



Institute of African Studies Course Outline

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| COURSE: | North Africa AFRI 2004A |
| TERM: | Winter 2023 |
| PRECLUSIONS: | AFRI 1001 or AFRI 1002 or permission of the Institute of African Studies. |
| CLASS: | Day & Time: Thursday: 2:35 pm – 5:25 pm Room: Paterson Hall 133 |
| INSTRUCTOR: | Mohamed Ali |
| CONTACT: | Office Hrs.: Fridays 10:00 am – 11:00 am appointment by email Building: Dunton Tower Room No: 1709 Email: Mohamed.Ali@carleton.ca |

Teaching Assistants

Course Description: The course examines the economic, social, and political challenges facing Egypt and Maghreb countries of North Africa today, placing them in historical and global perspective. This region, made up of Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Western Sahara.

The course aims to give a thorough introduction to modern North African societies and politics. It will give students an understanding of the complex historical background to contemporary crises and conflicts in North Africa. Situated between Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, the North African nations constitute a diverse region united by Amazigh (Berber) heritage, Islam and Arabic language, and European colonialism.

The course is structured in six parts, the key themes explored during the terms:

Section one: will constitute of a brief review of the region's recent political history, concentrating on colonialism, the impact of colonialism and the types of states created in the wake of North African independence movements.

Section two: will look at the political regimes that were established in the North African states after independence, examining how they were constituted, and which groups and individuals assumed power in the first few decades after independence.

Section three we will investigate the role played by three key actors in the region: the military, political parties and Islamist movements that have strongly influenced the way politics have developed within North Africa region.

Section four since the North African independence did not lead to effective governance, nor to economic development. We will take a close look at the origins and consequences of the North African democratization attempts in early 1990 and thereafter and the impact of Structural Adjustment Programs.

Section five we will provide an overview of the political developments of the North African nations and an in-depth look at the causes and consequences of the 'Arab Spring'. This was unprecedented popular demonstrations in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya which led to the overthrow of autocratic rulers in North Africa. We will look into how the protesters were of different ages, genders and trends. Social media and communication technologies proved to be a new and powerful political tool for the young protesters. These mass protests demanding democracy, transparency and social justice did not lead to a domino effect in rest of Africa and the Middle East. Instead, the popular uprising created three different types of responses-revolution and regime change (Egypt and Tunisia are class-based societies); regime rejection and civil war (Libya is a clan-based society) and regime accommodation (Algeria, Morocco). With an understanding of the political background and the political forces in operation we will examine the causes of the conflicts in North Africa and the prospects of democratic governance.

Section six we will look into contemporary issues in North Africa countries and their challenges including issues of migration, civil war, political Islam, the Western Sahara and trade relations with Europe.

A broad range of topics will be considered, and class discussion will be predicated on the student having read the assigned material for the week, Films and videos will be used whenever appropriate to provide you images of Africa: the environment, people, and cultures.

The structure of the course rests on the following format: lectures, which provide overviews of broad themes and periods: the readings which provide detail and texture to the themes and periods covered in the lecture, and the class discussions which give you the opportunity to ask questions about aspects of the readings and lectures that are either confuse or inspire your interest.

Required Texts:

Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., **Modern Egypt: The Formation of a Nation**

Johon Ruedy, **Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation**

Firoze Manji and Sokari Ekin(ed.), **African Awakening: The Emerging Revolutions**

All required texts are available for purchase at the **Carleton Bookstore**.

The following recommended Texts (which are also available through ARES)

Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, **Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghrib: History, Culture, and Politics** (on ARES)

Afaf Lutifi Al--Sayyid Marsot, **Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to the Present** (on ARES)

Toyin Falola, **Africa Volume 3: Colonial Africa,1885-1939** (on ARES)

David Birmingham, **The decolonization of Africa** (on ARES)

Michael, J. Willis, **Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring** (on ARES)

Kevin Shillington, **History of Africa** (on ARES)

Grading Method

Your grade in class will be computed in the following manner:

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| participation | 10% of the final exam |
| Midterm | 35% of the final exam |
| Research topic | 10% of the final exam |
| Final Exam | 45% of the final exam |

COURSE REQUIREMENT

1. Short essay (5 pages)

Selected research topics must relate to the themes of the course and **must have a minimum of 3 scholarly and 3 articles, the essay should be typed (double spaced)** including a title page and numbered pages. The text should include proper footnotes and relevant citations and a full bibliography of the sources included using the MLA style. **Two copies of research papers should be handed** if you wish one returned. **Final research papers are due on March 30.**

Late papers will be penalized at 3% per day. Students should **contact me** if they are **late to submit** their research papers due to a documented illness or self-declaration for COVID related illness.

2. Examinations

a) There will be a midterm exam (in class). The questions will come from the readings, assignments, and lectures.

b) **A three-hour final exam** based on the work of the entire term. The final exam will be scheduled in the formal examination period.

