**Arab Revolutions and Social Movements**

**University of Pittsburgh**

**FALL 2012**

**PIA 2439**

**3:00 – 6:00pm Thursday**

**Office hours: Tue 11-1pm or by appointment**

**Instructor: Sami Hermez (****hermez@pitt.edu****)**

**\*\*Syllabus subject to change\*\***

**Course Description:**

In this course, students will study the 2011 Arab revolutions as politics in process, and consider the factors that led to the current uprisings as well as the path that each continues to take.  During the course, we will pay particular attention to the issues, conflicts and questions people face everyday in volatile times. Was this a media-inspired revolution? What are the class and sectarian dynamics of the Arab Spring? How can we begin to think critically about gender issues in the region? What are the specificities of each revolt? As the events are ongoing and unfolding, this course needs to remain flexible so as to react and respond to the most current events. Therefore, the course will largely be driven by student research that will be the basis for class discussions.

**Student Learning Outcomes:**

* To gain awareness of Middle East politics in light of the 2011 Arab revolts
* To gain understanding of the lives of people in the region and issues they face
* To become familiar with various social movements in the region
* To enhance presentation skills
* To analyze texts critically

**Course Requirements:**

You are expected to ***bring to class the reading material*** that has been assigned for a certain date. This facilitates informed discussion. Students will be evaluated on the basis of:

* **Overall participation:** 20%
* **Weekly News:** 10%
* **Weekly Response Papers:** 20%
* **Presentations**: 15%
* **Op-ed:** 10%
* **Final Research Paper:** 25%

**Course Assignments:**

***Overall Participation:***

Attendance is mandatory and participating in discussions is necessary as it impacts 20% of your grade. This is a participation grade; pure attendance is not enough. More important is your engagement with the course material, demonstrating that you have understood the readings, and engaging in discussion with your peers during presentations. Come prepared with questions and/or comments with respect to the topics and course material.

***Weekly News:***

I will ask you about the news of the day and the week and expect you to remain updated about the news of the region for each class. Watch Al Jazeera International at <http://www.aljazeera.com/watch_now/> and read the news and opinion pieces on websites included at the end of the syllabus.

Students will form groups at the beginning of the semester to follow up on weekly news. Each group will be responsible for a country for the entire semester. Groups are required to update their Blackboard country page each week with articles. Groups will be required to update the class 3 times a semester with short 5min presentations/updates on the news in their country. I will call on groups at random each week to discuss the news so always be prepared to know latest developments (2% each presentation; 4% collecting online articles).

***Weekly Response Papers:***

Over the semester, you should submit 11 reading response papers that analyze and critique several of the readings. Include at least one well thought out question that could be addressed in class.

* I will drop the lowest grade.
* No submissions for Week 1 and Week 14.
* 2 page maximum (double-spaced; Times New Roman; 12-font)
* Submit by Wednesday 3pm to student presenters and me via email.
* Will deduct 1 point/hour for late responses. Total: 10 points
* Title your MS Word document as follows: First and last name – Week #
	+ For example: “Sami Hermez – Week 2”

***Presentations:***

Each week, 2 students will lead the class discussion by presenting on class readings. In addition to assigned readings, students should do outside research and **submit any new material they find to the class via email by 5pm the day before class.** Student presentations should be attentive to socio-historical contexts, include an **analysis and critique** of the material, and should connect the various readings. Readings in the syllabus will generally focus on a single country per week. Presenters should move beyond the country focus and search for readings from across the region to share with the class; this will ensure a broader conversation. Presentations must be strong on content and analysis of the subject, but they can be creative and bring in different media such as short films so long as everything is relevant to the readings and topic. I expect presenters to have read student response papers and engage the ideas in these papers. On the other end, those who have written responses should be prepared to elaborate on their points in case a student presenter calls on them. Presenters should submit any readings they wish to discuss with the class by **Wednesday Noon**.

***700-750 word Op-Ed (Due anytime week of Oct. 25)***

Assume I am an editor of the New York Times or a local paper and accepting Op-Ed submissions. Write an Op-Ed on an issue related to our course [for guidance see http://newsroom.depaul.edu/facultyresources/OPEDTips/index.html]. Read sample op-eds in the New York Times or Guardian for examples. I will grade for clarity of writing and strength of argument. Be concise and focused.

