



Georgetown University

Center for Contemporary Arab Studies ARST 4423-10 Activism & Protest in the Arab MENA

Instructor: Noureddine Jebnoun

Seminar: Summer 2025

Main First Session: June 2 to July 3

Office: ICC 144

Class Meetings: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday: 10:45 AM- 12:45 PM

Location: ICC 216

Office Hours: Monday & Wednesday 1:00-2:00 PM

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Overview:

This course examines the role and complexities of people's agency in the Arab West Asia and North Africa through the framework of activism, protest and social movements. It discusses the centrality of popular politics that includes activism, collective action, resistance and protest as a force of change across the region. It investigates the reasons that enable ordinary people from different social backgrounds and outside of the institutional, formal and routine politics to join together in mass movements and voice their grievances in defiance of repressive political conditions. The course analyzes activists and protest movements' claims against their respective regimes, the conditions that give rise to their movements and occurrence, the advantage of the political opportunities, the risks/threats they face, the organizational resources that shape their choice of activism, their success at particular points of time, and different factors that contribute or impede in achieving their goals. Finally, the course helps to understand the role protest movements, mass popular mobilizations and revolts have been playing in the Arab world's

ongoing political transformations and argues that this dynamic is an open-ended process, questioning assumptions that depict socio-political changes as a linear process through the strict and narrow binary lens of democracy or authoritarianism.

While discussing different forms of people activism as contenders to political rule across the Arab West Asia and North Africa, the course revolves around the following questions, among others: What are the main theoretical perspectives of activism and protest? What constitute a need for citizen activism and protest? Why do people engage in mobilizations? What accounts for citizens' grievances and how are they inspired to involve in politics of social protest for the sake of socio-political change? What is the scope and limits of popular movements and resistance, and under what circumstances they can substitute to the formal-organized political actors? What are the implications of activism and popular resistance on the structure of power/authority (i.e., authoritarian resilience) in the Arab world? How do active citizens express their rights and demands against the incumbent regimes? How do they establish their coalitions to resist the regimes' encroachment and advance their socio-political agenda? How do they seize opportunities presented by political overtures and incoherence within their countries' political systems? The class will examine people agency/popular politics through the lens of social movements, activism, and popular mobilizations in the Arab world by drawing on comparative case studies.

PREREQUISITE:

None, the only prerequisite is a determination and commitment to gain in-depth knowledge of popular politics and bottom-up movements in the Arab West Asia and North Africa.

OBJECTIVES:

The course's objectives are threefold: (1) to provide students with a variety of different thematic, theoretical and methodological approaches and explanations in the field of contentious politics and popular activism in the Arab West Asia and North Africa; (2) to expose students to the challenges and obstacles popular politics faced across the region; and (3) to provide students insight on the ideology, discourse, agendas, strategies and tactics people deploy to mobilize, coordinate, and legitimize their action.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course, students will be able (1) to construct and articulate arguments about people activism and popular resistance based on empirical evidence gained from readings, class discussions and writing assignments; (2) to foster critical thinking about the views articulated in the literature and become familiar with various forms of people activism and protest across the region; and (3) to self-understanding of actors and trajectories influencing popular politics and how bottom-up/grassroots movements and activism shapes struggle and change across the region.

REQUIREMENTS:

I. <u>READING MATERIALS</u>:

There are no required books to purchase. All the assigned articles and books chapters will be available electronically through CANVAS.

II. CLASS ORGANIZATION:

The course will be led as a seminar, with the majority of time devoted to discussion aimed at critical understanding of the course materials. All our meetings will revolve around discussions in which we debate precise arguments and counterarguments highlighted in the readings, the rationality and potential utility of the different authors' claims, and implications for activism and protest in the Arab world.

The seminar will be organized around the following:

1. In-class participation and discussion questions:

This seminar requires an *active* involvement by all students through regular attendance, keeping up with the readings, and participation in class discussions. All students are expected to ask questions, comment on, and critique the readings. You should focus on the readings in order to contribute to a stimulating and enlightening discussion. Participation should reflect your personal experiences and ideas, but nevertheless related to the course. Participation is not measured in volume but in quality and originality. Participation in class discussion is an important aspect of creating a dynamic learning environment and contributing to the topics and issues debated in class. Thus, immersion in the assigned and relevant literature should enable you to express critically and insightfully your ideas during the seminar meetings. Our discussion must be driven by civility, courtesy and respect regardless of each other's disagreements that have to be based on substance of arguments and cohesion of ideas while conducted under Chatham House Rule.

