

Political Science 362: Politics of Central Asia

Spring 2010

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The death of Turkmenistan's President Saparmurat Niyazov in December 2006 and the ouster of Kyrgyzstan's president Askar Akaev in March 2005 forced the issue of leadership succession in Central Asia from the realm of expert speculation into the domain of interelite struggle. These transfers of power were extraordinary events for the region, where, thanks to restrictions on opposition politics and formal extensions of their rule, presidents typically have remained in office for more than a decade. Yet to what extent can change in leadership improve life for the average Central Asian? To what degree are citizens even connected to their government leaders? This course explores these questions by examining how government efforts to build states, nations, and economies historically and recently have influenced societal institutions, such as Islam, community groups, and gender relations. We will focus on the countries of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.*

Course Materials

During the semester we will read works from different disciplines as well as policy pieces. Political tracts and novels are suggested for further reading. The course also incorporates film clips, slides, regional artifacts, policy simulations, and sessions on research techniques.

Books and Articles: Three books, *Tribal Nation*, *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, and *The Transformation of Central Asia*, may be purchased at the bookstore. The books are also on reserve at Kelvin Smith Library's circulation desk. Required materials for week one will be distributed in class; required materials for subsequent weeks will be available on the course Blackboard site. Paper or electronic copies of readings should be brought to class the days they are assigned.

News: To follow current events in Central Asia, students should consult:

- Eurasianet, <http://www.eurasianet.org/> for news analyses (select "Eurasia Insight") or daily news (select a country for Recent Headlines)
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, http://www.rferl.org/specials/central_asia/, for news analyses and reports.

Blackboard: Students will post questions on Blackboard, as later described. To post a question, go to the Case web site, select Academics, choose Computing, and select Blackboard. Select Course Catalog, College of Arts & Sciences, POSC. Login next to POSC 362. Choose Discussion Board. Doubleclick on the appropriate date and then click on the +Thread icon to add your questions. Additional assistance is available through Blackboard FAQ on the first site.

* This paragraph draws heavily from Kelly M. McMann, "New Presidents in Central Asia: Will Life Improve for the Average Person?" *NewsNet*, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (May 2007).

Course Requirements

Participation: The focus of each class will be on discussion. Students should craft two analytical questions based on each week's readings and post them on the course Blackboard site by 4 pm Sunday prior to class meetings during Parts I and II of the course. Students should read their classmates' questions before the start of class. The instructor will select some questions for class discussion, and students are welcome to raise questions in class. Students are expected to actively participate in class discussion and to thoughtfully evaluate their classmates' work (described below). Students are strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings in order to be prepared to integrate and critique the materials in class. Paper or electronic copies of readings should be brought to class the days they are assigned. Because participation is critical to understanding the material, students are expected to attend all classes. Except under extraordinary circumstances, absenteeism will negatively affect students' final grades.

Commentaries: In addition to reading course materials, posting questions, and participating in class, students will write a commentary on the readings for two weeks in Part I and one week in Part II. No commentaries will be accepted for Part III or Part IV. The purpose of the commentaries is to help students understand, critique, and integrate the readings and prepare to pose questions for discussion in class. Students should not summarize the readings but should instead use the course materials to answer their own questions and explore their own arguments. The strongest papers typically introduce a question or argument in the first paragraph and then use evidence from the readings throughout the remainder of the paper to answer the question or defend the argument. They also usually incorporate ideas from each reading for that week and perhaps draw on ideas from previous readings as well. The quality of the commentaries should improve throughout the semester. For the commentaries informal citations—phrases like “as Northrop argues”—are acceptable. Commentaries should be between two and two and a half pages double-spaced. They must be submitted at the beginning of the class the analyzed materials are assigned. Grading of the responses will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of writing.

Research Paper: Students will also write a research paper that further explores an idea raised in the readings or in class. The paper should offer an analysis, not a summary of research materials, and should otherwise meet the criteria set by the class. To facilitate their completion, each student will write the following by the designated date. With the exception of the research paper itself, each of the following should be posted on the class Blackboard site and emailed to the instructor by the start of class on the designated day. A paper copy of the research paper should be brought to class on the designated day. Bibliographies, works cited, and citations should use a consistent format. Footnotes or parenthetical citations are appropriate for citing works. For formatting, see *The Chicago Manual of Style* (under Z253.C57 at Kelvin Reference), www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/, or a similar guide.

- First Version of Abstract (February 10)—In one paragraph the student should describe the focus of the paper, stated as a research question or an argument. Students are encouraged to discuss their topic with the instructor in advance. Grading will be based on whether such an abstract is submitted.
- First Version of the Bibliography (March 1)—This bibliography should include all the materials that you have reviewed and expect to be useful to your paper. Grading will take into account the variety, relevance, and number of sources.
- First Version on Methods Section (March 15)—In one double-spaced page, the student should state the paper's argument in a sentence and then describe the methods, specifically

what design and data will illustrate the argument. Grading will be based on the extent to which the methods can support the argument and the clarity of the description.

