



SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POPULAR MOBILISATION IN THE MENA

Digest of Current Publications and Events

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CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

CfP: Making Space in the Maghrib

Deadline for proposals: 1 February 2017

Conference 8-9 July 2017, Tunisia

The American Institute for Maghrib Studies invites scholars to submit papers for an interactive conference to be held in Tunisia on the theme of “Making Space in the Maghrib.” The aim of this conference is to develop an interdisciplinary suite of papers examining processes of space-making into, out of, and within northern Africa (broadly defined) at various levels of analysis, throughout all historical periods, and through multiple theoretical frameworks across the humanities and social sciences.

The mass uprisings of 2011 brought newfound attention to North Africa as a distinct space, one that is autonomous from regions under which it is too often subsumed, whether the Middle East, Africa, the Mediterranean, or d’outre-mer. At the same time, the “givenness” of the Maghrib as a region — that is, the conditions of its regionality — are both multiple and contradictory. The multiplicity and conflictuality of these conditions are not unlike those cited in Edward Said’s account of the emergence of the Orient as an imaginative geography, one produced within the accumulation and exercise of the North Atlantic’s cultural, political, and economic hegemony, from the Renaissance to the postcolonial period. Space-making, however, is not simply a differential operation of power that occurs within the macrological forces of geopolitics. As Mbembe argues in his critique of Foucault’s notion of biopower, any account of the emergence of modern sovereignty must contend with the perfection of its micrological potency as, for example, in such intimate colonial spaces as the plantation. Moreover, the elements that define these spaces cannot be abstracted from their larger environmental relations. Assemblages of forces — climatic, vegetal, and animal as much as human — are thickly implicated in the emergence of spatial regimes. Building upon world-ecology scholarship investigating historical articulations of the nature/culture divide, this conference seeks to account for the ways in which space has been (un)naturalized in the Maghrib.

Accounting for the variegated processes of spatial reification necessitates the employment of a multidisciplinary framework. While geographers have developed exceptional theoretical and methodological tools for the analysis of spatial formations, other disciplinary approaches are finding equally inventive and insightful ways of unpacking and accounting for space as well. Across the humanities and social sciences, concepts and practices of space have drawn increased scrutiny in recent years. At the same time, the particular and characteristic logics and processes of space-making, unmaking, and remaking in northern Africa have yet to be subjected to this same kind of sustained inquiry and critique.

Let us begin with the very insistence that the maghrib constitutes a region in the first place; we thus invite scholars from all disciplinary backgrounds to submit proposals which introduce new

understandings of space across North Africa. It is our hope that an auspicious convergence of insights can yield both a fundamental rethinking of the maghrib, as well as a preliminary set of mappings of the spatial practices that both constitute and reconstitute it.

Possible themes and topics include, but are not limited to:

Boundaries of communal identities
Citizenship and territoriality
Gendered politics of space
Health, wealth, class and the state
Imperial/national subjectivities
Internal frontiers/borders
Natural and unnatural disasters
Spaces of flow / spaces of place
States of exception
Territorialization and environment
The urban in the rural (and vice versa)
Value, appropriation, and ecology
War, peace, and territory

Scholars interested in participating in this conference are asked to submit a paper proposal by 1 February 2017 to maghribspaces@gmail.com. Proposals should contain: a paper title and abstract (300-500 words), author's name, professional affiliation, and a brief professional biography (200-300 words). Participants should expect to be notified 1 March 2017. All participants will submit papers and will be asked to act as discussant on another participant's paper. In order to facilitate an informed and intensive discussion at the conference, complete draft papers will be due no later than 1 June 2017. Invitations will be withdrawn for participants who fail to submit draft papers.

The conference organizers aim to submit suitable conference papers for a special journal issue or an edited volume in English. In addition to the assigned discussants' comments, the organizers plan to provide each participant with substantive feedback. Revised papers will be due 1 September 2017 in order to facilitate rapid publication of the collection. Translations of French and Arabic papers into English will be provided.

For all selected participants, organizers provide local transportation, accommodations (3-4 nights in the conference hotel), meals, and other reasonable per diem expenditures. The conference will cover international travel costs for Maghribi participants coming from Morocco, Algeria, and Libya. Other invited participants will need to cover their own travel costs to and from Tunisia.

More information [here](#)

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CfP: Anarchism and Marxism in the Contemporary Global Left

Deadline: 16 December 2016

We seek original articles for a projected 2018 special issue of *Globalizations* on the ways in which anarchism(s) and Marxism(s) are articulated and practiced across the contemporary global left. Anarchism and Marxism are two of the long-standing intellectual frameworks through which anti-capitalism is articulated and practiced. Often seen in tension or polar opposites, two recent collections of essays has shown this to be historically misleading (Prichard et al 2012), and equally problematic in terms of contemporary philosophical debate and practice (Prichard and Worth 2016). More needs to be said about the complexities of current practices and movements, the collaborations and compromises that animate the contemporary global left.

We see practices, ideas, and emancipatory strategies, as mutually constitutive. Ideological frameworks emerge from movements, are complex and contested and morphological (Freeden 1996). It is possible to identify (*inter alia*) different meanings of freedom, accounts of the workings of capital or domination, all articulated in different ways in different social democratic, counter-cultural, revolutionary and anti-parliamentary tendencies. These ideas animate different groups, often different elements within the same movements, which give the practices of these cross cutting social movements their dynamism and complexity, and often a contradictory character. Can these be untangled, and in so doing, can we identify any identifiably anarchist and Marxist tendencies in this dynamic process across the global left?

