



SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POPULAR MOBILISATION IN THE MENA

Digest of Current Publications and Events

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CALLS FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

Call for Abstracts: Rethinking Working Class Self-Organization Beyond Unions, Parties, NGOs, and the State

Deadline for abstracts: August 1, 2016

The Journal of Labor & Society, in its 21st year, is issuing a call for the special issue “Workers Beyond Unions, Parties, NGOs, and the State?” to rethink how workers organize and struggle. Co-edited by Robert Ovetz, Ph.D., a political science lecturer San Jose State University, and Gifford Hartman, an independent San Francisco, USA based scholar, the issue seeks submissions from scholars, organizers, and activists critically reexamining the multiplicity of forms of class struggle outside of and inside unions, parties, NGOs, and the state happening around the world.

The rapidly declining power and influence of unions are source of great concern. Their continuous decline have presented both a threat and an opportunity. As the number of contingent workers explodes and union density worldwide remains stagnant or declines, the effort of workers to self-organize continues to grow. The absence or weakness of unions does not mean the absence of class struggle. Freed of the contract, workers are engaging in short, sharp disruptive direct action and strikes to shift the balance of power on the shopfloor and in the community. But these actions are often ad hoc, locally focused and unsustainable.

Despite these limitations, workers are finding new ways to self-organize on the shopfloor and circulate their efforts throughout the social factory. The composition of capital’s power over the past 40 years has been a continual effort to respond to the dynamic recomposition of working class struggle.

This issue would explore what working class recomposition looks like by examining case studies of efforts to devise new tactics and strategies of self-organization. Ideally, this issue will include critical analyses of a diversity of self-organized workers struggles from several critical regions. Among the struggles that could be potentially covered would be the following:

- Brazilian Landless Workers Movement’s efforts to seize land and build a parallel social system
- Spanish workers blocking evictions and foreclosures
- Mexican workers seizure of an entire neighborhood to reorganization of it into an autonomous community
- Bolivian miners, coca growers, and street sellers in El Alto who formed community councils that shut down the entire country in the early 2000s and propelled the MAS into power
- Latin American women struggling over the Bolsa Família social wage in Brazil, Bolivia, and Venezuela
- Industrial workers and miners in India, China, and South Africa who bypass established unions to self-organize their own wildcat strikes
- **Kurdish workers self-organized local governance and militias in Rojava,**

- **Syria during the civil war**
- **Wildcat strikes in Egypt during the Arab Spring**
- Union backed service workers in the US who have been organizing to disrupt production, protest contingency, and raise wages without seeking to collectively bargain
- Wildcat strikes by logistics workers (eg, truckers, longshore, warehouse, etc.) and public employees
- European anti-austerity movements

Contacts

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Publication Plans

After the solicitation of abstracts we will invite full manuscripts for publication in the June 2017 issue of the Journal of Labor & Society. Abstracts (maximum 500 words, attached as .pdf or .docx files) due by August 1, 2016. Invitation to submit full manuscript will be sent August 21, 2016. Manuscripts (5,000-7,500) due February 21, 2017. Special issue of the Journal of Labor & Society will be published in June 2017

More information [here](#)

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The Lure of Jihad: Propaganda and the Construction of Jihadi Identities

28 Jun 2016, 10:40 to 18:30

Pichette Auditorium - Pembroke College, OX1 1DW

On June 28th 2016, The Lure of Jihad: Propaganda and the Construction of Jihadi Identities, the first in the 'Brian Wilson' Arab Studies conference series organised by Dr Elisabeth Kendall, will be held at Pembroke. The conference is free and open to members of the University and the public.

Registration is required - sign up for a place on the Eventbrite page.

Although many attempts have been made to pinpoint archetypes of jihadist motivation or 'identity', drivers of militant jihad change significantly over time, between regions and among different target population groups. This conference seeks to create a more nuanced picture of how jihadist propaganda and recruitment functions. The day will consist of four speaker sessions, featuring experts and researchers from across the world:

- Valentina Bartolucci - Associate Researcher at the Interdisciplinary Centre Science for Peace (Pisa), Adjunct Lecturer at the University of Pisa, Italy, and Visiting Professor at the Université Dauphine, Paris, France
- Joana Cook - a PhD Candidate in the Department of War Studies, King's College London.

- Thomas Hegghammer - Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI) and Adjunct Professor of Political Science at the University of Oslo.
- Christina Hellmich - Associate Professor in IR & Middle East Studies at the University of Reading.
- Elisabeth Kendall - Senior Research Fellow in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Pembroke College, Oxford University.
- Nelly Lahoud - Senior Fellow for Political Islamism at the International Institute for Strategic Studies – Middle East.
- Luis Velasco-Puffleau - received his PhD from Paris-Sorbonne University in 2011 and was a postdoctoral Fellow at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris).
- Robert Seely - Research Associate at the Changing Character of War Programme, Oxford University, and a PhD candidate at King's College, London University.
- Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi - Research Fellow at the Middle East Forum, a US think-tank, and a research fellow at the Rubin Centre affiliated with the Interdisciplinary Centre in Herzliya, Israel.
- Mark Youngman - doctoral researcher at the University of Birmingham, focusing on variance in the framing and ideology of the North Caucasus insurgency.
- Aaron Y. Zelin - Richard Borow Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

More information & registration [here](#)

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Call for paper proposals for a special issue of *Mashriq and Mahjar: Journal of Middle East Migration Studies* on the topic:

"Migration and Transnational Governance"

Deadline for proposals: 15 August, 2016

This special issue seeks to explore the concept of "transnational governance" in the Arab world using the prism of migration. Research on Arab political systems has generally focused on the state and local level dynamics of domestic politics. Little attention has been dedicated to transnational approaches to governance, to understanding the effects of the "complex interdependence" between the domestic and transnational on state policies.

