



SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POPULAR MOBILISATION IN THE MENA

Digest of Current Publications and Events

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CONTENT

Call for Papers & Conferences	3
Before '68: The Left, activism & social movements in the long 1960s	3
Settlers & Citizens: A Critical View of Israeli Society	4
Political Parties in the Middle East : Past, Present and Future Perspectives	5
Social and Cultural History in the Arab World, Turkey and Iran: Theories, Methods and Themes	7
Critique and Social Change - Conference of the Research Committee "Political Sociology" of the German Sociological Association and Special Issue of the Journal Historical Social Research (HSR) .	8
Democracy & Society Vol. 13, Issue 1 (Fall-Winter 2015-16).....	10
Preannouncement: Formations of Middle Eastern Subjectivities: Cultural Heritage, Global Structures and Local Practices.....	11
Talks & Other Events	11
Talk: Between Hegemony and Resistance: towards a moral economy of the Tunisian Revolution.	11
Film Screening: The Trials of Spring	12
Talk: The Other Saudis: Shiism, dissent and sectarianism	12
Recent Books	13
Continuity and change before and after the Arab uprisings.....	13
Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance: Lessons from the Arab World.....	14
Against All Odds: Voices of Popular Struggle In Iraq.....	14
Revolutionary Egypt: Connecting Domestic and International Struggles	15
Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899-1951	16
The Arab Uprisings: Transforming and Challenging State Power	16
Youth activism in Egypt: Islamism, political protest and revolution	16
Voices of the Arab Spring: Personal Stories from the Arab Revolutions	17
Other Publications	17
Rebels, Reformers and Empire - Alternative Economic Programs for Egypt and Tunisia	17
Reexamining Human Rights Change in Egypt.....	18
A Poor People's Revolution - The Southern Movement Heads Toward Independence from Yemen	18
Wadi Barada: Snapshot of a Civil War.....	18
Another Palestinian Uprising?.....	19

CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

Before '68: The Left, activism & social movements in the long 1960s

Dates: **13 and 14 February 2016**

Venue: School of History, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ, UK and *hosted by UEA School of History in conjunction with the journal Socialist History and the Institute of Working Class History (Chicago).*

The events of 1968, particularly those in France, have achieved a mythical status in both the memory and the historiography of the 1960s. For some, 1968 marked the end-point of a realignment of the European 'New Left'. For others 1968 represented a student generation in revolt, and many of the first accounts which sought to explain the history and meaning of '68 were written by that generation.

More recently historians have tried to demythologise '68, looking both at less 'glamorous' locales and at the deeper histories of anti-colonial struggles and worker activism prior to the events of that year. The aim of this conference is to explore the diverse histories of social activism and left politics in Britain and elsewhere, and how they prepared the ground for and fed into '1968'.

Themes might include, but are not limited to:

- Anti-nuclear & peace movements
- Civil Rights struggles
- The Black Power movement
- Anti-colonial politics
- The activities of the Labour movement and the 'traditional' Left
- The grassroots activism of the 'New Left'
- Far Left challenges: Trotskyism & Maoism
- Campaigns around housing and the built environment
- Campaigns around race and discrimination in the workplace and housing
- Solidarity movements with struggles abroad (e.g. South Africa, Vietnam)
- Campaigns for Homosexual Equality
- Second Wave Feminism

We are seeking papers of 5,000 to 10,000 words on any aspects of left activism and social movements in the period preceding 1968 to be presented at the conference. Selected papers will be published in a special issue of the journal *Socialist History*. *Attendance at the conference will be free of charge, but we ask that anyone wishing to attend registers in advance.* Proposals for papers and any enquiries should be submitted to Ben Jones.

Email: b.jones5@uea.ac.uk

Deadline for proposals for papers: 31 October 2015

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

Settlers & Citizens: A Critical View of Israeli Society

Date: **17 October 2015**, 9:00 AM

Finishes: **18 October 2015**, 5:00 PM

Venue: SOAS

Key Note Speaker: Nadim Rouhana

Other Speakers Include: Ismael Abu-Saad, Ilan Pappé, Mazen Masri, Lisa Hajjar, Haim Yacobi, Esmail Nashif, Hilla Dayan, Shir Hever, Mtanes Shehadeh, Orly Noy, David Sheen, Nimer Sultany, Zachary Lockman, Akanksha Mehta, Dan Freeman Maloy.

In recent years, the focus of much media commentary has moved towards Israeli society and politics. Many speculate on the consequences of the rise of the settler right and the growth of Jewish orthodox religious movements. At the same time, the intensification of colonial practices in the West Bank and East Jerusalem on the one hand, and the state sponsored targeting of migrant labourers and so-called infiltrators have led many to theorise a fundamental shift in the political trajectory of the Israeli state. This perspective has been strengthened by the seemingly uniform support these policies are receiving from all sections of Israeli society, whether in the media, academia, or the left of the Israeli political spectrum. In addition, polls have repeatedly found a great majority of the Israeli population in support of these same policies.

