Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Women and the Egyptian Revolution

Since the fall of the former Egyptian president Husnī Mubarak, female activists have faced the problem of how to transform the spirit of the uprising into long-lasting reform of the political and social landscape. In *Women and the Egyptian Revolution*, Nermin Allam tells the story of the 2011 uprising from the perspective of the women who participated, based on extensive interviews with female protestors and activists. The book offers an oral history of women's engagement in this important historical juncture; it situates women's experience within the socioeconomic flows, political trajectories, and historical contours of Egypt. Allam develops a critical vocabulary that captures women's activism and agency by looking both backwards to Egypt's gender history and forwards to the outcomes and future possibilities for women's rights. An important contribution to the under-researched topic of women's engagement in political struggles in the Middle East and North Africa, this book will have a wide-ranging impact on its field and beyond.

NERMIN ALLAM is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University, New Jersey, and was formerly the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Postdoctoral Fellow at the Department of Politics at Princeton University. She holds a D.Phil. in Comparative Politics and International Relations from the University of Alberta, Canada.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Women and the Egyptian Revolution

Engagement and Activism during the 2011 Arab Uprisings

NERMIN ALLAM Rutgers University, New Jersey



Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia 4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India 79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108434430 DOI: 10.1017/9781108378468

© Nermin Allam 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-42190-4 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-43443-0 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Mom, you are my rock.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 – Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter More Information

Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>page</i> ix
A Note on Transliteration and Translation	xiii
Introduction: A Dramaturgy of Women, Egypt, and the 2011 Egyptian Uprising	1
1 Women and Egypt's National Struggles	26
2 Activism and Exception: Media and the Framing of Women's Engagement in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising	48
3 Trenching Dissent: Women's Collective Action Frame in the Uprising	71
4 An Epicenter of Solidarity: Women's Recollections of the 18-Day Uprising	94
5 "Intu Bito' Sūzān" (You are Suzanne's Clique): Gender and Political Opportunities in the 2011 Uprising	116
6 What Holds Next? The Politics of Hope and Disappointment	142
Conclusion	162
Bibliography Index	167 213

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

These acknowledgments cannot do justice to the deep gratitude I have for my family, mentors, and friends without whom this journey would have been impossible. I thank Dr. Yasmeen Abu-Laban for many years of valuable mentorship, sincere advice, and enlightened conversation. There are simply no words to express my gratitude for her enduring support. She has given me a model to strive for. This book could not have been possible without her.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Amaney Jamal, whose expertise and unequivocal support were invaluable to this academic exercise. I am also deeply grateful for my time as a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Postdoctoral Fellow at Princeton University. The fellowship gave me access to a wonderful community of scholars and intellectuals. My thanks go to Dr. Amaney Jamal, Dr. Mark R. Beissinger, and Dr. Nolan McCarty. Elizabeth Nugent, Killian Clarke, Dan Tavana, and Peace Medie are amazing colleagues.

The Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta, my home during postgraduate studies, will always have a special place in my heart. My people there, the faculty, staff, and colleagues, were and continue to be lifelong friends and mentors. Many thanks to Dr. Janine Brodie, Dr. Andy Knight, Dr. Lois Harder, Dr. Judith Garber, Dr. Robert Aitken, Dr. Mojtaba Mahdavi, Dr. Malinda Smith, Dr. Cressida Heyes, Dr. Roger Epp, and Dr. Ian Urquhart. I am beyond grateful to Siavash Saffari for sharing his knowledge and experience, and to Sevan Beukian, Nathan Andrews, Ghada Asaad, Nisha Nath, Mariam Georgis, Hajar Amidian, Nicole Lugosi, and Anya Kuteleva for their precious friendship.

Dr. Bessma Momani offered many thoughtful comments and insightful suggestions and the book has benefited tremendously from her feedback, as it has from the feedback of the two reviewers for Cambridge University Press. Many thanks to Dr. Jacqueline French for

x

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

her meticulous editing of the text. After numerous reads and several edits, the errors that linger are my own. Thanks are also due to Dr. Lisa Wedeen, Dr. Nathan Brown, Dr. Wendy Pearlman, Dr. Manal Jamal, Dr. Jill Schwedler, and Dr. Marc Lynch, who were generous enough to read sections of this book and related works. I must also thank Dr. Sarah Parkinson who through her lively conversation, sincere advice, and precious friendship continues to inspire me.

