peoples as producers of culture and innovation is largely absent in these texts. Indeed, the portrayal of key events often conceals the vibrant political and social discussion underway in the MENA region during certain periods. As such, US World History textbooks do not adequately reflect the contestation, struggles, and rational debates of the region's peoples, nor the production, interaction, engagement, and circulation of ideas that constitute a shared past.

The lessons in this unit invite students to reconsider the sources that historians have traditionally used to construct the past and the ways in which arts and technologies reveal alternative narratives about the social, political and economic conditions of a period and the movement of ideas across time and space. By examining samples of visual arts, popular music, and scientific innovations, students will reflect on historical narratives, including how the history of science and ideas has been narrated. Why might the contributions of particular groups or world regions be underrepresented in these accounts? How might these accounts be revised to better reflect the rootedness of ideas in the interactions among a number of societies? What does an analysis of the circulation of ideas through the arts and technology reveal about cultural representation? What does it reveal about our shared past?

The lessons in this unit draw on multiple disciplines. Where appropriate and possible, teachers may wish to collaborate with teachers of music, art, and science for cross-disciplinary thematic instruction.

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY

TOPIC

Arabic Music Across Time and Space

LESSON OVERVIEW	<p>Students will listen to two popular pieces of music by Egyptian musician and composer Sayed Darwish (1892-1923) and examine the lyrics to the songs. Students will explore the social, political, and economic context of his artistic production, in particular, the period surrounding the Egyptian Revolution of 1919. They will learn that Sayed Darwish’s many songs have since been reinterpreted and performed by countless musicians from different countries of MENA and elsewhere over the last century. These songs have been translated into various genres of music including, more recently, hip-hop, techno, and hard rock. Widely known across the region, Darwish’s songs are performed by the region’s most notable artists as often as they are sung at family and other informal social gatherings. Students will reflect on what makes particular pieces of music transcend time and space and how music has been used in MENA as a medium for social and political engagement. They will also consider the use of popular oral sources as primary material in historical research.</p>
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do lyrics convey the social, political, and/or economic conditions or viewpoints from a particular historical period? • How is musical expression shaped by a particular historical moment? What makes it transcend time and space? • How can popular music be used as primary source material in historical research? What might it allow us to learn that other primary source material might obscure?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore music as a forum where social, political, and/or economic

	<p>conditions, ideas, and viewpoints have been, and continue to be, discussed and engaged in the Middle East and North Africa.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider the nature and types of sources used by historians to examine social, political, and/or economic conditions, ideas, or viewpoints of a particular period. • Consider popular oral primary source material, such as lyrics, as significant sources for historical research.
<p>STANDARDS</p>	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.1 Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.2 Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.4 Interpret words and phrases as they are used in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative meanings, and analyze how specific word choices shape meaning or tone.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.5 Analyze the structure of texts, including how specific sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text (e.g., a section, chapter, scene, or stanza) relate to each other and the whole.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.6 Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.7 Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.9 Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.10 Read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently.</p> <p>(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.7 Conduct short as well as</p>

more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.

(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.8 Gather relevant information from multiple print and digital sources, assess the credibility and accuracy of each source, and integrate the information while avoiding plagiarism.

(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.9 Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

New York State Standards

Learning Standards for the Arts:

Standard 3, Music: 3. Students will demonstrate the capacity to listen to and comment on music. They will relate their critical assertions about music to its aesthetic, structural, acoustic, and psychological qualities. Students will use concepts based on the structure of music's content and context to relate music to other broad areas of knowledge. They will use concepts from other disciplines to enhance their understanding of music.

Standard 4, Music: 4. Students will develop a performing and listening repertoire of music of various genres, styles, and cultures that represent the peoples of the world and their manifestations in the United States. Students will recognize the cultural features of a variety of musical compositions and performances and understand the functions of music within the culture.

Learning Standards for Social Studies:

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Analyze historic events from around the world by examining accounts written from different perspectives
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

	<p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how circumstances of time and place influence perspective Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events Investigate key events and developments and major turning points in world history to identify the factors that brought about change and the long-term effects of these changes <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world Examine the social/cultural, political, economic, and religious norms and values of Western and other world cultures <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History)
MATERIALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Computer with Internet access and speakers to play two songs by Sayed Darwish: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> “El Helwa Di” (“This Beautiful One”), sung by beloved Lebanese diva Fairuz: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Xrr1bgzbUw (2:47 min.) “Aho Da Li Sar” (“This Is What Happened”), sung by Egyptian singer

	<p>and actor Ali El Haggar: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XTTSUDRf5TQ (3:50 min.) NB: These songs are widely available and can also be downloaded and played using other audio technology. If available, the use of a projector for the second song would allow students to view images from the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Handout 1: Lyrics to “El Helwa Di” (one copy per student). • Handout 2: Lyrics to “Aho Da Li Sar” (one copy per student). • Optional supplementary material: Biographical sketch of Sayed Darwish and/or article “Egyptians campaign for independence, 1919-1922” from the Global Nonviolent Action Database. Links to both texts are available under Additional Resources below.
<p>NOTES TO TEACHER</p>	<p><u>Lesson pairing</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This lesson can be used as part of a unit of study on imperialism, specifically in studying the British Empire during the early part of the 20th century, including the Egyptian Revolution of 1919. The lesson can also be paired with the units on Empire and Nation and on Political and Social Movements in this curricular resource guide. Where a school music program is available, teachers may consider partnering with a music teacher for cross-disciplinary thematic instruction. <p><u>Note on the song lyrics</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sayed Darwish partnered with lyricist Badie Khairy for several of his songs, including the two presented in this lesson. Importantly, unlike the custom of the period, the songs are performed in a distinctly Egyptian variety of colloquial Arabic, regardless of whether they are sung in Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, or New York. This is an oral and popular form of the Arabic language. • Social, political, and economic context is important to understanding the songs. “El Helwa Di” describes an early morning in Egypt as day laborers rise to go to work. Some have described it as embodying the optimism of the poor; others interpret the lyrics as having a hint of irony. “Aho Da Li Sar” speaks more directly to the political situation, namely, frustrations with British occupation. It was written just before the nonviolent revolution of 1919 and has been interpreted as a revolutionary song. As primary source material, popular lyrics from this period reveal that anticolonial ideas and

	<p>sentiments were in circulation among people from various classes, regions, and backgrounds and were not just the domain of the intellectual elite.</p> <p><u>Note on the artist</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sayed Darwish has been considered the “people’s artist.” His music constitutes a shift away from music that was created for the “elite” to popular audiences. Some would suggest that the magnitude of his contributions has been largely overlooked. A brief biographical sketch is available under Additional Resources below and may be used in conjunction with this lesson. His music has maintained its relevance for other peoples in the region in various eras, and has been reinterpreted and performed by many notable artists within and outside the MENA region. His music was sung at the mass protests in Tahrir Square in Cairo during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.
PROCEDURE	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <u>1. Introducing the lesson (5 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce the essential questions and lesson activity by saying that you will be exploring popular music as a forum where social, political, and/or economic conditions, ideas, and viewpoints have been, and continue to be, discussed and engaged in MENA. • Divide the class into groups of 2-4 students each. • Tell students that you are going to play an excerpt of music for them by an Egyptian composer from the early 20th century. Ask them to listen for musicality, tone, rhythm, and expression. While they are listening, they should consider the following questions: What might the artist be feeling or singing about? What makes them think so? <u>2. Warm-up activity (5 minutes)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen to the first segment of the song “El Helwa Di” (through 0:41 min.). • Discussion: What might the artist be feeling or singing about? What makes you think so? (Note: some students may notice the sound of the rooster “cou cou cou cou” and rightly suggest that the song might be about morning time.) From the musicality, tone, rhythm, and expression, do you think this is an upbeat or optimistic song? Consider taking a quick class survey by having students put their thumbs up if they think it is upbeat or

optimistic, down if they think it is downbeat, sad, or pessimistic, or sideways if they are not sure or consider it to be neither upbeat nor downbeat.