Therefore, while previous conferences have focused on Palestinian society and politics, while only marginally touching on the functioning of Israel itself, this conference is fully dedicated to the investigation of the institutions, culture, politics, religion and social issues that are at the heart of the Israeli state and the Zionist logic that guides it.

The conference aims to highlight the continuities in Israeli politics both between different segments of Israeli society as well as between different epochs of the state's existence. By focusing on specific political behaviours and trends, we hope to uncover longer term, more fundamental logics, which are based on the settler colonial nature of the state. The conference will discuss Israel's relationship with different actors – religious groups, non-Ashkenazi Jews, and non-Jewish residents; Palestinian Citizens of the state; academics and Journalists; the so-called Diaspora and Jewish organisations in the West – in order to understand Israeli politics as a totality rather than a collection of discreet actions and events.

The Conference will build on the work of prior SOAS Palestine Society conferences and will bring academics, activists and organisers together in a critical conversation we hope will enhance academic enquiry, strengthen critical knowledge production, and encourage radical education on the question of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

Admission: £35/£25 conc. To register please visit the [SOAS Students' Union](#).

[Back to top](#)

Political Parties in the Middle East : Past, Present and Future Perspectives

A conference to be held at the University of Manchester, 25-27 January 2016 [Dates to be confirmed]

Convened by the Subject Areas of History and Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Manchester, in Association with the Centre for Advanced Study of the Arab World
Co-organised by Dr Siavush Randjbar-Daemi and Dr Eskandar Sadeghi-Boroujerdi

Political parties have long been considered the staple of any modern political system. In the Western political tradition, parties have featured as the locus of organised activity by elites and politically conscious sectors of society, coalescing around the defining issues of the day, as well as shared socio-economic interests, demanding representation and a stake in the political order. Over time, political parties came to be seen as the *sine qua non* of assuming government and the exercise of power in any self-avowed parliamentary democracy.

In the aftermath of World War I the states comprising the MENA region began to increasingly witness the emergence political forms that resembled those found in the metropole, and the imperial powers which had overseen its incorporation into the world economy and subjugation to Europe's competing global empires. Where people and social groups had previously pursued political activity by means of secret societies, or redress through traditional associations such as guilds, village elders, town notables, and the clergy, with the advent of the modern era, the political party came to be seen as an ever-more appropriate and efficacious means of organising and directing political action and expressing political demands. By the end of the British and French mandate a whole host of political parties had emerged, with some acting as the voice of traditional landed elites and urban notables, while others were born in response to the arrival of the new class of urban intellectuals, salaried professionals and civil servants under the sway of modern ideologies such as liberalism, fascism and communism.

Following WWII, with the onset of the Cold War this trend gathered pace and radical projects such as Nasserism and Ba'athism, whose chief concern was Arab unity and the overturning of the old sources of social power and elite rule, the region was transformed irrevocably in what became an epoch of decolonization and calls for non-alignment. Authoritarian presidencies forged off the back of military coups in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, had at their inception sought popular mandates and thereby attempted to build a single-party state order to mobilize a host of groups including recent urban migrants, the intelligentsia, members of the new professional classes and state bureaucracies and the peasantry. New genres of political literature were created and consumed, and novel ways of engaging an increasingly literate public, receptive to the ideas and discourses of the newly-minted anti-colonial elites, came into being.

In the aftermath of the defeat of the leading Arab nationalist states in June 1967 the Palestinian cause for national liberation assumed a more independent line as evident in the early politics of Fatah, while Israel's party system found itself increasingly forced to come to terms with a rapidly shifting demography and a fragile PR system under the shadow of military occupation. One of the main features of Iranian politics, post-1941, has been the dichotomy between the Marxist, pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, widely considered to be Iran's only mass political party of the 20th century, and its adversaries' scorn and indirect emulation. In 1975, Iran would become what was possibly the only one-party monarchy in modern world history. Many of these political parties which endeavoured to fundamentally challenge the *status quo* in their societies were also often vehicles for social mobility, progressive gender norms and the promise of wealth redistributions, changing the nature of their societies in an unprecedented fashion.

Political parties also partook in the construction of new constitutional configurations, where until 2011 the prospect of dynastic presidencies in Libya, Iraq, Syria and Egypt backed by the one-party state held the promise of becoming a generalizable regional trend. By contrast, Iran following the Revolution of 1979 witnessed the birth of a factional order labouring under the *imprimatur* of theocratic rule, and has subsequently struggled to institute a stable party political system. Meanwhile, elsewhere in MENA Islamist parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood, despite their longevity, sought to persevere in debilitating authoritarian contexts through the cultivation of welfare regimes and networks so as to reach the wider population.

