



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

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

Editor: Jann Boeddeling ([j.boeddeling@lse.ac.uk](mailto:j.boeddeling@lse.ac.uk))

**27.11.2015**

# CONTENT

<b>Call for Papers &amp; Conferences</b> .....	<b>3</b>
Conference: Resistance and Empire: New Approaches and Comparisons .....	3
Call for Papers: Journal of International Mediterranean Studies .....	4
Call for Panel contributions: Alternative or Imagined Development(s)? Exploring the Gap between Theory and Practices of Governance in the Global South: Actors, Dynamics and Resistances .....	5
Conference: Media and the Politics of Transformation in the Arab World and Asia.....	6
Call for Papers: PhD Workshop ISA RC48 Social movements, collective action and social change ....	7
Call for Papers: Done with Eurocentrism? Directions, Diversions, and Debates in History and Sociology.....	8
<b>Talks &amp; Other Events</b> .....	<b>9</b>
Talk: Women's Rights and the Arab Uprisings .....	9
Panel: Arab Media and Publicness after the Uprisings .....	9
<b>Recent &amp; Forthcoming Books</b> .....	<b>10</b>
Soft Force: Women in Egypt's Islamic Awakening.....	10
Media, Revolution and Politics in Egypt: The Story of an Uprising .....	10
Dissent and Revolution in a Digital Age: Social Media, Blogging and Activism in Egypt.....	11
The Dissident Mullah: Ayatollah Montazeri and the Struggle for Reform in Revolutionary Iran .	11
Iran in the Middle East: Transnational Encounters and Social History .....	12
Berber Government: The Kabyle Polity in Pre-colonial Algeria .....	12
Writing Revolution: The Voices from Tunis to Damascus .....	13
<b>Other Publications</b> .....	<b>14</b>
Toward a Theory of "Islamist Movements" .....	14
The Post-Islamist Turn and the Contesting Visions of Democratic Public Religion.....	14
Understanding Iran's Green Movement as a 'movement of movements' .....	15
The Arab Summer and Its Discontents: Origins of Revolution, and the Role of Islamic Movements in Post-Revolutionary Middle East .....	15
Anger in Search of Justice: Reflections on the Gezi Revolt in Turkey .....	16
Democracy and Disillusionment: Copts and the Arab Spring.....	16
<b>Positions and Opportunities</b> .....	<b>17</b>
POMEPS Summer 2016 TRE Grants.....	17

# CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

## Conference: Resistance and Empire: New Approaches and Comparisons

International Conference, Lisbon, 26-29 June 2016

**Deadline for abstracts: 31 December 2015**

Organization: ICS-ULisboa Research Group 'Empires, Colonialism, and Post-colonial Societies'

Convenors: Nuno Domingos, Miguel B. Jerónimo, Ricardo Roque

Venue: Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal ([www.ics.ul.pt](http://www.ics.ul.pt))

Keynote speaker: Professor **James C. Scott** (Yale University)

### CONFERENCE ABSTRACT

Since the early twentieth century, the notion of resistance became common currency in colonial language and anti-colonial ideologies to refer to military, political, and other forms of countering the authority of the colonizing institutions and agents in the colonies. After World War II and the boom of decolonization, it became an important tool in the critical and conceptual analysis of colonialism as a relationship of domination and opposition. Consequently, a wealth of studies was produced that focused on the ways through which indigenous people actively opposed, rebelled, or contested – militarily, politically, symbolically, culturally – the colonizing presence of Europeans. In the 1990s-2000s the validity of taking on “resistance” as a privileged concept and empirical topic was criticized for reducing the colonial phenomenon to a simplistic dichotomy – and since it appeared to have lost much of its early vitality in historical and anthropological research on empires and colonialism. Yet, since decolonization, ideas of “liberation” and anti-colonial resistance did not lose their significance as powerful tropes in retrospective nationalist readings of the birth of post-colonial nation-states. More recently, across the social sciences, “resistance” as a concept and a research trope seems to be revived, and a trans-disciplinary field of ‘resistance studies’ appears to come into emergence. What it means to study “resistance” both conceptually and comparatively in colonial and imperial history today? How can this notion be valuably re-conceptualized in current imperial and post-colonial studies? What are its potential and limitations? What phenomena should be considered under the notion of “resistance”? What specificities resistance(s) phenomena take over time and across spaces? How to address the plural manifestations of resistance comparatively, across different empires, different colonial situations, and different historical periods?

