Course: GINS 4090 Section C
Democracy in the Middle East

Term: Fall 2018

Class: Tuesdays 11:35–14:25

Instructor: Michael Petrou

Office: Room 2404R, Richcraft Hall
Office Hours: Tuesdays 9:30–11:00 or by appointment
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Course Description

“Man's natural propensities are such that unrestricted authority for kings brings about some kind of oppression.”

– Kahyr al-Din al-Tunisi, 1867

“Ours is a difficult struggle; it could even be a long one.”


The struggle for greater political freedom in the Middle East was already a long one when Iranian dissident Akbar Ganji wrote the above words.

The years since have given the region’s democrats reason for fresh hope and disappointment. In 2018, as in past years, the NGO Freedom House’s annual ranking of countries in the world based on civil liberties and political rights judged almost the entire Middle East to be “Not Free.” Only Israel and Tunisia achieved a fully “Free” ranking, and a handful of other nations were considered “Partially Free.”

What’s gone wrong? Where have there been successes? What might lead to more political freedom in the region? This class will try to answer these questions. We will explore how democracies emerge and persist. And we will probe theories about why this process may have been frustrated in the Middle East — including colonialism, sectarianism, culture, Islam and foreign interference. We will try to understand where democracy in the region is headed, and factors that may influence its future. Special attention will be paid to the Arab Spring and its aftermath.

Course Prerequisites:

Fourth year honours standing in BGInS.
Course Format:

Each class will generally consist of three elements. I will lecture and lead a discussion on the topics and themes of the class. We will then discuss the specific assigned readings. Each student must email me a discussion question by 8 a.m. before each class. These questions will demonstrate that you have done the required readings and will be used to stimulate discussion during class. The third element of the class will consist of an exploration of primary sources or of additional readings. Students will be asked, individually or in groups, to analyze a source and then present it to the class. Please bring your laptop to access these sources for class presentations and discussions.

We will also screen documentary films and welcome guest speakers.

Please note that active participation from all students is expected and is necessary to do well in this course.

Learning Objectives:

Students who successfully complete this course will:

- understand and be able to critique some of the major theories concerning democratic development and retention;

- learn about some of the ideas regarding governance reform articulated by Middle East thinkers during the 19th and early 20th centuries;

- explore aspects of recent Middle East history that have affected governance in the region, including colonialism and nationalism;

- understand and be able to critique some theories explaining the generally low level of political freedom and democracy in the Middle East;

- learn about the Arab Spring, about similar unrest in Iran, and the potential impact of both.

Texts:

There is no text that must be purchased. Readings will be accessible online, at the library as an electronic resource, or on reserve at the library. I will post to cuLearn texts that cannot be accessed by these methods.

I do recommend students get a copy of *A History of the Modern Middle East* (sixth edition) by William Cleveland and Martin Bunton (Westview Press, 2016). Some weekly readings will be taken from this text, but students will also benefit from the overview of modern Middle East history that it provides.
On Writing:

I value clear and persuasive writing. The Centre for Student Academic Support can help:
https://carleton.ca/csas/writing-services/

Evaluation:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Due Date</th>
<th>Percentage of Overall Grade</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Readings Response 1</td>
<td>October 9</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Readings Response 2</td>
<td>October 30</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Essay</td>
<td>December 4</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Participation</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>25%</td>
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Reading Response 1

Discuss what factors make democracy more or less likely to emerge and persist in a society, according to at least two of the academic readings examined during the first three classes (Huntington; Masoud; Przeworski; Cornell, Møller, Skaaning; Dahl; Lake and Baum; Lipset; Diamond; Limongi and Przeworski). Analyze the merits of these arguments.

You will be graded on your demonstrated knowledge of the theories discussed, the strength of your analysis, and the clarity of your writing.

Papers should be about 800 words, double-spaced, 12-point type. Include endnotes or footnotes.

Reading Response 2

Discuss the ideas on governance and political freedom expressed by at least two of the Middle Eastern thinkers discussed in Class 4: Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi; Muhammad Rashid Rida; and Muhammad Abduh. You can also reference Albert Hourani’s Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age and will likely benefit from re-reading him, especially Chapter 4, which is an assigned reading, and Chapters 6 and 9, on Muhammad Abduh and Muhammad Rashid Rida, which are optional ones. Explain the relevance of these thinkers to governance.