The wave of upheavals and euphoria which swept the Middle East following January 2011, has led to serious queries regarding the role and importance of political parties. A question remains as to whether the repression of organised political activity in several parts of the Middle East has led to their irrelevance, as social movements, both informal and highly integrated, take centre stage in this highly networked, information age. While the post-2011 Arab Uprisings may well have spoken to the bankruptcy of the traditional political party form, the counter-revolutions which almost invariably followed reaffirmed the importance of highly organized, hierarchical and more often than not, militarised, organizations to political outcomes in evolving social conflicts. The Green Movement of Iran and the Tahrir Square revolt were commonly seen as shunning structured political organisation, which made them all the more unpredictable, while sceptics pointed to their inherent limitations and ultimate unsustainability going forward. Moreover, the apparent sectarianization of several conflicts in the region has also been strongly linked to political groupings and mobilizations along sectarian lines, posing the question whether the “sectarian party” is with us to stay?

This international conference aims to make sense of past, present and future perspectives on political party organisation in the Middle East and North Africa. It will seek to understand whether political parties in MENA should still be considered an integral part to the creation of resilient democratic states or the enactment of radical social transformation, as well as chart the evolution of the single party system and the challenges it has faced over the past decade. It will aim to bring together a wide range of scholars studying topics ranging from the social bases of marginalized political organizations to mainstream parties which have held power for decades. It is the conference’s intention to contribute to extant international scholarship on political parties in the fields of history, political science, international relations, sociology and anthropology and the literature concerned with political parties in the post-colonial world.

Proposals might choose to focus on the following themes:

- Nationalism and Political Parties
- Ethnicity and Political Parties
- Imperialism and Political Parties in the Middle East
- State formation and Political Parties in the Middle East
- Political Parties and Democratization in the Middle East
- Political Parties and Class Politics
- Modernization Theory and the Legacy of Political Parties
- Political Parties in the Arab Spring
- Does Political Pluralism in the MENA Require a Multi-Party System?
- Political Parties in the Age of Social Media
- Political Parties and the Legacy of the Left in the Middle East
- Official Co-opted Political Parties in the Middle East
- Loyal Oppositions in the Middle East
- Political Parties and Gender in the Middle East
- Political Parties and Welfare Networks
- Political Parties and Sectarianism

- Factionalism or Multi-Party System?
- Political Parties and Revolutionary Elites
- Political Parties and Arab Armies
- Political Parties in the Middle East: A Spent Force?
- The validity of the Western political party theory and conceptualisation in the modern Middle East.

Limited funding is available to cover select travel and accommodation expenses of accepted panelists.

Please complete the paper submission form on the conference [website](#) by no later than 5 October 2015. Selected participants will be contacted towards the publication of an edited volume.

<https://politicalpartiesmiddleeast.wordpress.com/2015/07/29/hello-world/>

[Back to top](#)

Social and Cultural History in the Arab World, Turkey and Iran: Theories, Methods and Themes

Third Annual International Conference, Department of Humanities, Qatar University

17 -18 March 2016

Historians have studied the past in various ways and with changing interests. They have tried to assess the importance of great figures and pivotal events and to trace the daily lives of ordinary people. They have looked for cultures and economies, experiences and mentalities, emotions and ideas as key factors in human development. They have focused on towns, regions and nations, and the connections between the Eastern and Western worlds. Historians' questions, objects of study, concepts and methods change because they constantly debate the validity of their interpretations and are inspired by other disciplines.

In the second half of the 20th century, social history established a dominant position in research and teaching in European and North American universities. It is eclectic, touches on issues of public debate, and encourages a much broader understanding of the past. These factors contribute to its current status as a true social science in its own right. Since the 1980s, however, social history has been experiencing an identity crisis and has retreated while "cultural history" took off. Social history has been criticized for its rigid concentration on structures and conflict models of society. It has been accused of neglecting key social groups like women and minorities. Cultural interpretations, on the contrary, are thought to be more liberating and better equipped to provide more avenues to be explored. Cultural historians are not only concerned with the history of culture, but also with meaning and the way people in the past made sense of the world around them. Cultural history focuses less on society and more on individuals and less formal groups, as well as beliefs and cultural forms. It has embraced elements of literary theory, cultural anthropology, and even epistemology in historical study.

This conference will look at social and cultural history as a specific episode in the history of historiography with special focus on the Arab world, Turkey and Iran. It seeks to provide a re-appraisal of this type of history today and address the following questions:

- How are social and cultural history as a discipline faring in the Arab world, Turkey and Iran today and what experiences and developments have they gone through?
- How are these developments similar to, different from, or connected to those in Europe and North America, and why?
- What social and cultural histories do historians in the Arab world, Turkey and Iran research and teach in terms of subject matter, concepts, theories and methods?
- Where do the major controversies over the nature of social and cultural history in the Arab world, Turkey and Iran reside?
- How comparable are social and cultural histories in the Arab world, on the one hand, and in Iran and Turkey, on the other?

