

BRISMES Annual Conference 2012

REVOLUTION AND REVOLT

Understanding the Forms and Causes of Change

26 - 28 March 2012

London School of Economics and Political Science



www.brismes2012.com

Middle East Centre

London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE

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Welcome & Introductions

Welcome from BRISMES

I am delighted to welcome you to the 2012 BRISMES Annual Conference at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

As an alumnus of LSE, I was particularly pleased when the School submitted a successful bid to host the conference and I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Middle East Centre and Bob Lowe and his team – Ribale Sleiman Haidar and Dania Akkad – for the huge amount of time and effort they have put into the preparations. The programme looks to be incredibly varied and interesting. Having five panels running consecutively is testament to the thought which has gone into ensuring that there will be something for everyone – especially important as we look to attract more members from the private and government sectors, something which this conference has notably achieved.

As well as the academic programme, I am delighted that a senior government minister has agreed not only to give one of the plenary sessions, but to engage in a question and answer session to follow. I look forward to a stimulating exchange of views.

I am pleased that, as has become the custom recently, The Pearson Memorial Lecture will take place during the conference. The lecture is organised by the Middle East Libraries Committee (MELCOM). Professor Charles Melville of the University of Cambridge will speak on 'Books as History in Medieval Iran' and I would like to welcome members of MELCOM to our conference. We also have an impressive publishers' exhibition which includes many of the most recent publications in the field. This is well worth a visit and I would like to thank the publishers for their continued support and interest in the Society.

Another tradition of the BRISMES conference is to hold a conference dinner so that we can all have an opportunity to meet our colleagues in a relaxed environment. This year, the dinner will be in the particularly pleasant surroundings of the Old Hall and Crypt at Lincoln's Inn and I hope that many of you will join us there.

The conference has attracted what I believe to be a record number of participants for a BRISMES conference and this is not just attributable to the venue and attractive theme. It is also down to the team effort mentioned above. On the back of this, BRISMES has gained over 75 new members. In our efforts to increase the Society's profile, we have recently commissioned an interactive database which forms an integral part of our website. I believe that this will promote research and cooperation in MENA and Islamic studies across the UK and internationally and become the main searchable tool for anyone seeking specialists in a particular area of expertise in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies. We would like this to be as all inclusive as possible so I ask you all to please submit your details.

The Society's AGM will take place on Monday at 2pm. This is our opportunity to bring you up to date on all our activities, and your opportunity to give us your views. I look forward to seeing BRISMES members there.

Looking ahead, I should mention that the Middle East Centre at LSE will also be hosting this year's BRISMES Graduate Section conference – on Monday 11 June – and thank Filippo Dionigi for all the effort he is putting in to ensuring that that event will be just as successful as I am sure this one will be.

Finally, I would like to thank our conference partners, the European Network of Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES), and the sponsors who have contributed in no small part to the success of the conference. The conference sponsors are Barclays Capital, I.B. Tauris, LLAS (Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies), Routledge, The American University in Dubai and The Islamic Studies Network. Thank you also to all of you who have registered.

I hope you all enjoy the conference.

Alastair Newton, President, BRISMES

Welcome from the LSE Middle East Centre

I am very pleased to welcome you to the London School of Economics and Political Science for the BRISMES Annual Conference 2012. The Middle East Centre is delighted to be organising this flagship conference at which over 150 papers will be presented in 40 panels. It takes place 18 months after the centre opened and marks a significant point in the centre's development as a hub of Middle East scholarship.

It is a privilege for the Centre to run this conference in partnership with our friends at BRISMES. It has been a great pleasure working with the Society and we are especially grateful to Alastair Newton and Louise Haysey for all their advice and support. The Middle East Centre also looks forward to hosting the BRISMES Graduate Section Conference on 11 June 2012. This promises to be an excellent event and I encourage you to participate.

We meet at the first anniversary of the Arab popular uprisings, an historic moment alive with possibilities and challenges. A psychological rupture has occurred in the Middle East, shaking the bureaucratic-authoritarian order to its very foundation and introducing a new language of contentious politics and revolutions. Similarly, a fierce struggle is unfolding before our eyes between social movements who call for change and transformations and counter-revolutionaries who seek to preserve the status quo at all costs.

Our field of study has been reinvigorated. Dominant paradigms and ways of thinking about our region have suffered a hard blow. There is renewed interest in bottom-up politics, social movements, revolutionaries, and the role of agency in general, a refreshing departure from the traditional focus on top-down politics and the role of elite. It is in this spirit that we convene to examine revolution and revolt and understand the forms and causes of change.

Many critical questions will be addressed. For example, what is the significance of the Arab awakenings? Why now, and what are the drivers (socio-economic and socio-political) behind the popular protests? What is the weight of the dominant social forces: Islamists, nationalists, leftists, and liberals? What are the challenges and prospects for a successful transition? What are the implications of the Arab popular uprisings for state and society, particularly institutionalization, development, and social justice? And how do geostrategic and international variables complicate the picture?

I hope you find the presentations and discussions at this event to be stimulating and enjoyable. Thank you for coming.

Professor Fawaz A. Gerges, Director, Middle East Centre, LSE

About the LSE Middle East Centre

The LSE Middle East Centre opened in October 2010, established with support from the Emirates Foundation for Philanthropy and the Aman Trust. It builds on LSE's long engagement with the Middle East and provides a central hub for the wide range of research on the region carried out at LSE.

The Middle East Centre aims to enhance understanding and develop rigorous interdisciplinary research and teaching on the societies, economies, politics, and international relations of the region, including the Arab world, Israel, Iran and Turkey. The Centre promotes both specialized knowledge and public understanding of this crucial area and has outstanding strengths in inter-disciplinary and social science research, combined with real regional expertise, and a genuine ability to inform policy-makers and public alike, engaging a global audience about the region's strengths and challenges.

Key Research Themes

- Governance, civil society and institutions
- Political economy and environment
- Social movements, contentious politics and revolutions
- Foreign policy and international relations

The Centre has recently awarded £400,000 in grants to support academic collaboration and capacity building between LSE and Arab universities. These projects will focus on: the demographic challenges posed to GCC labour markets, migration patterns and national identities (United Arab Emirates University); academic exchanges (American University of Sharjah); the relationship between access to land for farming households in Lebanon and their contribution to 'food security' (American University of Beirut); the problems and opportunities raised by the revolution in Egypt (Cairo University); and climate vulnerability and human security in the Jordan River basin (Birzeit University).

The Middle East Centre runs a busy schedule of evening lectures at which all are warmly welcome. As part of the current lecture series focussing on the Arab uprisings, recent speakers have included Professor Roger Owen, Wael Ghonim, Wadah Khanfar, Professor Sadik Al-Azm, Professor William Quandt, Professor Charles Tripp and Professor Madawi Al-Rasheed. Following on from the lecture series, the Centre is working on a volume examining the Arab uprisings which will include chapters from many of the speakers as well as other leading academics. Cambridge University Press will publish the book in early 2013.

Forthcoming Events

Politics and Power in the Maghreb

Speaker: **Dr Michael Willis, Oxford University**

Wednesday 9 May 2012, 18.30 – 20.00, Thai Theatre, NAB

The Kurdish Spring: State-society relations and dissent in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Speaker: **Dr Nicole Watts, San Francisco State University**

Wednesday 15 May 2012, 18.30 – 20.00, Alumni Theatre, NAB

The Egyptian Revolution: Where From, and Where To?

Speaker: **Ahdaf Soueif, Egyptian writer and political and cultural commentator**

Thursday 31 May 2012, 18.30 – 20.00, Sheikh Zayed Theatre, NAB

The Next War in the Middle East?

Speaker: **Professor Hamid Dabashi, Columbia University**

Thursday, 5 July 2012, 18.30 – 20.00, Sheikh Zayed Theatre, NAB

About BRISMES

Founded in 1973, BRISMES is the UK's premier higher education umbrella organisation for MENA studies, embracing all the top universities in the UK to promote the study of all aspects of the region. Sponsorship, corporate and individual membership of BRISMES has long facilitated access and exposure to the best academics, emerging scholars and substantive research in the field.

This is, if anything, even more important in today's world than it has been historically. As recent and ongoing events across the region readily confirm, the MENA region remains one of the most complex and volatile parts of the world – as well as being of major strategic and economic importance to the United Kingdom. A better understanding of the dynamics and tensions underlying its political and economic situation is essential not only in its own right but also to the analysis and understanding of wider global questions.

We are currently building on – and expanding – our core activities and areas of expertise, including:

Website

The most recent inclusion is an interactive database of academic expertise worldwide. Our aim is to offer a one-stop shop for access to other sites of interest, information on courses, job opportunities, new publications and forthcoming events. We are grateful to the Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World (CASAW) and to the British Academy for sponsoring this exciting new development.

Events

We host a range of international conferences, workshops and annual lectures to provide additional opportunities to network with experts in all relevant areas of study.

Many events strengthen our links with corporate and other private sector bodies and help to maintain our strong relations with London-based diplomats.

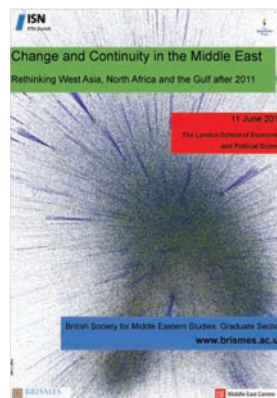
Publications



The highly renowned British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies will increase the number of issues per annum from three to four.

Our Newsletter carries up to date information on a wide range of events and includes sections on job vacancies and recent publications.

Graduate Section



Our Graduate Section holds an independent conference tailored specifically for postgraduate students and early career researchers. This year's conference, 'Change and Continuity in the Middle East: Rethinking West Asia, North Africa and the Gulf after 2011' will take place at LSE on 11th June 2012.

Scholarships and Awards

We oversee a range of scholarships and awards for outstanding graduate students – the Abdullah Mubarak Foundation and Barclays Capital are among our sponsors.

A recent initiative is the launch of New Middle Eastern Studies, an exciting new e-journal which is hosted on the website.

For further information on all our activities and to join, please visit: www.brismes.ac.uk

Conference Partners

European Network of Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES)



The European Association of Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES) is an association of national scholarly societies and academic institutions in 27 European countries which are engaged in studies in social sciences and humanities on the Middle East and North Africa including research on the impact of this region on other parts of the world. EURAMES organises international conferences and a global information network comprising more than 5,000 scholars. They provide and receive a large variety of announcements of conferences, jobs, grants, research projects and institutions related to Middle Eastern studies in its widest sense. This academic exchange is arranged via the email list EURAMES Info Service which is free of charge and appears almost on a weekly basis.

To join this global network, contact the President of EURAMES, Guenter Meyer (Centre for Research on the Arab World, University of Mainz, Germany) eurames@geo.uni-mainz.de. Further information www.eurames.de

Conference Sponsors

Barclays Capital



Barclays is a major global financial services provider engaged in retail banking, credit cards, corporate and investment banking and wealth management with an extensive international presence in Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia. With over 300 years of history and expertise in banking, Barclays operates in over 50 countries and employs over 140,000 people. Barclays moves, lends, invests and protects money for customers and clients worldwide. For further information about Barclays, please visit our website www.barclays.com.

I.B. Tauris



I.B.Tauris is an independent publishing house that has pioneered a distinctive approach to the publication of both general non-fiction and new scholarly writing in the humanities and social sciences. We aim to publish books that appeal to academics, area specialists, students and researchers as well as to a broad cross-section of general readers. Founded in London in 1983, we now publish 300 new books internationally every year and keep approximately 3,000 books available in both print and digital editions. I.B.Tauris has long been recognised as one of the leading publishers on the Middle East and the Islamic World and has a major presence in Classics and Ancient History, History, Geography and Social Sciences, Politics and International Relations, Philosophy, Religion, Film and Visual Culture, and Fine Art. We also publish the popular Tauris Parke Paperbacks imprint specialising in history, travel and biography.

LLAS Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies, University of Southampton



LLAS has been providing professional development, resources and information to the languages, linguistics and area studies community since 2000. We are a team of experienced education developers with academic and pedagogic expertise in our subject areas. We are led by Professor Michael Kelly.

Our mission is to foster world-class education in our subject areas. We do this by supporting our stakeholders in providing the best possible learning experience for students. We also engage in research and projects at the level of government policy and activities which promote greater public engagement with languages, linguistics and area studies. We have a reputation for being responsive to the needs of our stakeholders and also offer academic leadership in promoting good practice and identifying emerging issues.

We offer:

- workshops, training courses, seminars and conferences
- online resources for teachers and students
- research and information on pedagogical approaches and language education policies
- opportunities for networking and collaboration

Routledge



Taylor & Francis Group collaborates with researchers, scholarly societies, universities and researchers worldwide to bring knowledge to life. As one of the world's leading publishers of scholarly journals, ebooks and reference works our content spans all areas of Humanities, Social Sciences, Science and Technology. Our portfolio includes over 1,600 journals and over 24,000 e-books, published under four highly-regarded imprints: Taylor & Francis, Routledge, CRC Press and Psychology Press. Visit our website today www.tandfonline.com

Arab Spring Campaign

Routledge, in conjunction with Editors and society partners, have put together a collection of academic articles and analysis representing a selection of the early scholarly responses to the events of the Arab Spring. Content has been selected from across our Area Studies and Politics and International Relations journal portfolios. To access the campaign please visit <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/offers/ArabSpring>

The American University in Dubai



The American University in Dubai is a private, non-sectarian institution of higher learning founded in 1995. The university is accredited by the Commission on Colleges (COC) of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) to award Bachelor's and Master's degrees. The UAE Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research has licensed the university and accredited its programs in International Studies, Business Administration (both undergraduate and graduate), Communication and Information Studies, Engineering, Computer and Information Technology, Computer Science, Architecture, Visual Communication and Interior Design, Education (graduate) and Construction Management (graduate), in addition to a Certificate program in Middle Eastern Studies.

AUD's enrollment in 2010–2011 averaged 2,628 students. In Spring 2011, 94 nationalities were represented in the AUD student body. The university's faculty members possess appropriate academic credentials; many are or have been practicing professionals of note. AUD's multi-complex facility has been conceived with the objective of supporting the university's programs (both academic and extra-curricular) to an American standard.

The Islamic Studies Network



Managed by the Higher Education Academy, The Islamic Studies Network brings together those working in Islamic Studies from a wide range of disciplines to enhance teaching and learning in UK higher education. We understand Islamic Studies to be an umbrella term for the academic study of Islam, Muslim cultures and societies and Islamic knowledge through a variety of subject areas and perspectives.

We provide opportunities for academics and students to network and share practice through events, project grants and publications. We also encourage the development and sharing of a wide range of resources relevant to research and teaching in Islamic Studies. You can keep up to date with our activities by reading the latest news on our website and by joining the Network: www.islamicstudiesnetwork.ac.uk

Conference Programme

Monday 26 March 2012

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 8.00 – 9.15 | Registration, Tea & Coffee |
| 9.15 – 9.30 | Opening & Welcome Addresses (Sheikh Zayed Theatre, NAB LG) Alastair Newton, President, BRISMES Professor Fawaz Gerges, Director, LSE Middle East Centre |
| 9.30 – 10.30 | I.B. Tauris Plenary Session I: ‘Revolution and Revolt: Understanding the Forms and Causes of Change in the Arab World’ (Sheikh Zayed Theatre, NAB LG) Professor Ghassan Salamé, Dean, Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) |
| 10.30 – 11.00 | Tea & Coffee |
| 11.00 – 13.00 | Panel 1 |
| 13.00 – 14.00 | Lunch |
| 14.00 – 15.00 | The Pearson Memorial Lecture: ‘Books as History in Medieval Iran’ (Wolfson Theatre, NAB LG) Professor Charles Melville, Professor of Persian History, University of Cambridge <i>Organised by the Middle East Libraries Committee (MELCOM)</i> |
| 14.00 – 15.00 | BRISMES AGM (Thai Theatre, NAB LG) |
| 15.00 – 15.30 | Tea & Coffee |
| 15.30 – 17.30 | Panel 2 |
| 18.30 | Conference Dinner, Old Hall & Crypt, Lincoln’s Inn |

Tuesday 27 March 2012

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 8.00 – 9.00 | Registration, Tea & Coffee |
| 9.00 – 11.00 | Panel 3 |
| 11.00 – 11.30 | Tea & Coffee |
| 11.30 – 13.30 | Panel 4 |
| 13.30 – 14.30 | Lunch |
| 14.30 – 16.30 | Panel 5 |
| 16.30 – 17.00 | Tea & Coffee |
| 17.00 – 17.45 | Plenary Session II: International Policy Responses to Changes in the Arab World (Sheikh Zayed Theatre, NAB LG) Senior UK Government Official |
| 17.45 | Drinks Reception (<i>sponsored by the American University in Dubai</i>) |

Wednesday 28 March 2012

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 8.00 – 9.00 | Registration, Tea & Coffee |
| 9.00 – 11.00 | Panel 6 |
| 11.00 – 11.30 | Tea & Coffee |
| 11.30 – 13.30 | Panel 7 |
| 13.30 – 14.30 | Lunch |
| 14.30 – 16.30 | Panel 8 |

Practical Information

Location

LSE is in central London at Aldwych, WC2A 2AE. The nearest underground station is Holborn, which is on the Central and Piccadilly lines. Other close stations are Temple (District and Circle lines) and Charing Cross (Jubilee, Northern and Bakerloo lines and rail services). The BRISMES Annual Conference 2012 will take place in the New Academic Building (NAB), Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Conference Organisation Team

Conference Manager

Robert Lowe

Conference Coordinator

Ribale Sleiman Haidar

Team Members

Dania Akkad

Gunda Beeler

Stewards

Valeria Cetorelli, Ulrike Chawiche, Aditya Vikram Das, Magdalena Delgado, Ozen Halil, Sarah Jones, Sarah Miller, Sarah Waimann, Ayse Ezgi Yildirim and Rebekah Yore

Registration

The conference registration and information desk is located on the ground floor at the entrance of the NAB.

Name Badges

Name badges will be provided at the registration desk. You are required to wear your badge at all times during the conference. At the end of the conference, please return your badge to the registration desk.

Cloaks and Valuables

A cloakroom will be available throughout the conference. Belongings cannot be left in the cloakroom overnight and LSE and BRISMES cannot be held responsible for any loss or damage to the valuables left in there.

Printing and Photocopying

There are no printing or photocopying services provided during the conference. The Student Union Shop, located on the ground floor of the NAB, offers photocopying, printing from USB memory sticks and binding services.

Internet Access

Wireless internet access will be available over the 3 day period. Usernames and passwords are available at the registration desk.

Refreshments

Lunch, coffee and tea will be available to all conference delegates. These will be served on the Lower Ground of the NAB at times indicated in the conference programme.

Conference Dinner

The Conference Dinner will take place on Monday 26 March 2012 at the Old Crypt & Hall, Lincoln's Inn. Those registered for the conference dinner will receive a ticket at registration. The tickets should be brought to the dinner. The reception will start at 18.30 and dinner will be served at 19.45.

Assistance

If you need any help, please contact the information desk or speak to a conference steward.

Prayer Room

A prayer room is available on campus. Please ask any member of the conference team for assistance and directions.

Taxis

Below are some suggestions for taxi services:

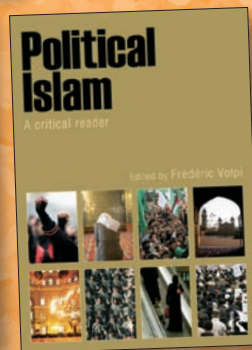
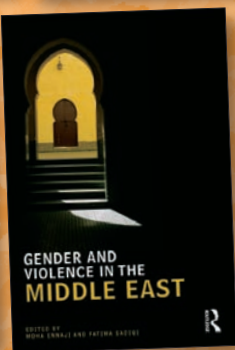
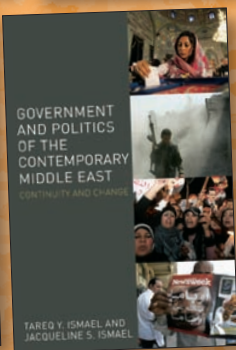
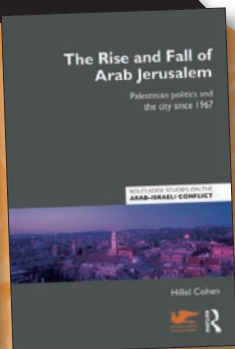
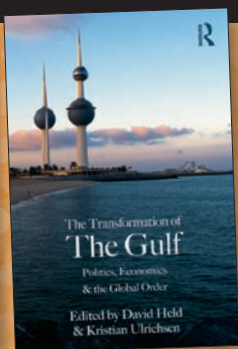
- Addison Lee: +44 (0) 844 800 6677
- Airport Star: +44 (0) 207 345 5020
- London Connections: +44 (0) 208 574 6622

Notes for Speakers

- Presenters should familiarise themselves with the location and time of their panel, and arrive at the lecture theatre 10 minutes prior to the start of the panel. Panels will start on time.
- The conference programme is very full and panels cannot run over time. Presenters must not speak for longer than the allotted time. If this happens, the chair will stop the presenter, regardless of the point reached in the presentation.
- Following all presentations, the chair will open the floor to the audience for questions and comments. If many people wish to ask questions, please be fairly brief in responding so as to enable a good flow in the discussion.

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Fatima Sadiqi

Series: *UCLA Center for Middle East Development (CMED)*

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The Israel-Palestine Conflict

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Series: *The Contemporary Middle East*

PB: 978-0-415-45747-7

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28th April 2012

Maps & Directions

Getting to LSE

Tube

- Holborn (Piccadilly and Central lines) – Approximately a five minute walk
- Temple (District and Circle lines) – Approximately a five minute walk
- Charing Cross (Jubilee, Northern and Bakerloo lines) – Approximately a ten minute walk

Rail

- Waterloo – Approximately a 15 minute walk.
- Charing Cross – Approximately a 10 minute walk.
- Blackfriars – Approximately a 15 minute walk.
- St Pancras International – Take the Piccadilly Line from King's Cross to Holborn, from there it is a five minute walk (see 'Holborn' above).

