Digest of Current Publications and Events

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CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

“Women and Politics: MENA Experiences”

June 2019 in Abu Dhabi, UAE – October 2019 in Rabat, Morocco
Application Deadline: March 15th, 2019

We are pleased to announce a Call for Applications from early-career scholars who would like to participate in the 2019 MENA Workshops. This two-part program is a unique opportunity to network with colleagues from across the MENA region and develop research on the various political and socio-economic changes related to Women and Politics in the MENA region. The first workshop will be held in Abu Dhabi, UAE from June 9-13, in partnership with New York University-Abu Dhabi. The second workshop will be held in Rabat Morocco from October 14-18. The organizers will cover participation costs (including travel, lodging, and materials) for up to 20 qualified applicants.

The 2019 program is part of a multi-year effort to support political science research among early-career scholars in the Arab Middle East and North Africa and strengthen research networks linking Arab scholars with their colleagues overseas. Previous workshops have been organized in cooperation with the American University in Cairo, the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR) in Amman, the Center for Maghreb Studies in Tunis (CEMAT), Lebanese American University, Qatar University’s Social and Economic Survey Research Institute, and the American University of Beirut’s Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship, among others.

Eligible Participants The workshop is intended for citizens of Arab MENA countries who are currently enrolled in a Ph.D. program or completing a post-doctoral fellowship. Non-citizens of Arab MENA countries who are currently based at universities or research institutes in the Arab MENA region may also submit an application for consideration. The program is open to scholars in political science and other social science disciplines undertaking research related to the workshop theme. Interested scholars should apply with a manuscript or research project in progress which they will share at the first workshop week, improve over the interim period, and present formally during the second workshop week. Professional fluency in English is required. Applications from scholars working on the topics related to the workshop theme (as described below) are especially encouraged.

Workshop Theme The 2019 workshops will be led by Naima Benlarabi (Ibn Tofail University, Morocco), Rachel Brulé (New York University-Abu Dhabi, UAE), Hanane Darhour (Polydisciplinary Faculty of Ouarzazate, Morocco), Liv Tønnessen (Chr. Michelsen Institute, Norway), and Aili Mari Tripp (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA). Together with selected workshop fellows, these co-leaders aim to strengthen the capacities and resources for theoretical and empirical scholarship on politics and gender within the MENA region. Attendees will review the recent literature and focus discussion on three areas of analysis. This first theme will examine women’s representation in legislatures, local government, the executive, and the judiciary as related to factors such as gender quotas, decentralization, and institutional change. A second theme will look at legal reform, Islamic jurisprudence, and gender equality as related to women’s rights reforms and women’s economic empowerment. The third theme will look at women’s movements and political change as related to policy outcomes, public opinion, international influences, and domestic coalition building. In doing so, attendees will explore and answer questions such as:
Women and Political Representation
What accounts for different levels of female representation in the MENA region?
Does the numerical increase in women representatives lead to more women’s rights legislation?
Do the women parliamentarians see themselves as advocating for women’s rights issues?
How have different parties responded to quotas?

Legal Reform, Islamic Jurisprudence and Gender Equality
What are the different pathways to gender reform in the MENA region?
Which factors influence adoption of gender reforms?
What are the possibilities and limitations of gender reform in authoritarian regimes?
What explains backlash against reforms?
What are the varied responses of the religious establishment to gender reforms?
How have women’s rights instrumentalized for other purposes by the political elite?

Women’s Movements and Political Change
What are the influences on women’s movements (domestic, international, donors, parties etc.)?
Under what conditions have women’s movements been most successful and around which issues?
What are generational differences in movements?
What is the impact of Islamic feminism?

To provide a framework for reflection and investigation, attendees will critically assess the various research designs and methodological choices used to answer these research questions, and their utility in testing hypotheses. The workshop will also include sessions on conducting fieldwork, manuscript preparation and publication, and other professional development topics. Following their participation in the full program, alumni will receive 3 years’ membership to APSA and will be eligible to apply for small research grants.

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When “Adjusted” People Rebel. Economic liberalization and social revolts in Africa and the Middle East (1980s to the present day)

Abstract deadline : April 15th, 2019

Here is a call for papers for a special issue of the social history journal International Review of Social History entitled « When “Adjusted” People Rebel. Economic liberalization and social revolts in Africa and the Middle East (1980s to the present day) ». We would like to receive by 15 April proposals for articles of about 3000 characters specifying the issues and the methodology envisaged. Articles should be written in English, but intermediate steps can also be done in French.

The proposals we will select should lead to first versions of articles by the beginning of November 2019.
We will focus on papers that offer a perspective from the actors (rebels or actors of liberalization policies) in a perspective of modern social history. Studies must be based on empirical work in one or more countries of the region concerned.

For any further information:

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December 29, 1983. Douz, Kebili, Kasserine, Gafsa, in Tunisia: the government reduces grain subsidies in accordance with the economic prescriptions of international financial institutions. As bread prices skyrocket, riots break out in several cities in the south before moving northward to the capital. After eight days of popular riots pitting civilians against the military, official reports count 84 dead and more than 900 injured. March 10, 1994. Niamey, Niger: several months after the signature of an initial structural adjustment program between the International Monetary Fund and the Nigerien government, students take their anger to the streets of Niamey, burning car tires and blocking roads. One of them, Tahirou Harouna, is hit in the face with tear gas fired by a police officer. He dies the following day. October 5, 1999. Egypt, the Nile Valley: controls let up on agricultural property rents in a process begun five years earlier, culminating in a new law. More than 900,000 farming families have already been forced to leave their lands. Unrest breaks out in several villages in the south. In just a few days, nine people have been killed and hundreds more are injured in conflicts among the army, landowners, and renters.

