



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

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

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## CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

### **Lived Histories- Tales of Research and Revolution: revolutions, rebellions, and coups**

In July 2015, I organized a roundtable discussion at the annual World History Association meeting in Savannah, Georgia, that I called "Lived Histories." The idea was to gather historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and other academics who had themselves been eyewitnesses to revolutions, rebellions, and coups. My aim was to explore how primary sources are created and to ask questions about the possibilities and limits of doing historical research based on eyewitness accounts. In particular, I wanted to focus on the complexities and tensions that exist between one's own lived history and the reliability of their memories, to reflexively explore and analyze the way historians and other scholars alike understand and approach the process of thinking historically. Fundamentally, what does it mean to remember, not only our own past, but the past in general, and how can scholars reflect upon these numerous intricacies to simultaneously highlight the limitations and merits of historical research?

I am now in the process of soliciting contributions for an edited volume on this subject and invite all who, like myself, have experienced and lived through demonstrations, street fights, assassinations, arrests, terror, and governmental collapse to share their adventures and experiences as a way to better understand and examine what these events meant and how we remember them.

Proposals should include:

- 1) Name and affiliation
- 2) Brief bio
- 3) Title and short abstract (150-200 words)
- 4) Brief CV

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## TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

### **Toward a Popular History of the Syrian Uprising: We Crossed a Bridge and it Trembled**

05 July 2017, 6.00 pm - 7.30 pm |

Venue: Freie Universität Berlin, Ihnestr. 21 - F, 14195 Berlin, Germany

Speaker: Wendy Pearlman

*We Crossed A Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria* chronicles the Syrian uprising and war through a mosaic of testimonials collected from 2012 through 2017 from more than 300 displaced Syrians across the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Beginning with a chapter on life under the regime of Hafez al-Assad, it moves to describe changes in Syria after Bashar al-Assad's assumption of power, the launch of protests in 2011, the government's subsequent crackdown, the escalation and militarization of the rebellion, everyday life under conditions of war, and the experience of forced migration -- as recounted by the ordinary people who lived these events. "It was the revolution that allowed me to see people for who they really are," one woman comments near the book's closing. "It showed me that every Syrian has a hundred stories in his heart. Every Syrian is himself a story." *We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled* is a journey into some of those stories. *More information* [here](#)

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### **North Africa at the Crossroads**

11 July 2017, 7-9pm

Venue: Room G3, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Russell Square, London, WC1H 0XG

Speakers include: Mohamed Boutayeb and Souad Jellal (Moroccan public sector trade unionists);

Jaouhar Bani (Tunisian activist); Anne Alexander (Middle East Solidarity magazine)

Organised by *Middle East Solidarity magazine* with the support of SOAS Unison

*Tickets £3 (unwaged), £5 (waged), available in advance via Eventbrite or on the door.*

Six years after the region gave birth to the Arab Revolutions, with the uprising which toppled dictator Ben Ali in Tunisia, the contradictory pressures on the Maghreb are as sharp as ever. Analysis in the mainstream media focuses on the growth of jihadist groups in Libya and the threat of terrorism, ignoring the role played by NATO's 2011 military intervention in creating the conditions for groups like Islamic State to grow.

Yet across the region, movements demanding social and political change for the poor continue to challenge state repression. From mass public sector strikes in Morocco, to protests against unemployment, corruption and austerity in Tunisia and Algeria, the battle for social justice continues. In some areas, such as Morocco's Rif region, these issues have combined with longstanding

grievances from the Amazigh-speaking population about their marginalisation and oppression by the state to create an explosive mix of protest and resistance.

This event will explore the state of the Maghreb's movements for social justice and political change. Speakers will address political developments since 2011, including the role of Islamist movements, and analyse how the current wave of social struggles is shaping opposition to the region's rulers.