The conference *Resistance and Empire: New Approaches and Comparisons* aims at addressing these questions and rediscovering the vitality of resistance both as a concept and as an empirical phenomenon in the study of European empires, colonialisms, and their legacies. As such, it will invite students of French, British, Portuguese, German, and other European colonialisms to analytically address the multiple expressions of “resistance” in colonial history by engaging with empirical material and theoretical explorations. The conference has two main purposes. On the one hand, it will seek to cross-fertilize the study of anti-colonial resistance(s) as a multiple historical phenomenon across the different geographies and temporalities of the European overseas expansion in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania since the sixteenth century. On the other hand, it will reassess the

potential and limitations of “resistance” as an analytical concept in imperial history, anthropology, and post-colonial studies, relating it to other notions in these domains, such as “order”, “rule”, “protest”, “rebellion”, “subaltern”, “agency”, or “domination”. The conference will adopt a broad conceptual, geographical and chronological framework, encouraging a comparative examination of “resistance” in relation to diverse places and historical periods. We particularly welcome students working on all Western forms of colonialisms and imperial formations, in any historical situation and spatial location, from the sixteenth to the twentieth-first century. We invite paper proposals from senior scholars, early career researchers, and post-graduate students that draw on concrete and specific empirical materials whilst reflecting conceptually and analytically on one, or more than one, of the following topics:

- Nationalist ideologies and **liberation movements**
- Resistances to decolonization
- Religious movements
- International and transnational engagements
- Armed rebellions and revolts
- Indigenous agency
- Cultural dimensions of resistance
- Forms of everyday resistance
- Archival and methodological aspects of resistance studies

Please submit a 250 words abstract and a brief exposition of current research and interests, by email to: [resistance&empire@ics.ulisboa.pt](mailto:resistance&empire@ics.ulisboa.pt)

Deadline for submission of paper proposals (abstracts): **31 December 2015**

Selection of paper proposals and communication to participants: 31 January 2016

Pre-circulation of summary papers to discussants: 30 May 2016

More information [here](#)

[Back to top](#)

## **Call for Papers: Journal of International Mediterranean Studies**

Special Issue: **Local Politics in Contemporary Middle Eastern and North African Countries: Spaces of Political Continuity or Change?**

**Deadline: 15 January 2016**

This special issue aims to explore the MENA countries and their societies by analysing the interconnections between territory, politics and governance at the local level (small and mid-sized cities, rural areas, villages, and peripheral regions) and from a historical perspective. Some of the proposed guiding research questions for this special issue are the following: How can the role of local politics in state formation and transformation processes in MENA countries be analysed? How and to what extent do local politics try to form, influence and change political dynamics in these countries?

How do the interactions between national and local politics help or hinder authoritarian rule? How do local institutions and actors engage in national political processes and to what extent can they influence them? What role do local institutions and actors play in current political, social and economic transformative processes in MENA countries?

Deadline

Interested authors are asked to submit their abstracts (400 words max) by 15 January 2016 to Ángela Suárez-Collado ([angela.suarez.collado@gmail.com](mailto:angela.suarez.collado@gmail.com))

Selected papers will have to be sent by 1 May 2016.

Abstracts and articles can be submitted in English, French and Spanish.

More information [here](#)

[\*\*\*Back to top\*\*\*](#)

## **Call for Panel contributions: Alternative or Imagined Development(s)? Exploring the Gap between Theory and Practices of Governance in the Global South: Actors, Dynamics and Resistances**

Dubrovnik, Croatia, 4-9 May 2016

Section of the Inter-Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES): Theme: World Anthropologies and Privatization of Knowledge: Engaging Anthropology in Public

**Deadline for abstracts: January 31st 2016**

With this panel we wish to explore both formal and informal mechanisms of governance used in various areas of the world. In particular, we seek to understand how development and governance, produced through formal bodies, are questioned, challenged and renegotiated through informal mechanisms and institutions at various levels. We encourage to debate the issue by using bottom-up and locally nuanced approaches to governance. Our expectation is that this panel will foster a dialogue on the way development and governance are imagined by the formal bodies and happen in practice when mediated by informal mechanisms, institutions and practices.

