

Policing & Imprisonment in the Modern Middle East
MES 1235, Section S02

Fall 2018 | Tuesday 4:00–6:30 PM | Sayles 204

Instructor: Alex Winder | email: alex_winder@brown.edu
Office: Watson 322 | Office Hours: Thursday 1:00–3:00 PM

Course Description:

Policing has figured prominently in recent events in the Middle East, from the self-immolation of the Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi after his alleged harassment by police, widely regarded as the catalyst for the so-called Arab Spring, to the rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, an entity that has earned notoriety not only through its battlefield victories, its success in drawing international recruits, and its spectacular destruction of centuries-old historical sites, but also through its brutal enforcement of a particularly draconian “law and order” in areas under its control. Even before these events, repressive regimes in the region—whether colonial, nation-state, or foreign military occupation—relied heavily on police, prisons, and criminal law to maintain power and authority. This course will use policing and repression as a lens through which to view recent uprisings and ongoing conflicts, as well as questions of state and non-state violence that loom large in the region. Major topics around which the course centers are: the role of Islam in the development of law and criminal justice in the modern Middle East; the imposition of European colonial rule and the repression of anti-colonial revolts; the rise of police states in the post-colonial Middle East; the production and maintenance of a gendered social order; non-state and informal mechanisms of maintaining “law and order”; and the role of law and security in the Arab uprisings of this decade and its aftermath.

Course Outcomes & Commitments:

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours per week in class (35 hours total). Required readings for the seminar meetings are expected to take approximately 7 hours per week (98 hours in 14 weeks). Additionally, writing and researching the midterm and final research paper is estimated at a total of approximately 50 hours over the course of the term.

This course is designed to give students the opportunity to:

- Gain a broad understanding of the developing relationship between state and society in the modern Middle East, and the role of law and authority in that relationship.
- Situate the relationship between policing and imprisonment and broader geopolitical developments in the Middle East.
- Understand the conceptualization and practical application of major concepts in modern regional and global history, including: *shari‘a*, colonialism, and the police state.
- Become familiar with debates and discussions within the Middle East about policing, prisons, and state repression.
- Recognize the role of Islam in the establishment and maintenance of different legal orders in the modern Middle East.
- Engage different disciplinary approaches to themes of law, violence, power, and the state.
- Develop a research project and write a paper based on original and secondary research.

Readings:

Key course texts will be: Laleh Khalili & Jillian Schwedler, eds., *Policing & Prisons in the Middle East: Formations of Coercion* (Columbia Univ. Press, 2010) (\$25.56 paper); Rudolph Peters, *Crime & Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory & Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005) (\$35.99 paper, \$28.00 ebook); and either Sinan Antoon, *I'jaam: An Iraqi Rhapsody* (City Lights, 2007) (\$13.95 paper) or Tawfik al-Hakim, *Diary of a Country Prosecutor* (Saqi, 2005) (\$12.95 paper). Additional readings on the syllabus will be provided.

Expenses & Financial Concerns:

Brown University undergraduates with concerns about the non-tuition cost(s) of a course at Brown, including this course, may apply to the Dean of the College Academic Emergency Fund to determine options for financing these costs, while ensuring their privacy. The fund can be found in the Emergency Funds, Curricular & Co-curricular Gap (E-Gap) Funds in UFunds.

Information and procedures are available online at the following link:

www.brown.edu/academics/college/advising/financial-advising/e-gap-funds.

Evaluation:

Students will be evaluated on the basis of a final research paper (40%); one midterm paper (20%); one presentation on the week's readings (20%); and class participation (20%).