In this special issue, we conceptualize the impact of migration on transnational governance as having a two-part, mutually reinforcing dynamic: How Arab states have sought to "govern" their diasporas; and how diasporas have in turn sought to influence governance in the sending states. We are concerned with the extent to which governance practiced at different levels and shaped by the twin discourses of "citizens abroad" and the "state of origin" affects Arab state institutions and policies. The overarching questions that we aim to address include:

- How is the very existence of a diaspora reflected in the political institutions and structures of the origin state? And how has the existence of a diaspora led, intentionally or unintentionally to the adoption of particular policies?
- How have Arab states sought to leverage or 'discipline' their Diasporas, and how have these efforts been reflected in institutional settings?
- How have Diaspora communities and organizations sought to challenge or support the sending state's leadership or regime?
- When Diaspora activists have sought to erode or unsettle authoritarianism in their state of origin, what forms does their 'politics of contention' take and through which means (media, protest movements, campaigns, lobby, advocacy) is it articulated?
- What are the implications of state Diaspora policies and Diaspora politics for assessing political change, especially in the countries most deeply affected by the recent Arab uprisings?

Scholars/researchers interested in contributing to this special issue are asked to send a paper proposal of 300-400 words by 15 August, 2016 to Profs. Laurie Brand and Tamirace Fakhoury (brand@usc.edu and tamirace.fakhoury@lau.edu.lb) ; decisions regarding acceptance will be sent no later than 1 September 2016. The final papers, conforming to Journal of Middle East Migration Studies format, must be received by 15 January 2017.

More information [here](#)

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Call for Proposals: Refugees and migration movements in the Middle East

Deadline for proposals: August 1, 2016

The contemporary Middle East has been the location of profoundly important flows of people across and within borders which have been relatively understudied by political scientists. The staggering magnitude of the current crisis of refugees from Syria, Libya and Yemen only builds upon earlier refugee crises from Palestine to Iraq. POMEPS therefore calls for proposals for a workshop to be held February 3, 2017 on the University of Southern California campus in Los Angeles that will look more deeply into the causes, nature and implications of refugee as well as other, "non-forced," migration movements.

Proposals may address current processes or take a more historical approach. While the paper should focus on the contemporary Middle East, the papers could involve intra-regional movements, inward migration or out-migration to other world regions. The focus may be the short, medium or long-term implications of such movement(s) for questions of security, domestic or regional political economy, state-building, political identity, nationalism, etc.

Participants will draft short papers of approximately 2500 words, which will be discussed at the workshop and then edited for publication in an edition of the open access POMEPS Studies series. Where appropriate, papers may also be adapted for publication with the Washington Post's Monkey Cage. All travel expenses will be covered, and participants will receive a modest honorarium.

International applicants can be considered. Please submit proposals, including a brief abstract and current CV in a single PDF to pomepsteam@gmail.com by August 1, 2016.

More information [here](#)

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XVI Biennial IASC-Conference 'Practicing the Commons: Self-Governance, Cooperation, and Institutional Change'

Utrecht, 10-14 July 2017

Deadline 15 October 2016

The local organizers of the XVIth Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons welcome abstracts for papers, panels, and posters to be presented at this conference, to be held in Utrecht, The Netherlands, from 10 to 14 July 2017. The meeting will be held in the wonderful historic city center of Utrecht, a major university town in the middle of the Netherlands and will be hosted by the **Institutions for Collective Action-research team** and the Strategic Theme Institutions for Open Societies of Utrecht University.

With the theme of the conference, “Practicing the Commons: Self-Governance, Cooperation, and Institutional Change”, we intend to bring together the fast growing body of scientific knowledge on the commons as an alternative governance model. The increasing popularity of commons as a governance model is visible across the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe. Citizens increasingly form new collectives to provide energy, care, food, et cetera, and work together on the basis of self-governance and reciprocity.

During the conference there will be plenty of opportunities to connect academic research to practitioners' experience and vice versa. Underneath you find an overview of the main themes to be addressed, including a list of potential research questions that might be the topic of paper presentations. Soon, a call for contributions to practitioners' labs will also be issued.

Keynote speakers (all confirmed)

Prof. dr. Saskia Sassen (Columbia University, US)

Prof. dr. Juan Camilo Cárdenas Campo (Universidad de los Andes, Colombia)

Prof. dr. Jane Humphries (All Souls College Oxford University, UK)

Conference tracks, including examples of possible research questions that can be addressed in submitted panels, papers, and posters

1. Recipes for resilient cooperation

- How did the management and use of commons evolve over time?
- Does the longevity of an institution for collective action have a positive effect on continuation? What is the role of path dependency in long-enduring commons?
- Which factors influence(d) the emergence and continuation of commons?
- In what way does management of common pool resources depend on the type of resource?

