

In the decades since the end of the Cold War, and especially since the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001, analysts, policymakers, and international organizations have increasingly turned their attention to statebuilding efforts as a way to remedy political instability, secure human rights, and further world economic progress, but the results have often been uneven. The various military interventions, uprisings and revolutions across the Middle East since 2010 have only increased international attention to the question of how to build and perpetuate a successful state. Using the greater Middle East as our lens, we will investigate the latest theories, debates, and activities surrounding statebuilding and democracy efforts. Topics for discussion will include but are not limited to: failed states and their importance in a post-9/11 world, globalization, imperialism and its (post)modern meaning, the wars of the 21st century Middle East and their aftermath, Islam, Islamism and its place in modern society, the Arab Spring and its legacies, debates over the necessity of developmental aid, whether and how democracy can find success across the region, the role of technology in revolutions and statebuilding, and the roles of everyday citizens in (re)creating their societies. Since this is an IAFS course, expect to read a wide variety of sources and perspectives, and since this is an upper-level IAFS course, expect to read a fair amount of theory. (Superfun!)

Our weekly reading assignments and discussions are designed to get you thinking about the various problems, possibilities, realities, theories about, and histories of statebuilding – not only how various states have been built (both practically and theoretically speaking) and the roles the international community have played in the evolution and perpetuation of various state institutions and apparatuses, but also the ways in which local actors (who have habitually been left out of discussions regarding statebuilding) have asserted their agency in creating and recreating the societies in which they live. The assigned readings will deepen your knowledge about a range of events and ideas. In-class discussions will help hone your discernment capabilities and refine your rhetorical skills. In other words, our class discussions are opportunities for kicking around ideas, debating with your peers, and deepening your knowledge. Since this is an upper-level class, you will be expected to participate fully, read thoroughly, and write copiously. Please note that we will NOT be going over the reading material in an organized, point by point kind of way. **YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR READING AND UNDERSTANDING THE ASSIGNMENTS.** That said, there will be a portion of the class reserved each day for clarifying arguments and ideas. Some of the texts we will be reading are rather dense or even a bit confusing; please feel free to write down any questions you have about the texts so that we can discuss them.

Assigned Texts:

Al-Ali, Zaid. The Struggle for Iraq's Future: How Corruption, Incompetence and Sectarianism Have Undermined Democracy.

Karl, Hamdy, and Soueif. Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution.

Hokayem, Emile. Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant.

Nordberg, Jenny. The Underground Girls of Kabul: In Search of a Hidden Resistance in Afghanistan.

Sharma and Gupta, eds. The Anthropology of the State: A Reader.

In addition to these key texts, you will be assigned articles and excerpts available via D2L. You're also expected to keep up on the news related to the greater Middle East, esp. Egypt, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria.

Grades will be determined as follows:

Discussion:	100 points total
Discussion Question: 5 x 3 (15)	30 points
Class Discussion: 15	
Book Analyses:	20 points
Iraq: 10 points	
Any other Case Study: 10 points	
Midterm:	25 points
Policy Paper:	25 points

Explanation of Assignments:

Please note that late work is NOT accepted unless you have a documented medical or family emergency. Work expected in hard copy (DQ, book analyses) are due at the *start* of class. If you will be missing class due to an excused absence (religious obligation, athletics, Model UN trip, etc.), you must hand in hard copy work before you leave, and digital work is due on time without exception. If you have questions about this policy, please speak with me immediately.

Discussion

Discussion Questions (DQ):

You will provide a potential discussion question for class. In addition to the question, provide a **one page, double-spaced** essay (no more, no less) outlining how you would answer the question. The best responses will be specific, refer to multiple assigned sources, and tie the question and answer to the larger themes of the course. Should I choose your question for discussion that day, you should be prepared to help lead the conversation that ensues. Upper level courses require oral presentations and discussions.

You must turn in **FIVE** of these assignments – the first one during week two, two more prior to the midterm, and the final two in the second half of the class. Days that are eligible for turning in DQ are marked on the syllabus. DQs are due at the BEGINNING of class in hard copy. No exceptions (no hand-written work, no digital work). Each DQ assignment is worth up to 3 points, for a total of 15 points.