In the end, we expect to move away the monodisciplinary and normative approach that sees informal institutions and practices as temporary and mere economic phenomena to be liquidated to provide a wider understanding of how governance is composed by the formal and the informal, constantly in competition and complementing one another. Geographically, we would like to attract submissions that foster a dialogue about world regions (Africa, Asia, Latin America but also the post-socialist world).

We are keen to receive papers somehow related to:

- Case studies of local governance in the Global South
- Good and bad practices of governance and development
- **How local communities cooperate with, or resist, development policies** centrally adopted
- Alternative and diverse economies and modes of governance
- Alternative and diverse economies and modes of governance
- Gender, labour and governance in informal economy
- Ethnicity, governance and the State in Global South

Submissions shall be done electronically at <http://iuaes2016.com/submit-paper/>

More information [here](#)

[Back to top](#)

## **Conference: Media and the Politics of Transformation in the Arab World and Asia**

Freie Universität Berlin on **10.-11. December 2015**

Keynote lecture: **Merlyna Lim**, Carleton University, “Sticks and Stones, Clicks and Phones: Contextualizing the Role of Digital Media in the Politics of Transformation”

Abstract: Integrating theories and perspectives drawn from social sciences (social movement research in particular) and communication and media studies, this talk aims to generate an interdisciplinary framework to understand the complex relationship between media and the politics of transformation, with digital media as a focal point. Drawing on empirical analysis from the Middle East and Asia, this talk also attempts to identify regional patterns and constellations of digital media as an instrument for protest, mobilization, and democratization. The Public Keynote will be followed by a Panel Discussion: “When Theory Meets Ground” from 6-8 p.m. at the same venue:

- Jamal Ghosn, former Managing Editor of Al-Akhbar English and Blogger
- Kaustubh Srikanth, Head of Technology at Tactical Technology Collective
- Afef Abrouigi, Researcher on Digital Rights and Global Voices Contributor
- Khaled Yacoub Oweis, SWP Berlin and Journalist

If you wish to take part in the second day of the conference, please register free of charge at [mediatransfo@zedat.fu-berlin.de](mailto:mediatransfo@zedat.fu-berlin.de)

The conference is jointly organized by the Division of International Communication and the Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics and funded by the Faculty for Political and Social Sciences at Freie Universität Berlin. More information [here](#)

[Back to top](#)

## **Call for Papers: PhD Workshop ISA RC48 Social movements, collective action and social change**

Vienna, 10 July 2016

**Deadline: 15 January 2016**

The aim of the ISA RC48 PhD Workshop is to invite international PhD students working in the field of social movements to discuss their doctoral projects in an open and helpful environment. Each participant will have the opportunity to present her/his doctoral project in a stimulating international setting and receive theoretical and methodological feedback from both senior and junior scholars as well other students. The Workshop will discuss recent developments in the field, publication and career strategies, and provide an opportunity to network with other social movements scholars within the ISA community.

The workshop welcomes submissions by PhD students at any stage of their PhD, as well as students who complete their PhD in 2016. Proposals are welcome in the areas of social movements and collective action. Proposals should be submitted in English in the form of extended abstracts. The abstracts should not exceed 1,000 words and should be submitted by January 15th, 2016. The abstract and a short CV (max 300 words) must be sent by email to one of the workshop organisers (see below). Proposals will be selected by the Scientific Committee. Participants will be selected following a peer-review process and on the basis of scientific excellence of their proposal, but a fair balance between different regions and areas of social movements research will also be considered.

The PhD Students must be/become an ISA RC48 member before the Workshop. The workshop will take place in Vienna just before the opening of the ISA Forum, July 10th, 2016.

All selected participants will be required to submit a full paper (no more than 8,000 words) in Word (not pdf) format by May 15th to the workshop organizers. This is essential in order to make sure that participants get the most of this workshop; papers will be circulated in advance and allocated to the discussants. Exception will be made for early stage doctoral students, from whom only short paper is required (no more than 3,000 words). We plan to publish the best full papers in a book format.

