

## acknowledgments

On January 28, 2011, I was at home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, watching Al Jazeera. I was mesmerized as I stared at masses of protesters marching on Qasr El Nile Bridge in Cairo and battling with police, confronting live ammunition, tear gas, and water cannons with their bare chests. The battle continued, and the protesters marched on to Tahrir Square. That scene later became epic in the memory of many Egyptians. My tears were running uncontrollably, for I had never imagined I would ever watch anything like this in my life: everyday Egyptians defeating the notorious police apparatus of Hosni Mubarak. These events have changed my life. I had never expected that I would be a scholar of revolution, let alone that I would witness one, participate in it, and write about it. Only a few days later, I traveled to Egypt to be part of these momentous events. Indeed, it is cliché to start book acknowledgments with the statement that book writing and production are collective work. This could not be more true in my case. The first group that I want to express my deepest gratitude to are the hundreds of thousands of Egyptians who took to the streets, risking their lives as they called for change. Many of them died, and many others have endured or are still enduring horrific revenge through incarceration, torture, and many forms of persecution. I feel a tinge of bitterness in saying this, for I would rather witness a successful revolution than write an academic book, and become a scholar of revolution, based on a defeated one. But I am grateful to the masses of Egyptians who gave me this historical opportunity of witnessing a revolution. And I ask them for forgiveness if I have not done justice in these pages to their courage and determination.

In addition to the countless revolutionary actors who risked their lives for a better Egypt, I am indebted to many Egyptian comrades and friends for their support and the numerous conversations we had. My utmost gratitude goes to Ayman Abdel Moati, who assisted me in unimaginable ways at many stages of this work. Wael Gamal, Wael Khalil, and Ibrahim Alsahary provided me with love, critical ideas, and conversations and made themselves available on short notice to talk. Tamer Wageih, Dina Samak, Omar El Shafei, Heba Helmi, Ola Shahaba, Yehia Fekry, Moustafa Bassioni, Hossam el-Hamalawy, Aida Saif Al-Dawla, Rabab El-Mahdi, Khaled Abdel Hameed, and Gehan Shaaban answered many questions. Their mere presence assured me that I was not crazy. Other comrades and friends such as Fatma Ramadan, Dalia Mousa, Mohamed Atef, Laila Soueif, the late Seoud Omar, Ahmed Mamdouh, Kareem El-Beheery, Amr Gharbeia, Ahmed Gharbeia, Amr Ezzat, Mahienour El-Masry, Haitham Mohamedain, and Aly El Raggal have been very important in this research. Dina El Khawaga and Choukri Hmed provided critical advice and support, especially when I was awarded a research grant from the Arab Reform Initiative. I had to anonymize the names of many interviewees who played key roles in the revolution, due to the ongoing repressive circumstances in Egypt, and in compliance with institutional review board requirements.

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treated me as a colleague and prodded me not to overlook conventional social movement scholarship. Michael Kennedy has been a friend, mentor, and comrade and a critical supporter in unlimited ways.

The book in its current shape owes a lot to a group of renowned and critical scholars who read the manuscript or parts of it at different stages over the past years. These eminent scholars read either an earlier draft of the entire manuscript or more than one version: Jack Goldstone, Jillian Schwedler, Jessica Winegar, Gilbert Achcar, and Charles Kurzman. All provided me with outstanding advice that critically contributed to the current form of the manuscript. Ann Orloff, James Mahoney, Tony Chen, Marco Garrido, Elisabeth Clemens, Ivan Ermakoff, Rod Ferguson, Damon Mayrl, Eman Abdelhadi, Maryam Alemzadeh, Youssef El Chazli, Ashraf Hussein, Ahmed Abozaid, and Abdou El-Bermawy read one chapter or more at different stages of writing. Norma Moruzzi, Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz, and Andy Clarno read an earlier draft of the theoretical threads of the book. All of them provided valuable feedback. I am especially grateful to Ivan Ermakoff for his very critical engagement, his support, and many conversations about contingency. Mona El-Ghobashy, one of the most prolific experts on Egypt, read more than one chapter. She not only provided critical observations but also offered editorial advice. I cannot thank her enough for her brilliant engagement with my work. I owe so much to our conversations and her friendship.