It has been widely remarked that an anarchist sub-culture pervades large parts of the contemporary left, from shaping modes of participation, to decision making, and rationalising disengagement from mainstream politics, any yet most mass social movements are not self-identifying as anarchist. While anarchistic groups have been central to Occupy and 15M, so too have the plural Marxist tendencies, explaining their plural strategies and wide appeal. The successes and the failures of Podemos, Bernie Sanders and Syriza, also invites further reflection on the relative merits of anarchist and Marxist accounts of the appropriate strategies of emancipatory social, political and economic change. More stories are yet to be told about the place of anarchism and Marxism in black and minority ethnic struggles in the west, in Black Lives Matter for example. What place does anarchism or Marxism have in the violent labour disputes in South Africa, or in the aftermath of the factory recuperations in Argentina, or far left movements in India, Nepal, and elsewhere? Likewise, radical LGBTQ and feminist movements are adopting organisational strategies and campaigning forms that have moved beyond the traditional anti/parliamentary left. Are conceptions of hegemony and counter-hegemony that have been current since the 1990s still salient here? The 'democratic confederalists' in the Rojava region of Kurdistan, the Zapatistas in Mexico, and the global La Via Campesina movement, can each be said to exhibit tendencies of a broad left convergence, adopting formal organisational structures while dissociating from the state. Are these hybrid ideological forms of left wing politics? What are their contours, their constitutive practices and aims? Where are the compromises, the innovations, and what can we learn from this for the future of the left?

Papers in this special issue will explore the conjuncture between anarchism(s) and Marxism(s) in actually existing social movements, to tell us something new about the nature of left praxis today. We do not expect our authors to speak for these movements. Rather where possible prospective

authors should speak from them, recounting from experience the tensions and compromise, messiness and the morphology of the contemporary left. Questions that might guide reflections include: Where do we see this convergence and compromise taking place, what are its main features and contours? What lessons are to be learned from this convergence? What can this analysis tell us about the future of the left? Wherever there are untold stories about the attempted convergence of anarchism(s) and Marxism(s), we would like to hear about it.

Timeline:

We will publish 8 selected articles in a prospective special issue of *Globalizations* in 2018. To meet this publication date, we require abstracts of up to 300 words by December the 16th, 2016. Successful authors will be notified in January 2017, and encouraged to present their draft papers at a major international conference or smaller colloquium in 2017 (t.b.c.). Papers will be double blind peer reviewed and submitted to *Globalizations* in January 2018.

Please submit your abstract, by no later than the 16th of December, to Owen Worth at the following email address: Owen.Worth@ul.ie

Should you wish to discuss your potential contribution in more detail, please contact Alex Prichard at the following email address: a.prichard@exeter.ac.uk

More information [here](#)

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TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

Universal Jurisdiction versus Political Immunity: can states still get away with it?

28 November 2016, 6:15 - 8:15 pm

Venue: Room TW1 G.01, Ground floor of Tower 1, St Clements Inn, LSE, London, WC2A 2AZ

Chair: Professor Gerry Simpson, LSE

Panellists: Rodney Dixon QC, Temple Garden Chambers; Dr John Chalcraft, LSE; Alexandra Lort-Phillips, British activist on board Gaza flotilla MV Mavi Marmara; Ahmet Dogan, father of Furkan Dogan who was an 18 year old activist killed on the MV Mavi Marmara; Ali Emrah Bozbayindir, Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University

Principles of universal jurisdiction and international justice are increasingly advocated, especially by non-state actors seeking accountability and justice, while states continue to push back in the name of sovereignty and political immunity. Israel and Turkey have recently made an inter-state agreement to put an end to the adjudication of criminal and civil actions by victims of the killings and other serious violations aboard the Gaza Freedom Flotilla and Mavi Marmara aid ship in 2010. What are the

implications of this agreement? On 2 December the High Criminal Court in Istanbul convenes to decide whether the criminal case in Turkey should continue. We ask whether it is true that, even in our globalized world, states can still get away with not holding perpetrators of serious international crimes to account. *More information & registration* [here](#)

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Shadows in the Garden: Women Agents Underground and Communist Activism in Mid-20th Century Iran

28 November 2016, 5:15-7:15 pm

Speaker: Dr. Lana Ravandi-Fadai, Russian Academy of Sciences

Venue: Russell Square: College Buildings, SOAS, London

More information [here](#)

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Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity and Politics

28 November 2016, 6:00-8:00 PM

Speaker: Khalil al-Anani, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies

Venue: SOAS, Paul Webley Wing (Senate House), Alumni Lecture Theatre, London

Talk by Khalil al-Anani on the subject of his latest book *Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity, and Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2016), in which he provides a comprehensive analysis of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt since 1981 and unpacks the principal factors that shape the Brotherhood's identity, organization, and activism, investigating the processes of socialization, indoctrination, recruitment, identification, networking, and mobilization utilized by the movement. Professor al-Anani argues that the Brotherhood is not merely a political actor seeking power but also an identity maker that aims to change societal values, norms, and morals to line up with its ideology and worldview. *More information* [here](#)

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Screening: A Revolution in Four Seasons + Q&A

28 November 2016, 7:00pm

Venue: Frontline Club, 13 Norfolk Place, London, W2 1QJ

This compelling documentary follows journalist Emna Ben Jemaa and Constituent Assembly member Jawhara Ettis over the course of Tunisia's critical first four years after the Revolution. Emna is a secular journalist fighting to keep religion out of government, while Jawhara works within Parliament to help gently guide the nation towards more Islamic principles. Both women exhibit remarkable

determination, wisdom, and resilience in their efforts to steer the country towards disparate versions of the perfect democracy. *More information* [here](#)

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Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East

29 November 2016, 5:30-7:00 PM

Speaker: John Chalcraft, LSE

Venue: SOAS, Paul Webley Wing (Senate House), Wolfson Lecture Theatre, London

Lecture by John Chalcraft on the subject of his book *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). Challenging top-down views of Middle Eastern politics, Chalcraft looks at how commoners, subjects and citizens have long mobilised in defiance of authorities and forges a new narrative of change over time, creating a truly comparative framework rooted in the dynamics of hegemonic contestation. Beginning with movements under the Ottomans, which challenged corruption and oppression under the banners of religion, justice, rights and custom, Chalcraft goes on to discuss the impact of constitutional movements, armed struggles, nationalism and independence, revolution and Islamism. *More information* [here](#)

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Islamists in the Gulf: Opposition or Allies?