3. **Small-group work (30 minutes)**

- Distribute Handout 1 to each student, containing the lyrics to the song “El Helwa Di.” Explain to students that the song was written by Sayed Darwish in the early part of the 20th century.
- Give students 10-12 minutes to read and discuss the lyrics in their groups and to take notes in response to the guiding questions on their sheets. (Optional: Play the song again. This time ask students to follow along with the lyrics.)
- Distribute Handout 2 to each student, containing the lyrics to the song “Aho Da Li Sar.” Explain that this song was also written by Sayed Darwish and dates from the 1919 Egyptian Revolution. Play the song and ask students to follow by reading the lyrics in English.
- Give students another 10-12 minutes to read and discuss the lyrics in their groups and to take notes in response to the guiding questions on their sheets.
- Optional (Additional 10 mins): Distribute supplementary material on Sayed Darwish and/or the 1919 Egyptian Revolution. Ask students to brainstorm and map what was happening at the time in the region.

4. **Class discussion (10 minutes)**

- Facilitate a discussion around the following questions. (Alternative: Give one question for each group to tackle and present to the larger group.)
 - a. What do the lyrics of the two songs convey about the social, political, and economic conditions or viewpoints in Egypt at the beginning of the 20th century?
 - b. Explain to students that songs like “Aho Da Li Sar” have become anthems across multiple generations and peoples in the MENA region, and Sayed Darwish has been called “the voice of the people.” Why do you think this is? What is an anthem? (Oxford Dictionaries defines *anthem* as “a rousing or uplifting song identified with a particular group, body, or cause.”) Why might these songs appeal to people across the

MENA region? Across time?

- c. Given what you discerned from his songs about the social, political, and economic conditions of the early 20th century, why do you think protesters in Cairo’s Tahrir Square sang Sayed Darwish’s songs during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, almost a century after they were written?
- d. Other sounds of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution included rap and hip-hop. In your view, what do these genres have in common with Sayed Darwish’s music?

5. Questions for further reflection/Connections to today

- Historical sources: Historians have generally privileged written and “official” or “elite” sources, at the expense of popular and oral sources, to examine particular phenomena, whether for ideological reasons (e.g., the belief that these sources are more “accurate”) or for practical reasons (e.g., these sources may be easier to access, or they have been better preserved). How does the choice of sources shape the ways that history is narrated? How might the examination of popular and oral sources (e.g., the lyrics of popular songs, poetry in colloquial Arabic, etc.) help to reveal alternative and multiple viewpoints or experiences of a given period? How might it provide insights into the movement of ideas, across time and space? Into shared experience?
- Multicultural connection: (1) Ask students to identify or research a musician from their own background, or a musical tradition with which they are familiar, whose music has transcended time and space and/or whose lyrics address social, political, and economic conditions of a particular period of time. Or (2) ask students to research contemporary Arab hip-hop, Khaleeji, or Rai artists. What social-political issues do their lyrics convey? How do these relate to youth concerns in the United States? How do they reflect a sense of shared past? (Consider screening *Sling Shot Hip Hop* as a jumping off point for a discussion on hip-hop). Or (3) ask students to compose a stanza of lyrics that convey their feelings about social, political, or economic concerns.
- Sayed Darwish’s legacy: Have students search online for contemporary versions of the songs they heard in class. How many performance artists or musical genres (e.g., hip-hop, jazz, techno, hard rock, dance interpretations, etc.) can they identify for a given song? Which rendition appeals to them the most and why?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More on Arabic music: (1) Have students explore the website Afropop Worldwide, which features music across Africa (see link under Additional Resources below). (2) Have students explore the Foundation for Arab Music Archiving and Research website to learn more about the region’s musicians in historical perspective (see link under Additional Resources below).
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES	<p>Sayed Darwish:</p> <p>Lagrange, F. “Shaykh Sayed Darwish (1892-1923).” <i>Artistes Arabes Associés AAA 096 Les Archives de la Musique Arabe</i>. 1994. http://almashriq.hiof.no/egypt/700/780/sayed-darweesh/. A brief biographical sketch.</p> <p>Serene, A. “Sayid Darwish: Voice of the people.” <i>Al Akhbar</i>. 2011. http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/2858. This article discusses Sayed Darwish’s relevance to protests in Cairo’s Tahrir Square during the 2011 Revolution.</p> <p>Kelani, R. “Songs for Tahrir: What makes a composer a legend? And what makes a revolt a revolution?” BBC. 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/radio4/2012/01/songs_for_tahrir_what_makes_a.html. This article includes a link to the radio program “Songs for Tahrir.”</p> <p>Music in MENA:</p> <p>Foundation for Arab Music Archiving and Research: http://www.amar-foundation.org. This is an excellent resource for learning about Arab musicians and their contributions. It includes an interactive timeline, biographical sketches of musicians and their contributions (including original sound bites), and historical documents and podcasts.</p> <p>Afropop Worldwide: http://www.afropop.org. This website features posts and video and audio programs, including on various types of North African music.</p> <p>Maira, S. & Shihade, M. “Hip-Hop from ‘48 Palestine: Youth, Music, and the Present/Absent.” <i>Social Text</i>. 2012. http://www.socialtextjournal.org/blog/2012/11/hip-hop-from-48-palestine-youth-music-and-the-presentabsent.php. This research-based article and multimedia supplement provides an</p>

overview of the Palestinian hip-hop scene inside Israel.

Egyptian Revolution of 1919:

Bisgaard-Church, E. "Egyptians campaign for independence, 1919-1922." *Global Nonviolent Action Database*. 2011.

<http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/egyptians-campaign-independence-1919-1922>.

This resource provides a snapshot of the nonviolent revolution of 1919 that can be used in class to supplement this lesson.

Films:

Abol Naga, Khaled and Abdallah, Ahmed. *Microphone*. 2010.

<http://www.microphone-film.com/>.

This award winning feature film looks at the underground art scene in Alexandria, Egypt.

Sling Shot Hip Hop. 2008. <http://www.slingshothiphop.com/>.

This highly acclaimed documentary looks at the lives and artistic production of several of Palestine's top hip-hop artists living in Gaza, the West Bank, and Israel, the challenges they face and how they use their music to transcend the social, political, and economic boundaries and conditions imposed by occupation.

“EL HELWA DI”**MUSIC BY SAYED DARWISH (1892-1923)****LYRICS BY BADIE KHAIRY**

Lyrics Translated from the Arabic	Exploring the Lyrics
<p>This beautiful one rises to knead (the dough) at dawn And the rooster crows, “cou cou cou cou” At dawn.</p> <p><i>Yalla</i>, let’s go with the grace of God, Oh craftsmen! May your morning be a good morning, Master Atiyya!</p>	1. What is the artist singing about? How do you know?
<p>Early in the morning, God is giving. Not a penny in the pocket, But our mood is calm and well. The door of hope is your door, Oh Merciful One!</p> <p>Patience is a virtue And changes the situation.</p>	2. What is the setting described in the song? What sights and sounds does it describe?
<p>Ye who have money The poor also have a generous Lord.</p> <p>This beautiful one rises to knead (the dough) at dawn And the rooster crows, “cou cou cou cou” At dawn.</p>	3. Who are the people described in the song and what is their life like?
<p><i>Yalla</i>, let’s go with the Grace of God, Oh craftsmen May your morning be a good morning, Master Atiyya!</p> <p>My hand is in yours, Oh Abu Salah. As long as your faith is with God, you’ll live at ease. Keep relying on God.</p>	4. From whose point of view is the song written? To whom is it addressed?
<p><i>Yalla</i> let’s go, the time is passing! The sun has risen! And the ownership is all God’s.</p> <p>Run for your livelihood. Leave it to God!</p>	5. What can you learn from the song about the social, political, and economic conditions of the period?
<p>Pick up your hammer And tools! Let’s go!</p>	6. What feelings does it convey?

