



# **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POPULAR MOBILISATION IN THE MENA**

## **Digest of Current Publications and Events**

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# CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

## Resistance(s): Between Theories and the Field

14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of December 2016

Center for the Study of International Cooperation and Development (CECID),  
Free University of Brussels (Université Libre de Bruxelles – ULB), Belgium

Confirmed Keynote speakers: James C. Scott (Yale University), Stellan Vinthagen (UMass, Amherst)

### Deadline for submissions: 15th of October 2016

This conference is intended to stir an international debate on the concept and understanding of “resistance” in its various meanings. In this respect, the use of the word resistance in its plural form for the title of this conference is not incidental. It emphasizes our will to explore the complexity and multi-faceted forms, locations, aims, and outcomes inherent to the concept of resistance. We see resistance(s) not only as a concept that can be engaged with from various angles. It is also an approach that can help a dialogue between academia and other sectors, a thing that this conference seeks to explore in broad temporal and geographical perspectives.

From mass public protests during the Arab Springs and the Indignados and Occupy movements, to individual disobedience from whistle blowers (Assange, Snowden), resistance (to domination, oppression, or simply mainstream political power) has been manifesting itself in a variety of modes. This newly available empirical evidence rapidly generated numerous, rich accounts and encountered studies of social movements and contentious politics. What have remained largely understudied are the accounts of non-politicised or non-overtly politicised movements, the transformation of informal resistance into movements, their politicisation, and the relationship between informal resistance and political change.

Some recent works have, however, addressed this lack in the field (see, for instance, Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Schock, *Civil Resistance Today*, Vinthagen, *A Theory of Nonviolent Action: How Civil Resistance Works*). We would thus like to encourage emerging research on this subject. We welcome empirically-grounded case studies as well as theoretical (and/or) epistemological reflections on topics related (but not limited) to:

- Silent and “loud” resistances as case study (nonviolent, violent, public and hidden, individual or collective...)
- Resistance and social change
- Informal networks, practices, and their significance in policy making
- Globalised vs localised resistance
- Vulnerability and resistance (gender, minorities, marginalised communities)
- Economic or financial resistance
- Everyday struggle and resistance vs more organised and long-term forms of resistance

- Methodological approaches and consideration for the study of resistance
- Ethics and resistance (how to deal with the publication of cases where resistance is secret, or needs to escape the radar of authorities)

We are keen to promote an interdisciplinary reflection on the concept of resistance and a broad theoretical and methodological understanding of the issue. Accordingly, we would like to open participation to activists who would like to present an analytical reflection based on their work. In addition, willing to challenge past and present understandings of the concept, and to bring about new perspectives, we welcome contributions from both experienced and early career researchers.

If interested send a 3-500 word abstract (in English or French) by the **15<sup>th</sup> of October 2016** to [resistancesULB@gmail.com](mailto:resistancesULB@gmail.com) including a short biographical statement. Applicants will be notified by the **5<sup>th</sup> of November** about their acceptance. We might be able to provide some financial support to researchers (especially early career researchers) who have no sponsorship from their own institute. We can't guarantee full sponsorship for everyone but we will try to offer a contribution in the region of 250 EUR for participants from Europe and 500 for participants from outside of Europe. If you would like to be considered please mention, below your abstract, what kind of support you would need (travel, accommodation, etc.).

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## **Fifth Finnish Colloquium of Middle East and North African Studies**

29-31.5.2017, Joensuu

The theme for the multidisciplinary conference is “Transformations of Identity and Space in the Middle East and North Africa”. Proposed papers are encouraged to explore present and past approaches to the main theme of the conference from all fields and disciplines of the Middle East, North African and Mediterranean studies. Selected papers of the conference will be published in a peer-reviewed academic journal.

The colloquium is organized by The Finnish Institute in the Middle East (FIME), the University of Eastern Finland, Faculty of Theology, and the University of Helsinki, including the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions. The event will be held at the University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu, Finland on 29-31 May 2017. The final program of the colloquium will be published in March 2017.

Abstract Submission: the deadline for submission of proposals and abstracts is **30 November 2016**.

*More information* [here](#)

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## Effects of Cross-Movement Mobilization on Protest Repertoires

Session organizers: Prof. Dr. Nicole Deitelhoff, Dr. Priska Daphi & Felix Anderl (all: University of Frankfurt)

While repertoires are a common concept in social movement studies, little is known about how changes in repertoires occur. Cross-movement mobilization can be expected to have a considerable impact on this as interactions with allies and rivals have been found to crucially affect social movements' repertoires. This panel aims to bring together insights about the effects of cross-movement mobilization on tactical choices and changes. It explores how cooperation between different movements as well as between movements and other political actors influences protest repertoires. In how far do such interactions affect tactical choices? Does this effect differ depending on the kind of group movements cooperate with? What happens when a former opponent becomes an ally – as, for example, in the case of the global feminist movement cooperating with international organizations in the 1990s? And how helpful is the concept of diffusion in analyzing this dynamic? We invite both empirical as well as conceptual contributions that explore the various effects of cross-movement mobilizations on protest repertoires – for example with regards to the following questions:

- How does the effect of cross-movement mobilization on repertoires vary in different contexts of cooperation? What difference does it make, for example, whether movements cooperate with other movements or political institutions?
- What role does diffusion play in this dynamic of repertoire change? And in how far do we need to rethink the concept in this context?
- Do broad coalitions necessarily deradicalize repertoires? Under which conditions can other effects be found?