2. Issues of exclusion and control in the formation, defense and governance of commons

- Who sets the boundaries to commons?
- Do commons with strict boundaries/access rules suffer less from freeriding than those with vague, open boundaries? Does openness always affect resilience negatively?
- Can technology help to make commons more inclusive?
- What are the moral implications of limiting access to common pool resources?
- Which instruments for monitoring, controlling and sanctioning behavior can be found in in self-governing institutions and how do these evolve over time?
- What is the impact of group size and composition on the commons' functioning?
- How does inclusion and exclusion work in digital resources governed as commons?

3. The impact of the commons

- What role can commons play in enhancing food security?
- Do commons have a positive effect on livelihoods, well-being, social justice, inequality?
- How can knowledge on commons be used to secure the future of global resources?
- How can (knowledge on) local resource governance contribute to mitigating climate change?
- What is the impact of technological change on self-governance and resource appropriation?
- In what way does management of common pool resources depend on the type of resource?

4. Methods and models to study the commons

- How can institutional change on the commons be studied (methodology, coding of case studies, individual cases)?
- How can micro-/macro-relations be modelled to understand our functioning of commons?
- How can our current knowledge on natural resource commons be used to improve our understanding of collective action in digital environments, genetics, etc., and vice versa?

5. Polycentric governance of global resources

- How can polycentric governance contribute to governing global resources?
- Which are the legal constraints to polycentric governance?
- What can be the impact of local change on the future of global resources?
- How and in which ways is leadership important in polycentric governance?

6. Crisis on the commons?

- How do commoners overcome periods of extreme stress and crisis?
- Are commons as governance regimes more resilient to shocks and crisis, compared to e.g. state or market-governed resources?
- How well can commoners mediate conflicts both within their own group and with other groups within society?
- How to study failure instead of success of commons?

7. Commons and the city

- For which urban spaces and resources can commons be a viable alternative governance model?
- Which specific opportunities and challenges does the urban environment offer to commons' initiatives?
- How to establish durable collaboration between commons and local governments?

8. Corporations, governments and commons

- What impact do businesses and private investment have on the commons?
- What role can commons play in the struggle for land rights, of in particular indigenous communities?
- Which role can local and national governments play in the development of new commons?

Submission guidelines

- Abstracts can be submitted for posters, individual papers, panels, and papers belonging to a coherent panel. See further for details.
- All abstracts should be submitted via the IASC Conference Registration system: <http://conferences.iasc-commons.org/index.php/iasc/IASC2017/author/submit?requiresAuthor=1>
- All submissions should be in English (either US or UK spelling are allowed)
- The text of your abstract should be no longer than 500 words (including references) and entered as flat-text via the online registration procedure by the **15 October 2016** at the latest
- Please also submit relevant keywords regarding topics, region, and time period in the registration system
- All abstracts will be peer-reviewed by at least two selected reviewers
- You will be notified about the reviewing result ultimately by 31 January 2017
- Full papers and posters are expected to be submitted ultimately by 20 June 2017
- Please notice that by submitting your paper, you will allow the paper to be included into the Digital Library on the Commons
- In case you wish to **submit a panel proposal** (consisting of 4 papers), please note that:
 - the main organizer of the panel first needs to submit a panel proposal with an abstract on the session's content, and needs to inform the authors of the 4 papers about the submission ID that will be provided after submission of the panel (via a confirmation email).
 - sessions are only considered if all 4 paper proposals are also individually submitted by their authors, including the reference to the submission number of the panel. It is the responsibility of the main session organizer to inform the authors of the participating papers about this procedure.

- panels are only included in the program if all four individual papers are accepted by the reviewers and if all authors have registered **by 10 May 2017**. If the authors have not registered in time, the organizers will allocate the papers of registered authors to other panels, if possible.

More information [here](#)

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Reminder: BRISMES Annual Conference 2016: ‘Networks: Connecting the Middle East through Time, Space and Cyberspace’

13 - 15 July 2016, University of Wales Trinity St David, Lampeter Campus

The 2016 BRISMES Annual Conference will explore the theme of networks in the Middle East, encouraging proposals for papers and panels that approach the theme in innovative ways. The conference organisers encourage submissions that highlight the connections between the Middle East and other areas of the globe, as well as ties within the region, be they between individual countries or between sub-regions. In addition, we warmly encourage proposals on any topic related to Middle Eastern Studies, regardless of its fit with the theme. Our aim is to encourage dialogue between scholars studying the Middle East and North Africa from all disciplines.

Within the overall theme of ‘Networks: Connecting the Middle East through Time, Space and Cyber Space’, papers and panels addressing historical or contemporary aspects of the following subthemes are particularly welcome:

- Trade, transport and financial networks: ancient and modern economic collaborations and enterprises.
- Geographical networks in urban, regional and international contexts.
- **Political and social networks:** ruling elites, structures of government, networking in minority and majority contexts, diaspora communities and **social movements**.
- Migration networks: migrants’ routes, communications and integration.
- Cultural networks: connections within art, architecture, literature, film and music.
- Linguistics and etymological connections and language development.
- Virtual networks: social media, gaming and global communications networks.
- Networks within religion: religious communities (ancient and modern), interfaith connections, religious authority and evolving theological interpretations.
- Networks in radicalisation and counter-radicalisation.

