

# POLS 310: Political Systems of the Maghreb Syllabus

**Credit Hours:** 3 credits

Program Location: Rabat, Morocco

Name of Instructor: Course Hours: Office Hours:

**Contact Information:** 

## **Course Description:**

This course is an overview of Maghrebi politics with a focus on the political dynamics and systems of post-independence Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania. It begins with the historical background of the region focusing on the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Then it moves on to an outline of the general conditions that shape the formation of modern Maghrebi states: colonial and international interests, regional geopolitics, anti-colonialism and the impact of Arab nationalism, cultural factors, the rise of Islamism and the Arab Springs. Case studies of Maghrebi political systems will create a comparative perspective with other states in the Middle East and North Africa region. Following this introductory and comparative look, the course will focus on the Moroccan political system from the 1950s to the present. In a historical perspective, this part will investigate the evolution of the kingdom from the authoritarianism of the "years of lead" to a relative democracy at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This course will examine also the interplay of the monarchy, the political parties, civil society organizations and the Islamist movements.

#### Learning outcomes for the course

By the completion of this course, students will be able to:

- Explain the French and Spanish colonial experiences in the Maghreb.
- Describe how the Moroccan monarchial system functions.
- Analyze the dynamics of politics, identities, cultures, and religions in the Maghreb.
- Position the Maghreb political systems in their Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and African contexts
- Explain the formation of Maghreb states from colonialism until the Arab spring
- Describe the impact of North African history on current events in the region.

## Knowledge

This course is designed to assist students to acquire and demonstrate knowledge about:

- North African politics and history.
- Different political theories about North African societies.
- Basic concepts that have shaped the history and politics of North African societies and that are important for understanding the current problems these societies confront.
- The economic conditions of North African societies.

Governments, political parties and civil society organizations in the region.

## Skills

This course is designed to assist students in acquiring or enhancing the following skills:

- Understanding the Political Formations and its link to the weight of history and colonialism of each country in the Maghreb.
- Critically analyze concepts and theories that molded politics in the Maghreb.
- Analytically examine the political actors in the Maghreb (political Parties, Civil Society Organizations, Labor Unions and Social Movements)
- Discuss and analyze modern political systems in the Maghreb from independence to the Arab Spring.

## **Attitudes**

This course is designed to encourage development of the following attitudes:

- Appreciating the complexity of the political systems in the Maghreb, in the context of postcolonial studies;
- Individual and critical positions towards theories and case studies in the former colonized countries and states of the Maghreb;
- Appreciation for the development and the renewal of knowledge and studies after post-cold war transitions in the Maghreb;
- Appreciation of the dynamics between state and civil society in the Maghreb.

# **Required Reading**

- 1) Textbook(s) (all of these are available in AMIDEAST Library)
  - Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernandez. North Africa: Politics, Region, And The Limits Of Transformation. Routledge, 2008.
  - Michael J. Willis. Politics and Power in The Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco From Independence to the Arab Spring. Columbia University Press, 2012.
  - Yahia H. Zoubir and Gregory White. North African Politics: Change and Continuity. Routledge, 2016.
- 2) Other readings (these are the weekly readings to be covered; all Available in Moodle)
  - **Lisa Anderson,** "The State in the Middle East and North Africa". <u>Comparative Politics</u> (October 1987). <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/421917.pdf">http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/421917.pdf</a>
  - **E. Hermassi**, "Political Tradition of the Maghreb." 1973, pp. 207-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024116
  - John Waterbury, "The Makhzen: A Stable System of Violence." <u>The Commander of the Faithful:</u> the Moroccan Political Elite, A study of Segmented Politics. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. 1970. 15-32.
  - **Abdellah Hammoudi,** "Foundations of Monarchical Authority and Forms of Exercise of power: Toward a Redefinition of the Moroccan Political System." <u>Master and Disciple: The Cultural</u> Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism. The University of Chicago Press. 1997. 11-43.
  - Azzedine Layachi., "Islam and Politics in North Africa". The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics. John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, (eds.)
  - Clement Henry Moore, "Political Parties". <u>Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa.</u>
    William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb. Westview Press, USA. 1993. 42-67.