Please provide an **abstract (250 words)** including the title of this panel no later than **October 1, 2016** to: [cross-movement-mobilization@ruhr-uni-bochum.de](mailto:cross-movement-mobilization@ruhr-uni-bochum.de)

Please indicate if you require travel funding assistance as a limited number of travel grants will be available.

More information [here](#)

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## TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

### **Morbid Symptoms: Relapse in the Arab Uprising**

4 October 2016, 5:45 – 7:00 PM

Venue: Russell Square: College Buildings, Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS, London

Speaker: Gilbert Achcar

Event to mark the publication of Gilbert Achcar's *Morbid Symptoms: Relapse in the Arab Uprising* (Saqi Books, 2016). Since the first wave of uprisings in 2011, the euphoria of the "Arab Spring" has given way to the gloom of backlash and a descent into mayhem and war. The revolution has been overwhelmed by clashes between rival counter-revolutionary forces: resilient old regimes on the one hand and Islamic fundamentalist contenders on the other. Focusing on Syria and Egypt, Achcar assesses the present stage of the uprising and the main obstacles, both regional and international, that prevent any resolution.

More information [here](#)

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### **Violence and the City in the Modern Middle East**

05 October 2016, 18:00-19:30

Venue: Room 9.04, Clement's Inn, Tower 2, LSE, London

Speaker: Dr Nelida Fuccaro, SOAS, University of London

Chair: Professor Fran Tonkiss, LSE

Nelida Fuccaro launches her book exploring violence in the public lives of modern Middle Eastern cities, approaching violence as an individual and collective experience, a historical event, and an urban process. The essays included in this volume reflect the diversity of Middle Eastern urbanism from the eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries, from the capitals of Cairo, Tunis, and Baghdad to the provincial towns of Jeddah, Nablus, and Basra and the oil settlements of Dhahran and Abadan. In reconstructing the violent pasts of cities, new vistas on modern Middle Eastern history are opened, offering alternative and complementary perspectives to the making and unmaking of empires, nations, and states. *More information & registration* [here](#)

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## **Let's Rock/Rap it! Music as Collective Action: The case of the Arab Spring**

11 October 2016, 17:15-19:15

Venue: [Room 9.04, Tower 2, Clement's Inn, LSE](#), London

Speaker: Amina Boubia, Sciences Po Centre for International Studies

Chair: Dr John Chalcraft, LSE

Amina Boubia presents her paper which studies the role new music genres such as rock and rap have played in the Middle East and North Africa during the Arab Spring. She argues that music is a powerful form of collective action and should therefore be taken seriously by academics and stakeholders as it can either effectively strengthen contentious movements emerging in a specific context, thus challenging the established order, or, on the contrary, contribute to supporting the status quo.

*More information & registration [here](#)*

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## **RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS**

### **The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer**

James M. Dorsey  
2016 – Hurst & Co

James M. Dorsey introduces the reader to the world of Middle Eastern and North African football — an arena where struggles for political control, protest and resistance, self-respect and gender rights are played out. Politics was the midwife of soccer in the region, with many clubs being formed as pro- or anti-colonial platforms and engines of national identity and social justice. This book uncovers the seldom-told story of a game that evokes deep-seated passions. Football fans are shown to be a major political force and one of the largest civic groups in Egypt after the Muslim Brotherhood: their demands for transparency, social justice, and an end to corruption sparked vicious street battles that left scores dead and thousands wounded. Discontent in Algeria erupts regularly at matches where fans demand the ouster of military leaders. A folk-song crooning national goalkeeper leads protests in Homs, Syria's third largest city and scene of some of the worst violence perpetrated by Bashar al-Assad's regime. In a country that bans physical education for girls, Saudi women have established clandestine football clubs and leagues. The book further tells the story of Somali child soldiers turned



soccer stars and Iranian women who dress as men to smuggle themselves into stadiums to watch matches.