More information [here](#)

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TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

Palestine Ltd: Neoliberal Peacebuilding and Statebuilding in the Occupied Palestinian Territory

June 29 at 6 PM - 8 PM

Location: Auditorium of the Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum, Geschwister-Scholl-Straße 1/3, 10117 Berlin.

Speaker: Dr. Toufic Haddad, Post Doctoral Research Fellow, the Arab Council for Social Sciences, Occupied Palestinian Territory

Despite more than twenty years of international peace-building and state-building interventions by Western donor states and international finance institutions, neither peace nor statehood are closer to realization across the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT). Instead a violent and fragmented reality has emerged characterized by asymmetric containment measures with both neocolonial and settler-colonial dimensions. This talk explores how a dystopian vision of 'Palestine' emerged from the contradictory interactions within and between the main protagonists animating this arrangement - namely, Israel, the Palestinian leadership and the Western donor community. It specifically investigates how neoliberal precepts informed the peace-building and state-building paradigms in operation across the OPT, unleashing dynamics that would effectively aim to restructure the nature of Palestinian relations with their occupiers and themselves. As utopian modeling sought to reconstitute Palestinian social relations and mould elites in specific ways, the dynamics these processes unleashed would ultimately prove too unstable to sustain the contradictions they generated and continue to generate. Based on recently de-classified and leaked sources, extensive field interviews and an in depth examination of twenty years of policy making, this talk seeks to add new insight and information to the history and political economy of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

More information [here](#)

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International Seminar on Protests, connecting by VIDYO and social media

30 June and 1 July

South Africa's Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and University of Johannesburg (UJ)

Day 1. 30 June 2016. Research, Politics, Policing, People. Speakers include: Adv. Andries Nel (Deputy Minister: Co-operative Governance), Maj. Gen. Nonhlanhla Zulu (South African Police Service), Dr. Carin Runciman (Senior Researcher, UJ) and Trevor Ngwane (Researcher, UJ).

Day 2. 1 July 2016. Comparing Protests: an International Conversation. Speakers include: Prof. Peter Alexander (South Africa), Dr. Sameh Naguib (Egypt), Prof. Ferhat Kentel (Turkey) and Dr. Volodymyr Ishchenko (Ukraine). Chairs and speakers will be at the HSRC in Pretoria, and there will be direct connections to HSRC offices in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth. Interactive connection to

seminars: [link](#) (For any technical assistance in linking via vidyo contact: Mr Themba Mnisi, E-mail: stmnisi@hsrc.ac.za)

Programme (South African time)

Thursday 30 June (09.00-16.00). Rebellion of the Poor: Research, Politics, Policing, People

09.15-10.00. Researching South Africa's Rebellion of the Poor: an overview. Speakers: Dr. Carin Runciman, Boitumelo Maruping, Boikanyo Moloto, all from South African Research Chair in Social Change, UJ.

10.00-10.45. Discussion (including social media inputs)

11.15-11.45. Government's response to community protests. Speaker: Deputy Minister. Adv, Andries Nel, Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs

11.45-12.30. Discussion (including social media inputs)

13.15-13.45. Police response to community protests. Speakers: Maj. Gen. Nonhlanhla Zulu and Brig. Z.M. Mkhwanazi, both from South African Police Service

13.45-14.30. Discussion (including social media inputs)

15.00-15.30. Community responses to protests. Speakers: Trevor Ngwane, South African Research Chair in Social Change, UJ, and Tebogo Mokgope, Tsakane Community Representative.

15.30-16.15. Discussion (including social media inputs).

Friday 1 July (09.00-13.15). Research on Protests: South Africa, Egypt, Turkey and Ukraine Compared

09.10-09.30. South Africa within a global context. Speaker: Prof. Peter Alexander, South African Research Chair in Social Change, UJ.

09.30-09.50. Protests, Revolution and Counter Revolution. Speaker: Dr. Sameh Naguib, American University in Cairo and School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

09.50-10.10. Gezi movement: Revolution or counter-revolution. Speaker: Prof. Ferhat Kentel, Istanbul Sehir University.

10.10-10.30. Protests, counter-protests and regime change in Ukraine. Speaker: Dr. Volodymyr Ishchenko, Kyiv Polytechnic Institute.

10.30-10.45. Questions to speakers.

11.15-11.40. Further questions and replies from speakers.

11.40-12.00. Comparative reflections. Panel: Prof. Peter Alexander, Dr. Sameh Naguib, Prof. Ferhat Kentel, Dr. Volodymyr Ishchenko.

12.00-13.00. Comparative discussion.

Keynote report:

Counting Police-Recorded Protests: Based on South African Police Service Data by Carin Runciman, Peter Alexander, Mahlatse Rampedi, Boikanyo Moloto, Boitumelo Maruping, Eunice Khumalo and Sehlaphi Sibanda. Social Change Research Unit, University of Johannesburg, June 2016.

More information [here](#)

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Study day : The 1916 Arab Revolt

Saturday 2 July 2016, 10.30–16.30

Location: The British Museum, BP Lecture Theatre

Chaired by Professor Eugene Rogan, University of Oxford, contributors include author of *Setting the Desert on Fire*, James Barr, KCL, Mehmet Tutuncu, Director of SOTA (Foundation for Research on the Turkish and Arabic World), and Ali Allawi, author of *Faisal I*.