“AHO DA LI SAR”**MUSIC BY SAYED DARWISH (1892-1923)****LYRICS BY BADIE KHAIRY**

Lyrics Translated from the Arabic	Exploring the Lyrics
<p>This is what happened and what was. You don't have the right, You don't have the right to blame me.</p> <p>How can you blame me, Sir, When the wealth of our country is not in our hand?</p>	<p>1. What is the artist singing about? How do you know?</p>
<p>Tell me things that benefit us And then you can blame me.</p> <p>This is what happened and what was. You don't have the right, You don't have the right to blame me.</p>	<p>2. From whose point of view is the song written? To whom is it addressed?</p>
<p>Egypt, the mother of wonders, Your people are dignified, Your faults are not.</p> <p>Take care of your loved ones. They are the supporters of the cause.</p>	<p>3. What does the artist mean when he says, “the wealth of our country is not in our hand”?</p>
<p>Instead of the gloating of the jealous, Put your hand in mine to work together. We all become one And our hands become stronger.</p> <p>This is what happened and what was. You don't have the right, You don't have the right to blame me.</p>	<p>4. What do you think is meant by “you don't have the right to blame me”? For what is he being blamed?</p>
	<p>5. What can you learn from the song about the social, political, and economic conditions of the period?</p>
	<p>6. What feelings does it convey?</p>

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY

TOPIC Innovation and Interaction	
LESSON OVERVIEW	<p>In Part 1 of this two-part lesson, students will work in pairs to explore the roles and contributions of MENA scholars and the interaction and dissemination of their ideas, objects, and practices to other world regions. Each pair will be given an item to discuss and locate on a world map, and then asked to illustrate its movement to other world regions using colored yarn or markers. In Part 2, which can be conducted in class or assigned for homework, students will read and critically analyze an article about the spread of ideas from MENA to Western science. They will reflect on the many roles played by MENA peoples in the development and dissemination of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) innovation and the significant contributions by MENA scholars to our shared past.</p>
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What roles have peoples from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) played in the development and spread of ideas, objects, and practices in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)? • How did interactions among scholars and others allow for their contributions to travel to other world regions?
LESSON OBJECTIVES	<p><u>Learners will be able to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the many roles played by MENA peoples in the development and dissemination of STEM innovation (including research, discovery, invention, scientific and medical practice, travel, trade, book peddling, translation, etc.). • Recognize that contemporary science emerged and continues to develop from the spread of ideas, objects, and practices which have their roots in a number of societies that constitute our shared past.

<p>STANDARDS</p>	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.1 Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.2 Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.7 Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.</p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.10 Read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts independently and proficiently.</p> <p>(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.7 Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.</p> <p>(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.8 Gather relevant information from multiple print and digital sources, assess the credibility and accuracy of each source, and integrate the information while avoiding plagiarism.</p> <p>(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.9 Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.</p> <p><u>New York State Standards</u></p> <p>Learning Standards for Social Studies:</p> <p>Performance Indicators Students will:</p> <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand the development and connectedness of Western civilization and other civilizations and cultures in many areas of the world and over time • Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras • Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and
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developments throughout world history

Standard 2, Key Idea 2

- Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how circumstances of time and place influence perspective
- Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events

Standard 2, Key Idea 3

- Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities
- Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world

Standard 2, Key Idea 4

- Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history
- Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed; by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History)

Standard 3, Key Idea 1

- Understand how to develop and use maps and other graphic representations to display geographic issues, problems, and questions
- Understand the development and interactions of social/cultural, political, economic, and religious systems in different regions of the world

Standard 3, Key Idea 2

- Locate and gather geographic information from a variety of primary and secondary sources (Taken from National Geography Standards, 1994)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Select and design maps, graphs, tables, charts, diagrams, and other graphic representations to present geographic information • Analyze geographic information by developing and testing inferences and hypotheses, and formulating conclusions from maps, photographs, computer models, and other geographic representations (Adapted from National Geography Standards, 1994) • Develop and test generalizations and conclusions and pose analytical questions based on the results of geographic inquiry
MATERIALS	<p><u>PART 1: Introduction Mapping Innovation and Interaction</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Handout 1: The Origins and Movement of Ideas, Objects, and Practices. Cut up the handout into 12 strips. • One large world map pinned to a wall. Optional: photocopied maps (1 copy per group), or 12 copies. Possible sources: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Printable World Map: http://www.PrintableWorldMap.net/preview/continents_labeled_1 b. Geology.com: http://geology.com/world/world-map.shtml c. Maps of the World: http://www.mapsofworld.com/world-maps/ • Colored yarn; tape, sticky tack, or pins; markers (1 per group, or 15 markers) • Almanac, for reference <p><u>PART 2: Critical Reading A Narrative of Innovation and Interaction</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article: “Influence of Arab-Muslim Science on Western Science,” http://www.grouporigin.com/clients/qatarfoundation/chapter3_2_2.htm (1 copy per student). Or see alternative article by Richard Covington under Additional Resources below. • Handout 2: Article Analysis Worksheet (1 copy per student)
NOTES TO TEACHER	<p><u>Lesson pairing</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This lesson traces STEM innovation through interaction between MENA and other world regions over a number of historical periods. It can be used to supplement a unit of study on any period to highlight the contributions and interaction of MENA scholars, travellers, and tradesmen to the ideas, objects, and practices of modern science. Teachers may consider partnering with STEM teachers for cross-disciplinary thematic instruction.

PROCEDURE	<p>PART 1: Introduction Mapping Innovation and Interaction</p> <p>1. <u>Warm-up activity (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On a board at the front of the room write the following words: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Pulmonary circulation b. Algebra c. Curiosity (Mars rover) • Ask students: What do these have in common? <p>Note: All of these were developed through the significant contributions of MENA scholars.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Pulmonary circulation: Ibn Al Nafis (1213-1288; born in Syria, practiced in Egypt) discovered how blood circulates. b. Algebra: al-Khwarizmi (c. 780 850; Persian; practiced in Iraq) established algebra as a discipline, separate from geometry and arithmetic (NB: The word <i>algebra</i> comes from the Arabic “<i>aljabr</i>,” meaning “restoration” and the word <i>algorithm</i> stems from the Latin form of al-Khwarizmi’s name: Algoritmi). c. Curiosity (Mars rover): Charles Elachi (b. 1947; born in Lebanon, current practice in the US) is Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory that put Curiosity on Mars in 2012. <p>2. <u>Small-group work (15 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrange students into small groups of 2-3 (12 groups) and give each group a slip of paper (from Handout 1) containing an item to discuss. • Ask each pair to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Discuss the innovator or innovations described in their item and consider their utility to current practices. b. Identify how the item might be presented on a map in such a way as to represent the interaction or movement of ideas, objects, or practices suggested by the description. Students should consult an Almanac to locate unknown cities or regions. Note: Encourage students to use all of
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the information available on their slip of paper and their knowledge from other sources to discuss and locate the item. They should consider the movement of people, as well as influences in considering how they might represent their item. Where possible, the activity can be extended by having students do a quick Internet search to get a broader sense of the movement of ideas, including the information/interaction on which MENA scholars based their innovations and where the ideas travelled from there.

