

Mariz Tadros

Profile

Professor of Politics and Development, with more than 10 years' experience in assuming leadership roles in multi-disciplinary multi-country research programmes and 16 years of convening and administering academic teaching at an undergraduate and graduate level. I have authored more than 100 research outputs including three monographs, edited two books, several peer reviewed journal articles, working papers, blogs and analyses pieces over themes ranging from redressing religious inequalities, the politics of gender and development, democratization, unruly politics and civil society, the nexus of human security and development among others. I am committed to exploring unconventional approaches to promoting more inclusive transformations through for example, people-centered heritage initiatives. Area expertise is the Middle East, drawing on thirty years of sustained work there. Communication uptake includes appearances on BBC Television and Radio, articles in Project Syndicate, the Guardian, OpenDemocracy, African Argument, Middle East Report Online and various podcasts.

Education/Qualifications:

Doctor of Philosophy (Development Studies) St Cross College and Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, UK (2000-2004)

Masters of Arts (Political Science specializing in Professional Development) American University in Cairo, Egypt (1996-1999)

Bachelor of Arts (double major in Politics and Journalism), Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia (1992-1995)

Professional experience:

Professor of Politics and Development, Institute of Development Studies (2016- present), which has included the following:

- **Director, Coalition for Religious Equality and Inclusive Development (2018 – present)**

Overall leadership of the Consortium, ensuring coherence, rigour, innovation and relevance of thematic work around religion, equality and inclusive development to IDS and partners; Leadership of the IDS CREID team, mentoring, support and hiring of new staff; Commissioning of research, communication outputs and oversight of reviews; Mentoring and support for local partners in five countries; Financial leadership in strategic allocation of funds, ensuring equity across partners, value for money and generation of further funds for IDS and partners to expand work in this area; Establishment of and convening of the CREID steering committee comprising key governance partners in the consortium; Liaising with the FCDO and other parts of the British government on CREID strategy, activities and positioning; Leadership of the advisory group to CREID and creation of network with relevant individuals and organizations for IDS in this area; Oversight over the Monitoring, Evaluation and

Learning (MEL) plan and identification of innovative ways of enhancing cross-partner learning; Regular communication of CREID research in policy arenas, academia, international media and overall oversight of our communication strategy

- **Research Co-Director of Action for Empowerment and Accountability Programme**, (April 2016-January 2018).

A4E&A: funded by the Department of International Development, five country, five year study to explore the role of collective action for enabling empowerment and accountability. Collaborating with Professor John Gaventa and Professor Anu Joshi (co-Research Director) on framing and writing the grant, choosing partners, establishing governance framework, overseeing with colleagues the MEL, risk assessments, research communications uptake, peer review of output processes, support for team building within IDS and across partners (stepped down to lead CREID).

- **Co-Leader for Power and Popular Politics cluster (June 2014 – September 2018)**

Provided leadership that supported the initiative and intellectual endeavour of Cluster members (Faculty, Research Officers, and knowledge professionals), supporting them to develop and fulfil their work plans and institutional obligations, and fostering a spirit of creativity and collegiality; Represented the cluster's work internally and externally, ensuring presence in key internal and external fora; Enabled and facilitated cluster members' collaboration with other clusters, centres and units, in the development, implementation and delivery of responsibilities to joint projects or those housed outside the cluster and with the university; Played a strategic role in identifying and securing new funding; Facilitated the effective performance and professional development of cluster members including recruitment, probation, guidance and advice, and ensuring regular appraisal of cluster members (either directly or through matrix management or delegated activity); Develop a communication plan for cluster and its uptake among different stakeholders.

- **Research fellow, IDS (2008-2016)**

Teaching and convening, supervision of MA and doctoral students, development of new courses and contribution to curriculum development, Research and policy influence: Leadership of multi-country, multi-disciplinary research initiatives, publication of academic research as well as policy briefs and papers and participation in policy circles to convey findings and ensure research uptake; Proposal development: grant writing and submission of small and large research grants, establishment of institutional links with partner universities and think tanks globally.

