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WELCOME & INTRODUCTIONS

Welcome from BRISMES

It is a great pleasure to welcome you to this year's annual conference of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). It is indeed a double pleasure in that this year's conference is being held jointly in collaboration with EURAMES, the European Network of Middle East Studies.

This is the second time in four years that the Middle East Centre at LSE has hosted this event and we are particularly grateful to them for filling in this year at short notice. LSE is always a very attractive destination for our members both for its reputation for hosting superb events and because London is easily accessible to many. This is reflected in the number of participants this year.

I would like to thank Toby Dodge, director of the Middle East Centre for supporting the initiative and Robert Lowe and his team for their tireless support and excellent organisation. In particular I would like to thank Emma Pearson who has combined the role of conference administrator with that of outreach coordinator for the Society effortlessly. I am sure you will join me in thanking them all.

'Liberation' as a theme has encouraged a very diverse mix of papers, once again demonstrating the wide nature of the interests of BRISMES members. I hope you will be liberated from your own fields of work to explore those of others and enjoy panels that might test the limits of your knowledge.

The first plenary will be given by Professor Peter Sluglett Director of the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore. Peter is a former President of MESA and a long standing member of BRISMES. He will speak on 'Liberation: Tahrir and what we're still waiting for'. For the second plenary we welcome Shereen El Feki for a moderated Q&A entitled 'Liberation in the Bedroom? The Shifting Sexual Landscape of the Arab Region', which will explore the themes of her book *Sex and the Citadel: Intimate Life in a Changing Arab World* (Random House, 2013). And for the third plenary we will once again try to bring together the academic with the practical policy implementers and finish the conference with a round table bringing together a range of government and non-governmental actors. I hope you will join me for that debate.

I would like to thank the Kuwait Programme at LSE and the Fares Center at Tufts University for their generous support of the conference, and I.B. Tauris for once again sponsoring a plenary session.

Finally, I would like to thank you all for participating. I hope you enjoy the conference.

Frances Guy
President, BRISMES

Welcome from the LSE Middle East Centre

We at the Middle East Centre are very proud to be hosting the BRISMES Annual Conference for a second time, having also hosted it in 2012. The LSE Middle East Centre and BRISMES share similar goals, to drive forward world beating research on the region, while raising our own profiles as the central go to points for Middle East Studies in the UK and the world. It has been a great pleasure working with the Society and we are especially grateful to Frances Guy and Louise Haysey for all their help and support.

This is a particularly important time for the Middle East, as we have seen the hopes of the 'Arab Spring' transmuted into the fear and suffering surrounding the collapse of the state in Libya, civil war in Syria and the rebuilding of the Islamic State, leading to its seizure of Mosul and its attack on the legitimacy of the Middle East state system.

With so much to study, we at the Middle East Centre have high hopes for the insights and cutting edge research work this year's conference will deliver as we explore the theme of 'liberation' across the region.

I hope this conference creates a space for stimulating discussions and debates and thank you for joining us.

Professor Toby Dodge
Director, Middle East Centre, LSE

ABOUT THE LSE MIDDLE EAST CENTRE

The LSE Middle East Centre builds on LSE's long engagement with the Middle East and North Africa and provides a central hub for the wide range of research on the region carried out at LSE.

The Middle East Centre works to enhance understanding and develop rigorous research on the societies, economies, politics and international relations of the region. The Centre promotes both specialised knowledge and public understanding of this crucial area and has outstanding strengths in interdisciplinary research and in regional expertise. As one of the world's leading social science institutions, LSE comprises departments covering all branches of the social sciences. The Middle East Centre harnesses this expertise to promote innovative multidisciplinary research and understanding of the region.

The Middle East Centre engages in a wide variety of activities, including:

- Promoting independent and critical research on the Middle East and North Africa;
- Fostering open and critical debate about the politics, societies and economics of the region;
- Disseminating knowledge about the Middle East through Centre's lectures, web resources and publications and through LSE, community and media activities;
- Providing a rich research environment for scholars and students;
- Establishing and cultivating ties with scholars in Middle East and international institutions.
- The Middle East Centre does not run degree programmes and does not supervise PhD students. Students interested in studying at LSE should explore the various teaching departments.

The Middle East Centre was established with support from the Emirates Foundation and the Aman Trust.

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 and 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. 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.

Database of Academic Expertise

We are continuing to expand our 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 enterprise.

E-calendar

Our new e-calendar is a hub for Middle East Studies events throughout the UK and further afield, listing everything from academic lectures and conferences to book launches and film screenings. It is free both to browse and to advertise events. Find out more at www.brismes.ac.uk/calendar.

Publications

The highly renowned British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies is printed quarterly. Our regular e-newsletter carries information on upcoming events, job vacancies and recent publications.

Scholarships and Awards

We oversee a range of scholarships and awards for outstanding graduate students – read more at www.brismes.ac.uk/student-area/scholarships.

Events

We host a range of international conferences, workshops and lectures to provide 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.

Graduate Section

Our Graduate Section holds independent conferences and events tailored specifically for postgraduate students and early career researchers, and runs an e-journal - New Middle Eastern Studies (NMES) - hosted on www.brismes.ac.uk.

CONFERENCE PARTNERS

European Association 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.

Conference Sponsors

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.

LSE Kuwait Programme



The Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States focuses on seven broad research themes: Kuwait and the Gulf in the shifting global economy; massive capital flows, sovereign wealth funds; carbon-heavy, resource-rich economic development; health care and social welfare provision in Kuwait, and health system innovation more generally; education and human capital development in Kuwait; water and resource management, and urban form, geography, and sustainability. The Programme funds systematic and practical enquiry into fundamental questions in the social sciences of relevance to the Gulf Cooperation Council states. It organises public lectures, seminars and workshops, produces an acclaimed working paper series, published an edited volume of essays in 2011, supports post-doctoral researchers and PhD students and develops academic networks between the LSE and Gulf institutions.

The Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

THE FARES CENTER
FOR EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

The Fares Center seeks to promote understanding, discussion, and analysis of issues relating to the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the greater Middle East & North Africa regions. It aims to facilitate interaction between the academic, policy, and business communities. The Fares Center acts as a major focus for cross-regional and cross-cultural analysis, providing a forum for the articulation of a broad diversity of viewpoints. The Fares Center also sponsors academic symposia, conferences and seminars that enhance its commitment to thorough and accurate analysis and to the encouragement of a diversity of voices from within and outside the region.

Highlights from Brill

Come visit our booth at BRISMES 2015 for up to a 50% discount on our display copies



BRILL

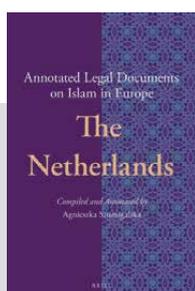


Yearbook of Muslims in Europe

Volume 7

Edited by **Oliver Scharbrodt, Samim Akgönül, Ahmet Alibašić, Jørgen S. Nielsen** and **Egdūnas Račius**

- October 2015
- ISBN 978 90 04 29889 7
- Hardback (approx. 600 pp.)
- List price EUR 179.- / US\$ 199.-
- *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe, 7*

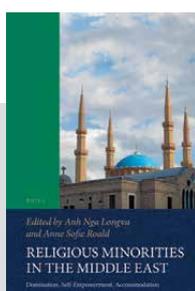


Annotated Legal Documents on Islam in Europe: The Netherlands

Compiled and Annotated by **Agnieszka Szumigalska**, VU

University Amsterdam

- February 2015
- ISBN 978 90 04 29017 4
- Paperback (viii, 144 pp.)
- (English and Dutch)
- List price EUR 65.- / US\$ 84.-
- *Annotated Legal Documents on Islam in Europe, 4*

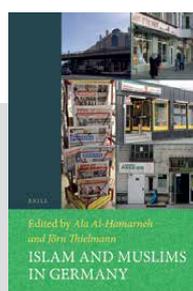


Religious Minorities in the Middle East

Domination, Self-Empowerment, Accommodation

Edited by **Anh Nga Longva**, University of Bergen, and **Anne Sofie Roald**, Chr. Michelsen Institute

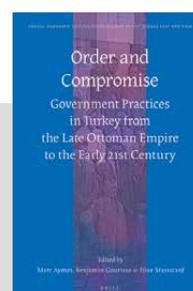
- **Now in paperback**
- January 2015
- ISBN 978 90 04 29044 0
- Paperback (x, 370 pp.)
- List price EUR 49.- / US\$ 63.-



Islam and Muslims in Germany

Edited by **Ala Al-Hamarneh**, University of Mainz, and **Jörn Thielmann**, Erlangen Centre for Islam and Law in Europe EZIRE

- **Now in paperback**
- June 2014
- ISBN 978 90 04 27211 8
- Paperback (xx, 596 pp.)
- List price EUR 49.- / US\$ 63.-



Order and Compromise: Government Practices in Turkey from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early 21st Century

Edited by **Marc Aymes**, CNRS/CETOBaC, **Benjamin Gourisse**, Paris-Dauphine University, IRISSE, and **Élise Massicard**, CNRS/CERI

Government Practices in Turkey from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early 21st Century

Edited by **Marc Aymes**, CNRS/CETOBaC, **Benjamin Gourisse**, Paris-Dauphine University, IRISSE, and **Élise Massicard**, CNRS/CERI

- February 2015
- ISBN 978 90 04 28979 6
- Hardback (xiv, 436 pp., 11 tables)
- List price EUR 140.- / US\$ 181.-
- *Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, 113*

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Wednesday 24 June 2015

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 08.00 - 09.00 | Registration, Tea & Coffee |
| 09.00 - 09.15 | Opening & Welcome Addresses Frances Guy, President, BRISMES Toby Dodge, Director, LSE Middle East Centre |
| 09.15 - 10.30 | I.B. Tauris Plenary Session I: Liberation: Tahrir and what we're still waiting for Peter Sluglett, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore |
| 10.30 - 11.00 | Tea & Coffee |
| 11.00 - 13.00 | Panel 1 |
| 13.00 - 14.00 | Lunch |
| 14.00 - 15.30 | BRISMES AGM |
| 15.00 - 15.30 | Tea & Coffee |
| 15.30 - 17.30 | Panel 2 |
| 17.30 | Graduate Section Reception |
| 19.00 | Conference Dinner, Maroush, Vere Street |

Thursday 25 June 2015

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 08.00 - 09.00 | Registration, Tea & Coffee |
| 09.00 - 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 - 18.00 | Plenary Session II: Liberation in the Bedroom? The Shifting Sexual Landscape of the Arab Region Shereen El Feki |
| 18.00 | Drinks Reception |

Friday 26 June 2015

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 08.00 - 09.00 | Registration, Tea & Coffee |
| 09.00 - 11.00 | Panel 6 |
| 11.00 - 11.30 | Tea & Coffee |
| 11.30 - 13.30 | Panel 7 |
| 13.30 - 14.30 | Lunch |
| 14.30 - 16.00 | Plenary Session III: Joining Research and Impact: How can academics and activists work better together to influence policy? |

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 2015 will take place in the New Academic Building (NAB) and 32 Lincoln's Inn Fields (32L).

Conference Organisation Team

Conference Manager

Robert Lowe

Conference Coordinator

Emma Pearson

Stewards

Jihane Adeimi, Olivia Al-Noah, Loulwa al-Rasheed Wright, Caitlin Cain, Jack Fowler, Lauren Hales, Tereza Jermanova, Jane Kirkpatrick, Hend Labib, Julia Barbara Lisiecka, Sabina Siddiqui and Elsa Tulin Sen.

Registration

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

Name Badges

Name badges will be provided at the registration desk. You are required to wear your badge at all times during the conference to gain access to the buildings. 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 the conference organisers 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

Free wireless internet access is available throughout LSE via The Cloud. You will need to create an account on The Cloud to gain access to the internet.

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 Wednesday 24 June 2015 at Maroush restaurant, 4 Vere Street, London W1G 0DH. 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 19.00 and dinner will be served at 19.30.

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.

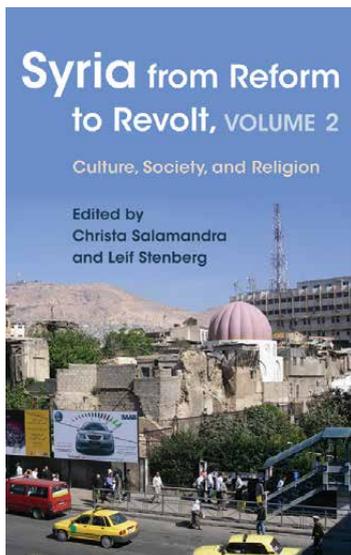
Taxis

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

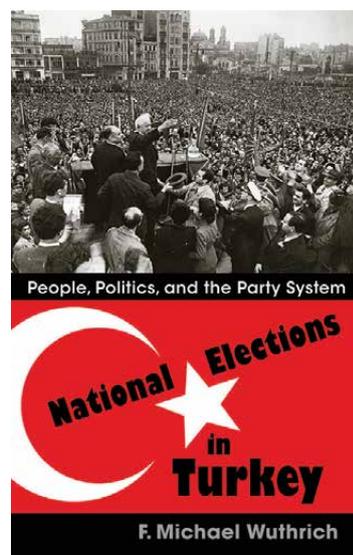
Notes for Speakers

- 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.



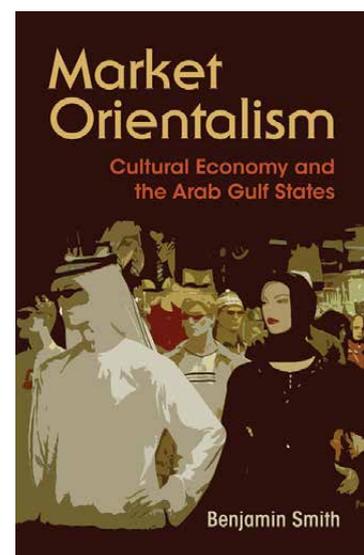
"An informative and knowledgeable volume of essays whose contributions will be of enduring importance to scholars of Syria."
—Lisa Wedeen, professor of political science, University of Chicago

Paper \$29.95s 978-0-8156-3415-7
ebook 978-0-8156-5351-6



"Skillfully takes to task several assumptions about political dynamics in Turkey long thought to be true. The arguments developed are persuasively substantiated by drawing upon several works by prominent scholars."
—Metin Heper, author of *The State and the Kurds in Turkey: The Question of Assimilation*

Cloth \$49.95s 978-0-8156-3412-6
ebook 978-0-8156-5346-2



"A work that has been waiting to be written and fills now what seems like an obvious gap in the geographic literature and in Middle East studies." —Amy Mills, author of *Streets of Memory*

Cloth \$49.95s 978-0-8156-3410-2
ebook 978-0-8156-5344-8

Syracuse University Press

Browse all SUP titles on the Middle East at www.SyracuseUniversityPress.syr.edu

MAPS & DIRECTIONS

Getting to LSE

Tube

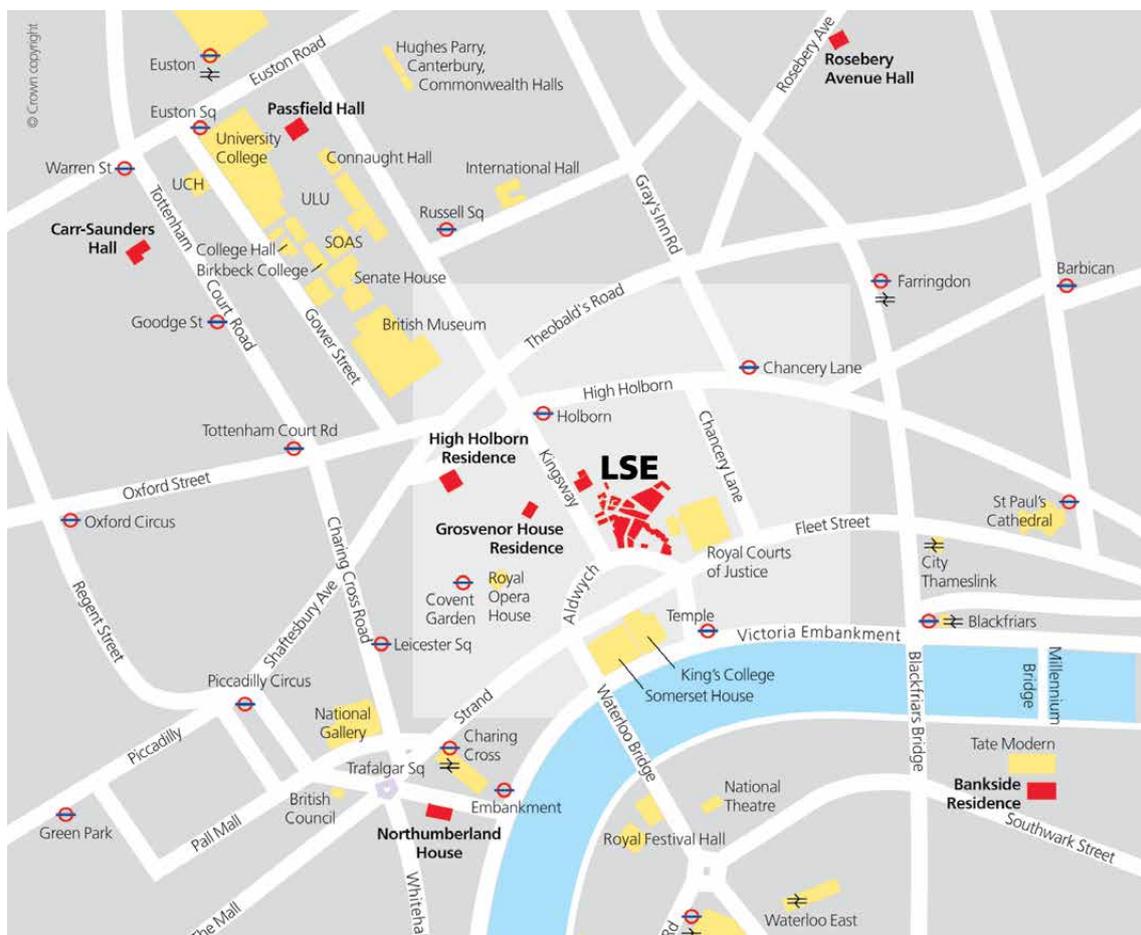
- Holborn (Piccadilly and Central lines) – Approximately a five minute walk
- Temple (District and Circle lines) – Approximately a five minute walk
- Charing Cross (Jubilee, Northern and Bakerloo lines) – Approximately a ten minute walk

Rail

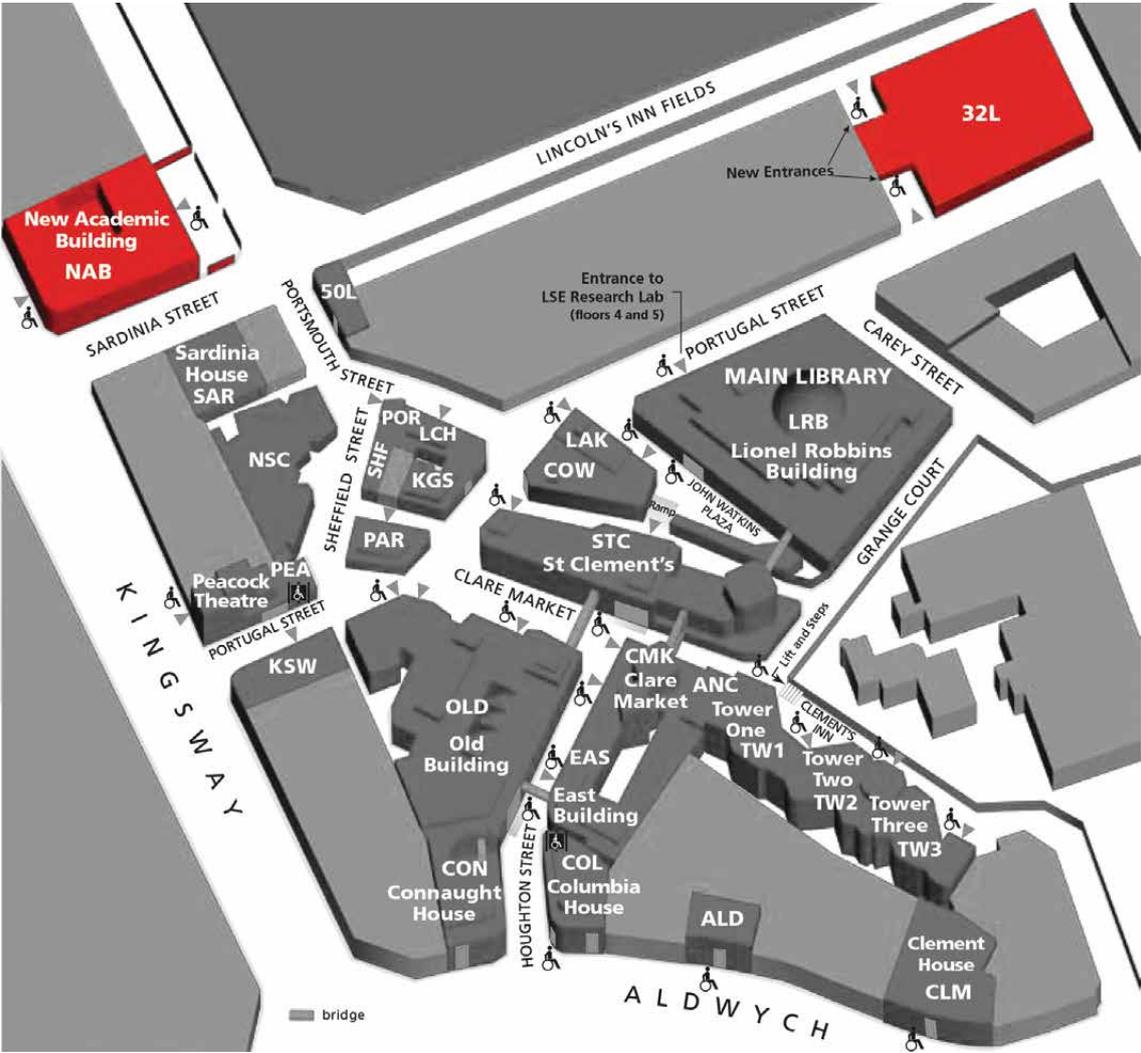
- Waterloo – Approximately a 15 minute walk
- Charing Cross – Approximately a 10 minute walk
- Blackfriars – Approximately a 15 minute walk

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.