- After each group discusses their item, ask them to stick the item on a wall map of the world, on or around the origin. Then using colored yarn, have them insert lines to illustrate the movement of the idea, object, or practice to other world regions. When all items have been hung, students should have a visual representation of the interaction and movement of ideas to/from the MENA region and other world regions, illustrative of a shared past. Alternatively, students can use blank world maps and markers for this activity. Maps can be hung on the walls to facilitate a “gallery walk.”

Note: If students finish early, give them the article to begin reading for the next activity.

3. Class discussion (10 minutes)

- As a class, look at the visual representation of the movement of ideas, based on the class’s mapping activity. For smaller classes using one world map, consider gathering around the world map and facilitating a discussion there. For larger classes using individual/pair maps, place the maps on the walls around the room and invite students to do a “gallery walk” to look at them.
- Discuss the following questions:
 - a. What did you learn about the roles that peoples from MENA and elsewhere have played in the development and spread of ideas, objects, and practices in the STEM fields?
 - b. What new ideas emerge for you from seeing a visual representation of the movement of ideas, objects, and practices?
 - c. What are some of the ideas, objects, and practices originating from MENA that have an influence on your life? Consider some of the inventions and innovations from today’s activity.

d. What surprised you and why?

e. What questions do you have?

PART 2: Critical Reading A Narrative of Innovation and Interaction

1. Introducing the lesson (5 minutes)

Note: This activity can be done in class, individually, or in pairs/small groups, or it can be assigned as homework, with related discussion to follow during the next class meeting.

- Distribute Handout 2 (Article Analysis Worksheet) and the assigned article “Influence of Arab-Muslim Science on Western Science”:
http://www.grouporigin.com/clients/qatarfoundation/chapter3_2_2.htm.
- Ask students to read silently. While they read, ask students to:
 - a. Underline important ideas
 - b. Place an exclamation mark in the margin near new, surprising, or interesting ideas
 - c. Place a question mark in the margin near ideas about which they have a question
 - d. Circle any STEM innovations mentioned (i.e. ideas, objects, or practices) that were spread through interactions between MENA and other world regions
 - e. Put an asterisk in the margin next to sentences that convey the ways in which innovations were spread.

2. Individual reading (15 minutes)

- Students read the article, paying attention to content and perspective.

3. Summarizing (5 minutes)

- After reading the article individually, have students return to their assigned pairs, or arrange them into small groups of 4. Have students make two lists of ideas presented in the article:

- a. Innovations that were spread through interactions between MENA and other world regions (e.g. armor; Arabic numerals; principles of astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, physics, medicine, infectious disease, optics; medical texts; hospital practices, etc.)
- b. Different ways in which innovations were spread (e.g. war; correspondence and exchange of gifts between rulers; travellers and tradesmen; religious leaders; translation; books and book peddlers; libraries, etc.)

4. Analyzing (10 minutes)

- Individually, or in pairs/small groups, ask students to analyze the content and perspective of the article, using Handout 2 (Article Analysis Worksheet) as a guide.

5. Class discussion (10 minutes)

- On the board draw two columns. Label one column “Innovations” and the other “Means of Spread.” Go around the room and ask each student, pair, or small group to add an item to either column, based on the article and mapping activity.
- As a class, discuss the following questions:
 - a. After reading the article, what new ideas do you have about the roles that peoples from MENA and elsewhere have played in the development and spread of ideas, objects, and practices in the STEM fields?
 - c. What does the article tell us about how interactions among scholars and others allowed for their contributions to travel to other world regions?
 - d. From what perspective is the article presented and why do you think this is?
 - e. What surprised you and why?
 - f. What do you have questions about?

4. Questions for Further Reflection/Connections to Today

- Consider how the history of science and ideas has been narrated. Why might the contributions of particular groups or world regions be

	<p>underrepresented in these accounts? How might these accounts be revised to better reflect the rootedness of ideas in the interactions among a number of societies?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What social, political, and/or economic conditions or practices facilitate the development and interaction of innovations during particular periods of time? What may hinder this process during other periods? • Research the work of a contemporary MENA scientist or innovator. • Explore the website “Arab Science: A Journey of Innovation” (see link under Additional Resources below). (a) Select a scholar or innovation from the timeline of contributions to further study and trace over time and space. (b) Write a review of the website in which you describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate the web content, including how the history of science and ideas is narrated.
<p>ADDITIONAL RESOURCES</p>	<p>Articles:</p> <p>Covington, Richard. “Rediscovering Arab science.” <i>Saudi Aramco World</i>. 2007. http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200703/rediscovering.arabic.science.htm. This article provides a rich illustrated overview of MENA science, including influences from other regions and contemporary relevance.</p> <p>Dajani, Rana. “How women scientists fare in the Arab world.” <i>Nature</i>. 2012: http://www.nature.com/news/how-women-scientists-fare-in-the-arab-world-1.11705. This commentary offers a woman’s perspective on the challenges women scientists face in the Arab world and argues that they are not unlike women scientists’ challenges elsewhere. See also Sarant, Louise. “Empowering Arab female scientists.” <i>Nature</i>. 2013: http://www.nature.com/nmiddleeast/2013/130507/full/nmiddleeast.2013.67.html.</p> <p>Educational websites:</p> <p>“Arab Science: A Journey of Innovation.” http://www.grouporigin.com/clients/qatarfoundation/introduction.htm. This website, developed with the support of the Qatar Foundation,</p>

highlights the contributions of Arab and Muslim scholars to the spread of innovation. It includes descriptions and a visual timeline of discoveries.

Muslim Heritage. <http://muslimheritage.com/>. This website is published by the Foundation for Science, Technology, and Civilisation, based in Manchester, UK. It includes articles on Muslim contributions to science and innovation.

Teacher resource:

Khan, Yasmin. “1000 Years of Missing Science.” *Science in School*.
<http://www.scienceinschool.org/print/171>.

Curricular resources:

“Educating for Cultural Literacy and Mutual Respect: Muslim Contributions to Civilization.” <http://www.ing.org/muslim-contributions-to-civilization>. Developed by ING, this curricular resource for Middle and High Schools includes lesson plans and materials that introduce contributions to a number of areas of scientific inquiry and daily practice.

“1001 Inventions Teachers’ Pack: Discover the Muslim Heritage in Our World.”
<http://www.1001inventions.com/files/1001iTeachersPacksHiRes.pdf>. This curricular resource is intended for science classrooms for students aged 11 to 16. It includes a number of science activities and experiments that highlight the contributions of Muslim scientific scholars. It was developed by the Foundation of Science, Technology and Civilisation (UK), science teachers, and consultants.