You will be graded on your demonstrated knowledge of the readings, the strength of your analysis, and the clarity of your writing.

Papers should be about 800 words, double-spaced, 12-point type. Include endnotes or footnotes.

Essay

Your essay should answer the following question: What factors have influenced the development of democracy and political freedom in the Middle East? What does this mean for the prospects of democracy in the region?

To earn a good mark, students should demonstrate an understanding of some of the theories advanced in this class and criticize or support them with evidence-based arguments and specific examples. You will be graded on the depth of your research, engagement with sources, the strength of your analysis, and the clarity of your writing.
Papers should be between 2,500 and 3,000 words long, double-space, 12-point type. Include endnotes or footnotes (not embedded citations) and a list of words cited.

**Class Participation**

Your class participation mark will be based on the weekly discussion questions you submit, your in-class presentations, and your active participation in class discussions.

Every week, by 8 a.m. on Tuesday, you should submit a discussion question. These questions should be directly related to one or more assigned readings (as opposed to a source that will be presented in class), should indicate that you have done the reading, and should stimulate discussion.

Most classes will include short student presentations on primary sources or other readings. In groups or individually, you will analyze the source, consider the questions it raises and what we might learn from it, and then present it to the class for further discussion.

These presentations will happen throughout the term. You won’t be graded on one discrete presentation but on your cumulative contributions throughout the term.

You will also be graded on your attendance and punctuality. I expect you to attend all classes, arrive on time, and stay for the entirety of the class.

**Submission guidelines:**

Please submit a hard copy of all written assignments to me in class, and also email me a digital copy. Please keep a hard copy of all assignments yourself. Late assignments can be deposited in the drop box outside the BGInS office in Richcraft Hall. Please also deposit hard copies there if you are unable to come to class.

**Late assignments:**

Late assignments will be deducted one grade — from B+ to B, for example — per day, including weekends. Students must submit a medical certificate if an assignment is late because of a medical reason.

**Class Schedule:**

Minor amendments may be made regarding topics and assigned readings, and depending on the availability of guest speakers. Sources to be presented in class that are not accessible online or at the library will be posted to cuLearn.

For most classes below, there are two sets of readings. You should complete the first set, listed directly below the date, before class. The discussion question you submit each week should address one or more of these readings.

The second set of readings, under the heading “Sources to present and discuss in class,” consists of sources on which your in-class presentations will be based. You will find it useful to read
these in advance as well, but you will have time during class to read and discuss them with your colleagues before presenting them.

**September 11: Introduction to GINS 4090**

The Economist, “The Tragedy of the Arabs,” July 4, 2014: 
[https://www.economist.com/leaders/2014/07/05/the-tragedy-of-the-arabs](https://www.economist.com/leaders/2014/07/05/the-tragedy-of-the-arabs)


**Sources to present and discuss in class:**

Khaled Mattawa, “Now that we have tasted hope,” poem.


“The Laws of Allah or the Laws of Man,” excerpt from propaganda magazine of Islamic State, Dabiq (Issue 10).


**September 18: What is democracy? Is it desirable?**


**Sources to present and discuss in class:**

“What’s Gone Wrong with Democracy?” The Economist, March 1, 2014: 

Graham Allison, “The Lee Kuan Yew Conundrum,” The Atlantic, March 30, 2015:  

Caleb Crain, “The Case Against Democracy,” The New Yorker, November 7, 2016:

**September 25: How does a country get, keep, and lose democracy? Some theories**


**Sources to present and discuss in class:**

James Fallows, “A Damaged Culture,” *The Atlantic*, November 1987: 


**October 2: Colonialism, increased interaction with Europe, responses**


Optional reading: Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, Chapter 6, Muhammad Abduh.

Optional reading: Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, Chapter 9, Rashid Rida.


**Sources to present and discuss in class:**


**October 9: Nationalism and Authoritarian reform**

Cleveland and Bunton, 166–175; 226–256; 286–305.


**Sources to present and discuss in class:**

(The following three sources are taken from Sylvia G. Haim (ed.), *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology*, University of California Press, 1976).

“Vindication of Arab National Rights”: Memorandum of the Foreign Office of the Arab government of the Hijaz to the Secretary of State, United States of America, 1917.