Each one of these events has its own logic, and involves actors from different backgrounds. However, they all occurred during the liberalization movements of the 1980s and 1990s, which were fueled by international financial institutions and were implemented by governments of countries said to be “developing.” In Africa, Asia, and Latin America, one of the primary manifestations of this liberalization were structural adjustment programs. These programs had several goals: to boost public finances by cutting state expenses, to encourage commercial activity/entrepreneurship by limiting institutional constraints, and to balance trade by lifting protectionist measures then in place. These adjustment policies are already the subject of much critical work: the existing literature questions the political

economy of liberal reforms, looks into their various concrete applications, and studies their effects on society (impoverishment, the rentier state, job market feminization and fragility, emergence of a new political and financial elite)\(^5\). Another part of the literature approaches adjustment from a more ideological perspective, engaging with the neoliberal development and its spread in various seats of power from the 1930s to the present day, particularly in development institutions\(^6\). But the repeated social riots in response to structural adjustment have received considerably little attention\(^7\). Some of the most high-profile uprisings, such as the temporary siege of San Cristobal, Mexico, by Zapatistas on January 1, 1994, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement came into force, have been amply discussed\(^8\). But other, more sporadic movements, such as the series of riots in response to the devaluation of the CFA franc, which occurred ten days after the start of NAFTA, are relatively unknown. A transversal, comparative examination of such events – one that considers both their most obvious political manifestations, but also the less evident ones, those that play out above and beyond the expected spheres and involve expressions of popular rage – has yet to be taken on. These lesser-known manifestations are at the crux of this call for papers, which seeks work on the various riot movements that occurred throughout the world in response to the structural adjustments of the 1980s and 1990s, as seen from the perspective of the rioters themselves.

**Rioting – or not**

When working on the history of riots and revolutions, the question is not so much “why do men and women riot”, but rather “why does it happen so rarely?”\(^9\) Crossing the line from suffering to anger, from anger to action against those said to be responsible for the suffering is no easy road. Edward Thompson’s research on the moral economy of the English crowd, which rioted against increased bread prices in 18th-century England, abandoned a causal, mechanistic analysis of popular revolt. The food riots Thompson studied were more than the consequence of poor people rendered angry by hunger – itself the consequence of an increase

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in the price of wheat. The revolts also conveyed shared ideas of what is just and what is not at a time when a new liberal political economy was coming to the fore. In the same way, riots in response to structural adjustments cannot be seen as the inevitable result of price hikes, of public sector job cuts, or of medical center closings. A more nuanced reading is necessary in order to understand why a riot happens in one place and not another.

The sociology of social unrest has provided various keys aimed at explaining the how – rather than the why – of rioting. Analyses of riots and revolutions can be enhanced by information about the resources available to populations wishing to organize, about the political opportunities populations have had throughout their history, and about a population’s tendency to conceive of their anger in a unified fashion. But these keys – particularly when they are applied schematically – can also flatten a given riot’s ways and means of breaking out: seen from the rioters’ perspective, a riot’s outbreak depends much more on happenstance, on the interactions taking place between the rulers and the ruled, and on the chance meetings of wildly contrasted interests, motives, and means of action.

Rather than through ready-made explanations, riots are better described by following closely the paths of their protagonists, even if that means, at times, using a single day of uprising as a scale for analysis. Such descriptions may help to reveal how popular responses to structural adjustment may vary according to nationality, political culture, level of militancy, living arrangement, socio-professional activity, and gender (riots are not necessarily masculine). Such descriptions may also help to understand the various ways of rioting, from well-organized collective riots such as strikes and demonstrations to more spontaneous movements such as isolated riots or ransacking, to less visible or even illogical forms sometimes conceptualized as “non-social movements” or “popular political action” (mode d’action populaire du politique). Finally, they may also help to reconsider the riot/non-riot

15 A. Bayat, Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2010.
dichotomy: popular responses to adjustments have assumed intermediary forms in between refusal and acceptance.

Describing riots, but also defining what is meant by the term, requires an assessment of the sources available for such a task. Some sources, such as press articles and police reports, provide an outside look at rioters. But they also may facilitate a selective look at popular reactions to structural adjustments in that they might overemphasize some reactions and neglect others. In the same way, sources provided by former rioters or activists may glorify their own actions or those of their organizations. Alongside the most obvious sources, then, it is important to look closely into those that might help to see the event from a new angle: certain indirect accounts coming from non directly militant spheres, an otherwise overlooked state body, material traces, equipment used by rioters, journalistic reports, or art works are several examples.

The many faces of anger

“You’re seven, we’re six billion!” shouted G7 protesters in the 1990s, suggesting a worldwide opposition to the liberalism of the richest countries in the world in collaboration with international financial institutions. The slogan refers to a theoretical antagonism existing between a “multitude” and “new capitalist power” and may not be the most salient example of popular dissatisfaction at the time of structural adjustment. And yet these adjustments were part of change occurring on an international scale: who is to say that this was not the true scale of people who, having taken to the streets, were protesting the recent measures of the World Bank and the IMF?