- **Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, American University in Cairo (2005-2008)**

Teaching: teaching undergraduate and graduate courses in Middle East politics and development, curriculum development and co-convening the Masters in Professional Development programme, and MA student supervision; Research: research on international dimensions of development and security in the Middle East, with a focus on Egypt, Yemen and Jordan; University extra-curriculum activities: support for the student union, committee member of the Institute of Gender and Women's Studies

- **Journalist, Al-Ahram Weekly, Cairo, Egypt (full time 1995-2000, part time up to 2005)**

Wrote over three hundred articles published on human rights, NGOs, civil society, women's right and human development issues such as education, health, social security, unemployment in Egypt, and occasionally regional and international coverage.

Teaching, management and supervision:

Co-creation of an innovative first of its kind online teaching programme (with Dr Sofya Shahab and Kathryn Cheeseman) on heritage for social cohesion and inclusion delivered virtually to faculty at the University of Duhok and University of Mosul, Iraq. Conceived of the overall programme approach comprised of inter-connected segments (lectures, readings, applied writing), and delivered some of the seminars as well as some of the TOT sessions (Training of Trainers) for faculty who will be teaching students how to capture their intangible heritage under threat.

Co-creation of the first ever Gender and Development graduate degree at a public university in Egypt. Served as PI for the co-creation of a two year MA in Gender and Development at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science (FEPS) Cairo University, Egypt, through support from the American University in Cairo. As PI for the initiative to establish the Masters Degree in Gender and Development at FEPS, Cairo U, I was responsible for overall intellectual leadership, designing the overall programme vision, mission, approach and strategic niche in collaborating with Cairo University colleagues, tailoring courses for the country and regional context including components that can be delivered in Arabic, developing marketing plan with MA convenor at FEPS, specific course development, overseeing capacity development for delivery of programme including commissioning research, assigning specialized faculty from within IDS and externally to support FEPS faculty, development of selection criteria for student admission and contribution to development of extra-curricular programming.

Co-convenor with Jethro Pettit of the MA in Participation, Power and Social Change MA (2009).

Co-convenor of the Empowering society course (attended by students on the MA in Governance, Development Studies and Participation, Power and Social Change), consistently one of the highest rated courses in term 1.

Convenor of the Politics of Implementing Gender and Development course (2009-2012), this was one of the most highly rated courses on the MA in Gender.

Graduate modules taught at IDS:

- Research methodology (design, ethical issues, methods, data synthesis and analysis)
- Qualitative research methods
- Feminist fieldwork and epistemology
- Participatory methods
- Inclusive politics and representation
- Religion, politics and political order

- Democratization and political culture
- Aid for democratization and civil society
- Religion and gender justice
- Religion and theories of development
- Gender and citizenship
- Prefiguration and unruly politics
- Politics of gender, and gender of politics

DPHIL supervision: supervised to completion two students, currently supervising two doctoral students, served as an external examiner (for four doctoral students) and have supervised no less than 35 MA dissertations at IDS and ten MA dissertations at the American University in Cairo.

While at the American University in Cairo, I taught undergraduate courses on

- Introduction to Development- transformed the course in content and introduced a practical field component and class debates with electronic approval ratings to determine “winning side”
- Special Topics in Political Science: Led and developed courses combining theory with policy relevant component, related to on-going political events/issues
- Introduced for the first time a special course on Women, Politics and Power in the Contemporary Arab World (was very popular among both Egyptian and overseas students)

Graduate courses:

- Scope and Method of Development Analysis (Theories on International Development from a political perspective)
- Politics of Gender, Empowerment and Development (special course linking theory with praxis)
- Project Seminar (Project design, monitoring and evaluation, proposal writing)
- Skills in Development Practice (political, social and economic development themes and practical application)
- Practicum (immersion or internship experience).