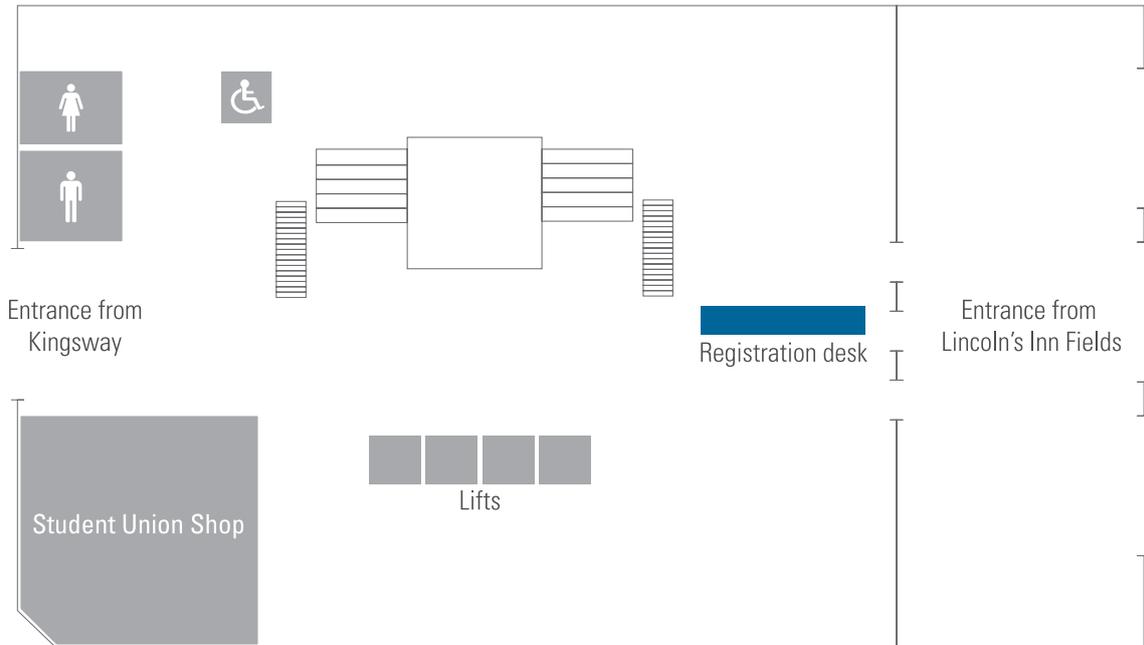


Getting to the NAB and 32L

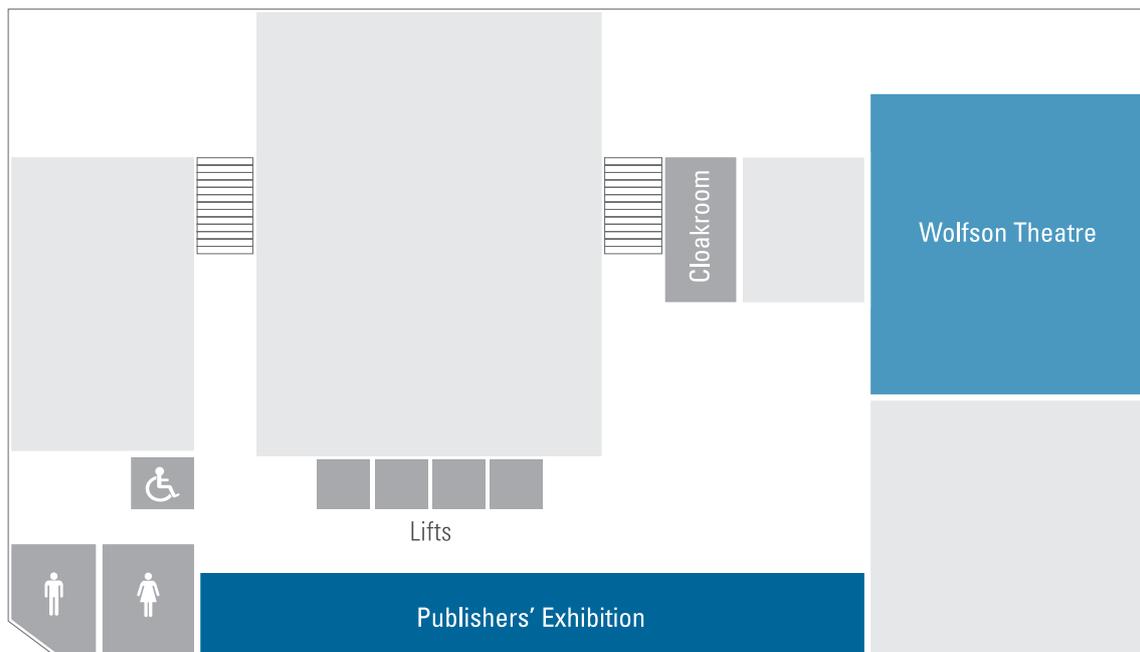


AROUND THE BUILDINGS

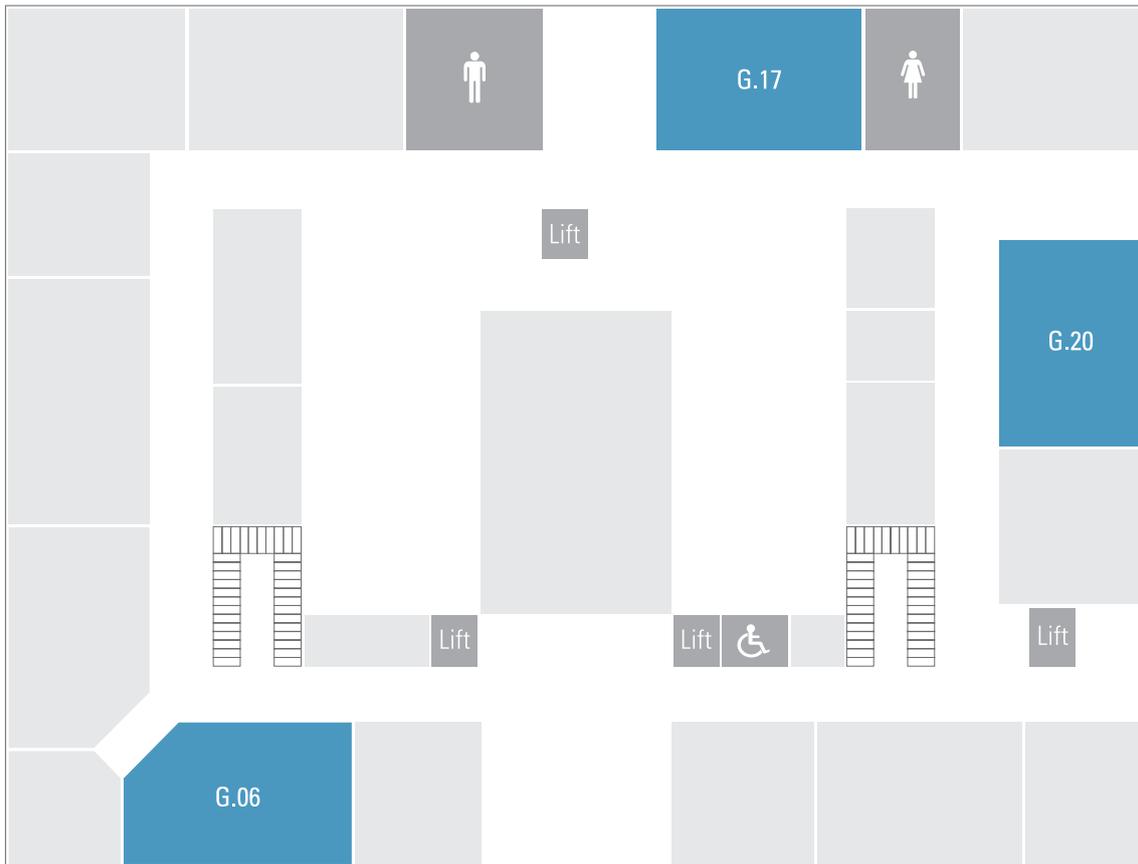
NAB Ground Floor



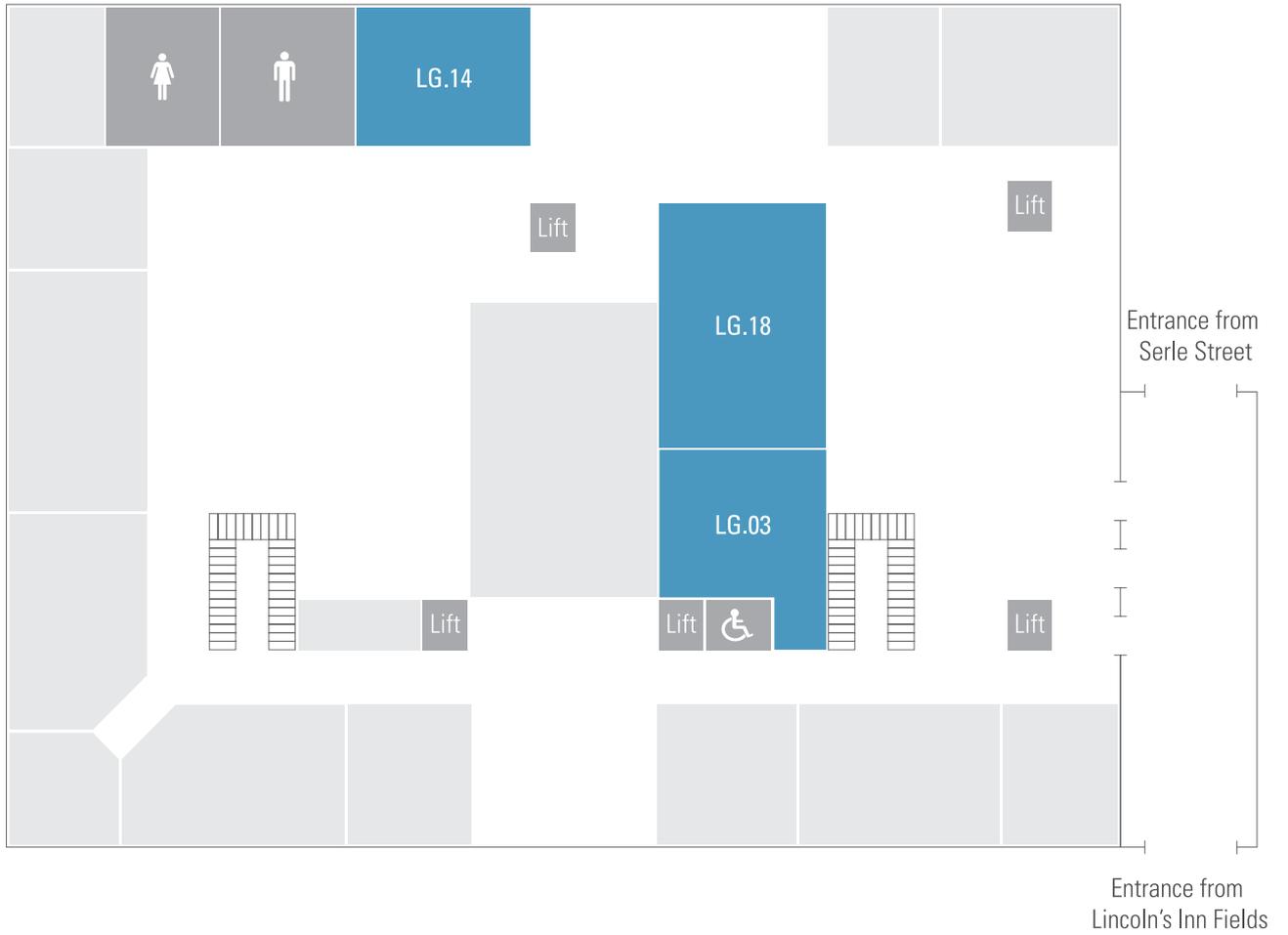
NAB Lower Ground Floor



32L Ground Floor



32L Lower Ground Floor



32L Basement



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 Wednesday 24 June and will run for the duration of the conference.

List of Exhibitors

Ashgate Publishing

Berghahn Books

Brill Publishers

Cambridge University Press

Cengage Learning

Combined Academic Publishers

Edinburgh University Press

Equinox Publishing

Eurospan Group

Gazelle Book Services

Gingko Library

Harvard University Press

Hurst Publishers

I.B. Tauris Publishers

Intellect Books

Lynne Rienner Publishers

Oxford University Press

Routledge

Syracuse University Press

Taylor and Francis

PLENARY SESSIONS

I.B. Tauris Plenary Session I: 'Liberation: Tahrir and what we're still waiting for'

Peter Sluglett, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore



Peter Sluglett is Director of the Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore. Born and educated in England, he taught at Durham University for nineteen years before moving to the United States in 1994. In August 2011, he became Visiting Research Professor at the Middle East Institute of the National University of Singapore, where he was appointed Director in 2014. Peter Sluglett is a historian of the 19th and 20th century Middle East whose main academic focus has been on Iraq and Bilad al-Sham.

This session will take place on Wednesday 24 June at 09.15 in the Wolfson Theatre, NAB LG.

Plenary Session II: Liberation in the Bedroom? The Shifting Sexual Landscape of the Arab Region

Moderated Q + A with Shereen El Feki



Shereen El Feki (@shereenelfeki) is the author of *Sex and the Citadel: Intimate Life in a Changing Arab World* (Random House, 2013), a study of changing sexual attitudes and behaviours across the Arab region, and their intersection with politics and economics, religion and tradition, gender and generations. *Sex and the Citadel* has been translated into six languages, and was nominated for both the Guardian First Book Award and the Orwell Prize.

This session will take place on Thursday 25 June at 17.00 in the Wolfson Theatre, NAB LG.

Plenary session III: Joining Research and Impact: How can academics and activists work better together to influence policy?

Policy makers on the Middle East are arguably more influenced by targeted advocacy campaigns than academic papers based on years of research. How can advocacy experts, policy makers and academics work better together to influence policy? This panel brings together representatives of organisations working on the Middle East to discuss some of their challenges and day to day concerns. Each panellist will give a short introductory talk, which will be followed by a Q + A session chaired by Frances Guy, President of BRISMES.

On the panel:

Neil Crompton, FCO; Nick Martlew, Crisis Action; Kate Nevens, Saferworld and Fionna Smyth, Amnesty UK.

This session will take place on Friday 26 June at 14.30 in the Wolfson Theatre, NAB LG.

LIST OF PANELS

Panel 1 Wednesday 24 June, 11.00 – 13.00

Panel 1a Wolfson Theatre

Armies, Militias, and Discontent in the Middle East: New Approaches

Panel 1b 32L.G17

Civil Visions, Civil Selves: Madaniyya as an Enduring Revolutionary Concept

Panel 1c 32L.LG14

Islamic Finance: Financial and Social Performance

Panel 1d 32L.LG18

Contesting Militarisation: The Changing Maps of Existence and Resistance in Cairo

Panel 1e 32L.B07

The Fallout of the Syrian War on Lebanon

Panel 1f 32L.B09

The Struggle between Liberation and Authoritarianism in the Maghreb is Real

Panel 1g 32L.B11

Affective Politics in the Middle East: Feminist Reflections on Liberating Praxi

Panel 1h 32L.G20

The Politics of Displacement: Aid, Asylum and Resistance in the Context of Refugee Camps

Panel 2 Wednesday 24 June, 15.30 – 17.30

Panel 2a 32L.G20

Kurdish Liberation I

Panel 2b 32L.G17

Palestine: Solidarity and Resistance

Panel 2c 32L.LG14

Pushing the Status Quo: Liberation in Art and Cultural Practices in the Modern Middle East

Panel 2d 32L.LG18

Representation of Liberation in Arabic, Kurdish and Nubian Literature

Panel 2e 32L.B07

God's Chosen Peoples: Historical Perspectives on Islam and Liberation

Panel 2f 32L.B09

The International Political Economy of Trade Policy in the Middle East: Promoting Integration and Cooperation?

Panel 3 Thursday 25 June, 09.00 – 11.00

Panel 3a Wolfson Theatre

The Arab Spring to Arab Winter: Explaining the Limits of Post-Uprising Democratisation

Panel 3b 32L.G17

Domestic Perspectives on the Syrian Uprising: Critics, Skeptics and Discontents

Panel 3c 32L.LG14

The Politics of Identity in Israel

Panel 3d 32L.LG18

The AKP and Authoritarianism in Turkey

Panel 3e 32L.B07

Demography and Politics in the Middle East

Panel 3f 32L.B09

Activism, Mobilisation and Political Engagement in the Middle East

Panel 3g 32L.B11

After the Liberation: The Process of State (trans)Formation in Libya

Panel 3h 32L.G06

Comparative and International Political Economy and the Middle East

Panel 4 Thursday 25 June, 11.30 – 13.30

Panel 4a Wolfson Theatre

The Politics of Liberation: Theory and Practice of Violence in the Arab World

Panel 4b 32L.G17

Political Economy in the GCC (*sponsored by the LSE Kuwait Programme*)

Panel 4c 32L.LG14

Pointing to Yourself on the Map: Gezi Resistance in Turkey

Panel 4d 32L.LG18

Democratisation or Much Ado About Nothing? Investigating Forces for and against Reform in Jordan

Panel 4e 32L.B07

Kurdish Liberation II

Panel 4f 32L.B09

Interrogating the State: The State, the non-State, and Contested Spatialities in the Arab World

Panel 4g 32L.B11

Theories, Visions and Spaces of Liberation

Panel 4h 32L.G06

The Role of the Media in Transitional and Authoritarian Politics

Panel 5 Thursday 25 June, 14.30 – 16.30

Panel 5a Wolfson Theatre

Transition without Liberation: Power, Economy and Security in Egypt Four Years after Tahrir

Panel 5b 32L.G17

Elites and the Marginalised in Yemen and Saudi Arabia

Panel 5c 32L.LG14

Politics, Gender and Nostalgia in Contemporary Iraq

Panel 5d 32L.LG18

Perspectives on International Policy in the Middle East

Panel 5e 32L.B07

Patriarchy and the Arab Spring: Liberation or Backlash? I

Panel 5f 32L.B09

Historical Social Movements and Community Evolution

Panel 5g 32L.B11

Liberation and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Panel 6 Friday 26 June, 09.00 – 11.00

Panel 6a Wolfson Theatre

The Maghreb's Linkage to Europe: History and Geography Ignored

Panel 6b 32L.G17

Perspectives on Music and Liberation in the Middle East and North Africa

Panel 6c 32L.LG14

Middle Eastern Christian Migrant Experiences of 'Liberation' and its Challenges in Europe

Panel 6d 32L.LG18

New Approaches to Identity in the IR of the Middle East

Panel 6e 32L.LG03

BDS and Political Mobilisation

Panel 6f 32L.G20

Islamic Finance: In Search of Authenticity between Islamic Norms and Modernity

Panel 6g 32L.G06

Liberation in Arab Cultural Productions: Literature, Cinema, Theatre

Panel 7 Friday 26 June, 11.30 – 13.30

Panel 7a Wolfson Theatre

I.B. Tauris Workshop: How to Get Published in Academic Journals and Books

Panel 7b 32L.G17

Liberation through the Lenses of Islamic Actors in Turkey

Panel 7c 32L.LG14

Liberation and Reform in Iran

Panel 7d 32L.LG18

Freedoms, Nationalism and Society in the Ottoman Empire

Panel 7e 32L.LG03

Gender and Property Rights in the Middle East and North Africa

Panel 7f 32L.G20

Political Language and Public Opinion in the Context of Liberation

Panel 7g 32L.G06

Patriarchy and the Arab Spring: Liberation or Backlash? II

PANEL 1. WEDNESDAY 24 JUNE, 11.00 - 13.00

Panel 1a. Armies, Militias, and Discontent in the Middle East: New Approaches

Chair: Nefissa Naguib, Cultures and Politics of Faith Christian Michelsen Institute

Neo-Liberal Officers: Army, Business, and Revolution in Egypt

Zeinab Abul-Magd, Oberlin College

The Egyptian military intervened to take down existing regimes three times in the country's post-colonial history: one old time sixty years ago in 1952, and two new incidents in 2011 and 2013. In old and new cases of intervention, the army deployed the same nationalist rhetoric about its duty as the 'guardian' of the nation and the protector of national security and unity. However, the Egyptian army of the last four years is not the same institution that existed sixty years ago. This paper argues that a new military institution was born in the country in the 1980s, after the country fought its last war and signed a peace treaty. A fundamental rupture took place in the Egyptian military institution in 1980s, and such rupture gave birth to the new army that hegemonises the state today. The paper also inquires into Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi's ambiguous economic policies, unfavourable to the very socioeconomic groups that voted for him and generating continuous restlessness.

What comes after Civilianisation? The AKP's new Neoliberal Security State in Turkey

İsmet Akça, Yıldız Technical University

For long decades, the military was at the center of the authoritarian state in Turkey and enjoyed a relatively autonomous power. It was the military intervention of 1980 and the subsequent military regime that institutionalised neoliberal capitalism and the Neoliberal National Security State. The latter continued to be dominant throughout the 1990s in the context of the crisis of hegemony, the militarisation of the Kurdish question, and the securitisation of political Islam. Then, the AKP (Justice and Development Party) has manufactured and expanded hegemony on the basis of neoliberal and conservative populism. This paper explores the construction, functioning and role of this new state form in repressing the social and political discontent in Turkey.

Post Transitional Settings and the Difficult Rebuilding of Polities in the Arab World

Philippe Droz-Vincent, Sciences Po Grenoble

This paper is based on a book manuscript on the trajectories of Arab armies and states after the Arab Spring. The rebuilding of polities in the Arab World four years after the 2011 uprisings takes place under the looming power of the guns, either with the dominant presence of the military (such as in the case of Egypt) or with the absence of a military whose essential role would be necessary as a first step to secure the basis for some form of political consensus (such as in the cases of Yemen and Libya). In this context, this paper attempts to answer many problematic questions. Why is the military so important in transitional processes? What kind of military should exist? A solid military can become a strong stakeholder in the ensuing political system, but the destruction of the military — as was the case in Libya — does not seem to be an asset for rebuilding anew and from scratch of security forces according to role models of democratic control.

Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region

Elke Grawert, Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), University of Bonn

Given the growing 'militarisation' of coercive forces in the Middle East during the last four years and the privileged status that many armies enjoyed in their respective countries in the decades before that, this paper compares the economic roles that military institutions and paramilitaries play in Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan, Turkey, and Iran. Also in the era of the proliferation of militias across the region based, the paper offers comparative insights into regional webs of funding, markets of violence, and the economic roles that these militias play in local communities under their control, in addition to their destructive impact on post-colonial nation states in Libya, Syria, and Yemen.

The Liberation of Kobane: or how a Marxist Feminist Militia Came to Cooperate with the United States

Amy Austin Holmes, American University in Cairo

This paper will analyse the liberated areas of northern Syria known as Rojava. Three largely Kurdish cantons have succeeded in ousting the military forces of both the Assad regime, as well as Islamic State militants. In their wake, a remarkable democratic experiment is being unrolled with the goal of establishing a 'democratic, secular society of Kurds, Arabs, Muslims, and Christians.' The YPG/YPJ's parent organisation, the PKK, still espouses an ideology rooted in Marxist anti-imperialism. And yet they have a pragmatic approach to dealing with the United States. Women have famously played a prominent role in combat operations. But they are also equally active in the attempt to build a new society: both the executive and legislative councils of Kobane feature equal representation of men and women. This paper represents a first attempt to analyse the implications of the ongoing liberation struggles not just in Kobane, but within the context of the larger 'Rojava Revolution' if their liberation relies on military cooperation with the United States.

Panel 1b. Civil Visions, Civil Selves: Madaniyya as an Enduring Revolutionary Concept

Chair: Madawi Al-Rasheed, LSE

'The Good Islamist', Iconography and Revolutionary Conceptualisation of the Civil State

Thomas Vladimir Brønd, University of Roskilde

The initial waves of demonstrations in Syria were followed by devastating militarisation of the peaceful revolution. With time, however, the demonstrator's slogans, sensibilities and demands condensed in new spaces of experience and clustered into certain core concepts of what I term 'revolutionary ideology'. Based on 7 months of ethnography among Syrian activists in Lebanon and France, this paper explores what it means to live such new spaces of experience in spite of external dynamics such as the marginalisation of secular and moderate movements inside Syria. The paper takes as an example the contentious debate among Syrians surrounding the death of a commander of an Islamist katiba, including the iconography that circulated on mobile phones and on social websites used by non-Islamist Syrian activists.

Revolutionary Civility as a Practice of Freedom in Yemen's Change Square

Ross Porter, University of Cambridge

This paper discusses how the central revolutionary virtue of 'civility' (*madaniyya*) in Change Square, Sana'a, was central to the pursuit of forging a liberated existence outside of the dictates of 'the regime'. This paper discusses how the value of revolutionary life as a 'civil' and 'peaceful' pursuit was not simply in the future to which it would lead but in the capacity it bred in the present- namely to exist outside of the dictates of the Regime and the constraints of the past way of life it engendered. It argues that this logic challenges a host of assumptions within both anthropology and sociology concerning time, event, ethical self-formation and the approaches to the concept of revolution itself.

'Madaniyya di tib'a bint khalit Silmiyya': Non-violence in Revolutionary Movements and the Promise of Civil Statehood

Hannah al-Hassan, Merton College, University of Oxford

In the wake of the Arab uprisings, Egyptians have witnessed the deepening and strengthening of the military's foray into what many had hoped would be a post-revolutionary civil government. The title of this paper speaks to a much famed trope among disillusioned Egyptians who partook in the struggles and protests of 2011-2013, reflecting on the scale of repression, mass imprisonment and murder which prevails today. Many of whom, insist on the 'naivete' of their earlier insistence on non-violent confrontation with the state and lament the irony of their aspirations to civil governance and selfhood. This paper focuses on the myriad ways in which protester's discourses of non-violence vis-à-vis civility or civil governance developed and changed over the course of three post-revolutionary governments: liberal, Islamist and military. Specifically, the popular conception of 'cousinhood' between *silmiyya* (non-violence) and *madaniyya* (civil governance/civility) will be discussed, asking why and how this trope was deployed by activists.

Panel 1c. Islamic Finance: Financial and Social Performance

Chair: Mehmet Asutay, King Abdulaziz University

Nonperforming Loans within the GCC Islamic Banking and Islamic Financing Contributing to the NPL in the GCC's Banking System

Maha Alandejani & Mehmet Asutay, King Abdulaziz University

This paper aims to identify the macro- and micro-level factors determining nonperforming loans (NPL) in Islamic banking industry in the GCC via the panel data econometrics model for the period of 2005 to 2011. In doing so, the impact of the sectoral distribution of Islamic financing on the NPL in the GCC banking system as a whole is also considered by utilising dynamic panel data models. The findings indicate that the relationship between efficiency and NPL supports the 'bad management' and 'bad luck' hypotheses. Further, the sectoral distribution of Islamic financing extended by the GCC Islamic banks shows an adverse impact on NPL, thus demonstrating that Islamic bank financing, which is related to real estate and construction projects, increases the credit risk exposure. It is concluded that the growth influence of fixed-income debt contracts could increase NPL more than profit-and-loss-sharing contracts.

An Analytical Exploration and Assessment of the Social Risks Faced by Islamic Banks and Financial Institutions: Credibility, Legitimacy, Shari'a, Trust and Sustainability Risks

Alija Avdukic, Al-Maktoum College of Higher Education

The experience of Islamic banking and finance over the years, and in particular since the financialisation stage commenced in late 1990s, suggests that Islamic finance has been converging towards conventional finance in its operations, institutionalisation and product level. This study aims to locate the growing convergence from Islamic finance to conventional finance through identifying that each of the professed features of Islamic finance has been compromised. In understanding this observed convergence of IF towards conventional finance, specialised areas of risk beyond financial, operational and managerial risk areas are conceptualised and considered in reference to the aspirational objectives of IF. Therefore, there is a need to internalise such social risks areas as: credibility, legitimacy, Shari'a trust and sustainability risks. This research suggests that for Islamic finance to remain a robust alternative financing paradigm (as opposed to financial paradigm) with the elimination of such a risk area, it should express itself within the aspirational definition of Islamic finance as provided by Islamic moral economy rather than compromising its foundational claims by going back to the basics.