***Final Research Paper (Due: 1st day of exam period or earlier):***

The final research paper should critically explain a theoretical question by engaging with the course material. The paper should be analytical, not descriptive. You are encouraged to meet with the instructor to discuss your topic before submitting your proposal. Keep the following in mind:

* Layout (double space, Times New Roman, font size 12)
* Length (12-15 pages)
* A research question (What do you plan to analyze/explain). Be as specific as you can. Avoid general  questions.
* It will help you to write a summary of your research paper (250 words) as a step to discussing the paper with me.
* Rely on at least **6 academic articles or book chapters** (not from the syllabus) that focus on your specific topic. You can use newspaper articles or web material but they won’t count as academic articles.

**Important to Know:**

- Assignments submitted late will ***drop 3% points per day late***: i.e. from 80/100 to 77/100 for the first 24-hours late, 74/100 for the second 24 hours late, and so on.

- Those students who have questions not addressed in class, who are experiencing difficulties of any kind, or who wish to pursue a class discussion further, should ***see me during office hours*** or schedule an appointment.

- Always ***keep a copy*** of your assignments!

**Resources:**

Required texts (can be found in library reserves and Odyssey Bookstore):

1. Beinin, Joel and Frederic Vairel, eds. 2011. Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa.  Stanford UP. ISBN:978-0-8047-7525-0

2. Bayat, Asef. 2010. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford UP. ISBN: 978-0-8047-6924-2

3. Gelvin, James. 2011. The Modern Middle East: A History. 3rd Edition. Oxford UP. ISBN: 978-0-19-976605-5

4. Wedeen, Lisa. Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen. U. of Chicago Press. ISBN-13: 978-0226877914

5. Haddad, Bassam. 2012. Business Networks in Syria: The Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience. Stanford UP. ISBN-13: 978-0804773324

6. Prashad, Vijay. Arab Spring; Libyan Winter

Other additional readings will be on e-reserve or handed out in class.

**Plagiarism and Honor Code:**

Students in this course will be expected to comply with the University of Pittsburgh's Policy on Academic Integrity ([http://www.pitt.edu/%7Eprovost/ai1.html](http://www.pitt.edu/~provost/ai1.html)). Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at the instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. This may include, but is not limited to, the confiscation of the examination of any individual suspected of violating University Policy.

**Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:**

If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and Disability Resources and Services, 140 William Pitt Union, 412-648-7890 or 412-383-7355 (TTY) as early as possible in the term.

**PART 1: INTRODUCTIONS**

**Week 1:** Studying the Arab World: Introduction and History (Aug 30)

This week we will go over course logistics. We will also begin with an overview of the region’s contemporary history and politics. How did the Middle East get to where it is today? In this session we will explore the history of the last 100 years in order to develop a basis for understanding the rest of the topics of the semester

READINGS:

1. Said, Edward. Orientalism. Vintage, 1979. (Introduction)
2. Said, Edward. Orientalism reconsidered, *Cultural Critique,* No. 1, Autumn, 1985, pp.  89-107.
3. Gelvin, James. 2011. The Modern Middle East: A History. 3rd Edition. Oxford UP. (Ch. 9, 11-14)
4. All country profiles on BBC: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/middle_east/>
5. Timeline of Revolts: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>

**Week 2**: On Terminologies: Revolutions, Social Movements and Hegemonies (Sep 6)

In this session we will attempt to define and critique key concepts. Are the events of 2011 a revolution, an awakening, or an Arab spring? What do these mean? What does it mean to speak on behalf of “the people”? What is a social movement? How does one understand the formation and struggles of power? All texts required but make sure to **read starred texts first**.