Awards (excluding grants):

- British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship Award (2014- 2015, £120,000)
- Ford Foundation Fellowship Award (2000-2004 for doctoral degree at Oxford University)
- Merit Fellowship Award, American University in Cairo (for academic excellence) 1997-1999

Department, School or University Activities:

Led the establishment and institutionalization of the IDS mentoring scheme, formation of mentoring champions group for outreach and monitoring of programme and its overall oversight.

Member of the Fellows Review and Promotion Board (FRPB), the committee responsible for reviewing IDS post-doctoral, fellow and professorial reviews and applications for promotion.

Member of the IDS Bulletin editorial steering group providing planning and quality control of IDS' flagship publication and its promotion.

Incentives committee member: development of an institute-wide policy on addressing surplus/deficit in fellow days, and allocation of surplus.

Select academic, public and policy engagements:

In May 2021, I was asked by the Special Rapporteur on Cultural Rights Professor Karima Bennoune to co-convene with her a closed roundtable on 'A Human Rights Approach to Mixed Cultural Identities, Cultural Mixing, Syncretism and 'Cultural Appropriation' involving some of the leading intellectuals, artists, activists, educators and policy makers from five continents. I am on the review committee for the issuance of the report that the special rapporteur Professor Bennoune will release in the UN General Assembly in October 2021.

In February 2021, I was one of the non-MPs invited to a closed hearing by the All-Parliamentary group on FoRB in Pakistan to listen to testimonials delivered by women and men on the abduction and forced conversion of women and girls in Pakistan, some of whom were partners that they invited from our programme. The hearing followed the submission of a set of recommendations which were reflected in the AAPG report to parliament.

In January 2021 One of the keynote speakers (only academic to the best of my knowledge) invited to speak at the International Military Chiefs of Chaplains (US Armed Forces) Conference between 26-27th January 2021 speaking to hundreds of military personnel about religious inequalities in access to and engagement with knowledge on Covid-19, with specific policy recommendations linking security, knowledge and support for members of the armed forces from religious minority background.

Participant, Wilton Park, virtual dialogue (closed event) Cultural Heritage Protection, Development and Diplomacy: International Approaches, March 23-24th, 2021

In October, 2020, I was a key speaker to discuss religious inequalities and covid-19 at the G20 Interfaith Forum, a high level platform for engaging global policy and issues of religion.

In November 2020, I was a keynote speaker at a panel I co-convened on covid-19 and religious marginality as part of our CREID external outreach.

Key speaker, citizenship, heritage and social cohesion, presentation at "Preserving and conveying memory to foster Alterity » El Rabita in partnership with the American Embassy in Morocco, Fondation Mémoire pour l'Avenir (FMA) and Archives du Maroc. January 28, 2021,

Key speaker in seminar on Civil society under threat: covid-19, authoritarianism and more, London School of Economics, Department of International Development, 21st October, 2020

Key speaker, First regional Conference on Cultural Heritage Preservation for Religious Communities, Rabat, Morocco 3rd-4th October, 2019 invitation from the Moroccan government and US State Department

Invited expert by The Foreign Ministries of Denmark and Norway, in cooperation with the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the UNFPA, the UN Interagency Task Force on Religion and Development, the Stefanus Alliance and the Danish Institute for Human Rights, to take part in expert consultation process on freedom of religion or belief, gender equality and the Sustainable Development Goals. One of six key experts invited to speak to Minister of International Development and audience in Danish parliament, Copenhagen on the 8th October, 2019.

Keynote speaker, “Researching with Copts in the 21st century”, l’Association francophone de coptologie and the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies, jointly hosted by the University of Ottawa, Carleton University, and St. Paul’s University, Canada from June 19 – 22, 2019.

Keynote speaker, Remembering the Martyrs of Libya, Religious Freedom Institute, Press Club, Washington, February 2019.