29 November 2016, 18:30-20:30

Speaker: Dr Courtney Freer, LSE

Venue: Nash Lecture Theatre (K2.31) Strand Campus, King's College, London

More information [here](#)

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The Politics of Gender and Ethnicity in Turkey

30 November 2016, 5:00 pm

Speakers: Hilal Alkan, Nil Mutluer

Venue: Forum Transregionale Studien, Wallotstr. 14, 14193 Berlin

Turkey has been going through a fast transformation lately. Particularly in the last period of the AKP government, the Turkish political scene witnessed a deepening and widening polarization between the AKP and almost all of its opponents, including the Kemalists, and the Kurdish and Turkish left, which increasingly took on a gendered, sexualized and ethnicized quality. In this talk, we look at the role gender and sexuality play in the AKP's (Justice and Development Party) identity politics. We argue that in this political endeavor of the governing party, reproduction has become of key

importance, and legal amendments as well as discursive tools have been successfully employed to regulate it. One focus of this panel is to elaborate on how relations and politics on gender and sexuality have shaped and have been shaped by the AKP in creating the values of "New Turkey". Second, the panel will focus on how these policies unfold when it comes to Kurdish women and the women active in Kurdish politics. *More information* [here](#)

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Screening and Panel discussion: We Are Many Screening and Panel Discussion

30 November 2016, 7:00 - 9:30 PM

Venue: Brunei Gallery, Room BGLT, SOAS, London

Join us for the screening of Amir Amirani's *We Are Many*, the critically acclaimed documentary on the Iraq War protests - the largest demonstration in human history.

"A work of beautiful rage...provokes anger and goosebumps" - Empire

"the only film I've ever watched where the audience started clapping half way through" - The Huffington Post

The film will be followed by a panel discussion of the impact of the Iraq War on British politics - 'Did the Invasion of Iraq Break British Democracy'?

The panel includes: Amir Amirani - '*We Are Many*' director, Professor Nadjie Al-Ali - SOAS Gender Studies, Dr Ayça Çubukçu - Assistant Professor in Human Rights at LSE, Dr Saleyha Ahsan - filmmaker and freelance reporter, Professor Charles Tripp - SOAS Professor of Politics

More information [here](#)

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Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia - Controlling Global Jihadism?

1 December 2016, 20:00

Venue: Film Plateau, Paddenhoek 3, 9000 Gent, Belgium

Speaker: Paul Aarts (Universiteit Amsterdam)

In recent times there is much talk about the Saudi 'export of Wahhabism', and some even allege that Saudi Arabia is at least partly to be held responsible for Jihadist extremism, including the Islamic State's brutalities. The Islamic State, and other violent Salafi groups like al-Qaeda, are however much less 'neo-Wahhabi' or 'Wahhabi 3.0' than a typical illustration of the sorcerer's apprentice phenomenon. The eighteenth-century mutual aid pact between Ibn Saud and Muhammad Ibn Ab al-Wahhab holds good to this day. The establishment Wahhabi clerics guarantee the political legitimacy of the House of Saud. In its turn the royal family largely refrains from interference with the ultra-puritanical (and anti-Shiite) Sunni foundations of the Kingdom insisted on by the conservative clergy. This relationship has not been without frictions however. When did these happen and what were the

consequences? How does the religious field look like these days? Do the Saudis really control global Jihadism or is Saudi Wahhabism profoundly quietist? *More information* [here](#)

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In Search of the Umma: The Social Imaginary and its Discontents - Third SOAS Politics Department Centenary Lecture

6 December 2016, 18:00 – 19:30

Venue: Brunei Gallery SOAS, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG

Speaker: Professor James Piscatori

Muslim societies are inexorably interconnected with cultural exchanges, intimate political interactions, and a degree of economic interdependence: 'Islam' has seemed naturally trans-local and pan-Islamic aspirations enduring. This lecture examines how Muslims have dealt with the idea of solidarity, even unity, as seemingly contradictory trends unfolded – as states became entrenched in the Muslim world and as broader networks have emerged. The 'one community' (*umma wahida*) referenced in the Qur'an (e.g., 5:48) has, over time, been idealised, even though its precise meaning has remained vague. While it has become a moral 'gold standard' by which political and religious authorities are often assessed, different answers have been proffered as to how encompassing, internally unified, and institutionalised the *umma* should be. A community is often thought to move 'strangers' to 'friends' through encircling networks of trust, but to move from the default position of 'brotherhood' to something more self-consciously integrated involves interlocking systems of meaning that are at best elusive. Yet other forms of identity — secular, national, ethnic — while persisting, can also be challenged and may have lost cultural authority. In effect, the social imaginary of Islamic community has developed as several tensions have simultaneously unfolded: authenticity/hybridity, implicitness/explicitness, detachment/attachment, and communitarianism/cosmopolitanism. This lecture seeks to shed light on an evolving normative vision and its contested place in Muslim modernities. *More information* [here](#)

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A 'Revolutionary Education'? Algeria, West Africa, and the Postcolonial Politics of Islam

7 December 2016, 18:00-19:30

Speaker: Andrew Lebovich, Columbia University

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

In different ways, legacies of Islamic reform have profoundly impacted the politics and societies of North and West Africa. In this lecture, Andrew Lebovich examines the largely unexplored connections in the colonial and postcolonial era between reformist Muslims in Algeria and West Africa, the

impact of these ties on the development of regional Islamic reform, and what they might say about Algeria's sometimes fraught relationship with the rest of Africa. *More information & registration* [here](#)

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Yemen's Other Civil War - Tribes, Technocrats and Revolutionaries 1962-70

7 December 2016, 7:00 - 9:00 PM

Speaker: Joshua Rogers, SOAS

Venue: Brunei Gallery, Room B102, SOAS, London

Talk by Joshua Rogers who is a PhD student at the Development Studies Department, SOAS, working on state formation in Yemen during the civil war 1962-70. He is the 2015 recipient of the British-Yemeni Society's research grant and previously worked on Yemen for Saferworld, an NGO and the European Union. Drinks will be served at 7.00pm. *More information* [here](#)

