



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Education Programs application guidelines at

<http://www.neh.gov/grants/education/summer-seminars-and-institutes>

for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Education Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: Roots of the Arab Spring

Institution: University of California, Davis

Project Director: Omnia El Shakry

Grant Program: Summer Seminars and Institutes for School Teachers

TABLE OF CONTENTS

National Endowment for the Humanities
Summer Institutes for School Teachers

**Roots of the Arab Spring:
Understanding the Historical Context for the Arab Uprisings**

University of California, Davis

Narrative	2
<i>Intellectual Rationale</i>	2
<i>Project Content and Implementation</i>	5
<i>Project Faculty and Staff</i>	15
<i>Participant Selection</i>	18
<i>Professional Development</i>	19
<i>Institutional Context</i>	19
 Budget and Budget Narrative	 22
 Appendices	 23
Appendix A: Schedule/Expanded Study Plans	24
Appendix B: Reading List and Filmography	33
Appendix C: Curricula Vitae	
Director Omnia El Shakry	36
The History Project Team	42
Distinguished Faculty	48
Appendix D: Letters of Commitment	
Director Omina El Shakry	58
The UC Davis History Project on behalf of the Project Team	59
Distinguished Faculty	60
Appendix E: Sample Publicity Ad for <i>Social Education</i>	65
Appendix F: Referee Information	66

Roots of the Arab Spring: Understanding the Historical Context for the Arab Uprisings NEH Summer Institute for Teachers, UC Davis Proposal

Intellectual rationale

One decade after the tragic events of September 11, 2001 and amidst a climate of increasing Islamophobia, the U.S. media found itself scrambling, to understand and explain events in the Arab world from Morocco to Bahrain. When the Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings of 2011 began, media pundits, friends, and colleagues milled about in search of apt metaphors to describe the mass protests and revolutions in the Arab world. In so far as history was mobilized in these discussions, it was generally as repetition or analogy. Hence people compared the Arab uprisings to the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, the Iranian Revolution, Tiananmen Square, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and Egypt's own 1952 revolution. But did these vivid comparisons conceal more than they revealed? Indeed, one could argue that one of the most striking aspects of the contemporary discussions surrounding Mubarak's Egypt, Ben Ali's Tunisia, and Assad's Syria was the absence of any real sense of history. It is simply not enough to fill this void with rhetorical comparisons. As we reflect on the Arab Spring—a time of great hope, and yet also of ongoing injustice and tragedy—it behooves us to educate ourselves about the peoples and histories of the Middle East region.

The proposed summer institute “Roots of the Arab Spring” will bring together teachers and scholars in order to investigate the historical, social, economic, and cultural dimensions of the so-called Arab Spring, the revolutionary wave of protests and uprisings sweeping through the Arab World, which began with Tunisia in December of 2010. The summer institute will explore the way in which relations between rulers and ruled have been structured historically throughout the 20th century Arab world, with special attention drawn to the 2011 revolutions as marking a radical attempt at transforming the nature of those relations. The revolutions thus have much to teach us about other cross-cultural perspectives and intellectual traditions of political activism and democratic engagement. It is our belief that a deeper understanding of these events can speak, as well, to

American debates about democracy and the nature of civic participation at home and abroad, thereby bridging cultures and societies.

Focusing by and large on Egypt, with comparative reference to Tunisia and Syria, we seek to work with schoolteachers on the following:

1. To understand the historical roots of the Arab Spring within the context of Modern Middle East history: the history of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism, histories of class struggle, and relations between rulers and ruled in these countries.
2. To utilize the Arab Spring as a unique prism through which to understand historical and contemporary forces shaping the modern Middle East: globalization and neo-liberalism, the so-called 'youth bulge,' worker and labor union activism, the rise of political Islam, the growth of military industrial complexes, gender struggles, and popular cultural resistance.
3. To grasp the world historical significance of the Arab revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia and Syria in order to situate them within the larger historical context of modern revolutions and uprisings against entrenched regimes.

We will explore the development and meaning of the uprisings in their contemporary context, but with an eye towards understanding the historical antecedents that led to the uprisings in the first place.

Much media analysis on the Arab Spring has focused on the economic unrest of the contemporary period. While an understanding of the processes of privatization, economic marginalization, consumerism, and structural adjustment that we refer to as "neo-liberalism" is crucial to understanding the contemporary unfolding of events, particularly in terms of the existence of vast economic inequalities and impoverished masses, a focus on neo-liberalism alone fails to address the question of the historical relationship in Egypt between ruler and ruled. What would a

longer-term historical perspective, a deeper structural view of the events in the Arab Spring look like?

Indeed, the revolutionary ferment in the Middle East is incomprehensible without a longer historical background stretching back throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Two historical examples will serve to illustrate the significance of a longer perspective: the significance of the date of the Egyptian revolution and the significance of the uprisings in the city of Suez. The Egyptian revolution broke out on 25 January, Police Day, which was very recently made an official state holiday to commemorate 25 January 1952, the date of the Battle of Ismailia, in which Egyptian police officers in the city of Ismailia had battled against British colonial occupation soldiers. By 2011 the police were no longer associated in the collective consciousness with patriotism, national honor, and the defense of the people. Our institute will explore what transpired between 1952 and 2011 for such a transformation to have taken place. Similarly, the city of Suez, Egypt was the site of the most intense battles between pro-democracy forces in Egypt and the Mubarak regime. Why Suez? Suez itself is a city saturated with political history and cultural meaning—the canal represents the intersection of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism, as well as globalization and modernity. Digging for the canal began in 1859 under the auspices of French colonial interests at a time when canals embodied the dream of a globally interconnected world through the triumph of technology, 125,000 Egyptians lost their lives in the process. On July 26, 1956—one century later—Gamal Abdel-Nasser announced to an exuberant crowd in Alexandria the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Since that time Suez, a city associated with both nationalism and global capitalism, has been the site of intense labor activism and a high degree of worker consciousness among canal workers. The city's eruption in January 2011 came as no surprise to those with a sense of history.

A word on geographical scope: 'Bully' and 'bunker' states: In order to allow for both depth and breadth, the institute will focus primarily on Egypt, with comparative reference to Tunisia and Syria.