*Tickets & more information* [here](#)

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## **RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS**

### **Political Islam in Tunisia - A History of Ennahda**

Anne Wolf

June 2017 – Hurst & Co

*Political Islam in Tunisia* uncovers the secret history of Tunisia's main Islamist movement, Ennahda, from its origins in the 1960s to the present. Banned until the popular uprisings of 2010-11 and the overthrow of Ben Ali's dictatorship, Ennahda has until now been impossible to investigate. This is the first in-depth account of the movement, one of Tunisia's most influential political actors. Based on more than four years of field research, over 400 interviews, and access to private archives, Anne Wolf masterfully unveils the evolution of Ennahda's ideological and strategic orientations within changing political contexts and, at times, conflicting ambitions amongst its leading cadres. She also explores the challenges to Ennahda's quest for power from both secularists and Salafis. As the first full history of Ennahda, this book is a major contribution to the literature on Tunisia, Islamist movements, and political Islam in the Arab world. It will be indispensable reading for anyone seeking to understand the forces driving a key player in the country most hopeful of pursuing a democratic trajectory in the wake of the Arab Spring.

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## **Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth Century**

Wael Abu-'Uksa

2016 - Cambridge University Press

A preoccupation with the subject of freedom became a core issue in the construction of all modern political ideologies. Here, Wael Abu-'Uksa examines the development of the concept of freedom (hurriyya) in nineteenth-century Arab political thought, its ideological offshoots, their modes, and their substance as they developed the dynamics of the Arabic language. Abu-'Uksa traces the transition of the idea of freedom from a term used in a predominantly non-political way, through to its popularity and near ubiquity at the dawn of the twentieth century. Through this, he also analyses the importance of associated concepts such as liberalism, socialism, progress, rationalism, secularism, and citizenship. He employs a close analysis of the development of the language, whilst at the same time examining the wider historical context within which these semantic shifts occurred: the rise of nationalism, the power of the Ottoman court, and the state of relations with Europe.

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## **JOURNAL ARTICLES & OTHER ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS**

### **History Workshops in Egypt: an Experiment in History Telling**

Alia Mossallam

History Workshop Journal 241-251, published online 27 April 2017

This project has focused on one central idea – making histories accessible, especially marginal histories of mainstream revolutionary events. I have sought to achieve this in two ways. The first is to create spaces through workshops – for groups of students, artists and activists – to re-explore revolutionary moments in history and challenge how they have been told; the second is to build a website containing archives (retrieved by my own research or donated by generous historians of Egypt) to make the sources of these narratives accessible. In this article I trace the experience of two of these history workshops – the first held on the Nubian Island of Suhail in Aswan, and the second in the city of Port Said. In each case we explored the invisible histories of the communities, silenced because of the oppositional narratives they harbour. The workshops became an attempt to create a critical consciousness of how history is written and could be read, through exploring primary sources:

the archives, oral testimonies, newspapers, novels, the internet and even architectural sites. But most importantly, the workshops also explored ways to 're-tell' retrieved narratives. Through reproducing these histories in non-academic forms (such as story-telling and film), we hoped to make these untapped narratives accessible both to the aspiring (non) historian, and to the communities whose histories we explored.

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## **When Does Repression Trigger Mass Protest? The 2013 Gezi Protests**

Defne Över, Başak Taraktaş

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 41 (2017), pp.205 - 239

This chapter offers a mechanism-based explanation of how single-cause oriented protest events are transformed into a mass movement where previously fragmented causes of contention come to be expressed in conjoint action. Drawing on the case of 2013 Gezi protests in Turkey, we map the protest waves and identify two mechanisms that mediate the influence of repression on mobilization of dissent. The first mechanism is the perceived nature of the cause of contention. Repression leads to scale shift (McAdam et al., 2008) in the first wave when exercised over those who protest for an issue perceived to be innocent. The second mechanism is the experience of repression. Boundary deactivation among protesters and the resulting continuity in protest activity follow scale shift in the second and third waves as experience of repression transforms perceptions of those that were previously framed as others. Our analysis relies on data collected via participant observation, in-depth interviews, and an online survey with 1,352 protesters.