READINGS:

(On revolutions and hegemony)

1. \*\*Arendt, Hanna. On Revolutions. (Required: 11-58)
2. \*\*Kramnick. Reflections on Revolutions: Definition and Explanation in Recent Scholarship
3. \*\*Hall, Stuart. 1986 Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10: 5-27 (<http://jci.sagepub.com/content/10/2/5.citation>)
4. Laleh Khalili, Too Early to Tell: When is a Revolution a Revolution? in *Revolution in*  *the Arab World: The Long View,* 2011.
5. V.I. Lenin. War and Revolution. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/may/14.htm>

(On social movements in Arab world)

1. \*\*Beinin, Joel and Frederic Vairel, eds. 2011. Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa.  Stanford UP. (Intro; Ch 1)
2. \*\*Bayat, Asef. 2010. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford UP. (Ch 1)

**Week 3:** Social Movements in a time of Neoliberalism. (Sep 13)

What is neoliberalism? Why have these policies been the target of revolutionaries in the region? How were neoliberal policies implemented in the region? What is the relation between economic growth and prosperity?

1. Harvey. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Pp. 1-86; 183-206)
2. Bayat, Asef. 2010. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford UP. (Ch 2, 4, 5)
3. Arab Human development Report <http://www.arab-hdr.org/> (Read 2 executive summaries; recommended all 5)
4. “On Neoliberalism” (Ortner, *Anthropology of this Century*)
5. “Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Revolts” (Dahi, *Merip*)
6. “Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of your Desires” (Mitchell, *Merip*)

**PART 2: ANATOMIES OF A REVOLUTION**

**Week 4:** Beginnings of Revolutions: Tunisia (Sept 20)

Discuss the trajectory of the Tunisian revolution from its early days. Explore contemporary history of Tunisia, seeds of revolt, the idea of spontaneity, and the role of neoliberal policies.

READINGS:

1. Perkins, Kenneth. A History of Modern Tunisia (Pp. x-xvi; 1-9; Ch. 5, 6, 7)
2. Ware, L. B. 1988. Ben Ali's Constitutional Coup in Tunisia.*Middle East Journal*. 42(4): pp. 587-601
3. Toensing, Chris. Tunisian Labor Leaders Reflect Upon Revolt. *MERIP*. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer258/tunisian-labor-leaders-reflect-upon-revolt-0>
4. “Tunisia’s Wall Has Fallen” (Marzouki, *MERIP*)
5. The Calculations of Tunisia’s Military: <http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/20/the_calculations_of_tunisias_military>

News sources: <http://nawaat.org/portail/>

**Week 5:** Egypt: Labor movements and Youth (Sept 27)

We will look at the experience of labor movements in Egypt and compare this to other countries. The task of presenters this week will be to share with the class experiences and analysis from other countries in addition to Egypt. An understanding of labor struggles will allow us to think about the trajectory of each conflict.

READINGS:

1. Bayat, Asef. 2010. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford UP. (Ch. 6, 8)
2. El-Mahdi, Rabab. 2009. Egypt: The Moment of Change. Zed Books. (Ch. 5, 7)
3. Beinin, Joel and Frederic Vairel, eds. 2011. Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa.  Stanford UP. (Intro; Ch 3, 9)
4. "Egypt's orderly transition" (*Jadaliyya*)
5. “The Revolution Against Neoliberalism” (Armbrust, *Jadaliyya*)
6. Hussein Ali Agrama (University of Chicago), Reflections on Secularism, Democracy and Politics in Egypt. *American Ethnologist*. Feb 2011
7. Jazeera Documentary: *The Factory* <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/revolutionthrougharabeyes/2012/01/201213013135991429.html>
8. Skim blog: <http://www.arabawy.org/blog/> (especially articles June 30, May 11)
9. Yasin Gaber. Egypt’s Labor Movement Takes a Tumble. Dec 9, 2011. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3455/egypts-labor-movement-takes-a-tumble>

News sources: <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en>

**Week 6:** Thinking about Gender in Egypt and Beyond (Oct 4)

What are the ongoing debates around gender dynamics in the uprisings? What is the relation between the state and our sexuality? How are state forces influencing gender relations? We will look at gender as a site of contested politics.