- First Version of the Argument Section (March 29)— In two double-spaced pages, the student should describe the argument and subarguments of the paper. Grading will be based on the soundness and clarity of the argument and subarguments.
- First Version of the Evidence Section (April 5)— In approximately 15 double-spaced pages, the student should present the evidence for the argument and each subargument. The first paragraph of this version should describe the argument and subarguments to serve as a roadmap for the readers. Grading will be based on the extent to which the evidence is shown to support the argument and subarguments and the section is well-organized and clearly written.
- Comments—(March 3, March 17, March 31, April 7)— Each student will provide written and oral comments on three (or sometimes four) students' bibliographies, and methods, argument, and evidence sections based on criteria established by the class. Written comments should be approximately three-quarters of a double-spaced page long. Grading will be based on whether such written comments are submitted.
- Research Paper (April 21)—The entire paper will include a title page with an abstract describing in a paragraph the argument, the importance of the argument, and the methods; the body of the paper including an introduction and revised methods, argument, and evidence sections, and a conclusion; and a list of works cited. The paper should be 22-24 double-spaced pages and is due in class April 21. Grading will be based on the extent to which the student presents an argument, supports it with evidence, writes in a clear and engaging manner, and improves upon the first versions of sections.

All written work should be carefully structured and grammatically correct. To avoid plagiarism, students should review "Plagiarism: What It is and How to Recognize and Avoid It," distributed in class. Cases of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be investigated by university judicial bodies.

Blackboard discussion questions, class participation, and class attendance will constitute 5 percent of the course grade, the weekly commentaries will count for a total of 20 percent, the abstract 5 percent, the bibliography 5 percent, the methods section 5 percent, the argument section 10 percent, the evidence section 10 percent, and the research paper for 40 percent. Students will lose a half of a grade on an assignment for each day it is late. Not completing an assignment will negatively affect a student's final grade.

Course Schedule and Readings

Day 1 (January 11): Introduction to Central Asia and the Course

Part I: Building States, Nations, and Economies

Week 1 (January 13): State Formation—Tribes, Khanates, and Governor Generalships

Elizabeth E. Bacon. *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980. “Preface,” “The Land and the People,” “Before the Conquest: The Pastoral Nomads,” “Traditional Oasis Culture,” xxxv-91. (Distributed in class January 11.)

NO CLASS January 18

Week 2 (January 20): Nation-building—Manas and Timur Take Center Stage

Adrienne Lynn Edgar. *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. “Assembling the Nation: The Creation of a Turkmen National Republic,” “Ethnic Preferences and Ethnic Conflict: The Rise of a Turkmen National Elite,” “Helpers, Not Nannies: Moscow and the Turkmen Communist Party [part],” “Dueling Dialects: The Creation of a Turkmen Language,” “A Nation Divided: Class Struggle and the Assault on ‘Tribalism,’” “Cotton and Collectivization: Rural Resistance in Soviet Turkmenistan,” “From Soviet Republic to Independent Nation-State,” 41-109, 124-220, 261-265.

SELECT one of the following two for an account of contemporary nationalism (or read both if you have time):

Laura Adams. “Cultural Elites in Uzbekistan: Ideological Production and the State.” In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 93-119. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Bhavna Dave. “A Shrinking Reach of the State? Language Policy and Implementation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.” In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 120-155. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

SUGGESTED:

Sharof Rashidov. *The Banner of Friendship*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969. A political piece by one of the former first party secretaries of Soviet Uzbekistan. Available from instructor.

Chingiz Aitmatov. *The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983. A novel by a Kyrgyz author set in Soviet Kazakhstan. Helpful and enjoyable to read anytime during the semester. On reserve.

Part I: Building States, Nations, and Economies [cont.]

Week 3 (January 25, 27): National Politics—Divergent Paths

Madeleine Reeves. "Travels in the Margins of the State: Everyday Geography in the Ferghana Valley Borderlands." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 281-300. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

International Crisis Group. *Turkmenistan after Niyazov*. International Crisis Group. (February 12, 2007), 1-15.

International Crisis Group. *Kyrgyzstan: A Deceptive Calm*. International Crisis Group. (August 14, 2008), 1-15.

International Crisis Group. *Tajikistan: On the Road to Failure*. International Crisis Group. (February 12, 2009), 1-19.

International Crisis Group. *Uzbekistan: Stagnation and Uncertainty*. International Crisis Group. (August 22, 2007), 1-15.

Martha Brill Olcott. *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002. "Trying Pluralism and Abandoning It," 87-127.

SELECT ONE of the following two for a perspective on subnational politics (or read both if you have time):

Alisher Ilkhamov. "The Limits of Centralization: Regional Challenges in Uzbekistan." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 159-181. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Pauline Jones Luong. "Economic 'Decentralization' in Kazakhstan: Causes and Consequences." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 182-210. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

SUGGESTED: Islam Karimov. *Uzbekistan: The Road of Independence and Progress*. Tashkent: Uzbekiston, 1992. A political tract by the current president of Uzbekistan. Available from instructor.

Part I: Building States, Nations, and Economies [cont.]