"When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed." (Source)

Additionally, in order to animate and structure the seminar discussion <u>you will turn in at least one thoughtful discussion question arising from the readings via Canvas (Assignments) for every session on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday no later than 6 pm. Please note that you will not be graded on the "quality" of your questions (no such thing as a "dumb" question). Please note that your questions count as a part of your attendance and participation's grade.</u>

2. Three (3) weekly responses (500 words) (See Template on CANVAS):

Participants in the seminar must submit via <u>Canvas (Assignments section)</u> a short response paper on any theme of their choice from the assigned readings addressed in *one of the four sessions during each week* (one single-spaced, size 12 font Word format: Time New Roman: average of 500 words) and must exclude the session for which participants signed up for as a presenter. Rather than a summary of the daily material, this assignment should be a critical reaction that demonstrates the participants' application of course material and available resources as opportunities to critically engage with the ideas presented in the texts (i.e., an average of two (2) readings every day). It should illustrate what you <u>consider as the problematic aspects of the daily readings</u>. Your aim is to <u>analyze and interpret the material that seeks to generate</u>

discussion, highlight contradictions and competing ideas and arguments that you may detect while raising critical questions about the topics to be debated in a daily seminar session.

The three (3) weekly responses are scheduled as follows:

1st Weekly Response due on Friday, June 6 (by 8:00 PM EST) 2nd Weekly Response due on Friday, June 13 (by 8:00 PM EST) 3rd Weekly Response due on Friday, June 20 (by 8:00 PM EST)

3. Student-led presentations (See Template on CANVAS):

As this class is a student-focused seminar, all participants are expected to <u>lead the seminar-discussion at least once during the term by delivering a 15-20 minutes' presentation in length that addresses the assigned topic of that session.</u> Presenters should not summarize the readings. Rather, they have to emphasize the key ideas, critically assess the author's arguments and facts (i.e., persuasive or not...), compare and contrast the readings, and link the ideas. In so doing, they have to reflect the following points in their presentation:

- -The key idea the author(s) is/are seeking to address.
- -The key argument developed by the author(s).
- -The author(s) key evidence in supporting her/his argument.
- -The author(s) robustness/weakness of her/his evidence.
- -The relevance of the reviewed literature by the author(s).
- -The presenter's reasonable/relevant counterargument to the author(s)' claim(s).

Presenters are required to prepare and email to me (nj64@georgetown.edu) their presentation outline ahead of the day they are introducing the readings no later than 8 PM EST. For instance, if you signed up as a presenter a Monday, the presentation outline is due on Sunday by 8 PM EST. This applies for any other day of the week a presenter sign-up for.

4. Film Review Essay (See Template on CANVAS):

All students are required to screen one film from the listed materials on the syllabus and write a review of it. The listed films comprise documentaries, that I consider will better inform your knowledge of people bottom-up politics in the region. Rather than summarizing the documentary, students have to engage critically with what they viewed while discussing and developing their own analysis and perspective in addressing the chosen material (for example, to what extent was the documentary persuasive? What evidence used in argumentation? To what extent was the documentary creatively and stylistically relevant? What could have improved the documentary? What special contribution does it make or fail to make? Why did you see it as worthy? etc.). Reviewing multimedia materials is one of the most important aspects of your ability to apply and demonstrate your critical thinking skills—so I encourage you to enjoy this assignment and make it your own. The film review essay should be structured as an essay and not exceed 1200 words (WORD format, Time New Roman, double-spaced, size 12 font, paginated right and top of the page). Students have to list the accurate word account at the end of the essay. The film review essay is due on Sunday, June 29th, no later than 8 PM EST via CANVAS. Students must select one documentary from the following list:

- Revolution Through Arab Eyes: The Factory (Al Jazeera 2012):
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uo1Fytmjlmw
- Bahrain: Shouting in the Dark (Al Jazeera 2011):

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xaTKDMYOBOU

- The Death of Fear (AL Jazeera 2015):

https://www.aljazeera.com/program/the-rageh-omaar-report/2015/12/16/the-death-of-fear/

- The People Demand the Downfall of the Regime: The Square (Netflix 2015)
- The New Women of Gaza (Al Jazeera 2019):

https://www.aljazeera.com/program/al-jazeera-world/2019/11/6/the-new-women-of-gaza/2019/11/6/the-gaza/2019/11/6/the-gaza/2019/11/6/the-gaza/2019/11/6/the-gaza/2019/11/6/the-gaza/2019/11/6/

5. Grade Distribution:

12% of grade and marked out of 12 points-In-class participation and discussion questions

48% of grade and marked out of 48 points—weekly response assignment (16 each x 3)

20% of grade and marked out of 20 points-Student-led presentations

20% of grade and marked out of 20 points-Film Review Essay

Your final grade will be assigned on the following scale:

A 93-100	B+ 87-89	C+ 77-79	D+ 67-69	$\mathbf{F} = \mathbf{<} 60$
A- 90-92	B 84-86	C 74-76	D 64-66	
	B- 80-83	C- 70-73	D- 60-63	

6. Attendance Policy:

This class meets four times a week and students are expected to attend all classes. Thus, absences will generally not be tolerated. However, <u>students are allowed to miss only one class (excused or unexcused)</u>. <u>Yet, any absences will not excuse any missed assignments</u>. Any further absence for any reason your final grade will be lowered one whole letter. For example, you are carrying an A average, your final grade will be a B. More than three absences will carry the value of an F for the final grade.

7. Inclusion & Non-Discrimination Policy:

As faculty and students, together we bring to our learning environment our own diverse social group identities (i.e., race/ethnicity, immigration status, color, national origin, political beliefs, religious preference, class, sex, age, dis/ability (physical and mental), pregnancy (including pregnancy, childbirth, and medical conditions related to pregnancy or childbirth), gender identity, sexual orientation, etc.). Thus, our goal is to build an inclusive community and positive working environment where everyone can express ideas and defend them with arguments—regardless of the divergence with their peer and/or the instructor—without the fear of retribution. Within the disciplinary boundaries of academic discourse, we encourage students to feel free to fully engage in a creative way with civility and respect of the thoughts of others, which are prerequisites to the success of our enterprise.

Also, I strongly recommend that you further develop your knowledge about Georgetown's history of slave ownership and the university unfolding process to understand, memorialize, reconcile, and overcome the injustices resulting from the legacies of slavery and segregation that have shaped both Georgetown community and the nation's history.

- Georgetown University Working Group Report on Slavery, Memory and Reconciliation
- You can learn more about the University's efforts to understand and address its role in the injustice of slavery at: http://slavery.georgetown.edu/
- ➤ The report of the Working Group on Slavery, Memory and Recognition is available at: http://slavery.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/GU-WGSMR-Report-Web.pdf

I acknowledge that Georgetown University stands on the traditional land of the Nacotchtank people, and neighbors the ancestral lands of the Piscataway and Pamunkey peoples who have stewarded this land throughout the generations. This acknowledgment is in tribute to those peoples, past and present. Also, I acknowledge that Georgetown University's academic achievements today are the product in part of enslaved labor and the sale of enslaved people.

8. A Statement on Artificial Intelligence (AI) Tools:

The goals of this course are to improve critical thinking, theoretical and empirical knowledge, and analytical skills. One thing to bear in mind is that oftentimes the material generated by programs like ChatGPT may look correct or accurate, but is in fact misleading, vague, or flat-out wrong. For example, these tools are generally very poor at accurately summarizing books or articles. This means that they certainly should not be used as a substitute for your own reading, analysis, and critical thinking. In short, they are not a replacement for learning! **Thus, all kinds of the AI tools are forbidden in this course**. Each assignment has its own criteria and it requires individual expectations. Thus, please seek further clarification in the event that those expectations listed in this syllabus are ambiguous. "**If you didn't generate the words yourself, say so by quoting and citing the source; if you generated the words but not the content and ideas, say so by citing the source.**"

(https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/system/policies/pledge/)

9. <u>In-Person Class Recording Policy</u>:

Due to concerns of privacy and safety, students are not allowed to make video or audio recordings of any class session. Thus, I request that you take seriously all the concerns and ethical issues related to class privacy and their implications for academic freedom that I assume all of us cherish.