Bus

Buses that stop on or near Aldwych are numbers: 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 23, 26, 59, 68, X68, 76, 77a, 91, 139, 168, 171, 172, 176, 188, 243, 341 and 521.

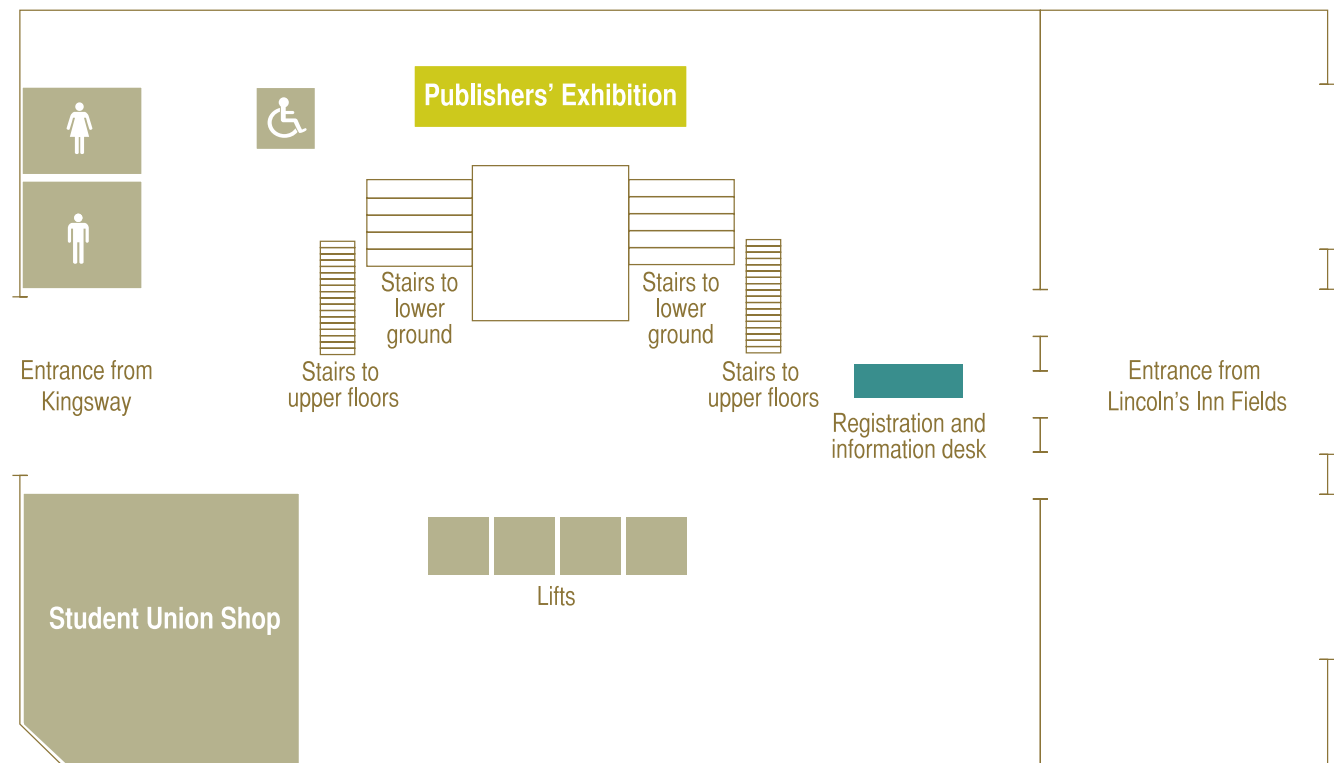


Getting to the New Academic Building (NAB)

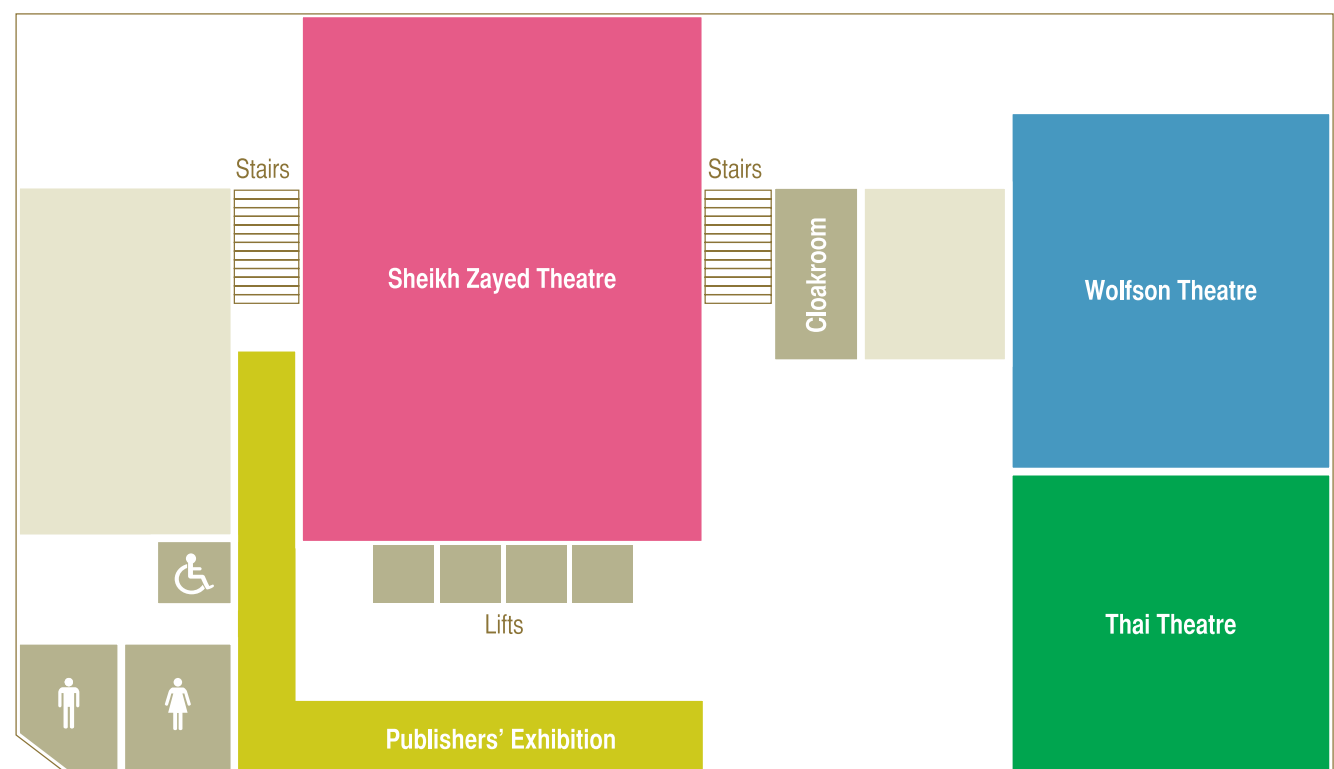


Around the New Academic Building (NAB)

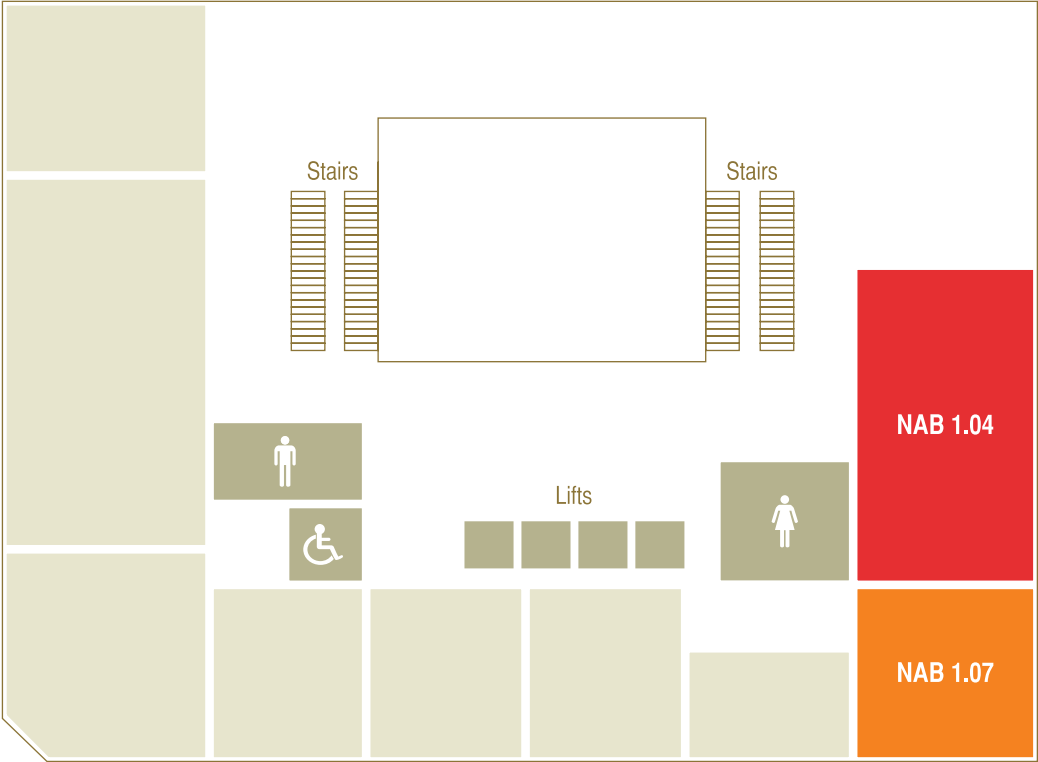
NAB Ground Floor



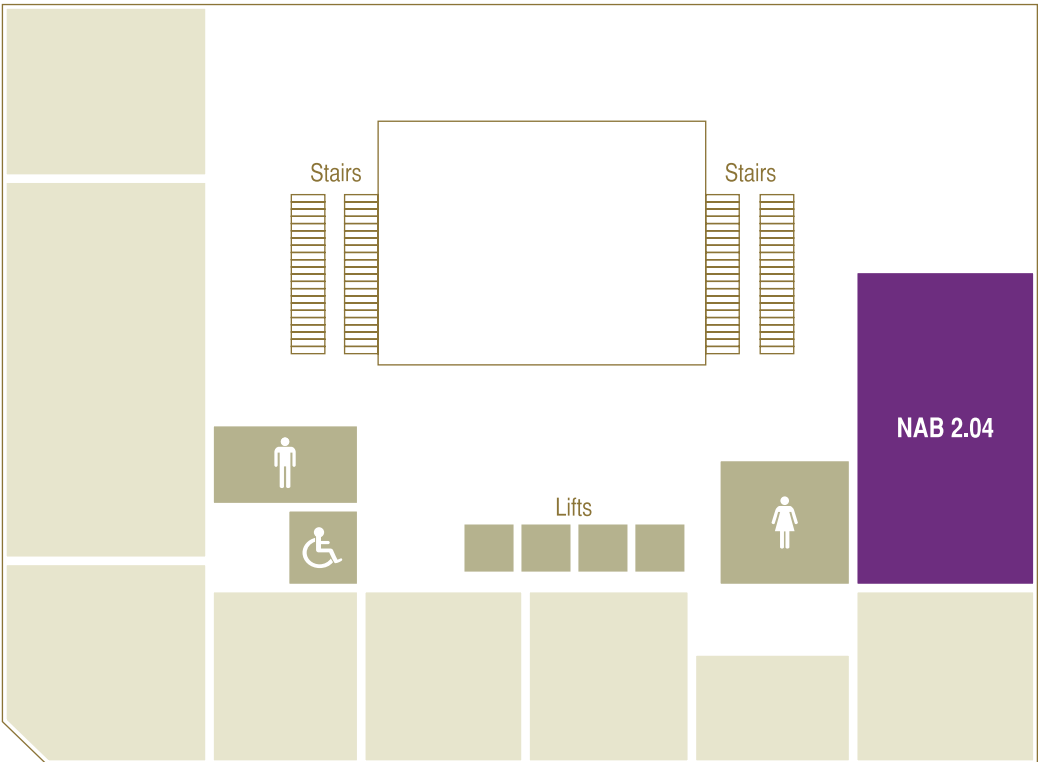
NAB Lower Ground Floor



NAB First Floor



NAB Second Floor



Publishers' Exhibition

About the Publishers' Exhibition

The BRISMES Publishers' Exhibition is an opportunity for publishers and institutions to connect with more than 300 Middle East experts and practitioners from around the world and share information, publications and other materials from their organisation.

The Publishers' Exhibition will be located on the lower ground floor of the NAB. It will open at 10.30 am on Monday 26 March and will run for the duration of the conference.

List of Exhibitors

Berkshire Academic Press
Brill
Combined Academic Publishers Ltd
Cornucopia Magazine
Edinburgh University Press
Eurospan Group
Garnet Publishing
Hurst Publishers
I.B. Tauris Publishers
LLAS (Centre for Languages, Linguistics
and Area Studies)

Lynne Rienner Publishers
Palgrave Macmillan
Oxford University Press
Routledge
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Plenary Sessions

I.B. Tauris Plenary Session I: 'Revolution and Revolt: Understanding the Forms and Causes of Change in the Arab World'

Professor Ghassan Salamé, Dean, Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA)



Ghassan Salamé is the Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) and professor of International Relations at Sciences Po, Paris (1986–) and Columbia University, New York (2008–). Born in 1951 in Lebanon, he studied law (Saint-Joseph University, University of Paris); literature (PhD, University of Paris); and political science (PhD, University of Paris). He taught international relations at the American University of Beirut and Saint-Joseph University in Beirut and, later, at the University of Paris. Ghassan Salamé was Senior Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General (2003–2006) and Political Advisor to the UN Mission in Iraq (2003). In 2000–2003, he was Lebanon's Minister of Culture, as well as

Chairman and Spokesman of the Organization Committee for the Arab Summit (March 2002) and of the Francophone Summit (October 2002) in Beirut. Ghassan Salamé presently sits on the board of the International Crisis Group (Brussels), the International Peace Institute (New York), the Open Society Foundation, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina (Egypt), and several other non-profit organizations. He is the chairman of the Arab Fund for Arts and Culture.

This session will take place on Monday 26 March at 9.30 in the Sheikh Zayed Theatre

The Pearson Memorial Lecture: 'Books as History in Medieval Iran' - Organised by the Middle East Libraries Committee (MELCOM)

Professor Charles Melville, Professor of Persian History, University of Cambridge



Charles Melville read Arabic & Persian at Cambridge (1972), took an M.A. in Islamic History at London SOAS (1973), and completed a PhD on 'The historical seismicity of Iran from the 7th to the 17th centuries' (Cambridge 1978). From 1974 to 1984 he worked on a number of projects researching earthquake hazard both in the Middle East and in Britain, based first at Imperial College in London and then for the Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB > National Power). He returned to Cambridge in 1984 as University Lecturer in Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies and Fellow of Pembroke College. He was made Reader in 2001 and Professor of Persian History in 2008. Professor Melville's main research interests are the history and culture of Iran in the Mongol to Safavid periods, and the illustration of Persian manuscripts.

This session will take place on Monday 26 March at 14.00 in the Wolfson Theatre

List of Panels

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Reflecting on the 2011 'Arab Spring': Can we understand new trends using old models? The Syrian and Egyptian Cases (Liberation, Domination and Expression and Resistance, Representation and Identity Research Networks Panel)

Panel 1b Thai Theatre

Challenges to the GCC Social Contract in the Wake of the Arab Revolutions

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Tunisia: Political Islam and New Media in the Jasmine Revolution

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Rethinking Islamist Movements in the Middle East: Mediating Cultures, Resistance and Power

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Thinking about the Revolution: Social Movements, Structure, Space, Religion and the Military in the 'January 25 Revolution' (Critical Middle East Studies Research Network Panel)

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The Crisis of Legitimacy: Transformations in Governance and Civil Society in the Contemporary Islamic Republic of Iran

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The Everyday Construction of Authoritarianism in the Middle East

Panel 7 Wednesday 28 March, 11.30 – 13.30

Panel 7a Wolfson Theatre

The Economics of the Arab Spring

Panel 7b Thai Theatre

The Struggle for Identity and Power in Lebanon

Panel 7c NAB 1.04

Literature, Resistance and Revolt

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Routledge Workshop: How to get published in Academic Journals and Books

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The Yemeni Revolt

Panel 8 Wednesday 28 March, 14.30 – 16.30

Panel 8a Wolfson Theatre

Political Economy after the Arab Revolution: New Perspectives

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Between Palestine and the Umma: Transnational Jihad Ideologues of Palestinian Origin

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Shi'ism: Clerical Authority, Identity and Diaspora

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The Arab Uprisings: Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Panel 8e NAB 1.07

Revolutionary Cities, Revolutionary Youth: The Arab Spring Society

Panel 1: Monday 26 March, 11.00 – 13.00

Panel 1a Reflecting on the 2011 'Arab Spring': Can we understand new trends using old models? The Syrian and Egyptian Cases (Liberation, Domination and Expression and Resistance, Representation and Identity Research Networks Panel)

Chair: Dr Frédéric Volpi, Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Director of the Institute of Middle East and Central Asia Studies, University of St Andrews

Islamism and the January Revolution in Egypt: Implications for 'Liberal World Order'

Dr Ewan Stein, Lecturer in the School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh

In this paper Dr Stein assesses the significance of the 25 January Revolution for Egypt's role as a normative power in the Middle East and the world. The paper challenges common assumptions about how 'liberal order' is spread, undermined, and reinforced. The ascent of political Islam in Egypt does not so much signify Egypt's continued rejection of liberal norms as their social deepening via Islamist language and structures. Far from constituting some kind of Huntingtonian revenge, the Islamist upsurge should more accurately be viewed as potentially a new phase of neoliberal consolidation whereby a morally bankrupt postcolonial regime is replaced by fresh elites more capable of gaining social acceptance for liberal myths. But this new phase itself is already being challenged from below, by a revolutionary movement voicing clear and universal demands. This dynamic may, in time, actually strengthen liberal order as a substantive, as opposed to mythical, normative framework.

Egypt and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1981-2011: The Dynamics of Change and Continuity

Dr Amnon Aran, Senior Lecturer in International Politics of the Middle East, City University (co-authored with Dr Rami Ginat)

This paper seeks to explain Egypt's foreign policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict under Mubarak, and offer some reflections on the post-Mubarak era. The paper identifies four foreign policy determinants: the relationship with the US, Israel, the Arab world, and the Egyptian domestic arena. It argues that under Mubarak Egyptian foreign policy was determined primarily by the relationship with the US and the decision to maintain the peace with Israel. The impact of the Egyptian domestic sphere and the Arab-regional context were held at bay. Based on the survey of events following Mubarak's downfall, the paper argues that a shift is underway. Domestic determinants assume a greater role than before in shaping foreign policy, with the corollary of eroding the foundations of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. At the same time, however, Egypt resists foreign regional interventions in the conduct of its foreign policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Equally, the impact of the US remains high, incentivizing continuity with Egypt's stance under Mubarak.

Overstating the Syrian State: An Assessment of pre-2011 Scholarship on Syrian Politics

Dr Thomas Pierret, Lecturer in Contemporary Islam, University of Edinburgh

While researchers cannot be blamed for their failure to predict the current Syrian uprising, problematic was their incapacity to detect the trends that created a favourable context for such development. Whereas social and political unrest had been part of scholarly accounts on Tunisia and Egypt for several years, the Syrian regime was largely perceived as immune to popular protest. There might be more to this myopia than the fact that during the same period, Syria did not witness major strikes and protest movements. Three main biases possibly account for this problem. The first is the tendency to focus on the regime and the president. The second is the overestimation of the capacities of the Syrian state in terms of social control, transformative power, and adaptability. The third bias is the fact that the few political scientists who turned their attention towards society, rather than to the regime, tended to study social elites, therefore missing more grassroots transformations.

The Costs of Authoritarian Upgrading and External Linkages: the Case of Syria

Professor Raymond Hinnebusch, Director of the Centre for Syrian Studies and Professor of International Relations, University of St Andrews

This paper looks at how authoritarian upgrading, although meant to 'fix' certain vulnerabilities in earlier populist versions of authoritarianism, had in it costs, hence the seeds of the Arab intifada. Central to this is how regimes positioned themselves in the global political economy. Why did Syria's rather eccentric approach compared to pro-Western republics, not spare it?

Panel 1b Challenges to the GCC Social Contract in the Wake of the Arab Revolutions

Chair: Dr Thomas Hegghammer, Senior Research Fellow and Director of Terrorism Research, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment

Discussant: Professor Tim Niblock, Emeritus Professor of Middle Eastern Politics, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

Intended and Unintended Consequences of Rent Distribution in the GCC

Dr Steffen Hertog, Lecturer in Comparative Politics, LSE

This paper seeks to provide an analysis of the main channels of rent distribution in the GCC political economies, with the aim of analysing the resulting incentives for entrepreneurial and labour market behaviour among different strata of the GCC citizenry. It will look at (a) various channels through which rents have been allocated to the private sector, and (b) the public employment policies through which a large share of the GCC citizenry has been included in the regimes' distributional bargains. The paper will analyse the conflicting economic policy interests that these structures have created over time. It will then discuss potential ways in which state resources could be distributed that would be less distortionary of labour market incentives, could increase the integration of GCC nationals in the production processes of GCC economies, and could lead to a 'class compromise' between citizens and business that could usher in more rational fiscal policies and a more coherent process of economic policy-making.

