Department of Political Science University of Waterloo PSCI 685: Democratization in the Middle East Fall 2011; 02:30-04:20 Tuesdays HH 227

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Course Description: The Arab Middle East is undergoing transformative changes from overthrowing dictators in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt, existing struggles to date for regime change in Syria and Yemen, to struggles to push for more inclusive political participation in affluent countries like Bahrain. This course is designed to both survey the theoretical literature surrounding questions like what prompts countries to be more democratic, to policy questions like is democracy in the Middle East a push for more religious-based political systems that are antithetical to Western interests? In this course we both survey the theoretical, empirical and policy issues surrounding this fascinating region of the globe.

Course Evaluation:

		<u>Due Date</u>
2 Oral Presentations	2x 10% =20%	Sign Up Sheet in Class
Participation in Class Discussions	15%	-
5 Reaction Papers	$5 \times 5\% = 25\%$	Sign Up Sheet in Class
Research Paper	40%	Dec 5 th 2011

Oral Presentations

Each student is required to present on two of the assigned articles/papers in alternate weeks. Each presentation should be approximately 20 minutes. The presentation can be on one of your reaction papers, but it must go beyond the reaction papers and be researched, structured, and contribute to the knowledge of the class and generate interesting discussion afterwards (another 10 minutes or so). The sign up sheet will be available in class (please do not email me your requests). The purpose of the presentation is to critically examine the readings. Assume the class has read the articles, but what is the big picture of the readings? What are we to learn from the readings? What is missing? What is the political dimension that is perhaps ignored or overlooked? Who are the political stakeholders, national, regional, and international? What are the policy implications of the article, if left unspecified?

Participation

This grade is based on attendance, participation in class question and answer sessions, paying attention to your colleagues who are presenting, and general classroom manner.

Note: participation grades cannot be made-up due to missed classes, regardless of the reason (illness, interviews, etc). If you are not there, then you did not participate. That said, after the first class, one missed class will be a freebie. Please do not email me your reasons for simple

absences. You will be rewarded for both physical attendance of the class and intellectual attendance in class

Reaction Papers

Throughout the course, you will produce five reaction papers- each to be one page, single spaced. This may take the form of commentary, questions, agreements, disagreements, and points of discussion. But, this is not about providing a summary of the readings. This is to help you recognize your own interests in and questions about the course material and to help direct the instructor toward issues that are of interest to the class or questions that need to be more fully explored in class. Try not to make your comments too specific, i.e. if you choose to concentrate on only one or two of the readings, be sure to try to link your ideas to the broader themes being addressed that week. The papers are not research papers - there is no need to consult any sources beyond the required readings assigned that week. A sign up sheet will be used to ensure a balanced distribution of papers received. Please note that these reaction papers are due the day before class, by 3 pm on Monday and must be dropped off in the political science drop box outside of Hagey Hall 311. After 3pm, you will lose 50% of the mark, and 10% per day thereafter.

Research Paper and Proposal

Your research proposal should be 1 page single spaced and is due in class on October 25th (no credit for proposals received after class). Tell me what you want to do, how you plan to examine the topic, and your planned argument. This will be discussed further in class. There is no grade assigned for this assignment, but failure to submit this will result in a 3% deduction off your research paper.

Your research paper should be 8 pages *single spaced*, using 12 pitch Times New Roman font and 1 inch margins top, bottom, and sides. This means that you must be concise, effective, and remember that every word counts. Do not be repetitive. You will be graded on research, argument, structure, and writing. Please use parentheses method of referencing, for example: (Smith, 1998:2). This assignment is due on the last class, Dec 5th 2011. Papers received after class will be considered one day late. Note that a 5% late penalty will be deducted per day, including every day of the weekend. Late papers can be placed in the assignment drop box in the political science department. Please do not email me your assignment. A hardcopy must be received. Note that no extensions will be granted, so please do not ask. Computer failure or other technical difficulties will not count as a valid excuse. Note that no assignment will be accepted one week after the due date and a mark of zero will be assigned.

Seminar participation

Two items make up the seminar participation grade:

- a. Attendance and participation. You must attend all seminars, keep up with the readings and participate actively in seminar discussions.
- b. Students must also be prepared to present their reactions to the week's readings to the seminar group.