- *Research Paper:* Each student will write a research paper of around 20 pages in length on a topic selected in consultation with the instructor. In the weeks prior to the due date of the research paper, students will submit a paper topic with an explanation of its relevance to course themes (10% of the paper grade), an annotated bibliography of literature on the paper topic (20% of the paper grade), and an outline of the research paper (20% of the paper grade).
- *Midterm Paper:* Each student will write a midterm paper of 6–8 pages that will use a work of fiction—either Sinan Antoon's *I'jaam: An Iraqi Rhapsody* or Tawfik al-Hakim's *Diary of a Country Prosecutor*—to examine, analyze, and discuss prominent themes in policing and imprisonment that have been engaged in the course to that point, drawing connections between the chosen fictional work and assigned secondary readings.
- *Presentation:* Every student will make a presentation on the assigned reading once during the course. The presentation should put forward any particularly relevant historical or conceptual context, offer a response to (not a summary of) the readings, and raise questions to guide class conversation. Presentations should be 12–15 minutes long, followed by discussion.
- *Participation:* Please come on time and ready to engage in discussion on readings, bringing relevant questions/comments and connecting them to readings and major course themes.

Attendance:

Attendance and participation are key to the success of individual students and the class as a whole. Failure to come *on time* to all class meetings will result in a lower participation grade.

Plagiarism:

Any work that uses others' ideas, words, research, or images must include proper attribution and documentation. Incidents of plagiarism will be reported to the university administration. Please

refer to the Academic Code (www.brown.edu/academics/college/degree/policies/academic-code) and raise any questions or concerns with the instructor.

Late Assignments:

Please turn in all assignments on time. Late assignments will not be accepted without prior approval from the instructor or under documented emergency circumstances.

Accessibility & Accommodations:

Brown University is committed to full inclusion of all students. Please inform me early in the term if you have a disability or other conditions that might require accommodations or modification of any of these course procedures. You may speak with me after class or during office hours. For more information, please visit the Student and Employee Accessibility Services (SEAS) website at www.brown.edu/campus-life/support/accessibility-services/ or contact SEAS at 401-863-9588 or SEAS@brown.edu. Students in need of short-term academic advice or support can contact one of the deans in the Dean of the College office.

Resources:

- Office Hours: 322 Watson Institute, Thursday 1:00–3:00 PM
- Writing Center: www.brown.edu/academics/college/support/writing-center/
- Academic Support Services: www.brown.edu/academics/college/support/
- Middle East LibGuide: libguides.brown.edu/MES
- Middle East Librarian: Maan Al Sahoui, maan_alsahoui@brown.edu, Rockefeller Library Room 103, 401-863-3394

Course Schedule & Readings:

1. 11 Sep. | Thinking about Police, Prisons, Social Order, and Governance

- Peters, Ch. 1, “Introduction” (pp. 1–5)
- Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2010 [4th ed.]), pp. 3–8
- Michel Foucault, “Security, Territory, Population,” pp. 4–11 (from sentence on p. 4 that begins “Now I would like to begin ...” to the end of the first paragraph on p. 11, which closes with “... the technology of security.”)
- Roger-Pol Droit, “Michel Foucault, on the Role of Prisons,” *New York Times*, 5 Aug. 1975

2. 18 Sep. | Policing & Imprisonment in the Middle East: Introduction & Overview

- Khalili & Schwedler, “Introduction” (pp. 1–37)
- Peters, Ch. 2, “The Classical Doctrine” (pp. 6–68)
- Jill Crystal, “Criminal Justice in the Middle East,” *J. of Criminal Justice* 29 (2001), pp. 469–482

3. 25 Sep. | Criminal Justice under the Ottoman Empire

- Peters, Ch. 3, “The Implementation of Islamic Criminal Law in the Pre-Modern Period: The Ottoman Empire,” pp. 69–102

- Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law & Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Univ. California Press, 2003), Ch. 8 (“Punishment, Violence, and the Court”) pp. 311–348
- Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime & Punishment in Istanbul, 1700–1800* (Univ. of California Press, 2010), Ch. 7 (“Policing, Surveillance, and Social Control”), pp. 125–140, and Ch. 9 (“Ottoman Punishment: From Oars to Prison”), pp. 157–174