We kindly ask you to apply only if you accept these terms of conditions and are prepared to follow the guidelines and deadlines.

Workshop organisers:

Liana M. Daher ( daher@unict.it ),

Anna Domaradzka ( anna.domaradzka@gmail.com ),

Camilo Tamayo Gómez ( Camilo.TamayoGmez@hud.ac.uk )

[Back to top](#)

## **Call for Papers: Done with Eurocentrism? Directions, Diversions, and Debates in History and Sociology**

8th Annual Seminar of the Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology (BGHS)  
30 June to 2 July 2016, Bielefeld University, Germany

**Deadline for proposals: 15 January 2016**

The international Annual Seminar of the BGHS is conceived and organized by the doctoral students. It is aimed at young researchers from all over the world. A team of doctoral students from the BGHS chooses and develops the theme of the annual seminar and independently organizes the workshop with the support of the BGHS office staff.

Following seven successful and exciting international conferences, the 8th BGHS Annual Seminar is going to convene at the intersection of history and sociology under the title *Done with Eurocentrism? Directions, Diversions, and Debates in History and Sociology* from June 30 to July 02 at the Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology.

The conference invites paper and poster proposals that touch upon one or more of the Seminar's topics within various (trans)disciplinary contexts in history and the social sciences. Researchers across a range of disciplines and stages of their careers who are interested in giving either paper or poster presentations at the Annual Seminar should submit an abstract of no more than 250 words along with a two-page CV to the conference organisers at: [annalseminar@uni-bielefeld.de](mailto:annalseminar@uni-bielefeld.de).

We plan to publish an edited volume including a selection of papers from the event in our open-access, peer-reviewed, e-journal *InterDisciplines*. Furthermore, depending on the number of poster applications and the quality of their design and presentation, posters might enter a competition for a book voucher. Please note that the BGHS offers financial support to graduate students who are selected to present at the Annual Seminar, including accommodation and a portion of the travel expenses, depending on the total travel expenses of all participants. You are therefore advised to indicate in your application whether you would like to be considered for the travel stipend. Speakers will be responsible for their own daily expenses.

Proposers will be notified by 15 February 2016 whether their abstract has been accepted.

More information [here](#)

[\*\*\*Back to top\*\*\*](#)



## TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

### **Talk: Women's Rights and the Arab Uprisings**

**Date:** 7 December, 6:30 - 9:00 PM

**Location:** SOAS Campus, Russel Square, London, Brunei Gallery Room: BGLT

**Speaker:** Professor Ahlem Belhadj, MD, University of Tunis

**Organiser:** Professor Gilbert Achcar (ga3@soas.ac.uk)

Five years after the 'Arab Spring', the situation in the Arab region is more complex than ever. Social and gender relations should be at the centre of any appraisal of the ongoing process. What role did the women's movement play and what role can it play in social and political change? What balance-sheet can be drawn with regard to gender relations? Are women the principal losers of the upheaval as many pretend? The lecture will assess the fate of women rights in constitutional processes, the issue of violence against women, the feminisation of poverty, and the impact of rising terrorism on the condition of women in the Arab region. It will conclude with a discussion of the prospects for women emancipation in the Arab region. More information [here](#)

[Back to top](#)

### **Panel: Arab Media and Publicness after the Uprisings**

**Date:** 7 December, 6.00pm - 7.30pm

**Location:** 309 Regent Street, London W1B 2HW

**Organisers:** Arab Media Centre, Communication and Media Research Institute (CAMRI) and BBC Media Action.

Over the past 25 years, there has been a gradual opening up of the media in the Arab world, first through the advent of satellite broadcasting, and subsequently through the explosion of new media. This pluralism has undoubtedly had a liberalising effect on the political landscape of the region. But its media have also been co-opted increasingly into the service of narrow political interests and the wide choice offered by the Internet has in fact become more narrowly political. Amid this increasingly polarised political space, BBC Media Action's new policy briefing – 'After the Arab uprisings: the prospects for a media that serves the public' – argues that one regional institution in particular – the national broadcaster – could paradoxically help bridge some of these social divides, provided that it can be reformed to serve public, rather than state, interests. More information [here](#)

[Back to top](#)

## RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS

### **Soft Force: Women in Egypt's Islamic Awakening**

*Ellen Anne McLarney*

2015 – Princeton University Press

In the decades leading up to the Arab Spring in 2011, when Hosni Mubarak's authoritarian regime was swept from power in Egypt, Muslim women took a leading role in developing a robust Islamist presence in the country's public sphere. *Soft Force* examines the writings and activism of these women—including scholars, preachers, journalists, critics, actors, and public intellectuals—who envisioned an Islamic awakening in which women's rights and the family, equality, and emancipation were at the center.