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The Twilight of Neoliberalism: Theorising Social Movements in the Age of Trump and Brexit

8 December 2016, 3 – 5 pm

Speaker: Laurence Cox, National University of Ireland Maynooth

Venue: Building 1441, Auditorium 1, Tåsingegade 3, 8000 Aarhus C, Denmark

In 2014's *We Make Our Own History: Marxism and Social Movements in the Twilight of Neoliberalism*, Alf Gunvald Nilsen and I argued that neoliberalism, like other forms of capitalism before it, had entered an organic crisis characterised both by a crumbling of the social alliances underpinning neoliberalism as a strategy for accumulation and by a global “movement of movements” against neoliberalism, running from global justice struggles around the turn of the millennium to contemporary anti-austerity movements. Indeed the widespread usage of the term neoliberalism itself is in large part a reflection of its adoption as a term enabling alliance formation between very different social movements. Underpinning this analysis is our wider rereading of Marxism as a theory of collective human action, in which both social order and social change are produced by the conflictual interactions between “social movements from above” such as that which gave rise to neoliberalism as an effective political project, and “social movements from below”, operating on many different scales from the local to the global. *More information* [here](#)

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'Islamism' & Islamist alterity – Understanding political Islam

15 December 2016, 20:00

Location: Film Plateau, Paddenhoek 3 , 9000 Gent, Belgium

Speaker: Francois Burgat (Iremam - CRNS)

Since the 2000's a resurgence of a certain "political Islam" crystallizes mistrust. Numerous encounters with actors of this movement in different countries, show that their motivations are mostly secular and political rather than religious. In his Forthcoming book "Understanding Political Islam: a research trajectory on Islamist alterity, 1973-2016.", Francois Burgat traces the human and scientific path that led him to express a very strong conviction today. He namely considers the actual tensions in the relation between the Western and the Muslim world have a political rather than an ideological origin. The selfishness from which they are the product is primarily 'ours' and not only, as too often a comfortable laziness makes us think, that of the "other," which never ceases to "decolonize" from us: the Muslim. *More information* [here](#)

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RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Middle East Studies for the New Millennium - Infrastructures of Knowledge

Seteney Shami, Cynthia Miller-Idriss (Eds)

November 2016 – NYU Press

Few world regions today are of more pressing social and political interest than the Middle East: hardly a day has passed in the last decade without events there making global news. Understanding the region has never been more important, yet the field of Middle East studies in the United States is in flux, enmeshed in ongoing controversies about the relationship between knowledge and power, the role of the federal government at universities, and ways of knowing "other" cultures and places. Assembling a wide range of scholars immersed in the transformations of their disciplines and the study of this world region, *Middle East Studies for the New Millennium* explores the big-picture issues affecting the field, from the geopolitics of knowledge production to structural changes in the university to broader political and public contexts. Tracing the development of the field from the early days of the American university to the "Islamophobia" of the present day, this book explores Middle East studies as a discipline and, more generally, its impact on the social sciences and academia. Topics include how different disciplines engage with Middle East scholars, how American universities teach Middle East studies and related fields, and the relationship between scholarship and U.S.-Arab relations, among others. *Middle East Studies for the New Millennium* presents a

comprehensive, authoritative overview of how this crucial field of academic inquiry came to be and where it is going next.

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The Reawakening of the Arab World: Challenge and Change in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring

Samir Amin

2016 - Monthly Review Press

According to renowned Marxist economist Samir Amin, the recent Arab Spring uprisings comprise an integral part of a massive "second awakening" of the Global South. From the self-immolation in December 2010 of a Tunisian street vendor, to the consequent outcries in Cairo's Tahrir Square against poverty and corruption, to the ongoing upheavals across the Middle East and Northern Africa, the Arab world is shaping what may become of Western imperialism – an already tottering and overextended system. *The Reawakening of the Arab World* examines the complex interplay of nations regarding the Arab Spring and its continuing, turbulent seasons. Beginning with Amin's compelling interpretation of the 2011 popular Arab explosions, the book is comprised of five chapters – including a new chapter analyzing U.S. geo-strategy. Amin sees the United States, in an increasingly multi-polar world, as a victim of overreach, caught in its own web of attempts to contain the challenge of China, while confronting the staying power of nations such as Syria and Iran. The growing, deeply-felt need of the Arab people for independent, popular democracy is the cause of their awakening, says Amin. It is this awakening to democracy that the United States fears most, since real self-government by independent nations would necessarily mean the end of U.S. empire, and the economic liberalism that has kept it in place. The way forward for the Arab world, Amin argues, is to take on, not just Western imperialism, but also capitalism itself.

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What Is a People?

Alain Badiou, Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler, Georges Didi-Huberman, Sadri Khiari, and Jacques Rancière.

2016 – Columbia University Press

What Is a People? seeks to reclaim "people" as an effective political concept by revisiting its uses and abuses over time. Alain Badiou surveys the idea of a people as a productive force of solidarity and emancipation and as a negative tool of categorization and suppression. Pierre Bourdieu follows with a sociolinguistic analysis of "popular" and its transformation of democracy, beliefs, songs, and even soups into phenomena with outsized importance. Judith Butler calls out those who use freedom of assembly to create an exclusionary "we," while Georges Didi-Huberman addresses the problem of summing up a people with totalizing narratives. Sadri Khiari applies an activist's perspective to the racial hierarchies inherent in ethnic and national categories, and Jacques Rancière comments on the

futility of isolating theories of populism when, as these thinkers have shown, the idea of a "people" is too diffuse to support them. By engaging this topic linguistically, ethnically, culturally, and ontologically, the voices in this volume help separate "people" from its fraught associations to pursue more vital formulations.