Why Egypt? Egypt is an instructive case study for numerous reasons. In addition to being the most populous country in the Arab world, it was the site of the first colonial conquest of an Arab country under Napoleon Bonaparte, followed by its colonization by the British in 1882; the 1952 military coup under Gamal Abdel-Nasser established Egypt as a republic and also achieved complete national independence from the British, providing a model of third world nationalism and anti-colonial struggle; and to date its military-industrial complex is among the largest in the region. Egypt, under Sadat and Mubarak from the 1970s to 2011, provides an example of a polity that Moore and Springborg (2010: 67-69) refer to as a “bully praetorian state,” a state which integrates elements of civil society and rational-legal legitimacy, but which is nonetheless ruled by elites whose authority derives from the military/security/party apparatus, and in which rulers lack legitimacy from the population they rule. We will compare Egypt to Tunisia, another “bully” state, seven times less populous, yet economically more successful than Egypt. Tunisia, like Egypt, is characterized by state-based patronage networks, an overgrown government, and widespread economic liberalization; but differs in its proximity to Europe, and its distance from the Arab-Israeli conflict and therefore from U.S. interests in the region. Syria will be our contrasting example, providing an example of a polity that Moore and Springborg (2010: 113-14) refer to as a “bunker state,” or a state that typically lacks autonomy from the traditional social forces (tribes, clans, sects) that managed the transition from colonialism to nationalism. Bunker states are characterized by a greater degree of violence and coercion and often exist in a state of war with the societies they rule. Army officers drawn from the Alawi religious minority, who had formed the foundation of the French colonial military forces, have ruled Syria since the 1960s. Exigencies of family, clan, tribe, and religious sect have therefore played an inordinate role in Syrian politics and in the military and security apparatus. The striking similarities and vast differences between these three nations played out very clearly throughout the

course of the uprisings in terms of the degree of violence present, the absence or presence of sectarianism, and the extent of international involvement, and will be pedagogically instructive.

Project Content and Implementation:

The three-week summer institute will meet Monday through Friday in morning and afternoon sessions (*See Appendix A, page 25, for the Extended Study Plans – schedule, readings, films, and questions*).

Each week will explore one of the following themes: “Colonialism, Anti-Colonial Nationalism, and Decolonization,” “Postcolonialism and Neoliberalism,” and “The Revolutions.” In the mornings, scholars will provide academic talks grounded in current scholarship, address focus questions, and lead discussions of the assigned readings. Afternoons will offer continuations of the scholar-led discussions and workshops by leaders of The History Project (HP) at the University of California, Davis that will connect the content to the classroom and offer instructional strategies designed to support participants in developing lessons that apprentice students to think historically. The late afternoons, evenings, weekends, and one full day, will be reserved for participants to read, maintain their portfolios, and work on their curriculum projects with support from scholars, HP leaders, and summer institute colleagues.

Background and prior knowledge: Our proposed summer institute will assume no prior background on the part of teachers. Upon acceptance, participants will receive our two textbooks: William Cleveland’s canonical work which discusses Egypt and Syria in-depth, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, and Kenneth Perkin’s *A History of Modern Tunisia* with additional selections from Akram Khater’s edited collection of primary sources, *Sources in the History of the Modern Middle East*. These three sources provide an overview of the key historical developments of the 20th century and will be read and discussed throughout the program to provide teachers with the historical context needed for more in-depth content exploration and document analysis.

Day 1/Monday – Welcome & Overview: Director Omnia El Shakry and Pamela Tindall will welcome participants and layout the goals and logistics of the institute. Following the welcome, El Shakry will provide a conceptual overview of the key historical concepts that will be utilized in the workshop, defining key terms such as colonialism, anti-colonial nationalism, postcolonialism, globalization, and neo-liberalism. We will outline the historical landscape of the modern Middle East in broad brushstrokes, with a focus on the historical periods of most relevance to the modern period. The keynote address, pre-institute reading assignments, and the collegial discussions of readings in week one all aim to bolster participants' background knowledge; it will provide the necessary intellectual foundation for the remaining weeks of study. Research shows that the most effective teachers have a strong command of their subject matter and communicate that material to their students with enthusiasm. The understanding participants derive from *Roots of the Arab Spring* will ensure that they return to their classroom so equipped. Before adjourning for the first day, HP leaders will introduce the online portfolio component and outline expectations for curriculum projects.

Day 2/Tuesday – Thematic Overview: Colonialism, Anti-colonial Nationalism, &

Decolonization: Beginning, briefly, with the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, we will explore European colonialism and its aftermath in North Africa and the Levant in this morning session. European colonialism was extensive and spanned the French occupation of Algeria in 1830, Tunisia in 1881, Morocco in 1912, and Syria in 1920, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, and the Italian occupation of Libya in 1934. We will explore the main characteristics and consequences of colonialism, particularly with respect to the development of capitalism in the region and the consolidation of an indigenous elite beholden to European political and economic interests. We will also explore the development of nationalism in the region that, by necessity, created an antagonistic relationship to the European colonial powers, a process known as anti-colonial nationalism. Finally,

we will explore if and how the relationship between rulers and ruled changed once the European ruling colonial class was replaced with indigenous nationalist leaders during the period of decolonization.

Day 2/Tuesday Continued – Colonialism and Anti-Colonial Nationalism: In the afternoon we will more closely analyze the expansion of European colonialism and global capitalism as significant forces shaping the Middle East region during the late 19th- and 20th-centuries. How did colonialism and capitalism influence the formation of modernity and the circulation of political ideas in the region? What types of class relations, between elites and non-elites, rulers and ruled, were forged and under what conditions? What is anticolonial nationalism and how does it differ from nationalism? We will pay close attention to the vibrant interwar period 1919-1939 and its attendant regional anti-colonial uprisings, as well as the key social players in anticolonial nationalist movements, such as Young Egypt, The Egyptian Feminist Union, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other political and social organizations. We will read primary source selections by key Arab nationalist, feminist, and Islamist thinkers from Khater's *Sources in the History of the Modern Middle East*, such as Taha Husayn, Bahithat al-Badiya, and Hasan al-Banna. Khater's primary source book is unique in that it brings texts translated from numerous Middle Eastern languages to an English audience, specifically with the intent of bringing both dominant and marginalized perspectives, such as those of women and ethnic and religious minorities, to its readers. Project staff will facilitate small group work with primary sources, modeling analysis strategies that may be useful to participating teachers in their own classrooms.

Day 3/Wednesday – Decolonization: Covering the period spanning the 1940s to the early 1970s, this session will examine specific examples of decolonization, with a particular focus on Egypt's 1952 revolution and the 1956 Suez Canal crisis. Both events highlight the significance of Cold War politics, the politics of non-alignment, and Third World solidarity movements, to the protracted

process of decolonization in the Middle East. They also allow a discussion of the significance of military coups in 20th century Middle East history, as well as struggles against military authoritarianism and the history of dissent and popular uprisings. We will read a compendium of primary sources on the history of the Suez Canal, including numerous letters from its architect Ferdinand de Lesseps, as well as documents on the original French concession. We will watch the Egyptian feature film *Nasser '56* that deals with the nationalization of the Suez canal and the political crisis and tripartite military attack that ensued. The film, released in 1996, provides a window into Egyptian perceptions of the historic moment of nationalization.