10. In-Person Class Laptop Computers and Cell Phones Policy:

Laptop computers prove to be distracting to the students using them including the professor as email, web material draw attention away from the class. Thus, laptops are only allowed for taking notes and not for any other purpose. Cell phones have to be turned off and put away during the class. Checking phone messages or texting messages will not be tolerated in class. I strongly recommend that you consider the class session as an exceptional intellectual moment to stay away from the cyberspace world to engage with each other.

III. ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

You are expected to adhere to all aspects of Georgetown University's guidelines on academic integrity. Omitting to cite the external source through a universally recognized citation style, or/and paraphrasing concepts, ideas, and facts in others' written work, or/and turning assignment that was drafted by some else or downloaded off the Internet will be considered an act of plagiarism and dealt with accordingly. For further information, please refer to "Plagiarism: A Guide to Understanding and Avoiding":

http://guides.dml.georgetown.edu/plagiarism

Georgetown Honor Pledge

The Georgetown Student Pledge:

In pursuit of the high ideals and rigorous standards of academic life I commit myself to respect and to uphold the Georgetown University honor system:

To be honest in every academic endeavor, and

To conduct myself honorably, as a responsible member of the Georgetown community as we live and work together.

Available at: https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/system/policies/pledge/

We both are protected by and enjoy principles of academic freedom, and the Faculty Handbook 2020 states that "Academic freedom promotes intellectual honesty and requires respect for the academic rights of others." Handbook

< https://georgetown.app.box.com/s/ockilgo5adayspan6cisa8c08y6a6ewq>

IV. SUPPORT SERVICES

1. Counseling & Mental Health:

Georgetown recognizes that COVID-19 has a significant impact on everyone in the Georgetown community. Georgetown offers a variety of support services for students that can be accessed online and has put together this newsletter which aims to provide you with information about well-being resources and virtual meetings that can connect you with mental health professionals on and off campus during this time. Below are some resources available to you:

- ✓ <u>Academic Resource Center</u> 202-687-8354 | arc@georgetown.edu
- ✓ Counseling and Psychiatric Services 202-687-6985
- ✓ <u>Institutional Diversity, Equity & Affirmative Action (IDEAA)</u> (202) 687-4798

2. <u>Sexual Misconduct</u>:

Title IX Statement (endorsed by Faculty Senate)

Georgetown University and its faculty are committed to supporting survivors of sexual misconduct, including relationship violence, sexual harassment and sexual assault. University policy requires faculty members to report any disclosures about sexual misconduct to the Title IX

Coordinator, whose role is to coordinate the University's response to sexual misconduct. Title IX Coordinator or a Deputy Title IX Coordinator. If you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a professor in or outside of the classroom (with the exception of disclosures in papers), that faculty member must report the incident to the Title IX Coordinator, or Deputy Title IX Coordinator. The coordinator will, in turn, reach out to the student to provide support, resources, and the option to meet. [Please note that the student is not required to meet with the Title IX coordinator.]. More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the Sexual Misconduct Website: https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/resourcecenter.

If you would prefer to speak to someone confidentially, Georgetown has a number of fully confidential professional resources that can provide support and assistance. These resources include:

- Health Education Services for Sexual Assault Response and Prevention: confidential email sarp@georgetown.edu.
- Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS): 202.687.6985 or after hours, call (833) 960-3006 to reach Fonemed, a telehealth service; individuals may ask for the on-call CAPS clinician.

More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the <u>Sexual Misconduct</u> Website.

Above statement and Title IX faculty resources found at:

 $\underline{https://sexual assault.georgetown.edu/get-help/guidance-for-faculty-and-staff-on-how-to-support-students/.}$

Title IX Pregnancy Modifications and Adjustments

Georgetown University is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive environment for pregnant students. At any point throughout their pregnancy students may request adjustments/modifications based on general pregnancy needs or accommodations based on a pregnancy-related complication or medical need. Students may also request accommodations following labor and delivery based on a complication or medical need.