The Uprising in Bahrain and the post-2011 Sectarian Reality in the Gulf

Dr Toby Matthiesen, Abdullah al-Mubarak Research Fellow in Islamic & Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge

Relations between monarchical regimes in the Gulf and their Shia citizens have soured to levels as bad as after the Iranian revolution in 1979. While the popular uprising in Bahrain was not sectarian in its demand or its outlook, the Bahraini regime and its regional allies were rather successful in casting it as such. Since the crackdown on protesters in mid-March a publicity campaign has spread throughout the GCC countries warning citizens of the 'sectarian' Shia protesters and the dangers they pose to the 'nation'. As a result, sectarian relations within the Arab Gulf countries, as well as with Iran and increasingly the Shia-led government of Iraq, have reached a new low point. Steps that have led to 'marginal recognition' of Saudi Shia after a deal with King Fahd in 1993 have been reversed and sectarianism is the new old reality of domestic politics and international relations in the Gulf.

Genuine Reform or More of the Same? Revisiting the Arab Spring in the Gulf

Dennis Kumetat, PhD candidate, Department of Geography and Environment, LSE

This paper examines the trajectories of change underway in the GCC states. It investigates whether the limited political openings of 2011 represent genuine reform or more limited strategies of political decompression. Drawing on comparative examples from Eastern Europe and from the previous bout of political reform in the Gulf between 1999 and 2003, it argues that political transition is an intergenerational process of ongoing change in which the direction of travel is not always one-way.

Beyond the comparative dimension, the paper addresses a set of challenges and potential obstacles to reform faced throughout the GCC states. These include networks of 'crony capitalists' and patronage, competing pathways of development in states weakened by the legacies of authoritarian rule, and the lack of autonomous civil society organisations and independent political parties. The paper concludes by analysing the durability of the processes of change as part of broader strategies to build post-oil economies in the Gulf.

Authoritarianism and Strategies of Legitimation: Comparative Perspectives on Bahrain and Oman

Dr Marc Valeri, Lecturer in Political Economy of the Middle East, University of Exeter

Bahrain and Oman have been facing tremendous pressure to reconsider the model of legitimacy they have relied on since the 1970s – a welfare state relying on the redistribution of oil rent, intertwined with 'neo-traditional' tools of legitimacy. They have been forced to do so in the context of the dwindling of the 'social contract' which presided over the stability of these regimes, leading to diversify their strategies of legitimization at the same time as the state revenues. The paper looks at how these authoritarian systems have addressed internal challenges in order to survive. It analyses how reforms have been conducted in order to re-assert the ruling elite's power, without affecting the hardcore of the decision-making centres. The paper is based on the results of fieldwork conducted in both countries for several years, and especially since Spring 2011, and will pay special consideration to the 2011 protests and to their long-term impact on these regimes' legitimacy basis.

Panel 1c Tunisia: Political Islam and New Media in the Jasmine Revolution

Chair: Dr Claire Spencer, Head of Middle East & North Africa Programme, Chatham House

Explaining the Success of Ennahda in the October 2011 Elections in Tunisia

Dr Francesco Cavatorta, Senior Lecturer in the School of Law and Government, Dublin City University

This paper examines the long-term social trends that characterised Islamism in Tunisia since the 1990s, and argues that these have been decisive in determining not only the success of the Ennahda Party but, crucially, its transformation from what it was in the 1980s, when it was internally banned, until after the 2011 Revolution. Economic, social and demographic transformations coupled with international events have given rise to expressions of 'Islamism' that cannot be easily reconciled with the practices of an organised party like the old Ennahda. Social groups and individuals have appropriated Islam as a core part of their identity despite the regime's repression during the Ben Ali era. This 'new' Islam(ism), understood better in terms of 'social movement', has been in many ways opposed to Ennahda which represents political, institutionalized Islam. The meeting of the two in the aftermath of the Tunisian revolution resulted in the transformation of the party and the access of social Islam to institutional politics.

Social Media and Civic Engagement in the Arab World: The Case of Tunisia

Dr Mohamed Zayani, Associate Professor, Georgetown University

The use of new media to organize protests, mobilize support and instigate change has not only shaken an ingrained culture of control and censorship, but also redefined the relationship between media and political change in a region that has long subsided under authoritarianism. If new media is important, it is because it helped redefine the terms of civic engagement, giving an articulation to a new consciousness. The insistent question is no longer how media engenders political change, but how seemingly de-politicized youth become politicized on the Internet. Such formulations brings us face to face with a set of interrelated questions which this paper will attempt to address: (1) How do we theorize the relationship between media and politics outside the traditional role media play in democratic societies? (2) How do we understand the role of media outside the confines of the political register *stricto sensu*? (3) How to reinstate media dynamics within broad but evolving socio-cultural and political dynamics?

The Tunisian media 'revolution' under the political transition

Dr Fatima El-Issawi, Visiting Research Fellow, POLIS, LSE

The mainstream media sector in Tunisia is witnessing a thorny and dynamic reconstruction process. Misused for years as a tool for propaganda, the traditional Tunisian media are undergoing a revival after the overthrow of the dictatorship of Ben Ali. The modernisation of this sector faces many challenges: changing institutional media practices, amending the regulatory framework, empowering journalists to acquire a new awareness of the nature of their role and finding the missing link between new and traditional institutional media. Behind these headlines lie a subtle series of battles that reflect the current political struggle: secular vs Islamist media trends, young vs old, media management and the problem of the former 'trumpets' of the old regime. This paper is based on the findings of a field investigation undertaken by the researcher within the framework of the current 'Arab Revolutions: Media Revolutions' project hosted by the POLIS media and society think tank at LSE and funded by Open Society. The research is striving to reflect the 'media revolution' from the perspective of the newsrooms of institutional media, taking into account such different actors as journalists, editors, professional unions, legal frameworks, relationships to social media and to the new political sphere.

Panel 1d Palestinian Strategies of Resistance and Development

Chair: Dr Nigel Parsons, Senior Lecturer, Politics Programme, Massey University

The Palestinian Authority Strikes Back: Bureaucratic Resistance through Statistics and Planning in the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Dr Nigel Parsons, Senior Lecturer, Politics Programme, Massey University

Drawing on fieldwork conducted in the West Bank during summer 2011, this paper examines two Palestinian bureaucratic responses to the Israeli biopolitical agenda. It focuses on the work of two Palestinian Authority (PA) institutions in Ramallah: the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) and the Ministry of Planning. Based on interviews with PA personnel and documentation from PA institutions, the study considers the ways and extent to which statistical data can be used to expedite forms of 'bureaucratic resistance' to Israeli demographic engineering in the OPT. The analysis then explores the mechanisms through which Palestinian planners look to cope with the dilemmas of planning under foreign military occupation, colonisation and the uncertainties of a post-Oslo order. The presentation includes a case study of successful PA responses, at national and municipal level, to Israeli pressure on the city of Hebron.

Facets of Resistance and Aspects of Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Dr Sandra Pogodda, Research Fellow, School of International Relations, University of St Andrews

During the Arab Spring, Palestine remained strangely quiet given that many Palestinians regard their intifadas as the origin of the current Arab revolts. In March, the occupied territories briefly echoed the revolutionary fervour of the region when demonstrations organised by a youth movement ('March 15') demanded the resumption of unity talks between Fatah and Hamas. In contrast to the anti-regime movements elsewhere in the region though, March 15 fell apart quickly as the protesters realised that the real obstacle to Palestinian self-determination lay beyond the reach of domestic resistance. This paper studies the resistance against different aspects of peace and the movements' limitations in achieving their goals. How do different types of resistance and different aspects of peace interact? What are the limitations of resistance movements in shaping the peace process? Where does the theory on political resistance sit uneasily with the everyday resistance in Palestine?

Ahead for Developing Visions and Strategies of the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Dr Marwan Naser, Visiting Fellow, Department of International Development, LSE

When the Israelis withdrew the settlers and troops from Gaza, the speed at which economic and humanitarian conditions would deteriorate in the 360km² Palestinian enclave was unforeseen. This raises a host of questions as to what went wrong? Is it that Gaza's rapid economic decline was inevitable? To what extent does Gaza's post-disengagement economic predicament have to do with the Israeli one-sided move? And to what degree is the sudden change in the Palestinian political terrain responsible for Gaza's economic plight? The objective of this study is to provide an account of the weaknesses and strengths of the Palestinian society in achieving development. The goal here is to go beyond the available numbers and present an analysis of the current situation in order to identify core problems, detect patterns, and to provide an objective analysis of the desired developed structure.

Neo-liberalism for Development and Statehood in Palestine: Fayyadism, Aid Dependency and State Building

Alaa Tartir, PhD candidate and Researcher, Department of International Development, LSE

In the post-Arafat era, dramatic changes took place in the Palestinian polity and system of governance. Fayyadism became the magical paradigm. It acquired unprecedented levels of international aid as an investment in building a Palestinian state. This paper aims to explore aspects of the Fayyadism paradigm and its interaction with the aid-dependency status and the Palestinian national goals. This paper argues that Fayyadism is not only a strategy but also an outcome; it is a 'home-grown' phenomenon even though it is externally sponsored. It achieved 'successes' at the Palestinian Authority's institutional level; however, these successes failed to be reflected on the daily lives of Palestinians. Finally, by eliminating the hybridity in the security provision, it altered the national liberation goals; weakened informal mechanisms for resistance and protection as tools for struggle against the occupation; and thus it did not result in protecting the security rights and needs for the Palestinians in the West Bank.

Rethinking Rights, Reconfiguring States: Palestinian Refugees in the Geo-political Restructuring of the Middle East

Dr Ruba Salih, Reader in Gender Studies, SOAS

This paper analyses Palestinian refugees' predicaments in light of changing geo-political configurations in the Arab region. Palestinian refugees' status is, at best, that of temporary citizens and, at worse, that of stateless subjects. Yet, (almost concomitantly with the birth of Arab host countries as modern nation-states) the enduring nature of the Palestinian refugees' question offers grounds for analysing the constitutive aporia, contradictions and precariousness of nationality, citizenship and rights in the Middle East. However, far from being just passive victims, Palestinian refugees articulate a powerful critique, from below, to their state of political denial. As camp dwellers, they express a ferocious critique towards their 'leadership' which they see as corrupted and lacking any type of accountability, or they see themselves subjected to a dehumanising humanitarian assistance. In this sense, Palestinian refugees are symbolically and potentially a political avant-garde, urging us to rethink new political democratic reconfigurations in the context of the formidable historical geo-political changes in the region.

Panel 1e Transitional Justice in the Middle East and North Africa

Chair: Dr Maaïke Voorhoeve, Researcher at the Law Faculty, Department of General Jurisprudence, University of Amsterdam

Transitional Justice in Post-revolutionary Tunisia: What 'Justice' means in the Tunisian Context of Dealing with the Past

Dr Maaïke Voorhoeve, Researcher at the Law Faculty, Department of General Jurisprudence, University of Amsterdam

In Tunisia, the first steps in the field of transitional justice (TJ) were taken directly after Ben Ali's departure: his family members were arrested, two 'truth commissions' were installed and people involved in the former regime have been prosecuted. However, the process of TJ is confronted by a number of difficulties. Due to the considerable number of people involved in the previous regime, people are divided over questions of 'justice' and 'order': should all members of the former political party be prosecuted, or should only the most important members be punished? As TJ is in the hands of national courts, the question arises whether these judges have legitimacy to decide on matters of 'justice'. This paper examines what acts are being sentenced in the name of TJ, taking the Court of First Instance as a case study. In this way, the paper aims to establish what norms are affirmed by this court, what acts are being 'normalised' and what acts are not, taking into account the relationship between the court and the former regime.

Exemplary or Exceptional? The Iraqi Transition in the Context of the Arab Spring

Professor Erin Daly, Professor of Law, Widener University School of Law

Because Iraq was the first Arab nation to experience political transition and to attempt reconciliation and reconstruction in recent years, the countries of the MENA region are likely to look to it as a model. The Iraqi experience offers lessons about how (if at all) the principles of TJ can operate within the context of Arab culture and politics and Islamic traditions, even though the Iraqi transition was unique in the Arab world, in that it emerged from foreign invasion and under foreign occupation. Using Iraq as a model, we can hypothesize that mechanisms that consolidate democracy and build social and economic capacity are more likely to promote true and durable reconciliation than the traditional tools of TJ. This is especially likely to be true in countries like Egypt and Tunisia where the common desire for democracy and rights predominates over sectarian and other identity-based divisions.

Towards 'Transitional Justice'? Policy Discourse and Processes in Tunisia and Egypt

Domenica Preysing, PhD candidate, Free University of Berlin

As the dust settles after the ouster of presidents Ben Ali and Mubarak, Tunisia and Egypt are standing at a historical juncture. Justice and accountability for human rights violations are a critical aspect in the process of political transition. Calls to establish the facts about past abuses, hold perpetrators responsible, and put an end to human rights violations have gained momentum. 'Transitional justice' circulates in scholarly and policy communities to describe a range of approaches to deal with past human rights violations in transition states. But what confronting the wrongdoings of a predecessor regime really means in terms of policy content is only gradually developing. The paper examines to what extent there is a difference in the way opinion leaders and policy makers in both countries talk and act on issues of the transitional justice type, as well as what this may imply for the direction of political transition.

Panel 2 Monday 26 March, 15.30 – 17.30

Panel 2a Syrian Narratives during Revolutionary Change

Chair: Professor Fawaz Gerges, Director, Middle East Centre, LSE

Discussant: Patrick Seale, Journalist and Author

Which Flag? The 2011 Uprising and Syrian National Identity

Dr Christopher Phillips, Lecturer in the International Relations of the Middle East, Queen Mary, University of London

The uprising against President Bashar al-Assad represented a challenge not only to the regime but also to the national identity narrative that it had constructed. Symbols and images that were an essential part of this narrative, whether statues of Hafez al-Assad, posters of Bashar or even the two-star flag, were rejected by the opposition in favour of an alternative flag and narrative looking back to the pre-Ba'ath era of Syria's history. Competing pro and anti-regime demonstrations on the streets of Syria's cities increasingly represented both competing visions for Syria's political future but also competing definitions of Syria's national identity. The paper will argue that in many ways this was an inevitable consequence of the vague, multi-layered nature of the regime's identity discourse, which at different times promoted and manipulated Arab, state, religious and sub-state identity.

Infiltrated (Sunni) Fundamentalists or Laic Demonstrators? Hidden Sectarian Discourses in the Syrian Regime's Rhetoric and Implicit Use of Islam in the Activists' Narratives

Dr Lorenzo Trombetta, Independent Scholar and Middle East Correspondent, ANSA Italian News Agency

For decades one of the main arguments of the Syrian regime has been that the Baathi regime is the unique and undisputed source of security, stability and civilian peace. In the efforts to comprehend the interaction between media and politics in the light of the turmoil in Syria, this paper will first highlight the official propaganda aimed at reigniting the resentment of Sunnis that exists among the Alawi and Christian minorities. The second aim of this paper is to assess the scope of emerging anti-Alawi feelings among Sunni protesters. According to them, their struggle is to achieve equal rights and freedom for all citizens, with no regards to their sectarian affiliations. However, there have been anti-Alawi slogans during protests, mainly in rural areas. Moreover, most of the Syrian Sunni refugees relate events from a sectarian perspective as they claim they were attacked by the Alawi militias, mainly because of their religious affiliation.

The Syrian Uprising: Trajectory, Narratives, and Implications

Professor William Harris, Professor and Head of Department of Politics, University of Otago

There are good reasons to define the 'Arab Spring' in Syria as the least expected, most fateful, and ultimately most hopeful of the upheavals in the Arab world. The paper first considers the trajectory of the struggle between regime and opposition since March 2011 against the backdrop of Syria's social, sectarian, and economic situation in the early twenty-first century. Second, the paper dissects opposition and regime narratives, important in the context of poor media access compared to Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia. Third, there are the implications. As regards Arab-Israeli affairs, the position of Iran and Turkey in the Middle East and the balance in Lebanon the outcome in Syria will have fateful repercussions. Through the analysis, the paper attempts a profile of the predilections and absolutist world-view of Bashar al-Asad and the ruling family clique. These incline Syria's trajectory toward a phase of devastation.

Mona Wassef and I: The Construction of Treason between Reality and Fiction

Helena Nassif, PhD candidate, University of Westminster

This paper aims to investigate the construction of treason through the case study of Mona Wassef, a famous contemporary Syrian actress, by juxtaposing one of her fictional roles with her experience of being accused of betrayal. The division in Syria between the regime loyalists and the opposition was reflected in the position of popular drama stars whose public image became vulnerable to accusations of treason. Wassef, together with more than one hundred television workers signed a call asking the Syrian troops to allow goods to reach besieged children in a Syrian border town. This was evaluated as anti-patriotic, and many production houses threatened to boycott signatories. In order to identify the work of treason as a discursive emotive construct, this paper reflects on the tensions accompanying the author's own position as a researcher. The author intends to problematize the researcher's stance in situations of social and political conflict and transformation, and to navigate the realities and fictions of the charge of treason as an overwhelming force in social interactions.

Panel 2b The Persian Gulf and the Cold War

Chair: Dr Roham Alvandi, Lecturer in International History, LSE

The Twin Pillars and Unintended Consequences: Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Post-war Petroleum Order

Christopher R. W. Dietrich, PhD candidate, The University of Texas at Austin

'For God's sake act like Britain!' the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, roared at the British Foreign Secretary, George Brown, upon hearing the plan to remove British forces from their positions in the Trucial States and Bahrain. Beneath Rusk's frustration lay concern over the future of the region, for which the United States had long relied on British power to defend Western interests. Both administrations ultimately decided on the 'twin pillars' policy, by which the United States would build up Iran and Saudi Arabia as regional policemen. However, as officials worked assiduously to improve Saudi-Iranian relations, the monarchies used their newly-important strategic positions to change their basic relationship with the multinational oil companies. In an understudied event of great import, the Nixon administration overtly supported the sovereign producers in their long-term dispute with the multinationals.

The Cold War and US Relations with the Gulf, 1977-1981

Victor McFarland, PhD candidate, Yale University

The international politics of the Gulf were transformed during the late 1970s. The fall of the Shah removed the leading U.S. military ally in the region, while the U.S.S.R.'s invasion of Afghanistan threatened to expand Soviet influence in the Middle East. These developments were especially troubling to U.S. officials because they came after the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo, demonstrating the importance of Gulf oil to the global economy. This paper will examine how the Gulf states, and Saudi Arabia in particular, pursued their own foreign policy aims during the late 1970s. Saudi Arabia used its financial resources and international influence to support anti-communist forces in Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, and elsewhere. This policy was driven by Cold War concerns, and in turn, significantly affected the course of the Cold War during its last decade.

Exiles in the Iran-Iraq War

Naysan Rafati, PhD candidate, University of Oxford

The inception of the Iran-Iraq conflict came at a time when Iran was still deeply mired in dealing with the effects of its revolution. This paper proposes to examine the creation of new groups of political exiles, and the dynamics that resulted from the links that developed between some of these exiles and

the neighbouring Baathist regime in the period leading up to, and during, the war. Drawing on a range of sources in English, Persian, and Arabic, the paper considers the triangular relationship between the host state, the home state, and the exiles until 1988.

The Gulf States and South-South Cooperation, 1961-1990: Contradictions and Commonalities

Dr Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, Deputy Director of the Kuwait Programme, LSE

This paper will examine the diverging position of the Gulf States in South-South relations in the period following full independence. Enmeshment in Western political and security spheres of influence and their conservative post-traditional systems of government limited initial integration into emerging South-South frameworks and insulated Gulf polities from many of the socio-political forces sweeping the post-colonial world in the 1960s. Nevertheless, this period witnessed the beginnings of trans-national interconnections binding the Gulf States to other developing nations, initially through the provision of overseas development assistance and the patronage of international Islamic organisations. The paper concludes with a case-study of how Kuwait sought to balance a foreign policy based on neutrality with an activist development programme in the Arab and Islamic worlds. It will demonstrate how these apparently diverging policies were underpinned by a desire for internal and external security. Yet paradoxically, it was their breakdown in the 1980s that led to the internationalisation of Gulf Security and, ultimately, to the restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty in 1991.

Panel 2c Discourses of Women's Resistance in the Middle East

Chair: Dr Maria Holt, Senior Lecturer, University of Westminster

Redefining Freedom: Arab Women, Islam and Resistance

Dr Maria Holt, Senior Lecturer, University of Westminster

Women's participation in the Arab revolutions of 2011 casts doubt on conventional western narratives of female powerlessness and, at the same time, highlights the 'longstanding exclusion of women from political processes' in the Middle East, which has been identified as a 'key factor' in why the region has been so slow to democratize. The involvement of Arab women in revolutionary change raises several questions: (1) what has been women's experience with nation making and 'modernity'? (2) how does 'Islam', as faith and political activism, constrain or enable women? (3) how does women's recent participation conflict with western imaginings of women as disempowered individuals? This paper will argue that western notions of how 'modernity' is enacted need to be re-evaluated in light of Arab women's resistance and their claims to a more inclusive citizenship.

Woman, Reborn: Neo-feminist Discourses in the Arab Awakening

Dr Luisa Gandolfo, Altajir Lecturer in Post-war Recovery Studies, University of York

Since the Arab Awakening commenced in late 2010, women have been visible amidst the demonstrators and have taken to the online medium to express their aspirations and frustration at the socio-political status quo. Through the revolutionary discourse emerges a new, secular Arab feminist rhetoric: one that calls for enhanced participation, challenges taboos and (in the case of Aliaa Magda Elmahdy) polarizes the nascent revolutionary movements. This paper will explore the secular feminist activism emerging in Tunisia and Egypt through the online medium, assessing the impact of the Arab Spring on feminist movements and comparatively analyze the objectives and ethos of secular Arab feminism alongside the Islamic feminist ideologies posited by theorists such as Fatima Mernissi, Ziba Mir-Hosseini and Nawal El Saadawi.