Challenging Western conceptions of Muslim women as being oppressed by Islam, Ellen McLarney shows how women used "soft force"—a women's jihad characterized by nonviolent protest—to oppose secular dictatorship and articulate a public sphere that was both Islamic and democratic. McLarney draws on memoirs, political essays, sermons, newspaper articles, and other writings to explore how these women imagined the home and the family as sites of the free practice of religion in a climate where Islamists were under siege by the secular state. While they seem to reinforce women's traditional roles in a male-dominated society, these Islamist writers also reoriented Islamist politics in domains coded as feminine, putting women at the very forefront in imagining an Islamic polity.

[Back to top](#)

### **Media, Revolution and Politics in Egypt: The Story of an Uprising**

*Abdalla F. Hassan*

2015 - I.B.Tauris

For too long Egypt's system of government was beholden to the interests of the elite in power, aided by the massive apparatus of the security state. Breaking point came on 25 January 2011. But several years after popular revolt enthralled a global audience, the struggle for democracy and basic freedoms are far from being won. *Media, Revolution, and Politics in Egypt: The Story of an Uprising* examines the political and media dynamic in pre-and post-revolution Egypt and what it could mean for the country's democratic transition. We follow events through the period leading up to the 2011 revolution, eighteen days of uprising, military rule, an elected president's year in office, and his ouster by the military. Activism has expanded freedoms of expression only to see those spaces contract with the resurrection of the police state. And with sharpening political divisions, the facts have become amorphous as ideological trends cling to their own narratives of truth."

[Back to top](#)

## **Dissent and Revolution in a Digital Age: Social Media, Blogging and Activism in Egypt**

David Faris

2015 - I.B.Tauris

During the Arab uprisings of early 2011, which saw the overthrow of Zine el-Abadine Ben Ali in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt, the role of digital media and social networking tools was widely reported. This was also recognized by the very authorities fighting against popular pressure for change, and the Egyptian government's attempt to block internet and mobile phone access in January 2011 demonstrated the extent to which it was seen as powerful and potentially subversive tool. What is yet to be examined is the local context that allowed digital media to play this role: Egypt, for example, a history of online activism laid important ground work for the scenes in Tahrir Square. Here, David Faris argues that it was circumstances particular to Egypt, more than the 'spark' from Tunisia, that allowed the revolution to take off: namely blogging and digital activism stretching back into the 1990s, combined with sustained and numerous protest movements and an independent press. *Dissent and Revolution in a Digital Age* tracks the rocky path taken by Egyptian bloggers operating in Mubarak's authoritarian regime to illustrate how the state monopoly on information was eroded, making space for dissent and digital activism.

[Back to top](#)

## **The Dissident Mullah: Ayatollah Montazeri and the Struggle for Reform in Revolutionary Iran**

*Ulrich von Schwerin*

2015 - I.B.Tauris

The Iranian cleric Ayatollah Montazeri (1922-2009) played an integral role in the founding of the Islamic Republic in the wake of the Iranian Revolution of 1978/9. Yet at the time of his death, Montazeri was considered one of the Islamic Republic's fiercest critics. What made this man, who was once considered the leading advocate of the state doctrine of the 'Guardianship of the Jurist' (velayat-e faqih) and the designated successor to the supreme leader Ayatollah Khomeini, change his views? How did his political theory incorporate issues such as civil rights, pluralism and popular participation? And what influence did his ideas have on others? Ulrich von Schwerin's book answers these questions by examining the evolution of Montazeri's political thought over the course of five decades, and studies his role in the discourse on religion and politics in Iran. In doing so, he sheds a new light on some of the most crucial events and vital protagonists of recent Iranian history.