SCS students must complete the <u>Pregnancy Adjustment Request Form</u> (https://titleix.georgetown.edu/title-ix-pregnancy/student-pregnancy/) and submit it to the SCS Deputy Title IX Coordinator at titleixscs@georgetown.edu. Upon receiving the completed form, the Deputy Title IX Coordinator will schedule a meeting with the student to discuss the requested adjustments and implementation process.

More information about pregnancy modifications can be found on the <u>Title IX at Georgetown University Website</u>.

3. Georgetown Library:

If you have a question for a librarian you can go to their "Ask Us" page where you will have the option to chat online, send an email, or schedule a Zoom appointment to discuss a research topic, develop a search strategy, or examine resources for projects and papers. Librarians offer an overview of and in-depth assistance with important resources for senior or master's theses, dissertations, papers and other types of research. This service is available to currently enrolled students who need assistance with Georgetown-assigned projects and papers. Please review the Services & Resources Guide for Online Students for additional information.

3.1. eResources

Students enrolled in courses have access to the University Library System's eResources, including 500+ research databases, 1.5+ million ebooks, and thousands of periodicals and other multimedia files (films, webinars, music, and images). You can access these resources through the <u>Library's Homepage</u> by using your NetID and password.

3.2. Learning Resources

Georgetown offers a host of <u>learning resources</u> to its students. Two that you might find particularly helpful in this course are the <u>Writing Center</u> and <u>Refworks</u>.

- ✓ The Writing Center offers peer tutoring by trained graduate and undergraduate students who can assist you at any point in the writing process. They help at any stage of your writing process, from brainstorming to revision. Tutors can offer advice on thesis development, use of evidence, organization, flow, sentence structure, grammar, and more. The Writing Center will not proofread or edit papers; rather, they will help to improve your proofreading and editing skills to become a better writer. Appointments can be booked online through their website.
- ✓ <u>Refworks</u> is an online research management tool that aids in organizing, storing, and presenting citation sources for papers and projects.

3.3. Technical Support

All students have 24/7 access to Canvas technical support 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, including live chat and a support hotline at 855-338-2770. Use the 'Help' icon in the lower left of your Canvas window to view all available support and feedback options. If you're looking for help on a specific feature, check out the <u>Canvas Student Guide</u>.

V. SCHEDULE AND COURSE CONTENT

Session 1/Monday, June 2nd:

Introduction to Course, Overview, Assignments, and Expectations

Course Mechanics & Requirements: Orientation meeting, introduction of syllabus, expectations and assignments, etc.

Session 2/Tuesday, June 3rd:

An Overview of Concepts & Theories: Social Movements, Activism and Mobilization (I)

Required class reading:

Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, "Introduction" and "When and Why do Social Movements Occur?" in Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (eds.), *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 1–8; 9–13.

Jillian Schwedler and Kevan Harris, "What Is Activism?" *Middle East Report* (Winter 2016): 1–5.

Session 3/Wednesday, June 4th:

An Overview of Concepts & Theories: Social Movements, Activism and Mobilization (II)

Required class reading:

Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East.* 2nd Ed (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013): (Ch. 1: The Art of Presence), 1–30.

Joel Beinin and Frédéric Vairel, "The Middle East and North Africa Beyond Classical Social Movement Theory," in Joel Beinin and Frédéric Vairel (eds.), *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. 2nd Ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 1–24.

Session 4/Thursday, June 5th:

Subaltern's Everyday Life Politics

Required class reading:

Asef Bayat, *Revolutionary Life: The Everyday of the Arab Spring* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021), (Ch. 2 The Subaltern Under Autocracies), 44–79.

Amin Allal, "Becoming Revolutionary in Tunisia, 2007-2011," in Joel Beinin and Frédéric Vairel (eds.), *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. 2nd Ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 185–204.