The conference will be structured around, but is not limited to, the following themes:

- Social and cultural history: theories and concepts, sources and applications
- Class, culture and identity
- Gender issues
- Nations and traditions
- Economies, culture and consumption
- Race and postcolonial identities
- Deviance, inclusion and exclusion
- Culture, power and social action

SUBMISSION OF ABSTRACTS

Please include the following in your abstract (250 words maximum): name, current position and institutional affiliation, paper title, your mailing address, email, phone and fax number. You will be notified of acceptance by email. Selected papers will be considered for publication and inclusion in the conference proceedings. Submit a soft copy of your abstract via this email account:

historyconference@qu.edu.qa at the latest by **November 15, 2015**.

The Conference organizing committee offers limited travel funding for select participants.

<http://www.qu.edu.qa/artssciences/humanities/conferences/index.php>

[*Back to top*](#)

Critique and Social Change - Conference of the Research Committee “Political Sociology” of the German Sociological Association and Special Issue of the Journal Historical Social Research (HSR)

June 23th – June 24th 2016

How does critique change society? This question lies at the core of sociological thinking dealing with the possibilities and necessities for social and cultural change. Prominent sociological theories place critique at the center of their analyses by pointing at more or less contradicting principles which characterize modern societies, e.g. rationalization and subjectivation (Touraine 1995) or system and life-world (Habermas 1987). Despite many differences, these "critical" approaches in social theory

share the perception that the sovereignty and self-determination of the modern subject is threatened by powerful forces such as alienation, commodification, and objectivation (see also Foucault 1982; Ehrenberg 2009). Critique inevitably arises from the individual's pursuits for authenticity and autonomy.

Such general social theories are often criticized because their presuppositions and analytical distinctions largely determine the substance of their findings (Alexander 1982). The empirical process of observing and assessing why and how actors (e.g. social movements, intellectuals, NGOs) voice their critique is at least partly neglected. Thus, these social theories run the risk of oversimplifying and overgeneralizing the historical and cultural circumstances that shape the social causes and consequences of critique. In order to bridge the gap between ideas and facts, an empirical "sociology of critique" (Boltanski 2011) is needed that captures the variety of conditions and contexts in which individual and collective actors articulate their discontent with society (Rosa 2009: 278). Subsequently, empirical studies may enrich theoretical debates by pointing at different social sources and illustrating divergent dynamics of critique in different fields or by discovering ambivalences in its impact.

Critique is a permanent feature of various social fields in modern society (such as economics, politics, religion, science, law, art, and civil society) and it takes highly diverse forms of expression. We understand critique as a constitutive part of human practice. It refers to the general ability of individual and collective actors to dissociate themselves (at least to some extent) from their social environment. This dissociation is the cultural basis for every kind of resistance, resilience, protest, and conflict. Relevant social carriers of critique are typically social movements, intellectuals or the mass media. They voice dissatisfaction with the state of society and use critique to change or to conserve institutional and cultural principles. Their critique challenges "the logic of order" (Touraine 1995: 235) in different social fields, initiates their re-evaluation and causes institutional change in this way. Nonetheless, there are still only few empirical studies dealing with the institutional and cultural consequences of public critique in detail.

We welcome empirical studies that deal with the question how critique changes society and that contribute to theoretical development. The idea of this conference is to bring together different approaches, e.g. civil society and social movement research, cultural sociology, sociology of conventions, economic sociology, or intellectual history in order to analyze why and how specific actors cause institutional and cultural change through critique. This call aims at broadening the theoretical perspectives beyond existing approaches, reflecting the link of theory and data in empirical studies, and searching for innovative methodologies for the analysis of critique. Contributions should address the following topics:

1. *Critique and change*: Critique is one of the main causes for social change, but does not automatically lead to actual institutional or cultural changes. How is critique related to resilience or resistance towards change? How is critique related to incremental and/or radical changes of society?
2. *Institutionalization of critique*: To specify the role of critique, one can identify different degrees of institutionalization: What dynamics can be observed concerning the institutionalization or deinstitutionalization of critique and its carriers in historical or comparative perspective?
3. *Social carriers of critique*: Which actors voice critique? What characterizes their performance? How has the articulation of critique and its meanings changed through time?
4. *Methodological perspectives*: Empirical analyses of critique mostly apply discourse analysis. What other methods are suitable, e.g., social network analysis, qualitative or quantitative methods, international comparative research, (participant) observation or action research?

Which role do specific research methods play in analyzing social critique? What conceptual problems occur by analyzing criticism in a historical perspective?

5. *Critique and its standards*: Basically, critique is grounded on certain standards and expectations which are not stable. How do these standards change? What are the reasons for shifting standards and what are the effects towards processes of valuation and evaluation?

If you are interested in contributing a paper, please send an extended abstract (400 - 500 words) to Thomas Kern (thomas.kern@soziologie.tu-chemnitz.de) by October 15th 2015.