3. Research paper (8-10 pages)

Selected research topics must relate to the themes of the course and **must have the Instructor's approval**. Using a minimum of 4 scholarly books and 3 articles, write an 8-10 page typed (double-spaced) paper investigating the historical origins of the Arab Spring in North Africa. It should include a title page, page numbers. The text should include proper footnotes and relevant citations and a full bibliography of the sources included. **Two copies** of research papers should be handed if you wish one returned. **Late papers will be penalized at 3% per day**. Papers should be delivered to me in **hard copy**.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 & 2

Jan. 12-19 North Africa in World History

North Africa at the Time of the European Invasion
-Introduction to Modern Egypt

Egypt experienced four radically different forms of political, social, economic transformations as it shifted from colonialism to liberalism, Arab socialism, and Authoritarian capitalism. In this session we will critically examine the beginning of the state system, 1805-1922.

Readings: Goldschmidt, Introduction and Chs.1-5

Morsot, The Beginning of the state system and the liberal experiment,
pp.65-126.

Hopkins, A.G. 'Victorians and Africa: A Consideration of the Occupation of Egypt'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 13 (1977):14-39.

Cain, p.j (2006)'Character and Imperialism: the British financial administration of Egypt, 1878-1914; *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*,34:2,177-200.

Mowat, R.C. 'From Liberalism to Imperialism: the case of Egypt,1875-1887'. *Historical Journal* 16(1973):109-24.

WEEK 3 & 4

Jan.26 - Feb.2 Europe and The Maghreb

In this session we will have a brief review of the recent political history, concentrating on colonialism, resistance and the types of states created on the wake of the Maghreb independence movements.

Colonialism anticolonial nationalism French North Africa

-The French in north Africa and Algerian resistance

Readings: Ali Abdullatif Ahmida (Ed.). "Introduction," in **Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghrib: History, Culture, Politics**, pp.1-10.

Ruedy, Introduction and Chs.3-6

James McCDougall, 'Savage Wars' codes of violence in Algeria 1830s-1990s', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.26 No.1(2005), pp.117-131.

Morocco Libya and Tunisia at the time of European invasion
Readings: Toyin Falola, **Colonial Africa, 1885-1939**, Ch.21.

North Africa between the wars; the high tide of colonial rule
Nationalism and self-government in north Africa
-The Impact of the Second World on North Africa

Research topics will be assigned on (Feb.2)

**WEEK 5 & 6 Nationalism and self-government in northern Africa
The impact of the Second World War**

Feb .9-16

Readings: Goldschmit, Chs.8-10
Marsot, The Nasser years, pp.127-155.
Birmingham, pp.1-23.
Ruedy, Chs. 6-7.

Midterm examination (Feb.16)

Winter Break Feb.20-24

WEEK 8 & 9

Mar.2-9 Post-Independence State-Building

Readings: -State, Democracy and Development
From Sadat To Mubarak 1970 to the present day
Willis, pp.9-79
Ruedy, Chs.8-9
Bates, Robert H. 2010."Democracy in Africa: A Very Short History."
Social Research 77, no 4:1133-1148.

WEEK 10 & 11 The Collapse of multi-party democracy, the rise of authoritarian regimes, military coups, and the development of underdevelopment

Mar.16-23 Military and Political Parties

Readings: Willis, pp.81-153.
Willis, Michael,2002a,"Political Parties in the Maghrib: Ideology and Identification. A suggested Typology." *Journal of North African Studies* 7 (3):1-28.

Azzedine Layachi, 'Reform and the Politics of Inclusion in the Maghrib,' *Journal of North African Studies*, 5, no.3 (2000), 18, Payne, 'Economic Crisis,' 139.

Martin, Guy.2011."Revisiting Fanon, From Theory and Practice: Democracy and Development in Africa." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 4,no.7:24:38.

Le VAN, ACARL.2011."Power Sharing and Inclusive Politics in Africa Uncertain Democracies." *Governance* 24,no.1:31-53.

Abdellatif Moutadayene, "Economic Crises and Democratization in Morocco,' *Journal of North African Studies*, 6, no.3(2001)78.

Rafael Bustos: Economic Liberalization and Political Change in Algeria: Theory and Practice (1988-92),'*Mediterranean Politics*, 8, no.1 (2003),9; "Doctrinaire Economics and Political Opportunism. Islamist Movements

Readings: Willis, pp.155-201.

Michael J. Willis, "Algerian Terrorism: Domestic Origins and International links,' *South African Journal of International Affairs*,10,2(Winter/Spring 2003), 72-4.

Research paper will be due (March 23)

WEEK 12 CONTEMPORARY NORTH AFRICA

Democratic Progress in the 1990's

Mar. 30

Readings: Shillington, pp.458-464. (on reserve)

Marks, Jon.2009."Nationalist policy-making and crony capitalism in the Maghreb: the old economies hinder the new," *International Affairs* 85, no.5:951-962.

Selassie, Bereket Habte,2011."Democracy and Peace in the Age of Globalization: Old Problems, New Challenges for Africa." *African Review* 54, no.1:19-31.

Charrad, Mounira. "Policy Shifts: State, Islam, and Gender in Tunisia,1930-1990s" *Social Politics* 4.2(1997),284-319.