Session 5/Monday, June 9th:

Activism & Struggle for Social Justice in Defiance of the Neoliberal Order

Required class reading:

Sami Zemni, "The Tunisian Revolution: Neoliberalism, Urban Contentious Politics and the Right to the City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 41(1) (2017): 70–83.

Adam Hanieh, "Challenging Neoliberalism in the Arab World," in Lucia Pradella and Thomas Marois (eds.), *Polarizing Development: Alternatives to Neoliberalism and the Crisis* (London: Pluto Press, 2015), 226–236.

Session 6/Tuesday, June 10th:

Arab Uprisings: Remaking People Agency and Producing Spatialities of Activism and Mobilization (I): Tunisia, Egypt

Required class reading:

Andrea Flores Khalil, *Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya* (London; New York: 2014), 38–70: (Ch. 2: Tunisia: The Roots of Social Collectivity).

Amy Austin Holmes, "There Are Weeks When Decades Happen: Structure and Strategy in the Egyptian Revolution," *Mobilization* 17(4) (December 2012): 391–410.

Session 7/Wednesday, June 11th:

Arab Uprisings: Remaking People Agency and Producing Spatialities of Activism and Mobilization (II): Libya, Yemen

Required class reading:

Andrea Flores Khalil, *Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya* (London; New York: 2014), 95–125: (Ch. 4: Libya: The Paradox of the Political Crowd and the 'State of the Masses', the Libyan Jamahiriya).

Laurent Bonnefoy and Marine Poirier, "Dynamics of the Yemeni Revolution: Contextualizing Mobilizations," in Joel Beinin and Frédéric Vairel (eds.), *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. 2nd Ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 228–245.

Session 8/Thursday, June 12th:

Arab Uprisings: Remaking People Agency and Producing Spatialities of Activism and Mobilization (III): Algeria, Syria

Required class reading:

Andrea Flores Khalil, *Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya* (London; New York: 2014), 71–94 (Ch. 3: Algeria: The Country of a Million Martyrs).

Ghaleb Attrache, "Contending with Hope and Heartbreak: Narrative, Knowledge, and Strategy in the Syrian Revolution," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 41(3) (Spring 2018): 42–59.

Session 9/Monday, June 16th:

Arab Uprisings: Remaking People Agency and Producing Spatialities of Activism and Mobilization (IV): Morocco, Jordan

Required class reading:

Driss Maghraoui, "Morocco: Obedience, Civil Resistance, and Dispersed Solidarities," in Adam Roberts, Michael J. Willis, Rory McCarthy, Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), *Civil Resistance in the Arab Spring: Triumphs and Disasters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 195–222.

Sean Yom, "Mobilization without Movement: Opposition and Youth Activism in Jordan," in Hesham Sallam, Amr Hamzawy, Lisa Blaydes (eds.), *Struggles for Political Change in the Arab World: Regimes, Oppositions, and External Actors after the Spring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022), 148–174.

Session 10/Tuesday, June 17th:

Arab Uprisings: Remaking People Agency and Producing Spatialities of Activism and Mobilization (IV): Bahrain, Saudi Arabia

Required class reading:

Toby Matthiesen, "The Local and the Transnational in the Arab Uprisings: The Protests in the Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province," in May Seikaly and Khawla Mattar (eds.), *The Silent Revolution: The Arab Spring and the Gulf States* (Berlin: Gerlach Press, 2014), 105–143.

Ala'a Shehabi and Marc Owen Jones, "Introduction: Bahrain's Uprising: The Struggle for Democracy in the Gulf," in Ala'a Shehabi and Marc Owen Jones (eds.), *Bahrain's Uprising: Resistance and Repression in the Gulf* (London: Zed Books, 2015), 1–39

Session 11/Wednesday, June 18th:

Arab Uprisings: Remaking People Agency and Producing Spatialities of Activism and Mobilization (IV): Kuwait, Oman

Required class reading:

Farah al-Nakib, "Public Space and Public Protest in Kuwait, 1938-2012," *City* 18(6) (2014): 723–734. Marc Valeri, "The Ṣuḥār Paradox: Social and Political Mobilizations in the Sultanate of Oman since 2011," *Arabian Humanities* 4 (2015): 2–16.

