

## Course Syllabus

SE2 Revolutionary Processes: An Exploration of Tahrir Square and Beyond

*BA Political Science: Elective Modular Interdisciplinary Competences*

*Summer Term 2017*

Adham Hamed, Department of Political Science, University of Innsbruck

*Credits:* 5 ECTS-AP (equals 125 full working hours)

*Grading:* active participation in class activities & portfolio (1/3), group presentations (1/3), final paper (1/3)

*Location:* SR 3, SOWI (barrier-free access)

*Times:*

TUE 14.03.2017 16.00 - 19.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

TUE 28.03.2017 16.00 - 19.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

TUE 25.04.2017 17.00 - 20.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

TUE 09.05.2017 16.00 - 19.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

TUE 16.05.2017 16.00 - 19.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

FRI 19.05.2017 – SUN 28.05.2017: Excursion

TUE 06.06.2017 16.00 - 19.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

TUE 20.06.2017 16.00 - 19.45 SR 3 (Sowi)

*Contact:*

E-Mail: [Adham.Hamed@uibk.ac.at](mailto:Adham.Hamed@uibk.ac.at)

phone: +43 512 507-70135

fax: +43 512 507-70199

URL: <http://adhamhamed.com>

rooms: w 2.27, Department of Political Science, SOWI, Universitätsstraße 15, 6020 Innsbruck;

4DG23, Research Area Cultural Encounters – Cultural Conflicts, GEIWI, Innrain 52, 6020 Innsbruck

consultation hour: by appointment, registration by E-Mail

## Aims & Contents

The revolutionary processes in the Middle East have had major impacts on the political landscape of the entire region. In this course, we will focus on Egypt's Tahrir movement, one of the many centers of these processes, which since 2011 has decentralized and taken many—often creative—forms. By drawing on a pluralistic epistemology of political key concepts such as revolution, conflict and peace, as well as theories of social movement and civil disobedience, particular attention will be given to actors at the margins of the Tahrir movement. These voices are often unheard whilst articulating counter-positions to the political regime. This focus will serve as a starting point to also discuss the larger systemic interrelations with protest movements in other countries. Students will have the possibility to participate in an extra-curricular excursion to Egypt in the framework of this course. This will be an opportunity to further expand upon the contents of this class through meeting with colleagues and activists of the Egyptian revolutionary process.

After the successful completion of this class you will be able to critically analyze and reflect upon the revolutionary processes in Egypt particularly and the Middle East more broadly, by applying theories of social change. Besides that my aim is to focus on the expertise of the group as a learning resource. You are therefore welcome to take ownership of this class and propose additional elements to me. Through successfully completing the course assignments you will also improve your academic writing and presentation skills.

## Course Requirements and Grading

Your final grade will consist of three parts:

*1/3 active participation in class activities and portfolios:* Please create a portfolio with your course notes and group presentation notes, to be submitted along with your final paper and a collection of your optional assignments by the end of the semester.

*1/3 group presentations:* You will be assigned to hold presentations in groups (45 minutes each, including discussions), in which you are welcome to use all means and support material you can possibly think of. You are welcome to move every single chair and table in the seminar room, to use flipchart, to draw, to write, to use your voices and bodies. However I explicitly do not welcome PowerPoint presentations. I will be happy to point you towards some literature relevant for your presentations. However, you will need to conduct your own library research and read up on the topics you present. Please submit a list of references after the presentation and add your presentation notes to your portfolio.

*1/3 Final Paper and optional tasks:* The final paper will consist of 15 pages (12 pt, 1.5 spaced, excluding references). However, the completion of each optional task will reduce the final paper by two pages.

For your successful completion of the class all three parts have to be graded positively. Please submit a hard-copy of your portfolio (including your course paper) as well as a digital version of your paper. Final submission deadline for draft papers is June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017 (and June 13<sup>th</sup> for those who are participating in the excursion to Cairo) and June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017 for the final versions of your seminar paper.

To facilitate a good flow of communication in the classroom I invite you all to take notes by hand and to not use computers in this class. I expect you to be present in all sessions.

## Overview of Course Credits

- 1 ECTS-Credit Point: Presence in Classes
- 2 ECTS- Credit Points: Group Presentations and Readings
- 2 ECTS-Credit Points: Final Paper and optional tasks

## Time Table and Session Outline

### Session I, Tue 2017-03-14: Introduction

In this first session I will introduce you to the topic, aims, course requirements and didactics of this class. I will invite you to share your pre-existing knowledge of the topic and personal background with the group. We will work in an interdisciplinary setting hence, I invite you to make the most of this rare opportunity to learn from and with colleagues from diverse academic backgrounds. We will also find groups for the group presentations that will be held throughout the semester. For those registered for the excursion to Cairo I will provide some further details about the possibility of participating in the trip.

### Session II, Tue 2017-03-28: Violence and Non-Violence in the Tahrir Movement

In this second session we will engage with questions of violence and non-violence in revolutionary processes by referring to two quite different theorists of social change. In preparation for this class, one half of the group will have read the text of Gene Sharp (mandatory reading for Group A, optional reading for Group B), the other half of the group will have read Frantz Fanon (Group B). Please prepare arguments in support of non-violent resistance (Group A) and arguments in support of violent resistance (Group B) in revolutionary processes. Be prepared to explain the central arguments of both authors to your colleagues.