THE INTERACTION AND MOVEMENT OF IDEAS, OBJECTS, AND PRACTICES

Note to teacher: Arrange students into small groups of 2-3 (12 groups). Cut up the items below into 12 strips and give one to each group. Ask each group to (a) discuss the innovator or innovations described in their item and consider their utility to current practices, and (b) identify how the item might be presented on a map in such a way as to represent the interaction or movement of ideas, objects, or practices suggested by the description. Students should consult an Almanac to locate unknown cities or regions. After each group discusses their item, ask them to stick the item on a wall map of the world, on or around the origin. Then using colored yarn, have them insert lines to illustrate the interaction or movement of ideas, objects, or practices across geographic regions. Students should refer to all of the information available on their strip, as well as to their own previous knowledge. They should consider the movement of people, as well as influences, in considering how they might represent their item. When all items have been hung, students should have a visual representation of the interaction and movement of ideas to/from MENA and other world regions, illustrative of a shared past. The teacher can then facilitate a discussion. (Alternatively, students can use blank maps and markers for this activity. Maps can be hung on the walls to facilitate a “gallery walk.”)

Mohammed al Khwarizmi (c. 780-850), also known as Algoritmi, is considered the father of Algebra. He was a Persian mathematician whose work was influenced by texts from India. He worked at the House of Wisdom in Baghdad, discovering and re-introducing Indian concepts of numerals, the zero, the decimal, and negative numbers. He has been described as meriting a place of honor on par with Newton, Einstein, and others for revolutionizing the notion of numbers, developing the system of Algebra (which comes from the Arabic word *aljabr*, meaning “restoration”), and developing the algorithm, a formula or set of rules for dealing with large numbers (the word comes from the Latinized version of his name). His works were translated 300 years later by English monks Robert of Chester at Segovia, Spain and Adelard of Bath. Gerard of Cremona emigrated from Italy to Toledo, Spain to translate these texts into Latin, thus introducing the Indo-Arabic numerals that we use today into Europe. Almost 1200 years after al Khwarizmi, the algorithm would become the basis for all computer programming.



[From 1978 USSR postage stamp. Retrieved: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Persian_Khwarazmi.jpg public domain]

Fatima al Fihri (c. 800-880), also known as al Fihriyya, was born in Tunisia and later moved to Morocco, where she founded the world's first academic, degree-granting university in Fez in 859. The University of Qarawiyyin became a major intellectual bridge between MENA and Europe for the discussion of science and innovation, gradually extending its education to other subjects. Its reputation for scholarship attracted important scholars from various regions, including Gerber of Auvergne, who later went on to become Pope Sylvester II. It is here that Gerber was introduced to al Khwarizmi's Indo-Arabic numerals and the zero, which he took to Rome and contributed to the spread of their usage in Europe.



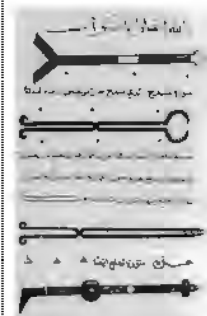
[Author: Nayzak. Retrieved: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Fatima_Al-Fihriyya.jpg public domain]

Mariam al Astrulabi (10th C) is one of the first known woman engineers. She designed and handcrafted intricate astrolabes, instruments that are considered early forms of global positioning systems (GPS). Astrolabes determine the position of the sun and planets. They were also used for navigation to locate latitude and longitude. Al Astrulabi was born in Aleppo, Syria, where her astrolabes were well known for their intricacy and innovation to the extent that she was employed by the ruler of Aleppo from 944-967. She learned to make astrolabes from her father, who was an apprentice to a famous astrolabe maker in Baghdad. The astrolabe was brought north by Gerber of Auvergne, who later became Pope Sylvester II. It was integrated into teaching in France before the turn of the 11th C.



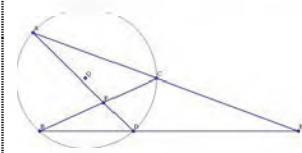
[16th C Moroccan Astrolabe, Paris Naval Museum. Author: Rama. Retrieved: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Planispherical_astrolabe_mg_7095.jpg public domain]

Abul Qasim Al-Zahrawi (936-1013), known in the West as Abulcasis, has been described as the father of modern surgery. His many pioneering contributions include the use of catgut for internal stitches in surgery and surgical tools, such as the scalpel and forceps used in childbirth. He wrote a 30-volume encyclopedia of medical practices, which was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona who emigrated from Italy to Spain to translate Arabic texts in the 12th C. It was the primary handbook for European surgeons for 500 years and had tremendous impact on modern medicine. He was born in El-Zahra, near Cordoba where he lived. Many of the 200 surgical instruments he introduced are still in use today.



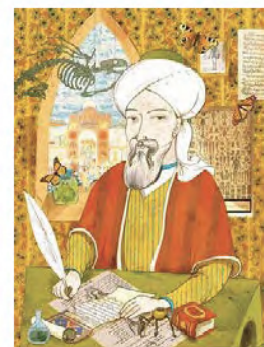
[Surgical instruments from Al-Zahrawi's encyclopedia, 15 C copy. Retrieved <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zahrawi1.png>. Public domain]

Ibn al Haytham (c. 965-1040), also known by the Latinized name of Alhazen, was nicknamed Ptolomaeus Secundus, or "The Physicist" in Europe. He initiated a revolution in optics, laying the groundwork for many key technologies, such as the modern day camera, eyeglasses, telescopes, and microscopes. He also introduced the earliest version of the modern scientific method. Born in Basra, he lived mainly in Cairo. His *Book of Optics* (1021) was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, who moved from Italy to Toledo, Spain to translate Arabic scientific texts. It was printed by Risner, a German mathematician based in France in 1572 and influenced the later works of Bacon, Da Vinci, Descartes, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. A crater on the moon is named in his honor.



[Author: ジダネ (2008). Retrieved: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Theorem_of_al-Haitham.JPG public domain]

Ibn Sina (c. 980-1037) was born and educated in a village near Bukhara. He would come to be known in Europe and Asia as Avicenna. He became a physician at age 16. He studied Greco-Roman, Persian, and Indian texts and learned Indian arithmetic from an Indian grocer. He wrote 450 papers and books in a dozen fields. His *Canon of Medicine* (c. 1025) became a standard medical textbook in Europe, published more than 35 times in the 15th and 16th C, and used in universities in France and Belgium as late as 1650. It introduced Europeans to the contagious nature of infectious disease, the use of quarantine as a medical practice, experimental methods in medicine, rules for testing new drugs, and psychotherapy. Ibn Sina gave the earliest documented account of the use of word associations in psychoanalysis, a method credited to Carl Jung 900 years later.



[Author: Drevnie. Retrieved: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Avicenna28-02-2010.jpg> free art license]

Nasir Al-Din Al-Tusi (1201-1274) was a Persian astronomer, philosopher, and mathematician, born in Tus. He travelled to places such as Nishapur and Mosul to learn from renowned scholars. Al-Tusi persuaded the Mongol ruler Hulegu Khan to build an observatory in Azerbaijan to establish accurate astrological predictions. Among his many contributions: he developed accurate tables of planetary movements that described the uniform circular motion of all planets and their orbits, leading to the discovery by his student that planets have an elliptical orbit. This was a correction of Roman Ptolemy's model. In the 16th C, Copernicus drew heavily on the work of Al-Tusi and his students, but without acknowledgement. Al-Tusi died in Baghdad.



[Al-Tusi at an observatory. Orig. 1562. Source: Saudi Aramco World 2007. Retrieved: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nasir_al-

[Din_al-Tusi_at_observatory.jpg](#) public domain]

Ibn Al Nafis (1213-1288) discovered that blood circulates from the right chamber of the heart to the lungs and then to the left chamber, correcting earlier theories established by Roman physician Galen one thousand years earlier. Ibn Al Nafis was born in Damascus and moved to Egypt in 1236 where he practiced science and medicine as chief physician of Al Mansuri hospital. His work was first translated in Italy in 1547. In 1924, an Egyptian physician discovered Ibn Al Nafis's text on pulmonary circulation in the Prussian State Library in Berlin.



