

INTL 190: Democratization in the Middle East

Instructor: Reuben Silverman

Email: rwsilver@ucsd.edu

Class time: TH 11:00-14:00 PST

Office Hours: TH 14:00-16:00 and appointment

The states of the Middle East have existed for nearly a century. Yet few have been governed during those years by anything resembling a democratically elected government. This course will focus on some of the important factors that have combined to make democratization difficult in this region. Over the course of this class, we will focus on four different countries in the region: Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. In each case, we will focus on issues such as the role of the state, gender, race/ethnicity, economic inequality, and “sectarianism.” We will read and discuss articles that help us think through what these terms mean; how they are expressed in different national, regional, and historical contexts; and how they relate to the larger issue of democracy.

As you will see, in many cases, these issues are not unique to the countries in question. More to the point: many of the issues we discuss in relation to the Middle East are overdetermined. In other words, “the military” or “religion” are seldom as explanatory as they are you may often be told. Our larger goal, therefore, will be to think through how and when a particular institution such as the military, the oil industry, nationalism, etc. can be helpful in creating a political order in which people’s voices are heard and votes counted—and when these institutions become obstacles. In doing so, you will gain not only a general knowledge to these counties but a way of thinking about them (and other parts of the world) in a more critical manner. You will end the course with a deeper appreciation of the Middle East, a clearer understanding of your own views, and a set of mental frameworks with which to think about the region going forward in you careers.

Aside from the topic of this particular INTL 190, the primary goal of this class is to improve your skill as a researcher, writer, and presenter. Therefore, I can guarantee you that this will be one of the most useful classes you take in university. These are not skills in which we ever achieve perfection; rather, we improve them over the course of our lives. No matter what you plan to do next year, the skills we develop in this course will be helpful.

The main two assignment of this course will be:

- A 15-20 page research paper in which you focus on one topic and its relationship to democratization in a particular Middle Eastern country.
- A 10 minute PowerPoint presentation to the class via Zoom, ideally live, but pre-recorded if necessary.

I look forward to working with you in class and during office hours as you develop both projects.

Considerations in Light of Online Instruction

All classes (excluding small group work) will be **recorded and posted** on the Thursday we meet. Although attendance cannot be required given our circumstances, there will often be **required assignments** that are difficult to complete without having attended classes or watched it. I will also require you to **meet me at least twice for office hours**, totaling at least an hour of your time outside of class. (You can also meet for more time if you want). Although my office hours are listed as TH 14:000-16:00 PST, I am very **willing to arrange times** outside these that are more convenient for you.

Contacting Me

I check my email frequently on my phone, computer, etc. Feel free to contact me about questions you cannot find answers to in the course materials (or learn from classmates). Please keep your emails professional (polite, grammatical, concise). All that said, always allow for a 24-hour response time.

In Class Behavior

Conducting class online will have some benefits in terms of easing group discussion, presentations, and sharing documents, but it also has its downsides. *The most serious is distraction.* It is very difficult to stay focused while using a computer and resisting the urge to attempt to “multitask.” Although it would be wishful thinking to ask you never to do such things during class, I do ask that you **try your best** not to during class. **Listen to me and your peers carefully, take notes, consider the topic at hand.**

Reading

The expectation is that you will read **around 120 pages a week** (15-20 pages/day) including the materials for your paper. Thus, after the first several weeks, your reading assignments for class will diminish. (Moreover, often **you will often be assigned a particular reading listed on the syllabus rather than all of them!**)

The **main textbook** for this class is William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*. The edition does not matter, but you must purchase or procure it in some manner. In addition, there will be readings posted on Canvas.