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L'UGTT, une passion tunisienne. Enquête sur les syndicalistes en révolution (2011-2014)

Hèla Yousfi

2015 – Karthala

L'Union générale tunisienne du travail (UGTT) est la première force syndicale tunisienne et a longtemps aussi été la seule. Pierre angulaire du mouvement national du temps de la colonisation, l'UGTT a toujours joué un rôle cardinal dans la vie politique tunisienne. Poussée par le puissant soulèvement populaire déclenché le 17 décembre 2010, l'UGTT, s'est trouvée nettement engagée dans l'action, sa capacité de mobilisation lui permettant de peser sur la transformation du champ politique tunisien. Son action a suscité et suscite encore des débats pour le moins passionnés entre ceux qui considèrent comme salutaire la mobilisation de l'UGTT, ceux qui la dénoncent en appelant sa direction à s'en tenir à son rôle syndical ou encore ceux qui appellent purement et simplement à l'affrontement avec une organisation, incarnant à leurs yeux l'aile encore agissante de l'ancien parti au pouvoir. Comment l'UGTT a-t-elle interagi avec le soulèvement populaire qui a conduit au départ de Ben Ali ? Quel a été son rôle dans la « transition politique » aboutissant à l'adoption de la première constitution démocratique tunisienne, le 26 janvier 2014 ?

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Workers and Thieves: Labor Movements and Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt

Joel Beinin

2015 - Stanford Briefs

Since the 1990s, the Middle East has experienced an upsurge of wildcat strikes, sit-ins, and workers' demonstrations. Well before people gathered in Tahrir Square to demand the ouster of Hosni Mubarak, workers had formed one of the largest oppositional movements to authoritarian rule in Egypt. In Tunisia, years prior to the 2011 Arab uprisings, the unemployed chanted in protest, "A job is a right, you pack of thieves!" Despite this history, most observers have failed to acknowledge the importance of workers in the social ferment preceding the removal of Egyptian and Tunisian autocrats and in the political realignments after their demise. In *Workers and Thieves*, Joel Beinin corrects this by surveying the efforts and impacts of the workers' movements in Egypt and Tunisia since the 1970s. He argues that the 2011 uprisings in these countries—and, importantly, their vastly

different outcomes—are best understood within the context of these repeated mobilizations of workers and the unemployed over recent decades.

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The Revolutionary Marxism of Antonio Gramsci

Frank Rosengarten

2015 – Haymarket Books

Antonio Gramsci was not only one of the most original and significant communist leaders of his time but also a creative thinker whose contributions to the renewal of Marxism remain pertinent today. In *The Revolutionary Marxism of Antonio Gramsci*, Frank Rosengarten explores Gramsci's writings in areas as diverse as Marxist theory, the responsibilities of political leadership, and the theory and practice of literary criticism. He also discusses Gramsci's influence on the post-colonial world. Through close readings of texts ranging from Gramsci's socialist journalism in the Turin years to his prison letters and Notebooks, Rosengarten captures the full vitality of the Sardinian communist's thought and outlook on life.

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Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East

Adam Hanieh

2013 - Haymarket Books

While the outcomes of the tumultuous uprisings that continue to transfix the Arab world remain uncertain, the root causes of rebellion persist. Drawing upon extensive empirical research, *Lineages of Revolt* tracks the major shifts in the region's political economy over recent decades. In this illuminating and original work, Adam Hanieh explores the contours of neoliberal policies, dynamics of class and state formation, imperialism and the nature of regional accumulation, the significance of Palestine and the Gulf Arab states, and the ramifications of the global economic crisis. By mapping the complex and contested nature of capitalism in the Middle East, the book demonstrates that a full understanding of the uprisings needs to go beyond a simple focus on "dictators and democracy."

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JOURNAL ARTICLES & OTHER ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

A civilized revolution: Aesthetics and political action in Egypt

Jessica Winegar

American ethnologist, Volume 43, Issue 4, November 2016, Pages 609–622

Acts of aesthetic ordering dominated Egyptian protest and civic activity in 2011, around the time of former president Hosni Mubarak's downfall. They played a central role in motivating collective political action, giving form to a nationalist utopian vision and legitimizing ordinary Egyptians as active agents and upright citizens. Yet they also reproduced exclusionary middle-class aspirations tied up with state projects and related forms of citizenship that center on surveillance, individualism, and consumption. Examining such acts of aesthetic ordering reveals the tensions at the heart of many political movements, especially as people attempt to enact their utopian visions in public space. The precarity of both middle classness and utopian schemes of revolution render aesthetics a key battleground of political action.

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Understanding Libya's Civil Society

Carmen Geha

22 November 2016, Middle East institute

Libya is not a typical go-to place for research on civil society. For more than 42 years, this North African county was largely closed to researchers, activists and the media. Governed by an idiosyncratic and rather vicious tyrant, Libya was hardly an attractive cite for field-research. Yet, it is a stroke of good fortune that I, as a young doctoral student and with the help of Libyan friends, managed to conduct extensive research during multiple visits over the period 2011-2013 — acquiring a rich trove of information gathered from personal interactions with hundreds of Libyans eager to share their thoughts. This essay, which draws upon these interactions, seeks to shed light on an under-theorized area of research, namely the forces that challenge an emerging civil society during a political transition. In doing so, the essay makes two contributions to knowledge, first by arguing the value and inevitable role of civil society in a divided or conflict-ridden society, and second by helping readers better understand and unpack the case of Libya's disrupted and dispersed civil society.