Who – or what – is the object of a riot against structural adjustments? The question is deceptively simple. Examining rioters’ targets from a spatial and material perspective reveals that opponents vary according to country, rioters, and the given moment. In one case, a target might be the headquarters of an international organization, or a Western chancellery. In another, government buildings or a state symbol might be targeted. And in yet another, a bank, a corporation, or a commercial stockroom might be in the crosshairs. Rioters conceive of power, and the exercise of power, in different ways. When, for example, the state is the main target of a riot that, from the outside, seems to object to liberal globalization, particular critical attention is required. The question of the target also complicates an issue strongly present in contemporary revolts: the contestation of corruption. Elites are seen as being accommodated by the international criteria defined by the World Bank and the IMF.


This question of scale also refers to the scales of protest affinities and political intermediation. Some of the social movements happening in the wake of structural adjustment were anchored in local, neighborhood, or village solidarity networks, fueled mainly by neighborhood and family ties, professional practices and, more generally, the everyday dialogue that works to develop a shared definition of what is right and wrong\textsuperscript{19}. Other movements were rather more part of national dynamics, even transnational dynamics that can in some cases be observed with mimicry effects from one country to another, or through actual contacts and meetings among the most highly organized rebels. There is also the question of people or organizations that create and maintain links from one struggle to another, and help include them in a more or less wide scale\textsuperscript{20}.

Finally, the question of scale also raises the question of spaces where concrete adjustment measures are put into place, and where protest movements are likely to occur. When a medical center or a school classroom is closed, the effects are observed on the level of a neighborhood or a village. When a caisse de déstabilisation [JA4] is dismantled, effects are felt on the national level. And when the CFA franc is devalued, the regional level is concerned. Above and beyond the geographical spaces adjustment measures are implemented in, we can also interrogate the perceptions of those concerned by the measures. This might be called the mental space of adjustment: the breadth of such a space depends on the action of the dissenting organization, but also on the behaviors of the more or less visible actors charged with implementing the adjustments. These range from local state agents to international public actors, including individuals who – sometimes unwittingly – contribute in their daily life and work to making the adjustment a reality\textsuperscript{21}. Timothy Mitchell’s research on Egypt brought up to date “a widespread but very thin network of ties and exchanges” that make up the network of economic regulatory institutions on the global level\textsuperscript{22}. In adopting the perspective of the insurgency, a rounder knowledge of the adjustment and its political implications may emerge, thus making it possible to deconstruct the apparent inevitability of economic policies.

**Adjustment and the political imaginary**

Through the present day, these adjustments appear to remain a very strong chronological marker in popular memory, perhaps just as much as independence was in countries having


obtained it 30 years prior. But while independence was marked by great promises of political autonomy and material life, adjustment was marked by a narrowing of possibilities, a cold realism that was to be accepted – except, perhaps, if one were to revolt.

As such, we might reflect on what everyday parlance says about the social reception of adjustment, sometimes on a strongly emotional basis: ways of speaking, signs above theatres or shops, songs and rhymes, and stories that are told and have been passed along until today. Such stories tell of the violence brought on by adjustment measures. Some of these expressions are marked by anger, but others seem rather to indicate disillusionment, a sometimes wistfully humorous distance from the events, and a certain propensity to “accept things,” which is neither submission nor open resistance.

We can also question the links populations establish with “the olden times,” sometimes presented as a time when life was easier, when the rules were both clearer and better under the control of all. In this respect, it is not insignificant that the regulatory apparatuses dismantled during the structural adjustments often came from openly authoritarian regimes: figures such as Nasser in Egypt, Kountché in Niger, and Bourguiba in Tunisia are still commonly associated with the image of a state that met its responsibilities in terms of subsistence and access to social services, even if this may also be the result of a retrospective projection. (The paternalistic system of post-independence regimes operates precisely in this way – when the figure of Bourguiba appeared on television to announce that the rise in bread prices was nonsense, for example, the riots stopped immediately to make room for popular jubilation, and the system was back up and running). Such links with the past do not only concern memory and representations: riots and, more broadly, political behavior is sometimes charged with references to what was done before, and what is seen as being more just.

Conversely, that adjustments were made in parallel with the establishment of political pluralism in a number of cases (particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America) led certain populations to take a negative view of the democratization process, even though it originated in popular uprisings. This is more salient in cases when the adjustment was initially strongly opposed by the men and women of democratically elected governments applying liberal measures, and who owed part of their legitimacy to this positioning. One wonders to what extent this situation worked in the favor of often rapidly-restored authoritarian governments. Moreover, did the absence of riots work in the favor of these restored governments in places where, several years earlier, crowds were shouting their opposition to a military regime?

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Finally, there may be parallels with the present day: in the 1980s and 1990s, countries that were “adjusted” and placed under trusteeship were African, Asian, and Latin American, even though debt levels were also high in some OECD countries. Today, the governments of Greece and Spain (though perhaps tomorrow France or the United Kingdom) are forced, in the name of economic rationality, to implement policies that go against the wishes expressed by popular vote. Looking closely at what happened in the adjusted world of the 1980s and 1990s may well provide insight into what is happening, or may be happening, today in the more global world of the 2010s.

This special issue aims to gather contributions focused on African and Middle Eastern areas. In addition to the fact that this both coordinators' areas of expertise, this choice is guided by the relatively low production of research on these areas (in comparison with South America in particular). It also appears that the repeated revolts in sub-Saharan Africa and the southern Mediterranean have often been read with focuses that have marginalized the role of supra-national policies in their outbreak, confining them to readings of protests against existing authoritarian regimes - a dimension that is certainly present, but overly reductive.