*Group Presentation I: Gene Sharp and Non-Violence in the Tahrir Movement*  
Please present on the 18 days of protest at Tahrir movement, which forced President Mubarak out of office in early 2011. Try to apply Gene Sharp's theory of nonviolent resistance in your presentation. To which degree did non-violent means of resistance work in the Tahrir Movement? What were the limitations of this strategy?

*Group Presentation II: Frantz Fanon and Violence in Revolutionary Processes*  
Please present on the broader regional political context that led to the Arab Uprisings of 2011. Focus on the political developments of the years before the 2011 uprising in Egypt and Tunisia in particular. Try to discuss Frantz Fanon's considerations on revolutionary resistance, which was written in a context of anti-colonial resistance. How can his work be applied to the Egyptian context? Where are limitations of Fanon's approach?

### Readings:

- Group A:* Sharp, Gene (2010): *From Dictatorship to Democracy*. Boston, The Albert Einstein Institution.
- Group B:* Fanon, Frantz (1961): "On Violence", in *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp. 1-51.

*Optional Task 1:* Write a short essay of one to two pages in which you outline and discuss Fanon and Sharp's positions towards and theories of violence. Submission deadline: Monday, March 27.

*Further Reading:*

El-Dawla, Aida Seif (2009) "Torture: a state policy", in El-Mahdi, Rabab and Philip Marfleet (eds.): *Egypt Moment of Change*. Cairo, Cairo University Press, pp. 120-135. → Also helpful in preparation for session V.

El-Mahdi, Rabab (2009): "The democracy movement: cycles of protest", in El-Mahdi, Rabab and Philip Marfleet (eds.): *Egypt Moment of Change*. Cairo, Cairo University Press, pp. 87-102.

Session III, Tue 2017-04-25: Historical Context of the Tahrir Movement: Peace, conflict and violence in Egypt

In this session we will focus on the eras of presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar as-Sadat explicitly and theoretically engage with Johan Galtung's theory of violence. Also we will discuss the relationship between the concepts of peace and conflict. In preparation for this session, please reflect upon how you would define peace and conflict for yourself. We will engage with this question in the beginning of this session. In preparation for this class please also write down two questions for further discussion about each of the three mandatory readings (Dietrich, Galtung and Lederach).

*Group Presentation III: Gamal Abdel Nasser, Pan-Arabism and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*  
Please present on the Arab-Israeli Wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 with particular focus on the Egyptian and Israeli policy making. Try to contextualize the recent Egyptian revolutionary movement against the historic experience of this conflict and the pan-Arab ideology of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Try to integrate Galtung's theory of violence as a framework of analysis into your presentation.

*Group Presentation IV: Anwar as-Sadat, Conflict and Peace with Israel*  
Please try to outline the shift of Egyptian domestic and international policy making under President Sadat. How can the recent Egyptian revolutionary process be contextualized against the policies of Anwar as-Sadat? Try to describe the impact of the Camp David Peace Accord on the relationship between the countries, by using John Paul Lederach's chapter "On Peace Accords" as a central point of reference for your analysis.

*Readings:*

Dietrich, Wolfgang (1997): "A Call for Many Peaces", in Peace Center Burg Schlaining: Schlaininger Working Papers, 7/97, available online at URL: [http://www.friedensburg.at/uploads/files/wp7\\_97.pdf](http://www.friedensburg.at/uploads/files/wp7_97.pdf), last accessed March 14, 2017.

Galtung, Johan (1990): "Cultural Violence", in *Journal of Peace Studies*, 27/3, pp. 291-305.

Lederach, John Paul (2005): "On Peace Accords: Image of a Line in Time", in *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 41-50.

*Further Readings:*

Sadat, Jehan (2009): "Toward Peace", in *My Hope for Peace*. Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press.

Watch the Speech of Anwar as-Sadat in front of the Knesset, available at URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Csq0bikGkXg>, last accessed: January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

*Optional Task II:* Email me one to two pages of your reflections about what peace and conflict mean for you on a personal level one week before the session. Submission deadline: Tuesday, April 18<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

*Optional Task III:* Write a short discussion (one to two pages) about Wolfgang Dietrich's notion of many peaces and / or John Paul Lederach's Chapter on Peace Accords. Submission deadline: Monday, April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

Session IV, Tue 2017-05-09: Gender, Revolution and Refugees

In this session we will focus on marginalized groups in the Egyptian revolutionary process. In preparation for this class please write down one sentence about each of the single points you consider most crucial in the each of the three mandatory readings.

*Group Presentation V: Gender in the Revolutionary Process*

Take Al-Ali, Hafez and Sorbera's texts as departure points for your presentation on gender in the revolutionary process. Outline how gender-based violence has been used to marginalize certain groups. In your presentation try to give clear examples from the Egyptian revolutionary process (the Hafez text is a helpful point of reference). You are welcome to also critically integrate theoretical perspectives we have discussed earlier in this seminar (e.g. Fanon, Galtung, Sharp).