Day 4/Thursday – Cultural Politics of Nationalism: Nationalism is most often associated with political processes, but it is as much a cultural product as anything else. Professor Noha Radwan will guide our exploration of the cultural contours of Egyptian nationalism, as well as pan-Arabism, which has received a renewed impulse during the Arab Spring. We will introduce the key literary figures of Egyptian nationalism, writers such as Tawfiq al-Hakim, and Naguib Mahfouz. In addition, we will examine cultural icons like the diva of modern Arabic music, Umm Kulthum, whose music became intimately connected to pan-Arab nationalism and to Nasserism in the 1950s and 1960s. We will screen Michal Goldman's documentary, *Umm Kulthum: A Voice like Egypt*, which interweaves the history of 20th century Egypt with Umm Kulthum's biography, and will give participants a visual and acoustic sense of the cultural contours of nationalism. Project staff will lead a discussion about using film and music in secondary instruction.

Day 5/Friday – Gender and Nationalism: The prominence of women in the Egyptian and Tunisian revolution prompted numerous questions regarding the place of women, gender politics, and gender struggles in earlier periods of Egyptian and Tunisian history. In this session Professor Suad Joseph will examine the long history of Arab feminism, especially in Egypt and Tunisia, throughout the 20th century, overviewing the variety of struggles that took place between feminists,

the state, and patriarchal structures within society. We will read works that critically analyze the relationship between feminist activists (both secular and Islamist) and so-called “state feminism” in Egypt and Tunisia, for example by Leila Ahmed (*Women, Gender, and Islam*) and Laurie Brand (*Women, the State, and Political Liberalization*). We will screen Moufida Tlatli’s cinematic exploration of the lived nature of patriarchy in Tunisia in her *Les Silences du Palais* (1994) an exploration of the persistence of the old code of the *droit de seigneur* (“right of the lord”) at the close of the colonial era.

Day 6/Monday – Week 2 Thematic Overview: Postcolonialism and Neoliberalism: Beginning in the early 1970s, this unit will explore the meaning and history of neoliberalism in North Africa as a crucial context for the Arab uprisings. “Neo-liberalism” encompasses privatization of the state sector, the influx of foreign capital, and structural adjustment policies instituted by the International Monetary Fund. Neo-liberalism, many argue, has led to the retreat of the state sector, the elimination of many of the safety net social welfare benefits won by the working classes in the period immediately after colonialism, and to the impoverishment of the demographic masses. The immense polarization of wealth, exacerbated since the structural adjustment policies of the 1990s, has left many in Egypt and Tunisia consumed to search for food, shelter and human dignity. For example, an estimated 40% of Egyptians live below or near the poverty line.

Day 6/Monday Continued – The Political Economy of Neoliberalism: This session will describe the effects of neoliberalism in Egypt and Tunisia, as well as its attendant economic underpinnings. We will explore a focus on the structural implications of neoliberal policies, such as the retreat of elements of the state sector (housing, medicine, and agriculture, etc.) and the expansion of other sectors (military and policing). We will read Moore and Springborg’s chapter on “Bully praetorian states” which outlines developments in Egypt and Tunisia under neo-liberalism; Timothy Mitchell’s, “America’s Egypt” which explores the economic development industry in Egypt

and its relationship to food security and income distribution; and Asef Bayat's, "Cairo's Poor," which provides a glimpse into the everyday survival strategies and struggles of Cairo's poor.

Day 7/Tuesday: *The Rise of Political Islam:* The rise of political Islam has coincided with the neo-liberal period. Professor Flagg Miller will explore a variety of Islamist movements in the region, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Al-Qa'ida, and introduce teachers to the multiple interpretations of political Islam as a phenomenon, including sociological, religious, and economic explanations. We will read Charles Hirschkind's "What is Political Islam?" and Mona El-Ghobashy's "The Metamorphosis of the Muslim Brothers," which provides key historical context for Egypt's Muslim Brothers and chronicles their ideological and organizational shifts, while presenting various interpretations for their popularity and significance. We will screen Atef Hetata's depiction of the lure of Islamism for young men in the face of closed economic and social opportunities in Egypt in *The Closed Doors*.

Day 8/Wednesday: *Cultures of Dissent:* In the morning, we will explore the numerous artistic cultures of dissent that have flourished since the 1970s. We will read, for example, prominent Egyptian novelist and intellectual Sonallah Ibrahim's renowned 1981 novel, *The Committee*, which was originally banned in Egypt, because of its a searing commentary on political repression in the context of a global capitalism run amok. We will read selections from Lisa Wedeen's political ethnography of power in Syria during the late 1980s and early 1990s, *Ambiguities of Domination*, which explores the meaning and nature of Hafez al-Assad's cult of personality in Syria. In the afternoon, HP leaders will demonstrate interactive ways to support students' analysis of primary sources and assist teachers in enhancing their Tumblr portfolios.

Day 9/Thursday: *Youth Culture and Neo-liberalism:* The revolutions in the Arab world were aptly named youth revolutions due to the fact they were most often spearheaded by young men and women. This was partly a reflection of a demographic youth bulge and its attendant social

dynamism, in which a majority of citizens is below the age of 25 (for example more than half the population of Egypt, 52.3%, is under 25); and partly a reflection of economic and political frustrations targeting unemployment and political repression. Professors Susan Miller and El Shakry will introduce teachers to the diverse cross-section of youth-oriented expression in the Middle East. Musically, it takes the form of both hip hop and metal. Similarly, we will explore the widespread and savvy use of new social media tools like Facebook. We will explore youth culture through cinema in *The Microphone* a film that centers on the underground art scene in Alexandria, Egypt and *I Love Hip Hop in Morocco*.

Day 10/Friday: Supported Participant Work Time: This Friday is devoted to providing space, time, and support for teachers to make self-directed progress on their portfolios and curriculum projects. HP leaders will offer research support in Shields library, technological support in a computer lab, and instructional support in a classroom. Participants may use this time to further their reading, collaborate with colleagues, consult with scholars, or plan curriculum. We find that teachers need at least one extended period of uninterrupted time to work and carefully reflect on their learning.

Day 11/Monday – Week 3 Thematic Overview: The Revolutions

El Shakry will offer a brief overview of the main long-term causes, catalysts, events, social actors, and political agents of the revolutions themselves. Tellingly, at the heart of all three revolutions to be discussed, lies the burned or mutilated dead body of young male citizen. This segment will explore the revolutions, like all democratic activities, as ongoing processes and unfinished projects that sought to radically transform the relationship between rulers and ruled. Although there remains great uncertainty about outcomes, and even criticisms leveled against these movements, especially as popular uprisings turn to the difficult task of governing, we will focus on early developments and update as they unfold. Our readings for this theme (*see Appendix A*) will center on contemporary

pieces written during and after the revolutions, such as Paul Amar's "Why Mubarak is Out," and Amy Aisen Kallandar's "Tunisia's Post Ben Ali Challenge: A Primer," as well as historian James Gelvin's *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know*. We will analyze primary source documents from the Egyptian revolution (tahrirdocuments.org) collectively and watch the documentary *Tahrir 2011* that recounts the tumultuous 18 days in Tahrir square prior to Mubarak's ouster.