3rd INTERNATIONAL KURDISH STUDIES CONFERENCE - Shifting Dynamics of the Kurdistan Question in a Changing Middle East

Middlesex University, London, on 25 - 26 June 2019
Abstract Deadline: March 15th, 2019

We are pleased to announce the 3rd International Kurdish Studies Conference to be held at Middlesex University, London, on 25 - 26 June 2019.

This interdisciplinary conference aims to bring together researchers from a range of disciplines working on Kurdish history, politics, culture, gender, minority rights and diaspora to examine the ongoing political, social and cultural developments in the lives of the Kurds and Kurdistan.

The conference is organised by the Department of Politics and Law, Middlesex University, Minority Rights Group International and The Centre for Kurdish Progress.
We would very much appreciate it if you could circulate this call for abstracts to your colleagues and friends who may be interested in participating in the conference. The abstract deadline is March 15th, 2019.

We also welcome proposals for sessions and are open to suggestions as to what format these take, including panel discussions, roundtables and workshops or book launches.

If you have any questions about submitting abstracts or the conference in general, please do not hesitate to contact us at KurdishStudies@mdx.ac.uk
CfP: Archiving Protest – From the Afterlives of the Event to Archives of Instantaneity
Abstract Deadline: March 17th, 2019

Over the last decade we have seen protests and revolts that have resonated globally: from Tahrir Square and Gezi Park to the Indignants in Greece and Spain, to the Gilet Jaunes or Occupy Wall Street or the Umbrella Movement. One of the key elements of these events has been their online circulation which has flowed from the (bottom-up) modes of documentation employed. The ‘democratization of witnessing’ associated with this type of ‘citizen journalism’ has opened new political, ethical and aesthetic questions. This workshop seeks to address two of these issues through the lens of critical theory.

1. The first issue is situated after the event, once the immediate affective power of these online artefacts has faded. We want to examine archives of protest as an afterlife of the event, what Derrida described as “surviving of an excess of life which resists annihilation”. So, we invite papers:
   - on practices of memorialising protests, revolts, riots
   - on the mediatised conditions of the eventness of an event
   - on archiving affects and atmospheres
   - on the affective dynamics of memorialisation
   - on the city as a living archive of unrest

2. The second issue involves what we are calling ‘archives of instantaneity’. By this we mean organised attempts to record and archive from within the events. We are interested in exploring the potential of (extant and new) platforms to build contemporaneous archives. We invite papers:
   - on the possibilities of geo-mapping platforms like Harrassmap
   - on the dangers of practices of contemporaneous democratic archives
   - on the affective power of contemporaneous archives
   - on the questions of verification and veracity

We invite scholars, visual artists, filmmakers and activists from around the world to take part. We are open to different types of participation, short interventions and longer papers. The workshop will involve participants from Egypt, Turkey, Colombia, the UK and a number of other sites of major protest and unrest.
It will be hosted by the Warwick Centre for Critical Legal Studies, and will take place on the 13\textsuperscript{th} of May, 2019. Lunch will be provided to participants. We aim to begin to build connections that may build into a new network on Archives of Protest.

\textbf{Contact: srha1@leicester.ac.uk, m.el-shewy@warwick.ac.uk, i.r.wall@warwick.ac.uk, a.ferrini@lcc.arts.ac.uk}

\textbf{Organisers:} Shaimaa Adelkarim (Leicester), Mohamed El-Shewy (Warwick), Alessandra Ferrini (University of the Arts London) and Illan rua Wall (Warwick)

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\section*{Call for Applications for a Research Development Workshop}

\textbf{April 11, 2019 in Beirut, Lebanon}

\textbf{Application Deadline: March 1, 2019}

The Arab Political Science Network (APSN) is pleased to announce a Call for Applications for a Research Development Workshop to be held on April 11, 2019 in Beirut, Lebanon. The workshop offers an opportunity to receive feedback on current research and develop scholarly networks with colleagues in the field. Applications are open for current PhD students and junior faculty as well as applicants accepted or attending the ACSS conference, who are working on one of the following themes:

- Authoritarianism and Authoritarian Resilience
- Protest, Collective Action, and Mobilization
- Political Economy and Rentier States in the Arab World
- Foreign Policy and Regional Dynamics in the Middle East
- Cities and Urban Politics in the Arab World

The Arab Political Science Network, APS is a scholarly collaborative initiative that seeks to support, enhance and increase scholars’ research outputs in the study of political science, and its sub and related fields. The Network targets graduate students and faculty members researching political science issues, with special emphasis on scholars based in Arab countries. The Research Development Workshop will bring together around 15 scholars to discuss a limited number of article-length manuscripts and will be held in conjunction with the 2019 Arab Council for the Social Sciences (ACSS) Conference held in Beirut from April 12-14, 2019. Participants will meet on April 11 (one day prior to the main conference) for a full day of research feedback and discussions. Papers will be circulated in advance of the workshop to allow time for thorough reading by all participants and discussants. At least one senior scholar will be assigned to discuss each paper. In addition to paper discussions, the seminar will feature a session on publishing in peer-reviewed journals and other professional development issues. Participants are also encouraged to attend the ACSS conference, which offers a great opportunity for building scholarly networks and learning about ongoing social science research in the region. Papers written in English and Arabic will be accepted. The manuscript should preferably be a stand-alone research piece, but a dissertation chapter could be accepted as well.
Deadline for applications is Friday March 1, 2019. Accepted applicants will be notified by first week of March and their participation in the workshop will be covered by APSN. The deadline to submit the final papers is Monday April 1, 2019.