I presented the ideas that appear here at many academic venues. Among these, in 2013 I attended the Young Scholars in Social Movements Conference organized and hosted by the University of Notre Dame's Center for the Study of Social Movements. Rory McVeigh was a great host, and John D. McCarthy was kind and generous. Sarah Soule was my discussant and provided me with important advice about not overlooking issues of survival and the essentials of the Tahrir revolutionary camp and repertoire. In 2015 I presented a paper at the Annual Seminar at the Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology in Germany. My discussant was William Sewell Jr. As much as this was an intimidating experience, Sewell gave me the most compassionate and critical observations. In January 2016 I participated in the "After Tahrir" conference organized by a group of brilliant colleagues, Sherene Seikaly, Laila Shereen Sakr, and Paul Amar, at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The vibe and the discussion were intellectually and fervently nurturing in unlimited ways. In January 2017 I was invited to give a public lecture hosted by the Institute for Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Social Justice at the University of British Columbia. The audience was engaged, asking very useful questions. Also in 2017, I presented some ideas about the Tahrir revolutionary repertoire at the

first Mobilization Conference on Social Movements and Protest, organized by *Mobilization Journal* at San Diego State University. In 2018 I was invited as the keynote speaker at the Annual Graduate Conference of the Department of Sociology of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The discussions and the engagement were exceptional. I also presented some ideas from this book at the colloquium of the University of Copenhagen's Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, and at Goldsmiths, University of London, and the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, in Doha, Qatar. And I presented at numerous sociology miniconferences and American Sociological Association conferences, and I especially thank Julia Adams and Cedric de Leon for providing critical feedback when they served as discussants at two occasions in these spaces. Philip Gorski and the Critical Realism Network provided me with support, especially when Phil hosted the postdoctoral seminar in 2015. I also have been fortunate to present my work at important workshops in the Midwest, such as the social theory workshop at the University of Michigan; the Comparative Historical Social Sciences Workshop at Northwestern University; the Politics, History, and Society Workshop at the University of Chicago; and the Politics, Culture, and Society Workshop at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. I am thankful not only to the organizers of these workshops for inviting me to present my work but also to the faculty who were present and provided feedback and, most important, to the great students of history, theory, and sociology in these respective places for their exceptional engagement and useful critiques. Speaking of historical sociology and the Midwest, I am also thankful to the important network of CHAT (Comparative Historical Analysis and Theory) for creating a space for scholars like me who yearn for historical sociology and for inviting me to speak on a webinar about revolutions with an exceptional group including Colin Beck, Xiaohong Xu, and Kristin Plys. Eric Schoon, Ann Orloff, Xiaohong Xu, and Erin McDonnell have been wonderful companions and supporters as co-coordinators of CHAT Midwest. Sherene Seikaly, one of the most critical historians, whose work I admire, made herself available to me on short notice to discuss history and temporalities.

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When I moved to Chicago in 2013, it was my second big move since my immigration to the United States in 2004. I experienced a major emotional crisis, as I was moving ever further from Egypt. But a group of incredible humans has made me feel at home in Chicago over the years. These include Barbara Ransby, Peter Sporn, Beth Richie, Dima Khalidi, Khaled Mohamed, Jessica Winegar, Hamdi Attia, Zeina Zaatari, Annie Wilkinson, Camille Odeh, Leena Odeh, Junaid Rana, Maryam Kashani, Tarek Kishawi, Jane Rhodes, Lynn Hudson, Razan Ghazzawi, Hatem Abudayyeh, Muhammad Sankari, Jennifer Ash, Matthew Ash, Noor Shawaf, Rami Gabriel, Henry Liu, Patrisia Macias-Rojas, and John Macias-Rojas. Although they are not technically in Chicago, Rashid and Mona Khalidi have been like family to me, as well as critical intellectual and human companions during their visits to the city. I am thankful to Mona for our long lovely walks. May Seikaly, Khaled Mattawa, Reem Gibriel, and Stacey Austin hosted me at their homes in other states to support me while writing. Without the support of all the above, it would have been difficult for me to finish this book.

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