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## **Protests or Parliaments: The Politics of Deinstitutionalization and the Mobilization of the Palestinian Citizens of Israel**

Liora S. Norwich

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 41 (2017), pp.173 - 203

How can we account for patterns of mobilization undertaken by ethnic movements? What leads ethnic collectives to shift between mobilization strategies? Addressing the general lack of attention in the ethnic conflict literature to the diverse political strategies employed by ethnic minorities – particularly those in democratic and semi-democratic contexts, this chapter accounts for mobilization as developing along an institutional spectrum of ethnic contention. I argue that the internal dynamics of ethnic movements shape patterns of mobilization. Utilizing literature from new institutionalism and employing the approach advanced by the study of contentious politics, ethnic movements are theorized as developing through the interplay of three causal mechanisms, which combine to form processes of institutionalization and deinstitutionalization. The process of deinstitutionalization is explored through the case of the mobilization of the Palestinian citizens of Israel, tracing the



development of the three causal mechanisms and their influence on the collective's mobilization pattern. The chapter concludes by considering the range of movements that can be explored along the institutional spectrum.

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## **Movement Structure in an Authoritarian Regime: A Network Analysis of the Women's and Student Movements in Iran**

Eliot Assoudeh, Debra J. Salazar

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 41 (2017), pp. 137 - 171

Contributing to the literature on movement structure in authoritarian regimes, this analysis focuses on the structure of two Iranian movements. We use a multi-method approach to analyze the organization of the student and women's movements in Iran between 1997 and 2008. From 1997 to 2004, a reform government opened political opportunities. The period between 2005 and 2008 was characterized by increased repression. The student movement was organized during the first period as a hybrid composed of several networks linked in a federal structure. As the political context changed, the movement became less centralized. Its strategy shifted from one based in alliance with governing reformers to coalition building outside of the regime. In contrast, the women's movement was organized as a densely linked web of noncentralized campaigns. The women's movement overcame divisions as political opportunities closed in the mid-2000s and built a grassroots strategy during the latter part of the decade.

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## **Religion and Political Activism in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia**

Anna Grasso

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 39 (2016), pp.197 – 220

This paper aims to explore the significance of the 2011 uprisings in Tunisia for wider questions of democratization, interrogating in particular the question of the relationship between religion and politics in the aftermath of the revolutionary event. The political landscape emerging after the 14th of January Tunisian Revolution has witnessed the emergence of a new political class competing in the country's first free democratic elections on October 23. The moderate Islamist Ennahda Party emerged victorious and obtained the majority of seats in the National Constituent Assembly. These developments in the revolutionary aftermath re-opened questions over the future of "secular Tunisia" and re-ignited the political struggle between modernist and traditionalist visions of society. As a result, religious actors have increasingly been taking to the streets alongside the general population via participation in public protests, creation of new unions and associations, presence in the media, militancy in new or pre-existent political parties, etc. In this context, this research focuses on the way in which the 2011 uprisings impacted on democratization by seeking to explain how and

why religious leaders are re-emerging as influential figures in the political landscape of post-revolutionary Tunisia.

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## **“We are all Khaled Said”: Visual Injustice Symbols in the Egyptian Revolution, 2010–2011**

Thomas Olesen

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 35 (2013), pp.3 – 25

This chapter offers a symbolic perspective on the Egyptian Revolution. It does so by analyzing the transformation of Khaled Said, a 28-year-old Egyptian man beaten to death by police on June 6, 2010, into a key visual injustice symbol. Activists were motivated by a horrifying cell phone photograph of Said taken by his family at the morgue and uploaded on the web. Although the postmortem photograph had a powerful emotional impact in itself, the transformation of Said from local/particular incident to injustice symbol with society-wide repercussions cannot be explained by its mere availability in the public sphere. The transformation required intervention and appropriation by activists who creatively and strategically universalized the case, linking it with existing injustice frames in Egypt. This chapter analyzes this interplay between photographs, activism, and society in two steps. The first provides an analysis of the genesis of the Said symbol and identifies three levels of agency in its formation. The second step analyzes the process through which Said was infused with injustice meanings by activists. Providing the first systematic analysis of Said from a social movement perspective, the chapter draws on several data sources that are subjected to interpretive analysis: visual material available on the internet, Facebook pages, and interviews with and accounts by key activists. And it calls for more attention to photographs and symbols in the analysis of activism and points to several historical and present cases with relevance for such an approach.