Interested applicants should complete the online form and include: 1. A detailed, recent Curriculum Vitae/resume. 2. A 500-words research proposal in English or Arabic that will be submitted as full paper. For more information and questions, please contact Dr. Mona Farag at monakfarag@gmail.com

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TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

Women of South Yemen: Past, Present and the Future

Thursday, March 7, 2019 at 9 AM
Independent Diplomat, 14b Rue de la Science, Brussels, Belgium

All invited. Independent Diplomat and the Academic Forum Muhammad Ali Luqman cordially invite you a special public panel discussion on 'Women of South Yemen: Past, Present and the Future'

On the occasion International Women’s Day, the panel discussion will explore the vital role South Yemeni women have played in their decade’s long struggle for peace, and the challenges ahead for advancing women’s participation in the UN-led political process.

A retrospective photo exhibition of women’s roles in public life will also be on display, accompanied by remarks from Fatima Ali al-Baiti, Chairperson of the South Arabian Women’s Association in Germany.
RSVP: shervin.behzadi@independentdiplomat.org

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RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Revolution and Its Discontents: Political Thought and Reform in Iran
Eskandar Sadeghi-Boroujerdi
The death of the Islamic Republic's revolutionary patriarch, Ayatollah Khomeini, the bitter denouement of the Iran-Iraq War, and the marginalisation of leading factions within the political elite, in tandem with the end of the Cold War, harboured immense intellectual and political repercussions for the Iranian state and society. It was these events which created the conditions for the emergence of Iran's post-revolutionary reform movement, as its intellectuals and political leaders sought to re-evaluate the foundations of the Islamic state's political legitimacy and religious authority. In this monograph, Sadeghi-Boroujerdi, examines the rise and evolution of reformist political thought in Iran and analyses the complex network of publications, study circles, and think-tanks that encompassed a range of prominent politicians and intellectuals in the 1990s. In his meticulous account of the relationships between the post-revolutionary political class and intelligentsia, he explores a panoply of political and ideological issues still vital to understanding Iran's revolutionary state, such as the ruling political theology of the 'Guardianship of the Jurist', the political elite's engagement with questions of Islamic statehood, democracy and constitutionalism, and their critiques of revolutionary agency and social transformation.

Roving Revolutionaries: Armenians and the Connected Revolutions in the Russian, Iranian, and Ottoman Worlds

Houri Berberian
April 2019
University of California Press

Three of the formative revolutions that shook the early twentieth-century world occurred almost simultaneously in regions bordering each other. Though the Russian, Iranian, and Young Turk Revolutions all exploded between 1904 and 1911, they have never been studied through their linkages until now. Roving Revolutionaries probes the interconnected aspects of these three revolutions through the involvement of the Armenian revolutionaries—minorities in all of these empires—whose movements and participation within and across frontiers tell us a great deal about the global transformations that were taking shape. Exploring the geographical and ideological boundary crossings that occurred, Houri Berberian’s archivally grounded analysis of the circulation of revolutionaries, ideas, and print tells the story of peoples and ideologies in upheaval and collaborating with each other, and in so doing it illuminates our understanding of revolutions and movements.
Egypt’s unbreakable curse: Tracing the State of Exception from Mubarak to Al Sisi
Lucia Ardovini & Simon Mabon
Mediterranean Politics, 2019

This paper uses Giorgio Agamben’s *State of Exception* as a theoretical approach that allows us to see how emergency legislations operate in the region as mechanisms of control and dominant paradigms of governance. Relying on Egypt as a case study, this paper traces the significance of emergency rule throughout Mubarak’s era up until Al Sisi’s 2014 Constitution. It applies a four-stage analytical framework to investigate whether or not Egypt was indeed ruled by the exception throughout its turbulent recent history, while under the guise of *Emergency Rule*. In doing so, we aim to provide an analysis of the legal structures that shape Egyptian politics, while also adding to debates on the *State of Exception*, particularly on its application in the non-Western world.

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The tide that failed to rise: Young people’s politics and social values in and after the Arab uprisings
Pamela Abbott, Andrea Teti & Roger Sapsford
Mediterranean Politics, 2018

The story of the ‘Arab Spring’ as a revolt of young people against autocracy does not stand up to survey analysis at country level. Data from the Arab Transformations Survey show that young people were over-represented as participants, but it is necessary to stretch the concept of ‘youth’ into middle age in some countries to say this, there were plenty of older participants, and the protests were aimed less at political rights and more at social justice. Fundamental political changes have been expected in MENA which would sweep away autocratic rule in favour of democratisation, as the values of successive younger generations became individualized, liberalized and secularized under the influence of economic and market development and the spread of education, but there is very little evidence that this is what occurred in the Arab Uprisings. Whether young or older, protestors were looking for regime change, an end to corruption and a reduction in IMF-inspired austerity, but political freedoms and democratic governance do not appear to have been at the top of their agenda.