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## **Bullets and Bulletins - Media and Politics in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings**

Mohamed Zayani, Suzi Mirgani (Eds)

2016 – Hurst & Co

*Bullets and Bulletins* takes a sobering and holistic look at the intersections between media and politics before, during, and in the reverberations of the Arab uprisings. It is a multi-disciplinary approach to the topic, with the research backed up by in-depth and rigorous case studies of the key countries of the Arab Spring. The uprisings were accompanied by profound changes in the roles of traditional and new media across the Middle East. What added significantly to the amplification of demands and grievances in the public spheres, streets and squares, was the dovetailing of an increasingly indignant population — ignited by the prospects of economic and political marginalisation — with high rates of media literacy, digital connectivity, and social media prowess. This combination of political activism and mediated communication turned popular street protests into battles over information, where authorities and activists wrestled with each other over media messages. Information and communication technologies were used by both government authorities and protestors as simultaneous tools for silencing or amplifying dissent. *Bullets and Bulletins* offers original insights and analysis into the role of traditional and new media in what is undoubtedly a most critical period in contemporary Middle Eastern history.

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## **Islamic State - The Digital Caliphate**

Abdel Bari Atwan

2015 – Saqui Books

Based on interviews with Islamic State insiders, Abdel Bari Atwan reveals the origins and *modus operandi* of the fastest-growing and richest terrorist group in the world. Outlining its leadership structure and strategies, Atwan describes the group's ideological differences with al-Qa'ida and why IS appear to pose a greater threat to the West. He shows how it has masterfully used social media, Hollywood 'blockbuster'-style videos, and even jihadi computer games to spread its message and to recruit young people, from Tunisia to Bradford. As Islamic State continues to dominate the world's media headlines with acts of ruthless violence, Atwan considers its chances of survival and offers indispensable insight into potential government responses to contain the IS threat.

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## **From Deep State to Islamic State - The Arab Counter-Revolution and its Jihadi Legacy**

Jean-Pierre Filiu  
2015 – Hurst & Co

In his disturbing and timely political history of the 'Deep State' in the Middle East, Jean-Pierre Filiu reveals how the autocracies of Syria, Egypt, and Yemen crushed the democratic uprisings of the 'Arab Revolution'. They did so by turning to the shadowy intelligence agencies and internal security arms of the so-called 'Deep State' — emulating strategies pioneered in Kemalist Turkey — who had decades of experience in dealing with internal dissent, as well as to street gangs (the *Baltaguiyya* in Egypt) or death squads (the *Shabbiha* in Syria) to enforce their will. Alongside intimidation, imprisonment and murder, the Arab counter-revolutionaries released from prison and secretly armed and funded many hardline Islamists, thereby boosting Salafi–Jihadi groups such as Islamic State, in the hope of convincing the Western powers to back their dictatorships. They also succeeded in dividing the opposition forces ranged against them, going so far as to ruthlessly discard politicians and generals from among their own elite in the pursuit of absolute, unfettered, power. The impact of the Arab counter-revolution surprised most observers, who thought they had seen it all from the despots and security mafias of the Middle East: their perversity, their brutality, their voracity. But the wider world underestimated their ferocious readiness to literally burn down their countries in order to cling to absolute power. Bashar al-Assad clambered to the top of this murderous class of tyrants, driving nearly half of the Syrian population into exile and executing tens of thousands of his opponents. He has set a grisly precedent, one that other Arab autocrats may yet resort to.

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## **Muted Modernists - The Struggle over Divine Politics in Saudi Arabia**

Madawi Al-Rasheed  
2015 – Hurst & Co

Analysis of both official and opposition Saudi divine politics is often monolithic, conjuring images of conservatism, radicalism, misogyny and resistance to democracy. In her new book Madawi Al-Rasheed challenges this stereotype as she examines a long tradition of engaging with modernism that gathered momentum with the Arab uprisings and incurred the wrath of both the Saudi regime and its Wahhabi supporters. With this nascent modernism, constructions of new divine politics, anchored in a rigorous reinterpretation of foundational Islamic texts and civil society activism, are emerging in a context where an authoritarian state prefers its advocates to remain muted. Based on a plethora of texts written by ulama and intellectuals, interviews with important modernist interlocutors, and analysis of online sources, mainly new social media activism, Madawi Al-Rasheed debunks several academic and ideological myths about a country struggling to free itself from the straitjacket of predetermined analysis and misguided understandings of divine politics. She also challenges much of the scholarly received wisdom on Islamism in general, blurring the boundaries between secular and religious politics.

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## **Force and Fanaticism - Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond**

Simon Ross Valentine

2014 – Hurst & Co

Wahhabism is an Islamic reform movement found mainly in Saudi Arabia. Closely linked to the Saudi monarchy, it enforces a strict code of morality and conduct monitored by *mutawa* (religious police), and governs every facet of Saudi life according to its own strict interpretation of Shariah, including gender segregation. Wahhabism also prohibits the practice of any other faith (even other forms of Islam) in Saudi Arabia, which is also the only country that forbids women from driving. But what exactly is Wahhabism? This question drove Valentine to live in the Kingdom for three years, familiarising himself with its distinct interpretation of Islam. His book defines Wahhabism and Wahhabi beliefs and considers the life and teaching of Muhammad ibn Abd'al Wahhab and the later expansion of his sect. Also discussed are the rejection of later developments in Islam such as *bid'ah*; harmful innovations, among them celebrating the prophet's birthday and visiting the tombs of saints; the destruction of holy sites due to the fear of idolatry; Wahhabi law, which imposes the death sentence for crimes as archaic as witchcraft and sorcery, and the connection of Wahhabism with militant Islam globally. Drawing on interviews with Saudis from all walks of life, including members of the feared *mutawa*, this book appraises one of the most significant movements in contemporary Islam.