[Opening page of one of Ibn al-Nafis's medical books, most likely a copy made in 17th or 18th C India. Retrieved: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Ibn_al-nafis_page.jpg

public domain]

Michael DeBakey (1908-2008), or Dabbaghi in Arabic, was a world-renowned American cardiac surgeon of Lebanese origin whose pioneering heart and blood vessel operations have been performed by surgeons around the world, saving millions of lives. He is considered by many to be the greatest surgeon ever. He was also a leading developer of mechanical devices to support failing hearts. He invented the roller pump, which became a key component of the heart-lung machine, making it possible to conduct open heart surgeries. In 1939, with his mentor Alton Ochsner, he made one of the first connections between smoking and lung cancer. He studied in the US, then France, and then Germany, returning to the US to practice. He also lectured and helped to build cardiovascular centers around the world. In addition to numerous recognitions, he was awarded the US Congressional Gold Medal in 2007.



[2007. Author: United States Mint. Design: Don Everhart. Retrieved: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2007_Michael_DeBakey_Congressional_Gold_Medal_front.jpg public domain]

Ahmed Zewail (b.1946-) is the father of Femtochemistry, an area of physical chemistry that studies chemical reactions that take place in a femtosecond (10^{-15} second). The ultra fast laser technique allows scientists to observe intermediate products in chemical reactions. Among numerous international recognitions, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1999 for his pioneering work in this field. Zewail was born in Damanhour, Egypt and was raised and studied in Alexandria before moving to the US for his PhD at the University of Pennsylvania. He was nominated to President Obama's Presidential Council of Advisors on Science and Technology.



[2011. Author: Metavid. Retrieved: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zewail.jpg>. Creative Commons]

Charles Elachi (b. 1947-) is Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) in Pasadena, California. JPL put the Mars rover Curiosity on Mars in 2012. The rover is designed to find out if Mars ever had forms of life on it. Elachi was born and studied in Lebanon. He later continued his studies in France and then California where he works today. He has been responsible for a number of NASA-sponsored flight missions and instruments for Earth's observation and planetary exploration. He is the author of more than 230 publications and has lectured about space exploration and Earth observation in more than 20 countries.



[Author: NASA/JPL-Caltech. Retrieved: http://www.nasa.gov/mission_pages/msl/multimedia/gallery/pia13981.html public domain]

Hayat Sindi (b. 1967-) is making important contributions to affordable low cost point-of-care medical diagnostic tools that make healthcare monitoring accessible to people in developing countries. She invented a biochemical sensor with thermoelastic probes that combines the effects of light and ultrasound for use in biotechnology. She also developed the Magnetic Acoustic Resonance Sensor. Sindi was born in Mecca and from a young age was inspired by scientists such as Ibn Sina, al Khwarizmi, Marie Curie, and Einstein. She studied biotechnology in the UK and currently works between Saudi Arabia and the US, where she has major project partnerships. In 2012 she was appointed UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for promoting science education in MENA.



[Retrieved: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hayat_Sindi_1.jpg public domain]

ARTICLE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

TITLE OF ARTICLE:

SOURCE:

Purpose	What is the purpose of the article?
Content	Give three or more key ideas presented in the article.
Perspective	From which perspective is the article written? What specific evidence from the article supports your answer?
Audience	Who is the intended audience of the article? What makes you think so?
Rationale	Why, in your view, was this article written?
Personal reaction	What do you think of this article? (Consider: What, if anything, surprised you? Do you think the article is biased or balanced? Explain. What questions remain?)
Optional	What question or questions would you pose if you were to facilitate a discussion of this article?

RETHINKING THE REGION:

New Approaches to 9-12 U.S. Curriculum on the Middle East and North Africa

UNIT:

ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY

TOPIC Art as Artifact	
LESSON OVERVIEW	<p>In the first part of this lesson, students will examine artwork from 19th century European and American travelers to MENA. They will consider the content and perspective of the artwork and how people, places and events are represented. Students will then analyze contemporary works of art from MENA, focusing on young artists from Saudi Arabia, or from another source. Prints of the works will be hung around the classroom in the form of a gallery. Students will spend 10 minutes walking around the artworks to get a general sense of them. Then they will choose one work of art on which to focus their analysis.</p>
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What might art reveal to historians about society during a particular historical period? • How has art been used as a medium for self-expression? For social and political engagement? • How might art serve to reinforce commonly held biases or stereotypes about a people, society, particular cultural practices, or historical events? How might it serve to resist commonly held biases or stereotypes?
STANDARDS	<p><u>Common Core Standards</u></p> <p>CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.R.7 Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.</p> <p>(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.7 Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.</p>

(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.8 Gather relevant information from multiple print and digital sources, assess the credibility and accuracy of each source, and integrate the information while avoiding plagiarism.

(Optional assignment) CCSS.ELA-Literacy.CCRA.W.9 Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

New York State Standards

Learning Standards for the Arts:

Standard 3, Visual Arts: 3. Students will reflect on, interpret, and evaluate works of art, using the language of art criticism. Students will analyze the visual characteristics of the natural and built environment and explain the social, cultural, psychological, and environmental dimensions of the visual arts. Students will compare the ways in which a variety of ideas, themes, and concepts are expressed through the visual arts with the ways they are expressed in other disciplines.

Standard 4: Visual Arts: 4. Students will explore art and artifacts from various historical periods and world cultures to discover the roles that art plays in the lives of people of a given time and place and to understand how the time and place influence the visual characteristics of the art work. Students will explore art to understand the social, cultural, and environmental dimensions of human society.

Learning Standards for Social Studies:

Performance Indicators Students will:

Standard 2, Key Idea 1

- Understand the development and connectedness of Western civilization and other civilizations and cultures in many areas of the world and over time
- Understand the broad patterns, relationships, and interactions of cultures and civilizations during particular eras and across eras
- Analyze changing and competing interpretations of issues, events, and developments throughout world history

	<p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze evidence critically and demonstrate an understanding of how circumstances of time and place influence perspective Explain the importance of analyzing narratives drawn from different times and places to understand historical events <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to social, political, economic, cultural, and religious practices and activities Explain the dynamics of cultural change and how interactions between and among cultures has affected various cultural groups throughout the world Examine the social/cultural, political, economic, and religious norms and values of Western and other world cultures <p><u>Standard 2, Key Idea 4</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpret and analyze documents and artifacts related to significant developments and events in world history Analyze different interpretations of important events, issues, or developments in world history by studying the social, political, and economic context in which they were developed; by testing the data source for reliability and validity, credibility, authority, authenticity, and completeness; and by detecting bias, distortion of the facts, and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts (Taken from National Standards for World History)
MATERIALS	<p><u>PART 1: Examining 19th Century Orientalist Art by Travelers in MENA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Computer and projector, to present images of selected artworks to the class (alternatively, these could be color printed into large high resolution images that can be shown to the class). Images: Choose three images from among the suggested artworks under Lesson Resources below. These can be projected or color printed. Handout 1: Art Analysis Worksheet (1 copy per student).