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Development by popular protection and Tunisia: the case of Tataouine
Max Ajl
Globalizations, 2019

Recently a debate re-emerged between Adel Samara and Samir Amin on the state role in delinking – subjecting a social formation’s relationships to the world-system to a domestic,
popular law of value. I suggest the arguments turns on the agent helming development. Amin’s agent is slightly more ambiguous than Samara’s, reflecting de-linking is modelled on postrevolutionary planning in Maoist China, with an explicit state role, whereas Samara, theorizing development under military occupation, spurned the state. The article assesses the arguments against contemporary Tunisia. It shows how flourishing Tunisian struggles track Samara’s development by popular protection (DBPP). The subject of history is masses engaged in struggle with state-mediated accumulation. It focuses on Tataouine’s 2017–2018 ElKamour protests. It argues Amin (1) articulates an antisystemic ideology, crucial amidst ideological disarray; (2) offers ideas for changes in financial architecture – holding programmes amidst capitalist advance; (3) build up the delinking framework which DBPP expands.

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**NEWS PIECES & COMMENTARY**

**Refugee footballer Al-Araibi urges Bahrain F1 boycott**

March 1, 2019

Al Araby

Refugee footballer Hakeem al-Araibi has urged Formula One fans to boycott this year's Grand Prix in Bahrain to protest human rights abuses, claiming he still feels threatened by authorities in his homeland.

The 25-year-old defender returned to Melbourne earlier this month after being detained during his honeymoon in Bangkok and threatened with extradition to his native Bahrain. Bahraini authorities accuse him of offences linked to the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings. But his detention sparked a worldwide outcry and he was eventually allowed back to Australia, where he had been granted asylum.

Writing in *The Guardian* newspaper, al-Araibi repeated his claim that he was targeted for political reasons.

It follows his criticism of Asian Football Confederation president Sheikh Salman bin Ebrahim Al Khalifa, a member of Bahrain's ruling family.

"Evidently, it is a myth that sports and politics do not mix," he said.

"Some people consider my release as a great victory. While I'm happy to be home, I cannot help but think that my personal fight is not over," he added.

"Even now, Bahrain has vowed to 'pursue all necessary legal actions' to drag me back to the place I fled. My brother remains imprisoned there, and I don't believe that I am safe from the Bahraini government."
Al-Araibi claimed authoritarian states were using sports events to raise their profile, "but when athletes and individuals call attention to this practice they are imprisoned and forcibly silenced".

He pointed to activist Najah Yousif, who human rights groups say was jailed for three years for criticising the kingdom's hosting of the 2017 Bahrain Grand Prix.

Prosecutors claimed she "broadcast false and biased news" about conditions in Bahrain and "promoted terrorist acts".

"Fans of Formula One racing need to help Najah," said Al-Araibi.

"Formula One needs to be told that human rights abuses cannot be tolerated. I urge you to boycott this year's Bahrain Grand Prix if Najah does not walk free before the Bahrain Grand Prix in March."

He also called on major sporting bodies, including FIFA and the International Olympic Committee, to "step up" even further against injustice after both intervened to help his case. "I believe they need to call for an investigation into the repression of athletes orchestrated by the (Bahraini) authorities in 2011," he said.

"International sporting bodies, governments and individuals must unite to fight for the helpless," al-Araibi added.

He cited the case of jiujitsu fighter Mohamed Mirza, saying he was given an "unlawful" jail sentence and "subjected to brutal torture".

Rights groups have also claimed that athletes including footballers were tortured and abused during a crackdown on pro-democracy protests in Bahrain.

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Egypt's government under fire for Cairo train wreck as death toll climbs
February 28th, 2019
Middle East Eye

Egypt's government has been acting fast to diffuse a public outcry over a deadly train crash that killed at least 22 people on Wednesday, leaving the families of victims awaiting DNA results to identify corpses charred beyond recognition.
Prime Minister Mostafa Madbouly accepted the resignation of transport minister Hisham Arafat shortly after the incident, which occurred at the Ramses station, Cairo’s main train station.

Health minister Hala Zayed said on Thursday that the death toll had risen to 22 after two more people died of their injuries, including an ambulance driver, according to the state-run Ahram news website.

Zayed was quoted as saying that of the 26 patients who remain in hospital, 10 are in a serious condition.

Six were said to be in a grave situation from burns after the train, moving at high speed without its conductor, slammed into a barrier before exploding as it collided into the platform, the minister said.

The locomotive went in motion after its conductor abandoned it to quarrel with a colleague, without turning the engine off, Zayed was quoted as saying.

Zayed said on Tuesday that most of the dead are unidentifiable.

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Digital exhibits keep Tunisia revolution vibrant

AFP, Arab News
February 28th, 2019

TUNISIA: Dramatic mobile phone footage, firsthand accounts on social media and other digital content, often made by protesters dodging censorship, have helped immortalize Tunisia’s 2011 revolution in a new exhibition.

With videos of angry protesters in clouds of tear gas and an audio recording ending with the cry “Ben Ali has fled,” the multimedia exhibits chart the 29-day uprising that toppled longtime dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, in what is known as one of the first Facebook revolutions.

“Work, freedom and dignity!” The slogans that were to trigger uprisings across the Arab world meet visitors to the famed Bardo Museum in Tunis on an audio recording of protesters shouting.

Nearby, a TV plays an interview with the mother of Mohamed Bouazizi, filmed the day the young street vendor set himself alight in the town of Sidi Bouzid in December 2010. His death sparked riots in protest at unemployment and the cost of living.

His mother’s interview was broadcast by foreign satellite channels, adding momentum to the demonstrations which eventually forced Ben Ali to flee with his family to Saudi Arabia on January 14, 2011.
One visitor to the “Before the 14th” exhibition, 22-year-old student Hassen Tahri, was in high school when the uprising broke out.