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## **Gaza - A History**

Jean-Pierre Filiu

2014 – Hurst & Co

Through its millennium-long existence, Gaza has often been bitterly disputed while simultaneously and paradoxically enduring prolonged neglect. Jean-Pierre Filiu's book is the first comprehensive history of Gaza in any language. Squeezed between the Negev and Sinai deserts on the one hand and the Mediterranean Sea on the other, Gaza was contested by the Pharaohs, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Fatimids, the Mamluks, the Crusaders and the Ottomans. Napoleon had to secure it in 1799 to launch his failed campaign on Palestine. In 1917, the British Empire fought for months to conquer Gaza, before establishing its mandate on Palestine. In 1948, 200,000 Palestinians sought refuge in Gaza, a marginal area neither Israel nor Egypt wanted. Palestinian nationalism grew there, and Gaza has since found itself at the heart of Palestinian history. It is in Gaza that the fedayeen movement arose from the ruins of Arab nationalism. It is in Gaza that the 1967 Israeli occupation was repeatedly challenged, until the outbreak of the 1987 intifada. And it is in Gaza, in 2007, that the dream of Palestinian statehood appeared to have been shattered by the

split between Fatah and Hamas. The endurance of Gaza and the Palestinians make the publication of this history both timely and significant.

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## **Why Yemen Matters - A Society in Transition**

Helen Lackner (Ed)  
2014 – Saqui Books

In November 2011, an agreement brokered by the GCC brought an end to Yemen's tumultuous uprising. The National Dialogue Conference has opened a window of opportunity for change, bringing Yemen's main political forces together with groups that were politically marginalized. Yet, the risk of collapse is serious, and if Yemen is to remain a viable state, it must address numerous political, social and economic challenges. In this invaluable volume, experts with extensive Yemen experience provide innovative analysis of the country's major crises: centralized governance, the role of the military, ethnic conflict, separatism, Islamism, foreign intervention, water scarcity and economic development. This is essential reading for academics, journalists, development workers, diplomats, politicians and students alike.

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## **Syria Speaks - Art and Culture from the Frontline**

Malu Halasa, Zaher Omareen and Nawara Mahfoud (Eds)  
2014 – Saqui Books

In Syria, culture has become a critical line of defence against tyranny. *Syria Speaks* is a celebration of a people determined to reclaim their dignity, freedom and self-expression. It showcases the work of over fifty artists and writers who are challenging the culture of violence in Syria. Their literature, poems and songs, cartoons, political posters and photographs document and interpret the momentous changes that have shifted the frame of reality so drastically in Syria. Moving and inspiring, *Syria Speaks* is testament to the courage, creativity and imagination of the Syrian people.

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## **Reclaiming Iraq: The 1920 Revolution and the Founding of the Modern State**

Abbas Kadhim

2013 - University of Texas Press

While some scholars would argue that there was no "Iraq" before King Faysal's coronation in 1921, Iraqi history spans fourteen centuries of tribal communities that endured continual occupation in their historic homeland, including Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century and subsequent Ottoman and British invasions. An Iraqi identity was established long before the League of Nations defined the nation-state of Iraq in 1932. Drawing on neglected primary sources and other crucial accounts, including memoirs and correspondence, *Reclaiming Iraq* puts the 1920 revolt against British occupation in a new light—one that emphasizes the role of rural fighters between June and November of that year. While most accounts of the revolution have been shaped by the British administration and successive Iraqi governments, Abbas Kadhim sets out to explore the reality that the intelligentsia of Baghdad and other cities in the region played an ideological role but did not join in the fighting. His history depicts a situation we see even today in conflicts in the Middle East, where most military engagement is undertaken by rural tribes that have no central base of power. In the study of the modern Iraqi state, Kadhim argues, Faysal's coronation has detracted from the more significant, earlier achievements of local attempts at self-rule. With clarity and insight, this work offers an alternative perspective on the dawn of modern Iraq.

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## **The Muslim Brotherhood - From Opposition to Power**

Alison Pargeter

2013 – Saqui Books

Although the popular uprisings of 2011 were not driven by Islamist forces, it is the Islamist movements, and the Muslim Brotherhood in particular, that have filled the power vacuums that opened up with the collapse of the regimes of the region. How did they do it and how will they manage their new political role? In this authoritative analysis, Alison Pargeter follows the twists and turns of the Muslim Brotherhood as it battled through the years of oppression under authoritarian regimes to finally become a key and legitimate political actor. From Egypt and Syria to Tunisia and Libya, the Brotherhood and its affiliates are now faced with the complex task of transforming themselves from semiclandestine opposition movements into legitimate political actors and, in some cases, into ruling powers. Including new chapters on the Brotherhood in the wake of the Arab Spring, this updated edition is the essential guide to understanding the forces shaping the Arab world today.