Preliminary schedule:

- October 15th 2015 – submission of abstracts with paper proposals
- November 10th 2015 – notification of acceptance of paper proposals
- April 15th 2016 – submission of the full paper
- June 23th – June 24th 2016 – Conference “Critique and Social Change” with presentations of the accepted papers
- September 30th 2016 – submission of the final version of the paper
- 2017 – publishing of the Special Issue

[Back to top](#)

Democracy & Society Vol. 13, Issue 1 (Fall-Winter 2015-16)

The Democracy and Governance Program at Georgetown University is seeking well written, interesting submissions of 1,500 – 2,000 words for their Fall-Winter 2015-16 publication *Democracy & Society*. The submissions can be new publications, summaries, excerpts of recently completed research, book reviews, and works in progress. Submissions for this issue will be due by **November 6, 2015**. Please email all submissions along with a brief author’s bio to democracyandsociety@gmail.com.

We are seeking articles that address the following questions:

- “Hybrid Regimes” and the Democratic Grey Area
How do autocrats use features of democracy to preserve their power, such as elections or courts? What institutional factors can make states susceptible to democratic erosion? Is it useful to analyze cases in terms of “democratic-ness” and is further research necessary for conceptual clarity?
- Protest, Oppositions, and Response
How do alienated populations express their opposition to a regime through various modes of Civil Society? Are protest movements more successful when they promote democratic principles or are organized into formal political parties? What can we learn from response tactics perpetrated by incumbent regimes?
- The Military as an Arbitrator
What can we draw from the historically salient relationship between militaries and authoritarianism? What incentives may be present that influence armed forces to keep their distance from politics or openly seize power?
- International Relations and Modern Authoritarianism
Do autocratic governments face strained relationships with democracies? How is international diplomacy affected by the politics of a dictatorial or “hybrid” regime? What can we discern about the continued power of states that reject democracy as a preferred form of government (I.E., China, Russia, Turkey, etc.)?

Variations on these themes will be accepted, as well as research that is relevant to these themes.

[Back to top](#)

Preannouncement: Formations of Middle Eastern Subjectivities: Cultural Heritage, Global Structures and Local Practices

Tenth Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies

University of Southern Denmark, Odense,

22-24 September 2016

Save the date! Call for papers in fall 2015. <http://thenordicsociety.se/conference-2016-denmark/>

[Back to top](#)

TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

Talk: Between Hegemony and Resistance: towards a moral economy of the Tunisian Revolution

Date: Tuesday 20 October 2015

Time: 17.15-19.15

Speaker: Professor Sami Zemni, Middle East and North Africa Research Group

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

Attendance: This is a registration only event. Please register using the [online booking system](#).

This event forms part of the Social Movements and Popular Mobilisation in the MENA event series.

In this seminar, Sami Zemni presents his paper, co-written with Habib Ayeb, titled: *Between Hegemony and Resistance: towards a moral economy of the Tunisian Revolution*.

The revolutionary upheavals in Tunisia and across the MENA which began in 2011 have fundamentally challenged the frameworks traditionally used to define and interpret Arab political life, namely 'authoritarian resilience' and/or 'democratization studies'. The paper uses a 'moral economy' approach in order to understand the massive mobilizations that led to Ben Ali's disappearance, and to make sense of the nature of political change in the post-Ben Ali era.

http://www.lse.ac.uk/middleEastCentre/Events/Events-2015/SZ-20-10-15.aspx?utm_source=Mailing+List&utm_campaign=62d89375fa-Syria+War+Crime&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_79ca332e34-62d89375fa-318663785

[Back to top](#)

Film Screening: The Trials of Spring

Date: 28 October 2015 **Time:** 7:00 PM

Venue: Russell Square: College Buildings **Room:** Khalili Lecture Theatre

Feature-length documentary and a series of shorts that chronicle the stories of nine women who played central roles in the Arab uprisings and their aftermaths in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Bahrain and Yemen. When a young Egyptian woman travels from her village to Cairo to add her voice to the tens of thousands of Egyptians demanding an end to 60 years of military rule, she is arrested, beaten, and tortured by security forces and later punished and imprisoned by her family for daring to speak out. Unbreakable, she sets out in a search for freedom and social justice in a country in the grips of a power struggle, where there is little tolerance for the likes of her. Buoyed by the other activists she meets along the way, Hend Nafea's story mirrors the trajectory of the Arab Spring—from the ecstasy of newfound courage to the agony of shattered dreams. In the end, despite crushing setbacks, it is resilience that sustains the hope for reform even in the darkest hours of repression. Followed by Q&A.