“I was very young at the time and I don’t remember much, but with this exhibition, we can reconstruct the sequence of events,” he said.

“It reminds us of January 13 and 14, when we didn’t know what would happen, especially after (Ben Ali) fled.”

Continue reading [here](#)

**Iran’s Teachers Denounce Suppression of Rights in Biggest Protests in Months**

Michael Lipin & Arash Sigarchi

VOA News

Iranian teachers have staged peaceful rallies in at least six cities to protest what they see as government suppression of their rights and to call for better working conditions in their poorly paid profession.

Images verified by VOA Persian and sent from social media users inside Iran showed teachers rallying Wednesday outside education departments in the northern cities of Ardabil and Urmia, the northwestern cities of Kermanshah, Marivan and Sanandaj, and in the northeastern city of Mashhad.

It was the largest-scale protest by Iranian teachers since mid-November, when the Telegram channel of the Coordinating Council of Teachers Syndicates in Iran (CCTSI) posted photos of elementary and high school teachers staging sit-ins and holding protest signs in and outside their offices in at least 27 cities. That strike action followed a similar round of nationwide teacher protests in Iran in mid-October.

Social media users in Iran told VOA Persian that the teachers involved in Wednesday’s rallies echoed the demands of past protests, such as calling for the release of teachers’ rights advocates jailed by authorities, the right to teach students in minority languages, the improvement of poorly paid teachers’ living standards, and an end to government privatization of the education system.

Continue reading [here](#)

**Algeria: What's fuelling the country’s mass protest movement?**

Brahim Oumansour

20
February 27th, 2019

Abdelaziz Bouteflika’s decision to run for a fifth presidential term - despite his poor health and advanced age - is a non-starter for many Algerians.

Hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets in cities across the country as well as abroad over the past several days to peacefully oppose the candidacy of Bouteflika, 81, shattering a wall of silence and fear.

The current Algerian government did not anticipate this unprecedented level of mobilisation. It also shouldn't expect it to end quickly.

The protests also surprised the international community and observers of Algerian politics, as the country had largely avoided the mass rallies held across the Middle East and North Africa during the so-called Arab Spring in 2011.

Here's a look at some of the factors that led to the protests in Algeria, and what impact they may have on the country's upcoming elections.

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POSITIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Lecturer in Political Economy

King’s College London
Deadline: March 4th, 2019

The Department of Political Economy invites applications for a lectureship in Political Economy, with a focus on the Middle East. We encourage applicants with an interest in any branch of political economy with this area focus, including theoretical work and/or empirical work drawing on qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies. Candidates should be able to contribute to teaching at undergraduate and post-graduate levels.

The department is informed by an inclusive interdisciplinary vision and welcomes applications from candidates who share that vision.

This post will be offered on an indefinite contract
This is a full-time post

The selection process will include a panel interview, and a presentation.

Mark Pennington, Head of Department
Tel. 020 7848 1687, mark.pennington@kcl.ac.uk
To apply, please register with the King’s College London application portal and complete your application online.

More information and application [here](#)

**Research Assistant/Associate**

Doha Institute for Graduate Studies  
Application Deadline: March 17th, 2019

Role Summary:

The term of appointment will be up to 9 months with possible renewal, approximately starting on March 2019, for work on an externally sponsored research grant.

A full-time highly motivated Research Assistant/Associate (RA) is being sought for a research project, led by Dr. Eid Mohamed and funded by the Qatar National Research Fund, on the theoretical reconfiguration of Arab identities titled, "Transcultural Identities: Solidaristic Action and Contemporary Arab Social Movements." The project will operate within the Research & Grants Department led by the Director.

Research topics of special interest include but are not limited to the literatures and cultures of North America and the Arab world, the relationship between cultural and literary production and the socio-historical context in which they are produced. The project aims to explore how new artistic practices have transformed traditional themes such as chaos and uncertainty into new forms that draw on the immediacy of signifiers of transcultural identity, potentially leading to the articulation of new forms of citizen engagement and establishing the conditions of possibility for a political culture.

The project aims to produce a web-based archive of related materials, and the RA will be expected to significantly contribute to managing and maintaining this effort. The RA will be expected to arrange and describe in English and Arabic the archive collections and publications.

Key Responsibilities:

Typical responsibilities include the following:

- Conduct arrangement and description work for archival records including organizing content, describing this content and performing data entry.
- Conduct literature reviews and collect and analyze data,
- Prepare, maintain, and update website materials
- Assist with the proofreading and editing of articles, book chapters, and other written material
  - Summarize project results and prepare progress reports for the LPI and funding agency
  - Prepare other articles, reports, and presentations
  - Organize seminars and public talks
• Perform other duties as assigned

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS:
An MA in a relevant academic field. Applications are welcomed from scholars with a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, who are interested in topics such as the media, culture and literatures of the Arab world, the relationship between cultural and literary production and the socio-historical context in which they are produced.

WORK EXPERIENCE REQUIREMENTS:
- Experience with managing and processing born-digital archival materials.
- Experience processing archival collections
- Experience with spreadsheets, databases, and/or graphics software
- Familiarity with archival theory and best practices

REQUIRED SKILLS:
- Punctuality and attention to details and excellent organizational skills
- Ability to work with minimal supervision
- Excellent computer skills (Windows, MS Office, web searching)
- Excellent proficiency in English and Arabic
- Experience in organizing academic events (seminars and public talks)

APPLICATION PROCEDURE:
For full consideration please provide:
1) A brief cover letter stating the applicant's academic field, area of specialization, and a short summary of the proposed work during the appointment period. The cover letter should not exceed 2 single-spaced pages.
2) CV
Applications will be reviewed until the position is filled, but priority will be given to those received by March 17, 2019. We thank all applicants for their interest; however, only those individuals selected for an interview will be contacted. Salary and benefits are competitive at an international level.