Integrated Early Warning Prediction Model for Islamic Banks: The Malaysian Case

Jaizah Othman, Universiti Teknologi MARA

It is becoming increasingly important to predict the performance of Islamic banks in order to anticipate a problem before it materialises and negatively affects their performance and financial standing. Benefiting from the earlier research on the subject, this paper aims to develop a preliminary integrated early warning model for Islamic banks in Malaysia to assess their financial standing by using quarterly data for the 2005 to 2010 period. Results show that, overall, classification accuracy is relatively high in the first few quarters before the benchmark quarter (2010 Q3) for all the estimated models. These results show the predictive ability of the integrated model to differentiate healthy and non-healthy Islamic banks, thus reducing the expected cost of bank failure.

An Exploratory Examination into the Relationship between Corporate Governance and Risk Management in Islamic Banks

Dr Hanimon Abdullah, Durham Centre for Islamic Economics and Finance

Financial failures are always linked to issues of corporate governance (CG) as the latter is continuously perceived as being the triggering factor for such fallout. Being inadvertently famous for its adverse effects, corporate governance is also associated with, and has implications on, risk management (RM) practices of corporations. This paper, hence, aims to examine the correlation between CG and RM by identifying disclosure levels within each dimension contained within CG and RM indices developed to measure the CG and RM disclosure performance. By exploring the disclosure levels of CG and RM practices as well as the potential relationship between the two, this paper also attempts at examining the type of correlation between CG and RM, i.e. to identify whether there is a positive or negative relationship between the two. Thus, an attempt is made by locating the correlation between CG and RM practices through annual reports, as it is expected that good CG practices should moderate risk exposure and establish an effective risk management process. Thus, this study is predicated on the notion that if banks have high corporate governance disclosure, the disclosure of risk management should similarly be high.

Panel 1d. Contesting Militarisation: The Changing Maps of Existence and Resistance in Cairo

Chair: Heba Raouf Ezzat, Cairo University

Stories from the City of the Revolution: Narratives between Architecture and Literature

Nesma Gewily, American University in Cairo

Parallels can be drawn between architecture and literature. Both media are concerned with telling a story that emerges from a certain context, and both aim at creating meaning in relation to their surroundings. However, each of these media has its intrinsic characteristics that control the kind of narrative it tells. During the past four years, the State established memorials in the squares that witnessed the fiercest battles between the army and protesters. In different occasions, poems were written to counteract the narrative of the state. Poets like Tamim Al-Barghouthy, Mostafa Ibrahim and Mahmoud Ezzat documented the experience of the revolution from the perspective of revolutionaries. This paper aims to read the ongoing dialogue between architecture and literature in the city of Cairo and the impact it has on the city dwellers.

Public Spaces of Memory: Contested Visualisations of Absence

Aya Nassar, University of Warwick

The inspiration of the paper stems from the ongoing conflict between the multiple narratives about 2011 and its aftermath in Egypt, at the heart of which is contested narration of public space ownership and appropriation, as well as identifying with and commemoration of absent victims of violence. The paper looks at acts of imagining and visualising absence in urban space, and engages with a specific understanding of public space as a site of memory; or rather as a space for public memory (Cassey, 2004). It focuses on two different practices of ascribing public memory of absence into urban space. The paper thus seeks to interrogate the urban visualisation of absence/presence (Mier et.al, 2013) as contested very constitutive of the imagination of ownership of public space.

Military Appropriation of a City

Ahmad Borham, American University in Cairo

Street markets constitute a major supplier for the basic needs of most of the inhabitants of the city. The presence of street vendors is nowadays considered, according to the law, as an illegal encroachment. However, this has not been always the case. During the early days of modernisation, a shift in responsibility and ownership of the public spaces in the Middle Eastern city that turned the street into a state property. On the other hand, the presence of the military was always part of the city of Cairo. Recently, specifically since June 2013, a significant shift in this presence can be observed. The paper intends to investigate the duplicity in perceiving these two practices of appropriation within the city. In mapping this state of exception, the research will depend on the observations of the researcher and the newspaper articles of relevance supported by specific precedents within the city.

The Appropriation of Space Definition for Political Use

Mohamad Abotera, Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute

During the dramatic changes Egypt is witnessing various parties were sequentially successful in gaining public support and practice some power. In each phase of these political project or philosophy was revealed and visible through marks on public space. Either as a physical presence

or a public behaviour, embodied values are present. By tracing some of these urban changes we can understand more how does each power see the city, which in turn can help us predict how the city will look like if any was able to secure ultimate dominance. This paper traces some key transformations in public space policies in laws, and even more in actual happenings. Sites which witnessed major political events become more significant and hence will be used as key evidence resources. Since the army (or the current authority) seems closer to this ultimate control state, it focuses on the current behaviour of this government through its impact planning and public space. Finally, using these findings, it tries to speculate the future of Cairene public space should the project be complete.

Panel 1e. The Fallout of the Syrian War on Lebanon

Chair: Daniel Meier, University of Grenoble

Lebanese Muslim Rivalries since May 2008: National vs Regional Polarisation

Nasser Kalawoun

The showdown between Hizbullah and its 8 March allies and their adversaries in the March 14th movement in May 2008 eroded the political camouflage of the main camps – thus giving way to open Muslim sectarian strife. The complete neutrality of the Lebanese army and the Christian elite signalled the beginning of a process of open linkage between regional sectarian politics and the thinly dormant internal conflict. Moreover, the withdrawal of Walid Jumblatt from inter Muslim strife has exposed Sunni-Shia rivalry as a race to win the street and grab, or preserve, power within a declining state. Therefore, instability, inherited or manufactured, represented a fight linking internal with regional and international, actors while using sectarian, religious, political and national institutions to achieve the dominance of one's camp. This paper aims to survey the declared positions of the main protagonists since the Doha accord of 2008, and show that the Syrian internal conflict, raging since 2011, has undermined most the remaining layers of state sovereignty. Borders, national interest, loyalty to the state and its institutions faded while competing non state actors took liberty in crossing to Syria to achieve sectarian agendas.

Securing Lebanon in Times of Crisis: The Role of the Lebanese Army since 2011

Nayla Moussa, Arab Reform Initiative and SciencesPo Paris

This paper seeks to go back to the beginning of the Lebanese crisis in 2005 to explain the role of the Lebanese army since the eruption of the Syrian civil war. When the Syrian troops withdrew from Lebanon after the assassination of former Primer Minister Rafik Hariri in 2005, none of the political and security actors were prepared. There was no consensus on a national defence strategy that would have defined the missions of each of the security institutions – and of Hizbullah. This created a very uncertain climate for the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF), forced to intervene on a 'case-by-case' basis. After the beginning of the civil war in Syria, the Lebanese government declared that it would remain neutral. But the Syrian crisis has major consequences on the Lebanese security scene especially with the involvement of Hizbullah in favour of Bashar al-Assad's regime. The LAF has to manage the eruption of violence in different Lebanese areas such as Saida (South Lebanon), Ersal (close to the Syrian borders) or Tripoli (North Lebanon). This paper will analyse the army's strategy (or lack of) in the aftermath of the Syrian crisis and its interaction with civilian authorities that are supposed to determine this strategy. It will also look at the different political actors' assessment of the army's interventions. It will finally scrutinise its relation with Hizbullah since 2011-2012.

The Syrian War and the Crisis of Political Sunnism in Tripoli, Lebanon

Tine Gade, University of Oslo and SciencesPo Paris

This paper analyses the rise of new populist leaderships in Tripoli, Lebanon, in the wake of the Syrian war. The Future current gained political control of Tripoli, a Sunni-majority city, in 2005, but, recently, Sunni poor from Tripoli have become uneasy with the Future current's strong stance of support vis-à-vis the Lebanese army command. Sunni activists and Sunni populist leaders have in recent years protested against what they see as the 'exaggerations' in the army's repressive measures against Sunni activists. How can the cohesion of the army be safeguarded, in a situation where most Sunni leaders are convinced that the army is under the influence of Hizbullah? And to what extent do Saudi-sponsored Salafis in Lebanon echo the kingdom's support of the Lebanese army? By discussing the growing Sunni alienation vis-à-vis the Lebanese state, the paper analyses the competition between Sunni populists, 'Future', and Salafis, and between national, regional and transnational influences, in a highly strategic city in the Levant.

Patronising a Proxy-War: Soldiers, Citizens and *Zu'ama* in Syria Street, Tripoli

Are Knudsen, Christian Michelsen Institute

Tripoli is Lebanon's second largest city and the most conflictual. The city has a history of communal conflict between the Sunni stronghold Bab al-Tabbaneh and the Alawite quarter Jabal Mohsen. The army's 12th Brigade is deployed in the Syria Street, bordering the two neighbourhoods but has been unable to end this spatially limited conflict. To understand why, this paper uses a micro-conflict approach to examine the conflict history starting with Tripoli's anti-statist heritage, leading to rampant poverty and entrenched patronage politics. Despite the huge army deployment (rivalling that of Beirut), the army finds itself in a complex conflict setting that is both historical, political and increasingly sectarian. The conflict also has a strong regional dimension, replicated in political blocs at either side of the national divide ('March 8' versus 'March 14'). Because of its multi-layered nature, the army cannot use brute force to quell it. The political nature of the conflict constrains the army's options, leaving it to monitor the conflict amidst claims of political bias. Rival intelligence agencies also manipulate the conflict at the expense of the hapless residents who see the army not as the solution, but as part of the problem.

Possible Politics after the Arab Uprisings: The Production of Activist Subjectivities in Lebanon

Fuad Musallam, LSE

This paper investigates how, in Lebanon, the breakdown of the Arab uprisings altered the possible forms of political subjectivity for a younger generation of activists outside of traditional party-political networks. Based on fourteen months of participant-observant fieldwork with non-party political activists, carried out in 2013-2014, and oral historical and archival work on the previous years of political activism, it argues that activists' self-fashioning as political subjects was wrought through the engagements with, and the ultimate failures of, the possibility of liberation – from sectarianism in Lebanon and dictatorship in Syria.

Multilayered Dependency: Understanding the Transnational Dimension of Lebanese Clientelism

Sina Birkholz, Free University Berlin

This paper asks how external actors and resources have been embedded in clientelist networks in Lebanon's post-Ta'ef order and after the Cedar Revolution. While both clientelism and external dependency are seen as crucial characteristics of Lebanese politics, they are mostly analysed in isolation of each other. Based on a review of existing literature and preliminary results from fieldwork in Beirut, this paper opens up the following questions: How are external actors and resources implicated in clientelist networks? How do external actors react to clientelist practices? What effect did the critical junctures of 1989 and 2005 have? Has the role of external material and symbolic resources changed with the rise of a new type of patron, the 'new contractor bourgeoisie' (Baumann 2012)? On a conceptual level, how do we adjust the criteria for defining clientelism (such as reciprocity, asymmetry, direct-ness) to reflect the reality of multi-level clientelism?

Panel 1f. The Struggle between Liberation and Authoritarianism in the Maghreb is Real

Chair: George Joffé, University of Cambridge

Elite Configuration and Regime Change in North Africa: The Tunisian and Egyptian Cases

Ian Kelly, Dublin City University

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw scholars studying the causes, processes and outcomes of authoritarian persistence in the Middle East and North Africa. The emergent literature on authoritarian resilience saw scholars proffer a range of explanations for how the region's incumbent autocracies reconfigured authoritarian rule in order to manage and contain the region's political unrest. The advent of the 2011 uprisings, and the subsequent change that swept the region, led many scholars to question the literature's assumptions and focus their analysis on newly emergent actors and forms of mobilisation to explain this wave of change. This paper argues to the contrary that it was the actions and interests of regime elites that contributed to regime change where it occurred in the region. Through an analysis of the elite configuration of the Ben Ali and Mubarak regimes, this paper will argue that it was the realisation or denial of elite interests that contributed to explaining the occurrence of regime change.

How the Mudawwana Modernised Patriarchy in Morocco

Katja Zvan Elliott, Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane

Morocco reformed its ossified Personal Status Code amidst much fanfare in 2004. Ten years on, the women's rights debate, oftentimes linked to the debate about the Moroccan identity and its core values, continues to be hotly debated in public. Many academics, women's rights activists, and lay observers cite corruption of judges and women's and men's ignorance of the law, aggravated by the overall high illiteracy rates that the country has been recording since its independence, as the most salient reasons for the rather sluggish start and underwhelming impact of the law on the empowerment of women. Based on extensive ethnographic research, this paper suggests that such a reductionist view of the situation, exonerates drafters of the law and makhzen (Moroccan regime) and rather places the blame for the lack of implementation on women themselves. What is missing in most accounts evaluating the progress towards greater gender equality that the Mudawwana was supposed to set in motion is the interaction between the law and people.

Liberation through Social Justice: Remembering the Future in Algeria

Edward McAllister, University of Oxford

As the only Arab and African country to defeat a colonial power through armed struggle, Algeria's independence electrified the entire world. In the 1960s and 1970s, Algeria became the model for other developing countries, embodying the idea that colonised nations could meet the world on their own terms and build a brighter future without owing anything to anyone. Algeria's drive toward development used the socialist definition of democracy as the equal distribution of wealth, in which political legitimacy was judged in terms of progress toward social justice. With exponentially rising living standards in the 1970s, Algeria aimed to become a modern, egalitarian society that would morally surpass the developed capitalist nations across the Mediterranean. This paper draws on a year of ethnographic fieldwork in Algiers exploring today's ambivalent relationship with this period.

Protests under Occupation: The Spring inside Western Sahara

Irene Fernández-Molina, College of Europe

The emergence and empowerment of Sahrawi civil protests and pro-independence activism inside the Western Sahara territory under Moroccan occupation have to be seen in the context of varying sets of opportunity structures which this peripheral movement has actively seized in the past two decades by symbiotically combining domestic nonviolent resistance and international 'diplomatic' activities. Different forms of recognition received from the Moroccan state, the Polisario Front and the international community have been crucial in this process, with the last representing the most significant achievement of the movement. The Arab Spring has been a particularly fruitful window of opportunity in this regard. Building on comparatively rich mobilisation structures at local, inter-Sahrawi, Moroccan and international level, Sahrawis have successfully been able to frame the local Gdeim Izik protest in a favourable universalistic paradigm which has enhanced their international standing, while opportunities have broadened relatively also at Moroccan state level.

Plus ça Change? Observing the Dynamics of Morocco's 'Arab Spring' in the High Atlas

Sylvia I. Bergh & Daniele Rossi Doria. Presented by Daniele Rossi Doria

This contribution focuses on the 'Arab Spring' in Morocco and on the interactions between the mainly urban-based activists that made up the 20th February Movement (F20M), and the population in rural areas. Based on six weeks of fieldwork between November 2013 and March 2014, mostly in the areas in and near Marrakech, we find that while the urban F20M events stimulated and inspired protests in rural areas, in practice there were only sporadic contacts based on the activists' personal feelings of belonging rather than their organisational membership. This is mainly due to discursive disconnects between the center and periphery. As for the outcomes, in particular the new Constitution, many respondents believe that nothing has changed so far.

Panel 1g. Affective Politics in the Middle East: Feminist Reflections on Liberating Praxi

Chair: Aitemad Muhanna-Matar, LSE

No Longer Caught between Two Worlds: Towards a De-colonised Feminist Research in the Middle East

Sabiha Allouche, SOAS

This paper calls for the de-colonisation of feminist research in the Middle East (FRME). FRME often finds itself trapped between advancing women's rights at 'home', in addition to 'talking back' to Western scholarship. Such an approach, however, remains limited for two reasons. First, it reproduces a 'latent Orientalism' through the reiteration of the 'lesser' Orient, and the 'higher' Eurocentric knowledge. Second, although it is capable of answering many questions on the epistemological level, it does so without questioning the 'point of origin' of the knowledge it engages with. Subsequently, and drawing on recent fieldwork investigating sexual dissidence in Lebanon, this paper suggests an ontological turn in FRME, or the 'commitment to recalibrate the level at which analysis takes place' (Course 2010).

Politics of Pleasure within the Politics of Violence: Affect and Agency of Zionist Settler Women

Akanksha Mehta, SOAS

Women for Israel's Tomorrow/Women in Green was established in 1993 as the first women-only organisation under the Zionist umbrella in Israel. Committed to the security and Jewish heritage of the 'Land of Israel', the organisation calls itself a 'grassroots' effort, building settlements, organising public spectacles as well as events of 'cultural' and 'educational' importance. This paper examines the 'everyday' spaces of community building that Zionist settler women from this organisation create, configure, contest, and transform. It argues that it is through these spaces that women experience 'everyday' socialisation and build bonds of friendship, love, and care that nurture their immediate community and their larger political causes.

What's Love got to do with it? Thinking 'Affectively' about Conflict and Apathy in Israel-Palestine

Katherine Natanel, SOAS

While accounts of the psycho-social dimensions of conflict in Israel-Palestine shed light on the political effects of trauma, fear and mistrust, this paper considers how human emotion sustains violence in more subtle and intimate ways. Rather than solely generating national community and enstating political division, affective attachments might also maintain conflict through promising efficacy, reciprocity and stability at the level of everyday life. Based on one year of ethnographic research among leftist Jewish Israelis living in Tel Aviv and West Jerusalem, this paper explores the complex dynamics through which love, care, and joy create and sustain social bonds at the cost of producing political disengagement.

Protesting Gender Discrimination from Within: Islamic Party Women's Organising in Iran and Turkey

Mona Tajali, University of Oxford

Over the past decade, Islamic political movements have been increasingly recruiting women to decision-making positions despite the fact that the ideology they espouse often opposes women from assuming positions of public leadership. This ethnographic research on religious women's activism in Iran and Turkey helps explain this unexpected trend by shedding light onto Islamic women's organising efforts as they mobilise public support and strategically interact with male elites in their demands to increase women's access to political decision-making. In particular, it highlights the role that a number of high-ranking Islamic women's rights activists with close ties to the ruling elites played in pressuring their male party leaders to address women's political underrepresentation.

Panel 1h. The Politics of Displacement: Aid, Asylum and Resistance in the Context of Refugee Camps

Chair: Lucas Oesch, University of Manchester

Turkish Asylum Policy before and during the Syrian Crisis: The Impact of the European Union and Other Factors

Bengu Ezgi Aydin, New York University

This paper attempts to examine the determinants of Turkish asylum policy, and in particular the impact of the European Union on that asylum policy, with a case study on the current Syrian refugee crisis. It argues that whilst the EU is clearly a relevant actor in shaping Turkish asylum policy, Turkey's decision-making process on this issue is mainly driven by its previous experiences with mass influx of refugees (including 350,000 Bulgarian refugees in 1989 and more than a half million Iraqi Kurdish refugees in 1991). These experiences have been reinforced by the current Syrian crisis which demonstrated, once again, the vulnerability of the Turkish state to mass inflows of refugees from neighbouring unstable and refugee-producing regions. This paper will attempt to show that the weak possibility of Turkish membership to the EU, its unwillingness to share the burden of Turkey in these humanitarian crisis and the EU's own securitised approach towards the incoming refugees significantly deteriorates the EU's capability to transform Turkish asylum policy. The recent Syrian crisis only endorsed the Turkish belief that the EU will not be willing to assist Turkey financially or by hosting some of the refugee population.

The Multiple Ambiguities of Palestinian Refugee Camps in Jordan

Lucas Oesch, University of Manchester

Drawing from Agamben's thinking, the refugee camp has been captured as an extraterritorial 'space of exception' characterised by exclusion derived from a suspension of the laws by the sovereign. Recent works on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon have critically engaged with this argument, by pointing at the complex and multiple sovereignties at play in the camp. But how does this process occur in the case of Jordan where Palestinian refugee camps and their dwellers are simultaneously excluded and included? By referring to al-Husseini camp in Amman, this paper argues that Palestinian refugee camps benefit from being analysed as spaces of government as well. Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan are thus 'spaces of multiple ambiguities' and technologies of differentiation driven by geopolitical considerations.

We the People: The re-Emergence of the Palestinian Refugee Question

Jinan Bastaki, SOAS

The terms liberation ('*tahreeer*') and resistance ('*muqawama*') have long followed the Palestinian cause, and have been umbrella terms for not only the liberation of the whole of Mandate Palestine, but have subsumed within them the issue of the Palestinian refugees. Liberation was the aim and resistance the means by which the status quo ante would be restored, before the creation of the State of Israel and start of the Palestinian exodus. Yet this liberation, in the definition originally envisioned, has not materialised through the resistance tactic of armed struggle that characterised the period until the Palestine Liberation Organisation's expulsion from Lebanon in 1988, nor via negotiation. Since the signing of the Oslo Accords in the 1990s, liberation was replaced by the two-state solution, with the refugees relegated to final status talks. And it is in this post-Oslo period that we see an organic, civil-society based movement aimed explicitly, though not solely, at the return of the Palestinian refugees. Thus 'resistance' has taken a new form: whether through physically walking back during various annual demonstrations or employing boycott tactics until Israel complies with its international obligations, 'liberation' has returned; but replaced by or renamed to the new rights-based movement.

PANEL 2. WEDNESDAY 24 JUNE, 15.30 - 17.30

Panel 2a. Kurdish Liberation I

Chair: Robert Lowe, LSE

Into Dilemma: The Turkish State's Policy towards Rojava (Western Kurdistan)

Bekir Halhalli, Comenius University in Bratislava & Sakarya University

The Turkish State's policy toward the Kurds in Syria has meant that Rojava Kurds have gained unprecedented leverage in regional politics. The current events of internal conflict in Syria and the ongoing peace process in Turkey have led the Kurds to become one of the most important and influential actors in the Middle East. The historical and political structure of change in the Kurdish/Kurdistan question of cross-border relations is now impossible to ignore. By examining the background of the Kurdish question in Syria, this study seeks to understand and discuss the outcomes of Turkey's policies toward Rojava (Western Kurdistan) under the rule of Justice and Development Party (AKP). Moreover, Turkey's support for freedom, democracy, and people's rule in the region is discussed in relation to Turkey's domestic approach to the pro-Kurdish political mobilisation.

Rojava's Nature: From Hydro-Carbon Geopolitics to Post-Scarcity Anarchy

Clemens Hoffmann, Bilkent University

Political ecology debates enter the question of Rojava's political ascendancy in two dominant ways. First, 'from top' there are structural, geopolitical issues at stake, namely the integration of new forms of sovereignty into a region where geopolitics is still dominated by hydro-carbon geopolitics. The second question concerns the future of Rojava's 'domestic' political ecology 'from below'. Strongly influenced by Murray Bookchin's 'Post-scarcity Anarchy', advocating sustainable forms of social reproduction, little is known how this thinking enters the wider political vision of a progressive Kurdish political future. This paper argues that Rojava's 'micro' questions on political ecology cannot be viewed independent of the 'macro' structures of the hydro-carbon geo-political economy it finds itself surrounded by.

Liberation from Iraq? The Kurdistan Region between ISIS and the US/Iranian Promoted new Iraq

William Harris, University of Otago

The Kurdistan region in what is currently northern Iraq operates in a substantially changed, multi-layered geopolitical arena since ISIS seized Mosul in June 2014. On the one hand, Kurdistan supplies crucial ground anchoring for the new international and local coalition against the Islamic State jihadists. On the other hand, the United States and Iran – the odd couple that patronises the Arab Shi'ite dominated Iraqi government – are wary of allowing Kurdistan room for manoeuvre for the future. In consequence, both lethal and non-lethal military equipment flows are carefully modulated, leaving the Kurds stretched and rather vulnerable on their front lines, despite their successes against ISIS. At the same time, Turkey hesitates between the political and economic advantages of fostering a strengthened Kurdistan region and the unknowns for Ankara of a Kurdish divorce from Baghdad. This paper explores the various geopolitical contradictions and their overall implications for the Kurdistan region. In the changed configuration since June 2014, what are the options, opportunities, and dangers for Kurdistan?

Panel 2b. Palestine: Solidarity and Resistance

Chair: John Chalcraft, LSE

US Labour and Palestine: Historical Challenges, Future Possibilities

Jaime Veve

The recent vote by UAW, Local 2865 (graduate students at University of California) in favour of BDS is a significant development for an issue long neglected. The immediate and predictable Zionist calls for condemnation and censorship speak volumes to the challenges encountered in advocating justice for Palestine. While recognising the importance of recent milestones in solidarity with Palestine, this paper addresses another critical fault line that the movement has been unable to overcome, namely the critical absence of US labour regarding Palestinian labour rights. Historically, US labour has lagged behind other movements in expressing progressive international solidarity short of endorsing the US State Department that continues to be bedrock of direct and indirect support of Israel. This paper will connect the role of the official body of US labour, the AFL-CIO, in support of Israel through the lens of the Cold War and post WWII anti-communist thrust era including the 1948 establishment of Israel.