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## **The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey - From Protest to Resistance**

Cengiz Gunes  
2012 – Routledge

This book provides an interpretive and critical analysis of Kurdish identity, nationalism and national movement in Turkey since the 1960s. By raising issues and questions relating to Kurdish political identity and highlighting the ideological specificity, diversity and the transformation of Kurdish nationalism, it develops a new empirical dimension to the study of the Kurds in Turkey. Cengiz Gunes applies an innovative theoretical approach to the analysis of an impressively large volume of primary sources and data drawn from books and magazines published by Kurdish activists, political parties and groups. The analysis focuses on the specific demands articulated by the Kurdish national movement and looks at Kurdish nationalism at a specific level by disaggregating the nationalist discourse, showing variations over time and across different Kurdish nationalist organisations. Situating contemporary Kurdish political identity and its political manifestations within a historical framework, the author examines the historical and structural conditions that gave rise to it and influenced its evolution since the 1960s. The analysis also encompasses an account of the organisational growth and evolution of the Kurdish national movement, including the political parties and groups that were active in the period. Bringing the study of the organisational development and growth of the Kurdish National Movement in Turkey up to date, this book will be an important reference for students and scholars of Middle Eastern politics, social movements, nationalism and conflict.

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## **Casting Off the Veil: The Life of Huda Shaarawi, Egypt's First Feminist**

Sania Sharawi Lanfranchi  
2012 - I.B. Tauris

Born into a wealthy and powerful Egyptian family, Huda Shaarawi was destined to lead a leisurely life in luxurious settings. She decided instead to acquire an education and to participate in the liberation of Egypt from the British occupation. Huda became famous overnight when she led a peaceful walk of veiled women across Cairo in 1919 to free the leaders of the Egyptian resistance who were detained by the British forces. She was then invited by the members of the Bureau of the IAWS (International Alliance for Women's Suffrage) to participate in the international conference in Rome in 1923. Huda became the lifelong friend of Western and other feminist leaders at that conference. It was after this conference in Cairo when she and her two traveling companions removed their face veil upon leaving the train at the railway station and were spontaneously imitated by all the other women in what became a landmark gesture in Egyptian history. In 1923, Huda founded the Egyptian Feminist Union affiliated to the IAWS, and began publishing a French magazine, *L'Egyptienne*, to circulate information about Egypt's plight and achievements under the occupation, and to promote peace between Eastern and Western countries. She soon became - and remained for

many years - one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Organization of Women. Huda Shaarawi alternated political advocacy with social and cultural projects. She spoke on behalf of the Arab and African peoples in International Fora, founding two magazines in Arabic to circulate information in her area of the world. Huda founded schools, supported artists, medical dispensaries, and cottage industries, and participated in funding the establishment of the first entirely Egyptian Bank and its many affiliated projects. A promoter of progress, Huda stubbornly and tirelessly advocated peace, justice, and equality in an increasingly violent world.

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## **Arab Youth - Social Mobilisation in Times of Risk**

Samir Khalaf and Roseanne Saad Khalaf (Eds)

2012 – Saqui Books

In 2011, Arab youth took to the streets in their thousands to demand their freedom. Although it is too early to speculate on the ultimate outcome of the uprisings, one auspicious feature stands out: they reveal the genesis of a new generation sparked by the desire for civil liberties, advocacy for human rights, and participatory democracy. This unique volume explores some of the antecedents of the upheavals and anticipates alternative venues of resistance that marginalized youth – from Lebanon, Syria and Palestine to Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Iran – can mobilize to realize their emancipatory expectations. Themes covered include the forging of meaningful collective identities in times of risk and uncertainty; youth militancy, neighborhood violence and youth gangs; the surge of youthful activism; and youths' expressive outlets through popular arts and street music.

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## **After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine**

Antony Loewenstein, Ahmed Moor (Eds)

2012 – Saqui Books

After Zionism brings together some of the world's leading thinkers on the Middle East question to dissect the century-long conflict between Zionism and the Palestinians, and to explore possible forms of a one-state solution. Time has run out for the two-state solution because of the unending and permanent Jewish colonization of Palestinian land. Although deep mistrust exists on both sides of the conflict, growing numbers of Palestinians and Israelis, Jews and Arabs are working together to forge a different, unified future. Progressive and realist ideas are at last gaining a foothold in the discourse, while those influenced by the colonial era have been discredited or abandoned. Whatever the political solution may be, Palestinian and Israeli lives are intertwined, enmeshed, irrevocably. This daring and timely collection includes essays by Omar Barghouti, Diana Buttu, Jonathan Cook, Joseph Dana, Jeremiah Haber, Jeff Halper, Ghada Karmi, Antony Loewenstein, Saree Makdisi, John Mearsheimer, Ahmed Moor, Ilan Pappé, Sara Roy and Phil Weiss.