READINGS:

1. Lila Abu-Lughod. “Do Muslim Women really need Saving?” American Anthropologist.
2. Sherine Hafez. “No longer a bargain: Women, Masculinity, and the Egyptian Uprising.” American Ethnologist
3. Jessica Winegar. “The Privilege of Revolution: Gender, Class, Space, and Affect in Egypt.” American Ethnologist
4. Young Women Demanding Justice and Dignity (Hanna Skalli, *Jadaliyya*)
5. Read first: Why do they Hate us? (Mona Eltahawy, *Foreign Policy*)
6. Let’s Talk about Sex (Seikally and Mikdashi, *Jadaliyya*)
7. The Uprisings will be Gendered (Mikdashi, *Jadaliyya*)
8. “Gender and Revolution in Egypt” (Hatem, *Merip*)
9. “Imperial Feminism, Islamophobia, and the Egyptian Revolution” (Naber, *Jadaliyya*)

**Week 7:** Politics of Islamic Movements and the Military (Oct 11)

This week we will explore the rise of Islamic movements in the aftermath of the uprisings, as well as the role of the military in the maintenance or downfall of the regime. We will also discuss the relationship between the military and Islamist political movements. Our focus in the readings will be on Egypt but our class conversations should draw on comparisons from other parts of the region.

READINGS:

(On the military)

1. \*\*Stacher, Joshua. Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria. (1-78; 156-178)
2. "Egypt without Mubarak"
3. "Egyptians Embrace…”
4. "Anti-Authoritarian Revolution"
5. "Egypt's other revolution"
6. "SCAF: Brief History of Injustice"
7. Back to the Barracks: The Tunisian Army Post-Revolution: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/11/03/back-to-barracks-tunisian-army-post-revolution/6lxg>

(On Islamic movements)

1. \*\*Brown, Nathan J. 2012. When Victory is not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics (pp. 32-125; 204-226)
2. Shehata, Samer. Islamists Politics in the Middle East (pp. 1-38)
3. Read and Watch Excerpts from this conference: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/04/05/islamists-in-power-views-from-within/a5kd>
4. Ashraf El Sherif. Egypt’s New Islamists: Emboldening Reform from Within: <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/2012/01/12/egypt-s-new-islamists-emboldening-reform-from-within/90o6>
5. Marina Ottaway. Egypt’s Democracy: Between the Military, Islamists, and Illiberal Democrats: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/11/03/egypt-s-democracy-between-military-islamists-and-illiberal-democrats/6m0w>
6. Rashwan, Diaa. 2009. Political Islamist Movements: The Case of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt: <http://www.stimson.org/spotlight/political-islamist-movements-the-case-of-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-egypt/>
7. Khatib, Line. Syria's Islamic Movement and the Current Uprising: Political Acquiescence, Quietism, and Dissent: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4415/syrias-islamic-movement-and-the-current-uprising_p>

**Week 8:** Social Media, Music and Other Media in Times of Great Upheaval (Oct 18)

This week we will explore several forms of media. We will discuss the idea of the Facebook revolution that was predominant in the early days of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolution. We will analyze the role of Arab and foreign news media in the revolution, and we will look at creative forms of expression through music and art.

1. Aouragh, Miriyam and Anne Alexander. The Egyptian Experience: Sense and Nonsense of the Internet Revolution. International Journal of Communication 5, 2011.
2. William Lafi Youmans and Jillian C. York. "Social Media and the Activist Toolkit: User Agreements, Corporate Interests, and the Information Infrastructure of Modern Social Movements." Journal of Communication (March 2012): 1460-2466.
3. Al-Qassemi, Sultan. Breaking the Arab News. Foreign Policy. Aug 2, 2012.
4. Sklli Hanna, Loubna. Youth, Media and the Art of Protest in North Africa. Jadaliyya.
5. Lulian, 2012, “Graffiti & the Arab Spring: An Explosive Combination” *Neat Designs,* <http://neatdesigns.net/graffiti-the-arab-spring-an-explosive-combination/>
6. Revolutionary Arab Rap: <http://revolutionaryarabraptheindex.blogspot.com>

<http://hiphopdiplomacy.org/> See also Jackson Allers. “Voice of the Streets”: the Arab Hip Hop summit that couldn’t be stopped <http://hiphopdiplomacy.org/2012/03/11/voice-of-the-streets-the-arab-hip-hop-summit-that-couldnt-be-stopped/#more-1070>

1. Search [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) for “Graffiti”
2. Bunt, Gary R. Mediterranean Islamic Expressions and Web 2.0. In Arab Society in Revolt.