July 2016 marks the centenary of the Arab Revolt, made famous to British audiences through the involvement of T E Lawrence – Lawrence of Arabia. In this study day a panel of experts will explore the many perspectives on the reasons and course of the Revolt.

More information & registration [here](#)

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The Middle East and North Africa Today: Crises, Mobilities and Paths to the Future

Summer School 25 July - 29 July 2016

Location : Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Lisbon, Portugal

The recent events in North Africa and Middle East have produced an impact that has widely transcended the local or regional scale, unveiling other historical fault-lines in the Mediterranean and beyond. This makes the comprehension of the ongoing processes of paramount importance for a deeper understanding of how the problems faced by the societies of the area represent common challenges for a shared future. Nonetheless, most analysis have been carried out under perspectives that emphasize the political and geostrategic stakes for Europe and the Global North, leaving aside the experience of people and their effort to survive and build a better future. This summer school aims to further a deep view over the region with a specific attention to people's experience, imaginaries, forms of organization and motivations. The objective is to provide an understanding of the current social and political dynamics through a community-centered perspective, able to highlight the ways in which people negotiate forms of coherence and meaning, ethical plausibility and imaginaries of the future. This approach allows to connect the ongoing political and historical processes with the strategies pursued by people through their aspirations and attempts of personal and social reproduction.

Main Topics: Activism and Generation/Gender and Mobility/Religion and Ethical Imagination/Conflict and Future

The course is chaired by a group of scholars that include Ruba Salih (SOAS, London), Nadjé Al-Ali (SOAS, London), Samuli Schielke (ZMO, Berlin), Bruno Cardoso Reis (ICS, Lisbon), Francesco Vacchiano (ICS, Lisbon), Aurora Sottimano (BU, Cairo), Paola Gandolfi (University of Bergamo), Daniela Swarowski.

Registration Fee: 180 Euros; 130 Euros (Early-Bird rate until 31 May); 90 Euros ICS-ULisboa partner programme

Organisers: Instituto de Ciências Sociais with the support of the LMEI, ZMO-Berlin and CEI-IUL Lisbon
Contact email: posgraduacao@ics.ulisboa.pt

More information & registration [here](#)

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Middle East Sociology Working Group at ASA

Saturday, August 20, 2016

The Middle East Sociology Working Group and the Sociology of Islam network are inviting for a brunch at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. I have reserved tables at the Mamnoon Restaurant (<http://mamnoonrestaurant.com>), 1508 Melrose Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98122, one and a half blocks east of the convention center, on Saturday, August 20, 2016, from 11:00 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. Graduate students eat for free.

The brunch is timed to let out in advance of the ASA's plenary session on Protesting Racism, which begins at 12:30 p.m. The following day (Sunday, August 21, 2016) features an unprecedented series of panels on the Middle East and Islam:

- 166. The Broken Spring: The Arab Uprisings and Their Aftermaths. Sunday, 8:30-10:10 a.m.
- 198. History from the Bottom Up in the Middle East. Sunday, 10:30 a.m.-12:10 p.m.
- 216. Gender in the Muslim World: New Perspectives. Sunday, 10:30 a.m.-12:10 p.m.
- 247. Redefining the Public Sphere in the Middle East. Sunday, 12:30-2:10 p.m.

The double-booking at 10:30 a.m. is unfortunate, but the ASA's scheduling official tells me they will not alter the line-up.

More information [here](#)

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RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Women's Movements in Post-"Arab Spring" North Africa

Fatima Sadiqi

2016 – Palgrave Macmillan

Unexpected and transformative revolutions broke off in North Africa and quickly spread to the Middle East and the rest of the world in 2010 and 2011. Spontaneous, leaderless, youth-driven, and backed by social media, these revolutions called for karamah (dignity) and democracy. Centering on women's movements before, during, and after the revolutions, *Women's Movements in Post-"Arab Spring" North Africa* highlights the broader sources of authority that affected the emergence of new feminist actors and agents and their impact on the sociopolitical landscapes of the region. Until recently, studies of North African women's movements have focused on single aspects of women's achievements at a time. By providing a comparative analysis, this book for the first time sheds light not only on the role that these superstructures play in shaping women's experiences in North Africa, but also on the rich variety of women's responses to authority, and their potential contributions to African and global feminist thought. From the pre-history of the revolutions to their aftermath, the far-reaching historical and national scope of this collection expands the study of women's movements in North Africa beyond national borders, while still paying close attention to local characteristics.

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An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci: His Life, Thought and Legacy

Nathan Sperber and George Hoare

2015 - Bloomsbury Academic

This is a concise introduction to the life and work of the Italian militant and political thinker, Antonio Gramsci. As head of the Italian Communist Party in the 1920s, Gramsci was arrested and condemned to 20 years' imprisonment by Mussolini's fascist regime. It was during this imprisonment that Gramsci wrote his famous Prison Notebooks – over 2,000 pages of profound and influential reflections on history, culture, politics, philosophy and revolution. An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci retraces the trajectory of Gramsci's life, before examining his conceptions of culture, politics and philosophy. Gramsci's writings are then interpreted through the lens of his most famous concept, that of 'hegemony'; Gramsci's thought is then extended and applied to 'think through' contemporary problems to illustrate his distinctive historical methodology. The book concludes with a valuable examination of Gramsci's legacy today and useful tips for further reading. George Hoare and Nathan Sperber make Gramsci accessible for students of history, politics and philosophy keen to understand this seminal figure in 20th-century intellectual history.