[Back to top](#)

## **Iran in the Middle East: Transnational Encounters and Social History**

Edited by: *Houchang Chehabi*

2015 - I.B.Tauris

Iran's interaction with its neighbours is a topic of wide interest. But while many historical studies of the country concentrate purely on political events and high-profile actors, this book takes the opposite approach: writing history from below, it instead focuses on the role of everyday lives. Modern Iranian historiography has been dominated by ideas of nationalism, modernization, religion, autocracy, revolution and war. *Iran in the Middle East* adds new dimensions to the study of four crucial areas of Iranian history: the events and impact of the Constitutional Revolution, Iran's transnational connections, the social history of Iran and developments in historiography. Featuring eminent scholars such as Ali Ansari, Janet Afary and Erik-Jan Zürcher, this book makes a significant contribution to the understanding of Iran in a transnational context by exploring the key social actors in the constitutional revolution, trade and the role of women. The authors emphasize the role of societal transformations, social movements, class, gender and ethnic identities, analyzing both national and individual identity. What emerges is a concise and unique look at Iranian social history, from both within the country's internal relationships with its social groups, and from its external relations with neighbouring countries. It will prove essential reading to scholars and students of Iran and the wider Middle East region."

[Back to top](#)

## **Berber Government: The Kabyle Polity in Pre-colonial Algeria**

*Hugh Roberts*

2014 - I.B.Tauris

The Berber identity movement in North Africa was pioneered by the Kabyles of Algeria. But a preoccupation with identity and language has obscured the fact that Kabyle dissidence has been rooted in democratic aspirations inspired by the political traditions of Kabylia itself, a Berber-speaking region in the north of Algeria. The political organisation of pre-colonial Kabylia, from which these traditions originate, was well-described by nineteenth-century French ethnographers. But their inability to explain it led to a trend amongst later theorists of Berber society, such as Ernest Gellner and Pierre Bourdieu, to dismiss Kabylia's political institutions, notably the *jema'a* (assembly or council), and to reduce Berber politics to a function of social structure and shared religion. In *Berber Government*, Hugh Roberts, a renowned expert on North Africa, uncovers and explores the remarkable logics of Kabyle political organisation. Combining political anthropology and political and social history in an interdisciplinary analysis, Roberts challenges the excessive emphasis on kinship and religion in the study of the Maghreb.

He instead explores the political structures and processes of the Kabyles, examining the organisation of the Kabyle polity and its intricate frameworks of law, political representation and self-government. Additionally, in a pioneering account of Kabylia's relations with the Ottoman Regency, he provides the first in-depth historical explanation of the genesis of the Kabyle polity as this existed at the moment of the French conquest of the region in 1857. In thus grounding the explanation of Kabyle

political organisation in a resolutely historical analysis spanning the Ottoman era, Berber Government offers a radical alternative to previous paradigms and lays the foundation of new way of understanding the complex place and role of the Kabyles in Algerian political life from the pre-colonial era to the present day.

[Back to top](#)

## **Writing Revolution: The Voices from Tunis to Damascus**

Edited by: *Matthew Cassel, Layla Al-Zubaidi, Nemonie Craven Roderick*

2013 - I.B.Tauris

From Cairo to Damascus and from Tunisia to Bahrain, Layla Al-Zubaidi and Matthew Cassel have brought together some of the most exciting new writing born out of revolution in the Arab world. This is a remarkable collection of testimony, entirely composed by participants in, and witnesses to, the profound changes shaking their region. Situated between past, present and future - in a space where the personal and the political collide - these voices are part of an ongoing process, one that is at once hopeful and heartbreaking. Unique amongst material emanating from and about the convulsions in the Arab Middle East, these creative and original writers speak of history, determination and struggle, as well as of political and poetic engagement with questions of identity and activism. This book gives a moving and inspiring insight into the Arab revolutions and uprisings: why they are happening and what might come next.