Day 11/Monday Continued – Tunisia: On 17 December 2010 a young street vendor, Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest of the ill treatment he had received from a municipal official who had confiscated his wares. This tragic self-immolation set off a chain of events (culminating in the ousting of Zine El Abidin Ben Ali 28 days later on 14 January) that scarcely could have been predicted a few years earlier. Ben Ali's iron rule entailed unprecedented corruption and was the culmination of one-party system that can be traced back to Habib Bourguiba (1956-87), but which under ben Ali had used state based patronage networks to acquire extravagant personal family wealth. Meanwhile, ordinary Tunisian citizens were kept in check by a regime of near constant surveillance by bloated police and security apparatuses. Professor Susan Miller will guide our study of these events.

Day 12/Tuesday – Egypt: El Shakry will explain the events beginning on 6 June 2010, when Khaled Said, a young man from Alexandria, was dragged out of an internet café and beaten to death by two security officials trying to arrest him. The Khaled Said case galvanized public opinion, in part, through the creation of a Facebook group called "We are all Khaled Said" and was a strong impetus for the January revolution in Egypt which began on 25 January 2011 and flourished in earnest on 28 January 2011. Activists, young and old, and ordinary citizens gathered in Tahrir square and called for an end to Mubarak, an end to the emergency laws that had strangled political expression in Egypt since 1981, and a new constitution guaranteeing elections and the curtailment of political power. Although marked by a large degree of spontaneity, the revolution itself was

orchestrated by labor movements and new social movements galvanized, only in part, by new social media. It was the culmination of a national atmosphere in which numerous social groups and political coalitions had been calling for change for a number of years.

Day 13/Wednesday – Syria: Professor Keith Watenpaugh will lead our discussion of the events in Syria in contrast to those in Egypt and Tunisia. On 27 May 2011 the brutally mutilated body of Hamza al-Khatib, a 13 year old boy picked up by Syrian security forces on 27 April, was returned to his family. The resultant outrage at the Assad regime consolidated the Syrian uprisings and protests into a mass movement. The Syrian uprising provides a counterbalancing example to Egypt and Tunisia for a number of reasons: it is an example of hereditary power transmission, as Bashar al-Assad inherited power after Hafez al-Assad's (his father), death in 2000; Syria's rule by the Baath party will provide an example of one party rule by a secular, socialist party with a long history in Middle East politics both in Syria and Iraq; Syria has been under 48 years of emergency rule, vesting almost total power in the President and the state's military-security apparatus—one of the longest periods of emergency rule in the region; the Syrian Baath party has been dominated by a single religious minority group the Alawites, and will thus shed light on questions of the role of sectarianism in political life; and finally, Syria provides a noteworthy example of the attempt of a state sponsored cult of personality of the leader.

Day 14/Thursday – Reflecting on the Arab Spring and Democratic Uprisings: Omnia El Shakry, Susan Miller, and Keith Watenpaugh will inaugurate a panel discussion and guide the group to reflect on the Arab Spring revolutions in Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria. Our guiding questions will be: What can we learn from the Arab Spring revolutions? Can they be called revolutions? What are the conflicting interpretations of these events? What political struggles does the region continue to face two years later? To what extent have these revolutions actually transformed relations between rulers

and ruled? What is left unrealized? Following lunch, participants will present their projects to the group.

Day 15/Friday – Closing Activities: In the morning, teachers will continue to present their projects. On their completion, El Shakry will help the group review and discuss what we have learned about the three themes from *The Roots of the Arab Spring*: Colonialism, Anti-Colonial Nationalism, and Decolonization; Postcolonialism and Neoliberalism; and the Revolutions. HP leaders will contribute to the discussion by exploring how we can best implement the institute’s content in our classrooms. Finally, we will conduct written and oral evaluations and feedback to close the institute.

Portfolios and Projects

Throughout the workshop, participants will develop a portfolio where they will collect, share, and discuss resources using the blogging platform Tumblr. Tumblr provides the simplest-to-use interface and will give participants the opportunity to experiment with an online project in a supportive environment. From the web browser of any computer, from a smart phone, or via email, participants will be able to post images, text, video, and their own writing. In effect, Tumblr enables us to build a collective resource pool, an annotated bibliography, and discussion forum.

In addition, Tumblr will provide a portal for timely feedback on all institute activities. Participants will respond to questions, reflect on their learning, and share ideas. While our project website will offer a stable warehouse for materials and the option to password protect copyrighted materials, Tumblr offers a dynamic and interactive platform for collaboration and peer review.

Participants will use the resources on the project website along with resources and writings compiled through the Tumblr sites to transform their institute experience into a product that is directly applicable to their teaching. Each participant will create a lesson or unit plan using materials and understanding from the institute. They will share this plan at the end of the institute. In the

month following the institute, all summer scholars will polish and post their lessons to their Tumblr site and will review and comment on at least two of their peers'. In the six months following the institute, each participant will revise their lesson plans in response to peer review, feedback from institute staff, and classroom testing. Final projects will be posted to the main Tumblr site and to the university-hosted website so they can be accessed by anyone interested in the project.

Dissemination: Our institute website [<http://arabspring.ucdavis.edu>] will morph into a website to document the legacy of this institute, to inform an interested public, and to disseminate summer scholars' curriculum projects following the institute. The site will be maintained and hosted by the UC Davis History Project for the foreseeable future.

Project Faculty and Staff

Director: Omnia El Shakry (Associate Professor of History, University of California, Davis) is an internationally recognized scholar of modern Middle Eastern history, specializing in the cultural and political history of 20th century Egypt. She is the author of *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt* (Stanford University Press, 2007), and numerous articles on the history of Egyptian social science, gender and youth politics, urbanism, and visual culture. Her article, "Egypt's Three Revolutions: The Force of History Behind this Popular Uprising," provided much needed historical background on the Egyptian revolution of 2011 and was published in five languages. Her teaching, centered on Modern Middle East and World History, overlaps completely with that of the fields covered in the summer institute and she has collaborated with the History Project on a number of teacher training projects. As an historian of 20th century Egypt who is also a Cairo native, she is both personally and professionally connected to Egypt, and travels to Cairo every year.