Michel Aflaq “Nationalism and revolution,” 1940.


Leila Ahmed, *A Border Passage: From Cairo to America—A Woman’s Journey*, Penguin, 1999, excerpt from Chapter 7 “Suez,” 164 (“Such was the summer …”) to 178.


Israel’s Declaration of Independence, 1948.
October 16: Islam and Political Islam


Sources to present and discuss in class:
Hassan al-Banna. “Toward the Light,” plus introduction to the reading, in Roxanne Euben and Muhammad Zaman, eds. Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: texts and contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden, Princeton studies in Muslim politics:

“Preface” to “Western Civilization Today” (56–59);

“Islam is Guaranteed …” to “Islam and the Armed Forces” (59–64);

“Islam and Public Health” to “The Public Institutions of Islam” (64–68);

“Islam Protects Minorities …” to “A Bold Step …” (68–73);

“Some Steps Toward Practical Reform,” (74–78).

Sayyid Qutb, Milestones, 1964, Introduction; Chapter 3.


October 23: Break, no class

October 30: Culture and gender

Larry Diamond, “Why are there no Arab democracies?” Journal of Democracy, January 2010


Sources to present and discuss in class:
Mitt Romney, “Culture Does Matter,” National Review, August 1, 2012:
James Fallows, “‘Culture,’ Prosperity, and Political IQ,” The Atlantic, August 1, 2012: 

Mona Eltahawy, “Why Do They Hate Us?” Foreign Policy, April 23, 2012: 


**Film screening (to be confirmed):** The Square (part 1)

**November 6: Part 1: Oil and Rentier states; Part 2: Sectarianism**


**Guest speaker (to be confirmed):** Syrian journalist Abdulrahman al-Masri.

**November 13: Outsiders**

Shadi Hamid, “The Struggle for Middle East Democracy,” Brookings, April 26, 2011: 
https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-struggle-for-middle-east-democracy/


**Sources to be presented and discussed in class:**


Paul Bremer’s de-Baathification Order no. 1, 2003: 
https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Mem_7:_Delegation_of_Authority_Under_De-Baathification_Order_No_1

http://magnant.org/Last_Transition/Does_Anyone_Really_Care_files/Stewart-
Film screening: The Dreams of Sparrows

November 20: Arab and Persian Springs and Winters (1)

Cleveland and Bunton, 537–556.


Sources to present and discuss in class:
Statement of the 6 April Movement” (Egypt) from February 6, 2011 in James Gelvin, History of the Modern Middle East, 368–369.

Tunisian Labor Leaders Reflect Upon Revolt,” Middle East Report, 258, Spring 2011.


Yasser El Manawhly, “The International Monetary Fund,” a song released by the Egyptian singer in October 2012: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cLI9Uop2z8w (lyrics posted to cuLearn).

Film screening (to be confirmed): The Square (part 2)

November 27: Arab and Persian Springs and Winters (2)


Guest speaker (to be confirmed): Syrian activist Maan Almidy.
December 4: Arab (and Persian) Springs and Winters (3)

Cleveland and Bunton, 506–512.

Michael Petrou, *Is This Your First War? Travels Through the Post-9/11 Islamic World*, Dundurn, 2012, 114–133 (This reading may also be included among sources to be presented in class).

Suzanne Maloney, “Fifteen Years After the 18th of Tir: The Legacy of Student Protests that Shook Iran,” Brookings Institution, July 10, 2014: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2014/07/10/fifteen-years-after-the-18th-of-tir-the-legacy-of-student-protests-that-shook-iran/


**Sources to be presented and discussed in class:**


**Film screening:** The Green Wave

**Academic Accommodations:** The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your *Letter of Accommodation* at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**Accommodation for Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the
student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

**Accommodation for Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of “F” for the course.

**Intellectual Property:** Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. Late assignments may be submitted to the BGInS office in 2404R, Richcraft Hall. For essays not returned in class please attach a *stamped, self-addressed envelope* if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and *will not* be returned.

**Grading:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
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<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
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<td>67-69</td>
<td>C+</td>
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<td>85-89</td>
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<td>60-62</td>
<td>C-</td>
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Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from BGInS will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the BGInS website is the official course outline.