Greek Nationalism and the Palestinian Quest for Religious Liberation: The Institutional Aspect of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem Controversy

Konstantinos Papastathis, University of Luxembourg

This paper elaborates contextually on the institutional aspect of the controversy within the Jerusalem Orthodox Church between its Greek establishment and the Palestinian community. The paper gives a historical account of the question, focusing on the diplomatic stakes and the variant ends of the political actors involved. This dispute dates back to the nineteenth century. For the Palestinians, the claim to liberate the Church from the 'foreign usurpers' reflects the collective response to orientalist stereotypes. For the Greek hierarchy, in contrast, the communal struggle forms a threat to its 'institutionalised' national rule. The paper suggests that the prospect for a fair compromise is limited and concludes that the end of Greek 'religious imperialism' depends actually on the solution of the Palestine Question.

Violence, War and Accountability: Gendered and Sexualised Dynamics of the 2014 Israeli Assault on Gaza

Rabab Abdulhadi, San Francisco State University

Drawing on primary data from field research in Palestine as well as secondary data from social media and other sources, this paper examines the gendered and sexualised dynamics of the Israeli assault on Gaza in 2014 as well as the preceding wave of terror Israeli military and political leadership unleashed against the Palestinian population in the West Bank following the kidnapping and the latter discover of the bodies of three Israeli settlers who had disappeared while hiking in the (occupied) hills of Hebron in the areas of the Palestinian Authority. The paper also offers a theoretical framework for analysing and understanding the relationship between gender/sexuality and war focusing on the (epistemic and physical) racialised violence in colonial 'civil society.'

The Trope of the Hunger Strike: How Bobby Sands is of the Palestinian Narrative

Rebecca Granato, al Quds Bard College

The Palestinian hunger striker is an ever-present media sensation, one which garners special attention in the press when the days turn into weeks and even months. With a particular consideration for the messages these actions carry, this paper will examine the emergence of a Palestinian national narrative amongst these men carrying out their hunger strikes within Israeli prisons. It specifically focuses on the ways in which the hunger strikers from the 1981 Northern Irish Hunger Strike have unintentionally helped shape the narrative of the Palestinians. In doing so, it looks at how the martyring and death of Bobby Sands became a trope in the Palestinian prisoner story and thus within the national narrative.

Panel 2c. Pushing the Status Quo: Liberation in Art and Cultural Practices in the Modern Middle East

Chair: Hanan Toukan

Transgressing Reality or the Dissolution of Borders in the Egyptian Surrealist Approach

Monique Bellan, Orient-Institut Beirut

In 1938, a group of young intellectuals (writers and artists, Egyptians and non-Egyptians) was calling for the defence of the so-called 'degenerate art' in a manifesto entitled 'Long live Degenerate Art' in which they condemned European Fascism and its stance against modernist art. In the following year, the surrealist group 'Art et Liberté' was founded in Cairo. This paper will look at this movement's idea of freedom and its political and aesthetic implications thereby exploring notions such as alienation, liberation, emancipation, and freedom. How was the state of freedom supposed to be achieved, or was it a purely utopic concept?

Ministry of Culture or No Ministry of Culture? Lebanese Cultural Players and Authority

Nadia von Maltzahn, Orient-Institut Beirut

In the early 1970s, a group of Lebanese artists called for the creation of a ministry of culture in Lebanon. Not content with their interests being nominally represented by the ministry of education, they drafted a declaration on why they wanted a ministry of culture. A debate on whether a ministry was needed and what form it should take ensued. It was not until 1993 that such a ministry was created, albeit with a limited budget and responsibility. Calls for a greater involvement of the state in cultural production have resurfaced periodically. This paper will look at the relationship of Lebanese artists and cultural players to state institutions, in particular the ministry of culture. Why and at what moments do cultural players in Lebanon call for the state's involvement in cultural production, while in most countries of the region they wish for less involvement? Where do they see a role for the state? Not content with the status quo, what is it that artists and cultural players ask for?

Cultural Practices of the PLO

Dina Matar, SOAS

This paper addresses the complex and changing face of the Palestinian national liberation movement at the end of the 20th century. Focusing on the formative years of the PLO in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it explores how the mediation of image and language constructed an overarching ethos of 'liberation' as a political consciousness that would develop its own symbols, tropes and mythology. Drawing on ongoing research, the paper addresses how the liberation movement acquired much of its formative aesthetic content, and support, in its mediation through different cultural genres. The paper will argue that critically engaging with the role of the PLO's cultural practices contributes to broader debates concerning the constitutive relationship between politics and communication prior to the digital media age, and between cultural production and grassroots mobilisation.

Critics or Caretakers? Renegotiating the Role of Saudi Artists between National and Global Expectations

Danijel Benjamin Cubelic, Heidelberg University

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has become home to one of the Middle East's pioneering art movements. Founded in 2003, the Edge of Arabia initiative connects more than 30 young artists from Saudi Arabia and showcases their work in a series of much-publicised exhibitions from Jeddah to Istanbul and London. By positioning themselves as a voice of Saudi-Arabia's 'Generation in Waiting' and seeking an active role in the conversation on the kingdom's social challenges, the groups artists are carving out a new emancipatory space for artists in Saudi society. Taking their 2012 Jeddah exhibition 'We need to talk' as a starting point, the paper wants to explore how Edge of Arabia artists position themselves between these expectations as caretakers of Saudi society in a global art world and being its critic and negotiate an emancipatory space to open up discussions on pressing social issues without alienating its society and be seen as betraying its culture.

Panel 2d. Representation of Liberation in Arabic, Kurdish and Nubian Literature

Chair: Christina Phillips, University of Exeter

Contemporary Saudi Women Writers: Lifting the Veil

Noura Algahtani, University of Leeds

Since 9/11, a new generation of Saudi novelists, particularly female authors, have begun to attract the attention of readers and scholars in both the Arab and the Western world. This paper will focus on two of these novels, namely Rajaa al-Sanea's *Banat al-Riyadh* (2005) translated as *Girls of Riyadh* (2007), and Seba al-Harez's *Al-Akharun* (2006) translated as *The Others* (2009). By openly addressing sexual and religious taboos in their novels, these two writers challenged both stereotypical images of Saudi women and the traditional cultural hegemony. Despite the fact that both these works were initially banned in Saudi Arabia, they went on to attract a broad readership in the global marketplace, especially following their translation into English. Drawing on Casanova's (2004) concept of 'World Literature', this paper will explore the role which English language literary publishers in the West have played in 'liberating' these novels from the restrictions imposed by Saudi national literary space through the process of translation. It will also reflect on the extent to which this re-categorisation of their work as 'World Literature' has helped female Saudi writers to gain new audience and to challenge previous ideas about centre/periphery in the Arab literary world.

Myths and Symbols of Kurdish Modern Poetry: Abdulla Goran as Example

Karwan Osman, University of Exeter

Goran employs myths and symbols in his poetry extensively. One of the considerable functions of Goran's imagery is to symbolise his vision of the political and cultural predicament in the Kurdish world. This paper looks at the myths and symbols in Goran's poetry as a source of his inspiration - not reinterpreting them, as well as how historical and romantic fiction can be used as a source of understanding the particular time and particular place. In spite of reviving Kurdish folktale myths in his poetry, Goran employs a new approach, using myths and symbols and the conflict between good and evil to show the current Kurdish political world and to depict conflict between new oppressors and the oppressed. He applies Kurdish myth figures as political symbols to signify contemporary politics, the Kurdish struggle, and to demonise oppressors.

Liberal Discourse and the Autobiographical Arabic Novel

Shaymaa Hussein-Samy, Durham University

In his preface to the 1983 edition of his seminal book on Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, Albert Hourani hints at why he 'does not try to carry the story [of liberal thought] beyond 1962.' Something about the revival of Islam, the 'language of socialism' through which nationalism expressed itself, and 'the broadening of the idea of Arab nationalism' signalled the end of liberal age at that time. This paper addresses the reaction to these ideological trends in the late Arabic novel. In an era characterised by economic liberalisation and the decline of pan-Arabism, can we discern the rise of a new liberal discourse in the Arabic novel? It argues that the evolution of autobiographical novels from the eighties onwards, particularly those narrating a life of political activism, reflects a critique of the brand of socialism and nationalism that characterised the previous historical period.

Freedom and Selfhood in Yusuf Zaydan's 'Azazil

Christina Phillips, University of Exeter

This paper explores the tension between religion, selfhood, freedom and liberation in Yusuf Zaydan's 2008 novel, 'Azazil. It reads the protagonist Hypa's journey of self-discovery against the background of early internecine strife as a critique of formal belief and of Christianity in particular and examines the role of Satan in the text as a symbol of freedom of expression and liberation. It also deals with themes of sexual awakening, violence, guilt and scriptural intertextuality in so far as they intersect with the theme of liberation and draws comparisons with Salwa Bakr's novel Al-Bashmuri (1998), whose protagonist's journey of self-discovery leads him, not away from the church altogether, but to mystical Islam.

From 'Egyptian Nubian' to 'Nubian Egyptian': The Evolution of Nubian Liberation Discourse in Idris 'Ali's *Dongola: A Novel of Nubia*

Christine Gilmore, University of Leeds

For decades, demands for economic, social and cultural rights from Egyptian Nubians displaced by construction of the Aswan High Dam in 1964 were marginalised by the Egyptian state. This resulted in the growth of a Nubian liberation movement known as the Nubian Awakening at the forefront of which were writers such as Idris 'Ali. Through analysis of 'Ali's *Dongola: A Novel of Nubia* (1993) this paper will seek to outline the evolution of Nubian liberation rhetoric over the course of the novel from an apparent endorsement of Nubian secession from Egypt to the reframing of Nubian identity within an expanded Egyptian national imaginary that celebrates, rather than silences, difference and is more inclusive of minorities.

Panel 2e. God's Chosen Peoples: Historical Perspectives on Islam and Liberation

Chair: Ulrika Mårtensson, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Liberation from Foreign Tyranny: Islam and the Arab Nation

Ulrika Mårtensson, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Drawing on Anthony Smith's (2003) concept of religion as the source of national identity, this paper explores the function of Islam as the source of Arab national identity with reference to three cases. (1) The rise of Islam as presented in al-Tabari's (d. 923) history. From al-Tabari's perspective, Islam is connected with a shift from Arab vassal status under the Sassanid Empire to Arab political sovereignty: the free Arab nation was born. (2) This is also how Michel Aflaq (d. 1989), the intellectual originator of Ba'th Arab nationalism in the colonial period, conceived of Islam: as the source and genius of the re-awakened Arab nation. (3) Extrapolating from these cases, it is suggested here that the adjective 'Islamic' in today's IS signifies that its self-perception is a project to liberate the Arab nation from foreign tyranny, i.e. all its enemies. Hence, jihadi fighters cooperate with former Ba'th leaders and Sufis, indicating that the common cause of sovereignty is paramount and religious dogma plays at most a secondary role.

Hanbalism as a Project of Liberation

Susanne Olsson, Stockholm University

Hanbalism from the earliest era until today promoted literal readings of Scripture and the subjugation of reason in the process of understanding the divine will, which if implemented would liberate humanity and lead them towards eternity in Paradise. Implementation was therefore considered necessary. This pietistic struggle of 'othering' intended to transfer a specific view of a moral vision on society, sometimes through hands-on 'correction'. Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) and al-Barbahari (d. 941) are early Hanbalis promoting this view but differed on how 'correction' ought to be performed. However, both agreed that 'correction' should not be directed towards political leaders. A political quietism was forwarded as the correct action (*manhaj*) and loyalty to political authorities was reinforced. This perspective on *manhaj* towards leaders was changed with Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328) and contemporary Salafi interpretations differ on this point, but are influenced by the early Hanbali scholars. The paper will focus on the actions recommended in order to reach liberation as understood from early Hanbali views.

Historical Developments of Kharidjite Communities: Contemporary Reflections

Marianne Laanatza, Lund University

This paper discusses how the violent Kharidjites, who once upon a time were a threat like the current al-Qaida or IS in areas around Baghdad and Basra as well as in some parts of Iran, developed their religious beliefs and acting from applying a very aggressive form of jihad to an inner and peaceful one in order to survive. They were then not any longer known as Kharidjites but Ibadites. They were settled in Oman and in the Maghreb under different conditions. While they have played an important and dominant role in Oman and still is the leading form of Islam in that society, the Ibadites in the Maghreb had a violent and complicated history, but still exist – although as very marginalised – in the Maghreb. The situation for the Ibadites in the current Maghreb is highlighted here as well as their roles during the so-called Arab Spring and their views on al-Qaida and similar groups today.

Identity, Liberation and Multiplicity in the Legal Discourse of Abou El Fadl

Angus Slater, Lancaster University

While liberation in the purely social or political aspect has always been a focus for thinking in the Middle East, a concomitant part of the recent movements termed the 'Arab Spring' was the liberation of identity from the strictures of past social and religious constructions in favour of a re-working and re-imagining of the possibilities for Muslim identity in the Middle East and beyond. As part of this re-imagining, the role that the discourse of Islamic law – its internal mechanisms, its social standing in Islamic communities, and its relation to the performance of Islamic identity – all become key components of re-envisaging the terms and possibilities of liberation. This paper attempts to address this process through the work of Abou El Fadl, a noted western scholar of Islam, who addresses the intersection between the classical tradition of Islamic law, representations of that tradition in the grab of contemporary invocations of the Shari'a, and the way in which these issues have an impact on the formation of Muslim identity in the West.

Is Shari'a Antithetical to Democracy and Justice?

Ayesha Malik, Review of Religions Magazine

The term Shari'a, perceived through a purely etymological lens presents itself today as an oxymoron on many levels. The term literally means life-giving water – however, when juxtaposed against state practice in the Muslim-majority world with respect to the enforcement and implementation of Shari'a law, a deepening divide between the letter and spirit of Shari'a is revealed. The enforcement of Shari'a in Muslim-majority lands has mutated from constitutionalisation to politicisation, interspersed by layered responses from the judiciary. This paper demonstrates that the heightened role of Islam in the state in Muslim-majority countries has meant the entrenchment of a pernicious ideology, the proponents whereof claim to be the 'true' warders of religion. It will argue that this 'custodians of heaven' approach has paradoxically made a travesty of Shari'a – alienating it from the source text (the Qur'an) and reducing it to epitomising violence and intolerance.

Panel 2f. The International Political Economy of Trade Policy in the Middle East: Promoting Integration and Cooperation?

Chair: Imad El-Anis, Nottingham Trent University

Discussant: Silvia Feraboli

The Impact of GAFTA: Analysing Economic Integration and Political Cooperation in the Middle East

Imad El-Anis, Nottingham Trent University

Economic underdevelopment and inequality in the Middle East are partly to blame for regional instability, extremism and conflict. Governments have tried to promote economic growth by promoting trade as a way to respond to the domestic and international economic and political challenges they face. This paper examines the impact of trade liberalisation on economic integration and political cooperation in the Middle East. It analyses the political economy of the Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA) and its impact on member states. The study finds that GAFTA members are primarily motivated by increasing their own economic growth, yet since its implementation GAFTA has had only a limited impact on trade between them. At the same time, however, membership in GAFTA has promoted institutional integration between member states which may lead to more political cooperation.

US Trade Policy to the Middle East: A Comparative Analysis of US Trade Policy towards Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt

Saad Almanaie, King's College London

This paper considers the political economy of trade between the United States and Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan. It delineates broader aspects of trade policy by these four states and evaluates whether the United States is following a 'one country, one trade policy' approach to signing free trade agreements with Middle Eastern states. The aims of this study are to examine the key features of US trade policy towards the Middle East; to delineate economic, foreign policy and geo-political motives driving the push for free trade agreements (FTAs) between the United States and Middle Eastern states; and to analyse how US trade policy to Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are impacting bilateral trade between them.

An Assessment of the Economic and Political Impacts of the Agadir Agreement: Promoting Peace and Stability in the Middle East and North Africa?

Tarik Oumazzane, Nottingham Trent University

Established in 2004, the Agadir Agreement has been hailed as an example of south-south cooperation between Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia and Egypt. Combining a market of 120 million people and a GDP estimated at 150 billion euros, the agreement not only aims to promote faster economic integration and cooperation but also intends to consolidate economic liberalisation throughout the Mediterranean region under the broader Barcelona Process. This paper investigates both the economic and political integrative impacts of the Agadir Agreement. It uses a mixed-method approach which entails some consideration of neo-functionalism (a theory that focuses on the progressive development of integration) and institutionalism (a theory interested in the effects of cross-national comparison of institutions). Based on this analysis, the paper offers recommendations to researchers and decision-makers in the MENA region on the importance of understanding the value of regional Free Trade Agreements in promoting economic growth, political cooperation, peace and stability

PANEL 3. THURSDAY 25 JUNE, 09.00 - 11.00

Panel 3a. The Arab Spring to Arab Winter: Explaining the Limits of Post-Uprising Democratisation

Chair: Ewan Stein, University of Edinburgh

Explaining Post-Uprising Trajectories: Starting Points, Agency and Emergent Variable Regimes

Raymond Hinnebusch, University of St Andrews

This paper sketches a framework for explaining the divergent trajectories taken by post Arab Uprising states in terms of multiple variables, each illustrated by an iconic case, namely: State Failure and Competitive governance (Syria), Regime Restoration and Hybrid Governance (Egypt) and Polyarchic Governance (Tunisia). Factors include the starting point: levels of opposition mobilisation and regimes' resilience—a function of their patrimonial-bureaucratic balance; whether or not a transition coalition forms is crucial for democratisation prospects. Context also matters for democratisation, particularly political economic factors, such as a balance of class power and a productive economy; political culture (level of societal identity cleavages) and a minimum of international intervention. Finally, the balance of agency between democracy movements, Islamists, the military and workers shapes democratisation prospects.

Social Movements, Protest Movements and Cross-Ideological Coalitions – The Arab Uprisings Re-appraised

Vincent Durac, University College Dublin

This paper explores the utility of social movement theory, reviewing conceptual developments and its application to Middle East cases before examining its relevance to the Arab Uprising. The initial youth-led new social movements were non-ideological, leaderless and lacking in clear organisational structures. As the protest movements spread, they grew to encompass a diverse array of other movements and actors: The breadth and diversity of these coalitions made the successful achievement of their core demands for regime change possible. However, the persistence of ideological cleavages within them made agreement on the post-regime change political order near impossible.

Islamism and the State after the Arab Uprisings: Between People Power and State Power

Frédéric Volpi, University of St Andrews

This paper examines the trajectories of different Islamist trends in the light of the Arab uprisings. It proposes a distinction between statist and non-statist Islamism to help understand the multiplicity of interactions between Islamists and the state, particularly after 2011. It outlines how statist Islamists (Islamist parties principally) can contribute to the stabilisation and democratisation of the state when their interactions with other social and political actors facilitate consensus building in national politics. The Arab uprisings and their aftermath reshaped pre-existing national and international dynamics of confrontation and collaboration between Islamists and the state, and between statist and non-statist Islamists, for better (e.g. Tunisia) and for worse (e.g. Egypt).

Back to the Future: The Arab Uprisings and State (re)Formation in the Arab World

Adham Saouli, University of St Andrews

This paper contributes to debates that aim to go beyond the 'democratisation' and 'post-democratisation' paradigms to understand change and continuity in Arab politics. In tune with calls to focus on the actualities of political dynamics, the paper shows that the literatures on State Formation and Contentious Politics provide useful theoretical tools to understand change/continuity in Arab politics. It does so by examining the impact of the latest Arab Uprisings on state formation trajectories in Iraq and Syria.

Panel 3b. Domestic Perspectives on the Syrian Uprising: Critics, Skeptics and Discontents

Chair: Dara Conduit, Monash University

The Uprising-Skeptic Syrian Oppositionists

Ferdinand Arslanian, University of St Andrews

This paper will address the case of three left-wing Syrian opposition activists (Nizar Nayouf, Fateh Jamous and Mhd. Sayyed Rassas) who've been in opposition to the Syrian regime throughout their political careers and yet have been highly sceptical towards the current uprising. The paper will examine their various diagnoses of the conflict, political strategies and proposed solutions in addition to their differences with the National Coordination Bureau (the main coalition of left wing and Arab Nationalist opposition parties) in particular and with the main body of the Syrian opposition in general.

The Liberation of Syrian Civil Society from within the Non-Violent Movements of the Syrian Uprising

Tamara Al-Om, University of St Andrews

In contrast to the restricted activities of civil society in Syria prior to the uprising, the emergence of the non-violent movements have created a space which has provided the opportunity for the growth and expression of the social freedoms fundamental for a practicing 'active citizen'. The diversity and wealth of these movements in many respects show how, despite the current situation on the ground, civil society has been able to act more freely and creatively than was ever possible under the Assads. As such, it is the aim of this paper to draw attention to the development of civil society as a result of the activities undertaken by those in these non-violent movements. Furthermore this paper seeks to highlight the importance of these civil society advocates and movements and the vital role they play in any comprehensive plan for Syria, both during the conflict and also in the future rebuilding of the country for, 'civil society [and it's] institutions are not simply an indicator of the flourishing of liberal democracy, but rather they are also instrumental in realising the transition towards such a system'.

The Syrian Uprising and its Historical Consequences for the Future of Syrian Christians: Case Study of Syrian Christians in Armenia

Daria Vorobyeva, University of St Andrews

Since the beginning of the Syrian Uprising in 2011, around 40% of Syria's Christian population has left the country as a result of the growing insecurity and increasing sectarianism as the conflict develops. Before the uprising around 80,000 Armenians lived in the country and played a very important role in the development of the Syrian economy. Since 2012 tens of thousands of Armenians have left the country, with more than 10,000 moving to their historical homeland, Armenia. This paper comprises empirical research, using both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. It uses Armenia as a case study and aims to examine changes in self-identity of Syrian Christians who have left their country because of the uprising.

Did History Repeat itself in Syria? Comparing the Roots of Discontent in the 1980 - 82 and 2011 Uprisings

Dara Conduit, Monash University

The Arab Spring arrived in Syria in March 2011, with the scale of the protest movement catching most observers off-guard. However, 2011 was not the first time that the Syrian government had faced popular unrest, with uprisings also threatening the regime in 1964, 1973 and 1980-82. To date, authors have largely resisted comparing the current uprising to previous unrest. This paper will draw parallels between the city of Hama in the lead-up to the 1980-1982 unrest and the city of Homs in the period preceding 2011. This paper argues that while there are many differences between the two uprisings – including the specific socioeconomic group that was involved – the root causes of grievance were remarkably similar.

Panel 3c. The Politics of Identity in Israel

Chair: Raffaella A. Del Sarto, European University Institute

Beyond Arabised-Jews: Young Radical Mizrahim and Arabness in Israel

Zachary Smith, SOAS

The identity of 'Arab-Jew' has attracted significant scholarly attention since its re-introduction into the discourse surrounding mizrahim, Jewish Israelis of MENA origin, in the 1990s by Ella Shohat, Sami Shalom Chetrit, Yehouda Shenhav and others. This paper seeks to expand and apply Behar's framework to mizrahim in Israel, proposing a division into phases of 'allo-Arabisation' and 'auto-Arabisation' in mizrahi lives. In doing so, it draws on Latour's (1993) exploration of modernity as characterised by 'hybridisation' and 'purification', two processes that also mark mizrahi existence in Israel. Behar's 'Arabisation' is but the first of many processes that manifest themselves in different ways and with different agents. I explore 'allo-Arabisation', 'Arabisation' by others (primarily ashkenazi Jews), and 'auto-Arabisation', 'Arabisation' by the self, utilising interviews with young second- and third-generation mizrahi radicals to explore the limits and extent to which 'Arabness' is being reclaimed by mizrahim in Israel. In 'auto-Arabising', young mizrahi radicals exist as Levantines, at the edges of Israeli culture and society.

No Longer 'Trembling before God'

Sophie Bigot-Goldblum, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

This paper explores the phenomenon of 'yotzim bish'ela' meaning, the deliberate process of self-estrangement from the ultra-orthodox (haredi) community in contemporary Israel. Leaving Mea Shearim, the ultra-orthodox district, costs more than a bus ticket. The psychological and social outlay for the individual cannot be understated: it requires nothing less than a complete redefinition of one's identity in addition, often, to a complete rupture with of one's family and community of origin. What are the means for the individual to break off from the ultra-orthodox community? What is the nature of the organisations at his/her disposal, and what are their means and approach? Those are some of the questions that the paper will explore.

Unruly Resistances and the Fault Lines of Colonised Spaces: The Struggle for Palestinian Space in Israel

Sharri Plonski, SOAS

Acts of subversive cartography have become a common practice of Palestinian-citizen resistances inside Israel. Intertwined as part of the dialectic, if asymmetrical, relationship that exists between 'power' and 'resistance', they act as a window both into the apparatuses employed to colonise Palestinian space inside Israel and the insurgent practices different communities have articulated in response. Based on three years of ethnographic field-work with three contemporary cases of community land-struggles in Jaffa-Tel Aviv, the Galilee and the Naqab, this paper explores the everyday and catalytic resistances that disrupt the colonial ordering of Palestinian space inside Israel. Through an exploration of this spectrum of practices, it investigates how power is activated, disarticulated and reshaped through struggle that is both present and absent from Israeli-Zionist productions of space; and how struggle is articulated and mediated by the same conditions.