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OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Raymond Williams

Derek Wall

Marx & Philosophy Review of Books, 2016

Review of: Raymond Williams Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review
Verso, London, 2015

Raymond Williams (1921-1988) was a self-described 'Welsh European', whose academic work as a literary theorist and activism, as variously a member of the Communist Party, Labour Party and Plaid Cymru, shaped the post-World War II British left. This recently reissued book provides a survey of Raymond Williams' life and works. It is a novel and exciting project. Raymond Williams was interviewed about each of his most important books as well as his early biography and political essays. His opinions are subjected to detailed critique with a special attention from the interviewers on contradictions and silences in his work. This makes fascinating but often somewhat brutal reading. Both the form and the content of this collection of interviews with the New Left Review (NLR) mark this as an important volume. Williams saw the book as a new and disturbing piece of literature. Three members of the NLR editorial board subjected Williams' work to detailed scrutiny. Many of his major books and significant essays are examined. Such analysis was perhaps especially rigorous because the NLR editors knew his work in some detail, and believed his contributions were essential to the construction of Marxism in a UK context. It is common to subject thinkers we disagree with to criticism, how much more painful but instructive to examine those with whom we sympathize with sharp analytical tools. Williams seems to have been plunged into personal crisis by taking part in the volume which, running to over 400 pages, took several months of interviews to complete. While this form may have been difficult for Williams, at times, it is an excellent overview of his work up until 1980 and provides a model for critical materialist scholarship. It would be good to see this form extend to other thinkers; it produces impressive results. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci: His Life, Thought and Legacy

Piotr Stalmaszczyk

Marx & Philosophy Review of Books, 2016

Review of: An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci: His Life, Thought and Legacy
Bloomsbury Academic, London and New York, 2015

The life, thought, and legacy of Antonio Gramsci keeps attracting the attention of scholars and researchers in various disciplines, from literary and cultural studies, to translation theory, social studies, political philosophy, and the history of Marxism. George Hoare and Nathan Sperber offer a most recent introduction to Gramsci that will be especially useful for newcomers to Gramscian studies, and which puts the achievement of the Italian Marxist philosopher into a wider context. The book is comprised of a short introduction and four parts, which deal, respectively, with Gramsci's life, thought, applications, and legacy. They are followed by a guide to further reading, a bibliography, and an index. Hoare and Sperber commence the introduction with a brief section on 'Thinking through Gramsci', observing that there now exists a whole 'Gramsci industry' with 'a great many different Gramscis. Thus we see a Gramsci in International Relations, in Cultural Studies, in Political Theory, in Literary Theory and in Postcolonial Studies. There is a Gramsci used by the Right and one claimed by the Left' (1). Against the diversity and proliferation of these approaches to Gramsci, the authors argue for 'a unified and consistent Gramsci, a Gramsci essential for critical thought today' (1). Though the task of producing a 'unified Gramsci' might turn out to be impossible, it is very important that a recent attempt has been made for a consistent interdisciplinary (or multidisciplinary) presentation of Gramsci, and of his achievement and legacy. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Saudi Intervention, Sectarianism, and De-Democratization in Bahrain's Uprising

Marc Owen Jones

in Thomas Davies , Holly Eva Ryan , Alejandro Milcíades Peña (ed.) *Protest, Social Movements and Global Democracy Since 2011: New Perspectives* (Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 39) Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.251 - 279

Here, we examine the challenges to democratization in Bahrain, with a particular focus on how the recent 2011 Uprising has resulted in a deepening of authoritarianism. It is argued that the recent unrest has brought into sharp relief the absence of "quality" democracy in Bahrain, and that any form of democratic transition is dependent on the will of a conservative Al Khalifa-Saudi nexus. While the pro-democracy movement may have prompted minor concessions on the part of the government, the extent of the popular mobilization triggered the Al Khalifa regime's authoritarian reflex, and they have reacted to throttle the Uprising by putting in place legislative, ideological, and political barriers to reform, which points not only to a current de-democratization, but also a lack of future democratization. In addition to arguing for the post-2011 undoing of democracy in Bahrain, this paper also points to two major barriers to future democratization; (1) a conservative, post-Independence Al Khalifa-Saudi coalition assisted by large military resources (2) protracted communal tension brought about by the government's instrumentalization of sectarianism.

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Master Frames of the Syrian Conflict: Early Violence and Sectarian Response Revisited

Reinoud Leenders
POMEPS Studies 20

Much of the dialectics involving revolutionary movements and counter-revolutionary responses gravitate around protagonists' grand narratives, or master frames, making unyielding claims about the origins, evolution, cleavages and nature of their conflicts. Five years into the Syrian conflict competing master frames have proven to be as powerful as they are inadequate, incomplete or outright inaccurate. Noticeably, and despite the conflict having gone through numerous mutations from a mass uprising into an internationalised civil war, the essence of two key master frames has not significantly changed; the regime and its supporters still purport that they are fighting a necessary war against a violent jihadist conspiracy fuelled by sectarianism, and despite their differences otherwise most opposition activists of various denominations insist on what they see as a revolution against oppressive, authoritarian rule by a regime whose violent intent to persist has no bounds. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Waves of Democratization, Waves of Disillusionment: The Arab Spring in Historical Perspective