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Making and Unmaking of the Greater Middle East

Kevan Harris

New Left Review 101, September-October 2016

In 1840, a coalition of European powers decided to take on an alarming problem to their south. The Albanian-born governor of Ottoman Egypt, Mehmed Ali, had spent the past two decades building up a formidable industrial and military capacity in his assigned territories. A veteran of the Napoleonic wars, the Wahhabi revolt and the Greek rebellion, Ali administered Egypt as a province of the Sublime Porte in name only; in reality he was forging a Mediterranean Prussia. Ali's troops marched on Palestine, Syria and then Greece, claiming territory and stationing men. The Ottoman Sultan could do little about it. Eventually, British and Austrian navies cut off Egyptian supply lines and entered Alexandria's waters. Under duress, Ali signed a series of capitulations which opened Egyptian markets, dismantled its manufacturing base and defanged its military. Egypt experienced rapid under-development, becoming an exporter of raw commodities and an importer of European manufactures for the next century. It was not until the rule of Gamal Abdel Nasser that such statist attempts would occur again in North Africa, to be met once more with external military response. Today, not coincidentally, Egypt lags behind other middle-income states in industrial capacity, as well as being the world's largest importer of wheat. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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NEWS PIECES & COMMENTARY

[Egypt:] Further restrictions

Mona El-Nahas

Al-Ahram Weekly, Issue No.1321, 24 November, 2016

It took parliament just a couple of days to approve an 89-article legislation meant to define the operation of local and international NGOs working in Egypt. The law will replace current Law 84 of 2002 on civil society organisations. The draft, submitted on 15 November by Abdel-Hadi Al-Qasabi, head of parliament's Social Solidarity Committee, along with 203 other parliamentary members, was slammed by civil society organisations which argued the law would effectively end their presence in the country. But drafters of the law insisted the urgency in which the law was passed was a must after accusing most NGOs of using foreign funds to harm national security and implement foreign agendas against Egypt. In a statement issued on 15 November, six liberal and leftist parties and 22 rights groups announced their rejection of the law. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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A visit to the West Bank

Stephen McCloskey

23 November 2016, Opendemocracy

The West Bank has witnessed an upsurge in violence over the past year while the construction of settler colonies continues apace, but there may be hope in the BDS movement. Over the past year, there has been a worrying contagion of the conflict in the West Bank triggered initially by tightened Israeli restrictions on Palestinian access to Jerusalem's Al Aqsa mosque, one of the holiest sites in the Muslim faith. At the time, UNESCO censured Israel for 'aggression and illegal measures restricting freedom of worship', particularly at Al Aqsa which became a flashpoint for violence. The escalation of violence included 'lone wolf' Knife attacks by Palestinians which was regularly met by lethal force on the part of the Israeli military and police. Over the past year, 250 Palestinians have been killed including 50 children with 33 Israelis having lost their lives in attacks in the same period. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Attacks on civil society in Turkey, human rights and solidarity

Lutz Oette

17 November 2016, Opendemocracy

Dr. Şebnem Korur Fincancı, a forensic doctor, university professor, and human rights defender, has been a leading figure in the struggle against torture worldwide. Now she stands accused, together with two prominent journalists, Erol Önderoğlu and Ahmet Nesin, of having committed serious crimes, including propaganda for terrorism. The crime? Acting as a one day guest editor-in-chief for the now banned newspaper, Özgür Gündem Daily, to show solidarity with the editors who have faced prosecution. As someone who has worked closely with Dr. Fincancı, I, and many others around the world who have come to know her as a passionate and compassionate defender of human rights, was appalled when I heard about the prosecution. This is not an ordinary case in what are extraordinary times in Turkey. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Why resistance is the shortest way to global justice

Alaa Tartir

16 November 2016, Opendemocracy

The world dis-(order) continues to expand and take different shapes and forms, and so does injustice. The democratic norms are in crisis and the political representation gap continues to widen. New conflicts keep erupting in this highly securitised world, and new technologies of oppression and aggression are deployed. Global citizens feel less empowered, and far from the core of their political

systems. The answer to all of this is resistance. Many voices around the world are working hard to make the word resistance a “dirty word” arguing that it is not compatible with global peace and justice. Others even try to criminalise resistance. Global institutions tasked to ensure justice, such as the United Nations, have failed on many occasions to reverse and challenge aggressive conditions. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Football’s martyrs: how the Ultras become revolutionaries

Karim Zidan

11 November 2016, Opendemocracy

The second in a four-part series that delves into the history of the Ultras and their impact on Egyptian society.

Hussein Taha and Mohamed Makwa: names of the first members of the Ultras to become revolutionary martyrs, and the first to die for a political purpose. They passed away on 28 January 2011, on the 'Friday of Rage', a turning point of the Egyptian uprising. Their death was not simply a tragedy, it was also a spark that kindled unity in their fragmented brotherhood – a single unwavering reason for Ultras to join the revolution in full force. They had lost two of their own. Prior to January 25, 2011, the Ultras represented hardcore Egyptian football fan groups that confronted authority, opposed police control and the extreme censorship prevalent during the Mubarak regime. Determined to have their voices heard, young men gathered during football matches to chant slogans and erect infamous red devil pitchforks in the stands as symbolic opposition to the government and its vicious security forces. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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AUC students fight tuition hike

Reem Leila

Al-Ahram Weekly, Issue No.1319, 10 November 2016

American University in Cairo (AUC) students have been demonstrating since Monday 7 November against rising tuition fees. Fifty per cent of the university’s fees are paid in dollars and 50 per cent in Egyptian pounds. More than 1,000 angry students gathered on the university campus chanting "AUC thieves, my parents are not" and "We need a solution, and we won't back off". Some of them held banners while marching around the university expressing anger against university policy. Student Union (SU) members exhorted students, telling them that they were the decision makers and power behind the changes that should be made, and that they were paving the path by their presence and should have their voices heard. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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In Tunisia, women still struggle for their rights

Don Duncan

Le Monde Diplomatique, 8 November 2016

Tunisia was the first Arab country to enshrine women's rights into law, back in 1957, and the only country to have successfully applied the lessons of the Arab Spring. Even so, there is still a long way to go for Tunisian women — at work and in politics. Tunisia's 2011 revolution ended a 22-year dictatorship, and kicked off a wave of popular uprisings throughout the region; the overthrow of its dictator, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, spurred a joyful sense of unity. Yet champions of women's rights feared what might happen to their existing rights as a post-revolution Islamist conservatism took hold with the arrival of the Islamist Ennahda party to power. Though Ben Ali's two-decade reign had been marked by corruption, human rights abuses, tight restrictions on free speech and political opposition, his regime had preserved the foundations of the country's strong women's rights legislation, established in 1957 with the adoption of the Code of Personal Status. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Morocco's Al-Hoceima protests reflect 'a heavy legacy'