Gendered Spatialities and the Cultural Nationalist 'Right': Space, Place, and the Settler Colonial Politics of Zionist Women

Akanksha Mehta, SOAS

Women for Israel's Tomorrow/Women in Green was established in 1993 as the first women-only organisation under the Zionist umbrella in Israel. Committed to the security and Jewish heritage of the Land of Israel, the organisation calls itself a 'grassroots' effort, organising a variety of public spectacles and events. Women of the organisation hail mainly from educated and 'upper class' backgrounds and mobilise via street activism, charitable and educational work, and violence. In this paper, drawing from ethnographic research conducted in Israel-Palestine, this paper deploys gender as an analytical category to examine the aforementioned Zionist women's organisation's interventions with public space. It argues that women from the organisation intervene with spatialities of the street and the nation in varied ways to negotiate their own presence as agents and not mere discursive markers in the larger male-dominated Zionist patriarchal project(s).

Panel 3d. The AKP and Authoritarianism in Turkey

Chair: Sinan Ciddi, Georgetown University & Institute of Turkish Studies

Re-considering Political Change and Democratisation in the Context of Institutional Persistence

Ceren Lord, LSE

This paper examines the persistence of authoritarian structures, using Turkey as a case study, despite political change and the ways in which they can constrain democratic. The ascent to power in 2002 of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a political party with Islamist roots was generally regarded as a turning point in Turkish history and as having wider implications in terms of the emergence of a model of 'Muslim democracy' for the Middle East. The argument was that this had reflected democratisation of the polity, signifying and eventually leading to a break with a system of authoritarian tutelary rule, with the military acting as a key veto player over the political system. These analyses of political change were largely based on modernisation and transition theories of democratisation. In contrast to the prevailing approaches, this paper seeks to situate the AKP experience by drawing on i) a historical institutionalist theoretical framework to trace persistence of authoritarian institutions despite political change; ii) the theoretical insights on hybrid regimes which frame political change and continuity in terms of political cycles, rather than structural breaks.

The Political Appeal of Justice and Development Party: From 'High-right' to 'Low'

Toygar Sinan Baykan, University of Sussex

There is a widespread tendency in the literature to underline the conservative-religious content in the political appeal of the Justice and Development Party (JDP). This paper illustrates how the JDP elite and the pro-JDP media have located the party and its leadership in the political space of Turkey. It argues that the high-low division, as a 'manifestation in politics of social and cultural inequality' proposed by Pierre Ostiguy, provides the most appropriate lens through which to see the full nature of the JDP's political appeal. Contrary to widespread assumptions, the political appeal of the JDP exploits neither the left-right cleavage nor the secular-religious cleavage. Instead, they have constructed a peripheral identity for the party and located it at the low end of the high-low division.

Turkey's Political Impasse: The Architecture of Authoritarian Rule

Sinan Ciddi, Georgetown University & Institute of Turkish Studies

Turkey's political history during the multiparty period (1950 on) is riddled with instability, praetorian and authoritarian rule. Under the incumbency of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the country's initial turn to consolidating and internalising liberal democratic norms has, since 2013, taken a sharp dive. Erdogan's Turkey was lauded as a 'model' regime for many post-Arab Spring countries transitioning from authoritarian rule to take example of. Increased opposition towards both the style and content of Erdogan's continued rule has resulted in the emergence of an authoritarian system of rule that has been described by some scholars as an 'elected dictatorship'. Although Turkey has not been plagued by severe economic instability since the early 2000's, there seems to be no doubt that the country is in the midst of an ever-escalating political crisis. Institutional arrangements to manage, accommodate and ameliorate political conflict- from political parties to the judicial system appear to be faltering. What are the roots Turkish of political conduct and what typology does Turkey's democratic credentials fit into?

Panel 3e. Demography and Politics in the Middle East

Chair: Valeria Cetorelli, LSE

Contextualising Socio-Political and Demographic Transformations in the MENA

Elhum Haghighat, City University of New York

Uprisings are undoubtedly not a new phenomenon in the Middle East-North Africa (MENA) region, but their timing and the domino effect of the recent turmoil in the region is puzzling and deserves critical evaluation. This paper explains the recent social and political change and transformations in the MENA region. It questions a) the timing, and b) the context within which the uprisings took shape. It proposes several factors for this analysis: 1) multiple modernities perspective where it explains the process of development in the region; 2) demographic transition stages; 3) age structure; 4) changes in sexual and gender norms; 5) the role of civil society, and 6) the process of democratisation.

The Search for National Identity: Managing Nationality in Kuwait and the Gulf States

Allan G. Hill, University of Southampton

With ambiguities surrounding citizenship reaching back before full independence, all the Gulf States struggle with definitions of nationality between and within the 'native' and the 'immigrant' populations. The case of Kuwait illustrates the joint effects of internal politics and external relations on the size, composition and origins of the immigrant flows. Using data from the first census of 1957 and subsequent census, survey and population registration data, this paper traces the fluctuations in the balance between the Kuwaiti and the non-Kuwaiti populations, including the effects of the re-classification of the *biduun jinsiya* ('without nationality') in 1986. Some of these tendencies are then examined in several other Gulf States where conditions are very different and where the debate about nationality is less openly discussed. The paper discusses the implications of recent decisions on the classification and rights of the national populations in the context of the political evolution of the states in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

Child Mortality Trends in Iraq: Politics and Subterfuge

Tim Dyson, LSE

This paper examines evidence on the level and trend of child mortality in Iraq. Until around 2007 it was generally thought that there had been a sharp rise in the level of child mortality in the country during the early 1990s as a result of the first Gulf War and the accompanying United Nations economic sanctions. The main basis for this view was a UNICEF survey conducted in 1999. However, estimates of the level and trend in child mortality subsequently became available from additional surveys. The estimates from the additional surveys show no sign of a sharp increase in the level of child mortality in the early 1990s. Therefore it is virtually certain that, as was suggested by a report in 2005, the 1999 survey data were deliberately and cleverly manipulated by the then government of Iraq.

Hard and Soft Demographic Engineering: The Case of Israel / Palestine

Paul Morland, Birkbeck, University of London

A certain amount of work has been undertaken into looking at how demography shapes conflict, particularly around 'youth bulges' and often in relation to the Middle East. Less consideration has been given to the ways in which conflict shapes demography and specifically how groups in conflict deploy demographic strategies. A fruitful way of addressing this is to define demographic engineering as the deployment of strategies intentionally to alter the demographic balance in a territory, usually in the context of an ethnic conflict, so as to strengthen one group against another. This can take the form of 'hard' or 'soft' demographic engineering. This paper looks at the case of Israel / Palestine and examines Jewish immigration and fertility choices of Arabs and Jews as cases of hard demographic engineering and Israel's approach to the West Bank and Gaza and the use of censuses by both Israel and the Palestinian Authority as cases of soft demographic engineering.

Panel 3f. Activism, Mobilisation and Political Engagement in the Middle East

Chair: Filippo Dionigi, LSE

Contest and Activism in Prison and Beyond Political Detention in Palestine

Stéphanie Latte Abdallah, CNRS-IFPO

Starting from militant and activist trajectories and the political modes of contention of prisoners in custody and beyond the walls as well as their claims vis-à-vis the prison administration, this paper analyses the effects of prison constraint on political socialisation. Dealing with engagement and disengagement processes, I will consider whether and how spending time in jail is framed as a citizenship experience.

Lebanon's Hezbollah: Socialisation Processes in a Militant Islamist Organisation

Erminia Chiara Calabrese, University of Tarragona

This paper analyses the different contexts of socialisation and interactions to which the individual is confronted and which can be significant elements for engagement in the ranks of Lebanese Hezbollah. Taking inspiration from the interactionist approach that marked most recent French studies in the sociology of commitment and mobilisation, this paper takes activists the starting point of the analysis, then up towards studying organisations and macro-political contexts within which they 'record their trajectories'.

(Dis)engagement and Political Conviction: Compared Activist Trajectories in the Middle East

Pénélope Larzillière, IRD-CEPED

How are political conviction built up and ideologies perceived, assumed, interpreted and experienced by the activists? What do they see in them and to what extent is it possible or not to connect their trajectories of involvement and disinvolvement? Attention will be turned to the links between involvement and political conviction in the Middle East by comparing long-term activist trajectories from various persuasions: Islamist, nationalist and leftist. In the activist paths, three kinds of experiences will be specifically focused on: first commitment and affiliation processes, career changes and shifts, and finally disengagement. The analysis of these experiences shows the role of political emotions, and furthermore that ideologies may also be lifestyles and are rarely disowned, unlike the organisations that represent them.

'Militant Careers' in Tripoli, Lebanon, from the Iranian Revolution to Da'esh

Tine Gade, University of Oslo & SciencesPo Paris

The notion of a 'moral career' was first used by Becker in *Outsiders* to denote how a person learns to become recognised as the performer of a distinct role. Social movement theorists recently have taken more interest in activist biographies. The notion of a 'militant career' has been used to analyse the causes of commitment and disengagement (Fillieule 2005; Sawicki and Siméant, 2009), and reconversion of resources or networks built during activism (Duclos 2010, see also Bucaille 1998). This paper builds on these studies and investigates the theoretical and empirical reach of the concept, taking the case of Tripoli, Lebanon. Utilising data obtained from extensive new fieldwork (2008-2015), it analyses the 'militant careers' of a dozen urban poor youth, from New Left networks in the 1970s to Khomeinist Islamism in the 1980s.

Panel 3g. After the Liberation: The Process of State (Trans)formation in Libya

Chair: Irene Costantini, University of Trento

The Economic Dimension of the State Formation Process in Libya

Irene Costantini, University of Trento

The overthrow of the Qadhafi regime and the liberation of Libya was welcomed as a new beginning for the country. This enthusiasm, shared by Libyans and the international community alike, spreads equally to the economic domain. Reflecting this widespread enthusiasm, the IMF noted in 2012 that 'Libya's popular revolution of 2011 has unleashed the potential for more diverse and inclusive growth'. Contrary to expectations, the Libyan transition, along with its economy, soon derailed. By investigating the dynamics that have occurred during the first three years of transition this paper questions the extent and the manner in which the limited internationally-led intervention in Libya has affected the economic transformation of the country and the 'topography of power' that emerged in relation to economic dynamics.

The Road to the Libyan Constitution Drafting Assembly

Felix-Anselm van Lier, University of Oxford

After the revolution of 2011, Libyan politicians were confronted with the task of building a new Libyan state. The establishment of a constitutional order was one of the cornerstones of the transformation of the country from a dictatorship into a democratic state. This paper traces the process of the overthrow of Gaddafi in 2011 to the setting up of the Constitution Drafting Assembly (CDA) in 2014, which is responsible for drafting a new constitution. It seeks to explain how various segments of Libya's society influenced political decisions which might potentially forestall certain constitutional choices. It will also shed light on a number of key debates which emerged during the transitional phase, as well as the challenges, which the drafters of Libya's new constitution are facing in their constitution-making task. This paper mainly draws on data gathered during in-depth ethnographic fieldwork in Libya between March and July 2015.

State, Society and Statebuilding in Libya

Jean-Louis Romanet Perroux, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

The hollow state institutions of Gadhafi's Jamahiriya, the fracturing of society and the substitution of a national identity with a cult of Gadhafi's eccentric figure and philosophy left a poisonous legacy for any nation and state-building endeavour. Despite these challenges, in the aftermaths of the uprising in September 2011 Libya experienced an unprecedented sense of unity, an eerie level of security despite the lawlessness and new expressions of civic engagement. However, violence increasingly muted politics and curtailed the public space, culminating in widespread conflicts and insecurity since the spring of 2014. This paper argues that above all, politics failed Libya and that in spite of the many challenges the country faces, the root cause rests at the level of the national political culture. In light of this premise, this paper will examine who, between formal state institutions and civil society, can be a more promising agent of change, transforming Libya's political system from a charismatic totalitarian regime to a modern and democratic state.

On the Border Zones of History: Nationhood, Statehood and the Civil Society of the Italiani di Libia (1939 - 1970)

Sherine El Taraboulsi, University of Oxford

The historical diversity of the civil society landscape in Libya remains untrodden in analysis. Using that diversity as a lens to explore contested identities and civic presence of the Italiani di Libia and through the narratives of 20 Italians born in Libya, this paper has a two-pronged focus: First, to identify the different types of civil society organisations that existed in Libya starting with the Second World War and until the Gaddafi coup in 1969, followed a year later by the expulsion of the 'Italian' population from Libya and the expropriation of their property. Second, to explore key turning points in the period between 1939 and 1970; mainly: 1948, 1956, 1967, and in each of those points, understand how massive changes that took place within the regional socio-political realm manifested itself within civil society. The paper concludes that fragmentation of the overall civil society landscape in Libya among Italians, Jews, Arabs, and Berbers was a direct manifestation of and contributor to a fragmented Libyan state and nationhood which the Italiani di Libia were acutely aware of and their narratives testify to.

Tribes and Democratisation/de-Democratisation in Libya

Kumru F. Toktamis, Pratt Institute

While the fractured, fragmented and tribal qualities of Libyan society and political history seems to be anything but impediment for the likelihood of democratisation and even state-formation, from a theoretical standpoint such qualities may also become facilitating resources contingent upon development of conditions and processes of small scale consultations, citizen-state bargainings, and enlargement of public politics. The basic democracy-promoting mechanisms can be interdependent and roughly similar to state-formation processes of establishing institutional and administrative uniformity, creating nominally representative national legislature, subordinating and monopolising means of violence and nationalising social provisions and redistribution. While the restoration of Libya as a national state is desirable within the global and regional context, it is not unlikely that such process may trigger democratisation as much as it may lead to de-democratisation. Following the blueprints of the theoretical models of state-formation and democratisation by Charles Tilly, this paper explores the conditions and processes of 'broadening, equalisation and protecting of mutually binding consultations' in Libya which may create the necessary institutions of a single, unitary, fair state, and mechanisms for citizenry to negotiate with that centralised power.

Panel 3h. Comparative and International Political Economy and the Middle East

Chair: Daniel Neep, Georgetown University

Why is Syria so Statist? Revisiting Ideas and Economic Change in Historical Institutionalism

Daniel Neep, Georgetown University

Why did Syria transition from a laissez-faire to a statist economy between 1946 and 1954? The literature proposes a political or class-based explanation: that the anti-colonial old bourgeoisie that inherited power after independence was so discredited by its record of economic mismanagement, cronyism, and defeat in the 1948 war that army officers felt obliged to intervene (Seale 1986; Torrey 1964). Subsequent military regimes oversaw a historical class compromise ('social pact') that promised economic development in exchange for political quiescence (Heydemann 1999). Yet why did Syrian officers, industrialists, and entrepreneurs converged upon one particular set of policies about the economic role of the state? Why, out of all the options available to them, did military rulers in post-WWII Syria adopt this variant of state interventionism? This paper explains the shift by drawing on historical institutionalism to emphasise the importance of ideas in producing economic paradigm shifts.

Beyond the Rentier State: Why Have Middle East Studies Ignored IPE?

Hannes Baumann, King's College London

Resorting to caricature, we can say that political economists of peripheral regions explain Asian industrialisation (developmental state, flying geese), Latin America's failed industrialisation (dependency theory), and Africa's even greater failure (weak/failed states). Thanks to abundant oil reserves, the gift of Middle East studies to political economy was the 'rentier state' concept. Middle Eastern economic exceptionalism seemed to explain the political exception of a region untouched by the 'third wave of democracy'. However, while Middle East studies thus contributed to comparative political economy (CPE), scholars of international political economy (IPE) have ignored the region. They see the region as so peripheral and 'exceptional' that little can be learned from it. This paper challenges these perspectives by discussing three attempts at 'bringing the Middle East back in' to IPE.

Varieties of Capitalism in the Arab World: State Intervention and Segmentation

Steffen Hertog, LSE

In recent years, comparative political economists have increasingly focused on the applicability of 'Varieties of Capitalism'-type analyses outside of advanced Western economies. The most notable contribution in this regard is Ben Ross Schneider's concept of 'Hierarchical Market Economies' (HMEs) which he has developed to analyse the capitalist systems of Latin America, and which are characterised by a debilitating equilibrium of low skills, diversified business groups, atomised labour relations and a heavy presence of foreign multinationals. This paper investigates whether there are clusters of linked characteristics that similarly set apart capitalist systems in the Arab world. It will argue that with the exception of the strong role of multinationals, Arab capitalism in the 'core Arab' states of Maghrib and Mashreq have much in common with HMEs, which appears to be a concept that in important parts describe developing world capitalisms in general. The paper will highlight an important additional trait that makes the core Arab capitalist systems stand out: a particularly deep, double segmentation of labour markets and business sectors into a) formal state-operated, b) formal private and c) informal private, resulting in a multi-tiered system of insiders and outsiders, contributing to the 'negative complementarities' described by Schneider.

The International Political Economy of Egypt after Mubarak: Critical IPE as Bridge between Global, Regional and National Scales?

Roberto Roccu, King's College London

This paper suggests that critical strands in International Political Economy (IPE) have much to contribute to the study of the Middle East. This point is illustrated with reference to a scalar-relational approach based on articulation (Macartney and Shields 2011), applied to the study of post-Mubarak Egypt. Following Stuart Hall (1996), articulation is understood as an asymmetrical relation of determination in the first instance on the one hand and relative autonomy on the other hand. In the case of Egypt, two related instances of relative autonomy appear to have particularly wide-ranging implications. Firstly, Gulf powers have exploited the increased relative autonomy of the regional scale produced on the one hand by the effects of the global financial crisis on US and European power projection in the Middle East, and on the other hand by the popular upheavals leading to Mubarak's overthrow. Secondly, relative autonomy also affects economic policies. In Egypt, the relatively greater penetration of Gulf capital vis-à-vis US and European capital appears to be laying down the conditions for a 'neoliberal patron-client' arrangement, with GCC's budgetary support exchanged for increased access to profitable markets and companies. In showing the interactions between global, regional and national actors and factors such an approach also contributes to bridging the gap between IR/IPE and Middle East studies.

Political Economy of Decentralisation in the Arab Countries

Mehmet Tosun, University of Nevada

The Arab region has one of the most centralised government structures in the world. This paper provides an overview of the centralisation and decentralisation in the region starting with a historical overview and then describing in some detail the administrative and fiscal decentralisation which is followed by an empirical analysis of the determinants of decentralisation in the Arab region. The empirical analysis also uses a new decentralisation indicator constructed by the author based on expenditure assignment scores. The paper also provides specific country descriptions for selected countries and recent developments in the countries that are experiencing the Arab Spring. The study uses data from the World Bank's Database of Political Institutions (DPI), World Development Indicators (WDI) and the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG). Empirical results from ordered logistic regressions show that decentralisation is positively associated with GDP per capita but high-income Arab countries are still significantly less decentralised compared to other countries. Among the institutional variables both internal and external conflicts are found to be robust determinants of decentralisation. While external conflicts are negatively associated with decentralisation, internal conflicts give mixed results. Over time prevalence of internal conflicts may have brought more decentralisation to the region but Arab countries still have lower decentralisation possibly due to significantly higher internal conflicts compared to other countries.

PANEL 4. THURSDAY 25 JUNE, 11.30 - 13.30

Panel 4a. The Politics of Liberation: Theory and Practice of Violence in the Arab World

Chair: Lucy Abbott, University of Oxford

Hannah Arendt on Violence, Revolution and the Middle East

Lucy Abbott, University of Oxford

For German political philosopher Hannah Arendt, the idealism of imperialism had created a completely new political context, one which used administrative bureaucracy to undermine the pursuit of a politics based on law and invited violence as a means of resistance. This paper draws upon sections from *On Revolution* and *The Origins of Totalitarianism* to document her views on violence's colonial roots and its anti-political nature. It then forges conceptual connections between the demands for 'bread and dignity' made during the Arab Spring and Arendt's comments on the role of the social question in the descent of revolutionary movements into violence.

The Jihad Discourse of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Presidency of Muhammad Morsi

Ewan Stein, University of Edinburgh

Jihad has occupied a prominent position in the worldview, political strategy and foreign policy of the Muslim Brotherhood. For some, the Brotherhood was an irredeemably radical Islamist group that used elections to seize control of the state, which would use this to declare a jihad against Israel and the West. Others saw the Brotherhood as having sold out to a US-Israeli agenda in the Middle East and having 'abandoned' jihad. Each of these interpretations misrepresents the way the Muslim Brotherhood has conceptualised jihad throughout its history. This paper argues that the Muslim Brotherhood's understanding of jihad has remained relatively consistent, approaching it as a mechanism for domestic reform, and as military action conducted under the authority of the state.

State Violence Devolved: Online Vigilante Violence in Bahrain

Marc Owen Jones, Durham University

Ongoing since the early 1900s, traditional 'state-sponsored' violence in Bahrain has monopolised the headlines due to its egregious nature, and visceral unpleasantness. Yet the rise of social media, and the devolution of acts of surveillance and online vigilantism has confused this binary of state versus loyalist violence. Now acts of social control undertaken by those representing the hegemonic order, such as *baltajiyya* (thugs), but not necessarily agents of the state, are becoming increasingly important as a regime survival strategy in Bahrain. This paper acknowledges the importance of violent acts undertaken by those representing the hegemonic order, while also problematising the notion of violence itself.

Violence: An Inherent Heritage?

István T. Kristó-Nagy, Exeter University

The various Islamic attitudes towards violence demonstrate the interplay between biological and cultural heritage, social and historical circumstances, communal identities and personal inclinations. When analysing such attitudes, all of these layers have to be considered. In order to understand and contextualise attitudes towards violence in Islamic thought, I have aimed to outline first the biological roots of violence, followed by the historical evolution of human attitudes to it. This paper focuses on how social changes are reflected in religion in general and in Islam in particular.

Panel 4b. Political Economy in the GCC

Sponsored by the Kuwait Programme, LSE

Chair: Steffen Hertog, LSE

Business Sector and Economic Liberalisation Policies in Kuwait

Anastasia Nosova, LSE

Having obtained considerable fiscal capacity, the Gulf States developed an elaborate welfare system meant to distribute the oil-generated wealth to their national population in exchange to political obedience. However, the GCC oil-reliant economic systems have long been declared vulnerable to price fluctuations, and unsustainable in a longer term. Analysing the case of Kuwait, this paper suggests that the country's private sector in its current state is not only incapable of contributing to the promotion of any substantial restructuring policies, but in fact constitutes an active force opposing those policies and one of the major stumbling blocks for their implementation.

Drivers of Price Reaction to Rights Issue Announcements in the Kuwait Stock Exchange

Hessah Al-Ojayan & Bader Alhashel, Kuwait University. Presented by Hessah Al-Ojayan

This study examines the drivers behind stock price reactions to announcements of rights issues by firms listed on the Kuwaiti Stock Exchange for the period 2003-2013. We find higher cumulative abnormal returns for firms that undertake larger issues, with the issue size reflecting the availability of favourable investment opportunities and their potential positive impact on firms' earnings. We also document a positive price reaction in firms that are affiliated with a family group. We interpret this as evidence that the proceeds of the rights offering would be employed effectively when the firm is controlled by a family firm. No evidence was found for the price pressure and pricing effects.

The Relationship between Economic and Political Liberalisation: The Case of the UAE

Lorraine Charles, University of Exeter

The modernisation theory, as put forward by Lipset (1959), suggests that there is a positive correlation between economic and political liberalisation. This paper will argue that in the UAE the opposite has occurred. The rulers have been able to pursue their ambitions for growth, unhindered by public opinion and the supposed discontent of the populace. With economic liberalisation there have few calls for political reform; a situation reinforced by the 'ruling bargain'. This paper will examine how the ruling bargain reinforces a situation where significant economic liberalisation has not led to political liberalisation, but rather has resulted in a greater autonomy for the rulers.

Migrant Labour in the Countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council: A 'Fix' for Gulf Capitalism?

Serhat Yalcin, University of Kassel

Since the early 2000s, countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have witnessed major inflows of capital and labour, but the presence of large numbers of migrant workers in the GCC countries is perceived as a security problem. Labour migration which is regulated through the kafala system ties migrant workers to their employers and strongly emphasises the temporality of labour migration. It has been argued that this constitutes a 'fix' for Gulf capitalism: migrant workers are much cheaper to employ and easier to control, they face legal barriers to form collective organisations and initiate collective actions (e.g. strikes) and can be easily deported. The aim of this paper is to elaborate this argument in more detail in the cases of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

The State of Subsidiary Corporate Governance Practices in the GCC

Maryam Ali Ficociello, Dar AlHekma University

This study aims to understand current practices in subsidiary corporate governance across the major GCC countries: Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, UAE, and KSA. It looks into the state of subsidiary corporate governance and the levels and types of implementation across public and private companies, with an aim at understanding the barriers to better compliance with leading practices. It further presents an in-depth comparative analysis of current subsidiary corporate governance practices for a single Kuwaiti-owned group, with over a dozen subsidiaries which fall into six diverse sectors and are geographically dispersed across the GCC and beyond.