<https://www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/28oct2015-the-trials-of-spring-.html>

[Back to top](#)

Talk: The Other Saudis: Shiism, dissent and sectarianism

Date: Wednesday 28 October 2015

Time: 18.00 -19.30

Speaker: Dr Toby Matthiesen, University of Cambridge

Location: Room 1.04, New Academic Building, LSE

Toby Matthiesen launches his new book titled [*The Other Saudis: Shiism, dissent and sectarianism*](#) in which he traces the politics of the Shia in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia from the nineteenth century until the present day. The book outlines the difficult experiences of being Shia in a Wahhabi state, and casts new light on how the Shia have mobilised politically to change their position. The book is based on little-known Arabic sources, extensive fieldwork in Saudi Arabia and interviews with key activists. Of immense geopolitical importance, the oil-rich Eastern Province is a crucial but little known factor in regional politics and Gulf security.

http://www.lse.ac.uk/middleEastCentre/Events/Events-2015/TM-28-10-15.aspx?utm_source=Mailing+List&utm_campaign=62d89375fa-Syria+War+Crime&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_79ca332e34-62d89375fa-318663785

[Back to top](#)

RECENT BOOKS

Continuity and change before and after the Arab uprisings

Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt

Edited by Paola Rivetti, Rosita Di Peri

2015 – Routledge

152 pages

The Arab uprisings of 2011 have sparked much scholarly discussion with regards to democratisation, the resilience of authoritarian rule, mobilisation patterns, and the relationship between secularism and Islam, all under the assumption that politics has changed for good in North Africa and the Middle East. While acknowledging the post-2011 transformations taking place in the region, this book brings to the forefront an understudied, yet crucial, aspect related to the uprisings, namely the interplay between continuity and change.

Challenging simplified representations built around the positions that either ‘all has changed’ or ‘nothing has changed’, the in-depth case studies in this volume demonstrate how elements both of continuity, and rupture with the past, are present in the post-uprising landscapes of Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt. Public policy, contentious politics, the process of institution making and re-making, and the relations of power connecting national and international economies are at the core of the comparative investigations included in the book. The volume makes an important contribution to the study of North African politics, and to the study of political change and stability, by contrasting the different trajectories of the uprisings, and by offering theoretical reflections on their meaning, consequences and scope.

Table of content

1. Continuity and Change before and after the Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco: Regime Reconfiguration and Policymaking in North Africa Paola Rivetti
2. Change and Continuity after the Arab Uprising: The Consequences of State Formation in Arab North African States Raymond Hinnebusch
3. Constitutions against Revolutions: Political Participation in North Africa Gianluca P. Parolin
4. The Project of Advanced Regionalisation in Morocco: Analysis of a Lampedusian Reform Raquel Ojeda García & Ángela Suárez Collado
5. From Reform to Resistance: Universities and Student Mobilisation in Egypt and Morocco before and after the Arab Uprisings Florian Kohstall
6. Enduring Class Struggle in Tunisia: The Fight for Identity beyond Political Islam Fabio Merone
7. Labour Demands, Regime Concessions: Moroccan Unions and the Arab Uprising Matt Buehler
8. An Enduring ‘Touristic Miracle’ in Tunisia? Coping with Old Challenges after the Revolution Rosita Di Peri
9. Shifting Priorities or Business as Usual? Continuity and Change in the post-2011 IMF and World Bank Engagement with Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt Adam Hanieh
10. No Democratic Change . . . and Yet No Authoritarian Continuity: The Inter-paradigm Debate and North Africa After the Uprisings Francesco Cavatorta

[Back to top](#)

Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance: Lessons from the Arab World

Maha El Said, Lena Meari and Nicola Pratt
2015 – Zed Books

Ever since the uprisings that swept the Arab world, the role of Arab women in political transformations received unprecedented media attention. The copious commentary, however, has yet to result in any serious study of the gender dynamics of political upheaval.

Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance is the first book to analyse the interplay between moments of sociopolitical transformation, emerging subjectivities and the different modes of women's agency in forging new gender norms in the Arab world. Written by scholars and activists from the countries affected, including Palestine, Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, this is an important addition to Middle Eastern gender studies.

[Back to top](#)

Against All Odds: Voices of Popular Struggle In Iraq

Ali Issa, *Foreword by Vijay Prashad*
2015 – Tadween Publishing

Collected from dozens of interviews with, and reports from, Iraqi feminists, labor organizers, environmentalists, and protest movement leaders, *Against All Odds* presents the unique voices of progressive Iraqi organizing on the ground. Dating back to 2003, with an emphasis on the 2011 upsurge in mobilization and hope as well as the subsequent embattled years, these voices belong to Iraqis asserting themselves as agents against multiple local, regional, and global forces of oppression. As Vijay Prashad notes in the foreword: "Other histories had been possible for Iraq, and indeed might yet be possible. The social basis for the Popular Movement to Save Iraq remains, even if in the shadows. It is the only force that could provide an alternative to the history of blood that stands before Iraq, the nest of bones, the sky of death."