Thursday, June 19th: Juneteenth (No class)

Session 12/Monday, June 23rd:

Agents of Popular Mobilizations & Drivers of Change (I): Labor Demands & Workers

Required class reading:

Lorenzo Feltrin, "Labor and Democracy in the Maghreb: The Moroccan and Tunisian Trade Unions in the 2011 Arab Uprisings," *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 40(1) (2019): 42–64.

Philip Marfleet, *Egypt: Contested Revolution* (London, Pluto Press, 2016), 35–53 (Ch. 3: The Workers and the Movement).

Session 13/Tuesday, June 24th:

Agents of Popular Mobilizations & Drivers of Change (II): Youth

Required class reading:

Nadine Sika, "Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39(2) (2012): 181–199.

Zouhir Gabsi, "Tunisia's Youth: Awakened Identity and Challenges Post-Arab Spring," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 46(1) (2019): 68–87.

Session 14/Wednesday, June 25th:

Agents of Popular Mobilizations & Drivers of Change (III): Women & Gender

Required class reading:

Sherine Hafez, *Women of the Midan: The Untold Stories of Egypt's Revolutionaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 134–160 (Ch 5: Bodies That Protest). Andrea Khalil, "Tunisia's Women: Partners in Revolution," *The Journal of North African Studies* 19(2) (2014): 186–199.

Session 15/Thursday, June 26th:

Activism and Protest under Occupation: Palestine, Western Sahara

Required class reading:

Pietro Stefanini, "Incendiary Kites and Balloons: Anti-Colonial Resistance in Palestine's Great March of Return," *Partecipazione e conflitto*, 14(2) (2021): 663–680.

Irene Fernández-Molina, "Protests under Occupation: The Spring inside Western Sahara," *Mediterranean Politics* 20(2) (2015): 235–254.

Session 16/Monday, June 30th:

Beyond the Ethno-Sectarian Gaze: Activism and Protest in Iraq and Lebanon

Required class reading:

Chiara Lovotti and Licia Proserpo, "The October 2019 Protest Movement in Iraq: An Analysis of the 'Early Moments' of the Mobilization," *Partecipazione e conflitto*, 14(2) (2021): 644–662. Rima Majed and Lana Salman, "Lebanon's Thawra," *Middle East Report* 292/293 (Fall/Winter 2019): 6–9.

Session 17/Tuesday, July 1st:

Activism and Popular Resistance Amidst Ongoing Socio-political Struggle for Change (I)

Required class reading:

Jannis Grimm and Cilja Harders, "Unpacking the Effects of Repression: The Evolution of Islamist Repertoires of Contention in Egypt after the Fall of President Morsi," *Social Movement Studies* 17(1) (2018): 1–18.

Noureddine Jebnoun, "Public Space Security and Contentious Politics of Morocco's Rif Protests," *Middle Eastern Studies* 56(1) (2020): 48–63.

Session 18/Wednesday, July 2nd:

Activism and Popular Resistance Amidst Ongoing Socio-political Struggle for Change (II)

Required class reading:

Thomas Serres, "Algeria: Anatomy of a Revolutionary Situation," in Hesham Sallam, Amr Hamzawy, Lisa Blaydes (eds.), *Struggles for Political Change in the Arab World: Regimes, Oppositions, and External Actors after the Spring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022), 197–226.

Khalid Mustafa Medani, "Understanding the Roots, Dynamics, and Potential of an 'Impossible' Revolution: The Prospects and Challenges of Democratization in Sudan," in Hesham Sallam, Amr Hamzawy, Lisa Blaydes (eds.), *Struggles for Political Change in the Arab World: Regimes, Oppositions, and External Actors after the Spring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022), 249–271.

Session 19/Wednesday, July 3rd (Last class):

Popular Resistance in Times of Counterrevolution

Required class reading:

James Allison, "Counter-Revolution1 as International Phenomenon: The Case of Egypt," *Review of International Studies* 45(2) (2019): 320–344.

Asef Bayat, *Revolutionary Life: The Everyday of the Arab Spring* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021), (Ch. 8 Whatever Happened to the Revolution?) 235–247.

The instructor reserves the right to modify the syllabus according to changing circumstances.