Week 4 (February 1, 3): Economic Legacies and Change—A Stakhanovite on the Silk Road to Capitalism

Gregory Gleason. *Markets and Politics in Central Asia: Structural Reform and Political Change*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Selections from “Kazakhstan and Globalization,” “Kyrgyzstan and the Reform Path,” “Civil War and Reconstruction in Tajikistan,” “Petro-dollars and ‘Positive Neutrality’ in Turkmenistan,” “Economic Self-Reliance and the ‘Uzbek Path,’” 37-52, 65-74, 82-92, 99-110, 117-127.

International Crisis Group. *Central Asia: Migrants and the Economic Crisis*. International Crisis Group. (January 5, 2010), 1-19.

Kelly M. McMann. “The Shrinking of the Welfare State: Central Asians’ Assessments of Soviet and Post-Soviet Governance.” In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 233-247. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

SELECT ONE of the following two (or read both if you have time):

International Crisis Group. *Central Asia’s Energy Risks*. International Crisis Group. (May 24, 2007), 1-3, 6-42.

International Crisis Group. *The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia’s Destructive Monoculture*. International Crisis Group. (February 28, 2005), 1-30.

SUGGESTED: Sharaf Rashidov. *The Victors*. Translated by Olga Shartse. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958. A novel with economic and environmental themes by one of the first party secretaries of Soviet Uzbekistan. Available from instructor.

Part II: Societal Forces

Week 5 (February 8, 10): Islam—Beaded Bracelets and Shariat

International Crisis Group. *Central Asia: Islam and the State*. International Crisis Group. (July 10, 2003).

International Crisis Group. *Central Asia: Islamists in Prison*. International Crisis Group. (December 15, 2009).

Sean R. Roberts. "Everyday Negotiations of Islam in Central Asia: Practicing Religion in the Uyghur Neighborhood of *Zarya Vostoka* in Almaty, Kazakhstan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 339-354. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

David M. Abramson and Elyor E. Karimov. "Sacred Sites, Profane Ideologies: Religious Pilgrimage and the Uzbek State." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 319-338. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Eric M. McGlinchey. "Divided Faith: Trapped between State and Islam in Uzbekistan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 305-318. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

DUE February 10: First Version of Abstract.

Week 6 (February 15, 17): Community—NGOs, Clans, and Mahallas

Kelly M. McMann. "The Civic Realm in Kyrgyzstan: Soviet Economic Legacies and Activists' Expectations." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 213-245. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Kelly M. McMann. "Market Reform as a Stimulus to Particularistic Politics," *Comparative Political Studies*, 42, 7 (July 2009), 971-994.

Kathleen R. Kuehnast and Nora Dudwick. *Better a Hundred Friends Than a Hundred Rubles? Social Networks in Transition—The Kyrgyz Republic*, World Bank Working Paper No. 39. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2004. 7-29, 33-39.

Marianne Ruth Kamp. "Between Women and the State: Mahalla Committees and Social Welfare in Uzbekistan." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 29-58. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Part II: Societal Forces [cont.]

Week 7 (February 22, February 24): "Unveiling" and "Reveiling"

Douglas Northrop. "The Limits of Liberation: Gender, Revolution, and the Veil in Everyday Life in Soviet Uzbekistan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 89-102. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Marianne Kamp. "The Wedding Feast: Living the New Uzbek Life in the 1930s." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 103-114. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Cynthia Werner. "Women, Marriage, and the Nation-State: The Rise of Nonconsensual Bride Kidnapping in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 59-89. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

SELECT one of the following two works (or read both if you have time):

Meltem Sancak and Peter Finke. "Konstitutsiya Buzildi! Gender Relations in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 160-177. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Greta Uehling. "Dinner with Akhmet." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 127-140. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Part III: Research Paper Seminars and Workshops

Week 8 (March 1, 3): Methods Seminar and Bibliography Workshop

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE March 1: First Version of Bibliography

DUE March 3: Comments on Designated Students' First Version of Bibliography

NO CLASS March 8, 10

Week 9 (March 15, 17): Paper Structure Seminar and Methods Workshop

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE March 15: First Version of Methods Section

DUE March 17: Comments on Designated Students' First Version of Methods Section

Week 10 (March 22, March 24): Individual Consultations

Students will meet individually with the instructor at an agreed upon time. The class will not meet. There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

Week 11 (March 29, March 31): Trouble-Shooting Seminar and Argument Workshop

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE March 29: First Version of Argument Section

DUE March 31: Comments on Designated Students' First Version of Argument Section

Week 12 (April 5, 7): Abstract-Writing Seminar and Evidence Workshop

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE April 5: First Version of Evidence Section

DUE April 7: Comments on Designated Students' First Version of Evidence Section

Week 13 (April 12, 14): Individual Consultations

Students will meet individually with the instructor at an agreed upon time. The class will not meet. There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

NO CLASS April 19

Part IV: Conclusion

Final Day (April 21): Central Asia—State-Society Relations

For this day students are expected to review their notes and be prepared to offer generalizations about connections between leaders and citizens of Central Asia. There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE April 21: One paper copy of research paper

NO CLASS April 26