Entelis, Jhon P. "The Democratic Imperative vs the Authoritarian Impulse: The Maghrib state Between Transition and Terrorism." *Middle East Journal* 59.4(2005):537-58.

North Africa Arab Spring

Readings: Manji and Sokari, *African Awakening*, Ch.1.

Bond, Patrick. "Neoliberal threats to North Africa" in *African Awakening*.Ch30.

Al-Amin, Esam, "Tunisia: The fall of the West's little dictator" in *African Awakening*, Ch.4.

Campbell, Horace, "Tunisia's revolution: self-organization for self-emancipation" in *African Awakening*, Ch.6.

Campbell, Horace, "Tunisia and Egypt: revolutions without self-proclaimed revolutions" in *African Awakening*, Ch8.

Gibson, Nigel, "Egypt and the revolution in our minds" in African Awakening, Ch.11
Naib, Fatma, "Egypt: women of the revolution" in Africa Awakening, Ch.12
Mamdani, Mahmood, "An African reflection on Tahrir Square, Ch.25.
Hanieh, Adam, "International institutions and Egypt" in African Awakening.Ch.30

WEEK 13

April 6

Mamdani, Mahmood, "Libya: behind the politics of Humanitarian intervention" in African Awakening, Ch.19.

Pougala, Jean-Paul, 'The lies behind the West's war on Libya" in African Awakening, Ch21.

Tandom, Yash, 'Whose dictator is Qaddafi?" in African Awakening, Ch.24.

Tandom, Yash, "International neurosis and the dangers of humanitarian intervention" in African Awakening. Ch28

Amin, Samir. "Arab springtime" in African Awakening.Ch.31.

Mesdoua, Imad, "North African dispatches: why Algeria is different: in African Awakening", Ch17.

Ghettas, Lakkar. "unrest in Algeria: the widow is closing fast" in African Awakening.Ch.23.

Isidoros, Isidoros, "Awakening protests in Morocco and Western Sahara", in African Awakening. Ch.16.

al-Anani, Khalil, and Malik, Mazlee, "Pious Way to Politics, The Rise of Political Salafism in Post-Mubarak Egypt' Digest of the Middle East Studies,22,1(2013), pp.57-73.

Anderson, Lisa. "Demystifying the Arab Spring, Parsing the Differences between Tunisia Egypt, and Libya." *Foreign Affairs*,90.3(May/June 2011): 2-7.

Review

Three-hour final exam-April 15-27 (TBA)

Your Instructor

Mohamed Nuuh Ali, Ph.D. University of California, Los Angeles. Formerly Dean of College of Education, Lafole and Professor of African History, Somali National University.

REGULATIONS COMMON TO ALL AFRICAN STUDIES COURSES

COPIES OF WRITTEN WORK SUBMITTED

Always retain for yourself a copy of all essays, term papers, written assignments or take-home tests submitted in your courses.

PLAGIARISM

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own.*" This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

Statement on Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Statement on Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal

preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: 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).

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

GRADING SYSTEM

Letter grades assigned in this course will have the following percentage equivalents:

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| A+ = 90-100 (12) | B = 73-76 (8) | C - = 60-62 (4) | F = 0-49 (0) – Failure: no academic credit |
| A = 85-89 (11) | B - = 70-72 (7) | D+ = 57-59 (3) | |
| A - = 80-84 (10) | C+ = 67-69 (6) | D = 53-56 (2) | |
| B+ = 77-79 (9) | C = 63-66 (5) | D - = 50-52 (1) | |

The following additional final course grades may be assigned by instructors:

DEF Official deferral of final exam (see "Petitions to Defer")

GNA Grade not available. This is used when there is an allegation of an academic offence. The notation is replaced with the appropriate grade for the course as soon as it is available.

IP In Progress – a notation (IP) assigned to a course by a faculty member when: At the undergraduate level, an undergraduate thesis or course has not been completed by the end of the period of registration.

WDN Withdrawn. No academic credit, no impact on the CGPA. WDN is a permanent notation that appears on the official transcript for students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term (noted in the Academic Year section of the Calendar each term). Students may withdraw on or before the last day of classes.

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

January 20, 2023: Last day to withdraw from early winter courses with a full fee adjustment. Withdrawals after this date will result in a permanent notation of WDN on the official transcript.

April 12, 2023: Last day of full winter, late winter, and fall/winter classes.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control or whose performance on an examination has been impaired by such circumstances may apply within five working days to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully and specifically supported by a medical certificate or other relevant documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered.

CONTACTS (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

- Institute of African Studies african_studies@carleton.ca
- Registrar's Office (3500) registrar@carleton.ca
- Academic Advising Centre academicadvising@carleton.ca
- Paul Menton Centre (6608) pmc@carleton.ca
- Centre for Student Academic Support – Study Skills, Writing Tutorials, Bounce Back csas@carleton.ca

Application for Graduation Deadlines

- Spring Graduation (June): April 1
- Fall Graduation (November): September 1
- Winter Graduation (February): December 1