

Egypt in a Time of Revolution

This book considers the diverse forms of mass mobilization and contentious politics that emerged during the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 and its aftermath. Drawing on a catalog of more than 8,000 protest events, as well as interviews, video footage and still photographs, Neil Ketchley provides the first systematic account of how Egyptians banded together to overthrow Husni Mubarak, and how old regime forces engineered a return to authoritarian rule. Eschewing top-down, structuralist, and culturalist explanations, the author shows that the causes and consequences of Mubarak's ousting can only be understood by paying close attention to the evolving dynamics of contentious politics witnessed in Egypt since 2011. Setting these events within a larger social and political context, Ketchley sheds new light on the trajectories and legacies of the Arab Spring, as well as recurring patterns of contentious collective action found in the Middle East and beyond.

Neil Ketchley is Lecturer in Middle East Politics at King's College London. He was a Hulme Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Brasenose College, University of Oxford, from 2014–2016. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the London School of Economics.



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Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring

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For Lamiaa, Isobel, and Imogen



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Preface and Acknowledgments

On 25 January 2011, several thousand Egyptians outmaneuvered Interior Ministry-controlled police to reach Midan al-Tahrir in downtown Cairo, setting the scene for eighteen days of rambunctious mass protests against the regime of Husni Mubarak. When I arrived in Egypt in May 2011, Mubarak had already left Cairo for self-imposed exile in Sharm El-Shaykh, but his security state remained intact. Meanwhile, Egyptians, many of whom hoped to deepen the gains of the Revolution, continued to stage daily protests across the country. With Midan al-Tahrir intermittently occupied and labor protests breaking out across the country, other parties and movements demobilized, choosing to pursue their claims through the ballot box. Egypt in a Time of Revolution tells that story: how Egyptians banded together against authoritarianism, how the revolutionary coalition that ousted Mubarak divided in the years that followed, and how elements within Mubarak's state conspired to defeat further challenges from below.

I never planned to write a book about contemporary Egyptian politics. I left Damascus for Cairo in the revolutionary spring of 2011 to begin researching three cases of "Islamist" mobilization in the interwar era. It did not initially occur to me to make the events of January–February 2011 the focus of my research. The Egyptian National Archives had other ideas. And so, while the authorities mulled over my application for a reader's pass, I began to collect newspapers and write down my conversations with protestors. This book is the result. To John Sidel, I owe a profound debt. His generosity, intellectual range, and guidance have all contributed immensely to this project, even as it evolved into a study of the diverse forms of contentious politics that I came to witness first-hand in Egypt. And if the title of the book recalls Benedict Anderson's (2006)



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[1972]) classic study of the Indonesian Revolution, it is thanks to the influence of John 'Ibn Anderson' Sidel, who has pushed me to think and to read comparatively, to the extent that it now seems only natural to locate this key episode from the Arab Spring beside other instances of mass mobilization and contentious politics found in Southeast Asia and beyond. Similarly, John Chalcraft was an essential source of help and guidance. He convinced me, in the autumn of 2013, to focus on Egypt and more contemporaneous street-level mobilization, thereby freeing me from my guilt about abandoning the interwar period.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

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Chapter 3 was published as an article in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Ketchley 2014a). I gratefully acknowledge the managing editor David Akins and the anonymous reviewers for their comments. The manuscript has also benefited from comments and feedback received at the annual conferences of the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Association, the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, and the Middle East Studies Association, as well as at workshops and seminars held at the LSE and the University of Oxford.

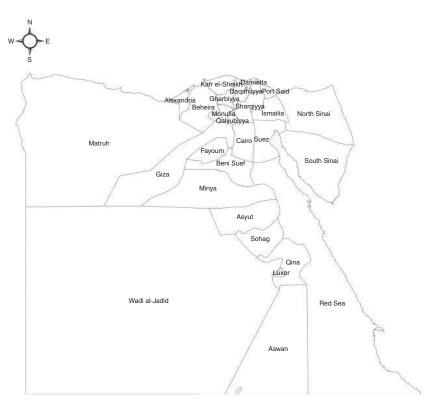
This book was borne from my shared life and adventures with Lamiaa Shehata and Isobel Shehata-Ketchley. It is to them, and to my late sister Imogen Ketchley, that I dedicate all of the best ideas and none of the shortcomings.



A Note on Transliteration

I have used a simplified version of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* transliteration system when rendering Arabic words into the Latin alphabet. Diacritics are used for the Arabic letters 'ayn (') and hamza ('), as well as the long vowels alif (ā), wāw (ū), and ya' (ī). When quoting chants or songs, I follow the Egyptian pronunciation and use g (gīm) instead of j (jīm) and ' (hamza) for q (qāf). Likewise, I give "el" rather than "al" for the definite article and elide short and long vowels where appropriate. I also use Anglicized variants of places and names, which are spelt according to convention.





Map of Egypt with 2011 Governorate Boundaries.



Nasā'ih minna lil-yunāniyīn: Tubtak fi iydak, kimamtak 'ala wishak, khamirtak fi gibak wa illi yi'ūlak al-maglis al-'askarī hayehmi al-thawra, 'atta'u.

Advice from us to the Greeks: keep your stone in your hand, your scarf on your face and yeast in your pocket, and kill anyone who tells you that the military will protect the revolution.

Egyptian activist during Greek anti-austerity protests, 12 Feb. 2012

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