4. 2 Oct. | New Modes of Policing & Punishment

- Peters, Ch. 4, “The Eclipse of Islamic Criminal Law” (except 4.2), pp. 103–109, 125–141
- Khaled Fahmy, “The Police & the People in Nineteenth-Century Egypt,” *Die Welt Des Islams* 39, no. 3 (1999), pp. 340–377
- Kent F. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Empire* (Univ. of Edinburgh Press, 2014), Ch. 4 (“The Spatialisation of Incarceration: Reforms, Response, and the Reality of Prison Life”), pp. 111–141
- Liat Kozma, “Wandering About as She Pleases: Prostitutes, Adolescent Girls, and Female Slaves in Cairo’s Public Space, 1850–1882,” *Hawwa: Journal of Women of the Middle East & the Islamic World* 10, no. 3 (2012), pp. 18–36

5. 9 Oct. | Colonial Policing & Prisons: Managing Populations

- Samera Esmeir, “On the Coloniality of Modern Law,” *Critical Analysis of Law* 2, no. 1 (2015), pp. 19–41
- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 1 (Daniel Neep, “Policing the Desert: Coercion, Consent, and the Colonial Order in Syria,” pp. 41–56)
- Anthony Gorman, “Regulation, Reform, and Resistance in the Middle Eastern Prison,” in Frank Dikötter & Ian Brown, eds., *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Cornell Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 95–146
- Norman Bentwich, “The New Criminal Code for Palestine,” *J. of Comp. Legislation & International Law* 20, no. 1 (1938), pp. 71–79

6. 16 Oct. | Toward Decolonization: Policing Dissent & Counterinsurgency

- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 7 (Anthony Gorman, “Confining Political Dissent in Egypt before 1952,” pp. 157–173)
- Laleh Khalili, *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies* (Stanford Univ. Press, 2013), Ch. 1 (“The Forebears: Imperial & Colonial Counterinsurgencies”), pp. 11–43
- Martin Thomas, “The Gendarmerie, Information Collection, and Colonial Violence in French North Africa between the Wars,” *Historical Reflections* 36, no. 2 (2010), pp. 76–96
- Jacob Norris, “Repression & Rebellion: Britain’s Response to the Arab Revolt in Palestine of 1936–39,” *J. of Imp. & Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (Mar. 2008), pp. 25–45
- Gillo Pontecorvo, *The Battle of Algiers* (1966) (film)

7. 23 Oct. | Postcolonial Surveillance, Policing, and Imprisonment

- Peters, selections from Ch. 5, “Islamic Criminal Law Today,” pp. 142–155
- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 4 (Sayres S. Rudy, “Barring the Algerian Subject: Carcerality & Resistance under Market-Statism,” pp. 97–118)

- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 8 (Ilana Feldman, “Observing the Everyday: Policing & the Conditions of Possibility in Gaza, 1948–1967,” pp. 175–190)
- Timothy Mitchell, “The Ear of Authority,” *Middle East Report* 147 (1987), pp. 32–35
- ‘Isam al-Khafaji, “State Terror & the Degradation of Politics in Iraq,” *Middle East Report* (1992), pp. 15–21
- Zakaria Tamer, “A Summary of What Happened to Muhammad al-Mahmoudi” and “The Water’s Crime,” from *The Hedgehog: Modern Arabic Stories* (American Univ. of Cairo Press, 2009), pp. 68–71, 93–96

8. 30 Oct. | Criminal Justice & Cultural Production

- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 11 (Sune Haugbolle, “The Victim’s Tale in Syria: Imprisonment, Individualism, and Liberalism,” pp. 223–240)
- Jonathan Smolin, *Moroccan Noir: Police, Crime, and Politics in Popular Culture* (Indiana Univ. Press, 2013), Introduction and Ch. 3 (“Crime-Page Fiction: Moroccan True Crime & the New Independent Press”), pp. 1–13, 80–113
- Miriam Cooke, “Ghassan al-Jaba’i: Prison Literature in Syria after 1980,” *World Literature Today* 75, no. (Spring 2001), pp. 237–245
- Khaled Hourani, “Draw Me a Duck,” *Third Text* 20, no. 3/4 (May/July 2006), pp. 445–448