The History Project Team will ensure that participating teachers, the Director, and contributing scholars will have adequate support to carry out all activities and will provide specific attention and

support to translating the experience into classroom applications, assuring that teachers will benefit both intellectually and professionally. Director of The History Project, **Pamela Tindall** brings expertise in running grant-funded programs, having overseen The History Project's work on grants from the U.S. Department of Education, the California Post-Secondary Education Commission, the Conference on Jewish Claims against Germany, and the Spencer Foundation, as well as a materials development grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Coordinator **Stacey Greer's** experience with recruiting teachers and planning high-quality programs including a prior 3-day symposium on the Middle East with Dr. El Shakry will be critical to the success of our workshop. Coordinator **Phillip Barron** is experienced in using digital tools for humanistic enterprises and will be vital to supporting the workshop's website and teachers' use of technology. Additionally, we will be joined by one of HP's talented master teachers with a strong background in professional development leadership, particularly in coaching participants.

Distinguished Faculty

Susan Gilson Miller is an Associate Professor of History and historian of North African and Mediterranean history, with a special interest in Jewish history. She will address Tunisia in our institute. She has taught at Wellesley College, Brandeis University, and from 1990 until 2008, at Harvard University, where she headed the Program in North African Studies. She is currently working on a new book tentatively entitled: "The Making of Modern Morocco: 1820-2000" (Cambridge University Press), a study of contemporary Moroccan history in its global context.

Noha Radwan is an Assistant Professor of Arabic and Comparative Literature. She will discuss the cultural politics of nationalism with the summer scholars. Radwan's interests include modern Middle Eastern literature in Arabic and Hebrew and postcolonial literature in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia. Her book manuscript, *Egyptian Colloquial Poetry in the Literary Canon*, is forthcoming from Palgrave Macmillan.

Suad Joseph, a Professor of Anthropology and Women & Gender Studies, has written extensively on gender in the Middle East. She will discuss gender and nationalism with our summer scholars. Her edited book, *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (2000, Syracuse U.P), was translated into Arabic and used as module in training activist feminist leaders in Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen, and Morocco. As the General Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures* (Brill 2003-present) she is also recognized as a leading international expert on comparative and cross-cultural studies of these issues. As co-founder of the Women and Gender Studies Program and founder of the Middle East/South Asia Studies Program at UC Davis, she also has enormous experience in curriculum development.

Flagg Miller is an Associate Professor of Religious Studies and Director of the Middle East/South Asia Studies Program at the University of California, Davis. He specializes in political discourse, Islam, and media on the Arabian Peninsula and will discuss Political Islam with our group of summer scholars. His current book projects focus on the roles of language ideology and poetry in contemporary Muslim reform in the Middle East. Part of this project involves his research on a collection of over 1500 audiocassette tapes formerly owned by Osama Bin Laden, and includes an original analysis of Bin Laden's 1996 Declaration of War. He has lived and studied in the Middle East and North Africa for over four years, including Tunisia, Syria, and Yemen.

Keith David Watenpaugh is a historian and Associate Professor of Modern Islam, Human Rights & Peace who teaches in the Religious Studies program. Princeton University Press published his first book, *Being Modern in the Middle East*, a social history of the Syrian middle Class, and he will speak to our summer scholars about the Syrian revolution. He has written articles for the *American Historical Review*, the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Social History*, and *Middle East Report*, and his work has been translated into Arabic, French, German and Persian. Trained at UCLA, he has lived and conducted research in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and Iraq.

Participant Selection

We will attract a sizeable pool of qualified applicants from across the nation by coordinating a multi-pronged publicity campaign. The History Project routinely networks with other humanities education leaders across the nation; they will share workshop information with their contacts. We will post application information on relevant online discussion networks including several of the Humanities and Social Sciences Online (H-Net) lists. Additionally, we have prepared an advertisement for *Social Education*, a publication of the National Council for the Social Studies (*see Appendix E, page 65*). The November/December 2012 issue will be distributed at its national conference planned for Seattle in November of 2012 as well as by mail to its more than 24,000 subscribers. All announcements will direct interested teachers to the website we have established to recruit participants, support professional learning, and disseminate materials. The site [<http://arab.spring.ucdavis.edu>]—currently under development—will serve as a central location for publicity, institute details, and application directions. The site will continue to grow, hosting relevant information and materials for participants before, during, and following the summer program.

Our selection committee comprised of Project Director Omnia El Shakry, Professor Susan Miller, HP Director Pam Tindall, and one of HP's master teachers with NEH experience, will review applicants' essays, résumés, and letters of recommendation as proscribed by NEH. The committee members will consider applicants with an emphasis on excellence in teaching, as well as diversity in grade levels, geographic location, and degree of teaching experience. They will also seek applicants with intellectual desire, a range of teaching and professional development experience, commitment to fulfilling the academic and curricular expectations of the institute, and need for the opportunities provided by the institute.

Professional Development Credit

Upon completion of the institute, participants will be awarded certificates documenting attendance and specifying contact hours. Teachers can use this information along with the course syllabus to earn professional development credit from their home school districts and/or CEU certification. We will also have the course approved for academic credit through UC Davis Extension; teachers interested in earning academic units will pay a fee directly to UCD Extension.

Institutional Context

Founded in 1905, UC Davis is known for its academic excellence and global impact. Two important assets make UCD an ideal institutional host for *Roots of the Arab Spring*: the concentration of Middle East scholars and significant experience in providing professional development to teachers. Five professors in our history department focus on various aspects of the Middle East and North Africa, the most concentrated number of Middle East historians in any UC history department. In addition, UCD is host to the Middle East/South Asia (ME/SA) Studies program, of which Dr. El Shakry is a founding member. The ME/SA program is home to an astonishing 30 interdisciplinary scholars who work on the Middle East/South Asia region. We have selected the scholars whose teaching and research bears directly on the Arab Spring.

For over two decades, The History Project at UC Davis (HP) has coordinated the History Department's outreach efforts and provided exceptional professional development to Northern California history teachers. Serving approximately 400 teachers a year, HP serves as the link between K-12 schools and the academy, informing classroom practice through scholarly research to meet the needs of teachers and their students. HP has the infrastructure to coordinate the *Roots of Arab Spring* institute and to manage grant funds responsibly as demonstrated by successful service on multiple federal, state, local, and private grants.

The UC Davis campus will provide state-of-the-art meeting facilities for the three-week institute including substantial space for whole-group activities and seminar rooms for break-out groups. Participants will have easy access to Shields Library with its approximately two million bound volumes, to resources held at all University of California libraries, and to extensive electronic collections to conduct research to supplement the materials provided at the summer institute. Participants will also have access to the campus's wireless network for the duration of their stay at UC Davis.

Participants will have their choice of affordable accommodations. The campus offers unique cluster-style lodging for \$81 per night which includes three-meals per day and passes to the campus recreational facilities and pool. There are also a number of reasonably-priced accommodations in downtown Davis, within walking distance of campus. The campus is a 30-minute drive from the Sacramento International Airport, and roughly 90-minutes from two Bay Area airports (Oakland and San Francisco). An Amtrak station is located on the edge of downtown Davis.