Gender Subjectivity under the Situation of Humanitarian Crisis in the Gaza Strip: Contradictory but Self-Respected

Dr Aitemad Muhanna Matar, Visiting Fellow, Middle East Centre, LSE

The prolonged spatial control and segregation imposed over the Gaza Strip by the Israelis has generated profound gender and generational changes, which have dislocated the structural basis of the ideology of male domination and patriarchy in the Palestinian society. This paper focuses on the extension of poor women's mobility and on the feminization of community-based organizations handling humanitarian aid distribution. As a result, women's enactment of agency has shifted from being respected wives in the domestic sphere to being good collectors of coupons, instrumentalizing the socially and culturally constructed image of feminine inferiority. These situational gender and generational changes were not welcomed by poor women and men in Gaza, but are rather considered a humiliation, as well as a distortion of the moral aspects of Palestinian gendered subjects.

Associational Democracy and Women's Empowerment in Saudi Arabia: The Chamber of Commerce and Industry Elections

Dr Hendrik Kraetzschmar, Lecturer in Middle East Politics, University of Leeds

According to the 2007 World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap index, Saudi Arabia ranks as one of the bottom five countries. This comes as little surprise, given the regime's conservative attitudes towards gender equality. Although slowly, change is however forthcoming. Over the past decade, the number of women in secondary/tertiary education has risen dramatically, their rights have been strengthened and legal restrictions on female entrepreneurship eased. One area in which women have made particularly significant strides towards empowerment concerns the Saudi Chambers of Commerce and Industry (CCIs), where since 2004 businesswomen have been entitled to vote in and stand for board of directors elections. Focussing on the newly-granted suffrage rights for businesswomen in the country's CCIs, this research probes how women have fared in recent CCI elections, what obstacles they face and how their participation has been received within the CCIs and the broader Saudi public.

Panel 2d Reflecting on the 2011 'Arab Spring': Can we understand new trends using old models? The Cases of Tunisia, Jordan and Kuwait (Liberation, Domination and Expression and Resistance, Representation and Identity Research Networks Panel)

Chair: Dr Ewan Stein, Lecturer in the School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh

Discussant: Dr Francesco Cavatorta, Senior Lecturer in the School of Law and Government, Dublin City University

Revolutionizing Political Understanding and Action: Meaning and Causality in the Tunisian Revolution

Dr Frédéric Volpi, Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Director of the Institute of Middle East and Central Asia Studies, University of St Andrews

This paper looks at the consequences of non-pluralistic explanations of political causality in authoritarian contexts. Considering the case of Tunisia, it indicates how areas of political awareness and unawareness were created by the formation of expert 'knowledges' on MENA politics. The dominant understandings of these authoritarian mechanisms by policy makers (inside the Ben Ali regime, in foreign policy circles), informed by social scientists and political analysts, focused everyone's attention on specific political dynamics, and made everyone less able to consider how other causal mechanisms could become effective. The ensuing misunderstandings and misguided policy choices at home and abroad then further contributed to regime failure in the country. This sudden and dramatic change of regime as happened in Tunisia is best framed in terms of a lack of possibility for a negotiated process of reform. It is precisely because there were few mobilizational opportunities and structures to be found in Tunisia before the democratic revolution, that the protest could unfold the way that it did.

Is this 1989 and if so which? – Jordan and the resilience of an (upgraded) post-democratization approach at the time of the Arab Uprisings

Dr Morten Valbjørn, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Government, Aarhus University

This paper will compare the situation in Jordan in 2011 to 1989. Recalling how the reform process initiated in 1989 only marked the beginning of a 'transition to nowhere' leaving Jordan two decades later less 'free', the comparison between 1989 and 2011 serves a reminder of the potential pitfalls of returning to the kind of wishful but rather naïve depictions of Jordan as being in a 'transition to democracy'. Instead of perceiving Jordan as being either in 'transition to democracy' or in a 'transition to nowhere', it appears more useful to perceive Jordan as being in a 'transition to somewhere' in the sense that in particular the re-politicization of the Jordanian society has changed the nature and dynamics of politics. The paper argues that while the claim about the persistence and resilience of authoritarianism of the mainstream version of the post-democratization approach has been challenged by the Arab Uprisings, this does not mean that we should abandon this approach altogether and return to the kind of 'democracy-spotting' of the 1990s. Instead the paper argues that a number of the basic tenets of the post-democratization approach are still valid and that is what is needed is rather a kind of 'upgrading'.

Stateless People amidst Arab Uprisings: Disenfranchisement and Revolt

Dr Claire Beaugrand, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, CNRS, Institut Français du Proche-Orient, Beirut

A demonstration erupted outside of a mosque in Jahra, a far-periphery of Kuwait City on 17 February 2011. Protesters did not request political reforms but they generally support their naturalisation from a monarchy. The movement of the so-called biduns – or paperless people – was rapidly quelled and its coverage was extremely limited. Yet the issue, that has been going on for decades now, appears as symptomatic of long-term dysfunctioning in certain Gulf states. This paper will investigate the link between the dynamics of discrimination embodied in the exclusion of citizenship –that would normally lead oppressed people to call for political changes, and those of regime preservation, advocated instead by the biduns. Based on fieldwork and qualitative interviews with the different actors of the protest, it will seek to understand the reasons, whether international, economic or sociological, why nationality-based discrimination in the Gulf leads to outbidding of support for the monarchies rather than their challenging.

The Uprisings in Egypt: Who Protested and Why

Dr John Chalcraft, Reader in the History and Politics of Empire/Imperialism, LSE

This paper takes as a point of departure the diversity (in terms of class, gender, education, religion, ideological affiliation and so on) of the actors involved in the uprisings – and yet the fact of their levels of non-doctrinal / non-hierarchical coordination where each participated in their own way (doctors offered health-care, young men prepared Molotov cocktails, educated youth documented rights abuses, poets prepared chants and so on). It is this paradox of diversity and coordination that this paper is exploring. It argues that we should not analyse these uprisings in modernist mode in terms of social class + ideology. The sociological and ideological terrain was far more complex. But nor are we simply dealing with disconnected and uncoordinated fragments that came together in fleeting communities against a common enemy. This paper explores the possibility that the growth of neoliberalism, securitization, migration, the informal sector, and informal neighborhoods – together with a rising arc of new kinds of contentious politics (Beinin and Vairel 2011) created the possibility for new kinds of creative, participatory, non-doctrinal, non-hierarchical and yet coordinated forms of political action.

Panel 2e The Egyptian Revolution: Slogans, Symbolism and the Sisters

Chair: Dr Ahmed Ali, Assistant Professor of Translation, American University of Sharjah

Humour, Translation and Revolutionary Slogans: The Egyptian Model

Dr Ahmed Ali, Assistant Professor of Translation, American University of Sharjah

To many, the 25th January revolution in Egypt was an eye-opener. The spirit of revolution, however, manifested itself in both traditional as well as innovative ways. This paper attempts to shed light on how translation/interpretation, in its various forms, has played a significant role in rendering the message of the Egyptian people loud and clear during the uprising. The utilization of Arabic together with another language in the slogans, signs, comic sketches acted by protestors, etc. were powerful tools that reflected the inner desires of the Egyptians for change, aspiration for a better life, frustrations over decades of corruption and their ability to derive humour out of a desperate situation. The paper will look into the use of intralingual, interlingual and consecutive translation/interpretation by the protestors of Tahrir Square. The emphasis will be only analyzing how translation had been used in such a socio-political context.

The Muslim Sisters and the January 25th Revolution

Mona Farag, PhD candidate, Institute for Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

This paper will focus on the activities spearheaded by the Muslim Sisters during the 2011 Egyptian revolution and the months leading up to the elections for the People's and Legislative Assembly, and will assess their political standing within the Society of Muslim Brothers and within its newly formed political party: the Freedom and Justice Party. A review of the commentaries and reactions to the activities that took place by the Sisters during and after the revolution will be assessed. These sources will also clarify the picture of what characterises Egypt's political playing field today: post-January 25 revolution and the influx of newly formed political parties onto Egypt's political field. This paper will conclude with a 'Predictions' portion of the analysis of the Muslim Brotherhood's political future, in light of the upcoming elections and the endless opportunities it holds for the well-organised movement that is the Muslim Brotherhood.

1001 Images from Tahrir Square: A study of Intertextuality and Dialogicality in Protest Messages

Mariam Aboelezz, PhD candidate, Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University

The wave of pro-democracy protests which swept through the Arab world in 2011 has afforded a unique opportunity for researchers from a wide array of academic disciplines including linguistics. During the January 25 revolution in Egypt, the extensive media attention on Tahrir Square as the epicentre of anti-government protests has yielded a rich collection of images which capture what can only be described as an astounding volume of protest messages. These messages were often visually and linguistically innovative. In this paper, I take a quantitative approach at studying a key feature of the protest messages; namely intertextuality. To do this, I rely on an annotated visual corpus of over 1000 images where the messages were recorded and then statistically analysed to investigate the role of intertextuality as a tool for linguistic innovation. To cover the horizontal dimension of intertextuality, intertextual references were divided into three types: material, structural and constitutive. Statistical analysis reveals the relationship between these three types of intertextuality and elements such as code, theme and humour. Supplementary qualitative analysis reveals how the messages in the corpus were also related vertically, continuing an overarching dialogue between the anti-government protesters and Mubarak's regime. This dialogicality illustrates how the protest messages were informed by previous discourse and informed future discourse, which links closely to the principles of geosemiotics – that signs must be interpreted in the context of how, when and where they are displayed.

Cairo's Graffiti post-January 25th: A Critical Analysis

Elisabeth F. Jaquette, Graduate Student, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University

Prior to January 25th, graffiti was rare in Cairo. During the uprising, protesters painted slogans like 'Down with Mubarak,' and afterward, there was an outpouring of nationalistic imagery. Yet as protests continue, artists have diversified their tactics, framing their work within the protest movement of reclaiming public space. The emerging graffiti speaks to the communication needs and anxieties of a movement without central leadership; a means of voicing individual demands in a public forum sanctioned by the success of Mubarak's removal. This paper argues that the graffiti movement is a channel for communication. Different pieces speak to a variety of audiences: to SCAF, demanding punishment of former regime members; to other protesters, calling them to action; and to voters, supporting specific candidates. This paper examines how contestations of public space and evocations of the national and the global expand from the streets to the walls of Cairo, shaped by the partial success of the revolution and protesters' changing communication needs.

Panel 3 Tuesday 27 March, 09.00 – 11.00

Panel 3a The Media and the Arab Uprisings

Chair: Roger Hardy, LSE

Panelist 1: Lindsey Hilsum, Channel 4

Panelist 2: Christopher Dickey, Newsweek

Panelist 3: Zaki Chehab, Editor-in-Chief, ArabsToday.net

The panellists, all experienced journalists who cover the Middle East, will take a critical look at how the media have covered the Arab uprisings over the past year. What have Western and Arab journalists got right – and where have they fallen short? Have they overestimated the role of the social media? Have they misunderstood the role of Islam and Islamism? Above all, have they helped or hindered us in gaining a better understanding of the wave of protest that has swept the region?

Panel 3b Narratives of the Uprisings and the (Re)production of Structural Flaws in International Involvement

Chair: Dr Francesco Cavatorta, Senior Lecturer in the School of Law and Government, Dublin City University

The EU Response to the Egyptian Uprising: Social, Economic and Political Rights in Post-Uprising EU Narratives of Democracy

Dr Andrea Teti, Lecturer in International Relations and Co-Director of the Interdisciplinary Approaches to Violence Research Cluster, University of Aberdeen

Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis and on Foucault's analysis of the *dipositif*, this paper compares the structure of key policy documents on EU democracy promotion in the Southern Neighbourhood before and after the 'Arab Uprisings'. This paper argues that despite calls for a paradigmatic shift in the way the EU approaches democracy both in itself and in relation to other core foreign policy

priorities (security, stability, development), the conceptual structure and policy implications of these documents maintains unaltered the substantive vision of a liberal model for both development and democratization in the region. The paper considers policy steps taken by the EU towards Egypt since the uprising, comparing them to the discursive structure of its policy framework. If policy practice follows rhetoric, the EU's revised stance is likely to continue to display earlier flaws resulting in the poor reputation of democracy promotion which opposition groups felt towards the EU before 2011.

A Comparative Discourse Analysis of US and Scandinavian Perspectives on the Egyptian Uprising and Impact on Democracy-Assistance Policies

Darcy Thompson, Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Middle East Studies, University of Lund (co-authored with Christopher Noble)

This paper adopts a Critical Discourse Analytical perspective to comparatively analyse democracy assistance (DA) strategies by the US (the largest DA funder in Egypt) on the one hand, and Sweden and Denmark on the other. These two sets of cases provide paradigmatic contrast in their different approaches to DA: while the US approach favours a markedly liberal policy focusing on businesses as a way of fostering not only economic growth but also those core democratic values (e.g. rule of law) crucial to the cultural capital thought to be required for democratization, Scandinavian approaches are more sympathetic to socially-conscious programmes. Both approaches rely on government-to-government relations and 'capacity-building' programmes, both of which have difficulties of independence from regimes unwilling to push for genuine democratization.

Egyptian Perspectives of Western Democracy-Promotion: The Role of the Left

Dr Gervasio Gennaro, Lecturer in Middle East Politics, Macquarie University & The British University in Egypt

European commitments to democracy-promotion in Egypt have often translated into practices which have alienated the country's pro-democracy opposition groups. Based on documentary analysis, interviews and extensive participant observation, this paper outlines and analyses the perceptions of Left-wing groups before and after the uprising, illustrating the rationales behind their perception of what is seen as European reluctance to support independent opposition groups. Underpinning these perceptions is a different vision of what constitutes democracy for these groups, particularly informed by broadly social democratic or socialist conceptions of social justice, from the perspective of which liberal commitments – in the economic realm more than in the political – appear minimalist at best and as facades at worst. Moreover, European practices of democracy-promotion are perceived to eschew genuine opposition groups in favour of less politically problematic but merely 'pseudo-democratic' GONGOs.

The International's Impact on Revolutionary Situations: The Cases of the 1908 Constitutional Revolution in the Ottoman Empire, the 1979 Revolution in Iran and Egypt in 2011

Dr Derya Göçer Akder, Instructor, Middle East Technical University

This paper draws attention to the lack of systematic study of the international in revolutionary situations. The study of the political, economic and ideational relations of a revolutionary country with the 'outside world' is left vague or reduced to geopolitical competition. However, in the region of the Middle East, this vagueness turns into two real fallacies, whereby either the international's impact is reduced to a mere foreign dominance on the Middle Eastern countries; or ignored and the revolutionary situation is only explained by domestic developments. However, the international's role in the moments of radical change in the region is much more complex with both constraining and enabling impact on the Middle Eastern revolutionaries. This paper will present a framework within which we can identify and explain the international's impact on revolutionary situations in the Middle East region by assessing the revolutionary situations in 1906–8 Ottoman Empire, 1978–9 Iran and 2010–11 Egypt. The paper will present the varieties in the international's role in Middle Eastern revolutions and suggest ways to stay away from reductionism.

Re-Thinking U.S. Relations with the WANA Region: An Analysis of Policies, Discourses and Practices in Light of the 'Arab Spring'

Dr Corinna Mullin, Lecturer in Comparative and International Politics, SOAS

This paper will consider how U.S. human rights and 'democracy promotion' discourses, policies and practices vis-à-vis the WANA region have been impacted as a result of the 'Arab Spring'. In addition to looking at areas of continuity and change, it will also explore the tensions between U.S. claims of value-based policies and its geostrategic interests and 'security' considerations in the region as they are manifested in relation to policies on 'counter-terrorism', military/intelligence cooperation and the arms trade. As these discourses and policies have formed a key component of the U.S.' 'war on terror' strategy, this paper will also consider the 'war on terror' legacy in those states affected by the 'Arab Spring'.

Panel 3c Gulf Economies in Transition

Chair: Dr Christian Steiner, Assistant Professor, Department of Human Geography, University of Frankfurt

Dubai's Crisis Revisited – Dubai after the Crisis?

Dr Christian Steiner, Assistant Professor, Department of Human Geography, University of Frankfurt

The recent global financial and economic crisis has cut Dubai to the quick. After decades of impressive economic growth rates, financial markets dried up, causing Dubai's real estate bubble to burst and a deep recession in its economy. Numerous real estate developers and investment companies, including some of the major government-owned companies belonging to Dubai Holding, got into difficulties and had problems repaying their debt. Even though it was possible to avert the immediate danger through the help of Abu Dhabi, the crisis has left a profound impact on the emirate. The paper investigates from a political economy perspective whether it has been possible to overcome and effectively manage the crisis in Dubai in the last two years. Furthermore, the paper will provide an answer to the question how the crisis will presumably impact the long-term future economic development and the political economy of the emirate.

Economic Integration from a Country Perspective: Oman in the Gulf Cooperation Council

Dr Steffen Wippel, Senior Researcher, Zentrum Moderner Orient

Academic publications on the GCC still focus on security cooperation and political conflicts in the area. As the region's economic integration steadily advanced, it became another topic of research, but the more profound study of real progress in trade liberalisation or in establishing a common market is still insufficient. The paper intends to analyse Oman's position within the GCC. It relates to transdisciplinary conceptual debates on regionalisation, such as the 'New Regionalism Approach', that integrate the multiple facets of the phenomenon. The paper will study Oman's economic relations with other Gulf countries, concentrating on regional trade and it will analyse political and public positions in Oman toward integration in the Gulf area and look for the motives behind them.

From Oil to Tourism. An Overview of Economic Diversification in the GCC

Dr Heba Aziz, Head of the Department of Sustainable Tourism and Regional Development, German University of Technology, Oman (*co-authored with Edith M Szivas and Lubna Al Mazroei*)

The GCC countries have embarked on the diversification of their economies to include tourism as an economic sector that promises long-term economic benefits. This paper will examine the economic potential of tourism sector development in the GCC countries in the context of their drive for economic diversification, green economy transition and employment generation. The paper will analyse the tourism indicators in the GCC countries, commenting on whether tourism is an effective development path that will realise economic diversification and create employment opportunities, given the economic, political and socio-cultural reality of the region. It will also discuss the benefits from the economic unity that the GCC offers for the realisation of the development plans and objectives.

The GCC's 'Demographic Imbalance': Perceptions, Realities and Policy Options

Dr Ingo Forstenlechner, Adviser, Federal Demographic Council, Abu Dhabi and Associate Professor, United Arab Emirates University

In light of the GCC's 'national' demographic pyramid profile, a considerable amount of literature has focused on examining the idiosyncrasies of its labour markets: the 'emerging strains' and growing levels of 'structural unemployment' resultant from an evident over-dependence on an expatriate workforce and the government job provision mechanism that lies at the heart of the social contract. This paper suggests that a new strand of the literature will coalesce around the theme of the region's 'demographic imbalance' – contextually, the ratio of nationals to non-nationals. No other region in the world is so directly and 'continually' reliant upon such high ratios of 'temporary' non-national labour. Whilst this relationship has been mutually beneficial, it is currently also giving rise to an array of concerns. This paper evaluates a series of policy options, including labour market reform, managing the needed migrants more efficiently and equitably, investing more in, and more gainfully employing, national human capital; building a stronger, more confident national identity, changing key perceptions about economics, and ultimately deciding over what stake to give non-nationals in society.

Panel 3d 'Neo-Ottomanism': National and International Dimensions of Shifts in Turkish Foreign Policy

Chair: Dr Sedef Arat-Koç, Associate Professor, Ryerson University

Neo-Empire, Middle Power or Subcontractor for Imperialism? 'Neo-Ottomanism', Shifts in Geopolitics and Turkey's Foreign Policy

Dr Sedef Arat-Koç, Associate Professor, Ryerson University

In the post-Cold War period, Turkey's foreign policy has changed from one that was seen to be largely indifferent to the Middle East to one that involves an active engagement with MENA countries. What has been described by some as 'neo-Ottomanism' involves an even more pronounced and ambitious shift in Turkish foreign policy that expresses aspirations to political leadership and economic expansion in countries and regions formerly part of the Ottoman Empire. In 2011 however there has been what appears like an increased realignment of Turkish foreign policy with that of the U.S. and E.U. So far, 'neo-Ottomanism' involves moves that seem to appease parts of a conservative national constituency in Turkey and/or appeal to Western foreign policy. This paper investigates the nature, contradictions and limits of imperial aspirations current 'neo-Ottomanism' represents. The paper interrogates whether Turkey's new involvement in the Middle East represents the rise of an independent regional power or rather an extension of western foreign policy in the region.

Neo-Ottomanism as an Aspect of the 'Regression of Democratic Politics'

Dr Nuray Mert, Associate Professor, Istanbul University

'Neo-Ottomanism' needs to be discussed not only as a matter of foreign policy but also as a matter of domestic politics. References to the Ottoman past have played a part in contexts such as the manipulation of Anti-Russian feelings as the basis of anti-Communism during the Cold War; 'Turkish irredentism' in Cyprus; and the ongoing relations with the Balkans. In addition, Turkish Islamism has always been peculiarly 'nationalistic' in the sense of being 'imperial'. In some respects, AKP governments' recent policies reflect this aspect of a right wing political tradition in Turkey. After 9/11 and after the Iraq invasion, Turkey found itself in fertile ground to revive its imperial imagination. Recently AKP has started to manipulate its important geopolitical role to recall imperial strength not only in the regional or international field but also in domestic politics. The classical excuses to 'preserve national strength and harmony' are increasingly used to limit political freedoms and to crush Kurdish opposition. This paper will discuss 'neo-Ottomanism' in relation with its implications on current domestic politics in Turkey.