* Midterm Paper Due

9. 6 Nov. | Gender & “Custom”

- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 5 (Staci Strobl, “Post-colonial Policing & the ‘Woman’ Question: A History of the Women’s Police Directorate in Bahrain,” pp. 119–135)
- Lama Abu-Odeh, “Crimes of Honor & the Construction of Gender in Arab Societies,” *American J. of Comp. Law* 58, no. 4 (Fall 2010), pp. 911–952
- Sharon D. Lang, “*Sulha* Peacemaking & the Politics of Persuasion,” *J. of Palestine Studies* 31, no. 3 (Spring 2002), pp. 52–66
- Maaïke Voorhoeve, “Informal Transactions with the Police: The Case of Tunisian ‘Sex Crimes,’” *Middle East Law & Governance* 6 (2014), pp. 70–92

* Research Paper Topic Due

10. 13 Nov. | 21st-Century Occupations

- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 2 (Nigel Parsons, “Israeli Biopolitics, Palestinian Policing: Order & Resistance in the Occupied Palestinian Territories,” pp. 57–76)
- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 3 (Laleh Khalili, “Tangled Webs of Coercion: Parastatal Production of Violence in Abu Ghraib,” pp. 77–96)
- Avram Bornstein, “Palestinian Prison Ontologies,” *Dialectical Anthro.* 34, no. 4 (Dec. 2010), pp. 459–472
- Robert M. Perito, *The Iraq Federal Police: U.S. Police Building under Fire* (U.S. Inst. for Peace Special Report, Oct. 2011), pp. 1–15
- Ra’anan Alexandrowicz, *The Law in These Parts* (2012) (film)

11. 20 Nov. | No Class

* Annotated Bibliography for Research Paper Due

12. 27 Nov. | Globalization & Neoliberalism

- Peters, selections from Ch. 5, “Islamic Criminal Law Today,” pp. 174-185
- Laleh Khalili, *Time in the Shadows*, Ch. 4 (“Invisible Prisoners, Proxy-Run Prisons: From Khiyam to Rendition”), pp. 101-138
- Paul Amar, *The Security Archipelago: Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism* (Duke Univ. Press, 2013), part of Intro. (“The Archipelago of New Security-State Uprisings”) and Ch. 2 (“Policing the Perversions of Globalization in Rio de Janeiro and Cairo: Emerging Parastatal Security Regimes Confront Queer Globalisms”), pp. 1-19, 65-98
- Tyler Wall, “Ordinary Emergency: Drones, Police, and Geographies of Legal Terror,” *Antipode* 48, no. 4 (2016), pp. 1122-1139

* Outline for Research Paper Due

13. 4 Dec. | Protest, Uprising, and Aftermath

- Khalili & Schwedler, Ch. 14 (Jillian Schwedler & Sam Fayyaz, “Locating Dissent: Space, Law, and Protest in Jordan,” pp. 279-294)
- Salwa Ismail, “The Egyptian Revolution against the Police,” *Social Research* 79, no. 2 (2012), pp. 435-462
- Elizabeth Day, “The Slap that Sparked a Revolution,” *Observer*, 14 May 2011
- Andrew F. March & Mara Revkin, “Caliphate of Law: ISIS’ Ground Rules,” *Foreign Affairs*, 15 April 2015
- Sudarsan Raghavan, “Inside the Brutal but Bizarrely Bureaucratic World of the Islamic State in Libya,” *Washington Post*, 23 August 2016
- VICE News, *Enforcing Sharia in Raqqa: The Islamic State (Part 3)* [video]

14. 11 Dec. | Reading Week: Meet to Discuss Research Papers

* Research Paper Due: Friday, 16 Dec 2018