More information and application here

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Visiting Fellow – Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Programme (Self-Employed)

Application Deadline: March 15th, 2019

ECFR (The European Council on Foreign Relations) is a pan-European initiative which seeks to conduct research and promote informed debate across Europe on the development of coherent, effective and values-based European foreign policy. It has offices in Berlin, London, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Sofia and Warsaw. www.ecfr.eu The Visiting Fellow will develop and implement a programme of work on a group of countries/a thematic issue in the
MENA region but will also show flexibility in responding to wider events in the region. The VF will develop ECFR’s MENA network and presence in Germany. Place in the organisation - Your place of work is mainly your responsibility although being located in Berlin is desirable. The VF will be expected to arrange his or her own working space. The successful person will report to the Director of MENA Programme.

Responsibilities

- Act as the intellectual and policy lead on a geographic or thematic issue affecting the MENA region. Deliver policy relevant analysis, in the form of written briefs, private notes and commentaries, as well as oral public and private briefings as agreed with Programme Director.
- Strengthen and expand the programme’s policy and advocacy network in Germany, deepening ties with policy makers, politicians, the media community and wider public.
- Participate in relevant research trips, advocacy events and fundraising activities in European capitals and the MENA region.
- Deliver press enquiries and telephone briefings.
- Contribute to wider policy development and research and follow relevant discussions within and debates outside ECFR.

Person specification

- Exceptional written and oral communication skills in English, including a track record of published materials and/or media appearances
- A professional or academic background in MENA issues, with experience working in the region, and a focus on a particular geographic or thematic area of expertise, such as the Arab Gulf, North Africa or post-conflict stabilisation issues
- Masters educated in international affairs, EU affairs, public policy, political sciences, Middle East studies or equivalent
- German language capabilities
- Excellent organisational skills with excellent attention to detail
- Experience of devising and managing events

Expected Dates for this assignment: as soon as possible for 12 months

To apply:
Please send a one page covering letter (with ref: VFMENA19 in the subject line), your CV, a non-academic writing sample, and a brief work-plan proposal via the apply link. Please restrict your CV and work proposal to no more than two pages of A4 each.

More information and application here

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PhD Scholarships in Politics and International Relations, and in Law

Dublin City University - School of Law and Government
Application Deadline: 29th of March 2019

The School of Law and Government at Dublin City University is a research active school with world-class faculty willing to supervise PhD students on topics in their areas of research. DCU ranks in the top '100 under 50' universities as per Times Higher Education. The School ranks in the top 150 departments in the world for Politics in both the QS World University Rankings and Shanghai Rankings and in the top 300 for Law in the QS World University Rankings. Outstanding PhD candidates will be offered a fee waiver and a tax-free scholarship of €15,000 per annum for four years.

We invite applicants for PhD research in any area of Political Science and International Relations, as well as in Law.

The School operates a full-time four-year PhD programme with a range of taught courses in the first year and further professional training offered in other years. As well as a tax-free stipend, we may support our students with limited funding for conference and research travel. The School also provides PhD students with the opportunity to teach courses.

Prospective applicants are welcome to make informal contact with a faculty member whose research area covers their proposed doctoral work in advance of an application. For a list of faculty members, see: www.dcu.ie/law_and_government/people/index.shtml

Any queries about applications in Politics and International Relations can be directed to robert.elgie@dcu.ie and in Law to federico.fabbrini@dcu.ie. Any general questions can be addressed to robert.elgie@dcu.ie. More information about the PhD programme and the application process is available at: http://www.dcu.ie/law_and_government/research-future-students.shtml

To apply, a full CV with contact details for 2 referees, the grades achieved in a Masters degree with copies of transcripts, and a research proposal (c. 2-3,000 words and no more than 5,000 words), also indicating a prospective supervisor, should be sent to: robert.elgie@dcu.ie by 5:00 pm GMT on the close date 29 March 2019.

We intend to interview candidates either in person or by Skype in April. To be admitted to the programme, candidates may need to show proficiency in the English language. Successful candidates will begin their studies in September 2019 and are expected to be normally resident in Dublin for the duration of the programme.

More information and application here

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Assistant Professor, International Studies Program

University of Regina

The Department of Politics and International Studies (PAIS) in the Faculty of Arts is seeking to hire a four year term appointment at the rank of Assistant Professor to teach in the International Affairs concentration of its International Studies program.

The International Studies program is an interdisciplinary program which integrates international and regional area studies, enabling students to explore global processes and structures that connect and affect peoples around the world. The department seeks scholars with PhDs in a field related to International Affairs but is especially interested in scholars of gender, political economy, or global governance.

The Department is committed to high-quality undergraduate teaching by faculty who are actively engaged in their respective research areas. It also has a strong tradition of service to the community and the profession. More information can be found on the Faculty of Arts and the Politics and International Studies websites. [https://www.uregina.ca/arts/politics-international-studies/](https://www.uregina.ca/arts/politics-international-studies/).

More information and application [here](https://www.uregina.ca/arts/politics-international-studies/).

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