A Pax Turca in the Middle East? Turkey's Entry into 21st Century Geopolitics

Dr Clemens Hoffmann, Research Fellow (International Relations) and Associate Tutor, University of Sussex (co-authored with Can Cemgil)

Turkey's recent foreign policy initiatives within the former Ottoman lands, aiming at the creation of a zone of peace and stability with 'zero problems,' have received mixed reviews in the West. Some feel threatened by the alleged increasing Islamization of the country's (geo)politics. Sceptical voices claim that the so-called 'Neo-Ottomanist' turn gradually corrupts Turkey's traditional transatlanticism in favour of Iran and Palestine, amounting to an 'axis shift' away from the West towards a pan-Islamic neo-Caliphate. Others see Turkey, governed by pro-market conservative Islamists, as a positive democratic role model in the troubled region. By historicizing the dialectical evolution of competing strategies of reproduction, this paper investigates the nature of the current conjunctural response of the Turkish state to its existing conditions of reproduction shaped by a wider set of internal and external determinants.

Panel 4 Tuesday 27 March, 11.30 – 13.30

Panel 4a Explaining Violence in Iraq

Chair: Dr Toby Dodge, Reader in International Relations, LSE

Gender-based Violence and Future for Women's Rights

Professor Nadje Al Ali, Professor of Gender Studies, SOAS

The Legitimacy Deficit in Post-2003 Iraq

Dr Fanar Haddad, Lecturer and Tutor in Politics of the Post-Colonial Middle East, Queen Mary, University of London

Since 1921 Iraqi political elites have struggled to formulate an official 'national narrative' that can secure enough popular buy-in into successive authoritarian regimes. This struggle has become more polarised and resolution has become more elusive since 2003. The divergence in public imaginations of what 'Iraq' constitutes and who the new Iraq's heroes and villains are remains a profoundly divisive issue. In addition to the shortcomings in the general performance of successive post-2003 Iraqi governments, there are issues surrounding long-stalled social policies that have thus far had an increasingly divisive impact on Iraqi society; for example, educational reform, the symbolism employed by state-run media, the selective application of the constitution and the manipulative usage of the judiciary. The new Iraq was unavoidably mired in illegitimacy at its birth; political practice and policy since 2003 have only increased that legitimacy deficit with profound consequences for Iraqi social cohesion.

The Role of the Constitution and the Laws Issued after 2003 in Increasing and Maintaining Violence in Iraq

Professor Saad Jawad, Senior Visiting Fellow, Middle East Centre, LSE

Explaining Violence in Iraq after 2003

Professor Peter Sluglett, Visiting Research Professor, National University of Singapore

Violent Communication: Meaningful Action and Unintended Consequences in Iraq

Professor Charles Tripp, Professor of Politics with reference to the Middle East, SOAS

Panel 4b Asia, Russia and the Arab Uprisings: Governmental and Popular Reactions to the Uprisings

Chair: Professor Tim Niblock, Emeritus Professor of Middle Eastern Politics, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

China's Arabic Satellite Television Channel: Building a New Silk-Road Station, Emerging China-Middle East Ties

Dr Wai-Yip Ho, Assistant Professor, Department of Social Sciences, Hong Kong Institute of Education

This paper explores the Chinese Arabic international channel which was officially launched by the state-run China Central Television (CCTV) in July 2009. Among various Arabic satellite channels, CCTV Arabic aims distinctly at reviving the primordial imagination of a Silk Road connection between the Arab world and China. This paper discusses the role of CCTV as an ideological forerunner in legitimizing China's increasing involvement in the Arab world and as an emerging superpower. On the one hand, CCTV Arabic defends the official image of China to the Arab Street by countering the distorted views espoused by the foreign media. On the other hand, CCTV Arabic fosters China-Arab ties by respecting diversity of civilizations which is the underlying foreign policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in strengthening China's international influence in the contemporary multi-polar world.

Possible Changes in Russo-Iranian Relations after the Presidential Elections of 2012 in Russia

Dr Nikolay Kozhanov, Expert, Institute of the Middle East, Moscow

Russia is expected to revise its political approaches towards Iran and the Middle East. Some steps in this direction have been already made. Firstly, the construction of Busher nuclear plant is presented as a symbol of increasing cooperation. Secondly, proposals made to the '5+1' group are expected to partly return the initiative in handling the problem of the nuclear programme of Tehran back to Russia. Thirdly, Moscow will possibly be more active in using Iran to hamper the penetration of third countries to the Caspian and Central Asian regions. Finally, Moscow is expected to make more active attempts to penetrate the energy sector of the Iranian economy. At the same time, given that the West will not be provoking Moscow by the activities threatening the very national security of the Russian Federation and economic interests of its political elite we should not expect from Putin's administration any unpredictable moves such as the supply of S-300 air defence systems to Iran. The cost of these steps will not justify the political and economic gains of Moscow.

Japan and the Arab Uprisings

Dr Yukiko Miyagi, Lecturer in East Asia and Middle East International Relations, University of Durham

Panel 4c Resistance through Music and Culture

Chair: Dr Laudan Nooshin, Senior Lecturer in Ethnomusicology, City University London

Community of Catharsis: Musical Mediations on the 2009 Iranian Presidential Elections

Dr Laudan Nooshin, Senior Lecturer in Ethnomusicology, City University London

This paper explores the extraordinary musical responses in the aftermath of Iran's 2009 presidential elections, focusing on the role of the internet in providing a space for the collective outpouring of emotion – anger, frustration, fear and grief. Just as Lohman describes Umm Kulthum's concert campaign and radio presence in Egypt after the 1967 war with Israel as 'an empowering mechanism for Egyptians

to respond to the psychological impact of the defeat (and) ... a cathartic outlet for public expression' (2009), so in Iran, music – this time mediated through the internet – helped Iranians to come to terms with the psychological trauma triggered by the political events. This paper considers the combined mediative power of music and the internet to bring – and bind – people together, in ways that are too slippery for the kinds of centralised state control which have dominated Iran's public sphere for decades.

Rapping Revolution and Revolt: Hip Hop From The Edge of Lebanon

Dr Francesco Mazzucotelli, Teaching Assistant, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Hip hop groups such as Touffar, Katibe Khamse, and i-Voice firmly established themselves in the Middle Eastern musical scene over the last four years. As they emerge from contexts that are socially and economically marginalized, these groups want to smash social stigma and stereotypical images of backwardness and lawlessness that are associated with their context of origin. Drawing from the existing, extensive literature that focuses on hip hop as a subculture of contestation and opposition to mainstream culture and/or the existing political system, this paper intends to investigate in which ways hip hop songs are deployed and portrayed as vectors of political and social awareness, mobilization, and activism in the Lebanese context. This paper will also question what it means, and what it takes to express oneself through hip hop in Lebanon's highly politicized and highly volatile context.

Identity Politics and Resistance: The Case of Mohammad Mounir

Natalie Abou Shakra, PhD candidate, Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies, SOAS

The revolutionary consciousness of the Nasserite era survived the Sadat and post-Sadat period of 'authenticity and modernity' to express itself in the work of Nubian Egyptian performing artist Mohammad Mounir. Mounir emerged in the late 1970s, a period which marked the end of an era; the Gods and Goddesses of the Arabic song had either passed away or retired, and the Arab world witnessed the looming of a mainstream mass media machine whose sole aim was to satisfy individual pleasure through the production of a culture industry based on the same model of western consumerist lifestyles. In placing Mounir's songs within their socio-political context, and without neglecting the aesthetic aspects of these songs, this paper will attempt to show how they serve as vehicles of agency and empowerment through culturally constructing ideas of resistance to cultural and political hegemony in the post-Nasserite era and, therefore, as a means of resisting and subverting ideologies and positions of power.

Construction of 'Exemplarity' and the Contemporary Myth of Resistance in the Kurdish Nationalist Discourse

Dr Cengiz Günes, Associate Lecturer, The Open University

This paper analyses the reactivation of the myth of Newroz as the myth of Kurdish origin and resistance to 'construct' a contemporary myth of resistance in the Kurdish Nationalist discourse. This myth was constructed around the resistance practices of the leading members of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in the Diyarbakir Military Prison during the early 1980s, and was deployed to represent the PKK's struggle in political discourse and through art and music. The paper will argue that an analysis of the PKK's contemporary myth of resistance is essential to understand the processes at work in its mobilisation of Kurds during the 1990s and explain its hegemony over the Kurdish resistance in Turkey. Organising mass gatherings during Newroz created 'Newroz' as the symbol of Kurdish popular resistance. Romanticising its guerrilla war against the Turkish state enhanced its hegemonic appeal by bringing the myth of resistance to the reality and represent it as the embodiment of the Kurds' struggle for independence and freedom.

Panel 4d Rethinking Islamist Movements in the Middle East: Mediating Cultures, Resistance and Power

Chair: Dr Dina Matar, Senior Lecturer in Arab Media and Political Communication, SOAS

Power, Language and Culture: A Socio-historical Perspective of the Forging of Hassan Nasrallah's Mediated Charisma

Dr Dina Matar, Senior Lecturer in Arab Media and Political Communication, SOAS

This paper explores the evolution of Hizbullah's leader Hassan Nasrallah into the Arab and Muslim worlds' foremost charismatic leader in the digitalized media age. It pays attention to the ways in which his persona was mediated, validated and institutionalized through a structured and intentional political communication strategy rooted in culture. At the symbolic level, this strategy is located in a 'culture of communication' – referring to the compendium of religious, historical, literary and mythological linguistic and symbolic references used and communicated by any community, state or organization as valid tropes for all times. At the instrumental level, this strategy is underpinned by Hizbullah's organizational structures that have been crucial in establishing and promoting Nasrallah as a key signifier of mass popular culture, and as a charismatic ideologue whose populist 'oppositional' politics have been central to the party's success in the domestic Shiite-specific sphere and beyond. In taking this approach, the paper shows how Hizbullah and Nasrallah put at work ideology and culture to summon collective subjectivities in particular historical contexts.

The Poetry of Hezbollah

Dr Atef Alshaer, Post-doctoral Fellow in Political Communication, Centre for Film and Media Studies, SOAS

Over the years since its founding in 1982, Hezbollah has distinguished itself from other groups in the Arab world in its confrontation and fierce fighting with Israel. Hezbollah's allies are varied and with diverse cultural practices: it is rooted in its Arab environment, yet firmly connected to Iran with its distinct literary and cultural tradition, providing it with an intricate web of cultural and political output in terms of literature and discourse. This paper aims to draw on Hezbollah's poetry in order to interpret the underlying ideological aspects and affiliations embedded and conveyed through it. In this context, Hezbollah's poetry is broadly defined as that which is authored by poets, writers, supporters and sympathisers with Hezbollah as well as people who simply interacted poetically with events in which Hezbollah was a central player. The paper will also draw on the popular songs of Hezbollah, as forms of expression which serve political mobilisation with reinforcing sentimental associations.

Ikhwan Online: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and its Communication Strategies under Mubarak

Paolo D'Urbano, PhD candidate and Teaching Fellow at the Centre for Film and Media Studies, SOAS

Since the mid-2000s, digital technologies such as blogging and social networking have entered the Egyptian media system. Activists started to use these media as political tools to organize events and mobilize people. The Muslim Brotherhood is among those who adopted such technologies, establishing a wide range of online presences. What led a purportedly backward-looking organization to enthusiastically embrace the latest products of Western technological industry? How can we rethink the study of Islamist movements and their communication practices? This paper discusses how digital technologies provide new spaces where tactics of negotiation, resistance and accommodation are performed on a daily basis. The Muslim Brotherhood has been successful in channelling and mobilising these new forms of communication for its political agenda. However, these same media have also provided a space where internal differences can emerge and alternative players become more vocal and visible.

Islamists and Media in the Egyptian Elections

Dr Said Shehata

This paper will discuss various approaches which Islamists use to draw members and votes before and during elections with a focus on the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party in Egypt. In particular, the presentation will look at the major tools used by the party to win more than 40 percent of the Lower House (People Assembly) in Egypt, including religious services, advertisements and slogans.

Panel 4e Thinking about the Revolution: Social Movements, Structure, Space, Religion and the Military in the 'January 25 Revolution' (Critical Middle East Studies Research Network Panel)

Chair: Dr Andrea Teti, Lecturer in International Relations and Co-Director of the Interdisciplinary Approaches to Violence Research Cluster, University of Aberdeen

Seeing the Egyptian 'Revolution' through Social Movement Glasses: Networks, Frames, Protest Cycles and Structural Changes

Dr Jeroen Gunning, Executive Director, Durham Global Security Institute, Durham University

While much has been written about the Egyptian 'revolution', theorising about its origins and dynamics is still in its infancy. This paper will use a social movement theory lens to look at the interplay between social networks, tactics and ideational frames, and broader structural changes. It will argue that the revolt cannot be understood without tracing the networks that sustained it back through consecutive protest waves, with a particular focus on how they fed off and built on each other, widening the arena for public protest and the pool of activists, and developing pivotal tactical and frame innovations in their confrontation with the regime. It will then suggest that these networks themselves cannot be understood without situating them within the broader socio-economic and political changes Egypt has undergone over the past few decades. It is in the interaction between these broader structural changes, the networks, the frames and tactics they adopted and the way the regime responded to them that a deeper insight can be gained into what made the revolt possible after the fall of Ben Ali in Tunisia. The paper will end with some reflections on the limits of using a social movement theory lens.

Egypt's Uncertain Revolution: Negotiating Transition Under Military Rule

Dr Chérine Chams-Eldine, Lecturer in Political Science and Teaching Fellow, Cairo University and University of Exeter

Since the overthrow of Mubarak, Egypt has been run by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) and a weak interim government. Until now SCAF's actions have been anything but supportive of democratic change in Egypt. The overall strategy of the generals is to shape a transition that maintains a part of the old order. This paper first explains the roots of Egypt's revolution by setting its political, social and economic context. It then tries to analyse the implications of the Ancien Régime's type as well as the actors in control of the transitional period on the paths of democratic transition in Egypt. It will focus on the 'semi-authoritarian' nature of the previous Egyptian regime (which explains its long resilience) and the impact of the prior regime type on the transition paths. It will use the transitology literature (especially on Latin America) to explain the role of the military in the transition.

The People and the Army are one Hand! A Micro-sociology of Fraternisation in the Egyptian Revolution

Neil Ketchley, Visiting Research Fellow, American University in Cairo and PhD Candidate, LSE

The Egyptian army's role during the formative days of the Egyptian revolution has been fêted as one intended to safeguard peaceful protest against the Mubarak regime. This narrative figures particularly as a legitimisation of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) assuming control with Mubarak's departure. Yet, considerable ambiguity remains around the actual intentions of the armed forces and the exact orders given to soldiers. This paper poses an alternative account to the military elite-led narrative of benevolent guardianship by showing the efforts by both protestors and soldiers to develop a series of interactional mechanisms of restraint. It explores the importance of 'fraternisation' in explaining the absence of greater violence and shows how physical co-presence allowed for small talk, embracing, singing, chanting etc, to figure as interaction rituals that limited the outbreak of greater violence. When violence did occur, the paper suggests that fraternisation and the invoking of its constituent mechanisms led to milder forms of ritualised violence and situational de-escalation.

The Generational Gap and Counter Hegemonic Discourse

Dr Ahmed Tohamy, PhD Researcher, Durham University

Much of the new energy in the Egyptian society and politics which spurred the 25th January revolution and its consequences came from a younger generation which became the main social agent for change in Egypt. It could be argued that the main social and economic transformations that triggered the generational gap are: Firstly, the various awareness and consciousness because of the arrival of social networking technologies. Secondly, the demographic change in the society as most of the population becomes under the age of 30. Thirdly, the lack of efficiency of the old generation who control the state institutions and political parties.

The aspects of the generational gap are remarkable and could be noticed in everyday life but the study is focusing on its political mobilization aspects. It seeks to explore and analyse the mobilizing structures that have been formed by young activists like Six of April, El-Bardiey Campaign, the Current party, Youth Revolutionary Coalition and Ultras. It will also refer to the implication of the generational gap on the Muslim Brothers' young wing and the army's internal mechanism.

Panel 5 Tuesday 27 March, 14.30 – 16.30

Panel 5a The Arab Spring: New Directions in Teaching and Researching the Middle East (Islamic Studies Network Panel)

Chair: Dr John Canning, Senior Academic Coordinator, LLAS (Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies), University of Southampton

Discussant: Dr Lisa Bernasek, Academic Coordinator, LLAS (Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies), University of Southampton

The Return of Politics: A Critical Reading of Contemporary Middle East Studies in the Light of the Arab Spring

Dr Rasmus Alenius Boserup, Research Fellow, Danish Institute for International Studies

The paper suggests that the Arab Spring constitutes an opening of a new period in the contemporary political history of the region which is signified by a broad politicization of a variety of actors with overlapping and competing orientations and origins. This politicization, the paper argues, constitutes a rupture with the past decades of popular disengagement from political participation. The paper formulates a critique of the understanding of politics in contemporary Middle East Studies. It investigates the understanding of political dynamics in the literature about the political order of the region. Secondly, it investigates the understanding of the political role of social movements in contemporary Middle East studies. Hypothetically, the paper assumes that this literature while adequately explaining how regime structures condition the activities of social movements, overlooks the potential impact that movements – and contentious politics in general – may have on the political structures (i.e. the regimes).

Research in a Time of Unbounded Flux

Tamara Al-Om, MPhil/PhD candidate, University of Exeter

Conducting research on any contemporary social or political phenomena will inevitably have its limitations in the face of a world that is in a state of perpetual flux (Heraclitus). The events that erupted across the Arab world make this obvious. The question arises as to how research can be conducted when the consequent effects and outcomes of such events are also uncertain and volatile. In light of this predicament, the aim of this paper is to explore ways of framing and conducting research on the Arab world, which is currently undergoing a time of unbounded flux. A focal point of this paper will include a reflection upon previous research that was conducted during events that we now perceive as historically significant (e.g. Prague Spring) and to which these Arab uprisings have been compared – in the hope that it will shed some light on how to approach a subject that is still coming to fruition.

Integrating Current Events into Language Learning and Teaching: Examples from Elementary Arabic

Dr Jeremy Palmer, Assistant Professor, American University of Sharjah

The ongoing events in the Arab Spring provide a myriad of opportunities to breath life into Arabic language learning and teaching, even at the elementary level. The use of a static textbook is often desirable in early levels of language learning, though such textbooks can only provide finite history-in-the-making. This paper will discuss methods for selecting and incorporating real-life examples of Arabic language as seen in coverage related to the Arab Spring. The sources from which these examples may be drawn range from online social media to satellite channels to online news sites and accompanying reader comments. Suggestions per incorporating such materials into an existing curriculum will also be presented.

Panel 5b Syria: The Effect of the Intifada on Theoretical Understandings

Chair: Professor Raymond Hinnebusch, Director of the Centre for Syrian Studies and Professor of International Relations, University of St Andrews

Discussant: Dr Alan George, Senior Associate Member, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

Neoclassical Realism and the Foreign Policy of Syria: A Case of Theory vs Reality?

Francesco Belcastro, PhD candidate, University of St Andrews

The events of the Arab Spring call for students of international relations of the Middle East to engage with the domestic dimension. This paper will look at the case of Syria in order to test the potential of neoclassical realism in the analysis of the foreign policy of a regional power. It will look at the domestic dimension of what Taliaferro defined as 'an imperfect transmission belt' between the constraints and incentives given by the system and the foreign policy outcomes. Is there a relation between policy-makers' degree of autonomy and Damascus foreign policy? Were the domestic constraints what stopped the Syrian president from pursuing 'the Egyptian pattern' in the 70s? As recent events in Syria have undoubtedly increased Bashar Al-Asad's reliance on his military elites, can we expect any change in the country's foreign policy? Realism as a research paradigm needs to address this set of questions if it has to say something on contemporary events in the Middle East.

Between Authoritarian Upgrading and the Uprising: Two Fieldstays in Syria and how to Refine Results by Reflecting on Methodological Challenges

Tina Zintl, Research Fellow, School of International Relations, University of St Andrews

Ethical considerations, sampling procedures, and reflexivity are not just bureaucratic and compulsory exercises for every researcher. This paper demonstrates how methodological issues are intrinsic to and useful for social science research projects. When the Syrian regime blamed the protests on foreign conspiracy, many 'cosmopolitan' Syrians, who had willingly shared their views with a foreign researcher in 2010, declined interview requests. This showed that snowball sampling is a 'temporary snapshot of wasta' and relies not only on trust between researcher and potential interviewee but also between potential interviewees. Methodological challenges show that authoritarian Syria welcomed foreign-educated returnees' knowledge transfer but granted them, at best, the role of junior partners. This presentation will demonstrate how reflecting on methodological difficulties can turn social sciences' perceived weakness – i.e. their lack of 'scientific hard facts' – into an advantage.

Failure of a Security Paradigm: Syria in Revolt

Dr Ari Kerkkänen, Director, The Finnish Institute in the Middle East

This paper analyses the failure of the security paradigm in Syria, one of the triggers to cause a widespread popular uprising in 2011. Since the ascendancy of Hafez al-Assad to power, Syria built up its security machinery, which was meant to deal with internal threats to the regime more than external ones. The basic premise is that there exists a gap between the state (internal as well as external) security and the human security. Human security, whatever way defined, was sacrificed for the cause of protecting an authoritarian regime. The gap reflects also a continuous power struggle and it is understood as being one of the factors in alienating citizenry from the regime. The basic conclusion is that a lack of human security increases the fragility of any society from within.