Class Discussion: This class offers the challenge not only of meeting only once a week but also having a rather large population. In order to evaluate your contributions to class discussion, our time together will be split among brief lectures, large group discussions, and small group discussions. Please! Come to class prepared to discuss the readings. This course will not be successful without your consistent participation and interest. Merely showing up to class will NOT guarantee you a passing grade in discussion. You'll need to make a consistent effort to share your thoughts, analysis, and questions. I do not have hard rules about absenteeism, but obviously, if you miss more than one class, your participation grade will suffer accordingly. Each week (not including the first and last weeks), I will evaluate your contributions to class and award you 0, 1, or (rarely) 2 points for the week. If you're not in class, you automatically earn a 0 for discussion that week. You may earn up to 15 points over the course of the semester. There are 12 meetings for which you may earn discussion points. If you are particularly shy or have other concerns about speaking in class, *please come and talk to me about this as soon as possible so that we can come up with some strategies together.*

Book Analyses:

You will write two (2) separate **two page, double spaced** essays (**no more, no less**) for our case study texts. For each, you are required to identify and discuss the key arguments of the book assigned and analyze its major strengths and weaknesses ***in relation to the course***. Above the essay, you will identify and label the book's thesis statement, with proper citation. Each book analysis is worth 10 points, for a total of 20. You must turn in an analysis of Zaid. You choose the second book. Eligible books are indicated on the syllabus as BA.

Midterm:

The midterm will consist of three essay questions. You will choose two of the questions and for each, write a 5 page (double-spaced) persuasive essay. You will be expected to incorporate the readings assigned during the first half the course into your discussion. You are expected to provide citations for the work to which you refer. Papers will be handed in electronically via D2L. You will have one week to write your exam. Midterm is worth 25 points.

Policy Paper:

This paper will be 10 pages (no more, no less!), double spaced (**not** including bibliographic information). You will choose one of the focus countries (Iraq, Syria, Egypt, or Afghanistan) and write a document that

recommends what the United States (in partnership with NATO or the UN, if you find that appropriate) should do next insofar as statebuilding and foreign policy efforts are concerned. Paper should consist of the following LABELLED sections: an introduction with a clear thesis, modern historical context of the state in question, current status of democracy and statebuilding efforts there, assessment of said state's relationship with the United States, your philosophy on statebuilding, your policy recommendations, and a conclusion. Each section should be clearly labeled. Paper should draw on AT LEAST three of the sources assigned on the syllabus this semester as well as AT LEAST three additional reputable (i.e., no Wikipedia!) sources of your choice. Paper will be handed in electronically during the course's final exam slot. **Failure to turn this paper in will result in failure of the course.** Paper is worth 25 points.

All the other stuff that you really should know:

College level writing

All written assignments should be free from grammatical and mechanical errors. Poor spelling, punctuation, or general messiness DOES figure into my overall evaluation. In other words, **proofread your papers.** It's best to have at least one other person proofread it as well. As upperclassmen, you are expected to have a robust understanding of how to write a college-level paper. In every assignment, you need to pay attention to mechanics, spelling, and grammar as well as content. I will deduct up to 25% for poor grammar, spelling, and mechanics. Any time you refer to a source or use a quotation, be sure to use appropriate citations. I will deduct up to 50% for failing to use citations in **any** assignment, **including exams.** An excellent resource for writers:

<http://www.colorado.edu/history/guidelines/index.html>

Opinions and Ideas

Let me be clear right now that I do not care what position you take in any assignment or discussion. That is, it is not up to me to tell you what to think about state building, democracy in the Middle East, whether and how the United States should be involved in the domestic affairs of the countries under consideration, and so forth. In other words, my job is not to make you think the same way that I do. As a matter of fact, a wide range of opinions is necessary for us to be able to complete our course aims. **What I do require, however, is an opinion – and an opinion that is thoughtful and well sourced.** I also require that you keep your discussion civil, considerate, and informed. The classroom is a forum for a wide variety of ideas, and all should feel welcome to hold forth on their (informed) views. Bullying, intellectual and otherwise, will not be tolerated.

Laptop and other Gadgets policy

In order to keep classroom distractions to a minimum and allow you to immerse yourself fully in the discussions taking place, please note that all electronic equipment should be used solely for taking notes. Since you're all upperclassmen, I expect that you're grownups and thus able to curb your online addictions for two and a half hours a week. If you're not able to do so, please be kind to yourself and others and leave the distractions at home. If I notice that people are texting during class, playing online games, checking out Facebook every five minutes, or whatever else you people can dream up to distract yourself from class discussion, **I will ban the use of laptops and all other gadgets from the classroom,** unless you have a letter from Disability Services that speaks to a need for such a device. Don't make me do that.