Aida Alami

1 November 2016, Al-Jazeera

Moroccans protesting over the gruesome death of a fish seller have vowed to continue demonstrating until the full truth surrounding his death is known. Mouhcine Fikri, 31, was crushed to death in a rubbish truck on Friday, as he reportedly tried to protest against a municipal worker seizing and destroying his wares. "We want them [the authorities] to know that the children of this region want to end the oppression," said Faysal Awssal, a member of the Moroccan Association for Human Rights. "People here want respect for the people of Al-Hoceima. People are [politically] aware. We want an investigation that determines what happens," he told Al Jazeera in a phone interview. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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'It could happen to any of us': Why the revolution in Morocco has started

Rifflan

31 October 2016, Middel East Eye

Our story starts with a 31-year-old Riffian man named Mohsin Fikri who lives in the city of Hoceima in northern Morocco. Like the majority of Moroccans, Mohsin was extremely poor. He was Riffian, meaning that he was both an Amazigh and also from the Rif, a mountainous region in the north

where many Amazigh live – and one of many non-Arabised zones in Morocco that the government has completely marginalised to the point that some cities still don't have electricity, water or hospitals. On Friday, Mohsin, who was a fisherman, was caught by the *makhzen* (the Moroccan police) trying to sell swordfish that he obtained illegally. They confiscated the fish. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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EU recognizes right to boycott Israel

Ali Abunimah

28 October 2016, electronic intifada

The European Union recognizes the right of its citizens to boycott Israel, its top foreign policy official has said. “The EU stands firm in protecting freedom of expression and freedom of association in line with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which is applicable on EU member states’ territory, including with regard to BDS [boycott, divestment and sanctions] actions carried out on this territory,” Federica Mogherini told the European Parliament in answer to a written question in late September. Mogherini noted that the European Court of Human Rights has affirmed that freedom of expression applies to ideas “that offend, shock or disturb the state or any sector of the population.” She also reaffirmed that the 28-member bloc “rejects the BDS campaign’s attempts to isolate Israel and is opposed to any boycott of Israel.” *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Huge Protests In Baghdad Against Turkey’s Presence In Iraq

Carol Adl

19 October 2016, YourNewsWire

Thousands of Iraqis surrounded the Turkish embassy in Baghdad on Tuesday to protest the continued presence of Turkish troops in their country. The Protesters demanded that Ankara withdraw from a base near the city of Mosul, in line with repeated requests by the Iraqi government. Turkey has stated its intention to take part in the ongoing battle for the ISIS stronghold in the city of Mosul. On Monday President Recep Tayyip Erdogan cited the Misak-i Milli as part of their determination to be involved in the fighting. The early 20th-century document says the Iraqi city of Mosul is on Turkish soil. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Another Egyptian Bouazizi Ahead of November 11 Protests

Noura Ali

17 October 2016, Middle East Observer

While Egyptians are suffering from the government's austerity policies and high prices for securing the \$12 bn IMF loan, a taxi driver set himself on fire in front of an army center in Sidi Gaber, east Alexandria on Saturday, reportedly in protest against the country's high prices and poor living conditions, as reported by Al-Arabi al-Jadeed. According to witnesses, Ashraf Mohammed Shaheen, 30 years-old started criticizing the government and the country's high prices, before pouring gasoline on himself and setting himself alight. In response, one eyewitness aid that passers-by rushed to put out the fire and called an ambulance, which took him to Amiri Hospital. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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ARAB WORLD – A suspended political transition

Ziad Medouk

October 2016, Le Courrier du Maghreb et de l'Orient

The purpose of this paper is to identify a few key issues related to political transitions in Palestine, in the Arab countries, and in Asia, in order to identify the main conditions connected to what will be a long process and an uncertain outcome, which varies from one country to another. The current situation in the Palestinian territories is marked by continued Israeli occupation and colonization. In the West Bank: the wall, the settlements, the checkpoints, and the bloody attacks by Israeli soldiers and settlers against civilians. In the Gaza Strip: a brutal Israeli blockade for more than nine years against the civilian population that has suffered three Israeli offensives in five years (in 2009, 2012 and 2014). The prevailing feeling in the Palestinian territories is a lack of prospects for the future, particularly with the failure of the peace process and the silent complicity of the official international community, not to mention the regional and international circumstances, which are not in favour of a quick solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Faced with this harsh situation, the Palestinian resistance takes different forms: political negotiations, armed struggle, and non-violent actions. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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POSITIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Post - doctoral and Doctoral Research Fellows, Max - Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity

Deadline: 11 January 2017

The Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (Department for Socio - Cultural Diversity) wishes to appoint highly qualified candidates for up to five new research positions. For all positions, applicants should have a degree in anthropology, sociology, political science, geography, socio - linguistics or another related social science discipline. Successful applicants' research interests, experience and publications should be relevant to themes and topics within the Department for Socio - Cultural Diversity (see www.mmg.mpg.de). Currently the Department is especially looking to expand its work on diversities in Europe and Africa, particularly in urban contexts.

This includes social scientific work on:

- Concepts of, and responses to, 'diversity' : among cities and urban actors, within organizations, in political life and institutions;
- Ethnographies of urban super - diversity (including new contexts, emergent dynamics and methodological challenges);
- Migration and diversification (particularly how these processes affect urban development);
- Urban theory and social complexity (especially how population diversification shapes, and is shaped by, the nature of the urban);
- Diversity under stress (whether as a result of populist or **contentious politics, local autochthonous movements**, the global erosion of refugee protections, etc.)
- Encounters and interactions in complex social environments (including social relations across boundaries or social differences).