Panel 4c. Pointing to Yourself on the Map: Gezi Resistance in Turkey

Chair: Clemens Hoffman, Bilkent University

Researching Global Waves of Social Movements: Surprising Absence in Gezi Resistance

Zelal Ozdemir, Middle East Technical University

Apart from a handful of publications, research on Gezi Resistance has not revolved around its international linkages. It instead focused on class dimension, political cultures, modes of organising resistance, etc. However, in all these works, the fact that Gezi Resistance was part of a global wave was taken as given, cited and re-cited without any empirical content to it. Agreeing with the analysis that the context of global neoliberalism is partially shared across different cases of mobilisation in the globe in the 21st century, this paper nevertheless argues that this does not constitute a 'global wave', which implies an intense solidarity, learning, inspiration between several mobilisations.

Repositioning vis-à-vis the State and the International: Turkish Nationalist Youth on the Street

Kübra Oguz, Middle East Technical University

The tension of looking from outside in versus from inside out is most pronounced in the case of Young Turkish nationalists who joined the Gezi resistance to their own surprise. Traditionally xenophobic and shying away from cosmopolitan, inter-ethnic movements, these young nationalists' enthusiastic participation in street mobilisation produces a double puzzle. Firstly, there is the Turkish exceptionalism in the face of a movement claimed to be the most globally

connected in Turkey. Secondly, the nationalist tradition in Turkey is traditionally positioned with the state against internationalist and leftist agency. Their transformation exposes the global-ness of the Gezi Resistance in novel ways. This paper explores their repositioning in Turkey and in the world during June 2013.

Pretending not to Talk about the International: Challenges of Designing and Conducting Research about the International

Derya Göçer, Middle East Technical University

Several of the critical approaches to IR, including International Historical Sociology and International Political Sociology, take the co-constitution between the international and the national as one of their key axioms. However, despite years of debates in disciplinary journals and other platforms, empirical research of these relations of co-constitutions is rare. Even rarer is research into contemporary political events. This paper argues that part of this scarcity is due to the difficult nature of designing and conducting research in these fields.

Panel 4d. Democratisation or Much Ado About Nothing? Investigating Forces for and against Reform in Jordan

Chair: Curtis Ryan, Appalachian State University

Manoeuvring Through the Arab Spring: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy

Curtis Ryan, Appalachian State University

This paper draws on extensive field research in Jordan, including interviews with foreign policy-makers in the Hashemite Kingdom – from foreign ministers to King Abdullah II. The paper examines the impact of regime security considerations on Jordanian foreign policy, specifically as it confronted challenges from Arab revolutions, counter-revolutions, civil wars, and the rise of terrorist movements such as the 'Islamic State' or Da'esh. The paper also addresses the tendency for foreign policy and regional security concerns to outweigh domestic agendas for reform and change. I argue, however, that domestic political reform is as pressing an issue for Hashemite regime as is the seemingly constant stream of external security challenges.

The Domestic Dimension of Authoritarian Resilience – The Case of Jordan

Artur Malantowicz, University of Warsaw

The Historical Sociology (HS) approach to study state formation in the Middle East (Hinnebusch 2010, 2014) explicitly postulates looking at the decision-making process of the state-builders as a response to three primary challenges: nation-building, economic development and authority building. This response is being shaped by numerous possibilities and may lead either towards inclusive and competitive political system or, quite contrary, to authoritarian upgrade. Jordan, with its inseparable tradition of the neopatrimonial rule, seems to be a case of the latter. This paper thus looks at the way the authoritarianism has been incorporated into the state-building process, how it has entangled the social fabric and manifests itself on different arenas of the socio-political reality of the monarchy.

State, Society, and Leader Succession in Jordan

Andrew Spath, American University

Leadership change in authoritarian regimes can be trying episodes for incumbent governments and incoming leaders. Scholars have noted the 'uncertainty,' 'vulnerability,' and 'crisis of legitimacy' that often follow from non-democratic leadership transitions, particularly those replacing long-term incumbents. The event creates an imperative for governments to manage the transition, and it simultaneously presents an opportunity for opponents to direct claims and grievances toward a new target. Through an investigation of the leadership succession from King Hussein of Jordan to his son Abdullah, this paper examines how leaders attempt to manage this key event and how these efforts are challenged or accepted by political opposition and activists.

A Liberated Parliament, a Liberated Monarchy? The Meeting of the Twain in Jordan

Paul Esber, University of Sydney

Both reform and revolutionary movements in the Arab World have called on institutions of state to follow through on the cries for dignity, bread and liberation emanating from the street. Asef Bayat has designated this phenomenon an example of 'refo-lution', the amalgamation of a revolutionary agenda with a reform process. Demonstrations in Jordan fall into this category. This paper will argue that the Arab Spring and its aftermath have demonstrated that the interests of the Jordanian Monarchy must become closer aligned with those of the population. And that this requires liberating the parliament, making it more of an independent governing body.

Jordan's Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: The Production of Feeble Political Parties and Perceived Perils of Democracy

José Ciro Martínez, University of Cambridge

Drawing upon Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse (1986), this paper scrutinises the importance of Hashemite nationalism to authoritarian durability, focussing on nationalism's articulation, the power relations and strategies through which it partially fixes the meaning of key nodal points, and paying close attention to the regime's depiction of democracy and opposition politics. Through the introduction of a new approach to democratisation, this paper seeks to demonstrate the role and importance of hegemonic practices in the discursive realm, those that construct the imaginaries and 'truths' that make authoritarian rule possible.

Panel 4e. Kurdish Liberation II

Chair: Dr Zeynep Kaya, LSE

Mapping Political Identity of the Counterhegemonic Kurdish Society: Social Constructivist Approach

Omer Tekdemir & Mehmet Asutay, Durham University

The emergence of new identity groups has contributed to the pluralist structure of Kurdish society and has expanded the social and political borders of the existing hegemonic Kurdish identity. The emergence of such particular Kurdish stakeholders to take part in the Kurdish struggle in various ways and on various levels created power relations that grant opportunity for those holding a distinctive identity within Kurdish society to expand the hegemonic Kurdish identity. As a result, the meaning of Kurdish identity has been finding various interpretations such as a Kurdish secular-socialist identity; Kurdish Islami-traditionalist identity and Kurdish pragmatist-opportunist identity. This paper examines the dynamics leading to such dynamism in the construction of identity.

Declaring Independence: A Would-be Liberation for Iraqi Kurdistan?

Dimitri Deschamps, EHESS-CETOBaC / Ifpo-Erbil

Since its official recognition by the 2005 Iraqi constitution, the Region of Kurdistan has been granted such an important degree of autonomy that it is now often referred to as a 'quasi-state'. Kurdish leaders have been aware that important issues challenge this project and they privately recognise that it should be delayed. The Kurdish region has not yet been able to secure independent oil exportation on the long and the KRG is still economically very dependent on its 17% share of the federal budget. This paper argues that the status quo seems more advantageous for the Kurdish region's political leadership than a hazardous declaration of independence.

Revising Kurdish Liberation: From Independence to Constitutional Recognition

Elsa Tulin Sen, King's College London

This paper deals with a radical shift in the strategy for Kurdish national liberation within Turkey. The goal of the contemporary Kurdish movement is no longer the achievement of a separate, independent state but rather the amendment of the Turkish constitution in order to officially recognise Kurdish identity. Based on empirical evidence collected through extensive fieldwork and in-depth interviews with Kurdish activists in Turkey in the past year, this paper demonstrates how the Kurdish political agenda, behaviour and aspirations for liberation have altered in the context of regional transformations as part of a broader concern with human rights and political freedoms.

Turkey, the West and the Kurds

Kubilay Yado Arin, Duke University

This examines liberation as it pertains to political upheaval of the Kurds in some areas of Kurdistan, the continued repression in others, accompanied by new forms of contestation, by the politics of recognition, and the domination and resistance. These different processes call for an analysis of the transformation or reproduction of national liberation and mobilisation and for a renewed approach to practices of domination and resistance in Kurdistan. Taking into account the evolution of Kurdish society and the current political environment studies of Kurds and Kurdistan also constitute a laboratory for developing new theoretical insights.

Panel 4f. Interrogating the State: The State, the Non-state, and Contested Spatialities in the Arab World

Chair: Fouad G. Marei, Freie Universität Berlin

Discussant: Mona Atia, George Washington University

Imperial Sectarianism: An Anthropology of the State in (pre-War) Syria

Maria Kastrinou, Brunel University London

With sectarian clashes having a profound impact on both Syria's society and sovereignty, this paper takes claims of 'sectarianism' seriously, combining historical and political economy approaches with anthropology of the state in order to ethnographically situate the seeming 'impossibility' of democracy in Europe's historical and geographic neighbour, Syria. Through a historical re-examination of 'sectarianism', it compares how 'sect' and 'nation' have been employed as strategies of state formation in Greater Syria from the late Ottoman Empire to today, and ethnographically captures the ways in which these become tropes of sympathy, recognition but also violence in the current war in Syria.

Governing in the Meanwhile: Producing the Weak State in Akkar, North Lebanon

Jamil Mouawad, SOAS

Throughout the modern history of Lebanon, Akkar (North Lebanon) has been presented as the archetype of marginalisation and abandonment by the state. The following paper criticises the dominant explanation of 'marginality', moving beyond the dichotomy of 'weak' and 'strong' states, and highlighting instead unfolding negotiations between an 'absent state' and the people of Akkar. Thus, the paper brings the people of Akkar back into the state, by acknowledging and studying the complex interactions and negotiations between the centre and the margins enacted by local elites as well as national and international institutions.

Resistance, Piety and Development: Hezbollah's Capital of Resistance as Global City

Fouad G. Marei, Freie Universitat Berlin

This paper examines the redeployment and realignments of religious movements in light of neoliberal governance reforms as well as the role attributed to 'religion' in the articulation of neoliberal discourses of 'the global city'. It investigates the mechanisms through which politico-economic reforms, hybridised forms of urban governance, and the liberal-peace logics of post-war reconstruction empower sub- and supra-national actors in the production of political order, social change, and communal aggrandisement. Focussing on Dahiyya, Beirut's southern suburb/s, the research examines intersections between spatial reordering and reconstruction, and inter- and intra-communal perceptions of political and social (in)equality and (mal)recognition.

Drawing Borders of Meaning in the Arab-South-American Space

Silvia Feraboli, UniRitter Laureate International Universities

The ASPA (South American–Arab Countries) Summit is a mechanism for inter-regional cooperation and a forum for policy coordination, which originally aimed to bring together the leaders of South America and the Arab world. After ten years of existence, however, the role the Syrian-Lebanese diaspora in Brazil has been playing in the development and maintenance of this summit system and the projects associated to it and the ways in which 'Arab' non-state actors (based in both regions) are becoming one of the main engines of this inter-regional experience has to be assessed. This paper analyses the conditions of possibility for an Arab–South American space to be discursively constructed as such.

State-Building and Entrenched Social Insecurity: Why Power Sharing Failed in Lebanon and Iraq

Andrew Delatolla, LSE

State-building projects are based on the analysis of state capacity; a measurement of strength that can determine a state's ability to function in domestic and international environments. Using qualitative analysis from primary and secondary sources, the article examines the state-building projects in post-war Iraq and Lebanon and the subsequent impact it has had on the socio-political identity. It asks why state building projects, albeit focused on power sharing in these two cases, has failed to mediate conflict among socio-political identities. By examining the state-building projects and their impact on domestic socio-political mechanisms, the study finds that entrenched social issues are magnified through their institutionalisation.

Panel 4g. Theories, Visions and Spaces of Liberation

Chair: Daniele Cantini, University of Halle

The University as Space of Liberation? Ethnographic Insights from Egypt and Jordan

Daniele Cantini, University of Halle

Universities are ambivalent spaces - spaces of legitimacy for existing powers and at the same time places in which some form of opposition might emerge. In Jordan, campuses have historically been places of opposition, and recently there has been a resurgence of political violence on campus – but also more significantly played out as struggles for dignity, freedom and autonomy. The paper discusses the case of the 9th March Movement in Egypt (professors for the autonomy of the university, a movement founded in 2003 well before the more known Kefaya as one of the first signs of resistance to the government) and the case of Dhabahtoon in Jordan (a movement for students' rights, the first of its kind in Jordan seeking to transcend identity politics).

Liberation through Thought: Was Critical Speech a Liberation or a Constraint on North African Intellectuals?

Idriss Jebari, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

The closure of the public sphere in independent North Africa prevented the emergence of new voices in public debates. In this context, many writers and thinkers chose European exile to recover their ability to write freely. This paper will compare two intellectuals of a similar stature and profile, Hichem Djait and Abdallah Laroui; who both left for exile in the late sixties and wrote acclaimed critical essays in the mid-seventies. It will bring attention to intellectual strategies and the role of audiences as dynamic parties in the production of meaning and show that liberation of thought can have a counter-productive effect when intellectuals lose sight of the audiences they are writing for, and the means through which they seek to have an impact.

Contested Visions of Liberation: Kuwait as a Microcosm for Competing Islamisms

Courtney Freer, University of Oxford

Scholarship on political Islam in the Gulf has been scant, with the dominant rentier state theory largely dismissing the role of domestic political actors in oil wealthy states. Significantly, Kuwait, a rentier state by any measure, houses the greatest variety of domestic political actors in the Gulf (and perhaps in the entire region). This study will examine the varying visions of Islamism espoused by three different groups of political actors in Kuwait: the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafi movements (both activist and purist), and Shia political blocs. Nowhere else in the Gulf do these three forces of political Islam influence politics so openly. Using the author's original fieldwork and research in Arabic and English, this paper will examine these groups' competing visions of liberation.

A Crack in the Gates of Ijtihad: The Islamic Counter Reformation and the Liberation of al-Azhar in Post-Revolutionary Egypt

John Turner, Eastern Mediterranean University

The revolution in Egypt has gone full circle, with the return of military rule following the deposing of the Muslim Brotherhood's democratically elected Mohammed Morsi. After the revolution al-Azhar was granted greater independence, which some scholars recognise as an opportunity to refresh their thinking in order to challenge reformative thought, of which the most powerful have

become Salafi Jihadists who promote a kind of priesthood of the individual, who have the right and ability to assess how the Islamic world can and should deal with its challenges. This paper addresses the possibility of a resurgent ulema reasserting their place as effective leaders of the Muslim community in modern times by peaking behind the closed gates of ijtihad to counter the Islamic reformation.

Dealing with Loss and Injustice: Post-Morsi Narratives in Muslim Brotherhood Media between post-Islamism and Radicalisation

Robbert Woltering, University of Amsterdam

This paper offers an analysis of the MB's newspaper Al-Hurriya wa l-Adala in the period following the fall of Morsi until it was banned in late December 2013. In addition, the paper analyses the movement's English and Arabic websites in the same period. It will be argued that the analyses show a primacy of political over religious arguments along with a pragmatic positioning towards the West. This suggests that the MB, despite its rather illiberal performance during its short stint in power, and in the face of extreme conditions, can nonetheless be described as being part of the post-Islamist phenomenon.

Panel 4h. The Role of the Media in Transitional and Authoritarian Politics

Chair: Fatima el Issawi, LSE

The Media's Role in Democratic Transitions: Lessons from Egypt

Fatima el Issawi, LSE

The wave of uprisings that swamped the Arab world since 2010 raised the question of the role of media in fostering – or indeed impeding – processes of democratisation. This article argues that the normative monitorial and facilitative role was quickly overturned in favour of the radical and collaborative role, whereby Egyptian journalists tended to demonise the political adversary, transforming 'the other' into the ultimate enemy, and revering the military regime. This arguably contributed to further destabilise the fragile transition to democracy. It is concluded that for democracy to succeed in an Egyptian context, antagonistic political conflicts need to be transformed into agonistic ones both at the level of political culture and media culture.

The Role of Liberation Technology in the 2009 Post-election Uprising in Iran: The Twitter Revolution that Wasn't

Bahar Karimi, King's College London

The 'Green Movement' in Iran attracted huge attention from the international community, not only because the uprising was the first direct expression of opposition in years but due to the heavy utilisation of the digital and social media – or 'liberation technology' – by the protestors, leading to some academics, journalists and analysts outside of Iran labelling the protests as a 'Twitter Revolution'. This paper asserts that the liberation technology played a dual role of organising the opposition and its activities, and operating a link which kept the international community informed of the happenings inside Iran, emphasising that it strengthened the government's capabilities in dealing with opposition activities and dismissing the notion of a 'Twitter Revolution'.

Al Sha'b Yourid Isqat al Fassad: Strategies, Tactics and Digital Memories of Resistance in Morocco

Miriyam Aouragh, University of Westminster

Throughout 2011 and 2012 Morocco was swept by popular protests, the beginning of what is popularly known as the 20 February movement. The social movements have faced many setbacks and some have now declared the movement dead. But in times of revolution, the prospect of counter-revolution and all the contradictions these bring about should not be a surprise. Through ethnographic case studies and interviews, this paper will highlight how the 20 February movement manages, or rather struggles, to agitate and organise.

Religious Ideologies and News Ethics: The Case of Saudi Arabia

Noha Mellor, University of Bedfordshire

This paper argues that Islamic ideologies can influence news ethics, focusing on the case of Saudi Arabia and based on interviews with a sample of Saudi editors. The discussion is also guided by references to recent controversial news reports surrounding the death of a Saudi female university student earlier this year after male paramedics were prevented by authorities from entering the women-only campus to treat her. The incident was reminiscent to another tragedy in 2002 when religious police did not allow girls to escape a fire in their school because they were not wearing headscarves. Some state media downplayed such incidents while the debate in social media and private stations beaming out of the Saudi Kingdom blamed the strict Islamic interpretation of sex segregation. The paper aims to unravel the subtle interplay between the specific religio-cultural codes and journalistic practices in Saudi Arabia.

PANEL 5. THURSDAY 25 JUNE, 14.30 - 16.30

Panel 5a. Transition without Liberation: Power, Economy and Security in Egypt Four Years after Tahrir

Chair: Patricia Bauer, University of Dundee

Foul is Fair and Fair is Foul: Recalibrations of the ENP Implementation in Egypt after 2011

Patricia Bauer, University of Dundee

This paper presents results on the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in Egypt since 2011 regarding its impact for democratisation and security. It contrasts the official discourse of the 'Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity' (PfDSP) with the concrete implementation in Egypt and relies on interviews with Egyptian and European decision-makers in the ENP. The evidence shows that the situation after the Arab uprisings has become even more complex in terms of interaction structures than it had been already under Mubarak's rule. The transition processes have created a framework of rapidly changing actor constellations and normative orientations but without any societal consensus on the framework of political rule.

Democracy Without Social Justice: EU Democracy Assistance Stalling the Arab Uprising

Andrea Teti, University of Aberdeen

This paper examines the conceptual structure of democracy in key EU DA policy documents. It argues that the ideas of democracy and its promotion remain virtually unchanged after the Arab uprisings, showing that: first, democracy is understood as involving a balance between state and civil society; second, that while the indivisibility of human rights is proclaimed, civil and political rights far outweigh social and economic rights in EU policy; third, that the role of socio-economic rights is progressively marginalised as individual policy documents develop; fourth, that conceptions of civil society in these documents marginalise trade unions and other actors focusing on socio-economic rights.

Civil Society and Perceptions of Democracy in Egypt before and after the January 2011 Revolution

Gennaro Gervasio, British University in Egypt

Based on interviews and documentary sources collected between January 2009 and July 2013, this paper outlines the conceptions of democracy held by activists from core pro-democracy civil society groups in Egypt, comparing such conceptions before the January 25th 2011 uprising and after it. In particular, it draws on interviews with key activists to outline the place in notions of democracy of the conception of and relationship between civil and political rights on the one hand, and social and economic rights on the other. It also considers activists' own views of what civil society is, ought to be, and can do in the process of transitions towards democracy, noting continuity and changes in activist groups' own narratives before and after January 2011.

Liberation and Constraint: The Role of Social Institutions in Egypt

Bertold Schweitzer, University of Dundee

This paper seeks to explain crucial aspects of the complex social processes of liberation, transformation, democratisation, and re-autocratisation since the Arab Uprisings by identifying relevant underlying social or informal institutions. It seeks to reconstruct persistence and change in authoritarian systems as processes of persistence and change of underlying informal social institutions and their interaction with formal political institutions. Ultimately, stability and transformation of informal social institutions is explained by modelling them as evolutionary processes of reproduction, situationally induced variation, active modification, and selection.

Perspectives of Parliamentary Contributions to Egypt's Transition Process

Jan Völkel, Cairo University

The four years after the 2011 revolution have not only brought much disillusionment over the successful path to liberation among many Egyptians, but also a major shake-up of one of the country's central political institutions - Egypt's parliament. Some are now hesitant in attributing to the new parliament any meaningful role for Egypt's future. Others, however, stress the importance of election campaigns and public discussions of political topics and hope for some conciliatory effects from the newly elected parliament. From a neo-institutionalist perspective, this paper will analyse ups and downs of Egypt's parliament over the last four years and discuss the consequences of the 2015 elections and the new parliament for Egypt's future politics.

Panel 5b. Elites and the Marginalised in Yemen and Saudi Arabia

Chair: Madawi Al-Rasheed, LSE

Power Struggles in Action: What did Yemen's Elite Fight for and what is Left of it

Larissa Alles, University of St Andrews

The politics of Yemen in the last two and a half decades has been characterised by highly dynamic actors but a fairly static structural system. Political structures such as parties, the parliament and bureaucratic elites awarded the political actors legitimacy in a Weberian sense when they needed it, but lacked any independent power to impact policy-making in the country's highly personalised political system. Looking at the three cases of the southern Hiraq, the wars in Sa'da and the 2011 uprising, the paper examines how Yemen's elites manipulated the aforementioned four fields to protect their own interests and build alliances.

Subaltern Rightful Struggles: The Case of Yemeni Marginalised

Bogumila Hall, European University Institute

This paper, drawing on the extensive fieldwork conducted between 2010 and 2013 in shantytowns in Sana'a, Yemen, aims to examine a little known case of the marginalised group in Yemen, commonly referred to as the akhdam (servants) in order to shed light on the complex reality of subaltern politics. While guided by ethnographic sensitivity, the study attempts to go beyond fieldwork's 'here and now', to reflect on how the local is embedded in the global, and hinting at the interplay between transnational politics of human rights, production of knowledge and subaltern local struggles.

Blocking Democracy? Saudi Arabia and the Arab Awakening

Oz Hassan, University of Warwick

Saudi Arabia has often been declared a 'democracy blocker' and 'counter-revolutionary' force in the Middle East and North Africa. This article challenges this assumption and calls for a more nuanced understanding of Saudi foreign policy that goes beyond a 'good democracy promoters' and 'bad democracy blockers' narrative. It outlines that Saudi foreign policy is an elite led enterprise that is 'interest driven' rather than ideologically tied to a Wahhabi ideology. Domestically, along with the cases of Bahrain and Egypt, the label of 'democracy blocker' can be applied to Saudi policy. However, in Yemen and Tunisia, Saudi Arabia has been largely supportive of political transition and in Syria it has been an active revolutionary force.

Can the Gulf Escape the Balance of Power?

Alex Edwards

This paper aims to assess the obstacles facing the construction of endogenous security architecture within the Persian Gulf. In other words, it seeks to answer the question: can the states of the Gulf construct a functioning security architecture, based either on a balance of power or a wide-ranging accord between existing rivals, without the involvement of external powers? This paper argues that the chances of the Gulf states liberating themselves from the involvement of external security actors are relatively low, given the number of obstacles facing both.

Panel 5c. Politics, Gender and Nostalgia in Contemporary Iraq

Chair: Toby Dodge, LSE

Unintended Consequences: The US Invasion of Iraq and the Balance of Power

Carla Maria Issa, American University of Paris

This paper will aim to explore the consequences of the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 in relation to the installation of a pro-Iranian Shiite regime and the consequences for the Sunni monarchy in Saudi Arabia. Many scholars and critics focus on the U.S. invasion of Iraq for the humanitarian, financial and legal questions it raised. With those points in mind, I will argue that the invasion more broadly was an effort to alter the balance of power in the region. While the invasion of Iraq segregated the country and unleashed an ongoing civil war, it offered a means by which to partition Iraq to American interests as well as offer an opening of relations with Iran.

Looking in the Rear-View Mirror: Nostalgia for the Monarchy of Faisal I in Present Day Iraq

Joy Samad, American University of Iraq

Nostalgia for the pre-World War II monarchy is growing in contemporary Iraq. This is apparent not just from recent movies and novels, but also from the comments of senior Iraqi colleagues and my students at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani. Ali Allawi's *Faisal I of Iraq* (2014) is the first serious political book which argues that the monarchy of Faisal I was superior to all subsequent Iraqi regimes. This paper will critically evaluate Allawi's claims, and discuss the reaction of students to his book today.

Political Changes and their Impact on Iraqi Women

Malka Al-Haddad, Women's Centre for Culture and art

Iraqi women have become victims of the U.S. occupation of Iraq, where rape and ill treatments in prisons as well as inhuman raids were (and still are) common. They have been detained and imprisoned instead of men, and have suffered heavily from torture (Sawsan al-Assaf). This paper will explore Iraqi women's rights and their political struggle, arguing that they have been exploited for propaganda by the American administration, the Iraqi constitution, Iraqi law, political parties and religion groups, and that their situation in the country is still deteriorating today.