I have been fortunate to receive generous financial support from the University of Alberta, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), and the American Political Science Association (APSA) that ensured I was able to fully concentrate on my research. I am also thankful to the International Development Research Council (IDRC) for offering me a Doctoral Research Grant that supported my fieldwork in Egypt.

Thanks to my participants and interviewees for sharing their time and heartfelt stories. They gave life to the theories behind this project. Without their generosity and support, this research would never have come to fruition. Their passion is contagious and the work they are doing has indeed inspired me.

I am also deeply grateful for my time as a Research Fellow at the American University in Cairo (AUC). The vibrant intellectual community at the AUC provided invaluable feedback and insight. I am grateful to Dr. Martina Rieker, Dr. Mona Amer, Dr. Ghada Barsoum, and Dr. Nadine Sika for the enlightened conversations. It has been a privilege knowing my professor, Dr. Bahgat Korany, who has shared his knowledge, wisdom, and experience. I cannot overstate the extent to which he has shaped the ways in which I see the politics of Egypt and how I write about it.

Thanks go to my Aunt Paula and Uncle Ahmed: they were truly my family and kept me motivated through all the ups and downs. Also to my childhood friends, Dina Aboughazala and Mai Abdel Rahman, whose love, support, and understanding – when I failed to call, write, or visit – have carried me through. Although we span three continents, their support throughout my study and research has been unequivocal.

Laila, my beautiful niece - aka Cairo-based daughter - has always been on my mind and in my heart, despite the missed birthdays, school concerts, and not always being there for her. Thanks go to my biggest cheer-leader, my sister, Nihal Allam, for telling me I was bright enough to do well on this path and for carrying on doing that until

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

I finally started to believe it. I am grateful to Ahmed, a friend and soulmate, who for the past five years has given me unwavering support and shown a fascinated interest in my research. His humor, support, and encouragement have helped me beyond words.

My eternal thanks go to my mother for her guidance and unconditional support, and for the confidence she instilled in me. She has always listened and been there for me. She is my muse and I will be forever indebted. My beloved father's pride in my accomplishments and work has been a source of great joy and motivation for me. I thank him for his unconditional care and support.

My precious daughters, Sanna and Janna, are now ten and nine, but someday they will be old enough to start – and hopefully then want – to read my book. I hope they will take it down from some high shelf, dust it off, and then tell me what they think of it. For now and then, I want them to remember that this book would not have been possible without them: this was *our* journey. At times, when things got tough, looking at them reminded me that "this too shall pass," and it indeed did. I thank them for grounding me in many ways.

And, all praise is due to Allah, the Merciful.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42190-4 — Women and the Egyptian Revolution Nermin Allam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

A Note on Transliteration and Translation

The essence of this book is relaying the experiences of women in their own words and emphasizing their voices in telling their stories. In keeping with the spirit of the book, the research incorporated extensive interviews and consulted wide scholarship, many of which are published in Arabic. In transliterating Arabic texts, I strived for accuracy and simplicity. The transliteration method used in this book is based primarily on the system adopted by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. However, I often dropped diacritical marks that indicate long vowels and emphatic consonants to avoid burdening the reader. For names and places I used local common transliterations.

Most of the interviews were conducted in Arabic and translated into English. I strived to translate the text in a way that maintains the precise meaning while also capturing the lingual emphasis and cadence of the original text. This was not always an easy exercise. I wondered how to capture the irony, conveyed through diction, in a seemingly funny joke. I quickly discovered that much of the story would be lost when attempting to neatly translate a messy, fragmented text. The translation provided thus captures some of these subtleties and ambiguities. I, however, acknowledge that language is the property of its culture and that some elements, words, and ideas simply cannot be replicated when translated into another language.

xiii