	<p><u>PART 2: Analyzing Contemporary Art from MENA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art critic’s worksheet (1 copy per student): Several excellent resources are available to assist students in analyzing works of art. Choose one from among the suggested worksheets under Lesson Resources below, or use Handout 1 (Art Analysis Worksheet) to guide this activity. • High-resolution color print images of 5-7 contemporary artworks (approximate size not less than 8.5 x 11 inches), along with their title, artist’s biographical sketch, and other supplementary material (optional). These should be hung on the walls to resemble an art gallery. Choose from among the suggested works under Lesson Resources below. • Optional: Supplementary material about these artworks may be made available to students and is available at: http://edgeofarabia.com/content/uploads/default_site/exhibition_uploads/Rhizoma_Cataloge_Final_interactive_1.pdf. See also Additional Resources below.
<p>NOTES TO TEACHER</p>	<p><u>Lesson pairing:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This lesson can be used as part of a unit of study on 19th century European imperialism. Where a school arts program is available, teachers may consider partnering with an art teacher for cross-disciplinary thematic instruction. <p><u>Note on the artwork:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part 1 features a genre of 19th century art known as Orientalism, inspired by a number of historical events (e.g. The Egyptian Campaign, 1798-1799; French conquest of Algiers, 1830; opening of the Suez Canal, 1869, etc.) during a period of European imperialism that brought increased attention to the MENA region from travellers, artists, and their patrons in Europe (and to a lesser extent, the Americas). At this time, the “East” increasingly became a source of inspiration for painters, writers, and poets. Orientalism refers to the study and depiction of “Eastern” societies and cultures by “Westerners.” Recurrent subject matter in Orientalist art includes combat, leisure and entertainment, harems and sex slaves, and merchants and markets. The works of art generally romanticize the “Orient” as exotic, luxurious, mysterious, and fascinating, as well as strange and frightening, at times having supernatural or possessed qualities. Men are generally depicted as aggressive, barbaric, threatening, villainous, or cunning, as well as passive, weak, lazy, or entranced (particularly by women, but also by the

	<p>supernatural). Women are commonly depicted as exotic, mysterious, entrancing, sensual, passive, and willing to be enslaved. The cultural representations in this body of artwork served to capture the imagination of its European audience. Over time, these representations helped shape and reinforce commonly held biases or stereotypes about peoples, societies, cultural practices, and historical events in MENA. For more on Orientalism as a lens through which MENA has been viewed, watch the documentary featuring Edward Said under Additional Resources below. For an examination of how MENA peoples have been represented in film, see the documentary <i>Reel Bad Arabs</i> featuring Jack Shaheen, under Additional Resources below.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The second part of this lesson is designed around selected artworks from the “Rhizoma (Generation in Waiting)” exhibit, which showcased the artwork of young Saudi artists. More can be learned about the artwork and artists at Edge of Arabia (http://edgeofarabia.com/exhibitions/rhizoma-generation-in-waiting). The Exhibition Guide provides an overview and commentary from the various artists and may be used to accompany the lesson to help students further contextualize and interpret the art: http://edgeofarabia.com/content/uploads/default_site/exhibition_uploads/Rhizoma_Cataloge_Final_interactive_1.pdf. In addition, a publication detailing some of the artwork is available here: http://edgeofarabia.com/publications/edge-of-arabia. • The rationale for highlighting the artistic production of this particular generation and region is to help students to examine their assumptions about their contemporaries and how they are resisting stereotypes by using artwork as a medium for self-expression and for social and political engagement. However, alternative artwork may also be used with this lesson. Possible sources for images are included under Additional Resources below.
<p>PROCEDURE</p>	<p>PART 1: Examining 19th Century Orientalist Art by Travelers in MENA (35 minutes)</p> <p>1. <u>Introducing the lesson (5 minutes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce the essential questions and lesson activity, by saying that you will be exploring artwork produced by travelers to MENA during the 19th century, as well as contemporary artwork by MENA artists, to consider:

(1) what art might reveal to historians about society during a particular historical period; (2) how art has been used as a medium for self-expression and for social and political engagement in MENA; and (3) how art might serve to reinforce or resist commonly held biases or stereotypes about a people, society, particular cultural practices, or historical events.

- Distribute Handout 1: Art Analysis Worksheet (1 copy per student). Tell students that you will be projecting three paintings by travelers to MENA during the 19th century. The class will analyze these together using the worksheet as a guide. Go over the dimensions or steps of the analysis, as described at the top of the worksheet. In brief, these are:

Describe	What is the subject matter of the artwork?
Analyze	How has the artist chosen to represent the subject matter?
Interpret	What does the representation suggest about the perspective or message of the artist? Of society?
Evaluate	What do you find appealing about the painting?

2. Class activity (15 minutes)

- On a wall or screen at the front of the class, project each of the three images, one at a time, spending 5 minutes on each image. Ask students to describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate, taking notes on their worksheet.

3. Class discussion (15 minutes)

- After students have had a chance to take notes on each of the paintings, facilitate a discussion by posing the following questions.
 - a. What subject matter appeared to fascinate travelers to MENA in the 19th century? What do you find in common among the three paintings? (Go through the three again so that students can have a second look.)
 - b. This genre of artwork is called “Orientalism,” a term reflecting the subject matter, style, and perspective of the artwork. What might this body of art reveal to historians about society during the historical period in which it was produced?
 - c. In what ways might this genre of art serve to reflect or reinforce biases or

stereotypes about a people, society, or particular cultural practices?

- d. What do you know about historical events during the period of time in which these paintings were made? How does that influence your interpretation of the works?

PART 2: Analyzing Contemporary Art from MENA (35 minutes)

1. Gallery walk (10 minutes)

- Distribute the art critic’s worksheet (1 copy per student).
- Invite students to walk around the classroom gallery, spending 1-2 minutes at each station, looking at the artwork, and reading the title and artist’s biographical sketch.
- While they look at each piece, ask them to consider: What is the subject of the piece? How has the artist chosen to represent it? Which of the pieces appeals to you the most and why? (Write these guiding questions on the board as a reminder.)

2. Art critics at work (15 minutes)

- Ask students to choose one piece of art from the classroom gallery that they will analyze in greater depth using the art critic’s worksheet. (Optional: Students may work in pairs for this exercise.)
- Tell students that the worksheet is designed to take them through the general steps of critique, which are to: (a) describe; (b) analyze; (c) interpret; and (d) evaluate.
- Using the worksheet as a guide, ask students to spend 15 minutes at one station, examining the artwork in greater detail and taking notes. After an initial impression, encourage them to read supplementary material, where provided, to assist them in interpreting the piece.

3. Class discussion (10 minutes)

- Facilitate a discussion around the following questions. Ask students to refer to specific artworks as evidence to support their answers.
 - a. When considered together, what do the artworks tell us about contemporary society?

- b. In what ways have the Saudi/MENA artists whose works you studied used art as a medium for self-expression? For social and political engagement?
- c. How might this artwork serve to resist commonly held biases or stereotypes about a people, society, particular cultural practices, or historical events?
- d. Reflect on the utility of art “as artifact,” or primary source material. What might it reveal that other sources might obscure?

4. Questions for Further Reflection/Connections to Today

- Writing a critique:

Ask students to choose one of the works of art they viewed today and to write a 1-2 page essay in which they describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate the artwork and its significance to contemporary issues. Alternatively, students might choose an image of their own from a MENA artist. They might consider exploring the works of internationally recognized artists, such as Mona Hatoum (Palestinian video and installation artist); Akram Zaatari (Lebanese archival artist); or the award-winning architecture of Zaha Hadid (Iraqi-British architect).

- Multicultural connection:

Have students research the works of Khalil Gibran (1883-1931), a Lebanese-American artist and writer, who lived much of his life in the US. Gibran is said to be the third best-selling poet of all time, after Shakespeare and Lao-Tzu.