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## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

### **Living dangerously: Egypt's unfinished revolution**

Yehia Ghanem

Al Jazeera English, 31 August 2016

It was January 5, 2011 and Mohamed, whom I'd first met as a 12-year-old in 1993, when he'd visited me at my office in downtown Cairo to appeal to me to take him with me to Bosnia, was on the other end of the telephone line. Many years had passed since our first meeting and Mohamed was now a 29-year-old civil engineer, but he spoke with the same passion I recalled from all those years before. Only this time he spoke in hushed tones about a revolution in our own country: Egypt. It would happen in just a matter of days, he insisted. I agreed that something was brewing, but I dismissed his notion that it could happen so soon. "Mohamed, you will never change, you will always be carried away by emotion," I told him. But he continued, unfazed. "I want you to be with us in Tahrir Square on January 25th. This is when the revolution will begin and I know you will not want to miss it," he whispered. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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### **Unmaking the Middle Eastern working classes: labour and the politics of historiography**

Kevin M. Jones

Social History , Volume 40, 2015 - Issue 2, pp. 145-56

This article surveys recent developments in academic approaches to the history of the working classes in the modern Middle East and argues that the decline of scholarly interest in Middle Eastern labour history is a product of the confluence of political, cultural and disciplinary transformations. Labour history thrived among historians of the Middle East in the late 1970s and 1980s but produced only a small handful of important texts in the following two decades. The marginalization of organized labour by post-populist authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, the sudden rise of political Islam as the dominant paradigm of political opposition to the state, and the general abandonment of class analysis by historians in the wake of the 'cultural turn' have all contributed to this decline of academic interest in the lives of Middle Eastern workers. These problems have been exacerbated by the political instability of the region and the corresponding difficulty of accessing state archives. The political spark provided by labour activism and agitation in the years preceding and following the 'Arab Spring', however, is once again bringing questions of labour and class to the attention of historians. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **The Study of Democratization and the Arab Spring\***

Amel Ahmed, Giovanni Capoccia

Middle East Law and Governance, Volume 6, Issue 1, pages 1 – 31

This paper proposes and illustrates a framework for analysis of the recent events in Middle Eastern and North African countries (the so-called Arab Spring) by bringing into dialogue recent theoretical advances in democratization theory with the comparative-historical literature on the political development of the MENA region. We advocate two analytical shifts from conventional approaches in the analysis of the Arab Spring: first, reconsider the temporalities of democratization processes; second, focus on struggles over specific institutional arenas rather than over the regime as a whole. The former recommendation draws attention both to the strategies used by key actors in the political, economic, and civil society spheres, and to the historical legacies that built the influence and resources of these actors over time. The latter allows us to consider the institutional safeguards for old elites that are likely to be included in the post-authoritarian regimes emerging in the region. Even though some of these safeguards are clearly anti-democratic, historical examples show that they do not necessarily preclude democratization. Indeed, in some cases, their introduction might be necessary to achieve democratic openings in other arenas. We illustrate these theoretical points with reference to the case of Egypt. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Pondering the Extraordinary: Description, Explanation, and Theorization of the Arab Spring**

Eva Bellin

Bustan: The Middle East Book Review, Volume 5, Issue 1, pages 1 – 16

There is no doubt that the Middle East has never been a contention-free zone; this is a region where people have suffered enormous economic, political, and social grievances often imposed upon them by the state. And yet, for years effective and credible opposition parties were rarely organized (save for Islamist ones) and protest movements remained flaccid. This failure to mobilize effective, regime-changing parties and protest movements has constituted an important puzzle for analysts. Here we will consider only one cluster of books—those that address the incidence of massive popular mobilization observed in the Arab world during 2011–2012. These books aim to achieve one of three objectives: description, explanation, and theorization—the first two largely retrospective in intent, the latter straining to distill generalizable lessons that might deliver analytic leverage on when and how mobilization might occur. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Islamic Law and Constitution-Making: The Authoritarian Temptation and the Arab Spring**

Fadel, Mohammad

*Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 53.2 (2016) : 472-507

In the wake of the Egyptian military coup of 3 July 2013, much commentary has focused on the religious-secular divide in Egypt as the principal division that laid the groundwork for the subsequent coup. Less attention has been paid to the profound divisions within religiously-minded Egyptian political actors regarding whether democratic or authoritarian government is more desirable from a religious perspective. This article explores the division between Islamist supporters of a “republican” conception of a modern Muslim constitutional and religious order, and Islamist supporters of an “authoritarian” conception of constitutional government in alliance with a state-supported religious establishment. The article discusses the intellectual resources Sunnī Islam provides for each trend, and uses this division to explain the otherwise inexplicable divisions between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian Sunnī religious establishment, particularly as manifested in the contrary positions taken by Yusuf al-Qaradawi and ‘Ali Jumu’a, former Mufti of Egypt, regarding the coup’s legitimacy. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **POSITIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

### **Asfari Fellowship : Call for applications from Lebanon, Palestine and Syria for the**

**Deadline: 5 September 2016 at midday**

The Journalism Fellowship Programme at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism supports talented mid-career journalists from around the world whose professional work would be enhanced by a period of reflection, research and intellectual exchange with other journalists in Oxford. The Fellowship Programme has run for 30 years and has a network of over 500 alumni from 93 countries.