Table of Contents

Introduction by Samar Yazbek

- 1 | Greetings to the Dawn: Living through the Bittersweet Revolution (Tunisia) | Malek Sghiri
- 2 | Cairo, City in Waiting (Egypt) | Yasmine El Rashidi
- 3 | Bayou and Laila (Libya) | Mohamed Mesrati
- 4 | We Are Not Swallows (Algeria) | Ghania Mouffok
- 5 | The Resistance: Armed with Words (Yemen) | Jamal Jubran
- 6 | Coming Down from the Tower (Bahrain) | Ali Aldairy
- 7 | Wishful Thinking (Saudi Arabia) | Safa Al Ahmad
- 8 | And the Demonstrations Go On: Diary of an Unfinished Revolution (Syria) | Khawla Dunia

[Back to top](#)

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

### **Toward a Theory of “Islamist Movements”**

Sociology of Islam, Volume 2, Issue 1-2

*Mark Gould*

I differentiate conceptually between Islamist and other religious movements directed towards religious and political institutions and, for each of these, between movements that endeavor to transform (1) role relationships, (2) collectivity structures, (3) normative expectations, and (4) value orientations in these institutions. I construct a value-added theory that specifies the necessary and sufficient conditions generating each of these types of movements. Movements are directed at one of these components of social action dependent on the nature of strain present for actors within the system. Their direction is guided by the nature of the opportunity structure present in the social order under examination. Religious disorders, religious movements that violate institutionalized norms and attempt to reconstruct one or more aspects of an institutionalized religious structure, emerge when religious value-commitments and obligations are deflated and actors adopt a calculating orientation towards them. A parallel set of religious movements that do not violate institutionalized norms will emerge when all of the variables are present except a deflation of value-commitments.

[Back to top](#)

### **The Post-Islamist Turn and the Contesting Visions of Democratic Public Religion**

Sociology of Islam, Volume 2, Issue 1-2

*Siavash Saffari*

This article examines the relationship between religion and sociopolitical development in the context of the re-emergence of popular social movements in Muslim societies in the Middle East and North Africa. It makes a case that despite the decline of Islamism as a mode of social mobilization, religion maintains an active presence within the public sphere. Focusing on the religious-political discourses of Abdolkarim Soroush and neo-Shariatis, as the representatives of two distinct post-Islamist currents in post-revolutionary Iran, the article identifies some of the capacities and limitations of their particular conceptions of democratic public religiosity for contributing to the ongoing processes of change in Iran and other contemporary Muslim societies.

[Back to top](#)

## **Understanding Iran's Green Movement as a 'movement of movements'**

Sociology of Islam, Volume 2, Issue 1-2

*Navid Pourmokhtari*

This paper examines how oppositional groups go about exploiting opportunities to mobilize en masse in settings that are less than auspicious. The Green Movement is used here as a case study, the aim of which is to show that understanding how a people go about mobilizing requires, first and foremost, examining the core beliefs that motivate them to seize opportunities when conditions allow. To this end, a constructivist approach will be used to demonstrate that it was the oppositional forces that took a proactive role in constructing opportunities to mobilize because they perceived the circumstances to be favorable, which suggests that greater attention ought to be focused on the sociopolitical and historical context within which a given situation is viewed as conducive to mass mobilization. Citing the examples of the student and women's groups involved in Iran's Green Movement, and tracing their historical trajectories and particular experiences during Ahmadinejad's first term (2004–2008), I argue that the Green Movement may be best described as a 'movement of movements,' the kind of mega social movement capable of harnessing the potential, not only of Iranians but of other Middle East peoples, to mobilize with a view to pursuing specific social and political goals. This approach has the virtue of offering a way to understand specific traits of social movements operating in repressive settings.

[Back to top](#)

## **The Arab Summer and Its Discontents: Origins of Revolution, and the Role of Islamic Movements in Post-Revolutionary Middle East**