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## **Inside the Iron Cage of Liberalism: International Contexts and Nonviolent Success in the Iranian Revolution**

Daniel P. Ritter

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 34 (2012), pp.95 – 121

As recent events in the Middle East and North Africa suggest, nonviolent revolutionary movements may represent an oppressed population's most promising path to ridding itself of an authoritarian regime. But as the diverging experiences of Tunisia and Egypt on the one hand, and Libya, Syria, Bahrain, and Yemen on the other suggest, nonviolent victory is never a foregone conclusion. This chapter seeks to contribute to our understanding of nonviolent revolutionary success through an analysis of one of the world's first nonviolent revolutions, that of Iran in 1977–1979. Based on historical evidence, I argue that friendly international relations between the United States and Iran is

a key factor in explaining both the revolutionaries' preference for nonviolent tactics and the government's inability to repress the movement. Jimmy Carter's human rights framework served as an important incentive for revolutionaries to remain nonviolent while ensuring that state repression of unarmed protesters would come at a political price high enough to discourage the government from resorting to overwhelming violence.

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## **“Thou Shall not Protest!”: Multi-Institutional Politics, Strategic Nonconfrontation and Islamic Mobilizations in Turkey**

Mustafa E. Gürbüz, Mary Bernstein

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 34 (2012), pp.63 – 91

This paper examines the divergent reactions of the two most prominent Turkish-Islamic movements to a crisis in the Parliament that centered on an elected Deputy's right to wear the headscarf. After the crisis, the National Outlook movement protested, while the Gülen movement became more conciliatory. Drawing on the Multi-Institutional Politics model, we argue that conflicting views on the nature of domination explain the disparate forms of collective action taken by the two movements. We introduce the concept “strategic nonconfrontation” as a type of nonviolent strategy to help understand the Gülen's movement's actions. We expand the nonviolent civil resistance literature by arguing that strategic nonconfrontation as a form of nonviolent resistance only becomes visible when we move beyond an exclusive focus on state power to understand the ways in which multiple systems of authority and power are constituted in society and perceived by activists. We analyze the discourse in newspapers produced by the movements in order to examine how each movement understood and defined the target of action and how that influenced their subsequent strategies.

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## NEWS PIECES & COMMENTARY

### **On the Duality of Laicism and Dictatorship and the Rise of Political Islam**

Hammud Hammud

openDemocracy, 21 June 2017

Throughout the 20th century, the Arab world has always found itself operating either within an Islamist or nationalist framework. Questions about whether there may be a third outlet or source of knowledge which Arab intellectuals have tapped into have risen, but rarely has the answer been positive. In general, all Arab ideologies have usually operated within the two aforementioned spheres. Despite political conflict between the two – sometimes even bloody – the existence of one is inevitably linked to the other. In fact, the current state of Arab ruin, especially that in the Levant, is an extension of that dynamic. It can't be denied that the fall of the nationalist ideology meant that Arabs reverted to the Islamist one. In fact, Islamists themselves have said so. In any case, my comments aren't related to that, but to the intentional false claims of Islamists that Arab nationalist dictatorship is linked to modern politics and, therefore, to secularism. Islamists continue to present themselves as the sole alternative to replace Arab political regimes that are complicit in spreading these false claims. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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### **The post-30 June Muslim Brotherhood**

Amany Maged

Al-Ahram Weekly, Issue 1350, (22 June - 5 July 2017)

On 30 June 2013 millions of Egyptians took to the streets to demand an end to Muslim Brotherhood rule. They succeeded. But have we really freed ourselves from the Brotherhood's reactionary beliefs and terrorism? And what of the group four years after the revolution? The Brotherhood's leadership is now scattered between prison and exile, its ranks divided into antagonistic camps fighting over power they imagine can be revived. A significant portion of the group's younger members have enlisted with the Islamic State (IS). Others have created small breakaway groups that undertake terrorist acts. Since 2013, divisions between younger members of the Brotherhood and its staunchly Qotbist leadership have opened. Resentment has mounted against leaders who proved flagrantly incompetent in their management of the conflict and many of whom fled Egypt leaving younger cadres to bear the brunt of their failure. It has provoked what can only be termed a coup against the old guard. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Syria's Rebels, Before and After Aleppo: A STATUS/الوضع Conversation between Bassam Haddad and Aron Lund**