- Contemporary Islamic Art:

Have students explore contemporary Islamic art through either (a) the Caabu curricular resource, which considers the influence of traditional Islamic art on western artists, such as Matisse and British artist Vanessa Hodgkinson, or (b) Malikka Bouaissa’s (2013) interview with Saudi artist Dana Awartani (see links to both texts under Additional Resources below). How are young artists making meaning of Islamic art? What makes a “traditional” art form transcend time and space?

<p>LESSON RESOURCES</p>	<p>PART 1: Examining 19th Century Orientalist Art by Travelers in MENA</p> <p>Suggested 19th century artworks (choose three):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Jean-Léon Gérôme (France). c. 1870. <i>The Snake Charmer</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean-Léon_Gérôme_-_Le_charmeur_de_serpents.jpg Eugène Delacroix (France). 1837-1838. <i>Fanatics of Tangier</i>, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eugene_Delacroix_Fanatics_of_Tangier_Painting.jpg Jan-Baptist Huysmans (Belgium). Before 1906. <i>The Captive</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_Baptist_Huysmans_6.jpg Adolf Seel (Germany). 1883. <i>The Favorite</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Adolf_Seel_Die_Favoritin_1883.jpg Frederick Arthur Bridgeman (United States). 1875. <i>Harem Fountain</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frederick_arthur_bridgeman-harem_fountain.jpg Nicola Forcella (Italy). Before 1868. <i>In the Brass Market</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Forcella,_Nicola_-_Dans_le_souk_aux_cuivres_-_before_1868_(hi_res).jpg Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant (France). 1879. <i>Favorite of the Emir</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1879_Benjamin-Constant_-_Favorite_of_the_Emir.jpg Jean-Léon Gérôme (France). c. 1887. <i>The Carpet Merchant in Cairo</i>. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean-Léon_Gérôme_015_Carpets.jpg Fernand Cormon (France). After 1877. <i>The Harem</i>, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cormon_Fernand_Le_harem_Oil_On_Canvas.jpg Mariano Fortuny (Spain). 1867. <i>Arab Fantasia</i>, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fortuny_Fantasia_àrab.jpg <p>PART 2: Analyzing Contemporary Art from MENA</p> <p>Suggested art critic's worksheets:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Art Gallery Viewing and Response Worksheet. Northwest Missouri State University: http://www.nwmissouri.edu/dept/frosh/pdf/Activities/Art_Gallery_Viewing_.doc Art Analysis Worksheet. BYU Honors:
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http://honors.fye.byu.edu/sites/default/files/student_files/GW_Worksheet_Art.pdf

- c. Looking at Art: Seeing Questions. Incredible Art Department:
<http://www.incredibleart.org/files/crit.htm>
- d. Art Analysis Worksheet (pp. 1-4). Skyline High School, AZ:
http://www.mpsaz.org/skyline/staff/elreed/class1/mps/files/aa_art_analysis_project1.pdf

Suggested contemporary artworks:

- a. Eiman Elgibreen. Painting. 2013. *Don't Judge Me*.
<http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/eiman-elgibreen>.
- b. Basmah Felemban. Installation. 2013. *Drawn out Truths*.
<http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/basmah-felemban>. Additional image available at: <http://www.khaleejesque.com/2013/05/art-design/rhizoma-generation-in-waiting-by-edge-of-arabia-at-the-55th-venice-biennale/>.
- c. Awartani, Dana. Islamic art. 2013. *Illumination*.
<http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/dana-awrtani>. Additional images of the artist's work and interview with the artist are available at <http://www.alartemag.be/en/en-art/the-crucial-role-of-geometry-in-islamic-art/>.
- d. Shaweesh. Photography. 2013. *Captain America*.
<http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/Shaweesh>.
- e. Gharem, Abdunnasser. Industrial lacquer paint on Indonesian plywood. 2010. *Men at Work III*, or Installation. 2012. *The Capitol Dome*. Several images available, plus short video explaining the work.
<http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/abdunnasser-gharem>. More on his work is available at: <http://edgeofarabia.com/publications/abdunnasser-gharem>.
- f. Angawi, Ahmad. Audio installation. 2012. *Street Pulse*. Several images available. <http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/ahmad-angawi>.
- g. Beydoun, Huda. Photography. 2013. *Documenting the Undocumented*.
<http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/huda-beydoun>. Additional image from the series available at: <http://www.khaleejesque.com/2013/05/art-design/rhizoma-generation-in-waiting-by-edge-of-arabia-at-the-55th-venice-biennale/>.

Supplementary material about these artworks is available at:

http://edgeofarabia.com/content/uploads/default_site/exhibition_uploads/Rhizoma_Cataloge_Final_interactive_1.pdf. See also Additional Resources below.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES**Additional sources of artwork:**

Arab Art Gallery: <http://www.arabartgallery.com/categories.htm>

Athr Gallery: <http://www.athrart.com/>

Edge of Arabia: Saudi Artists at <http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/saudi-arabia>; other MENA artists at <http://edgeofarabia.com/artists/arab-world>.

Ismail Shammout: <http://www.ismail-shammout.com/gallery/>

Muslima: Muslim Women’s Art and Voices: <http://muslima.imow.org/>

The Palestine Poster Project: <http://www.palestineposterproject.org/>

Travelers in the Middle East Archive: <http://timea.rice.edu/index.html>

Gifts of the Sultan: <http://giftsofthesultan.com/> and <http://www.qma.com.qa/exhibitions/gifts/>

Art and Architecture in the Arab World: <http://arab-aa.com/category/art/>

Curricular resource:

Caabu. Islamic Art:

<http://www.caabu.org/sites/default/files/resources/Islamic%20Art.pdf>

Incredible Art Department:

<http://www.incredibleart.org/lessons/high/highlessons.html>.

Interview:

Bouaissa, Malikka. “The crucial role of geometry in Islamic art.”

al.artemagazine. 2013. <http://www.alartemag.be/en/en-art/the-crucial-role-of-geometry-in-islamic-art/>. This interview with young Saudi Artist Dana Awartani explores her work and the deeper meaning of geometry in Islamic art. It includes rich images from Awartani’s artworks.

Documentaries:

Media Education Foundation. “Edward Said On Orientalism.”

Introduction: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xwCOSkXR_Cw. *YouTube* video, 10:35. Full version: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fVC8EYd_Z_g. *YouTube* video, 40:32.

Media Education Foundation. "Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People." Featuring Jack Shaheen. <http://www.reelbadarabs.com/> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tdRc8c8jhU8>. *YouTube* video, 50.12.

ART ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS

Describe	What is the subject matter of the artwork (e.g., what people, things, places, events, etc.)? How would you describe the artwork and the people in it to someone who has not seen it?
Analyze	How has the artist chosen to represent the subject matter? Look at the details of the artwork. What do you notice about how it is organized? Emphasis? Contrast? Light? Colors? Symbols? How are people presented?
Interpret	What does the representation suggest about the perspective or message of the artist? Of society? What makes you think so? Who is the intended audience of this painting? Why do you think it was made? Consider the mood and dynamic of the painting. If you were inside it, would you feel happy, pensive, relaxed, tense, etc.?
Evaluate	What do you find appealing about the painting? Unappealing? What is memorable about it? Does it speak to you? Do you like it? Why or why not?

ANALYSIS

1	<i>Artist/year/country:</i>	<i>Title of work:</i>
Describe		Analyze
Interpret		Evaluate

2	<i>Artist/year/country:</i>	<i>Title of work:</i>
Describe		Analyze
Interpret		Evaluate

3	<i>Artist/year/country:</i>	<i>Title of work:</i>
Describe		Analyze
Interpret		Evaluate

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