Further, we are generally interested in enhancing our research agendas on the social organization of difference in various milieus and settings. The Institute welcomes applications from researchers with either/both quantitative and qualitative research skills and experience. For those working on Africa, we particularly encourage applicants working in francophone and/or lusophone contexts, and/or those who embrace comparative work. Very good spoken and written English is required. [The working language of the Institute is English, and publications in English - language academic journals and books are prioritized.]

Applications should include: a cover letter noting the position applied for and describing the applicant's career trajectory and interests, CV, a list of publications, writing samples (PhD thesis chapter acceptable) and the names and contact details of potential referees. The deadline for all applications is 11 January 2017. All positions should begin on 1 May 2017, or as soon as possible thereafter. We are planning to hold interviews between 13 and 24 February 2017. If you are shortlisted, you will be informed by 6 February at the latest. Please refrain from enquiring.

Post - doctoral Research Fellows

Initial contracts will be for a period of two years and are renewable for an additional year. Salary is based on the German collective bargaining agreement for civil servants (TVöD), level E 13. PhD required (thesis needs to be submitted by 7 January). While pursuing their own individual interests, post-docs should be willing to collaborate and contribute to broader projects and themes within the Department and Institute. Applications for Post - doctoral Fellowships must be submitted electronically through the following portal: https://s-lotus.gwdg.de/mpg/mpgs/mmg_scd_postdoc_2016.nsf/application

Doctoral Fellows

Initial contracts will be for a period of two years and are renewable for up to an additional two years. Doctoral salaries are 50% of TVöD, level E 13. NOTE: The Max Planck Institute does not itself have a doctoral programme, nor does it award PhDs. Some members of staff can however supervise PhDs.; Doctoral Fellows receive a salary and research support costs, but not university fees. PhD students must be independently enrolled in universities and PhD programmes anywhere in the world; they are responsible for fulfilling all of the course and administrative requirements of their respective universities. Although Doctoral Fellows commonly pursue a doctorate at a University elsewhere, PhD Student presence at the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen is required. In the cover letter, applicants for a doctoral position should provide an indication of the PhD programme in which they are enrolled or wish to enroll, and what degree requirements remain to be fulfilled. We welcome applications both from beginners and PhD - students at an advanced stage.

More information and application [here](#)

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PhD Studentship Opportunities at University of Brighton, 2017

Deadline: 16 January 2017

The University of Brighton College of Arts and Humanities is a member of the AHRC TECHNE Training Partnership. This offers Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) PhD awards for those commencing study in September 2017. The University of Brighton also offers a number of fully funded PhD places. The University of Brighton's Centre for Applied Philosophy, Politics & Ethics (<http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/research/cappe>) is seeking outstanding candidates in Philosophy and related areas. We welcome inter-disciplinary proposals or proposals with a disciplinary focus. Information about staff expertise is included below: follow the links for more information.

We have particular expertise in the areas of:

- Contemporary Critical Theories;
- Continental Philosophy and Anglo-American political philosophy;
- The Politics and Ethics of War and violent conflict;
- Moral Philosophy;
- Radical Philosophy and Politics.

- Contemporary Political Theory;
- The **Ethics and Politics of Resistance**.

We have a vibrant group of research students and staff working on the Humanities Programme. Students edit the journal Critical Studies, host annual conferences and work with colleagues from institutions across the world. If you find a member of staff with whom you would like to work please email them directly with a brief outline of your research interests, and a cv outlining your education thus far. In order to meet the University's 16 January deadline, we recommend that you do this as soon as possible. *More information and application* [here](#)

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Women in Conflict 1325 Fellowship [2]

The Fellowship seeks to promote the principles set out in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 concerning women's participation in peace-making and peace-building initiatives in conflict affected regions. Recruitment for the second bi-annual Beyond Borders Women in Conflict 1325 Fellowship is currently finished. However, **applications will still be accepted for those not requiring a visa for the UK, or who already have a visa for the UK.**

Overview of Programme

This programme builds upon two important elements, firstly the pilot programme run in 2015 with Syrian, Iraqi and Yemeni fellows, which established the need for a fellowship of this type, and also demonstrated the utility of bringing together female peacemakers from different conflicts. Secondly, it builds upon the recent programme held in partnership between the United Nations and the Scottish Government, supported by Beyond Borders Scotland, which brought 10 members of the Syrian Women's Advisory Board of the Office of the Special Envoy to Syria to Scotland for four days of talks, including a two-day conference at the Scottish Parliament. This programme further established the utility for female peacemakers of sessions concerning inclusive politics and mechanisms of constitutional change.

Aims and Objectives

To bring together a team of women activists from a range of conflict affected countries to be trained in international best practice mediation, recovery and dialogue methodologies, with an emphasis on sustainable conflict resolution.

To explore methodologies for promoting the role of women in peace-building processes, and identifying and utilising entry points to those processes.

To provide the basis for research into barriers to women accessing peace-processes and leadership roles in conflict affected regions.

To facilitate the group of women in defining a model for collaboration with each other and with their existing networks, and to map a project plan for creating and sustaining such a network.

To provide capacity building training in conflict resolution.

To provide shared experience models in relation to national dialogue processes, constitutional drafting, and representation of women in political and government institutions.

Residential Fellowship Programme

The Fellowship will combine the seminar and facilitated workshop format, in which the fellows will be trained in international best practices in mediation, conflict resolution, peace negotiations and agreements, constitutional reform, and inclusive governance. The training provided by the project will also include identifying entry points into peace negotiations, national dialogue and power sharing.

How to Apply

Candidates should apply who meet the following requirements: Women working in mediation and dialogue; issues relating to gender based violence; issues relating to refugees or displaced people; reconciliation or cultural dialogue; **fluent in English or Arabic and from the Middle East or North Africa, and able to travel to the UK for 20-29th November 2016.**

The fellowship is fully funded and therefore successful applicants will have all travel and accomodation covered by Beyond Borders Scotland. *More information and application [here](#)*

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