The University is the heart of the bicycle- and pedestrian-friendly town and is surrounded by coffee shops, book stores, sidewalk cafes, restaurants, and art galleries. We will provide a robust list of recommendations including information about the rich cultural resources for evening and weekend activities in Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area. For night-time diversion, the UC Davis Mondavi Center for the Performing Arts offers programming year-round that includes music and dance performances, literary events, and educational seminars.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Roots of the Arab Spring: Understanding the Historical Context for the Arab Uprisings

Appendix A: Schedule/Expanded Study Plans	25
Appendix B: Reading List and Filmography	33
Appendix C: Curricula Vitae	
Director Omnia El Shakry	36
The History Project Team	
Phillip Barron	42
Stacey Greer	44
Pamela Tindal	46
Distinguished Faculty	
Suad Joseph	48
Flagg Miller	50
Susan Gilson Miller	52
Noha Radwan	54
Keith Watenpaugh	56
Appendix D: Letters of Commitment	
Director Omina El Shakry	58
The UC Davis History Project on behalf of the Project Team	59
Distinguished Faculty	
Suad Joseph	60
Flagg Miller	61
Susan Gilson Miller	62
Noha Radwan	63
Keith Watenpaugh	64
Appendix E: Sample Publicity Ad for <i>Social Education</i>	65
Appendix F: Referee Information	66

UC Davis Roots of the Arab Spring Extended Study Plans

The following schedule provides an overview of the topics addressed in each day of the three-week summer institute, the general flow of activities, and the readings associated with each day. Institute readings include articles and selected chapters—some considered classics, some very recent interpretations. Together, they provide valuable background and varying perspectives on our topic.

Required readings should be read in advance of the workshop. Recommended readings are optional; you may refer to them as appropriate to your curriculum project or interest.

Our two textbooks, Cleveland's *A History of the Modern Middle East* and Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* will be sent to you upon acceptance. Similarly the course reader containing the remainder of the readings will be available to download from the project's website at that time. If you prefer hard copies, we will take orders for printed and bound readers. The materials will be sent to you by May 31 and the costs—estimated at \$75—will be taken out of your stipend before it is processed.

Additional handouts—mostly primary sources and curriculum support—will be posted on the project website and handed out over the course of our time together.

Week 1 Theme: Colonialism, Anti-Colonial Nationalism, and Decolonization

Day 1, Monday July 15: Summer Institute Overview

9:00 – 9:30 Welcome and Orientation to Institute, Omnia El Shakry and Pamela Tindall

9:30 – 12:00: Conceptual Overview, El Shakry

Required Advance Readings:

- William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, ch. 4-6
- Akram Khater, *Sources in the history of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 10-21, 29-35
- Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, ch. 1-2
- Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, pp. 1-18, 77-89

Recommended Advance Readings:

- Cleveland, ch. 1-3

- Advance readings for Day 1 will introduce participants to the nineteenth century Ottoman context of the Middle East, an empire that encompassed Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria. All three readings emphasize the significance of this wider Ottoman context, while pointing to the modernizing reforms that swept through the empire, as a result of European colonialism, global capitalism, and centrifugal forces of change. Primary source readings include a series of Ottoman decrees detailing the reforms, and Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani's (an Islamic reformer) 1883 response to Ernest Renan's criticism of Islam. Albert Memmi's text is a poetic meditation by a Tunisian Jew on the fraught nature of the relationship between colonizer and colonized.

12:00-1:30: Lunch and Networking

1:00 – 3:00: Introduce and Begin Participation Activities (Tumblr) & Final Project, History Project Team (HP)

Day 2, Tuesday July 16: Colonial and Anti-Colonial Nationalism

9:00– 11:30: Weekly Thematic Overview, El Shakry

Questions for Discussion:

- How and when did the European powers colonize North Africa and the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
- What were the main characteristics and consequences of colonialism?
- What were indigenous peoples' reactions to European colonialism?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00– 3:00: Colonial and Anti-Colonial Nationalism, El Shakry and HP

Questions for Discussion:

- How did colonialism and capitalism influence the formation of modernity and the circulation of political ideas in the region?
- What types of class relations, between elites and non-elites, rulers and ruled, were forged and under what conditions?
- What is anti-colonial nationalism and how does it differ from nationalism?
- What different types of nationalism emerged in Egypt and the Arab world?

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Cleveland, ch. 9, 11-12.
- Khater, pp. 66-77, 91-100, 162-181.
- Anouar Abdel-Malek ed. *Contemporary Arab Political Thought* pp. 45-47, 88-96, 112-114.

Recommended Readings:

- Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, ch. 3-4
- James Gelvin, "The Social Origins of Popular Nationalism in Syria: Evidence for a New Framework"

- Readings for Day 2 will introduce participants to colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism in Egypt and the Middle East. Cleveland's textbook will provide the historical background from World War I and the end of the Ottoman Order, up through 1945. Primary source readings are carefully selected to include writings from both dominant and marginalized perspectives including: Egyptian nationalists (Taha Husayn, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid); feminists (Qasim Amin, Bahithat al-Badiya); pan-Arabists (Michel Aflaq); Syrian nationalists (Antun Sa'adeh); and Islamists (Hasan al-Banna). Recommended readings provide additional background on Syrian and Tunisian nationalism.

Day 3, Wednesday July 17

9:00 – 11:30: Decolonization, El Shakry

Questions for Discussion:

- What was Egypt's 1952 revolution? Was it a revolution or a military coup?
- Who was Gamal Abdel Nasser and what was his significance to Egypt and to the Arab world?
- What were the significance of cold war politics, the politics of non-alignment, and Third World Solidarity movements to decolonization in the Middle East?
- What role did the military play during this era?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, with HP

Film and Discussion – *Nasser '56*

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Cleveland, ch. 15
- The Suez Canal, Selected Documents, from Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter (eds.) *Archives of Empire, Volume I: From the East India Company to the Suez Canal*, pp. 555-678

Recommended Readings:

- Cleveland, ch. 16
- Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, ch. 5

- Readings for Day 3 will introduce participants to Egypt's 1952 military coup and revolution and to Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, a towering figure of anti-colonial nationalism and the politics of non-alignment during the cold war. Cleveland's textbook will provide the historical background of the main developments in Egypt under Nasser. Primary source readings will focus on the building, opening, and consequences of the Suez Canal, providing much needed background to Nasser's nationalization of the canal in 1956. The film *Nasser '56* narrates the events of the 1956 Suez Canal crisis and the ensuing tripartite attack. Recommended readings provide additional background on developments in the wider Arab world, including Tunisia and Syria, during the Nasser period.