We are pleased to announce the call for applications for the **Asfari Fellowship** sponsored by the Asfari Foundation. This gives a unique opportunity for journalists from Lebanon, Palestine and Syria (candidates should ideally be based in the Levant region or Turkey and intend to work there upon the completion of the Fellowship) to benefit from a funded fellowship at the University of Oxford.

The Asfari journalist fellows spend one or two terms (three or six months) in Oxford based at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, where they join a diverse group of journalists from

other parts of the world. The fellows attend regular seminars each week and occasional special lectures relating to journalism, and they are encouraged to attend other academic and social events at Oxford University. During their stay in the UK arrangements are also made for the fellows to visit several major media organisations such as Thomson Reuters and the BBC.

In addition, the fellows undertake a study project on a topic of their choice ideally related to civil society, leading to the completion of a 5,000-8,000-word paper at the end of their stay. Each fellow is assigned an academic advisor; usually an Oxford academic specialising in the Asfari Fellow's chosen area, for the purpose of this project. To be considered, applicants are asked to submit a proposal which gives details of the proposed research topic. This is normally related to civil society, the business, economic and/or social development of a country or of its media. There is a minimum requirement of 5 years' professional journalistic experience, but exceptional applicants who do not meet this requirement may be considered. In order to take full advantage of the excellent facilities of the Institute and of Oxford University, evidence of a good working knowledge of spoken and written English is also required (IELTS 7.0). All Institute and University/College fees will be paid by the Fellowship, and the fellows will also receive their travel costs and a modest stipend to cover housing and living expenses.

*More information and application [here](#)*

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### **3 Postdoctoral researchers, Department of Social Research, Social and Cultural Anthropology**

**Deadline: 30.09.2016**

Founded in 1640, the University of Helsinki is one of the best multidisciplinary research universities in the world. The University of Helsinki is an international academic community of 40,000 students and staff members. It operates on four campuses in Helsinki and at 15 other locations. The high-quality research carried out by the university creates new knowledge for educating diverse specialists in various fields, and for utilisation in social decision-making and the business sector.

Social and Cultural Anthropology is a part of the Department of Social Research, Faculty of Social Sciences. The Department is a multidisciplinary unit with seven disciplines: social and cultural anthropology, social policy, social psychology, social work, sociology, statistics and media and communication studies. The Department is the largest Finnish unit in its field and is at the forefront in terms of both research and teaching in the social sciences.

The Department of Social Research invites applications for 3 Postdoctoral researchers in anthropology with expertise in any part of the Mediterranean region for a fixed term from 1 July 2017 to 31 December 2020 or according to agreement, to work within a European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Grant project led by Sarah Green, Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology

(<http://tinyurl.com/p62cjcw>). The project is entitled Crosslocations, and involves researching the entire Mediterranean region, which will include intensive ethnographic fieldwork in southern, northern and east Mediterranean regions. The postdoctoral researchers to be appointed will be required to have proven expertise in at least one of these regions.

The main duties of the three postdoctoral researchers will include intensive ethnographic research for Crosslocations, working both independently and collaboratively with the rest of the research team, in pursuit of the project's main goals, and the analysis and publication of the results. In addition, these posts will require working with a range of different technical data (including legal, infrastructural, financial, environmental, linguistic, digital, commercial, geographical data) and incorporating these data into their research plans. Further, the researchers will also take overall responsibility for knowledge gathering of specific regions of the Mediterranean (north, south or east), and contributing this knowledge to the team. All three posts will require both independent and collaborative scientific publishing, as well as contributing to project meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences.

All three posts require a highly fluent command of written and spoken English, as well as fluency in the language(s) of the ethnographic region in the Mediterranean in which you work. Command of any further languages spoken in the Mediterranean region (particularly French, Spanish or Arabic), beyond English and the specialist language(s) if your ethnographic region, is also an advantage. The salary for the position will be based on level 5 of the demands level chart for teaching and research personnel in the salary system of Finnish universities. In addition, the appointee will be paid a salary component based on personal performance. The salary is around EUR 3300–4000 per month, depending on the appointee's qualifications and experience. The employment contract will include a probationary period of four months.

Applications must be accompanied by the following English-language documents: a full CV including a list of publications (with up to 10 of the most relevant for the application marked in bold); contact information for two referees; and a maximum two-page statement outlining how your expertise could contribute to this project, and how you think the project could contribute to your career plans. The documents should be submitted as a single pdf file.