Panel 5d. Perspectives on International Policy in the Middle East

Chair: Silvia Colombo, International Affairs Institute

From New York to Benghazi and Back? Norm Diffusion and Norm Localisation of R2P on Libya and Syria

Silvia Colombo, International Affairs Institute

In the 21st century, the debate on humanitarian intervention as a form of liberation has been shaped by the emergence of the 'Responsibility to Protect (R2P)' norm as opposed to non-intervention. This paper aims to contribute to the emerging debate on R2P by assessing both the top-down – the international level – and the bottom-up – the local level – dimensions of the interpretation of and support to R2P on Libya and Syria. This analysis underscores the extent to which R2P is undergoing a combined process of norm diffusion and norm localisation, whereby the appropriation taking place at the local level influences the interpretation and implementation of the norm at the international level.

Arming the Counter-Revolution: Britain's Response to the Arab Uprisings

David Wearing, SOAS

This paper focuses on Britain's military relationship with the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), particularly in the realm of arms sales, since the commencement of the Arab uprisings in the winter of 2010-2011, showing that a key element of Britain's response to the Arab uprisings, and the widespread call for democracy that they represented, was to give a major vote of strategic confidence to a group of states that constitute the principle bastion of conservatism and counter-revolution in the MENA region.

British Policy and the Middle East: Contradictions and Constraints

David Styan, Birkbeck, University of London

The 2010-15 tenure of Britain's coalition government coincided with momentous shifts in Middle Eastern politics. This paper will sketch a narrative of UK policy toward the Middle East during the Arab Spring and its aftermath, focussing in particular on contrasting policies towards Libya and Syria, and will briefly examine to what degree the foregoing account of the contradictions, changes and continuities within UK policy might allow us to establish a framework of comparative foreign policy analysis. Drawing in particular on contrasts between British and French policy stances, we ask to what extent might academics objectively compare and evaluate foreign policy decision making towards the region?

American Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Liberation or Domination?

Dionysis Markakis, Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar

Since the Clinton administration in particular, the US has sought to incrementally but steadily promote the diffusion of its liberal democratic ideology throughout the Middle East. This has constituted an attempt to gradually encourage the formation of elite-based democracies, to replace existing authoritarian arrangements. This paper traces the contours of this ongoing transition in US policy to the Middle East, over the Clinton, Bush and Obama administrations. Deconstructing the philosophy and praxis of the policy, it considers the extent to which American efforts to promote democracy in the region constitute a form of liberation, or merely an attempt to extend its domination.

Is Islamism what States Make of it? Explaining the Diversity of Islamist Foreign Policy in the Middle East

Filippo Dionigi, LSE

This paper assesses the impact of Islamism on the foreign policy of Middle Eastern states from a comparative perspective. By analysing six case studies (Sudan, Iran, Afghanistan, Tunisia, Egypt and Turkey) the study advances the hypothesis that the impact of Islamism on foreign policy can be explained by its interaction with the form of statehood in which it emerged. In states with a prominent 'revolutionary' character, Islamism informs a confrontational foreign policy. However in states in which Islamists have accessed governmental offices via institutionalised mechanisms their foreign policy has resulted in a less confrontational attitude towards international society.

Panel 5e. Patriarchy and the Arab Spring: Liberation or Backlash? I

Chair: Bjørn Olav Utvik, University of Oslo

National Liberation – Gender Stagnation? Patriarchy and Politics in Galilee and Gaza

Dag Tuastad, University of Oslo

Different trends governing patriarchal structures and clan politics have been observed in Gaza City, and among Palestinians inside Israel. Inside Israel, fewer Palestinians participate in national politics, while clans (hamulas) have resurged in local authorities. Simultaneously, the gap in gender roles has diminished. More women work, their marital age is higher, and the fertility rate is in steep decline. It is apparently a paradox that where clan politics is stronger, patriarchal structures are weaker, while patriarchy has been consolidated where the national liberation movements have been strengthened. This paper will argue that this relates to how the liberation movements cultivate conservative gender roles to enhance public morality.

No Arab Spring or Rebellion against Patriarchy among Palestinians in Israel: What Rule does this Exception Prove?

Tilde Rosmer, University of Oslo

Young Palestinian citizens of Israel have not followed the examples of the Arab Spring demonstrators and taken to the streets to protest the increasing discrimination they face as non-Jewish citizens in the Jewish state. Nor have they rebelled against the patriarchal structures within their own community. In same way as this contradiction can exist by way of common necessity, this paper argues that for Palestinians in Israel the slow and steady struggle for rights and equality at state level has usurped the potential for a rebellion against patriarchy. Thus, context is the key to understand the potential for and boundaries of social change vis-à-vis old patriarchy.

Gender Politics and the Saudi Educational System

Laila Makboul, University of Oslo

In Saudi Arabia, education is often depicted as women's greatest progress. With a majority of females graduating from university, this paper will explore the Saudi educational policy and its potential as a source of women's empowerment in the society at large. It will show how policies set by the educational ministry are gradually preparing women for a wider incorporation into the public sphere, while carefully trying to avoid confrontation with conservative segments of the society by maintaining strict gender segregation and to some extent separate school curricula.

Of Broken Walls and Broken Illusions, or: Where do Social Media Actors Perceive Liberating Change in the Arab world?

Albrecht Hofheinz, University of Oslo

'Patriarchal authority has collapsed,' was a young intellectual's first thought on the impact of internet use on his society. Where the outsider points to much continuity, Sudanese are convinced that their country has 'totally changed'. To them, the experience of social change beneath the façade of superficial similarities and regime stability is fundamental. Old authorities still wield considerable power; and disrespect for the authorities is nothing new. But it remains a striking fact that this attitude is perceived by the actors themselves as a significant change, compared to the norms that they were fed by these authorities during their upbringing. This paper will discuss how people in Egypt and Sudan reflect on the social changes they are experiencing.

Comics and the Liberation from Patriarchy

Jacob Høigilt, Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO)

Comics for grown-ups is a new medium in Egypt, and one that takes on a number of sensitive social and political issues. This paper surveys how a number of independent comics in Egypt treat social and political problems connected to patriarchy and authoritarianism in Egypt, with special regard to the successful, collaborative effort Tuk-Tuk, arguing that through their deployment of vernacular language, humour and explicit graphics, these publications are part of the same cultural emancipation among the young that could be witnessed in a number of cultural productions during the early days of the Egyptian revolution.

Panel 5f. Historical social movements and community evolution

Chair: Benedikt Koehler, Earhart Foundation Grantee

Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa, 1948: A Tale of Two Cities

Itamar Radai, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This study engages in the period of inter-communal war in Palestine, from December 1947 to May 1948. This study engages in the Palestinian local arena by using a comparative approach, in order to find better explanations for military and social collapse. The main hypothesis is that social and geopolitical characteristics, accruing especially to Jaffa, led to the rapid and total collapse of this city vis-à-vis Jerusalem, and that the rise of a middle class under the Mandate, mainly in the larger cities, accelerated the fall of the Palestinian Arab society in 1948, since members of this class tended to abstain from taking part in the national struggle and the war effort.

Judaism in Najran during pre-Islamic and Early Islamic History

Owed al-Nahee, University of Birmingham

Najran is a large region located in the south-east of Arabian Peninsula. During the time under study, it is widely understood that pagans and Christians formed the majority of the Najran population. To argue this view, the present study examines the most important aspects of Judaism in Najran, whose adherents formed a minority community in Najran's multi-faith society. It gives special attention to the common rites of worship among Najranite Jewry, such as fasting on the Day of Ashura, circumcision, Postponement and prayer, and evaluates aspects of relationships between Najranite Jewry and other communities, particularly the Jewish communities of Syria, Hejaz and Yemen who brought the greatest influence of Judaism to Najran.

Economic Reforms of Early Islam

Benedikt Koehler, Earhart Foundation Grantee

Islamic economics often are thought to stymie economic dynamism, because the Koran imposes on Muslims a prohibition against taking interest in financial transactions as well as a range of measures against usury in any other business context. This paper contests this view. Early Islamic economic reforms overturned regulatory strictures holding back trade and investment in Arabia and in indeed the wider Middle East. As such, early Islam in the economic sphere constituted a force for economic growth.

Panel 5g. Liberation and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Chair: Rachel Busbridge, Freie Universität Berlin

'Liberating' the PLO: PFLP Fight against 'Deviation' in the Mid-Eighties

Francesco Saverio Leopardi, University of Edinburgh

Since the eviction from Beirut in 1982 until 1987, the PLO faced a phase of internal split. The PLO's Chairman Arafat and its movement Fatah bet on a diplomatic strategy seeking political coordination with Jordan and Egypt. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) opposed this strategy. Indeed, the PLO's shift towards the American sphere of influence would entail the relinquishment of the PLO's historical goals, as well as the marginalisation of the PFLP itself. Drawing on PFLP's official publications, this paper illustrates PFLP's reaction to this negative context, embodied by its several attempts to build an opposition coalition within the PLO and present Syria as the best ally for the Palestinian national movement.

Israel-Palestine and Decolonisation as Liberation

Rachel Busbridge, Freie Universität Berlin

Recent years have seen a resurgence of settler colonialism as an analytical paradigm through which to understand the Israeli Palestinian conflict. This paper argues that as much this development has had several significant conceptual and political implications, it nevertheless invites a vision of decolonisation in Israel-Palestine not commensurate with its particularities, which bear some similarities to 'new world' settler societies – but only in a partial sense. The suspicion towards common political community (rightfully) entertained by more structuralist 'new world' accounts of settler colonialism, in particular, is argued to be potentially counter-productive in Israel-Palestine, where decolonisation as liberation demands a more holistic normative vision, in which the lines between settler and native become blurred.

Gentrification in Ramallah: the Complicated 'Liberation' Built in Alternative Leisure and Art Spaces in Occupied Palestine

Rayya El Zein, City University of New York

A slate of left-leaning, 'alternative' cafes, pubs, clubs, and performance venues have opened in Ramallah over the past few years. This paper explores the political possibilities engendered by such venues in the context of the Occupied West Bank. Based on interviews with the venue owners, artists who have performed in them, and recollections from their clientele and neighbours, it asks to what extent capitalist development, via small business investment, as an alternative to development politics and aid as structured by the Oslo Accords, can be seen as progressive or 'liberating' in the Palestinian context. Focusing on the trajectories of one pub, one bar, and one club, it explores the narrative of 'liberation' often used to describe these processes of gentrification in Ramallah.

PANEL 6. FRIDAY 26 JUNE, 09.00 - 11.00

Panel 6a. The Maghreb's Linkage to Europe: History and Geography Ignored?

Chair: Jonathan Hill

A Fate Worse than France? Algeria, Democratisation and the Pressures of History

Jonathan Hill, King's College London

According to Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2010: 44) history helps determine the range and strength of a country's links to Europe and/or North America. Drawing on the case of Algeria, the aim of this paper is to explore and, in part, problematize Levitsky's and Way's ahistorical treatment of history. History, including colonialism, can lead to greater and deeper links between an ex-colony and its former Metropole. But it can also lead, as Levitsky and Way do not acknowledge, to powerful desires to challenge and counter the past. Indeed, and as this paper will show, history's role in Algeria is far more complex than what they permit. What links history encourages and has helped forge must be evaluated against these other emotions.

Traditions of Governance in North Africa

George Joffé, University of Cambridge

The recent political convulsions in North Africa have usually been analysed as a binary confrontation between universalist political Islam and secularist democracy, with violent chaos as the price of failure. This analysis has denied ideological agency to North Africa and North Africans themselves; yet there is a long tradition of indigenous principles of governance there, both formal and informal. This paper examines some of these mechanisms, from the Khaldunian argument of the circulation of tribal elites, Moroccan concepts of communal consent and contract alongside mediation and arbitration, to Tunisia's constitutional experiment, Malek Bennabi's vision of democratic governance in Algeria or the Sanusi experience in Libya.

Post-Coloniality and Terrorism. France and North Africa before and after Charlie Hebdo

Gabriele Proglia & Paola Rivetti, EUI/UC Berkeley & Dublin City University

The paper aims to revise Lewitsky and Way's model of democratisation by exposing the negative effect that cultural and historical linkage between authoritarian regimes and established democracies may have. This is done through a focus on colonialism and post-colonial relations between European democracies and North African authoritarianisms, and in particular the paper focuses on France and its privileged relationship with North African countries, due to its colonial past. In particular, the paper asks if and how the recent attacks against the French magazine, Charlie Hebdo, link to that special relationship.

Panel 6b. Perspectives on Music and Liberation in the Middle East and North Africa

Chair: Laudan Nooshin, City University London

'Happiness is our People's Right': Happy in Tehran and Symbolic Spaces of Liberation

Laudan Nooshin, City University London

Wanting to be part of the contagious global phenomenon of tribute videos to Pharrell Williams' song 'Happy', filmed all over the world, a group of young Iranians made their own music video in May 2014 and posted it on YouTube. Many aspects of 'Happy in Tehran' – including the public expression of joy, dancing in public, and women appearing without head coverings – challenged local cultural and legal boundaries on behaviour in public. The young people were arrested, prompting an outcry. This paper explores some of the issues raised by 'Happy in Tehran', focusing on music as a symbolic space of liberation from governmental control of the public sphere.

Echoing the Moroccan '(R)Evolution': Rap and the 2011 MENA Popular Uprisings

Cristina Moreno Almeida, SOAS

The birth of the February 20 (F20M) in Morocco was the result of popular demonstrations demanding 'liberation', materialised as political and socio-economic changes including the consolidation of a democratic state, dignity. In order to thwart these social demands, the Moroccan State initiated a smear campaign against the F20M to highlight the official narrative that Morocco's change to democracy had already begun in 1999 with the current King Mohammed VI. This paper looks at the role of some Moroccan rappers in promoting this idea by composing rap lyrics that highlight the need for Moroccan youth to unite, help the country to develop and stop the criticisms.

Libération? Music, Independence and Postcolonialism in Algeria

Stephen Wilford, City University, London

The declaration of Algerian independence in 1962 promised the country libération after 130 years of French colonial rule. Hopes for a modern, democratic and peaceful nation initially appeared to have been fulfilled, but the 1980s and 1990s saw the return of violence and civil unrest, set within debates around what constitutes modern Algeria? Music has played an important role in these debates and musicians have faced a changing, and often dangerous, cultural and political landscape, helping to shape the transition from French colony to modern independent nation. This paper traces the development of Algerian music, examining the ways in which music has been central to discourses of national liberation and independence

Freedom and Exile: North African Musical Migration in Marseille

Sam Mackay, City University London

As the movement for Algerian independence from France gathered pace in the 1950s, the city of Marseille saw the arrival of thousands of Algerian Muslims seeking work under French reconstruction schemes. This paper considers how notions of freedom and exile were made sense of musically by Algerians in diaspora during decolonisation and its aftermath, and addresses recent and emerging perspectives on this marginal heritage, from the challenges posed by the rise of Salafism in Marseille to strategic efforts at reinserting migrant musical histories into local cultural policy. Drawing on Cohen (2013), the paper suggests that such strategies risk reducing musical discourses of migration to a highly regulated 'performance of cosmopolitanism'.

Musical Practices of Liberty in the Libyan Revolution

Leila Tayeb, Northwestern University

Foucault distinguishes between particular, historically contingent instances of liberation, as for example when a colonised people attempts to rid itself of the colonial power, and practices of liberty, which entail deliberate care for self as a mode of ethical enactment. Practices of liberty thus, for Foucault, become a method to control the new relationships of power that an instance of liberation opens up. This essay approaches the 2011 Libyan revolution and its aftermath with this set of insights in mind, concerned particularly with theorising music performance practices as practices of liberty in this context. It argues that music performance practices reflected and reified the individual and collective experiences of capacitation which both made and made up – both produced and constituted – the revolution.

Panel 6c. Middle Eastern Christian Migrant Experiences of ‘Liberation’ and its Challenges in Europe

Chair: Fiona McCallum

‘Are we living in a Christian country?’: Middle Eastern Christian Narratives on Opportunities and Challenges Presented by State and Societal Attitudes towards Christianity in the UK

Fiona McCallum, University of St Andrews

Migration of Middle Eastern Christians from their regional ‘homelands’ to Europe can be analysed in the context of liberation from economic hardship and conflict situations as well as from discrimination as a consequence of Christian identity. The UK can be seen as providing new opportunities for Middle Eastern Christians given its Christian heritage. Yet, simultaneously, debates concerning the public and societal role of religion can result in different challenges relating to practising Christianity. This paper analyses their perspectives on understandings of Christianity and religiosity in the UK and how it impacts upon Middle Eastern Christian communities, arguing that in a context of increasing secularism, Middle Eastern Christian narratives are characterised in some cases by disillusionment.

Linguistic Discipline in a Post-Migration World: Syriac Christians Negotiate their Beleaguered History

Heidi Armbruster, University of Southampton

During the 20th century, massacre, flight and large-scale emigration depleted communities in Turkey. Many left their home-region in south-east Turkey as labour migrants and asylum seekers between the late 1960s and mid-1980s. They viewed their departure from Turkey ambivalently – a liberation from a difficult long-term minority experience on the one hand, and a loss of community and culture on the other. In fact this ambivalent ‘freedom’ was a strong motif in stories about emigration and diaspora in all three places. This paper will discuss these ambivalent positions through the prism of language and concerns with the Aramaic ‘mother tongue’.

'Now my life is finished in Syria': Identity Transition in Narratives of Syrian Christian Refugees

Andreas Schmoller, University of Salzburg

In 2013/2014, Austria received 500 refugees fleeing the conflict in Syria as part of a humanitarian resettlement program that was primarily addressed aimed towards Christians. Among them were 150 Syriac Christians from Aleppo and the governorate of Al-Hasakah. First narrative autobiographical interviews conducted by the end of 2014 with young refugees reveal not only individual and community integration strategies but also different forms of coping with war experiences and losses. This process of liberation therefore is strongly affected by the continuing Syrian conflict. This paper advocates looking at the narratives of these Syrian refugees as documents of transitional identities.

Free Assyria/Free Suryoye: Homeland Dreams Amongst Assyrians and Arameans in Sweden

Marta Wozniak, University of Lodz

The idea of liberation from Muslim rule and having their own homeland, whether an autonomous or independent state, was born among Aramaic-speaking Christians in the mid-19th century. Today it is still shared by some of the people who call themselves Assyrians or Arameans and originate from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. This paper will explore differing visions of return within the diaspora in the context of 100 years after Seyfo – the Assyrian/Aramean genocide in the Ottoman Empire which resulted in their near disappearance from the region by focusing upon different movements based in Sweden, home to a diaspora of 120,000, showing how the Assyrian/Aramean diaspora tries to influence homeland politics, facing both external and internal challenges and constraints.

'We're not all the same': Experiences of Liberation and Confinement among Iraqi Christians in Denmark

Sara Lei Sparre & Lise Paulsen Galal, Roskilde University

Like their Muslim compatriots, Christian immigrants of Iraqi origin arrived in Denmark between the late 1980s and early 2000s. There, they find the liberation they had craved, yet, they also encounter a society in which the majority practice and identify as Christians in a completely different way, where Arab Muslims are much more visible in the public sphere and debate than they had expected, and where they are often racialised as Muslims. This paper explores the relation between liberation and confinement in the experiences and narratives of Christian immigrants of Iraqi background in Denmark.

Panel 6d. New Approaches to Identity in the IR of the Middle East

Chair: Raymond Hinnebusch, University of St Andrews

The 'Moderate Axis' and the Link between Domestic and Foreign Policies in Middle Eastern Geopolitics

Ewan Stein & Yaniv Voller, University of Edinburgh

A recurring theme in the history of Middle Eastern international politics has been the division between 'moderate' and 'radical' axes. Initially used by foreign observers to simplify regional geopolitics, this division has soon come to be used by local actors, either in self-reference or in order to describe other regional actors. This paper focuses on this latter aspect. It seeks to demonstrate that actors' self-reference as moderates could underline the link between domestic and foreign policies, arguing that a moderate foreign policy has correlated with radical policies at the domestic front, and vice versa – a 'radical' foreign policy has on many cases corresponded with moderate or conservative policies at home.

Religion and Politics in a Post-Arab Uprising Setting: Conceptual Articulations

Bashir Saade, University of Edinburgh

Any account that considers taking seriously the role of ideas seems to stumble over the particular relationship between religion and politics in the Middle East. Religion seem to be a buzzword for different things ranging from state national imaginaries, social mobilising techniques, piety practices and identity markers of kinds. But particular relations of power prevailing between different institutions are engulfed in drastic re-articulations of notions of the religious to fit political concerns. This paper will look at three cases: Israel as a Jewish state and its recent politics in the occupied Palestinian territories, The Catholic Church's new found interest and recent diplomatic shuffling in the Middle East, and the rise of ISIS as a militant organisation that directly links religious identity with most spectacular gruesome acts of violence.

Democracy, Debt, and the Middle East: Rediscovering Foucault's Politics of Confession

Andrea Teti, University of Aberdeen

The paper first extends Foucault's treatment of confession, moving beyond conventional approaches to confession as a simple truth-producing technique, and viewing it as a schema for complex relations of power rooted in the tension between an emancipatory imperative enjoined upon the other and conditions that make its achievement impossible. The second part of the paper sketches the application of this analytical framework to two specific cases: Western democracy-promotion in the Middle East, and the politics of debt in Europe. The paper presents a framework within which Middle Eastern and European/Western identity formation and evolution – particularly the symbiotic radicalisation of Islamist extremism and European xenophobia – can be understood as 'twinned' in specific ways.

Perceptions and Foreign Policy: Israel and the Arab Uprisings

Amnon Aran, City University London

The Arab uprisings have had significant implications for three of Israel's neighboring countries. Egypt witnessed the ousting of former President Hosni Mubarak, the election of Mohamed Morsi, and his removal by a military coup. The Syrian state has all but imploded whilst Jordan has had to cope with the economic pressures created by the influx of refugees. Amid these turbulent changes Israeli foreign policy towards these countries has remained remarkably consistent with the pre Arab-uprisings epoch. This paper will explain this consistency as a product of the foreign policy perceptions of the main Israeli foreign policy decision-maker during this period, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, which have defined what has been termed as the Israeli 'national interest' in the wake of the Arab uprisings.

Beyond Borders: The Rise of Ethno-Religious Politics in Israel and the Middle East

Raffaella A. Del Sarto, European University Institute

This paper argues that the rise of ethno-religious politics is a significant phenomenon in the Middle East with far-reaching implications: it impacts on the geopolitics of the region, has implications for the resolution of conflicts and affects the international relations of the Middle East. Moreover, this phenomenon significantly changes the parameters of domestic politics. It discusses the shifts marking Israel's foreign and domestic policies after the collapse of the Oslo process in 2000-2001, highlighting the implications of this development at the regional, domestic, and international levels and showing that the changes affecting Israel must be put into a regional and historical context.

Panel 6e. BDS and Political Mobilisation

Chair: Paul Keleman

The BDS Movement and the Question of Radical Democracy

John Chalcraft, LSE

Treating the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement as an instance of contentious mobilisation, this paper compares BDS activism with other networked, horizontalist, diverse, de-centralised and translocal movements that have emerged. The paper argues that the radically democratic characteristics of the BDS movement deserve recognition and draws out homologies between the BDS movement and other democratic movements of recent origin in the region. The paper contributes to debates about what it means to speak of anti-doctrinal and anti-hierarchical forms of contemporary organising, while developing our understanding of a movement that is playing an increasingly important role on the regional and international scene.

BDS and the Politics of Academic Research

Lori Allen, SOAS

In her essay 'Lying and Politics,' Hannah Arendt proclaimed that the truth-teller necessarily forfeits his position and the validity of what he has to say if he tries to interfere directly in political affairs. In this paper I will argue that such a balancing scale, in which any weight on the politics side lightens the gravitas on the truth side, must be questioned. The expectation that scholars and scholarship should be free of politics as a pre-requisite for research validity is itself a political imposition. In this paper I reflect on the various ways in which these kinds of arguments about the necessarily a-political nature of 'valid' scholarship are mobilised by those seeking to thwart the BDS campaign for Palestinian rights.

Comparing the Academic Boycott of Israel in Britain and the United States

Suzanne Morrison, LSE

The Palestinian call for an academic boycott of Israel asks academics and cultural workers around the world to boycott Israeli academic and cultural institutions in support of the Palestinian struggle. This paper investigates the conditions under which academic boycotts of Israel have taken shape in Britain and the United States, comparing how debates and motions passed in British academic unions have been instrumental to the development of an academic boycott in Britain, whereas in the US, academic associations have played a key role. It argues that context-specific political environments and activist organisational dynamics have required differing strategies for achieving campaign goals, thereby contributing to the broader movement's capacity for organisational flexibility and hybridity.