Day 4, Thursday July 17

9:00 – 11:30: Cultural Politics of Nationalism, Noha Radwan

Questions for Discussion:

- What are the cultural politics of nationalism?
- What role did literary figures play in the development of nationalism?
- What role did music and other cultural forms play in Arab nationalism, pan-Arabism, and Nasserism?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, Radwan with HP

Film and Discussion– Michal Goldman, *Umm Kulthum: A Voice like Egypt*

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Naguib Mahfouz, *Modern Egyptian Short Stories (Selections)*
- Tawfiq al-Hakim, *The Essential Tawfiq al-Hakim (Selections)*

Recommended Readings:

- Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt*

- Readings for Day 4 will introduce participants to the cultural politics of nationalism. Through a careful reading of short stories and plays, by Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz and Tawfiq al-Hakim, we will explore how literature promoted various forms of nationalism. The film *Umm Kulthum: A Voice like Egypt*, which interweaves the history of twentieth century Egypt with Umm Kulthum's biography, will give participants a visual and acoustic sense of the cultural contours of nationalism. Recommended readings provide additional background on Umm Kulthum and twentieth century Egyptian cultural history.

Day 5, Friday July 17

9:00 – 11:30: Gender and Nationalism, Suad Joseph

Questions for Discussion:

- What social conditions did Arab women face during the nationalist period?
- What is Arab feminism?
- How did the conditions facing Arab women affect struggles between feminists, the state, and patriarchal structures within society, especially in Egypt and Tunisia?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, Joseph with HP

Film and Discussion – Moufida Tlatli, *Les Silences du Palais*

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Leila Ahmed, *Women, Gender, and Islam*, ch. 9-11
- Laurie Brand, *Women, the State, and Political Liberalization*, ch. 7-9

Recommended Readings:

- Mounira Charrad, "Policy Shifts: State, Islam, and Gender in Tunisia, 1930s-1990s"
- Mervat Hatem, "The Enduring Alliance of Nationalism and Patriarchy in Muslim Feminist Issues"

- Readings for Day 5 will introduce participants to gender and nationalism in the Arab world, especially in Egypt and Tunisia. Ahmed details the history of feminism in Egypt, from the first feminists at the turn of the twentieth century up through the resurgence of veiling in contemporary Egypt. Brand focuses on Tunisia, which is often taken to be the exemplar of state feminism in the Arab world, exploring Bourguiba and his complex legacy. Recommended readings provide additional background on twentieth century Egyptian and Tunisian gender history.

Week 2 Theme: Postcolonialism and Neoliberalism

Day 6, Monday July 22:

9:00 – 11:30: Weekly Thematic Overview, El Shakry

Questions for Discussion:

- What is Neoliberalism?
- What are "Bully" and "Bunker" states?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: The Political Economy of Neoliberalism, El Shakry with HP

Questions for Discussion:

- How did the specific policies of neoliberalism affect Egypt's political structures and economic development?
- How did the specific policies of neoliberalism affect Tunisia's political structures and economic development?
- What is the lived experience of neo-liberalism?

3:00-3:30: Schedule Office Hours with Scholars for Project Advising.

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Henry Clement Moore and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Modern Middle East*, ch. 5
- Timothy Mitchell, "America's Egypt"
- Asef Bayat, "Cairo's Poor"

Recommended Readings:

- Timothy Mitchell, *The Rule of Experts*, ch. 8-9

- Readings for Day 6 will introduce participants to neo-liberalism in Egypt and Tunisia. Moore and Springborg compare and contrast Egypt and Tunisia as examples of bully praetorian states. Mitchell discusses the economic development industry in Egypt and its relationship to food security and income distribution, while Bayat details the lived experience of neo-liberalism by describing the survival strategies and struggles of Cairo's poor. They then contrast these bully states with bunker states of which Syria is an example. Recommended readings provide additional examples of neo-liberal policies in twentieth century Egypt.

Day 7, Tuesday, July 23

9:00 – 11:30: The Rise of Political Islam, Flagg Miller

Questions for Discussion:

- What is political Islam?
- What are the sociological, religious, and economic explanations for political Islam?
- What are key historical examples of Islamist movements and figures in Egypt and the Middle East?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

**1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, Miller with HP
Film and Discussion: Atef Hetata, *The Closed Doors*.**

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Charles Hirschkind, "What is Political Islam?"
- Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Muslim Brothers"
- Khater, 320-331

Recommended Readings:

- Joel Benin and Joe Stork, ed. *Political Islam* (selected essays)

- Readings for Day 7 will introduce participants to political Islam. Hirschkind's piece provides a set of critical questions for thinking about political Islam, while El-Ghobashy's article provides key historical context for Egypt's Muslim Brothers and chronicles their ideological and organizational shifts, while presenting various interpretations for their popularity and significance. Our primary source selection will be from Sayyid Qutb, a key ideologue of political Islam in Egypt and elsewhere. We will screen Atef Hetata's depiction of the lure of Islamism for young men in the face of closed economic and social opportunities in Egypt in *The Closed Doors*. Recommended readings provide additional case studies of political Islam.

Day 8, Wednesday, July 24:

9:00 – 11:30: Cultures of Dissent, El Shakry

Questions for Discussion:

- How has political repression and coercion been experienced in Egypt and Syria?
- What types of literary, artistic, and political responses emerged in opposition to political repression?
- What can we learn from the numerous artistic examples of dissent since the 1970s?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Workshop - Analyzing Primary Sources, HP

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Sonallah Ibrahim, *The Committee*
- Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination*, ch. 3

Recommended Readings:

- Taher ben Jelloun, *This Blinding Absence of Light*

- Readings for Day 8 explore the bleak political climate of repression and coercion in Egypt and Syria since the 1970s, while at the same time demonstrating the possibility of artistic creation in the face of brutal oppression. We will read prominent Egyptian novelist and intellectual Sonallah Ibrahim's renowned 1981 novel, *The Committee*, which was originally banned in Egypt, because of its searing commentary on political repression in the context of a global capitalism run amok. We will read a chapter from Lisa Wedeen's political ethnography of power in Syria during the late 1980s and early 1990s, *Ambiguities of Domination*, which explores the meaning and nature of Hafez al-Assad's cult of personality in Syria. Taher Ben Jelloun's novel, our recommended reading, is a horrific tale of a political prisoner in a Moroccan concentration camp under King Hassan II.