- Fadma Ait Mouss, "The Moroccan Nationalist Movement: From Local to National Networks." The Journal of North African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 5, 737-752.
- M. S. Tahi, "Algeria Democratization Process: A Frustrated Hope", <u>Third World Quarterly</u>, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Jun. 1995), 197-220. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993305">http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993305</a>
- **L. Sadiki,** "Bin Ali's Tunisia: Democracy by Non-Democratic Means", <u>British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</u>, Vol. 29, No. 1 (May 2002), 57-78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/826148
- Susan Waltz, "The Politics of Human Rights in the Maghreb." Islam, Democracy, and the State in North Africa. John Entelis (ed). Indiana University Press. 1997. 75-92.
- **P. Moore,** "The International Context of Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World", Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1994), 43-67.
- **F. Cavatorta**, "Civil Society Islamism and Democratization. The Case of Morocco" <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876155">http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876155</a>
- **G. Joffe,** "Morocco: Monarchy and Legitimacy and Succession". http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992811
- Matt Buelhler, "Labour Demands, Regimes Concessions: Moroccan Unions and The Arab and The Arab Uprising". <u>British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</u>. Vol.42, No. 1, 2015, 88-103.
- **J. S. Sater,** "The Dynamics of State and Civil Society in Morocco". <u>The Journal of North African</u> Studies, Vol 7, Issue 3, 2002.
- **James Sater**, "Civil society in the Maghreb: Lessons from the Arab Spring." The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa. Springer, 2014, 95-107.
- **Mohamed El Hachimi,** "Democratization as a learning Process in Morocco". <u>The Journal of North African Studies</u>. Volume 20, Issue 5, 2015, 754-769.
- M. Ottaway and M. Riley, 2006. "Morocco: From top-down reform to democratic transition?" Carnegie Papers, no. 71, September.
- Taieb Belghazi and Abdelhay Moudden. "Ihbat: disillusionment and the Arab Spring in Morocco", <u>Journal of North African Studies</u>, 2015. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1084097.
- Raymond Hinnebusch. "Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique," <u>Democratization</u>, 2006, 13:3, 373-395, DOI: 10.1080/13510340600579243
- Stuart Schaar and Mohsine El Ahmadi: *The Birth of the Arab Citizen and the Changing Middle East*, Interlink Publications, and Northampton, MA, USA, 2016.
- Mohsine El Ahmadi and A. Radi, "Arab Springs and Human Rights Issues, *European Year book on Human Rights*, Graz, Austria, Vol. 12, 2012.

## **Assessment Overview**

Description	Weight	Due Date
Engagement	10%	Continuous + weekly reading assignments
Presentations	10%	Each student offers one presentation or two
		depending on the size of the class.
Midterm Exam	25%	TBD
End of Term Paper	25%	TBD
Final Exam	30%	TBD

Students are expected to attend all regularly scheduled classes and come prepared to participate fully in class activities. Students are further expected to be on time for all classes. Arriving late for class is disrespectful of both the instructor and fellow students.

# Overview of Attendance Policy

In courses that meet once a week students are permitted one unexcused absence; in courses that meet twice a week students are permitted two unexcused absences; in courses that meet three or more times a week students are permitted three unexcused absences. If a student has more than the permitted number of unexcused absences his/her grade for the course will be lowered by one "mark" for each additional unexcused absence.

#### In other words,

- In a course that meets once a week only one unexcused absence is allowed. After two unexcused absences an A becomes an A-; after three an A becomes a B+; after four an A becomes a B, etc.
- In a course that meets twice a week, only two unexcused absences are allowed. After three unexcused absences an A becomes an A-; after four an A becomes a B+; after five an A becomes a B, etc.
- In courses that meet three or more times a week, only three unexcused absences are allowed. After four unexcused absences an A becomes an A-; after five an A becomes a B+; after six an A becomes a B, etc.

An unexcused absence is one not caused by illness or otherwise not approved by AMIDEAST staff. An excused absence means written approval from the Program Manager (and sometimes a doctor) justifying the absence. Arriving late to class may also count towards an absence.