Workers' justice, gender liberation, anti-imperialism, and global solidarity have been on the agendas of many Iraqi organizations, in contrast to almost all media and scholarly representations—even those that are sympathetic to popular Iraqi struggles. Media and scholarship instead focus on geopolitics, mass violence, and sectarianism to the exclusion of attempts at independent political action and imagination in Iraq. With the legacy of wars since 1980, followed by the brutal sanctions of the 1990s and the 2003 US invasion and occupation, not to mention the recent emergence of the threatening forces of the Islamic State, understanding and acting in solidarity with these struggles is more crucial than ever.

[Back to top](#)

Revolutionary Egypt: Connecting Domestic and International Struggles

Reem Abou-El-Fadl (Editor)

2015 - Routledge

332 pages

In 2011 the world watched as Egyptians rose up against a dictator. Observers marveled at this sudden rupture, and honed in on the heroes of Tahrir Square. *Revolutionary Egypt* analyzes this tumultuous period from multiple perspectives, bringing together experts on the Middle East from disciplines as diverse as political economy, comparative politics and social anthropology.

Drawing on primary research conducted in Egypt and across the world, this book analyzes the foundations and future of Egypt's revolution. Considering the revolution as a process, it looks back over decades of popular resistance to state practices and predicts the waves still to come. It also confidently places Egypt's revolutionary process in its regional and international contexts, considering popular contestation of foreign policy trends as well as the reactions of external actors. It draws connections between Egyptians' struggles against domestic despotism and their reactions to regional and international processes such as economic liberalization, Euro-American interventionism and similar struggles further afield.

Revolutionary Egypt is an essential resource for scholars and students of social movements and revolution, comparative politics, and Middle East politics, in particular Middle East foreign policy and international relations.

Table of Contents

Foreword *Charles Tripp* Introduction: Connecting Players and Process in Revolutionary Egypt *Reem Abou-El-Fadl* **Part I: Contesting Authority, Making Claims: Inside Egypt** 1. Reluctant Revolutionaries? The Dynamics of Labour Protests in Egypt, 2006-2013 *Marie Duboc* 2. After the 25 January Revolution: Democracy or Authoritarianism in Egypt? *Nicola Pratt* 3. Re-envisioning Tahrir: The Changing Meanings of Tahrir Square in Egypt's Ongoing Revolution *Mark Allen Peterson* 4. The Iconic Stage: Martyrologies and Performance Frames in the January 25th Revolution *Walter Armbrust* 5. From Popular Revolution to Semi-Democracy: Egypt's Experiment with Praetorian Parliamentarism *Alexander Kazamias* **Part II: Contesting Authority, Making Claims: At the Interface** 6. Egypt's Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Mursi: Between Systemic Constraints and Domestic Politics *Raymond Hinnebusch* 7. Re-scaling Egypt's Political Economy: Neoliberalism and the Transformation of the Regional Space *Adam Hanieh* 8. The Geopolitics of Revolution: Assessing the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions in the International Context *Corinna Mullin* **Part III: Reactions and Recalibrations: Beyond Egypt** 9. Between Cairo and Washington: Sectarianism and Counter-revolution in Post-Mubarak Egypt *Reem Abou-El-Fadl* 10. Liberation Square, Almost Unnoticed, Returns with a Vengeance: Perceptions of Tahrir and the Arab Revolutions in Turkey *Kerem Öktem* 11. Revolutions, the Internet, and Orientalist Reminiscence *Miriyam Aouragh* 12. The Egyptian Revolution and the Problem of International Solidarity *Anthony C Alessandrini*

[Back to top](#)

Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899-1951

David De Vries

2015 – Berghahn Books

Strike-action has long been a notable phenomenon in Israeli society, despite forces that have weakened its recurrence, such as the Arab-Jewish conflict, the decline of organized labor, and the increasing precariousness of employment. While the impact of strikes was not always immense, they are deeply rooted in Israel's past during the Ottoman Empire and Mandate Palestine. Workers persist in using them for material improvement and to gain power in both the private and public sectors, reproducing a vibrant social practice whose codes have withstood the test of time. This book unravels the trajectory of the strikes as a rich source for the social-historical analysis of an otherwise nation-oriented and highly politicized history.

[Back to top](#)

The Arab Uprisings: Transforming and Challenging State Power

Eberhard Kienle, Nadine Sika

2015 - I.B.Tauris

The uprisings which spread across the Middle East and North Africa in late 2010 and 2011 irrevocably altered the way in which the region is now perceived. But in spite of the numerous similarities in these protests, from Tunisia and Egypt to Yemen and Bahrain, their broader political effects display important differences. This book analyses these popular uprisings, as well as other forms of protest, and the impact they had on each state. Why were Mubarak and Bin Ali ousted relatively peacefully in Egypt and Tunisia, while Qaddafi in Libya and Saleh in Yemen fought violent battles against their opponents? Why do political transformations differ in countries that were able to shed their autocratic presidents? And why have other regimes, including Morocco and Saudi Arabia, experienced only limited protests or managed to repress and circumvent them? Looking at the aftermath and transitional processes across the region, this book is a vital retrospective examination of the uprisings and how they can be understood in the light of state formation and governmental dynamics.