Week 1: Introduction and The Modern Middle East Overview

- OPTIONAL: Cleveland, Ch. 8 and 9 [~42 pgs]

Week 2: Democratization (DUE: Five Topic Ideas)

Read:

- Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (1991), 10-15, 188-91 [8 pgs]
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation_ Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (1996), 1-15 [~15 pgs]
- Levitsky and Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (2010), 3-36 [34 pgs]

Choose one:

- Ibrahim, "Crises, Elites, and Democratization in the Arab World," (1993), 292-305 [13 pgs]
- Brumberg, "Democratization in the Arab World? The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy" (2002), 56-68

Week 3: Turkey: The Role of the State (DUE: Paper Topic)

Read:

- Cleveland, Ch. 10, 14, and 24 [Turkey portions, ~45 pgs]
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation_ Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, 16-37 [~20 pgs]

Choose one:

- Sunar and Sayari, "Democracy in Turkey: Problems and Prospects," (1986), 165-86 [20]
- Koray Çalışkan, "Toward a new political regime in Turkey: From competitive toward full authoritarianism," (2018), 5-33 [28 pgs]

Week 4: Turkey: Nationalism

Read:

- Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ch. 2 [~20 pgs]

Choose one:

- Watts, "Allies and Enemies-Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkish Politics, 1990-94," (1999), 631-56 [25 pgs]
- Gunter, "Susurluk: The connection between turkey's intelligence community and organized crime," (1998), 119-41 [22 pgs]

Week 5: Iraq: Patriarchy (DUE: Annotated Bibliography)

Read:

- Cleveland, Ch. 11, 16, 19, 22, and 25 [Iraq portions, ~50 pgs]
- Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," (1988), 274-90 [17 pgs]

Choose one:

- Efrati, *Women in Iraq-Past Meets Present* (2012), 20-51 [32 pgs]
- Al-Ali and Pratt, *What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq* (2009), 86-120 [35 pgs]

Week 6: Iraq: Sectarianism

Read:

- Visser, *The Sectarian Master Narrative in Iraqi Historiography: New Challenges Since 2003* (2012), 47-59

Read at least one:

- Al-Ali, *The Struggle for Iraq's Future: How Corruption, Incompetence and Sectarianism Have Undermined Democracy* (2014), 125-60 [35 pgs]
- Blaydes, *State of Repression-Iraq under Saddam Hussein* (2018), 237-65 [~28 pgs]

Week 7: Egypt: The Military

Read:

- Cleveland, Ch. 11, 15, 16, 18, and 24 [Egypt portions, ~ 45]
- Abul-Magd, "Egypt's Adaptable Officers," (2016), 23-42 [19 pgs]

Week 8: Egypt: Religious Politics (DUE: Rough Draft)

Read:

- Bayat, *Revolution Without Revolutionaries* (2017), 69-92

Optional (but recommended)

- Bayat, "Egypt and Its Unsettled Islamism," (2013), 185-228 [44pgs]

Week 9: Saudi Arabia

Read:

- Cleveland, Ch. 11, 12, 16, 21, 24, and 25 [Saudi and Gulf portions, ~35 pgs]

Choose one:

- Krane, *Energy Kingdoms* (2019), 28-42 [15 pgs]
- Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy* (2010), 86-108 [22 pgs]

Week 10: Presentations (DUE: Final Papers)

Research Paper

In keeping with the goal of our class, you will research and write a paper on how the prospects (or experiences with democratization) in a Middle Eastern country are/were affected by a particular issue or institution. Researching this paper will involve reading the work of many scholars who have their own opinions about this topic, but **you** will ultimately **make your own argument** about the relationship between your subject and democratization in that country. (*You might, for example, look at a minority group like the Bedouin in the Kingdom of Jordan, study the relationship of this group to the government and to politics in the country, and then make an argument as to how it has related to the democratization in the country.*)

To produce such a paper, you will necessarily have to draw on a number of sources. (*In the case of this example, histories of Jordan, studies on the Bedouin, monographs on democratic movements in Jordan, general works about the relation of tribes to the state, etc.*) For this paper, you will need **at least ten** substantial sources (i.e. you are not just reading/citing a few pages).

By the end of Week 3, you must pick a topic and run it by me. By the beginning of Week 5, you must create an annotated bibliography of at least six sources, including **at**

least two books and two articles. A rough draft (8-10 pages, 12pt, Times New Roman, double-spaced) is due at the beginning of Week 8. And the final paper (15-20 pgs, same specifications) is due **at the beginning** of the last day of class.