The Meaning of BDS in the History of Palestinian Struggle

Gilbert Achcar, SOAS

This paper will explore the meaning of BDS in the history of Palestinian liberation strategies. The changing strategic conditions of the Arab-Israeli conflict meant that the prospect of a victory over Israel in a military confrontation with Arab states became obsolete. The Palestinian Intifada of 1988 then showed the possibility and efficiency of popular struggle. However, it lacked then an accompaniment on the strategically indispensable level of international pressure. The Intifada was thus co-opted by the PLO for its diplomatic strategy, the failure of which is more blatant than ever nowadays. BDS is the accompaniment that was missing in 1988. It now needs to link up again with a popular Intifada on the model of that of 1988.

Panel 6f. Islamic Finance: In Search of Authenticity between Islamic Norms and Modernity

Chair: Mehmet Asutay, Durham University

Locating Islamic Finance in Multiple Modernities Framework: Searching for a Place in Secular Public Sphere through Banking and Finance

Mehmet Asutay, Durham University

This paper aims to evaluate the developments in Islamic banking and finance (IBF) by locating it as part of the (unintended) modernisation produced by Islamic political identity search, exploring the concept of multiple modernities with the objective of locating the developments in IBF within this framework. This paper argues that while multiple modernities are produced with the involvement of Shari'ah scholars as part of the IBF institutions, developments in IBF in the secular Western countries is a clear indication of the internalisation of Shari'ah based rulings within the secular legal and regulative environment.

Islamic Banking and Finance: Negotiating through Postcolonial Perspectives

Harun Sencal, Durham University

This paper explores the development of Islamic banking and finance (IBF) as a colonial process by locating prototype of IBF as a hybrid institution established as a combination of investment bank institution of Western finance system and Islamic principles as a result of a negotiation process. It argues that development of modern IBF institutions can be divided into three stages: (i) the 'civilisatory mission' of the West to bring the power of reason to the rest of the World

and extends to the internationalisation of IBF institutions; (ii) the convergence of IBF institutions towards conventional banking and finance institutions due to competition on the global scale; (iii) the convergence of conventional banking towards IBF through copying IBF structure and adopting them into its modern framework to attain customers of IBF and keep its existing ones.

Islamic Finance Between Intentionalism and Consequentialism: Critical Perspectives on the Normative Operational Construct of Islamic Finance

Tareq Moqbel, University of Westminster

This paper explores Islamic finance from the perspective of the theory of moral philosophy. This is achieved at two levels. First, a theoretical analysis is conducted to explore this debate in light of the key Islamic sources. Second, an empirical examination is conducted on a number of contracts in order to examine the contemporary practice of Islamic finance. Based on the critical and empirical research developed by this study, this paper argues that the Islamic economic normative theory is a two-dimensional framework that reconciles between the philosophical tenets of intentionalism and consequentialism leading to complementarity as suggested by the 'tawhid' framework of Islamic ontological meaning.

Causation of Shari'ah Governance: The Relationship between the Phenomena Detected in the Discourse on Institution of Hisbah and the Phenomena Identified in Discourse on Islamic Finance Industry

Fawad Khaleel, Durham University

This paper examines the historicity of the institution of hisbah, by primarily focusing on the structural ramification, operational barriers and complications in the mechanisms of institution of hisbah. It highlights the 'vague jurisdictional limitations', 'dynamics of the post of Muhtasib' and 'gaps between theory and practice' as leading effects that were experienced in continuous series throughout the history of this institution. It relates the barriers and complications experienced in operating the institution of hisbah with the Shari'ah governance of the Islamic Finance industry, as it explores the resembling effects in the Islamic Finance industry, which correspond to the aforementioned effects.

Panel 6g. Liberation in Arab Cultural Productions: Literature, Cinema, Theatre

Chair: Ala Al-Hamarne, University of Mainz

Discussant: Gihan Abouzeid, Egyptian Ministry of Culture & Egyptian Women's Union

Inter-textual nation: Novel Resistance to Dominant Forms in Ibrahim Nasrallah's Palestine Comedies

Nora Parr, SOAS

A series of eight works so far, *al-Malha al-Filas Tiniya* (The Palestine Comedies) by Ibrahim Nasrallah (b. 1954 Wihdat camp, Amman) explores the ability of the national novel to tell Palestine's multiple stories as collective identity, forging an alternative pattern of belonging that brings the diversity and multiplicity of Palestinian history and experience into a single framework. This paper will introduce the series, and through a reading of its fifth novel, *Aras 'Amina* (Safe Weddings, 2004) show the revolutionary potential of inter-textual belonging.

Libido, Aliaa El-Mahdy and Arab Social Media. Signs of Sexual Liberation?

Viola Shafik, Humboldt University

This paper deals with the question of whether Egyptian short films, like *Libido/al-raghba al-jinisyia*, Alia El-Mahdy's early 2011 video-performances including her nude self-representations, as well as the more recent Love Matters campaign which circulated on YouTube and in social media are first signs of a sexual liberation in Egypt or if they are just desperate and exceptional attempts to subvert a crushingly oppressive reality. Headlines on violent sexual harassment during demonstrations in have coincided with artistic graffiti exhibitions on sexuality, while victims of army violations have chosen to speak out publicly. How do these phenomena feed into the notions of freedom and dissidence and what do they tell us about current post-revolutionary culture in Egypt?

Visualizing the 2006 War on Lebanon: Limits and Possibilities

Syrine Hout, American University in Beirut

This paper will compare and contrast the portrayal of the 2006 War between Lebanon and Israel in three visual renditions: Lebanon's 33 Day War (July 2013), *33 Days* (April 2013, directed by Iranian Jamal Shurjeh, with an entirely Lebanese cast), and *Under the Bombs* (September 2007, produced and directed by Franco-Lebanese Philippe Aractingi). The analysis will focus on the uses of the war, ranging from a form of political propaganda (as in the documentary *Lebanon's 33 Day War* shown on al Manar) and pass onto a discussion of nationalism in a larger socio-cultural context.

Spaces of Liberation? Geo-Hermeneutical Reading of the New Women's Novel in Jordan

Ala Al-Hamarneh, University of Mainz

Contemporary feminist novelists in Jordan are addressing issues of emancipation and patriarchal society and attitudes in unaccustomed ways unknown earlier in the country. Writers with fresh approaches such as Afaf Bataineh and Kafa el-Zou'bi address emancipation, patriarchal order, violence against women and body topics directly beyond symbolism and the classical 'modernist' approach of the pioneers of women's literature such as Samiha Khreis and Suheir al-Tal. The main aim of the paper is to explore and to re-think the space-gender nexus in the new women's novel.

PANEL 7. FRIDAY 26 JUNE, 11.30 - 13.30

Panel 7a. I.B. Tauris Workshop: How to Get Published in Academic Journals and Books

This workshop and Q & A session will give advice on how to get published in academic journals and books. During this session, Joanna Godfrey, Senior Editor, History and Politics at I.B. Tauris, will give her perspective on the subject before opening the discussion up for questions.

Panel 7b. Liberation through the Lenses of Islamic Actors in Turkey

Chair: Michelangelo Guida, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University

The Conservative Turkish Media Confronting Gezi

Michelangelo Guida, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University

The Gezi Parkı protests have been one of the biggest demonstrations in Turkey's republican history, followed with great interest by Western media and academia. Many have interpreted the protests as a Turkish variant of the 'Arab Spring' or as an opposition to Islamist politics. Others perceived the Gezi simply as a natural consequence of the ruling party's totalitarianism. This paper will study the perceptions of the Gezi by some of the most notable columnists in three major conservative newspapers of Turkey: Star (Koru), Yeni Safak (Karagül and Selvi) and Zaman (Bulaç and Ünal).

Liberation, Revolution and the anti-Capitalist Muslims: A Divergent Islamic Perspective from Turkey

Oguzhan Goksel, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University

A noteworthy development of Turkish politics in recent years has been the emergence of the 'Anti-Capitalist Muslims' and the growing popularity of Islamic thinker, Ihsan Eliaçık, whose ideas inspired the formation of this social movement. The movement began to receive wide interest from the media particularly after its participation into the anti-government Gezi Park protests of 2013. This paper focuses on the implications of the rise of the Anti-Capitalist Muslims on the scholarly literatures on political Islam and democratisation, with research based on the review of Eliaçık's numerous works, analysis of the Anti-Capitalist Muslims' activities during the 2013 Gezi Park protests and interviews with Eliaçık and several activists of the movement.

Civil Islamic Actors versus the State in Turkey: The Structural Transformation of Islamic Non-Governmental Organisations

Lutfi Sunar, Istanbul University

Islamic NGOs in Turkey are organisations that conduct educational activities, take part in the distribution of welfare across the country, and struggle to create an alternative public sphere to the one controlled by the Kemalist ideology. This paper, based on interviews with managers of 40 Islamic NGOs and questionnaires completed by over 400 executive board members, will analyse the nature of the transformation of civil Islamic actors in Turkey. It will argue that the emergence of a 'state-friendly' Islamic civil society requires a revision of the conventional perception of the NGOs. Their role should no longer be seen as 'perpetual challengers of state authority' but as the primary promoters of 'liberation' and 'welfare'.

On Human Rights, Islam and Freedom: A View from Turkey

Fabio Vicini, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University

Mazlumder was established in 1991 with the purpose of defending the rights of women who were being intimidated and prosecuted for wearing the veil in a public space. In time, it has evolved into a broad platform for the defence of civil rights against all kinds of oppression, particularly those ascribable to the Turkish state's tradition of top-down, paternalistic and aggressively secularist policies. Based on fieldwork in the Istanbul branch of Mazlumder, this paper shows that though the volunteers of the organisation frame their activities within the context of a global discourse of 'human rights', they also challenge the monopoly of Western world over this concept and others such as 'justice' and 'freedom'.

The New Antinomies of Islamic Movement in the Post-Gezi Turkey: Islamism vs. Muslimism

Halil Ibrahim Yenigun, Istanbul Commerce University

The third term policies of the ruling Justice and Development Party have posed conundrums for students of Turkish Islamism: do the top-down Islamisation policies as well as the increasing pan-Islamist tone in foreign policy signify a return to Islamism? This paper will suggest that the recent developments in Turkish politics enable us to disentangle 'Muslimism/Muslim nationalism', as a quest for power, from 'Islamism', that is rather a quest for justice. By comparing how the JDP government and the old-style Islamists, in contrast to the oppositional religious youth in Turkey, responded to several recent critical incidents, it will make the case that it is time we conceptualise Islamism and Muslimism separately.

Panel 7c. Liberation and Reform in Iran

Chair: Pejman Abdolmohammadi, LSE

Geopolitics and the Quest for Liberation in Post-Revolutionary Iran

Gulriz Sen, TOBB University of Economics and Technology

This paper aims to focus on the theme of liberation in the context of Iran's post-revolutionary transformation, exploring the relationship between geopolitics and the search for liberation and analysing how the crisis-laden geopolitical affairs of Iran have hampered the quest for liberty and democracy in post-1979 era. It will discuss the role of international and regional crises on the consolidation of the 'national security state' in Iran, which is also marked by growing securitisation of state-society relations particularly since the late 1990s.

Who Governs the Reform Agenda in Iran?

Esra Dik, SOAS

It is generally known that a new regime is often faced with both resistance and conciliation and needs to protect itself against any potential risk. In 1979, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the leader of revolution, and his proponents overthrew the Pahlavi Dynasty under Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and inaugurated a new system in Iran, which produced unelected bodies beside the formal political bodies in the name of the Shia Islam to protect itself. This paper will examine the unelected bodies and parastatal organisations (bonyads) - shadow organisations within the state, arguing that they were established to protect the Islamic regime, and to an extent handicapped 'reformism'.

Realism, Rationalism and Revolutionism in Iranian Foreign Policy: A Quest for Liberty

Laleh Gomari-Luksch, University of St Andrews & University of Tübingen

This paper will use the English School's core concepts of Realism, Rationalism and Revolutionism in analysing selected speeches of Iranian statesmen to identify the ways in which liberation from foreign interference are translated into policy through the prism of the three traditions. It contends that Iran engages in the institutions of diplomacy and balance of power to achieve the goal of liberation and exercise its right to self-determination in an attempt to disentangle Tehran from Western influence. The nuclear programme is used as a case study.

Networks of Dependency and Gender Discrimination in Iran's Academic World

Luciano Zaccara, Qatar University & Natalia Borreguero, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

The Global Gender Gap Report 2014 of the World Economic Forum indicates that Iran has the worst inequality ratio in Labour Force Participation (0.23/1). This situation is even more dramatic in certain professional environments – and this paper will focus on one professional environment where the presence of women is strikingly low: academia and higher education institutions. The paper will determine which factors are at play in making of it one of the most elusive professional environments for women, investigating whether there are specific networks of dependency in universities that prevent the access of equally prepared women to certain positions, and whether there are other factors linked to lack of transparency in the selection of candidates.

Panel 7d. Freedoms, Nationalism and Society in the Ottoman Empire

Chair: Barbara Roberson, Salzburg University

Provincial Threat and Freedom of the Press: Sulayman Faydi's 'al-Iqaz' in Basra, 1909

Annie Greene, University of Chicago

This paper is an examination into the freedom of the press in Ottoman Basra in 1909, where the relative freedom of the editor and newspaper-owner Sulayman Faydi was both an indication of specific tensions with the press and more general problems with corruption of ministers, the disconnect between the centre and the provinces, and the clash between the CUP and other individual streams of reform outside of it. Faydi opened his 'al-Iqaz' ('Reveille'), a bilingual journal, in Basra in 1909, but several months later it was closed due to censorship. He petitioned Istanbul to reopen the journal, and upon success, wrote about the ordeal and published it in 'al-Iqaz.' To explore this moment of liberation and tyranny, I utilise Faydi's memoirs, excerpts of 'al-Iqaz,' and memoranda from the Ottoman Archives.

Ottoman Empire as an International Society

Barbara Roberson, Salzburg University

This paper explores the issues thrown up when considering the Ottoman Empire as an International Society. The results of research of scholars labelled the English School argued that over time the complexity of developments in Europe produced a society of states and through this emerged particular norms, values and institutions which later became global. The first issue is the idea that the complex manner within which the Ottoman Empire becomes constructed contributes to it ultimately being considered as an International Society. Secondly, if one pushes the 'arrival of the Anarchical Society' back to 1492, the Ottoman Empire loomed large in this period onwards. These 400 years were a stable period before Bull's post Second World War analysis of the Anarchical Society.

Living Equally in the Empire of Differences: Muslim And Non-Muslim Women In Trabzon

Aslı Deliktas, Karadeniz Technical University

The Ottoman Empire had preserved its existence for approximately 600 years with its legal governance upon the individuals with different languages, religions and cultures living within its borders, lasting that long thanks to its tolerant integration of these differences. The understanding of human-centric equality and justice present in the Islamic law is the factor behind the policy of tolerance followed by the state. This paper discusses the status of Muslim and non-Muslim women in the law in the 17th century Ottoman world. It also exemplifies that ethnic and religious differences did not pose an obstacle to Ottoman justice, with data presented with Judicial Records.

Living Together in the Quarters of a City: Non-Muslims in the Kadi Registers of Trabzon in the Second Half of the 17th Century

Kenan Inan, Karadeniz Technical University

Ottoman Kadi registers are one of the most important sources for writing the social, economic and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire, consisting of not only orders but also the details of disputes between local people brought before the court. This paper asks how far the non-Muslim community in Trabzon penetrated into the social and economic life of Trabzon, whether they were they free to use the Kadi court and how frequently they used it, and how they lived in the city's quarters - separately or door to door. The paper will provide new data for a better understanding of non-Muslim communities' living environments in an Ottoman city.

Liberty and Freedom? A New Look at the Significance of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution on the Practices of Press Censorship in the 'Bilad al-Sham'

Till Grallert, Orient-Institut Beirut

The last decades of Ottoman rule are often considered as two distinct periods divided by July 1908 and marked by diametrically opposed approaches to liberty and the freedom of speech. The number of newspapers published in Beirut and Damascus during the Hamidian era remained small and stable, while after the restoration of the constitution, the number of titles exploded. This paper shows that while in July 1908 the Young Turks abolished the regulatory, and even repressive, press and printing laws, none of the publishers of the new periodicals failed to obtain the now officially unnecessary permit for publication. It therefore argues that these new regulations and their actual implementation were one of the major reasons for the plethora of short-lived publications between 1908 and 1914.

Panel 7e. Gender and Property Rights in the Middle East and North Africa

Chair: Fatiha Talahite

Towards a Political Economy of Gender and Property Rights in the Middle East and North Africa

Fatiha Talahite, CNRS, Cresppa/Université Paris 8

The literature on gendered ownership provides evidence of significant gendered inequality. Access to individual private property is a major criterion of the doctrine concerning the empowerment of women. It relies on property rights as analysed within economic theory, focusing on the economic effects of property rights in terms of efficiency, with the implicit idea that there would be only

one effective and efficient way to define property rights. This paper argues that political economy concerning ownership should take into account political issues around the definition of property rights and incorporate within it the historical dimension, the variety of property right systems and their anchor within societies.

A Gendered Tool of Empowerment: Property Ownership and Women Choosing Waqf Endowment Beneficiaries

Randi Deguilhem, CNRS,TELEMME-MMSH/AMU

The waqf endowment is a powerful tool in society. One aspect of power lies in the endower's choice of beneficiary for the waqf which s/he has created. This choice, with all the societal pressures and attachments linked to it, is only rendered possible with property ownership. This paper will study a specific waqf endowment created by a woman at the end of the 19th century in Ottoman-era Damascus. It will analyse three different types of properties which this woman put into her waqf as revenue-creating assets and it will also focus on her choice of beneficiaries for her endowment: the two aspects of empowerment which fall within an endower's capacities at the moment of the creation of her/his foundation.

Elusive Traditions: Women, Collective Land Tenure, and the Legacy of the French Colonial Project

Karen Rignall, University of Kentucky

There has been a recent surge of scholarly and activist interest in Morocco in the 'soulaliyat,' women who are part of ethnic collectivities but excluded from their rights in collectively owned land. A common analysis points to divisions between 'traditional' and 'modern' property regimes and land tenure legislation, with the regime governing collectively-owned land labelled as the former—either traditional customary law or a putative hybrid between customary and Islamic law. This paper challenges this interpretation. Rather than reflecting communal land tenure's 'traditional' exclusion of women, these exclusions are a complex product of the colonial project, long-standing legal practice and tenure arrangements, and post-colonial social and economic transformations.

Re-Negotiating Gendered Property Rights: The Case of Collective Lands in Morocco

Yasmine Berriane, URPP Asia & Europe, University of Zürich

According to Moroccan law, collective lands belong to communities who have the right to manage the land under state supervision. Until recently this regime was clearly gendered, and when the transfer of collective land properties to private or public owners intensified in the 1990s, this inequality became much more visible and entered public debate. Since 2010, a series of ministerial circulars introduced new regulations aimed at including women. This paper will illustrate the gendered character of the land tenure regimes applied to collective lands in Morocco, presenting the changes introduced by the ministerial circulars and the main references used by the State to justify these reforms, and showing some of the limits of this process of reform.

Legal Empowerment, Gender and Right to Property in Plural Iran

Zahra Maranlou, University of Oxford

The discussion around gender and property rights in Iran is a very complex subject because the legal system itself is pluralistic. Women's rights to property are governed by customary norms, religious codifications and state laws and regulations. Rights to property in Muslim Societies has been receiving increasing scholarly attention, yet, much of this attention is focused on discriminatory legal entitlements. This paper features a subjective approach to women's rights

to property, examining some of the religious-cultural norms in limiting or furthering women's property rights, and demonstrating that in Iranian plural socio-legal context legal entitlements are according to religion and legal culture.

Panel 7f. Political Language and Public Opinion in the Context of Liberation

Chair: Liina Mustonen, European University Institute

Political Discourse in the Context of the Arab Spring: Analysis and Translation

Husam Haj Omar, University of Leeds

Translation, although often invisible in the field of politics, is actually an integral part of political activity. Which texts get translated, from and into which languages is itself already a political decision. The paper examines the relationship between a number of issues in relation to politics, political discourse, language and translation, using illustrative and representative examples from the political discourse communicated during the Arab Spring. It aims to demonstrate that politics and translation are closely related and that their relationship during the Arab Revolutions was governed by both power relations determined by governments' oppressive policies and strategies adopted by political discourse analysts.

Translation in the Context of Media and Politics in an Era of Globalisation

Shifa Askari, University of Leeds

Translation is one of the major activities that play an effective role in the massive cultural exchange that is taking place in the course of globalisation. This paper is concerned with the translation of media texts in Arabic and English. Ten journalistic texts (translated from Arabic into English) are chosen from Al Jazeera and Reuters, and comparatively analysed to record the techniques and identify the mind-set they seem to have served. These results show various ways in which translation can be used as a tool to address various audiences, influence them and even shape their opinions. Translation thus plays a definite role in influencing public opinion.

'We are Not Terrorists' – Aspirations of Liberation from Prevailing Power Structures

Liina Mustonen, European University Institute

In the summer of 2013, thousands of people took to the street against the military coup d'état in Cairo. This paper analyses the discourses of a small piety movement from one of Cairo's suburb. By building on Saba Mahmood's research (2005) on the piety movements in Egypt whereby agency is defined as a product of the historically contingent discursive traditions in which it (the agency) is located, this paper gives a voice to women who, as they themselves say, 'are not terrorists' but search for a better life within their historically and discursively produced conditions.

Is it a Revolution or a Coup? Scandinavian Media Representations of the Ousting of Egyptian President Mohamed Morsy

Joel W. Abdelmoez, Stockholm University

'Thawra di wala inqilab?' chanted the Morsi supporters, meaning 'is it a revolution or a coup?' On July 3, 2013, Egypt's first democratically elected president was ousted, and since then media worldwide have struggled with what to call the event. This paper argues that what has been explained as the failure of Egyptian democracy could instead be seen as the failure of international media. Using Google Trends to investigate how the event was termed in internet searches, it is revealed that the divide that was heavily reported from Egypt might have been exaggerated by the reporters. Instead of promoting the community, media acted to sustain and feed polarisation.

Panel 7g. Patriarchy and the Arab Spring: Liberation or Backlash? II

Chair: Bjørn Olav Utvik, University of Oslo

Kurdish Women: Liberation through the Barrel of a Gun?

Pinar Tank, Peace Research Institute of Oslo

In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, women, who were active during the demonstrations that resulted in the downfall of despotic governments, did not see the fulfilment of their demand for liberation. On the contrary, the rise of religiously conservative parties further narrowed their opportunities for participation in the public sphere. In Turkey, the gender policies of the conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP) resulted in demonstrations by feminists at the Gezi Park protests in 2013, which contrasts with the case of Kurdish peshmerga women fighting Daesh in Iraq and Syria. This paper traces the historical path of PKK's female militants from their role in the struggle in Turkey to their present engagement in Iraq and Syria.

Reluctant Feminists: Islamist MPs in Kuwait 2009 - 2011

Rania Maktabi, University of Oslo

This year marks a decade of Kuwaiti women's enfranchisement. Parliamentary documents (2006 – 2014) have shown that women's issues related to social alleviation, access to housing and working conditions have been addressed and articulated in new ways. A sharp rise in attention occurred while the four first-ever female elected MPs served between 2009 and 2011: around half of all proposals pertaining to women were raised during these two years. Most importantly, Islamist MPs – most of whom voted against granting women the franchise in 2005 – were those most eager to address women's social, legal and economic conditions. This paper argues that Islamist MPs can be seen as reluctant feminists and diligent opportunists.

The Polarisation of Militant Islamists in Palestinian Refugee Camp Ain al-Hilwe

Erling Lorentzen Sogge, University of Oslo

Based in Lebanon's largest refugee camp, the Jihadi-Salafi militia Usbat al-Ansar might best be known for a wave of terrorism and assassinations launched against Palestinian leaders and the Lebanese state during the 90s. For researchers, the group's presence has often served as proof of a general jihadisation of youth in the camp. In 2008, however, reconciliation was initiated between Usbat al-Ansar and its most bitter rival, the Fatah movement, leading to changed dynamics in the camp. This paper argues that what we see in Ain al-Hilwe is not a general jihadisation of society, but rather a polarisation among the militants. The result is a struggle for legitimacy between the young radicals and older pragmatics.

The Jihadi Movement and Rebel Governance: Reassertion of a Patriarchal Order?

Brynjar Lia, University of Oslo

A lacuna in contemporary scholarship on militant Islamism is the study of governance practices by Jihadi rebel groups, a topic that precedes the rise of ISIS by more than two decades. This paper offers a comparative discussion of jihadi rebel experiences dating back to the 1980s, focusing on how Jihadis have sought to govern civilian populations and establish new authority structures. While the practicalities of governance are demanding for any rebel group, Jihadi insurgents face a dilemma of reconciling their extremist ideological imperatives with the need for adaptation to a diverse and complex reality in which local patriarchal power structures remain and local religious customs have deep roots.

Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Challenges to the Sunni Establishment in Lebanon

Kai Kverme, University of Oslo

This paper examines the increasing political pressure exerted upon the Sunni Lebanese establishment, represented by the Future movement, by younger Salafi-inspired forces and disgruntled supporters and allies of the movement. Could this ongoing development lead to the establishment of new political expressions by these groups? This paper argues that despite the pressure for the Future movement to take a more decisive and activist stance in support of the Syrian uprising and in confronting Hezbollah at home, the policies of the movement are unlikely to change.

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