Please submit your application through the University of Helsinki Recruitment System via the link [Apply for job](#). Applicants who are employees of the University of Helsinki are requested to submit their application via the SAP HR portal. The deadline for applications is September 30th 2016. Further information about the position, and about the Crosslocations project, may be obtained from Professor Sarah Green, [sarah.green@helsinki.fi](mailto:sarah.green@helsinki.fi) or +358 2941 23009. Please write the following in your subject field: "Crosslocations Postdoctoral Position"

*More information and application [here](#)*

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## **LSE MEC - Research Assistant Vacancy**

The Middle East Centre and Department of Media & Communications seek a Research Assistant in the fields of Media, Communication and Development or Cultural Studies, with an interest in the Middle East.

The successful candidate will join a multi-country collaboration project with the American University of Sharjah, '**Personalised Media and Participatory Culture**'. The project has field sites in Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia and the UAE. The candidate is required to assist Dr Shakuntala Banaji in analysing, organising and disseminating the research outputs.

For full details and to apply please click [here](#). The closing date for receipt of applications is **2 September 2016** (23:59 UK time).

**Start Date:** 2 January 2017

**Expected End Date:** 30 Jun 2017

**Hours:** Part-time, 28 hours per week

**Pay:** £27,934 – £32,333 pa inclusive (pro-rata)

*More information and application [here](#)*

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## **LSE MEC Kuwait Programme Short-Term Visiting Research Fellowships**

**Deadline 5 September 2016**

Applications are invited from GCC nationals who have a PhD or equivalent and wish to develop their research capacity and output. Based in the Middle East Centre, the fellowships will enable the successful candidates to pursue research relevant to the Kuwait Programme for a period of up to three months.

Applicants can undertake their fellowship at any time in 2017. Applicants should submit a curriculum vitae, proposed dates for the fellowship and a 2,500-word proposal (including bibliography) for a research paper, which explains its relevance to the work of the Kuwait Programme and the contribution it would make to the field.

To apply or for further information please contact **Ian Sinclair**. The closing date for receipt of applications is **5 September 2016**.

*More information and application [here](#)*

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## **The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies Academy Scholars Program, 2017-2018**

**Deadline: 1 October**

The Academy Scholars Program identifies and supports outstanding scholars at the start of their careers whose work combines disciplinary excellence in the social sciences (including history and law) with a command of the language, history, or culture of non-Western countries or regions. Their scholarship may elucidate domestic, comparative, or transnational issues, past or present.

The Academy Scholars are a select community of individuals with resourcefulness, initiative, curiosity, and originality, whose work in non-Western cultures or regions shows promise as a foundation for exceptional careers in major universities or international institutions. Harvard Academy Scholarships are open only to recent PhD (or comparable professional school degree) recipients and doctoral candidates. Those still pursuing a PhD should have completed their routine training and be well along in the writing of their theses before applying to become Academy Scholars; those in possession of a PhD longer than 3 years at the time of application are ineligible.

Academy Scholars are appointed for 2 years by the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and are provided time, guidance, and access to Harvard University facilities. They receive substantial financial and research assistance to undertake sustained projects of research and/or acquire accessory training in their chosen fields and areas. Some teaching is permitted but not required. The Senior Scholars, a distinguished group of senior Harvard University faculty members, act as mentors to the Academy Scholars to help them achieve their intellectual potential.

Postdoctoral Academy Scholars will receive an annual stipend of \$67,000, and predoctoral Academy Scholars will receive an annual stipend of \$31,000 until they are awarded the PhD or equivalent degree. The online application for the 2017-2018 class of Academy Scholars is due by **October 1, 2016**. Finalist interviews will take place in Cambridge on **December 6, 2016**. Notification of Scholarships will be made in late December, 2016.

More information and application [here](#)

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## **Interface activist / academic social movements journal looking for reviews editor**

**Deadline 15 September 2016**

*Interface: a journal for and about social movements* is seeking a new co-editor for the book review section. *Interface* is an open-access, activist / academic journal from and for social movements. The main tasks will be to correspond with publishers and reviewers and review and comment on

submitted manuscripts. There will also be elements of proofreading, layout, and updating the journal's website. The editor will furthermore be a full member of the journal's editorial spokescouncil. Fluency in English is required and proficiency in other languages will be appreciated. Furthermore, the editor is expected to have excellent critical skills, knowledge of different ways of writing and thinking about social movements, and an interest in and an awareness of new cutting-edge book publications. As the journal is run on a voluntary and non-profit basis, the position is, as all others in the journal, unpaid. After a six months trial and training period, the book review section will be co-edited by the candidate and an experienced co-editor. Expected workload is 15 hours per issue (we publish two issues a year) concentrated before publication, in October and April. As the journal is run virtually, no travelling is required. If you're interested, **please email [brisager AT cas.au.dk](mailto:brisager AT cas.au.dk) before September 15** attaching a cover letter describing who you are and why you'd like to be involved (approx. ½ page) and your CV.

*More information and application [here](#)*

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