Additional Assignments

These may vary from week to week. These will usually be sets of study questions I give you related to the readings. Sometimes I may ask you to analyze some aspect of a particular reading in relation to the discussion we have in class. Generally, this will mean written, submitted responses.

Presentation

In Week 10, each of you will give a 10 min PowerPoint presentation on your paper's main argument. The goal of this presentation is not to tell us everything you are writing. Rather, the goal is to help you showcase your public speaking and ability to summarize your work in an engaging manner.

Evaluation

Participation*	15%
Assignments/Weekly Study Questions**	20%
Presentation	20%
Research Paper (Annotated Bib 5%, Rough 15%, Final 25%)	45%

* Based on two office hours AND contributing to in-class activities OR make-up assignments if unable to attend session

**Please turn in work on time. Weekly study questions (which are worth two points) will lose half their value if a day late (i.e. 1 point) and all their value (i.e. another 1 point) if two days late.

A+ (100%-98%), A (97%-93%), A- (92%-90%)

B+ (89%-88%), B (87%-83%), B- (82%-80%)

C+ (79%-78%), C (77%-73%), C- (72%-70%)

D+ (69%-68%), D (62%-60%), D- (62%-60%)

F (0-59%)

Additional Resources

Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS): College life can be stressful, and it is normal to feel overwhelmed at times. UCSD has a staff of professionals that are available for confidential meetings to discuss any personal concerns you might have. Feel free to contact CAPS at anytime to set up an appointment:
<https://wellness.ucsd.edu/caps/Pages/default.aspx>

Students with Disabilities: Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD), which is located in University Center 202 behind Center Hall. Students are required to present their AFA letters to Faculty and to the OSD Liaison in the department in advance so that accommodations may be arranged. Contact OSD for more information: 858.534.4382 (phone), osd@ucsd.edu (email), <http://disabilities.ucsd.edu>Links to an external site. (website)

Writing Services: The Writing Hub is full of skilled, experienced writers, ready to help you organize and improve your writing. Especially this quarter, where writing is a major element of your grade, it may be a good idea to schedule a meeting in during weeks 5-8 (before they get really busy!): <https://writinghub.ucsd.edu>Links to an external site.

Plagiarism

Academic Integrity: You are responsible for the honesty and integrity of your academic work at UCSD. The University has a strict policy prohibiting cheating of any kind. If you are suspected of cheating, you will be required to meet with an academic coordinator, who will then discuss your case with the professor. If the professor charges you with misconduct, the professor will determine the penalty for your grade in the course, which can range from deductions to failing the paper, section, or the course. Then you will have to meet with the Dean of Student Affairs, who will determine additional penalties, which can range from failing the course and taking an academic integrity seminar to suspension to expulsion.

Throughout this process, a hold will be put on your grade. Even a first offense can result in a quarter's suspension, and the standard sanction for a second offense is suspension or permanent dismissal from the university. Any instance of academic misconduct can be recorded in a student's file. Such a record might interfere with a student's acceptance into law, medical, or graduate school, or might make that student ineligible for positions requiring a security clearance, such as a government internship.

In brief, the University's ***Policy on Integrity of Scholarship*** states that students are expected to complete the course in compliance with the instructor's standards. No student shall engage in any activity that involves attempting to receive a grade by means other than honest effort; for example:

1. No student shall knowingly procure, provide, or accept any unauthorized material that contains questions, or answers to any examination or assignment to be given at a subsequent time.
2. No student shall complete, in part or in total, any examination nor assignment for another person.
3. No student shall knowingly allow any examination or assignment to be completed, in part or in total, for himself or herself by another person.
4. No student shall plagiarize or copy the work of another person and submit it as his or her own work.
5. No student shall employ aids excluded by the instructor in undertaking course work or in completing any exam or assignment.
6. No student shall alter graded class assignments or examinations and then resubmit them for regrading.
7. No student shall submit substantially the same material in more than one course without prior authorization.

Please read the full Policy: <http://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/policy.html>Links to an external site.. If you have any questions, ask me.