The engagement grade will depend on both the quality and the quantity of student's comments and questions and shall account for a portion of the total course grade.

# Summary of Attendance Policy

- 1. Three occurrences of tardiness are equivalent to one unexcused absence; each subsequent instance of tardiness is considered an additional unexcused absence.
- 2. Students are expected to do the required reading before class, volunteer for presentations and participate actively in class discussions.
- 3. Excused absences are determined by the lead AMIDEAST staff member; in some instances a doctor's certification may be required.
- 4. Deadlines must be respected, even in cases of excused absences.
- 5. Students are responsible for getting homework assignments they miss and submitting it in a timely manner. Assignments turned in after the due date will result in a penalty to be determined by the instructor.
- 6. Any assignments not submitted will result in that assignment being given a grade of 0 (zero).
- 7. The Attendance Policy is applied until the last day of the program.

## **Presentations**

Students are expected to give at least one presentation during the class. Students select one of the required readings, read it, summarize the main ideas, and present it to the class. The time allocated for each presentation is 20 minutes.

#### Midterm Exam

The midterm will be an in-class exam on ... Students choose one question (out of 3 or 4) and write an essay of about 1,000 words. Duration: 1:20.

## Research Paper

Students will write a research paper on a topic related to the course. Ethnographic research is strongly recommended in order to benefit from your stay in this country. It should be between 2,500 and 3,500 words long. Students will need to submit a proposal for the topic of this research paper on ..., an outline on ..., and a final draft on ...

## Final Exam

The final exam will be an in-class, open book exam on ... It will mainly cover material studied after the midterm exam. Students choose one question (out of 3 or 4) and write an essay of about 1,000 words. Duration: 1:20.

## **Course Schedule**

Week	Date	Class Work	Homework	Exams, Trips and Holidays
Week		Orientation Week		
Week 1		Course Presentation: Defining and Presenting Approaches and Concepts  1- Micheal J. Willis. "The Imprint of History". Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring. Hurst and Company, London, 2012. 9-36.  2- Micheal J. Willis. "Post-Independence Sate Building". Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring. Hurst and Company, London, 2012. 37-79.  Total Pages: 69	Introduction to the course + assigning presentations.  Students are required to hand out weekly summaries of the articles (all readings are available in Moodle).  Students have to read weekly the assigned articles and are required to deliver weekly summaries.  Prepare questions for discussion.	

	3- Lisa Anderson. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa". Comparative Politics (October 1987). http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/421 917.pdf	Reading, preparing questions for further debate
Week 2	4- E. Hermassi, "Political Tradition of the Maghreb". 1973, 207-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024116  5- John Waterbury, "The Makhzen: A stable System of Violence," The Commander of the Faithful: the Moroccan Political Elite, A study of Segmented Politics. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. 1970. 15-32.  Total Pages: 51	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate and discussion
Week 3	6- Abdellah Hammoudi, "Foundations of Monarchical Authority and Forms of Exercise of power: Toward a Redefinition of the Moroccan Political System",  Master and Disciple: The Cultural  Foundations of Moroccan  Authoritarianism. The University of Chicago Press. 1997. 11-43.  Total Pages: 32	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate and discussion
	7- Azzedine Layachi, "Islam and Politics in North Africa", <u>The Oxford Handbook of</u> <u>Islam and Politics.</u> John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, (eds.) Total Pages: 67	
Mook 4	No Class	
Week 4	8- Clement Henry Moore, "Political Parties", <u>Polity and Society in Contemporary North Africa.</u> William Zartman and William Mark Habeeb. Westview Press, USA. 1993. 42-67.	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate

	9- Fadma Ait Mouss, "The Moroccan Nationalist Movement: From Local to National Networks." The Journal of North African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 5, 737-752.  Total Pages: 40	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
Week 5	10- M. S. Tahi, "Algeria Democratization Process: A Frustrated Hope", Third World Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Jun. 1995), 197-220.  http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993305  11- L. Sadiki, "Bin Ali's Tunisia: Democracy by Non-Democratic Means", British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 29, No. 1 (May 2002), 57-78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/826148  Total Pages: 44	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
Week 6	12- Susan Waltz, "The Politics of Human Rights in the Maghreb", Islam,  Democracy, and the State in North Africa.  John Entelis (ed). Indiana University  Press. 1997. 75-92.  Total Pages: 17	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
	13- P. Moore, "The International Context of Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World", <u>Arab Studies Quarterly</u> , Vol. 16, No. 3 (1994), 43-67.  Total Pages: 41	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
Week 7	14- Mohameden Ould-Mey, "Mauritania: Between the Hammer of Economic Globalization and the Anvil of Multiparty Factionalism", North Africa: Politics, Region, And the Limits of Transformation. Yahia Zoubir and Haizam Fernandez (eds). 71-89.	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate.

	Total Pages: 18	
	Midterm Exam	Midterm Exams Week
Week 8		
	15- Ahmed Aghrout and Yahia H. Zoubir, "Algeria: Reforms without Change?" North African Politics: Change and Continuity. Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White (eds). 2016. 145-155.  Total Pages: 10	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
Week 9	16- Emma C. Murphy, "From Democratic Consensus to a Struggle for Power: the Fragility of Transition in Tunisia," North African Politics: Change and Continuity. Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White (eds). 2016. 225-242.	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate.
	Total Pages: 68	Be ready to submit a topic for the final paper.
	Christopher M. Blanchard, "Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy", CRS Report, Middle Eastern Affairs January 8, 2018 39 pages	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate.
Week 10	17- F. Cavatorta, "Civil Society Islamism and Democratization. The Case of Morocco", <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876155">http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876155</a>	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate.
	18- George Joffe, "The Arab Spring in North Africa: Origins and Prospects", The Journal of North African Studies, Vol. 16, Issue 4, 2011. 507-532.	Submit an outline for the final paper.
	Total Pages: 44	

Week 11	19- Matt Buelhler, "Labour Demands, Regimes Concessions: Moroccan Unions and The Arab and The Arab Uprising", British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2015. 88-103  20- Lina Khatib, "Social Media and Mobilization in the Arab Spring and Beyond," North African Politics: Change and Continuity. Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White (eds). 2016. 114-127.  Total Pages: 28	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate  Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
	Field Visit To the Party of Justice and Development (PJD) Headquarters or another Political Party, depending on availability.	Students prepare questions to ask politicians/ Activists from this party.
Week 12	21- Mark Tessler and Jennifer Miller-Gonzales, "Maghrebi Youth in the wake of the Arab Spring: General Observations and Evidence from Tunisia and Algeria."  North African Politics: Change and Continuity. Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White (eds). 2016. 18-43	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate.
	22- J. S. Sater, "The Dynamics of State and Civil Society in Morocco". The Journal of North African Studies, Vol 7, Issue 3, 2002.  Total Pages: 42	Submit your Final Paper.
Week 13	23- James Sater, "Civil society in the Maghreb: Lessons from the Arab Spring,"  The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa.  Springer, 2014, 95-107.  24- Mohsine El Ahmadi and A. Radi, "Arab Springs and Human Rights	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
	Issues, European Year book on Human Rights, Graz, Austria, Vol. 12, 2012.	

	25- Ottaway, M., and M. Riley. 2006. "Morocco: From top-down reform to democratic transition?" <u>Carnegie Papers</u> , no. 71, September.	
	Total Pages: 68	
	26- Taieb Belghazi & Abdelhay Moudden, "Ihbat: Disillusionment and the Arab Spring in Morocco", <u>Journal of North African Studies</u> , 2015. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1084097">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1084097</a> .	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
Week 14	- Screening of the Documentary: "My Makhzen and Me" (About the Moroccan 20 February Movement).	
	27- Raymond Hinnebusch, "Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique", <u>Democratization</u> , 2006, 13:3, 373-395, DOI: 10.1080/13510340600579243	Students read the texts and prepare questions and ideas for debate
	Total Pages: 50	
Week 15	Final Exam	Two hour open book exam
	No Class	No Class
Week 16	Reflection Week	