Schedule of Classes

Week 1: September 13th

Week 2: September 20th Introduction and Overview

- Economist Intelligence Unit "Will the Arab Risings yield democracy, dictatorship or disorder?"
 - http://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=arab_spring_tide_wp
- Khair El-Din Haseeb. "On the Arab 'Democratic Spring': lessons derived" <u>Contemporary Arab Affairs</u> Vol. 4, Iss. 2, 2011 http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17550912.2011.577276
- Omar S. Dahi "Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Revolts" <u>Middle East Report 259</u> Volume: 41 Summer 2011.
- Khouri, Rami. 2007. "Missing the Epic Story of the Middle East." *Agence Global* [Online]. Available at http://www.agenceglobal.com/article.asp?id=1335
- Beaumont, Peter. 2011. "Middle East protests: Is it time for the west to come clean?" *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/19/middle-east-protests-western-governments
- PeaceBuild. Between Revolution and Repression: Democratic Transitions in the Middle East and North Africa? Cairo and Ottawa June 2, 2011 http://peacebuild.ca/MENARoundtableJune2011modified.pdf

Week 3: September 27th International Pressure and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East Readings:

- "Islam and democracy." *The Economist*, January 12, 2008. Available at http://www.economist.com/node/10499167
- Alterman, Jon B. The Middle East Turns East. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Middle East Program (May 2011). Available at http://csis.org/files/publication/0511_MENC.pdf
- Ashton, Catherine. 2011. "The EU Wants 'deep democracy' to take root in Egypt and Tunisia." *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/feb/04/egypt-tunisia-eu-deep-democracy
- Istanbul Papers. Democracy and Human Development in the Broader Middle East: A Transatlantic Strategy for Partnership Istanbul Paper #1. *The German Marshall Fund of the United States* (June 25 27 2004). Available at http://www.americanprogress.org/kf/middleeastreport.pdf
- Gwertzman, Bernard. 2004. "Is US 'Beacon of Hope' or Enemy Number One." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Available at http://www.cfr.org/publication.php?id=7464

Week 4 – October 4 Democratization in the Middle East – Perspectives

- Lewis, Bernard. 2005. "Freedom and Justice in the Modern Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, 83(4). Available at http://trinity.ritterdosreis.br/phl5/images/CAN/SP/SP013836_36.pdf
- Robbins, Michael. "Strengthening Democracy Promotion: Understanding Conceptions of Democracy and Their Effects Among Arab Publics", *The Dubai Initiative, Policy Brief* (August 2010). Available at http://www-

- personal.umich.edu/~robbinmd/Publications_files/Robbins%20-%20DI%20Policy%20Brief%20-%20Democracy%20Promotion.PDF
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 2004. The Wrong Way to Sell Democracy to the Arab World. The New York Times [Online]. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/08/opinion/thewrong-way-to-sell-democracy-to-the-arab-world.html
- Lynch, Marc. Taking Arabs Seriously. *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2003). Available at http://www.marclynch.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Taking-Arabs-Seriously-Marc-Lynch.pdf
- Tessler, Mark and Amaney Jamal. 2008. Attitudes in the Arab World. *Journal of Democracy* 19(1): 97-110. Available at http://arabbarometer.org/reports/democbarometers.pdf

Week 5: October 11th Protest Movements, Civil Society and Reform – Prospects for Democratization

- Hawthorne, Amy. Political Reform in the Arab World: A New Ferment? Carnegie Foundation. (October 2004). Available at http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_52%20Hawthorne.pdf
- Ottaway, Marina and Hamzawy, Amr. Protest Movements and Political Change in the Arab World. *Carnegie Foundation* (January 28th, 2011). Available at http://carnegie.matrixgroup.net/files/OttawayHamzawy_Outlook_Jan11_ProtestMovements.pdf
- Critical Dialogue between Diverse Opposition Groups A project of Arab Reform Initiative July 2011. http://arab-reform.net/IMG/pdf/Critical_Dialogue_Summary_English_final.pdf
- Steavenson, Wendell. 2011. "Pessoptimism." The New Yorker (Online). Available at http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2011/03/14/110314taco_talk_steavenson

Week 6: October 18th Tunisia Readings:

- Seyyed Mohaad Kazem Sajjadpour. 2011. "US, Crisis in Tunisia and Democracy in Middle East." *Iran Review* [Online]. Available at http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/US_Crisis_in_Tunisia_and_Democracy_in_Middle_East.htm
- de Vasconcelos, Alvaro. "Tunisia: A Chance for Democracy." European Union Institute for Security Studies (January 2011). Available at http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Tunisia_-_A_chance_for_democracy.pdf
- Cassarino, Jean-Pierre. Confidence-building in Tunisia after the Popular Uprising: Strategies and Dilemmas of the Interim Government. *The Istituto Affari Internazionali, IAI Working Papers* (February 2011). Available at http://www.iai.it/pdf/DocIAI/iaiwp1104.pdf

Week 7: October 25th Egypt Readings:

• Dworkin, Anthony, Korski, Daniel and Witney, Nick. "Egypt's Hybrid Revolution: A Bolder EU Approach". *European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief* (March 2011). Available at http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/Egypt% 20brief% 20PDF% 20060511.pdf

- Paciello, Maria Cristina. Egypt: Changes and Challenges of Political Transition.
 MEDPRO (Mediterranean Prospects), Working Paper (May 2011). Available at http://www.iai.it/pdf/mediterraneo/MedPro/MedPro-technical-paper_04.pdf
- Shapiro, Samantha M. 2009. Revolution, Facebook-Style. The New York Times
 (Online). Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/magazine/25bloggers-t.html?pagewanted=1
- Kinsmen, Jeremy. "Democracy Rising: Tunisia and Egypt, When Idealists Got It Right." Policy Options (April 2011). Available at http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/apr11/kinsman.pdf

Week 8: November 1st: Libya Readings:

- Stanley Kurtz "Assessing Libya" National Review Online http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/275181/assessing-libya-stanley-kurtz
- Fouad Ajami Wall Street Journal http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424053111903461304576524483022325092.html
- James Dobbins and Frederic Wehrey "Libyan Nation Building After Qaddafi" http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68227/james-dobbins-and-frederic-wehrey/libyan-nation-building-after-qaddafi?page=2
- Rami Khouri. "Libya's lessons for the Arab world"
 http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Columnist/2011/Aug-24/Libyas-lessons-for-the-Arab-world.ashx#ixzz1Xx9Vk3uD

 The Daily Star :: Lebanon News
- Fred Kaplan. "It's Not What We Ought To Do, But What We Can Do" http://www.slate.com/id/2301934/

Week 9: November 8th Syria

- Momani, B. "Exit Strategy for Assad" Sept 2011. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/bessma-momani/syria-assad b 935217.html
- Momani, B. "Syrian Brutality: Unintended Consequence of Mubarak's Trials" Trials August 2011. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/bessma-momani/syria-arab-spring-b-921127.html
- Tony Badran. "Obama's Options in Damascus" August 2011.
 http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68129/tony-badran/obamas-options-in-damascus
- James Zogby: Where Is the Arab World on Syria? August 2011
 http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/a-call-for-change-in-syria-that-the-arab-world-can-lead

Week 10: November 15th Yemen

• Katz, M. 2010. Yemen: The Evolution of a Problem", Opinion Paper by EUISS http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Yemen evolution of a problem.pdf

- James Spencer How Yemen's revolution was thwarted <u>guardian.co.uk</u>, Monday 29
 August 2011 http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/aug/29/yemen-revolution-saleh-arab-spring
- Abubakr Al-Shamahi "Taking a chance on a democratic Yemen" Al-Jazeera Studies http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/08/2011847134790380.html

Week 11: November 22nd Lebanon and Jordan Readings:

- Cammett, Melani. 2009. "Democracy, Lebanese-Style." *Middle East Report Online* [Online]. Available at http://www.merip.org/mero/mero081809
- Safa, Oussama. 2006. Lebanon Springs Forward. *Journal of Democracy* 17(1), 22-37. Available at http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Safa-17-1.pdf
- Fakhoury, Tamirace. 2011. Lebanon against the Backdrop of the 2011 Arab Uprisings: Which Revolution in Sight? *New Global Studies*, 5(1). See PDF.
- Marwan Muasher "A Decade Of Struggling Reform Efforts In Jordan The Resilience of the Rentier System http://carnegieendowment.org/files/jordan_reform.pdf
- Ryan, Curtis R. "Civil Society and Democratization in Jordan". Knowledge Programme
 Civil Society in West Asia, Working Paper 7. Amsterdam Institute for Social Science
 Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam, Department of Political Science (June
 2010). Available at www.hivos.net/content/download/33084/212639/file/WP7Ryan.pdf

Week 12: November 28th Bahrain (Last Day of Class) Readings:

- Fakhro, E.A. 2009. "The European Union and Islam: Democracy Promotion in Bahrain and the Arab World." *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*. Available at http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Fakhro_low_2.pdf
- Katzman, Kenneth. Bahrain: Reform, Security, and U.S. Policy. *Congressional Research Service* (April 2011). Available at http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/95-1013.pdf
- Momani, B. "National Belonging not Bread" Huffington Post http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/bessma-momani/bahrain-protests_b_952259.html

Academic Integrity:

Academic Integrity: In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

Discipline: A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about "rules" for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm

Grievance: A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm

Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm

Academic Integrity website (Arts):

http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html

Academic Integrity Office (UW): http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/

Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:

Note for students with disabilities: The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.