Honor Code

All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council (honor@colorado.edu; 303-735-2273). Students who are found to be in violation of the academic integrity policy will be subject to both academic sanctions from the faculty member

and non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). Other information on the Honor Code can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/honor.html> and at <http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/>

I take the issue of academic integrity very seriously, and academic dishonesty will not be tolerated in any way in my classroom. Academic dishonesty includes but is not limited to any of the following transgressions: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, or facilitating any of the above. **ANY INSTANCE OF ACADEMIC DISHONESTY WILL RESULT IN AUTOMATIC FAILURE OF THIS COURSE. No exceptions.**

Disabilities

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit to me a letter from Disability Services **WITHIN THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF CLASS** so that your needs may be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities. (303-492-8671, Willard 322, <http://www.Colorado.EDU/disabilityservices>) If you have a temporary medical condition or injury, see Temporary Medical Conditions: Injuries, Surgeries, and Illnesses guidelines under Quick Links at Disability Services website and discuss your needs with your professor.

Religious Worship

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Please look over the syllabus and alert me to any conflicts due to a religious obligation **within ONE (1) week** of the start of the semester. No exceptions to this policy.

Discrimination

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, color, culture, religion, creed, politics, veteran's status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity and gender expression, age, disability, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. See policies at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html> and at http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student_code

The University of Colorado Boulder (CU-Boulder) is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment. The University of Colorado does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status in admission and access to, and treatment and employment in, its educational programs and activities. (Regent Law, Article 10, amended 11/8/2001). CU-Boulder will not tolerate acts of discrimination or harassment based upon Protected Classes or related retaliation against or by any employee or student. For purposes of this CU-Boulder policy, "Protected Classes" refers to race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, or veteran status. Individuals who believe they have been discriminated against should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Student Conduct (OSC) at 303-492-5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies, and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment can be obtained at <http://www.colorado.edu/odh>

Discussion Schedule:

Assignments indicated for each week are due THAT DAY

Jan. 13

Week 1: Introductions
Sharma and Gupta, selections

Jan. 20

Week 2: The State and Statebuilding: Popular Discourse
Sharma and Gupta, pp. 8-11, 27-29
Fukuyama, Statebuilding: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century (excerpt)
Paris and Sisk, "Managing Contradictions"
Collier, War, Guns and Votes (excerpt)
DUE: DQ1

Jan 27

Week 3: Context: Iraqi History
Marr, Modern History of Iraq (selection)
Shadid, Night Draws Near (selection)
Bush, Decision Points (selection)
DQ1

Feb. 3

Week 4: Case Study: Iraq
Al-Ali, The Struggle for Iraq's Future
DUE: BA #1

Feb. 10

Week 5: The State and Statebuilding: Reflections After Iraq
Dobbins et al., The Beginner's Guide to Nationbuilding (excerpt)
Brahimi, "Statebuilding in Crisis and Postconflict Countries"
Kahler, "Statebuilding After Afghanistan and Iraq"
DQ1

Feb. 17

Week 6: Context: Egypt, The Arab Spring, and the Role of Culture
Sharma and Gupta, Ch.10, 15
Little, American Orientalism (Chapter 5)
Rutherford, "Hybrid Regimes and Arab Democracy"
Lim, "Clicks, Cabs and Coffeehouses"
LAST DQ1

Feb. 24

Week 7: Case Study: Egypt
Watch "The Square" (available on Netflix)
Karl et al., Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution (**BA**)

Mar. 3

Week 8: **NO CLASS**
Due: Midterm (online)

Mar. 10

Week 9: The State and Statebuilding: Power in Society

Sharma and Gupta, Ch. 10

Woodward, "R2P: The Time is Now"

Chandler, Empire in Denial (excerpt)

DQ #2

Mar. 17

Week 10: Context: Syria Then and Now

Belt, "Shadowland"

Rodenbeck, "The Agony of Syria"

Kenner, "Rewriting Syria's Wars"

Remnick, "City of the Lost"

DQ #2

Mar. 24

Week 11: **NO CLASS**

SPRING BREAK

Mar. 31

Week 12: Case Study: Syria

Hokayem, Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant **(BA)**

April 7

Week 13: The State and Statebuilding: Citizens, Ideas and (R)evolution

Anderson, Imagined Communities (selection)

Bayat, Life as Politics (selection)

Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of People and the Territorialization of National Identity"

DQ #2

April 14

Week 14: Context: Afghanistan and Its People

Barfield, A Cultural and Political History of Afghanistan (selection)

Ghani, "How to Rebuild a Broken State"

Stewart, "Afghanistan: The Grim Reality"

DQ #2

April 21

Week 15: Case Study: Afghanistan

Nordberg, The Underground Girls of Kabul **(BA)**

April 28

Week 16: What Next?

Scott, Two Cheers for Anarchism (selection)

Final Policy Paper is Due Online Tuesday, May 5th at 10:00pm
(Blue Plate Special: Earn 2 extra credit points if you turn your final paper in by Sunday at 5:00 pm.)