Sociology of Islam, Volume 2, Issue 1-2

*Richard J. Heydarian*

The paper looks at the roots of the Arab Spring, the subsequently contentious political landscape, which emerged in post-revolutionary Middle East, and the series of conflicts and dizzying challenges, which have gripped much of the region. Principally, it examines, historically, the distinct combination of (structural, agential, and triggering) factors, which led to the Arab uprisings as well as the role of moderate, mass-based Islamist movements, principally the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (mb) and its offshoots, which managed to rise to power, in certain countries, after the downfall of Arab strongmen across the region. But, shortly after, to be followed by the unceremonious demise of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood (mb), and the ensuing region-wide backlash against its offshoots in 2013. The paper argues, after a careful examination of the structural roots of the 2010–11 Arab uprisings, that one of the principal pitfalls of the ruling Islamist parties was their inability to establish a credible mode of governance, which could decisively mark a break with the old order. They failed to provide an alternative economic agenda to address the structural maladies of the crony capitalism, which emerged on the heels of accelerating market-oriented reforms in the 1990s. The influence of Arab Sheikhdoms on Arab Transition Countries (atcs), and their support for ultra-

conservative Salafi groups, further diluted the process of democratic transition, leading to, among other things, the breakdown of the political process in Egypt.

[Back to top](#)

## **Anger in Search of Justice: Reflections on the Gezi Revolt in Turkey**

Sociology of Islam, Volume 2, Issue 1-2

*Gürcan Koçan and Ahmet Öncü*

This paper focuses on the underlying motivation behind the participation of individuals in what came to be known as the Gezi Revolt. The Gezi Revolt was the expression of anger in response to a perceived social injustice. Those who participated in the uprising aimed not only to enforce political change but also to restore justice in their society through struggle and moral expression. Gezi represents the weaving together of moral, cognitive, and emotional responses. Anger and fury were the two particular emotions that provided a sense of urgency among a large section of people across the land and led to the building of a social network of individuals through which sharing stories and expressing feelings turned into practices of moral progress. The paper discusses how the participants of “the Gezi Community” were able to put aside their before identities and hold back their unpleasant and dividing emotions to one another.

[Back to top](#)

## **Democracy and Disillusionment: Copts and the Arab Spring**

Sociology of Islam, Volume 2, Issue 1-2

*Paul Rowe*

This essay considers the role that Copts played in the Arab Spring revolution in Egypt and the way in which the political changes of the time affected Coptic interest representation in the Egyptian state. Copts, the indigenous Christians of Egypt, were eager participants in the protests that brought down former president Hosni Mubarak. However, their enthusiasm for a new era was dampened by the inability of lay Coptic movements to challenge the status quo in a way favorable to Coptic interests. Dissent against the management of security under the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (scaf) led Copts toward cautious optimism when Muhammad Morsi was elected president in 2012. However, the transition to democracy in Egypt as laid out by the Islamist government ultimately squandered the goodwill of Egyptian Christians and contributed to their disillusionment with the democratic idea. The result has been the further polarization of Egyptian society in ways which have deepened cleavages between Christians and the Islamist movement and rendered more ambiguous the role of the church and lay movements in representing Coptic interests.

[Back to top](#)



# POSITIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

## POMEPS Summer 2016 TRE Grants

**Deadline: 5:00 pm EST, January 15, 2016.**

The Project on Middle East Political Science is delighted to announce a call for proposals for Summer 2016 POMEPS Travel – Research – Engagement grants. The competition is open to academic political scientists at career stages from PhD students to senior faculty from any institution, and is not restricted to U.S. citizens or residents. Awards of up to \$3,000 will be offered to support research travel to the broader Middle East. The research should be in support of an ongoing academic research project. Grant recipients are required to submit at least one article based on their research to POMEPS for possible publication on *Washington Post's* Monkey Cage blog. Opportunities for POMEPS workshops and conferences are often extended to applicants. The proposed travel should take place between March 1, 2016 and September 1, 2016.

POMEPS especially encourages proposals as part of the Islam in a Changing Middle East initiative. The Arab uprisings have created dramatically new opportunities and challenges not only for Islamist movements but also for the academic and policy communities that study them. Islam in a Changing Middle East seeks to support scholars in adapting to the deluge of new information and evidence.

Applications should include:

- Current CV
- Research proposal\* including:
- Location of travel
- Travel schedule
- Description of project/research plan
- Budget estimate

\* *there is no specific page requirement*

Proposed *Monkey Cage* article topics

Interested candidates should submit proposals in **one PDF file** to Stephanie Dahle at **pomepsgw@gmail.com** by 5:00 pm EST, **January 15, 2016**.

*Past recipients of TRE grants are eligible to apply, but please be advised that priority will be given to those who have not previously received funding.*

More information [here](#)

[Back to top](#)