*Group Presentation VI: Sinai Trafficking*

The phenomenon of Sinai Trafficking has particularly affected Eritrean refugees. Please outline this phenomenon by using the texts of Elliot and van Reisen & Rilken as a starting point. On a more general level discuss how the Egyptian revolutionary process had an impact on the situation of refugees in Egypt. Try to integrate Galtung's theory of violence as a lens of analysis.

*Readings:*

Hafez, Sherine (2014): "The revolution shall not pass through women's bodies: Egypt, uprising and gender politics", in *The Journal of North African Studies*, 19:2, 172-185.

Sorbera, Lucia (2014): "Challenges of thinking feminism and revolution in Egypt between 2011 and 2014", *Postcolonial Studies*, 17:1, pp. 63-75.

van Reisen, Miriam and Conny Rijken (2015): "Sinai Trafficking: Origin and Definition of a New Form of Human Trafficking" in *Social Inclusion*, 3/2015/1, pp 113-124.

*Further Readings:*

Al-Ali, Nadjie (2012): "Gendering the Arab Spring", in *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 5/2012, pp. 26-31.

Elliot, Sarah (2014): "Framed: Refugees and the Egyptian Revolution", in Hamed, Adham (Ed.) (2014): *Revolution as a Process: The Case of the Egyptian Uprising*. Bremen, Wiener Verlag für Sozialforschung, pp. 341-355.

*Optional Task IV:* Prepare an abstract and a draft outline for your final paper (two pages maximum). Students who have submitted an abstract are welcome to consult me for individual feedback on their proposed final paper. Submission deadline: Monday, May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

Session V: Tue 2017-05-16: Conflict, Polarization and Political Trauma in the post-Mubarak Era

In this session we will focus on the political transformation process that was triggered by the Egyptian Uprising of 2011. In preparation for the group discussion on trauma with our guest Herbert Dietrich (Department of Psychology) in this class, please write down questions you still have about the concept of (political) trauma, after having read the Matthies-Bonn text.

*Group Presentation VII: Political Polarization and Violence after Mubarak*

The years after Mubarak have led to an increase of violence. Please focus on the polarization between the Egyptian security forces and the Islamist fractions, which led to the Rab'a El Adawayya incidents. Outline how the political situation has developed since then under the current President Sissi. Use the Matthies-Bonn text as a central theoretical reference for your presentation.

*Group Presentation VIII: Approaches to Conflict Transformation after Mubarak*

Despite the Polarization there has been a vast variety of political initiatives that offer third perspectives beyond the strong polarization between the Egyptian military regime and the Muslim Brotherhood. Research initiatives that continue to outline their protest and political visions. Present one or two examples of such initiatives and link them to the theoretical arguments proposed by Lederach. Please let me know which initiatives you want to present one week before the presentation.

*Readings:*

Human Rights Watch (2014): "Summary", *All According to Plan: The Rab'a Massacre and Mass Killings of Protesters in Egypt*, available online at URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/08/12/all-according-to-plan/raba-massacre-and-mass-killings-protesters-egypt>

Ledearch, John Paul (2005): "On Mass and Movement: The Theory of the Critical Yeast", in *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 87-100.

Matthies-Boon, Vivienne (2017): "Shattered worlds: political trauma amongst young activists in post-revolutionary Egypt", in *The Journal of African Studies*, available online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2017.1295855>.

Excursion to Cairo 2017-05-19-26

In the framework of this excursion, students will have the opportunity to deepen the contents of the class in dialogue with colleagues, politicians, journalists and activists in Cairo. This is an opportunity to get to know the political system of Egypt in a group of colleagues and peers.

The students will develop a basic knowledge about the political system of Egypt. They will be able to critically analyze and contextualize the revolutionary processes of the Tahrir movement.

The registration for this excursion will be considered as an expression of interest. The final selection of participants will happen by March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2017 and the registration will be confirmed once the fees participation fees are paid. Therefore please send a half-page motivation letter to [Adham.Hamed@uibk.ac.at](mailto:Adham.Hamed@uibk.ac.at) by March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017. For BA-students an active participation in the seminar "Revolutionary Processes: Tahrir Square and Beyond" is a prerequisite for participating in the excursion. The costs and program of the excursion will be announced by the beginning of summer term 2017.

Session VI: Tue 2017-06-06: Student-facilitated Session & submission deadline for draft seminar papers

This session will be facilitated by the group of colleagues who has participated in the excursion to Cairo. This format will be prepared during the excursion in Cairo.

*Submission deadline of a draft version of your course papers (2017-06-13 for excursion participants) – you will be welcome to consult me for personal feedback if you submit a hardcopy draft and request an appointment along with your submission. Please add the draft version of your paper to your portfolio.*

Session VII: Tue 2017-06-20: Beyond Tahrir Square

Depending on the interests of the class we will talk about the prospects of protest in Egypt as well as other regional cases for protest movements. Hence, the readings for this final class will be assigned later during the semester. There will also be space for final questions, feedback and reflection about the content of the class.