**PART 3: REVOLUTIONS AND COUNTERREVOLUTIONS**

**Week 9:** International Intervention and Internationalizing the Revolution (Oct 25)

We will look at international intervention from a theoretical perspective this week. We’ll discuss the politics of intervention and human rights. How was the Responsibility to Protect established? What happens when a conflict is internationalized? Can a conflict remain local? What is the meaning of sovereignty and state legitimacy in an international system?

READINGS:

1. Orford, Anne. International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect (Ch 1, 2, 5)
2. Orford, Anne. Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law (Ch 2, 3, 4)

**Week 10:** Paths to Intervention: NATO and Libya (Nov 1)

This week we’ll take the issue of intervention and analyze it within the Libyan (and Syrian) context. What were the arguments for and against intervention in Libya? What was the trajectory of the Libyan revolution? What factors might have led to NATO intervention?

READINGS:

1. Prashad, Vijay. Arab Spring; Libyan Winter (Entire book)
2. *Recommended:* Assaf, Simon. Libya at a Crossroads. <http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=779>
3. *Recommended:* Vandewalle, Dirk. A History of Modern Libya (Intro; Ch. 4-7)

**Week 11:** Saudi Arabia/Bahrain: Gulf Capital, Power and Counter Revolution (Nov 8)

This week we’ll explore the development of the Arabian Gulf, and its growing sphere of influence. We’ll examine the role the US, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have played in Bahrain and elsewhere in the region, like in Syria. We will also look at the growing protest movement in Saudi Arabia and reasons for why that country did not see the kind of mobilizations as other places in the Arab world.

READINGS:

1. Hanieh. Adam. Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States (Ch. 1, 4, 5, 7)
2. Al-Rasheed, Madawi. Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*. December 2011. 11(3): pp. 513–526,
3. Beinin, Joel and Frederic Vairel, eds. 2011. Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa.  Stanford UP. (Ch 2)
4. Silvia Colombo. The GCC Countries and the Arab Spring. Between Outreach, Patronage and Repression.
5. Jazeera Documentary on Bahrain: *Shouting in the Dark*

**Week 12:** Yemen: Deconstructing Narratives (Nov 15)

1. Dresch, Paul. 2001. A History of Modern Yemen (Ch. 4, 5, 7)
2. Wedeen, Lisa. Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen. (Ch. Intro; 1-4; conclusion)

**Week 13:** Precarious Futures: Between Revolution and Imperialism in Syria (Nov 29)

READINGS:

1. Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria. U. of Chicago Press. (Ch. 1, 3)
2. Haddad, Bassam. 2012. Business Networks in Syria: The Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience. Stanford UP.
3. <http://www.slideshare.net/ISWPress>
4. Readings TBA – See Syria Media Roundup on *Jadaliyya*

**Week 14:** Waiting for Change: Palestine/Lebanon/Jordan (Dec 6)

READINGS:

1. “On Dignity and Clientelism: Lebanon in the Context of the 2011 Arab Revolutions” (Hermez, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*)
2. “Identity Politics, Protests, and Reform in Jordan” (Ryan, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*)
3. Articles online TBA.

**Web Sources:**

***BBC Online*** Middle East coverage: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/middle_east/default.stm>

**The Guardian:** <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/middleeast/roundup>

***Haaretz*** [*http://www.haaretzdaily.com/*](http://www.haaretzdaily.com/)

***Al-Akhbar English*** [*www.english.al-akhbar.com*](http://www.english.al-akhbar.com)

***Al-Jazeera English*** [*www.aljazeera.com*](http://www.aljazeera.com)

***The Independent*** Middle East coverage <http://news.independent.co.uk/world/middle_east/>

***Middle East International*** <http://meionline.com/front.html> online edition

***Middle East Report*** <http://www.merip.org/mer/middle_east_report.html>

***Jadaliyya*** [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com)

***Muftah*** [www.muftah.org](http://www.muftah.org)

**Timeline of revolts** <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>

**Mainly on Egypt**: <http://paulsedra.com/Revolution/Welcome.html>

**1000s of Videos on Egypt revolts**: <http://iamjan25.com/>

**Egypt related blog**: <http://www.arabawy.org/blog/>

**Cultural Anthropology has a wealth of analytical articles:** <http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/484>