A Comparative Analysis of Hezbollah and Hamas Responses to the Syrian Uprising

Nasrin Akhter, PhD candidate, University of St Andrews

This paper seeks to examine the contradictory approaches of Hezbollah and Hamas towards the Assad regime in light of the Syrian uprising. As Islamist organisations united in their opposition against

the state of Israel, both movements should have supported Syria, the third member of the so-called rejectionist front, against opposition attempts to destabilise the current government. However, despite their common foreign policy agendas and dependence on Damascus, both movements have taken markedly different approaches, with Hassan Nasrallah's open support for Bashar at odds with Hamas's reluctance to commit to the Syrian government, implying perhaps tacit support for the opposition. Through an examination of official statements since the beginning of the revolt in March, the paper attempts to uncover possible reasons for the divergent approaches, the consequences of Hizbullah and Hamas's actions on their domestic positions and the likely effects of their responses on Syria's regional standing itself. Reference will also be made to Iran by way of comparison.

Panel 5c Political Islam and the Arab Uprisings

Chair: Professor Beverley Milton-Edwards, Professor of Politics, Queen's University Belfast

The Place of Islam and the Arab Revolutions

Professor Beverley Milton-Edwards, Professor of Politics, Queen's University Belfast

The outbreak of revolt and revolution in the Middle East has given rise to a re-consideration of threat and security analyses as they pertain to the region and beyond. The resilience of some authoritarian regimes and the rapid collapse of others signals significant transition within the region to which radical Islamist groups form one part of a powerful matrix. This paper analyzes the part and place of radical Islamists in the revolts and revolutions. The paper contends that events provide both opportunities and threats in strategies aimed at countering terrorism in the Middle East and beyond. Internal debates and discourses within Islamism will also be analysed in terms of the issue of representation of ideas and claims to constituency which have resided within contemporary Islamist thinking.

How God's Power Becomes the People's Power: Faith as the Root of Pragmatism in the Muslim Brotherhood

Professor Ulrika Mårtensson, Professor, The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

The paper explores the concepts of da'wa and Islamic order in the Muslim Brotherhood, tracing the development of its political implications from Hasan al-Banna to the Justice and Development Party. Al-Banna's concept of da'wa was pragmatic both in the political and the philosophical sense, meaning that the substance of da'wa would have to be reassessed continuously with reference to changing contexts. This has allowed the Muslim Brothers to continuously reinterpret the implications of Islamic order. Seeking political legitimacy through popular vote is thus not in contradiction with the belief in divine power as the only real source of power, but reflects a pragmatic reassessment of the implications of divine power and Islamic order in the current context. This makes the Muslim Brotherhood receptive to changed political conditions and shows that while religious belief is the unifying framework of the organisation, it has no determining power for the substance of its members' politics. The argument will be developed with reference to al-Banna's writings; the 2007 draft political platform; and the 2011 platform of the Justice and Development Party.

Understanding the Arab Uprisings through the Analysis of the terms Intifada and Istishad

Marco Di Donato, PhD candidate, University of Genova – Italian Centre for the Study of Political Islam

By examining the use of the term Intifada to describe the recent Arab uprisings, this paper aims to understand the deep causes of the revolts, (particularly in Egypt and Tunisia). At the same time, the analysis of the term Istishad, and of its derivative Shahid, both used in order to define the victims of the revolts, helps explaining the role played by the Islamic factor within the uprisings. The paper looks at the Arab uprisings before their eruption and by investigating the root causes that had led to the popular discontent. At the same time, this research tries to weight the real role played by Islamism, in order to understand whether Islam has been a fundamental actor in the revolts.

Panel 5d Revisiting the Israel-Palestine Conflict: Missed Opportunities, Declassified Documents and Alternative Narratives

Chair: Professor Elie Podeh, Professor, Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Missed Opportunities in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Professor Elie Podeh, Professor, Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Historians of the Arab-Israeli conflict often describe certain episodes as a 'missed opportunity' to reach an agreement between Israelis and Arabs. The problem of these descriptions, however, is that the term 'missed opportunity' is not defined. My research attempts to assess, on the basis of a new theoretical definition of the term, to what extent various opportunities had been missed to solve the conflict. The research focuses on some twenty case studies of negotiations and plans to promote peace between Israelis and Arabs since the beginning of the conflict. The lecture will concentrate on the newly-developed definition and apply it to several case studies, such as The Sadat Initiative of February 1971, the Israeli-Syrian negotiations in the 1990s, the Camp David summit in 2000, and the Arab Peace Initiative in 2002.

Israel's Gesture of Goodwill: No Return to the West Bank for the June 1967 War Refugees

Dr Avi Raz, Research Fellow, University of Oxford

Relying on recently declassified records from Israeli, American, British and United Nations archives, and private papers in English, Hebrew and Arabic, this paper examines the case of the 'new refugees' of 1967, and focuses specifically on the so-called repatriation scheme which was carried out in August 1967. During the June war, some 200,000 Palestinians fled their homes in the West Bank and found refuge across the River Jordan in the East Bank. In the face of mounting international criticism and diplomatic pressure, the Israeli cabinet decided to permit repatriation of West Bankers during a very short time span. In reality, however, Israel did everything possible to limit the Palestinian return to a token number by creating numerous bureaucratic obstacles. As a result, only 14,000 out of 170,000 applicants eventually returned. Israel's attitude, then, clearly attested to its intention to keep the West Bank, and 'Operation Refugee' was nothing but an attempt to obscure this.

Political Theology in Israel-Palestine: Liberation through Contextualisation in the Holy Land

Dr Samuel J. Kuruvilla, Post-Doctoral Fellow, School of International Relations and Politics, Mahatma Gandhi University

This paper concerns the development of a theology of Christian liberation and contextual polity as part of the Palestinian people's struggle for justice and freedom from the state of Israel. This paper will be primarily dedicated to a historical and political analysis of the theological context, mainly focusing on the theology of the Al-Liqa group that contributed to the development of a contextual Palestinian theology of liberation within the 'occupied' context that is Palestine today. This paper seeks to prove that practitioners of Palestinian Liberation/Contextual Theology have sought to respond practically to the needs of the Palestinian people in the West Bank, given the employment, socio-cultural and humanitarian-health opportunities opened up by the practical-institution building efforts of various organizations.

The Single State Alternative in Palestine/Israel

Cherine Hussein, PhD candidate in International Relations, University of Sussex

Since the Oslo Accords, the two-state solution has dominated, and frustrated, the official search for peace in Israel/Palestine. In parallel to it, an alternative struggle of resistance—centered upon the single state idea as a more liberating pathway towards justice to the conflict—has re-emerged

against the hegemony of Zionism and the demise of a viable two-state solution in Israel/Palestine. This paper inquires into the nature of this phenomenon as a movement of resistance. It reconstructs the re-emergence of the single state solution both intellectually and organizationally. This it does from within a de-colonial approach to the politics of resistance which both acknowledges the political nature of writing and knowledge production and strives to centre the political practices of the situated resistances of the oppressed themselves in its analyses of social transformation. It analyzes the single state alternative from within its own self-understandings, strategies and maps to power. In doing so, it aims to shed light upon a largely silenced pathway of resistance to the current Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and to take its possibility as a more just political alternative to the status quo seriously.

Panel 5e The Algerian Exception?

Chair: Sir Alan Munro, President Emeritus, Society for Algerian Studies

Algeria's Path to Political Reforms: Dodging the Arab Spring

Dr Yahia Zoubir, Professor of International Studies and International Management and Director of Research in Geopolitics, Euromed Management, Marseille (*co-authored with Dr Ahmed Aghrouit*)

Following the uprising in Tunisia in December 2010 media attention focused on Algeria, which, pundits believed, was to undergo a mass upheaval to bring down the government. This forecast was prompted by the food riots that occurred throughout Algeria in early January 2011 and, until now, Algeria has witnessed social unrest with strikes hitting almost all sectors of the economy. The government has reacted to the Arab spring by lifting the state of emergency in place since 1992. It also announced major reforms which have yet to be implemented. There are many factors that prevent Algerians from rising up against the authorities, primarily the bloody decade of the 1990s which resulted from the botched democratization initiated following the tragic 1988 uprising. However, the authorities are wrong in assuming that the factors that prevented a major uprising so far will thwart forever a social explosion similar to what happened elsewhere in the region.

Stable Instability: How Sustainable is the Status Quo in Algeria?

Dr Hakim Darbouche, Research Fellow, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies

Algeria is so far the only country in North Africa not to have experienced sustained mass protests calling for political change. The government in Algiers has by no means remained indifferent to the groundbreaking events in neighbouring countries, but it is responding to this sweeping wave of change at its own pace. This paper argues that, despite its apparent stability, the Algerian polity suffers from underlying currents of instability that risk undermining the long-term sustainability of the state. It identifies the failure of the country's political and economic transitions and its implications as the most serious challenge confronting the Algerian state today. Unless a) the process of democratic transition that was initiated in 1989 is refined and put back on track, leading to the advent and consolidation of the rule of law, popular enfranchisement and total civilian control of the military; and b) the efforts to diversify the economy away from hydrocarbons are intensified and made more coherent, Algeria will remain susceptible to future instability.

Algeria and its Neighbours: A Comparative Perspective

Dr Claire Spencer, Head, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House

In 2011, Algeria looked increasingly out of step with the political changes affecting the rest of North Africa. This paper will examine the impacts that recent steps towards democracy in Tunisia, the constitutional revision and subsequent elections in Morocco and the overthrow of Muammar Qaddafi in Libya have had on the continuing ability of the Algerian political system to adapt to rapid change in its immediate environment. Algerian diplomacy has been depicted as reactive and wrong-footed by events in Libya and the rest of the Maghreb, and muted towards the wider Middle East (Syria, Bahrain,

Yemen etc). Will the examples of successful elections and reforms elsewhere in North Africa provoke new demands for generational change and representation? Or will appeals to the 'Algerian exception' (l'exception algérienne) continue to contain and divide popular demands as in 2011?

Panel 6 Wednesday 28 March, 09.00 – 11.00

Panel 6a Iraq, its Regions and the International

Chair: Dr Toby Dodge, Reader in International Relations, LSE

Sold Out? American Foreign Policy, Iraq and the Kurdish Revolt, 1972-75

Bryan Gibson, PhD candidate, LSE

Since the leaking of the Pike Committee Report to the press in February 1976, the history of America's policy toward the Kurdish Revolt has taken on a life of its own, particularly after columnists like William Safire accused President Ford of selling the Kurds out. As is often the case, the story is far more complicated than most commentators suggest. Fortunately today, with the availability of primary documents, a more extensive picture of the American policy can emerge. What becomes clear is that while some agencies in the American government were opposed to helping the Kurds, key officials, like Henry Kissinger, fought hard to keep the Kurdish operation alive. Unfortunately, the entire operation was based on the will of the Shah of Iran, who, when faced with a seductive concession from Iraq, decided to cancel it, despite American and Israeli objections.

Iraq's International Relations after Regime Change

Professor Emma Sky, Visiting Professor, War Studies Department, King's College London

This paper examines Iraq's place in the Middle East following the fall of Saddam's regime in 2003. It argues that Iraq's international relations can only be understood in the context of its domestic politics; that Iraq is a fragile state whose weakness invites outside interference; that Iraq's internal divisions lead various actors to seek external support; and that Iraq is a battlefield for a proxy war between neighbouring countries who fear a resurgent Iran is turning Iraq into a client state, in the wake of declining US influence. Iraq's potential to emerge as an independent, rational, and stabilizing actor in the Middle East is dependent on it putting its internal house in order.

The Iraqi State, the Kurdish Regional Government and the Politics of Oil

Professor Gareth Stansfield, Professor of Middle East Politics, Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

The Link between Oil, War on Terror and Domestic Sovereignty: Explaining the Post-2003 Kurdish Decision-Making in Iraq

Yaniv Voller, PhD Candidate, LSE

Two interesting developments took place during the second decade of the KRG's existence. The first development has been the KRG's increased unilateralism with regard to extraction and export of regional oil. Such unilateralism from the KRG's side has been manifested in various forms: independent hydrocarbon legislation, signing of independent extraction and production contracts with transnational energy corporations and also willingness to go for direct conflict with the Iraqi government over the control of oil rich territories. The second development has been the KRG's local War on Terror (WOT) campaign, which was, at least on some occasions, indicated by the KRG leadership as part of the global

WOT. Seemingly, there is no direct link between the two: on the surface, the former development relates to a contestation between two parties over natural resources, whereas the latter relates more to domestic security. Yet, a more critical examination would reveal a stronger link between the two: both could be better explained if we examine them as part of the KRG's desire to legitimate its existence as a de facto state, its demands to expand Kurdish autonomy in northern Iraq, and even aspirations for potential independence.

Panel 6b Arab Spring in the Maghreb: Hidden Stories and Alternative Voices

Chair: Dr John King, Deputy Secretary, Society for Algerian Studies

Silenced Revolts, Enduring Revolution: Western Sahara

Dr Alice Wilson, Junior Research Fellow, Homerton College, University of Cambridge

In October 2010 at Gdeim Izik, Western Sahara, thousands of Saharawi in Moroccan-controlled Western Sahara demonstrated for weeks before meeting with severe reprisals. Whilst Saharawi in Moroccan-controlled Western Sahara have engaged since 2005 in unarmed uprisings to protest against Morocco's annexation of the territory, the scale of Gdeim Izik – and its repression – were unprecedented. This uprising received little international attention. This paper explores the contrast and relationship between the Saharawi revolts in the Moroccan-controlled areas and the Saharawi revolution in the refugee camps. The revolution, successful in self-perpetuation, and the revolts, silenced by repression and international indifference, may actually function in symbiosis, each needing the other to continue. Yet Western Sahara's (hidden) place in the Arab spring suggests that a combination of revolts and revolution may not, without international interest and pressure, be enough to force a political opening.

Revolution's Refugees: Displaced Libyans in Tunisia and the Formation of Transnational Amazigh (Berber) Community

Dr Katherine E. Hoffman, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University

Little attention has been paid to minorities in the MENA revolts. This paper examines the role of Amazigh (Berber) ethnicity in the integration of Libyan populations displaced by revolutionary violence into neighbouring Tunisia. In rural southern Tunisia, villagers prepared vacant homes in anticipation of a Libyan exodus. Tunisian village organizations created for this purpose managed the needs of refugees for six months during which the Libyan men shuttled between their families in Tunisia and their comrades-in-arms in Libya. Field research in southern Tunisia and in Western Libya suggests a tension: on the one hand, Tunisians displayed revolutionary zeal in aiding Libyans during their uprising, and pride in the long-oppressed Amazigh heritage that linked them. On the other hand, local economic hardships in their arid lands made southern Tunisians impatient with refugees' demands for comforts like air conditioning and appliances they themselves lacked.

Malek Bennabi and Muhammad Hassan Wazzani – on the Fringes of Maghrebi Nationalism

Olivia Luce, DPhil Student, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

The recent calls for political change sweeping across parts of the Arab world have led to increasing speculation regarding the causation of popular dissatisfaction towards the heritage of post-colonial governance. It is worth looking back to the creation of state cultural hegemony in North Africa which pushed key alternative voices out of the public dialogue, such as those of Malek Bennabi and Mohammad Hassan Wazzani. This paper intends to relate the life and works of these two Maghrebi contemporaries to the problems associated with accelerated state formation and cultural hegemony. It will discuss the problem of defining nationalist movements, the significance of Islamic intellectual currents on Maghrebi nationalism and the degree to which governments are responsible for the inclusion or exclusion of particular intellectual currents upon a national dialogue.

Hidden histories of Resistance in Morocco and Libya

James Roslington, PhD Candidate, University of Cambridge

This paper will explore the historical imaginaire of revolutionary and radical politics in the Maghrib by focussing on the moral legacy of two heroes of anti-colonial resistance, 'Umar al-Mukhtar (1862–1931) and Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi (c.1882–1963). The struggle for control of the image and narrative of resistance reveals much about history and memory in the contemporary Maghrib. The paper will argue that, from the 1950s onwards, the post-independence states of Libya and Morocco sought to control and historicise resistance. The symbolic appropriation of history was enacted in ritual, architecture, art and historical production. The central problematic of this paper is to uncover why heroes co-opted into official, historical narratives of resistance have nevertheless re-emerged into contemporary opposition. The paper will demonstrate how, in fact, alternative, 'hidden' traditions of resistance around 'Umar al-Mukhtar and 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi have circulated in Libya and Morocco for decades. Historic tensions over ideology and regionalism have been crucial in this re-framing of the heroes of resistance. Above all, however, 'Umar al-Mukhtar and 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi have emerged to stand beyond history as transcendental symbols of resistance, embodying a pure, heroic ideal of politics, as imagined in contradistinction to the delegitimized, corrupt nature of contemporary political life in the Maghrib.

Panel 6c The Role of Political Islam during and after the Arab Spring

Chair: Dr Katerina Dalacoura, Senior Lecturer, Department of International Relations, LSE

The AKP Model and Tunisia's al-Nahda: From Convergence to Competition

Stefano Torelli, PhD candidate, University of Rome la Sapienza – Italian Centre for the Study of Political Islam

The aim of this paper is to explore the differences between the AKP Turkish model on the one hand and the al-Nahda Party and other Islamic movements in the Middle East on the other. By examining the structural differences between the two contexts and consequently by looking at the two distinctive ways of understanding Islam in public life, this paper will also demonstrate how and why the 'Turkish model' represented by the AKP can hardly be applied to Tunisia. The paper will be based on the analysis of political Islam in Turkey and, on the other hand, of the Tunisian Islamic Party, with a look at the role that the element of political Islam may play in the new post-Arab Spring states and institutions.

Arab Uprisings, Constitutional Law and Islam: Perspectives for an Accountable Government in Libya

Pietro Longo, PhD candidate, University of Naples 'L'Orientale' – Italian Centre for the Study of Political Islam

Against the background of the Libyan uprising this paper aims to test the thesis of 'constitutions in a non-constitutional world' suggested by the leading expert of Islamic constitutionalism N. J. Brown. The work analyses the 'constituent power' as it has taken shape in the country: did the people decide to adopt it on the basis of the principle of sovereignty? Or did it impose itself as a 'de-facto' power? The study will also examine the provisional constitution adopted by the National Transitional Council by looking at the asset of the state, the separation of the powers and the role of Islam in the framework of the institutional building. The study of the current constituent process and the analysis of the Constitution ad interim in a comparative perspective appear to be of great relevance in order to understand properly the future of Libya.

Al-Qaeda, the Arab Spring and the Decline of the Pan-Islamic Ideal

Ludovico Carlino, PhD candidate, University of Reading – Italian Center for the Study of Political Islam

In the light of the pacific and predominantly secular framework behind the Arab Spring, many scholars have emphasized how the ambitions that al-Qaeda has pursued in the last two decades have been defeated, that is the idea to unite the Ummah under the umbrella of a pan-islamic ideal by overthrowing

the Arab regimes through a violent confrontation. The global jihad has indeed been left aside whilst the Arab populations expressed their grievances by appealing to a sentiment of Muslim solidarity contrary to the one that al-Qaeda has used to mobilise its supporters. This paper aims to analyse how the Arab Spring is transforming the global dimension that al-Qaeda's jihad entails by pushing its local affiliates to present themselves as a concrete alternative to the local regimes. Looking at Yemen as case study, the goal of this study is to understand how the Arab Spring has eclipsed the global appeal of al-Qaeda.

Panel 6d The Crisis of Legitimacy: Transformations in Governance and Civil Society in the Contemporary Islamic Republic of Iran

Chair: Peyman Jafari, PhD candidate, International Institute of Social History and Leiden University

Iran's Competing Discourses of Regime Legitimacy

Dr Maaïke Warnaar, Associate Lecturer in International Relations, Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam

Authoritarian regimes do not survive with repression alone – regime survival to a large extent depends on ideational legitimacy (Albrecht and Schlumberger, 2004). Furthermore, the mobilization of a repressive apparatus needs ideological inspiration to be effective in carrying out its functions. As such the Iranian regime, despite its increasing reliance on repression, remains dependent on an official discourse legitimizing its rule. To enforce its preferred views and narratives, and to ensure that no counter-narrative is available, the regime employs censorship on media, intellectuals and writers. However counter-discourses inevitably emerge, particularly through every day practices of dissent (Bayat 2009), word of mouth and new media. This paper explains how the regime's discursive sources of legitimacy can be and are challenged through opposition narratives.

From Ballots to Bullets – The Iranian Women's Rights Movement after the Presidential Elections of 2009

Paola Maria Raunio, PhD candidate, University of St Andrews and Visiting Scholar, University of Turku

The women's rights movement has been a principal actor in Iranian civil society. However, the role and the extent of its work has largely been defined and re-defined by the people in power. The paper will open with a brief discussion of the women's rights movement and its relationship with the Iranian regime after President Ahmadinejad's election in 2005. The 2009 election atmosphere presented the movement with a window of opportunity to re-energise its activities. The paper will look at how women rights advocates materialised this window of opportunity and how they managed to place their message and request for reform back on the public agenda. The paper will also examine how the movement adapted to the challenging post-election environment that unfolded on the streets of Iran. The paper draws on 'political opportunity' tradition for its theoretical framework and its empirical findings are from a fieldwork trip in Tehran in the spring 2010.

'Democracy' as a Means of Legitimacy in Contemporary Iran

Dr Shabnam J. Holliday, Lecturer in International Relations, Plymouth University

The paper explores how the idea of 'democracy' is used to legitimise representations of national identity by political actors in contemporary Iran. The paper takes a poststructuralist approach by deconstructing key 'texts' which make specific use of the concepts of 'democracy/dimukrasi' ('Western') and/or mardumsalari ('Iranian' democracy). Following the 2009 presidential election, Ahmadinejad accused the 'West' of not being sufficiently 'democratic'. Whilst recognising that the Green Movement is a fluid and amorphous collection of individuals and groups, it becomes clear that a much more inclusive notion of 'democracy' is accepted as 'legitimate' and 'authentic'. It is concluded that although what is perceived to be 'legitimate' and 'authentic' is contested, it appears that references to 'democracy' and 'democratic practices' are a means of legitimising political discourses in contemporary Iran.