Jadaliyya, 20 June 2017

In this conversation for STATUS/الوضع, host Bassam Haddad talks to Aron Lund about the state and status of Syria's rebels, more than five months after the battle for Aleppo. Lund addresses the aftermath of the rebels defeat in east Aleppo in December 2016 and the significance of this loss for the opposition in general as well as the armed groups. Bassam also asks Lund to elaborate on what he thinks explains the pattern of mergers and factionalism among rebel groups over the years. The conversation ends with Lund addressing the manner in which he conducted research and what most surprised him along the way. *Listen [here](#)*

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## **Iran's city and village council elections and women's political participation**

Kaveh Ghobadi

openDemocracy, 16 June 2017

What comes to mind when thinking of Iranian women? Oppressed, covered head to toe and confined to the home? These stereotypes, however, are far from the real life of women in Iran. Iranian women have dominated the universities for the past 15 years or so, and are becoming more involved in the political process and decision-making. But despite their considerable achievements in higher education, women are facing major obstacles to find a job. Only 17 percent of women were able to secure a job and no more than 5.8 percent (17 out of 290), the highest percentage since the 1979 revolution, found their ways into Iranian parliament. Women are barred from becoming president and are largely excluded from the key positions in the government. Such discriminatory acts have placed Iran at the bottom of the World Economic Forum's 2015 Global Gender Gap ranking (141 out of 145). *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Egypt removes mention of 2011 and 2013 uprisings from school curriculum**

Ahram Online, 18 June 2017

Egypt's Ministry of Education has removed mention of the uprisings on 25 January 2011 and 30 June 2013 from the history class curriculum in the country's high schools, Al-Ahram Arabic news website reported on Sunday. "The new curriculum follows international standards," Reda Hegazy, the general director of high school exams and head of the high education sector at the ministry, said at a press

conference. Controversy has risen in recent years over whether recent political events should be included in history curriculums in Egypt's schools. *End of article*

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## Turkey's Opposition Leader Begins a Protest March, But Turks Fear It Is Too Late

Clair Sadr

Muftah, 18 June 2017

The trigger for the protest march, which is being called the Adalet Yürüyüşü or Justice March, was the sentencing of a CHP parliament member and former journalist, Enis Berberoglu, to twenty-five years in prison on espionage charges. In 2015, while Berberoglu was a journalist working for the newspaper Cumhuriyet, he helped break a story about the Turkish government supplying weapons to Syrian opposition groups. The story centered around a video, which was purportedly recorded in January 2014, that appears to show a truck full of weapons being stopped and inspected at the Syrian border. The Turkish government claimed the story revealed state secrets, and used this as justification to jail several other journalists in addition to Berberoglu. Cumhuriyet was one of the last vocal opposition outlets before its staff was detained and its operation seized by the government in October of last year. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## Masoud Barzani: Why It's Time for Kurdish Independence

Campbell MacDiarmid

Foreign Policy, 15 June 2017

**FP:** *The date for a referendum [on Kurdish independence] has been set, and I've read reports that you have spoken with [Iraqi] Prime Minister [Haider] Al-Abadi since then. What was his reaction to your announcement?* **MB:** It's true but we have also discussed this issue previously. I called his excellency Prime Minister Abadi on this specific issue and I explained to him that this referendum is a normal, legal right of our people, and that afterwards we want negotiate the results of the referendum in a peaceful way through dialogue. He had an understanding of that. We told him that we want to solve this issue with Baghdad through peace and not through violence. He was receptive and understanding. He was positive. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **A Small Syrian Town's Revolt Against Al-Qaida**

Hashem Osseiran

Syria Deeply, 15 June 2017

In a small, rebel-controlled town in Idlib province that saw virulent antigovernment demonstrations in 2011, civilians and activists are once again taking to the streets to protest oppressive rule. This time, however, the slogans and chants are not directed against the government but against an al-Qaida-linked militant group. Over the past year, Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), an al-Qaida-led alliance of insurgent fighters, steadily seized control of large swathes of territory in the northwestern province of Idlib and nearby areas from rebel factions, making it one of the strongest opposition factions in Syria today. While HTS's foothold in Idlib is said to be increasing, wide-scale protests against an HTS incursion into Maarat al-Numan over the weekend tell a story of one town's resistance to the extremist group. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Dozens hold sit-in at Egypt press syndicate over parliamentary committee's approval of Saudi island deal**