Day 9, Thursday, July 25

9:00 – 11:30: Youth Culture and Neo-Liberalism, El Shakry

Film and Discussion– *The Microphone*

Questions for Discussion:

- What is the so-called youth bulge?
- What challenges do youth face in the Middle East?
- How have diverse youth cultures expressed themselves, socially, politically, and artistically?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, Susan Miller

Film and Discussion– *I Love Hip Hop in Morocco*

Daily Assigned Readings:

- The Politics of Youth, *Middle East Research Report*, Volume 37, no. 245 (entire issue)

Recommended Readings:

- Omnia El Shakry, “Youth as Peril and Promise: The Emergence of Adolescent Psychology in Postwar Egypt”
- Readings for Day 9 explore the demographic youth bulge in the Middle East and the existence of youth subcultures in the face of receding economic opportunities and oftentimes unrealistic expectations from elders. The two films, *Microphone* and *I love Hip Hop* are unique in their exploration of alternative and underground youth subcultures and scenes in Egypt and Morocco. The recommended reading provides historical background on how the “youth question” emerged in Egypt in the 1930s and 1940s.

Day 10, Friday, July 26

Work time for Summer Scholars

- Reading
- Library Research
- Portfolio or Project Development with coaching & advising

Week 3 Theme: The Revolutions

Day 11, Monday July 29:

9:00– 10:00: Weekly Thematic Overview, El Shakry

Questions for Discussion:

- What was the Arab Spring? Which revolutions does it encompass?
- What do these revolutions have in common? How do they differ?
- How can we examine these revolutions despite their ongoing and unfinished nature?
- What role did traditional organizing, on the one hand, and social media, on the other, play in these revolutions?

10:15 – 11:30: Tunisia, Susan Miller

Questions for Discussion:

- What were the long term causes, immediate catalysts, events, social actors, and political agents of the revolution in Tunisia?
- To what extent have the initial hopes and goals of the revolution been realized to-date?
- Have there been any unexpected events, delays, or unrealized goals?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, Susan Miller with HP

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Aisen Aisen Kallandar's "Tunisia's Post Ben Ali Challenge: A Primer."
- Khater, pp. 416-421

Recommended Readings:

- Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, ch. 6-7

- Readings for Day 11 focus on Tunisia, providing much needed background on Ben-Ali, one party rule, political repression, and the history of dissent. The recommended reading provides additional historical background on events leading up to and including Ben-Ali's rule.

Day 12, Tuesday, July 30:

9:00 – 11:30: Egypt, El Shakry

Questions for Discussion:

- What were the long term causes, immediate catalysts, events, social actors, and political agents of the revolution in Egypt?
- To what extent have the initial hopes and goals of the revolution been realized to-date?
- Have there been any unexpected events, delays, or unrealized goals?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

**1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, El Shakry and HP
Film and Discussion– *Tahrir 2011***

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Paul Amar, "Why Mubarak is Out"
- Omnia El Shakry, "Egypt's Three Revolutions: The Force of History Behind this Popular Uprising"
- Constitutional Documents – protest demands, blogs, letters and images
<http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/>

Recommended Readings:

- James Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know*, ch. 2

- Readings for Day 12 focus on Egypt, providing historical background on Egypt's three revolutions (1919, 1952, 2011) and attendant relations between rulers and ruled. Amar's article details the complex and multi-layered state repressive apparatus that propped up Mubarak's 30-year rule, as well as the social forces of resistance that emerged to combat it. We will analyze primary source documents from the revolution collectively and watch the documentary *Tahrir* that recounts the tumultuous 18 days prior to Mubarak's ouster in Tahrir square. The recommended reading provides an additional synoptic survey of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions while debunking popular myths about them.

Day 13, Wednesday, July 31:

9:00 – 11:30: Syria, Keith Watenpaugh

Questions for Discussion:

- What were the long term causes, immediate catalysts, events, social actors, and political agents of the revolution in Syria?
- How is Syria a counter-example to Egypt and Tunisia?
- To what extent have the initial hopes and goals of the revolution been realized to-date?
- Have there been any unexpected events, delays, or unrealized goals?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Continuation of Morning Session, Keith Watenpaugh with HP

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, ch. 4

Recommended Readings:

- Bassam Haddad, Interviews on the Syrian Uprising and International Intervention, on *Al-Jazeera English* and *Democracy Now!*

- Readings for Day 13 focus on Syria, answering the following questions: Why was the Syrian uprising surprising? What made the Syrian regime vulnerable? What has made the Syrian regime so resilient? Who is the opposition in Syria? And why have foreign powers treated Bashar al-Assad with kid gloves? The recommended interview with Bassam Haddad provides further insight into the dynamics of the Syrian opposition movement and its relation to the question of international involvement.

Day 14, Thursday, August 1:

9:00 – 11:30: Reflecting on the Arab Spring, Omnia El Shakry, Susan Miller, and Keith Watenpaugh

Questions for Discussion:

- What can we learn from the Arab Spring revolutions? Can they be called revolutions?
- What are the conflicting interpretations of these events? What political struggles does the region continue to face two years later?
- To what extent have these revolutions actually transformed relations between rulers and ruled?
- What is left unrealized?

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 3:00: Summer Scholar Project Presentations

Daily Assigned Readings:

- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, ch. 6
- Readings for Day 14 address some of the big questions about the uprising, such as: What can history tell us about "revolutionary waves?" When will we be able to judge the significance of the Arab uprisings? And what conclusions might we draw from the uprisings thus far?

Day 15: Friday, August 2:

9:00 – 11:30: Summer Scholar Project Presentations

11:30 – 1:00: Lunch

1:00 – 2:00: Closing Remarks, Dr. El Shakry and Pamela Tindall

Questions for Discussion:

- How does the exploration of the history and cultural contexts of Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria help us better understand the Arab Spring?
- How have the discussions, readings, participatory activities, and final project aided our understanding of this content?

2:00-3:00: Written and Oral Feedback

Reading List Bibliography

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- Amar, Paul. "Why Mubarak is Out." *Jadaliyya*, February 1, 2011.
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<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer205/what-political-islam>
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Appendix B: Reading List and Filmography

- Kallander, Amy Aisen. "Tunisia's Post-Ben Ali Challenge: A Primer." *Middle East Report Online*. January 26, 2011. <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero012611>
- Khater, Akram. *Sources in the History of the Middle East*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 2003.
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- Multiple interviews. By Bassam Haddad.
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<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer258/18-days-tahrir>
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Filmography (in order of screening)

Appendix B: Reading List and Filmography

Nasser 56 (Los Angeles) 1996, 142 min. Dir: Mohamed Fadel

Umm Kulthum: A Voice Like Egypt (Seattle) 1996, 67 min. Dir: Michal Goldman

Les silences du palais (Tunisia) 1994, 128 min. Dir: Moufida Tlatli

The Closed Doors (Seattle) 1999, 105 min. Dir: Atef Hetata

Microphone (Cairo) 2010, 120 min. Dir: Ahmad Abdalla

I Love Hip Hop in Morocco (Pleasantville) 2007, 80 min. Dir: Joshua Asen and Jennifer Needleman

Tahrir 2011 (Egypt) 2011, 90 min. Dir: Tamer Ezzat, Ayten Amin, and Amr Salama