Perspectives on Development in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region

Series Editor Almas Heshmati, Jönköping University, Jönköping, Sweden

This book series publishes monographs and edited volumes devoted to studies on the political, economic and social developments of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Volumes cover in-depth analyses of individual countries, regions, cases and comparative studies, and they include both a specific and a general focus on the latest advances of the various aspects of development. It provides a platform for researchers globally to carry out rigorous economic, social and political analyses, to promote, share, and discuss current quantitative and analytical work on issues, findings and perspectives in various areas of economics and development of the MENA region. Perspectives on Development in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region allows for a deeper appreciation of the various past, present, and future issues around MENA's development with high quality, peer reviewed contributions. The topics may include, but not limited to: economics and business, natural resources, governance, politics, security and international relations, gender, culture, religion and society, economics and social development, reconstruction, and Jewish, Islamic, Arab, Iranian, Israeli, Kurdish and Turkish studies. Volumes published in the series will be important reading offering an original approach along theoretical lines supported empirically for researchers and students, as well as consultants and policy makers, interested in the development of the MENA region.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/13870

Wolfgang Mühlberger • Toni Alaranta Editors

Political Narratives in the Middle East and North Africa

Conceptions of Order and Perceptions of Instability



Editors Wolfgang Mühlberger Finnish Institute of International Affairs Helsinki, Finland

Toni Alaranta Finnish Institute of International Affairs Helsinki, Finland

ISSN 2520-1239 ISSN 2520-1247 (electronic) Perspectives on Development in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region ISBN 978-3-030-35216-5 ISBN 978-3-030-35217-2 (eBook) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35217-2

© Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors, and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG. The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Foreword

Without narratives—stories with purposeful actors and consequential chains of events, beginnings and endings, meaning and direction—the chaotic world (of international relations) would remain chaotic to us, its inhabitants. Although facts seldom speak for themselves in any area of life, the realm of international relations is often viewed as exceptionally distant and difficult to grasp: it operates with abstract entities such as states and nations, brings into play complex ideas such as sovereignty and prestige and regularly takes place in highly symbolic or violent contexts such as summit meetings or foreign battlefields. Contending interpretations among both actors and analysts abound. The stories of adversaries are often mirror images in conflict situations, and as part of normal scientific practice different researchers single out different incidents and trends as essential evidence for their studies. International relations cannot be experienced directly and comprehensively. The need for coherent plots that delimit, mediate and organize action—both in the past and in the future—for various audiences is acute.

The authors of this volume regard narratives as strategic tools used by political entrepreneurs interested in developments in the Middle East and North Africa. They refer to subjective interpretations, manipulative rhetoric and power-seeking behaviour. This is well-justified given the material under scrutiny—in other words the competing narratives of the different local, regional and global actors in the context of crisis and change. There are solid grounds for believing that narrative victory or hegemony is indeed the goal here and that the conflicting stories are carefully designed to persuade specific groups. I would go further and claim that narratives also assume importance in many situations in which storytellers seek objectivity, have little personal interest in the events and lack political power. As the editors of the volume suggest, we are indeed fundamentally storytelling animals (Mühlberger in the Introduction), and even our scholarly perspectives (Alaranta in the Conclusion) come in narrative form. As I see it, it is not only in situations in which we intentionally work towards a specific goal that we refer to, evoke and produce narratives: we do this all the time. All our observations (concerning international

relations) fit into and lend support to larger interpretative frameworks—in other words narratives.

What is fundamentally important, in my opinion, is that we learn to compare the competing narratives, the competing bids for the best explanation in any context, with a critical eye. The choice of narrative has profound effects: it determines which actors we see and who are left in the shadows, the events we deem significant and the ones we consider marginal, the interpretations we find natural or strange and the solutions we are inclined to reject or recommend. The articles in this volume demonstrate the vast variety of alternative narratives available for framing a specific issue or arena of action. In that individual readers will find different stories analysed here the most convincing—and many might find all versions of the events described self-serving—it is impossible to determine what "the true story about MENA" would look like. Unfortunately, we are forever stuck with imperfect narratives. Nevertheless, this volume makes a major contribution in terms of understanding the varying logic and making our own choices in our attempts to form as balanced a picture as possible.

Helsinki, Finland 14 September 2019 Riikka Kuusisto

Contents

Introduction: The Power of Narratives in Political Contexts Wolfgang Mühlberger	1
Part I Non-State Actors and Regional Powers Narrating and Reshaping Order	
Wartime Narratives of Hezbollah Militants in the Syrian Conflict Erminia Chiara Calabrese	21
Chasing the Wind: Clashes Between Israeli and Palestinian Narratives Olli Ruohomäki	33
Turkey as the Order-Producing Country: Narrating the New Turkeyin the Middle EastToni Alaranta	55
Evolving Narratives of Political Contestation and Geopolitical Rivalry in the Persian Gulf	71
Part II Global Players' Narratives Towards MENA Instability	
Russia in the Middle East: In Search of Its Place	95
The Chinese MENA Narrative: Peace with Development via the Belt and Road Initiative Christina Lin	115
American Narratives of Order-Building in the Middle East: Dashed Visions on the Nile Visions on the Nile Ville Sinkkonen	139

The European Union's Epic Conceptualisations of the Southern	
Neighbourhood: A Narratological Take on the Mediterranean Story	163
Wolfgang Mühlberger	
Conclusion: Narrative (Dis) Order in Today's MENA	183
Toni Alaranta	