[Back to top](#)

Youth activism in Egypt: Islamism, political protest and revolution

Ahmed Tohamy Abdelhay

2016 - I.B.Tauris

The protests that spread across the Middle East and North Africa in late 2010 and early 2011 took media commentators, academics and the ruling classes of these countries by surprise. In this book, Ahmed Tohamy analyses the often-neglected trajectory that led up to the protests in Egypt that culminated in the fall of Hosni Mubarak in February 2011. Tohamy's assertion is that by examining the decade preceding this momentous event, we see that the youth movement—far from being inert—was extremely active. Tohamy uses the Social Movements Theory to argue how Egyptian youth became a new agent of change in the Middle East. By positioning the youth activists as

dynamically engaging with their social and political contexts within a framework of opportunities and constraints, his analysis strikes at the heart of the debates concerning the nature and substance of revolution and its effects on state and society.

[Back to top](#)

Voices of the Arab Spring: Personal Stories from the Arab Revolutions

by Asaad Al-Saleh

2015 - Columbia Univ. Press

Narrated by dozens of activists and everyday individuals, this book documents the unprecedented events that led to the collapse of dictatorial regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen. Beginning in 2011, these stories offer unique access to the message that inspired citizens to act, their experiences during revolt, and the lessons they learned from some of the most dramatic changes and appalling events to occur in the history of the Arab world. The riveting, revealing, and sometimes heartbreaking stories in this volume also include voices from Syria. Featuring participants from a variety of social and educational backgrounds and political commitments, these personal stories of action represent the Arab Spring's united and broad social movements, collective identities, and youthful character. For years, the volume's participants lived under regimes that brutally suppressed free expression and protest. Their testimony speaks to the multifaceted emotional, psychological, and cultural factors that motivated citizens to join together to struggle against their oppressors.

[Back to top](#)

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Rebels, Reformers and Empire - Alternative Economic Programs for Egypt and Tunisia

by Karen Pfeifer

published in MER274

For 20 years leading up to the uprisings of 2010-2011, Egypt and Tunisia suffered the ill effects of neoliberal economic reform, even as the international financial institutions and most economists hailed them as beacons of progress in the Arab world. For ten years preceding the revolts, workers and civil society organizations led a burgeoning protest movement against the liberalizing and privatizing trajectories of the Mubarak and Ben Ali regimes. Then came the uprisings, which brokered the possibility of not only new political beginnings but also alternative economic programs that would put the needs of the struggling middle, working and poorer classes first and at least constrain, if not abolish, the privileges of a deposed ruling class. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer274/rebels-reformers-empire>

[Back to top](#)

Reexamining Human Rights Change in Egypt

by Heba Morayef
published in MER274

Over five tumultuous years in Egypt, the independent human rights community moved from a fairly parochial role chipping away at the Mubarak regime's legitimacy, one torture case at a time, to media stardom in 2011, and from fielding a presidential candidate, who won over 134,000 votes, in 2012 to facing closure and the risk of prosecution two years later.

Much has been written about the role of political activists and the labor movement in the uprising that ousted Husni Mubarak, yet there has been little study of the role of the human rights community. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer274/reexamining-human-rights-change-egypt>

[Back to top](#)

A Poor People's Revolution - The Southern Movement Heads Toward Independence from Yemen

by Susanne Dahlgren
published in MER273

"This is no longer a movement," said the young man whose Facebook name is Khaled Aden. "This is a revolution." Khaled, whose real name is Khalid al-Junaydi, is a leading activist in the *hirak*, or Southern Movement, which aims to restore independence to southern Yemen. I met him on a Saturday morning in April 2013 at a street corner in Crater, the old part of Aden, located inside an ancient volcano. Here the liberation front fought some of their fiercest battles against the British colonial forces in the mid-1960s, and here the *hirak* often confronts the security forces of the government in Sanaa. The parallels between the two struggles are so striking that Aden Live, a *hiraki* satellite channel based in Beirut, regularly airs a clip splicing images from the 1960s together with footage from today's confrontations. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer273/poor-peoples-revolution>

[Back to top](#)

Wadi Barada: Snapshot of a Civil War

by Mohammad Raba'a | published May 13, 2015

<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero051315>

[Back to top](#)

Another Palestinian Uprising?

by Mouin Rabbani
Jadaliyya Aug 07 2015

Predictions of a new Palestinian intifada in the Occupied Territories tend to accompany every breakdown in the diplomatic process, announcement of a new colonial expansion project, and Israeli violence against Palestinian life—such as the recent horrific murder of Palestinian infant Ali Dawabsheh by settler terrorists who set fire to his West Bank family home.

<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/22365/another-palestinian-uprising>

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