Ahram Online, 13 June 2017

Dozens of Egyptians held a sit-in on Tuesday at the press syndicate in Cairo shortly after parliament's legislative and constitutional affairs committee voted in favour of Egypt's Red Sea island deal with Saudi Arabia. Security forces have dispersed the sit-in, setting up barricades in front of the syndicate's entrance. The sit-in was attended by former presidential candidate Hamdeen Sabahy, former head of the Journalists Syndicate Yehia Qallash, head of the Dostour Party Khaled Dawood, as well as several members of the Journalists Syndicate board. The sit-in was also attended by lawyer Khaled Ali, who challenged the deal in court last year. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Parties announce joint protests against Parliament debate on Tiran and Sanafir handover**

Mostafa Mohie

Mada Masr, 12 June 2017

Several political groupings and oppositional parties organized a press conference on Sunday to reject Parliament's debate and upcoming vote on a maritime border agreement with Saudi Arabia, slated to involve the handover of the two Red Sea islands of Tiran and Sanafir. The rejection of the debate is based on the fact that after nine months of lawsuits and protests around the issue, the Supreme Administrative Court issued a final ruling in January confirming that the two islands fall under the

sovereignty of Cairo, not Riyadh. The debate is set to continue on Monday morning and is expected to prepare a recommendation to be presented to the General Assembly on Tuesday ahead of a vote. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## **Morocco's Hirak Movement: The People Versus the Makhzen**

Fatim-Zohra El Malki

Jadaliyya, 2 June 2017

Morocco's Hirak protests are the latest bout in the tug-of-war between the Makhzen (Moroccan regime) and the victims of hogra. The late Mouhcine Fikri, the political prisoner Nasser Zefzafi, and Nawal Ben Aissa have emerged as the emblematic figures of this movement. *Al Hirak al Chaabi*, or the Popular Movement, is an independent, popular movement that was started in the northern Moroccan city of Al Hoceima in October 2016 by local inhabitants who were fed up with the status quo. The protests have grown significantly in the last months, despite numerous attempts by authorities to quell the movement, which has now spread throughout the country. Although it is not associated with any political party or organization, a number of political and civil society groups have expressed their solidarity with the movement. Between October 2016 and May 2017, the protesters' demands evolved from mainly socioeconomic grievances into a more potent political message; slogans used in the protests virulently denouncing the Makhzen's rampant corruption, poor governance, and outright appropriation of the nation's resources. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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# POSITIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

## Ph.D. Scholarship programme “Trajectories of Change”

Deadline: 27 July 2017

Political and social transformations are currently reshaping the European neighbourhood. Numerous countries in Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East as well as Central Asia are experiencing increasing social conflicts and economic problems. In recent years, mass protests have challenged the non-democratic regimes and revealed their inability to fulfil the promise of stability. Tensions between democratization efforts and the persistence of authoritarianism generally polarize societies, deepen the economic crisis and frequently result in on-going violence accompanied by significant flows of refugees and migrants. The long-term objectives of both the Arab Spring and the Euromaidan protests in Ukraine – democracy, human rights and prosperity – appear today more distant than ever.

In light of this political and social context, issues of regime change and the transformation of the political systems are of great interest to public debate. For researchers specialized in these regions both the events of the last years and the very recent developments represent an important opportunity to formulate new research questions and redefine areas of the social science inquiry. With its scholarship programme “Trajectories of Change”, the ZEIT-Stiftung seeks to address historical and current transformation processes at Europe’s margins, each year focusing on a different topic.