Iranians in Turkey, Transnational Political Activism and the Legitimacy Crisis of the Regime

Dr Paola Rivetti, Post-doctoral Fellow, School of Law and Government, Dublin City University

It is generally assumed that 'a stable and significant transnational field of political action connecting immigrants with their polities of origin does (...) exist' (Guarnizo et al., 2003), and the consequences of this transnational activism have been explored in terms of influence on the country of origin (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006). The present paper aims at assessing the characteristics of this field in the case of Iranians in Turkey, who share a common political background, namely that of dissidence (which is not that of activism). The novelty of this paper is the focus on Turkey, which is perceived as a 'transit country'. This particularity makes international political networks very important to the migrants, who feel the pressure to be inserted into any of them in order to leave Turkey. This paper also sheds light on the political influence Iranians abroad may exert on the Islamic Republic, leaving room to explore the strength of de-legitimacy of the regime they may strengthen.

Salient Sanctions: Profiteers and Losers of the Iran Sanctions Regime

Ali Fathollah-Nejad, PhD candidate, SOAS & Münster and Assistant Lecturer, University of Duisburg-Essen

The paper will take a look at the sanctions regime imposed on Iran, in particular the one put in practice in the course of the so-called 'nuclear crisis'. Sanctions include unilateral (by the US and its allies, above all the EU) and multilateral measures (those imposed by the United Nations Security Council since 2006). The paper will shed light on: (1) the actors pushing for sanctions and their political and economic interests; (2) geo-economic dynamics of these sanctions in an increasingly multipolar world and the policies accompanying it; and (3) the effects on the Iranian economy, civil society and power structure. Concluding from the analysis on effects and costs of sanctions both geo-economically and economically, a number of observations will be formulated pertaining to Iran's broader economic development, also affecting its society and polity.

Panel 6e The Everyday Construction of Authoritarianism in the Middle East

Chair: Dr Jordi Tejel, Research Professor, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

Dangerous Liaisons under Qassem's Rule: The Alliance Between the State and the Leftist Student Body in Iraq, 1958-1963

Dr Jordi Tejel, Research Professor, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

During the interwar era, students in Iraq consolidated their centrality in the political scene despite their low numbers. Yet tensions around the identity of the Iraqi state (Iraqi nationalism/Pan-Arab nationalism) were salient. Ultimately, under the control of the Communist party, the 'progressive forces' became hegemonic first within colleges and then within the university. Despite its authoritarian tendencies, the leftist students and intellectuals backed Qassem's regime until its downfall. Aware of the students' capacity of mobilization, Qassem sought in turn to co-opt the intellectuals and students opening the door of the Baghdad University to larger sections of the Iraqi society. Drawing from a wide range of materials (diplomatic archives, Unions' records, etc.) and disciplines (history, political science and sociology), the paper will reflect on the interactions between the state and the university milieu which allowed for the 'everyday constructions' of authoritarian rule under and beyond Qassem's regime.

'Army-Youth Together': Marxism, Nationalism and Authoritarianism in Turkey, 1960-1971

Murat Yilmaz, Research Assistant and PhD candidate, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

In 1950, the Democratic Party (PD) of Adnan Menderes won the elections ahead of the Republican People's Party, founded by Mustafa Kemal. However, the policies of the PD in the 1950s, specifically the gradual Islamization of Turkish society and the suppression of leftist forces, had angered leftist

intellectuals and some student communities. The government of Adnan Menderes was subsequently overthrown by a military coup in 1960. This coup was called for and supported by the students and the leftist intellectuals in order to put Turkey back on the right track of Kemalist reforms. In spite of the alliance between the students and the army, the tensions within the latter led to a second military coup in 1971, this time directed against the leftist forces. The purpose of this paper – based on archival sources and the activist press – is to reassess the 1960s in order to analyze how effectively and paradoxically the ‘progressive forces’ contributed to the consolidation of military power and authoritarianism in Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century.

The Egyptian Left, the Question of Authoritarianism, and the Nasser to Sadat Transition

Hassan Thuillard, PhD candidate and Research Assistant, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

Egyptian university protests flared up in the aftermath of the Naksah (1967), as the military regime failed to live up to the confidence invested in it. Spearheaded by the left, the student movement started asking for democratic reforms and for an end to the police-state. But when ‘progressive’ student opposition gained momentum as Nasser was succeeded by Sadat and his abhorred ‘Infitāḥ’ policies, the same Nasser whose authoritarian regime the left had criticised after the Naksah, became an almost hagiographic literary topos in the writings of the leftist opposition. The latter thus found itself alternately calling for true democracy and praising the principal architect of Egyptian authoritarianism. This paper analyses the left’s ambiguous stances towards ‘authoritarianism’ and ‘democracy’ under Sadat. It also explores how these ambiguities might have contributed to the rise of the Islamist wave.

Resisting the British Authorities: Ordinary Britons in Revolutionary Egypt, 1919-22

Dr Lanver Mak, Visiting Fellow, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London

Recent momentous events bring to mind Egypt’s revolutions of 1919–22 and 1952. Similar to contemporary developments, the revolution of 1919–22 was marked by Egyptians from many walks of life seeking to overthrow a decades-old regime through mass demonstrations. One aspect of the revolution’s historical narrative that has received little attention is the resentment of Egypt’s ‘ordinary’ Britons towards the governing British authorities as they asserted their own identity apart from the political and military elite. This paper discusses the grievances of Egypt’s ‘ordinary’ Britons that developed from the delay in demobilising the large number of British troops following the First World War, their growing anxiety owing to the imminent abolition of the capitulations, and their arduous pursuit of compensation for the deaths or injuries of loved ones due to the violent outbreaks.

Panel 7 Wednesday 28 March, 11.30 – 13.30

Panel 7a The Economics of the Arab Spring

Chair: Professor Fawaz Gerges, Director, Middle East Centre, LSE

Discussant: Dr Bassem Awadallah, Secretary General, Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Oil and Development in the Middle East

Professor Richard Auty, Professor Emeritus, Lancaster University

This paper seeks to offer critical reflections and fresh comparative perspectives on the political economy of oil in the Middle East, focusing on a question of wider interest: how do natural resources shape paths of economic and political development? While this has received considerable analytical and empirical interest from researchers, the related discourses on (a) political economy and (b) natural resources have curiously ignored a systematic analysis of the Middle East—a resource rich region par excellence. Given these analytical and empirical gaps, this paper argues for developing a rich multi-layered, but rigorous, narrative of the political economy of the Middle East. The paper aims to: (a) set out the limitations of the global literature on natural resources, institutions and development; (b) critically summarize the deployment of external windfalls in the Middle East; and (c) contribute insights from the Middle East to the general ‘resource curse’ and development literature.

After the Arab Spring: Creating Economic Commons in the Middle East

Dr Adeel Malik, Globe Fellow in the Economies of Muslim Societies, Centre for Islamic Studies and Research Associate, Centre for the Study of African Economies, University of Oxford (*co-authored with Dr Bassem Awadallah*)

Two forces that will significantly shape the Middle East’s future are (1) the demographic transition marked by a growing number of young people entering the labour market and (2) an economic structure defined by excessive reliance on oil and hydrocarbons. This paper argues that the challenges of demography and diversification are inter-linked. Without a private sector that is integrated with regional and global markets, the region is unlikely to convert this youthful transition into a productive transition. While the existing political equilibrium in the region may not favour an independent private sector, the new demographic forces can unleash processes that may alter the preferences and constraints of governing elites and international stakeholders. A key argument of the paper is that the region may first need to regionalize before it can effectively globalize. A necessary step in this regard is to create an infrastructure of cooperation to solve what is arguably one of the most important collective action problems of the Middle East.

Political Economy of the Arab Spring in Egypt – the Long View

Dr Mina Toksoz, Head of Country Risk, Standard Bank International (*speaking in a private capacity*)

The political struggles currently underway in Egypt reflect the bid for power of those social forces previously held back by the Mubarak regime. These are led by the aspiring middle classes, that are mostly aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood, and the rapidly growing business elite keen on continued integration with the regional and global economy. The outlook for Egypt’s economy is likely to depend on the parameters of this new economic alliance. However, two forces complicate this process and suggest that a new settlement will take time and not be easy. One is the Egyptian army, with its extensive economic interests. The pressure for the military to reduce its role in the economy is likely to increase; this process is unlikely to be smooth and remains a significant risk. The second is the rediscovered strength of popular movements of youth and trade unions which are likely to demand an improvement in democratic rights and increased employment opportunities and living standards and will not accept a return to autocratic rule. Islam looks set to play an ever increasing role in providing the glue to this new social settlement.

Public Opinion, Egypt and the Revolution

Dr H.A. Hellyer, Senior Practice Consultant, Gallup (*speaking in a private capacity*)

In less than 14 months, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is gone, the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups hold the lion's share of seats in a new parliament, and public opinion in Egypt actually makes a difference. Within a few months, there are due to be new presidential elections in Egypt. But what is the story of Egypt beyond what we see on the television screen? How significant is social media really? What is the support base for the Egyptian military? Did Egypt really turn Islamist within a few short months? Who is likely to be the new president of Egypt? Dr Hellyer brings to bear his years of experience of living in and researching Egypt, as well as his knowledge of the most recent polls on the region, to these vital questions.

Panel 7b The Struggle for Identity and Power in Lebanon

Chair: Fouad Gehad Marei, Doctoral Fellow, University of Durham

Hezbollah's Mujtama' Al-Muqāwama: Party, Modus Vivendi and Social Change

Fouad Gehad Marei, Doctoral Fellow, University of Durham

Utilising social movements theory, this paper aims to examine Hezbollah's impact on the Shia community. It looks at the party's Islamo-Leninist organisational structure in an attempt to understand the role of mujtahids as the intellectual vanguard and agents of social change. The paper analyses the way in which the party constitutes the backbone of the counterculture – how the party and its subsidiary organisations disseminate the value system and socialise members of the community into the 'Islamic Milieu'. The paper questions the extent to which Hezbollah has been successful as a social movement and, crucially, the extent to which the Islamic Milieu is a democratic, participatory cognitive praxis. It concludes by locating the subculture, mujtama' al-muqāwama, within the context of the consociational superstructure and questioning whether or not it poses a radical threat to stability and inter-confessional coexistence in Lebanon.

The Islamic Resistance in South Lebanon (1982-2010): Identity Building by the Borderland

Dr Daniel Meier, Visiting Fellow, Centre for Lebanese Studies and Senior Associate Member, St Antony's College

Historically, Hizballah has put the resistance against Israel as its raison d'être. After its appearance and its growth in the Bekaa, Hizballah found its favourite battleground in the south of Lebanon in order to mobilise on political, religious, and military bases. The post-civil war era allowed Hizballah to reinforce its strategic and political hegemony on this territory. Now that the party starts a new wave of entryism targeting the Lebanese state, this paper examines the place that the south borderland area has in the political and military strategies of Hizballah's identity. It will then look at the connections between the notions of identity and borders that one can observe in the political speech and also in the everyday and military actions on the ground from the beginning until today. The paper suggests the idea that the borderland area of South Lebanon has significant political resources for its resistance, identity and for its political goals.

Tripoli (Lebanon) as a Microcosm of the Crises in the Levant

Tine Gade, PhD candidate, SciencesPo Paris – CERl

This paper will argue that North Lebanon, the poorest and least educated region in Lebanon, has since the Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon in April 2005 become a place where actors from the regional, transnational, national, and local political scenes meet and rival for control over the future of Sunnism. The political void left by the Syrian withdrawal has made Tripoli become the space in the Middle East

where a high number of actors directly implicated in the transformations of Sunni Islam are present and competing for influence. Few systematic academic works have focused on the urban crisis in Tripoli and related it to the events in North Lebanon at the time of demonstrations in Beirut. This present paper aims to fill the void in the literature, which has until now made North Lebanon the object of many very politicized scholarships.

Lebanon and the Arab Spring: A Critical Perspective on the Struggle for Power in Lebanon

Dima Smaira, PhD candidate, Durham University

For many, the so called 'Arab Spring' seemed to bypass Lebanon. This study examines this assumption from the lens of critical security studies in order to generate a clearer understanding of the current political situation in Lebanon. Political discourse in Lebanon remains over the struggle for power between two contending factions. These factions are constellations of sub-identities that survive as extensions of larger regional and international forces. Lebanese society remains mobilized along politico-sectarian lines and remains imprisoned by the traditional security discourse. This discourse continues to revolve around the representation of the main groups and the resistance to the other. Identity, therefore, continues to strongly define the nature of the power struggle in Lebanon and prevents Lebanese society from unequivocally espousing regional changes. In many ways, the political dynamic in Lebanon showcases the intricate relationship between 'identity' on the one hand and, 'representation' and 'resistance' on the other.

Shifting Dynamics: Syria and Lebanon after the Arab Spring

Andrew Bowen, PhD candidate, Department of International Relations, LSE

The relationship between Syria and Lebanon is at the heart of the conflict between Syria and Iran on the one hand, and Israel and the United States on the other. The post-Taif state of Lebanon emerged as a divided and weakened state under the sway of Syria. Domestic opposition groups, most notably Hezbollah, were not only a tool used by Syria but also Iran as part of their strategy in the domestic, regional, and global conflicts. Paradoxically, Lebanon is now one of the more stable states in the region and wider Arab world. With the emergence of the Arab Spring in Syria important questions are awaiting their answer. Will the bilateral relationship between Syria and Lebanon be subject to fundamental changes? What is the effect on the domestic situation in Lebanon, but also the wider conflict involving international actors? This paper will analyze the development of the relationship between Syria and Lebanon, and will draw lessons that will help answer these fundamental questions.

Panel 7c Literature, Resistance and Revolt

Chair: Professor Ronak Husni, Professor and Head of Department of Arabic and Translation Studies, American University of Sharjah

The Role of the Poet and Poetry in the Arab Spring

Professor Ronak Husni, Professor and Head of Department of Arabic and Translation Studies, American University of Sharjah

Poetry has always been an integral part of the socio-political life of Arab society. It has been used during political upheavals in the Arab world for various purposes, to encourage the masses in their demand for change, to give heart to the warriors on the battlefield or to pay tribute to those who have made the ultimate sacrifice for their cause. In this paper, attempts will be made to shed light on the role of the poet and poetry in shaping attitudes to political change in Arab society, and, in some cases, in manipulating these attitudes. The paper will examine the role of poetry in the Arab Spring and try to evaluate to what extent poetry has sparked these revolutions. This paper will focus on the poetry of the Tunisian poet Abu Al-Qasm al-Shabbi (1909– 1934) especially his poem 'Iradat al-Hayyat' (The Will of Life) which became a unifying slogan from the very start of the Arab Spring.

Imagining 2011: The Literatures of the Arab Uprisings

Dr Rita Sakr, Visiting Lecturer and Visiting Fellow in Post-conflict Studies, University College Dublin

This paper aims at exploring the role of literature in anticipating, fuelling, and shaping the uprisings that swept over the Arab world from the Maghreb to the Arabian Peninsula. It examines how novels by writers like Mohamed Salmawy, Kamel al-Riahi, and Hisham Matar envisioned the discourses and practices of the social and political movements that marked the 2011 revolutionary upheavals. The paper will analyse the intersections of the fictional and the factual, the literary and the journalistic, the everyday and the political, across the range of imaginative events that directly preceded and elliptically predicted the uprisings. It will investigate the intervention of literary outpourings into the political geographies of the cities that formed the stage of the 'Arab Spring': these texts had imaginatively reconfigured political sites such as monumental squares before protesters reinvented these spaces with their graffiti, slogans, and street performances that comprised the renaming of central squares and the toppling of autocrats' monuments.

On Word and Image, Publication and Political Dissent in Artistic Practices: Walid Sadek's 'Fi annani akbar min Picasso' [bigger than Picasso]

Dr Sonja Mejcher-Atassi, Assistant Professor, American University of Beirut

This paper focuses on 'Fi annani akbar min picasso', a tiny paperback. At first sight, the book has little to do with Picasso: Its text can be characterized as ekphrasis, descriptions of visual works of art, but it also speaks of violence and vandalism. Juxtaposed on every other page is the image of a monument in Beirut. The monument is a display of power in the highly contested urban space of politically tense postwar Lebanon. Its inscription reads, 'from Lebanon to His Excellency the President Hafez al-Asad, a salute of fidelity and fraternity to Syria, its people, and army'. What comes in the disguise of a book on Picasso unfolds into a work of art that raises questions about the place of word and image and political dissent in cultural production. After situating 'Fi annani akbar min Picasso' into artistic practices in post-war Lebanon, the paper sets out to read the publication as 'the treasure itself' and against the background of the Arab Spring, especially the revolution in Syria.

'Within the Bounds of what is Permissible': The Boundaries of Israeliness in Anton Shammas's 'Arabesques'

Isabelle Hesse, PhD candidate, Department of English and Related Literature, University of York

This paper examines Shammas's novel 'Arabesques' as an attempt to subvert and creatively refashion the exclusivity of Israeliness established by the Israeli state and advocated by Yehoshua in his novel 'The Lover'. By including a fictionalised version of Yehoshua, Shammas criticises this inclusion of an Arab character but crucially also Yehoshua's portrayal of Israeli Palestinians and their place within Israeli national discourse. The paper argues that Shammas positions the relationship between writer and subject, which he represents as characterised by a struggle for power and domination, as a metaphor for the relationship between the Israeli Jewish majority and the Israeli Palestinian minority. As such, it is used to deconstruct the idea of the Jewish people as the 'people of the book' along with the concept of Hebrew as the Jewish language and Israel as the Jewish state.

Palestinian Writing and Resistance

Nicola Anne Robinson, PhD candidate, Department of English and Related Literature, University of York

This paper considers the work of Palestinian writers, Elias Khoury and Sahar Khalifeh, who position themselves as resistant to the Israeli state. The significance of these writers' texts lies in how their narrative compels readers to engage with the socio-political landscape outside of the text. Harlow asserts that 'Western' critics often misinterpret works of 'resistance literature' by solely assessing them in terms of their aesthetic value rather than in terms of their success as not only records of resistance but as part of the struggle. However, while Harlow preserves a separation of the aesthetic and political realms, this paper contends that didacticism is part of the aesthetic affect. This paper argues that

the novels protest against the fragmentation of Palestinian society which caused the weakening of resistance and opposition to Israeli domination. The paper pays attention to the particular political and literary interventions made by Khourey and Khalifeh in their representations of the historic and current social order in Israel/Palestine.

Panel 7d Routledge Workshop: How to get published in Academic Journals and Books

Chair: Dr Hendrik Kraetzschmar, Lecturer in Middle East Politics, University of Leeds

Panelist 1: Adam Leary, Managing Editor, Routledge Middle Eastern Studies

Panelist 2: Joe Whiting, Editor, Routledge Middle East and Islamic Studies

Panelist 3: Professor Benjamin Fortna (SOAS), Series Editor, Routledge Studies on the Middle East

Panelist 4: Professor Richard Gillespie (University of Liverpool), Editor, Mediterranean Politics

Panelist 5: Professor Ian Netton (University of Exeter), Editor, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies and Series / Culture and Civilisation in the Middle East and Routledge Sufi Series

This workshop and Q&A session will give advice on how to get published in academic journals and books. During this session, each panellist will give a brief introduction explaining their perspective on the subject before opening the discussion up for questions.

Panel 7e The Yemeni Revolt

Chair: Dr Vincent Durac, Lecturer in Middle East Politics, University College Dublin

Yemen's Arab Spring – Democratic Opening or Status Quo Maintenance?

Dr Vincent Durac, Lecturer in Middle East Politics, University College Dublin

The departure of Yemeni president al-Salih for Saudi Arabia in June 2011 seemed to herald the fall of yet another autocracy in the region. However, the protest movement was quickly overtaken by mainstream opposition parties and tribal actors, suggesting that Yemen's future may best be read in terms of the reassertion of pre-existing political dynamics rather than in hopeful expectations of democratic transformation. This paper explores the emergence of the Yemeni protest movement and examines the relationships between the groups that comprise the protest movement and the established opposition parties as well as between the opposition and the regime. It will also examine the policies and motivations of outside actors such as Saudi Arabia, Europe and the US. Finally, the paper will explore what the apparent cooptation of the Yemeni revolt by established political actors and interests tells us about changing patterns of political participation in the country and the Arab world more generally.

Thawra asShab alYemania: Between Intra-regime Rupture and Revolutionary 'Change'

Fernando Carvajal, PhD candidate, University of Exeter

While many analysts have attributed the origins of the political crisis in Yemen to the Arab Spring, reality points to causes existing prior to December 2010. The political crisis brewed for months prior to the opposition-led protests in Sana'a and Taiz. The conflict began after the process for National Dialogue between the opposition and president Saleh stalled in 2009. This intra-regime conflict was further exacerbated by Saleh's policies to advance amendments removing obstacles to his re-election

in 2013 proved unacceptable to the opposition allied to powerful and rich tribal leaders within the al-Ahmar family. This paper will address the protest dynamics involved in the ongoing eight-month old political crisis and the underlying popular revolt.

Public Protest and Visions for Change: Voices from Within Yemen's Peaceful Youth Movement (Al-Haraka Al-Shababiya Al-Silmiya)

Saleem Haddad, Researcher, Saferworld (*co-authored with Joshua Rogers*)

This paper investigates the way Yemeni youth understand and articulate the causes of the protests in the country, as well as the effects the protest movement have had on Yemeni society and politics. The paper sets out how youth have articulated the causes of protests, focusing on the way they have linked grievances such as corruption, poverty and exclusion to broader issues around political legitimacy and regional identity. It examines youth demands and visions, probing the constructions of modernity and religious, tribal and civic identity underlying calls for a 'modern civic state'. In an effort to bridge theory and practice, the paper concludes with initial conjectures about the impact of the protests on Yemeni society and politics, particularly on the visibility of women and the emergence of a new 'public space' for learning and debate in the country's 'Change Squares', and considers the implications of these changes for international policy towards Yemen.