Charles Kurzman
POMEPS Studies 20

Most new democracies fail. They dissolve into civil wars, or are overtaken by coups or collapse under authoritarian bureaucrats and demagogues. They fade into obscure paragraphs in history books. Who remembers the Iranian constitution of 1906 or the Ottoman parliament of 1909, for example? Who remembers the Azerbaijani parliament of 1918 or the Egyptian revolution of 1919 or the Kuwaiti council of 1921? Perhaps the Arab Spring will suffer a similar fate – to be forgotten or dismissed for not having lived up to its hope. But the hope was real. “The power of the people is greater than the people in power,” wrote Wael Ghonem (2012), the new-media activist who became the face of the Egyptian revolution of 2011. Wiki-revolts, aggregating millions of contributors, constituted Revolution 2.0. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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From Co-optation to Crackdown: Gulf States' Reactions to the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Arab Spring

Courtney Freer
POMEPS Studies 20

Examining recent statements made by Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) governments about the Muslim Brotherhood, it is difficult to believe that its members were almost universally welcomed into the Gulf states in the 1950s, with some of their ranks holding ministerial positions into the 2000s. The rise of Islamist opposition movements during the Arab Spring led governments across the region to focus keenly on the Muslim Brotherhood as it emerged as the primary voice of political opposition. I argue that the reason for such a focus on the Ikhwan inside the Gulf lies beyond regional politics alone; rather, the persistent presence of Muslim Brotherhood movements inside the GCC states led their governments to articulate different policies toward such groups. Indeed, each of the Gulf states has developed a distinct strategy to manage the Ikhwan, ranging from a soft form of co-optation seen in Qatar to a harsh crackdown in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). *Continue reading [here](#)*

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In Defense of Ideology: Notes on Experience and Revolution

Sune Haugbolle
POMEPS Studies 20

The Arab uprisings have often been described as post-ideological, in the sense that protesters focused on confronting autocratic regimes rather than conforming to ideological scripts of the ideal society. Protests did not center on Islamist, nationalist, or socialist agendas. If anything, people reacted against hollow, worn-out regime slogans. But while it is clear that the uprisings were not driven by ideology in the sense of elaborate strategies for a political order, it is also clear that divergent political ideas played a role and continue to do so, in several ways. First, the very notion of a post-ideological, civic position represents a conceptualization of legitimate action that can be fruitfully explored as political thought. Second, the uprisings have generated a significant amount of ideological reorientation within exiting traditions, and also spawned new directions of political thought. Everywhere, political ideas are undergoing tremendous transformations as a result of the events since 2011. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Elite-led Protest and Authoritarian State Capture in Egypt

Neil Ketchley
POMEPS Studies 20

When unruly protests in Tunisia inspired ebullient scenes of ‘people power’ in Egypt and elsewhere in 2011, many scholars and observers of the MENA region drew some measure of hedonistic pleasure at the sight of ordinary people challenging calcified autocracy. In the enormous output of academic and journalistic writing that followed, a great deal of attention has been paid to the ways in which economically and politically disenfranchised actors – secular activists, trade unionists, Islamists, and local residents – banded together to challenge old regime powers and prerogatives from below. By comparison, the role of state actors in stimulating and orchestrating street-level mobilization to roll back the gains of 2011 remains less well understood. This reflects a more general problem for students of social movements and collective protest: while political process models of contentious politics routinely depict mass mobilization as the work of “challengers” making claims on established “members” of the polity, this occludes episodes in which powerful institutional actors facilitate and impel street protest for their own ends. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Taking Time Seriously: Temporality and the Arab Uprisings

Jillian Schwedler
POMEPS Studies 20

Questions of temporality lurk behind every analytic framework, and studies of the Arab uprisings are no exception. As scholars, we always make choices about where to begin and end our analyses, sometimes adhering to common frameworks for periods and epochs, and sometimes suggesting innovations. More than a technical and practical consideration for research design, choice of temporal register plays a powerful role in our scholarship, but one that is often acknowledged only in passing or left entirely unrecognized. In my current book project on political protests in Jordan—a project that addresses the uprisings but is not about them—I examine in one chapter the ways in which multiple temporal registers shape our understanding of what is happening in the course of a protest or series of protests, and how we fit those understandings into a “big picture” (including our choices about precisely what that big thing is). Choosing a temporal register can have profound political implications for the analyses we produce, in that it operates to recognize, authorize, or critique some practices, actors, events, and power relations, while obscuring or ignoring others. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Police raid Cairo cafes in first week of Ramadan

Mada Masr, 10 June 2016

A [video](#) released by Al-Watan news portal documents a raid conducted by plainclothed police officers on a Cairo cafe in the first week of Ramadan. In the footage, police can be seen entering the cafe, reportedly in Midan Kitkat, Imbaba, and ordering customers to leave. One officer said the cafe was being raided because it did not have a license to operate and that people in the cafe were smoking shisha during Ramadan. The documented raid was part of a larger operation in which police raided several cafes in Ramadan, according to the privately owned Al-Watan news portal. It is unclear whether the raids were conducted to close establishments operating without proper licenses or functioned as a move to ensure compliance with Ramadan proscriptions. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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[Egypt:] Arrest of Press Syndicate head 'dangerous escalation' against media freedom – Amnesty