The programme offers flexible funding schemes for Ph.D. students at various stages of their dissertation research as well as for graduate students in the phase of Ph.D. project development:

Ph.D. Scholarships for Ph.D. students already enrolled in a Ph.D. programme at their university

- duration: up to three years
- monthly living stipend of 1,200 Euros
- additional funds for participation in academic conferences and for fieldwork expenses
- participation in yearly conferences and field trips

Dissertation Completion Scholarships for Ph.D. students in the final stage of their dissertation research

- duration: one year
- monthly living stipend of 1,200 Euros
- additional funds for participation in academic conferences

Pre-Doctoral Research Grants for advanced graduate students

- a single grant of max. 5,000 Euros supporting the dissertation project development, including small scale preliminary research and funds for participation in academic conferences (no living expenses)
- participation in a dissertation proposal development workshop

Fieldwork Grants for Ph.D. students already enrolled in a Ph.D. programme at their university and partly funded by other institutions

- a single grant of max. 3,000 Euros supporting travel costs and research expenses during the fieldwork
- participation in yearly conferences and field trips

### **2017 focus: Reshaping the Public Sphere**

Both democratization attempts and authoritarian developments in the European neighbourhood demonstrate the critical role of the public sphere for political and social change. Expanding communication technologies help to mobilize the public and enable new forms of exchange. These additional capacities to articulate social and political interests as well as other concerns can be harnessed to increase political pressure. Many regimes react with repression and censorship in order to regain power over the newly-forged public spaces. How does the public sphere change in times of transformation and conflict? Which divisions and relationships of force are constitutive for this social field? How do public spheres vary cross-nationally? How can we distinguish democratic and authoritarian characteristics?

The scholarship programme “Trajectories of Change” addresses historical and current transformation processes in the European neighbourhood. It offers stipends and fieldwork grants for Ph.D. students in the humanities and social sciences. For 2017, research applications dealing with the changes in the public sphere, and their impact on transformation are especially welcome.

We encourage applications for the following topics, but will also consider other approaches:

- structural features of the public sphere: access to information, channels, drivers and voices
- old and new media
- reconfigurations of the communication landscape on local, national and transnational level
- language politics and practice
- hate speech, othering and stereotyping
- ideology and legitimation in the authoritarian politics
- state control of public discourse, repression and censorship
- articulation of interests and values in the language of politics
- civil society, public sphere and democratic renewal
- new forms of political and social activism

The programme seeks to support young researchers in the social sciences and history in contributing novel insights into trajectories of change. Both empirical research based on intensive fieldwork and projects centred on theoretical reflection are eligible for support. Innovative and challenging research questions as well as comparative approaches are highly welcome.

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

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## Sir William Luce Fund

The Sir William Luce Memorial Fund was established to commemorate the long and distinguished career of Sir William Luce GBE, KCMG, DL (1907-77) in the Middle East during the era of the transfer of power.

The Fellowship is awarded annually to a scholar at post-doctoral level, diplomat, politician, or business executive, working on those parts of the Middle East to which Sir William Luce devoted his working life (Iran, the Gulf states, South Arabia and Sudan), and is hosted by Durham University during the Easter term of each academic year. The Fund is looking for research proposals that examine historic aspects of Iran, the Gulf States, South Arabia and Sudan that throw light on contemporary events. The Fund notes that the University holds a Sudan Archive containing records relating to both Sudan and South Sudan.

The Fellowship, tenable jointly in the Institute for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies and Trevelyan College, entitles the holder to full access to departmental and other University facilities such as Computing and Information Services and the University Library. The Fellowship also carries a grant, accommodation and all meals for the duration of the Fellowship. Fellows reside at Trevelyan College and are warmly encouraged to take a full part in the life of the Senior Common Room during their residence.

The Fellow is expected to deliver a lecture on the subject of his or her research which will be designated '*The Sir William Luce Lecture*', and should be cast in such a way as to form the basis of a paper to be published in a special edition of the Durham Middle East Papers series.

Applicants for the 2018 Fellowship (23 April-22 June 2018) should send a CV (of no more than 2 pages), a two to three-page outline of their proposed research and contact details for two referees, preferably by e-mail, by Friday 8 September 2017 to:

The Secretary  
Sir William Luce Memorial Fund  
Durham University Library  
Palace Green  
Durham  
DH1 3RN  
United Kingdom  
E-mail: [luce.fund@durham.ac.uk](mailto:luce.fund@durham.ac.uk)

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