The Political Elite in Yemen as a Cause for Resilience and Breakdown of the Regime

Larissa Alles, PhD candidate in International Relations, University of St Andrews

Since the popular unrest of the Arab Spring reached Yemen in early 2011, several popular regime figures have defected and backed the protesters. President Saleh's neo-patrimonial way of ruling Yemen enabled him to co-opt the various groups in the country and to integrate them in the circles of elites on the one hand, and to adapt to political parties and a democratic façade on the other. Neopatrimonialism and the cooptation of influential individuals or tribes are an important factor for the regime's resilience. However, the means to sustain the regime implied hidden costs. One of the causes for the regime's breakdown now are these costs, as the resources to maintain the system are exhausted. This paper seeks to investigate the role of Yemen's political relevant elites in the resilience, as well as the breakdown of Saleh's regime.

Making Revolution in a Hard Place: Yemen Surrounded by Bomb Makers, Pirates and Arms Smugglers

Dr Susanne Dahlgren, Research Fellow, Academy of Finland and Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, University of Helsinki

The Obama Administration considers the Yemeni wing of Al-Qaeda as the worst enemy in its 'war against terror'. Yemen is also directly influenced by Horn of African conflicts through the chains of smuggling of refugees and arms. Yemen's regional position is further affected by Saudi Arabia, which does not view positively the prospect of a democratic republic on the Arabian peninsula. These regional factors have delayed radical changes to oust the regime of Ali-Abdullah Saleh. Social forces have in vain tried to convince the outside world about Saleh's links to Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Horn of Africa conflicts, and about arms smuggling. This paper discusses the challenges to democracy in this corner of the Arab World where the best intents of people for fair rule are confronted by lawlessness of the worst kind and by the multiple geostrategic interests of regional and global players.

Panel 8 Wednesday 28 March, 14.30 – 16.30

Panel 8a Political Economy after the Arab Revolution: New Perspectives

Chair: Dr Amnon Aran, Senior Lecturer, City University London

Short Term Answers to Long Term Problems: The Arab Revolution and Socio-Economic Planning in the GCC

Professor Rory Miller, Director of Middle East & Mediterranean Studies, King's College London

This paper will examine the socio economic lessons of the Arab Spring for the GCC states. The first lesson is that poverty is not alone sufficient to explain popular unrest leading to regime collapse. The second is that relative decline in human/institutional development is as dangerous to regime survival as absolute decline. Up to this point the practical response of the GCC states has been the mobilization of economic resources to placate political demands and accommodate social pressure. But the lessons of the last year make it clear that while this may provide short-term relief, it will not provide long-term stability.

Political Economy of Egypt in Post-2011 Revolution

Dr Ashraf Mishrif, Senior Lecturer in Political Economy, Middle East & Mediterranean Studies, King's College London

The aim of this paper is to examine Egypt's short term substantial economic challenges in the post-revolutionary period as a result of political uncertainty. It will also examine the emerging role of the military in the transition process and in shaping the political and economic future of the country, particularly in relation to the election, drafting a new constitution and the economy. The paper will argue that Egypt's new government will have to take effective measures to revitalize the private sector as an engine of growth and restore confidence in the economy to attract foreign investment. The paper concludes that if such objectives to be achieved, Egypt will need to ensure that political reforms have to go hand-in-hand with economic development and that the triangle of the development process – economic, political and social – is constantly enforced by all political, economic and social forces.

What Tunisia's Revolution Tells us about Perceptions of Corruption

Hannes Baumann, PhD candidate, King's College London

Prior to the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, Tunisian economic management received gushing reviews. The IMF and World Bank praised Ben Ali's liberalising policies since 1987. The economy, manufacturing, and living standards all grew faster than in other non-oil Arab states. The president and the Trabelsi clan of his wife enriched themselves on the back of the country's business success. Ben Ali's corruption was an integral part of the ruler's autocratic upgrading, which had been sanctioned by the West. The puzzle to be addressed in this paper is why this corruption was perceived as non-problematic by respondents to surveys such as the Transparency International corruption perception index. The paper thus uses the case study of Tunisia to contribute to the debate about the usefulness and the limitations of such indices. Corruption perception indices were successful at mapping long-term trends in Tunisian corruption, but the very notion of corruption requires a more nuanced and a more political definition than these indices can provide.

Panel 8b Between Palestine and the Umma: Transnational Jihad Ideologues of Palestinian Origin

Chair: Professor Brynjar Lia, Research Professor, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)

Early Palestinian Ideologues of Global Jihadism: The Life and Heritage of Sheikh Izz al-Din Al-Qassam

Dr Reuven Paz, Director, Project for Research of Islamic Movements (PRISM) at the Global Research in International Affairs (GLORIA) Center, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya

In the research of Palestinian Jihadism there is a neglect of the introductory role of Palestinians in contributing to the idea of Global Jihad between the 1920s and 1950s, especially of Sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam in 1920–1935. Beside Al-Qassam, there are several other Islamist Palestinian figures worth mentioning. One is the Palestinian Mufti between 1922 and 1948, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, another the Palestinian Sheikh Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani, the founder of the Islamic Tahrir (Liberation) Party in Jerusalem in 1952–53. The paper will focus on the heritage of al-Qassam, who was also a kind of spiritual guidance to Abdallah Azzam and Abu Qutadah al-Filastini. However, it will discuss the importance of the others in developing and contributing the idea of Global Jihadism, and will explain the reasons for the significant role of Palestinian scholars in this field.

Palestine in the Life and Ideology of Abdallah Azzam

Dr Thomas Hegghammer, Senior Research Fellow and Director of Terrorism Research, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)

The Palestinian preacher Abdallah Azzam (1941–1989) is widely considered as one of the most influential ideologues in the modern history of transnational jihadism. Azzam is best known as the main entrepreneur of the Arab mobilization to the 1980s war in Afghanistan. In spite of his documented influence, Azzam's biography and ideological production remains understudied. This paper examines Azzam's relationship to his native Palestine, in the hope of understanding how a Palestinian Islamist could become the main proponent for a global Muslim effort to liberate Afghanistan. The paper traces Azzam's Palestinian biography, asking what we know about Azzam's early life in the West Bank and his subsequent connections with Islamists in the territories. Second, it analyses Azzam's writings in order to gauge his views on the Palestinian struggle and its place in his overall worldview.

Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi and Palestine

Dr Joas Wagemakers, Lecturer, Radboud University

Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi (b. Barqa, West Bank, 1959), is one of the most influential radical Islamic ideologues alive. He has inspired militant Muslims in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, has advised others in the North Caucasus and Somalia and his work is read from Europe to Indonesia. Considering al-Maqdisi's Palestinian origins and occasional references to Palestinian issues throughout his writings, it is tempting to assume that he has a strong Palestinian identity and that this is one of the guiding principles in his ideology. This paper argues instead that, while there is indeed some evidence pointing to a soft spot for Palestinian issues in al-Maqdisi's work, he lacks a strong Palestinian identity and his more recent focus on events in the Gaza Strip as well as his earlier references to the Palestinian question should be seen in the broader context of his efforts to focus on areas where both da'wa (calling people to Islam) and jihad can be effective, fruitful and legitimate.

Authority in Islamic Movements: The Case of Abu Qatada al-Filastini

Petter Nesser, Research Fellow, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)

The Palestinian-born Jordanian Abu Qatada al-Filastini is regarded a key contemporary theologian within the salafist-jihadist movement. Sometimes referred to as 'Al Qaeda's spiritual ambassador to Europe', the UK-based preacher is considered a religious authority by armed Islamic groups across the globe. Known for his sophisticated and uncompromising analyses of fundamental Islamic principles in relation

to current political affairs, Qatada has contributed significantly to the jihadists' ideological curriculum. Despite his prominence as an author and preacher, little is known about Qatada's background, persona and how he rose to the top tiers of militant Islamist thinkers. The paper explores Qatada's life and personal characteristics and how they relate to his academic production and standing. Based on selected primary and secondary sources, the paper also investigates how his Palestinian background has coloured his ideological stance and contributed to his position among the various jihadist trends.

Panel 8c Shi'ism: Clerical Authority, Identity and Diaspora

Chair: Dr Stuart Horsman, Research Analyst – Iran, Middle East and North Africa Research Group, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Shiite Marja'iyat: The Association of Shiite Quietism and Activism

Mohammadreza Kalantari, Research Fellow, Royal Holloway University of London

Immediately following the occultation of the last Shiite Imam, ideas concerning who has the right to lead the Ummah converged around two positions. One position held that the most predominant Shiite jurist should rule until the emergence of the Imam (Shiite activism). The second position maintained that any government except that which belongs to the innocent Imam is idolatrous and Muslims must therefore tolerate all the oppressions of any state until the Imam's emergence (Shiite quietism). This paper examines the political rhetoric, manifestos, and ideology of each faction based on a series of documents and interviews conducted among the scholars of Qom and Najaf Seminaries. It explores whether an association between the two factions is possible, what its nature would be, and what impact it would have on the politics of the Middle East and on a wider arena of international relations.

Ayatollah Montazeri and the Institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran: A Contrasting Legacy

Dr Constance Arminjon, PhD graduate, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS)

The late Ayatollah Montazeri (d. 2009) played a decisive role in the creation of the new Shiite state headed by Ayatollah Khomeini. Not only did he contribute to the establishment of its religious political institution, the 'guardianship of the religious jurist' (velâyat-e faqîh), but he composed the most comprehensive apology of the Islamic government. However, after Ali Khamenei took over as the Leader of the Islamic Republic, Montazeri, who had once been Khomeini's heir, voiced a harsh criticism of the evolution of the Islamic state. He then advocated the independence of religious institutions vis-à-vis the state. In his last works, he showed a great concern about human rights in a religious state. This paper aims at reassessing Montazeri's legacy both in the institutions of Iran and in Shiite political thought, through the light of his doctrinal works, his actual stances and the memory of some of his disciples.

The Relationship Between Iranian Twelver Shi'ite Identity and Ritual: From the Seventh Century to Today

Alexander Kolbitsch, PhD candidate, University of Wales Trinity Saint David

The paper investigates the formation and character of Iranian identity – in particular Iranian Twelver Shi'ite identity. The development and genres of Shi'ite rituals and religious art are explored, as is their relationship to Shi'ite collective identity. The paper consists of two parts, each of them divided into two sections. Whereas section 1.1 proceeds chronologically through Iranian history, dealing with events significant for the formation of Iranian Shiite identity, section 1.2 considers the appearance of Iranian Shiite identity in the present. Likewise, section 2.1 proceeds chronologically, elaborating on the development of Shi'ite ritual and religious as well as non-religious art in Iran. Section 2.2 portrays the current landscape of Shi'ite ritual and religious and non-religious art in the Islamic Republic of Iran – sorted by the existing genres – again investigating the interaction with Shi'ite collective identity.

Emancipation and Empowerment, Iraqi Shi'i Communities in Transition

Dr Kieran Flynn, Post-Doctoral Researcher and Lecturer, Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College, Dublin

This paper looks at political and religious narratives of emancipation and empowerment that are interpreted and reflected upon by Iraqi Shi'i Communities in the West. These narratives are interpreted in the light of developments that have taken place in Iraq since 2003. In this context Iraqi communities have experienced Occupation, War, Terror atrocities as well as political transition, democratic elections and democratic representation. Iraqi Shi'i Communities in the West are well placed to interpret developments in the Middle East. Despite a history of displacement, intimidation and victimisation, these communities are finding resources in their religion to promote reconciliation, political participation, democracy, human rights and dialogue with other religions. There is much in Shi'a Islam that can benefit from a dialogue with Catholic Liberation and Political Theology within the context of the empowerment of communities and the deep experience of suffering and loss due to dictatorship, war, occupation and sectarian violence.

Panel 8d The Arab Uprisings: Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Chair: Dr Francis Owtram, Lecturer in Politics and International Relations, University of Kurdistan Hawler and Honorary Fellow, University of Exeter

Explaining the 2011 MENA Revolutions in Comparative Context: Insights from the Perspective of International Historical Sociology

Dr Francis Owtram, Lecturer in Politics and International Relations, University of Kurdistan Hawler and Honorary Fellow, University of Exeter

Whilst the academic community did not accurately predict the timing of the Arab spring, some analysis has so far been crafted to explain these developments in historical comparison with the revolutions which swept Eastern Europe in 1989 (Coates Ulrichsen, Held and Brahimi 2011). The analysis of revolutions was a key research theme for the late Professor Fred Halliday as represented in his work *Revolution and World Politics*. In analysing the causes and timing of the 2011 revolts this paper engages in a consideration of the potential application of Halliday's analysis (1999; 2005) to these developments. Specifically, it addresses the issue of 'the international as cause' and interrogates the relevance of constructivist insights, which gained prominence in IR with the 1989 revolutions that led to the fall of the Berlin Wall and communist governments in Eastern Europe, in attempting to answer the question whether indeed 2011 is 'the Arab's world Berlin Wall moment'?

Mapping the Arab Uprisings: Places, Spatial Dynamics and Scales

Dr Delphine Pagès-El Karoui, Assistant Professor in Geography, Department of Arabic Studies, French Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilisations (INALCO)

This paper will focus on the spatial dimensions of the Arab uprisings. It will argue that better than referring to the European revolutions of 1848, 1789, and 1989, spatial analysis delivers a path-breaking understanding of this new kind of post-Leninist uprising, without political organization, charismatic leaders or a clear agenda. Place matters a great deal in these uprisings since they occur mainly in urban areas, where the landmarks of the corrupt despotic powers are challenged and sometimes destroyed by angry protesters. The conquest and control of public space in main cities remains crucial for the uprising to succeed. It will also explore the spatial dynamics of the revolts: some revolts start mainly from the peripheries, others are centred on a core city. Finally, it studies the scale of the Arab uprisings. At a global scale, they are linked to the globalisation movements and are a response to liberalization while at the same time each revolution is deeply embedded in national characteristics and has its own time and space.

'Subject' to 'Citizen' – The Chances of Democratization in the Arab world

Dr Erzsébet N. Rózsa, Executive Director, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs

The biggest question of the Arab spring is whether these neo-patrimonial societies can be developed into democracies, or whether the transition will simply bring about new neo-patrimonial systems. The main indicator and possibly the main drive to democratization would be a strong middle class, especially related to the economy and technocracy, which could accumulate enough power to demand a say in political decision-making. In this regard all Arab countries are different, yet, some patterns can be drawn up between the two extremes of the 'ruler-subject' and the 'citizen-elected representative' paradigms. This paper claims that the success of democratization can be measured by the transition of the 'subject' into a 'citizen'.

Unruly Politics Perspectives on the Arab Revolt

Dr Mariz Tadros, Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex

The uprisings that ruptured the regional status quo challenge us to rethink our assumptions of pathways to political and social change. This paper examines the nature of activism, subversion and resistance prior to the uprisings, that of unruly politics. It argues that unruly politics is methodologically and analytically useful. On a methodological front, it forces us to think about the spaces through which mobilization occurs. On an analytical front, its very dynamics will mean that the status quo is being shaken at its very fabric. The fact that the forms of agency we saw neither fit the traditional understandings of social movements, nor civil society organizations, nor religio-political forces, suggests that the dominance given to institutionalized forms of activism taking place through organizational hierarchies needs to be revisited. By applying the concept of unruly politics to Egypt, the paper will also seek to expose how very disconnected were the assumed pathways of change (and which has much currency in Middle Eastern, democratization and development literature) with the pulse of the street.

Home-grown Reform – An analysis of Jordanian Policies for Good Governance

Martin Säfström, Director of Studies, Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures, Department of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University

This paper is part of a larger research project and a potential doctoral dissertation, the aim of which is to compare the ideas of good governance in the EU (as stated in the European Neighbourhood Policy) with those in Jordan. The purpose of this paper is to identify and analyse the reforms that have been taken in Jordan regarding good governance, with a focus on the period following the Arab spring and on identifying what the regime means by good governance.

Panel 8e Revolutionary Cities, Revolutionary Youth: The Arab Spring Society

Chair: Dr Stacey Gutkowski, Lecturer in Conflict/Post-conflict Studies, King's College London

Romancing Tahrir Square: Revolutionary Space under the American Gaze

Dr Stacey Gutkowski, Lecturer in Conflict / Post-conflict Studies, King's College London

Once the US managed to bid farewell to its long love affair with Mubarak, American political discourse quickly followed European discourse in embracing a romanticised image of Tahrir Square as the locus of revolutionary change in the Middle East. As a revolutionary space, the imagined and real events of Tahrir Square both justified and called into question two decades of US democratisation programmes in the region. This paper places the American iconography of Tahrir Square within a broader genealogy of American perceptions of revolutionary spaces and its relationship to these spaces. It argues that Tahrir Square, like Tiananmen Square and the US Embassy in Tehran, have a similar exhibitionary function to that described by Timothy Mitchell in his account of European colonialism. Under the American gaze, these revolutionary spaces reflect back to the US the mythology of its own revolution, while at the same

time exposing the US government discomfort with non-Western people's power.

Painting the Revolution: The Impact of Street Art on the Egyptian Revolt

Daniele Bolazzi, PhD candidate, King's College London

What distinguishes an authentic revolution from a simple switch in the political arena is its cultural impact on society. Artistic movements represent the starting point of every revolution whose effects contribute to change, not only of the political situation, but, above all, the way in which people perceive themselves and their society. Due to its communicative power, art has often been kept under the shadow of censorship becoming, in this way, a symbol of freedom. The aim of this paper is to analyze the impact of artistic movements in supporting the Egyptian revolution, looking at the way in which Egyptian youth has expressed its criticism of the regime through art. The analysis will focus on Cairo's street art since it represents a form of art which has been diffused only recently inside the Egyptian society and, at the same time, it has been able to embody needs and social anxieties of Egyptian youths.

Out of Class, In the Street: Moroccan Youth before and during the Arab Spring

Dr Charis Boutieri, Lecturer in the Anthropology of Religion, King's College London

This paper interrogates the link between the disintegration of state education in Morocco and the massive mobilization of youth in Moroccan streets in the spring of 2011. Though youth movements have been launching forceful claims for a chance to social integration based on the meritocratic evaluation of their skills, they were simultaneously cynical about the material relevance of school knowledge. This cynicism has turned into a disengagement from the school as a socially and symbolically invested space. The connection between classroom experience and political mobilization reiterates the academic need to delineate how an elitist colonial framing of knowledge has been mapped onto neo-liberal ideas of pedagogy imposed on Morocco by organizations such as the World Bank. This way, we can respond to the technical diagnostics generated by international organizations in relation to the prolonged 'crisis' of state education in the country. This paper will argue that this diagnosis – according to which learning is the outcome of educational engineering and the management of changing demographics – obscures the political intentions that underpin knowledge and overlooks the fact that what we label as postcolonial or development is in need of its own emancipation.

Vernaculars of Resistance: A Historical Assessment of Arab Youth Generated Media

Dr Joe Khalil, Assistant Professor, Northwestern University, Qatar

The wave of Arab uprisings has triggered heated debates about their social and political impact on Arab societies. In a global geopolitical context preoccupied with Arab democratization, many Arab, US and European commentators have hailed these uprisings as a triumph of globalization and modern technology. The validity of these claims has not received rigorous scrutiny. This paper focuses on the Friday demonstrations as pan-Arab media events, not in the neo-Durkheimian sense of a public ceremony of social solidarity, but rather as an episode of what some social movement theorists call contentious politics. This paper theorizes youth generated media as a political space. The language and style of youth generated media can have a powerful impact because by reclaiming public space and soliciting mainstream media coverage, youth generated media becomes a crossroads of intertextual references that most Arabs recognize.

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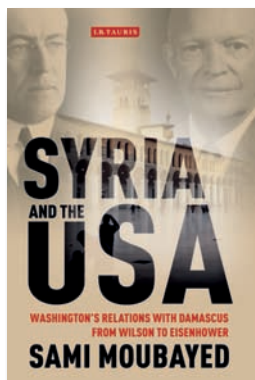
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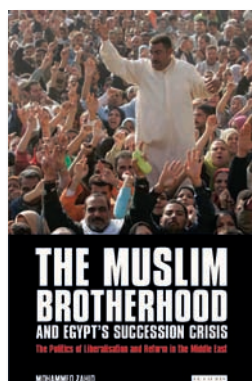
Sami Moubayed

The early years of Syrian-US relations can be described as hopes dashed, hopes revived. Although American missionaries had visited the Middle East in the nineteenth century, it was not until after World War I that Syrian and US dignitaries met in an official capacity. In the aftermath

of World War II the relationship took a new turn, as the US was accused of involvement in the series of coups and counter-coups that rocked the young republic from 1949 until the ill-fated Syrian-Egyptian union of 1958. Engagement and the right to self-determination were the rule of the game in the post-Wilson era, but this quickly transformed into espionage and covert activity during the Cold War when the US saw Syria as a Soviet proxy in the Middle East. Featuring original research and previously unpublished material, this book will be essential reading for scholars of the Middle East and US diplomatic History and twentieth-century International Relations.

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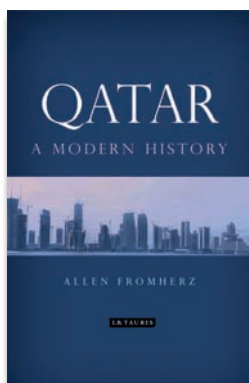
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