Nourhan Fahmy

Aswat Masriya, 30 May 2016

Amnesty International called the arrest of the Egyptian Press Syndicate's head and two board members on Sunday "an alarming setback for freedom of expression." Head of the Press Syndicate Yahia Qallash and senior board members Khaled al-Balshy and Gamal Abd al-Reheem were summoned by Egyptian prosecution on Sunday over the high-profile arrest of two journalists from inside the syndicate earlier this month. On May 1, security forces raided the syndicate's building to arrest two journalists accused of "inciting protests" against President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi's decision to hand over control over two strategic Red Sea islands to Saudi Arabia. The two journalists, Amr Badr and Mahmoud al-Saqqa, had been at the syndicate's headquarters when police arrested them. They both work for the Yanayir Gate news website. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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[Egypt:] Breaking the back of the Journalists Syndicate

Omar Said

Mada Masr, 1 June 2016

Despite the syndicate's attempt to de-escalate the crisis, the state seems determined to fuel the conflict. A month after security forces stormed the Journalist Syndicate and arrested two reporters, the standoff between police and journalists continues. On Sunday, May 29, syndicate head Yehia Qallash and two prominent board members, Khaled al-Balshy and Gamal Abdel Rehim, refused to post bail for their release because one of the charges they face relates to publishing, which according to the Constitution is not punishable by detention, according to a statement released by Qallash. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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[Egypt:] Special Report: After university crackdown, Egyptian students fear for their future

Amina Ismail, Reuters

Aswat Masriya, 1 June 2016

In June 2014, 23-year-old engineering student Mohammed Badawy was expelled from Cairo University. The university said it ejected him for obstructing the education process, and for rioting and destruction at a protest against President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi's government. Badawy said it was because he protested against the government and supported the Muslim Brotherhood, a political movement that the Egyptian government has banned as a terrorist organisation. His home was raided by security forces multiple times, he said. Fearing for his life and keen to continue studying, Badawy said he paid people-smugglers to spirit him out of the country. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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[Egypt:] Women's rights activists launch "Say No" campaign to stamp out abuse

Hend El-Behary

Egypt Independent, 1 June 2016

Activists working for the rights of girls and women in Egypt have launched a new campaign titled "Say No" aimed at encouraging females to reject any form of abuse or mistreatment, particularly that associated with their gender. Females are encouraged to reject verbal, physical and sexual assault, the denial of various rights — such as the right to education and free movement — and dangerous practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM). The new campaign, which is being promoted via social media, has the following message for Egyptian women: "Resist him if he verbally or physically assaults you; protect your rights and never ignore them; say no if you are trapped at home or deprived of education, work or friends; say no if any of your family advises you to genitally mutilate your daughter — it will damage her physical and psychological health." *Continue reading [here](#)*

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[Egypt:] Activists start campaigns for political prisoners amid renewed detentions

Mada Masr, 2 June 2016

Tuesday and Wednesday witnessed a number of court rulings renewing the detentions of political detainees in Egyptian prisons, as activists began several campaigns to support them. Online campaign, "No to solitary confinement," was initiated to highlight the mental, physical and legal repercussions of political detention. The campaign quoted Ranwa Youssef, wife of detained journalist Youssef Shaaban, saying that "after a year and one month of solitary confinement ...Youssef's only

wish is to get on the metro when he gets out and be around people for as long as possible." A campaign was also started to collect donations for detainees in the "Saudi land protest" case, after a Dokki appeals court amended the verdict from five years in prison and LE100,000, to just the fine, and ruled against paying in instalments. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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[Egypt:] The rules of protest

Gamal Essam El-Din

Al-Ahram weekly, Issue No.1300, 16 June, 2016

The controversial protest law is to be changed. Political forces have welcomed the 8 June announcement by Minister of Parliamentary Affairs Magdi Al-Agati that the protest law will be amended in line with the 2014 Constitution. Mohamed Anwar Al-Sadat, chairman of parliament's Human Rights Committee, told reporters that the move is progressive and could improve Egypt's human rights record. "The most negative aspect of the current protest law is that it imposes penalties that infringe on the rights and freedoms enshrined in the 2014 Constitution," said Sadat. The semi-independent National Council for Human Rights (NCHR) says the proposed changes reflect a pressing need. "While the constitution grants citizens the right of organising peaceful protests it stipulates this right cannot be exercised at the expense of national security or internal stability," it continued. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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Causes and Dynamics of the Syrian Uprising: From Civil Protests to the Implications of the Russian Intervention - A STATUS

Bassam Haddad

Jadaliyya, May 02 2016

Audio recording of a lecture held on 22 January 2016 at Stanford University

After nearly five years since the start of the uprising, Syria finds itself divided and embattled, with no end in sight. More significantly, more than half of the Syrian population is displaced and the death toll surpassed 300,000 by all counts. The Syrian tragedy persists and, more than any other case of mass uprising in the region, continues to be shrouded in political power-plays and contradictions at the local, regional, and international levels. Defined increasingly by an absence of a clear favorable outcome, considering existing parties to the conflict, the logic of the lesser evil reigns supreme. This lecture presented by Bassam Haddad on STATUS/الوضع is an attempt to understand the roots and dynamics of the tragic Syrian uprising, with particular attention to its background and to the recent Russian intervention. *Continue reading & listen [here](#)*

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