Panel Speaker, Heritage under Threat, British Council in Washington, April 2019

Invited speaker, Protecting Vulnerable Religious Minorities in Conflict and Crisis Settings, Wilton Park, November 2018

Panel organizer and presenter, Gender and interpretive frameworks: how far can they travel? Middle East Studies Association conference, Washington, November 2017

Invited speaker, International Conference "Protecting Religious Communities", Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome July 2017

Invited speaker, Men, vulnerabilities and violence, International conference on masculinities, Promundo, UN Women, Beirut, May 2017

Invited speaker, Copts under el Sisi, for better or for worse for whom? Ethno-religious ‘Minorities’ and Mobilisation in the Middle East Workshop, St Anthony, University of Oxford, March 2017

Invited speaker, “One Year On from the High Level Panel on Women, Peace and Security”, the All Parliamentary Group on Women, Peace and Security, House of Parliament, November 1st, 2016

Chair for panel on “Gender Based Violence in Egypt and panellist presenting on “the political economy of religious targeting in Libya and Egypt”, 20-22nd November 2016, Middle East Studies Association annual conference, Boston, USA.

Invited speaker, “Copts of Egypt: coping with ruptures through continuity and contention”, SOAS, University of London, July 2016

Invited speaker to public engagements in the UK which have served to communicate research and build networks include presenting on a panel on the future of Arab feminism in the South Bank, London (March 2016), speaking at the Living Stones special event in London on the future of Christianity in the Middle East (February 2016), ActionAid, March 2016

Policy engagements with Department of international development, UK critical for research uptake and exploring resource mobilization opportunities, include keynote speaker, presentation on the future of the Arab Revolts, Roundtable attended by Governance and Social Development Advisors and FCO advisors, 2011 and one of two keynote speakers sat

special session on gender, and collective action. DFID Away day for heads of offices and regional directors of DFID, 27th June 2014

Invited by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Department on briefings on the situation in the Middle East including Briefing to the ambassador designate to Egypt (2014), and participated in several closed roundtables between 2011-2014.

Regularly invited to speak at UK, European and US universities on religious pluralism in the Middle East including speaking at the Vatican in December 2013, 2015 (invitation by [Center for Civil and Human Rights at the University of Notre Dame](#) and the [Religious Freedom Project](#) at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University); conference on religious minorities in the Middle East, the Middle East Center, University of Chicago, April 2016 (gave presentation and participated virtually); the future of religious pluralism in the Middle East at a closed event organized for diplomats by FAES, Madrid Spain, 4th July 2015 (select examples)

Invited in high level international policy spaces to engage on gender justice, such as speaking at the “International Forum on Pathways of Democratic Transitions, led by UN Women Executive Director Michelle Bachelet, Cairo, 5 June 2011 , Panellist, Pathways of Women’s Empowerment session at the Commission on the Status of Women, New York, March 2011, 2013.

Key speaker at the UNDP Expert Committee meeting for UNDP’s 2013-2017 gender strategy in Zagreb, Croatia, August 2012.

Memberships and Networks:

- Expert of the Religions for Peace Standing Commission on Freedom of Conscience, Thought and Belief.
- Senior Fellow Orthodoxy and Human Rights Initiative, Fordham University, Orthodox Christian Studies Center
- Member of the FORB Forum, UK
- Steering Committee member (one of five) for the group on Orthodoxy, Politics, and International Relations, as part of the newly formed International Orthodox Theological Association (IOTA)
- Member of advisory board of new journal based at Warwick University, *Feminist Dissent*
- Member of the Gender and Development Network
- Board member of CARE-Egypt (2017-2020)
- Board member of the Arab Human Rights Fund (up to 2015): Grant-making body based in Lebanon supporting Arab Human rights NGOs, important for networking and supporting local partners.

Selected Grants:

Contributed in a leadership or co-leadership capacity to raising over £20 million in grant funds for research and project implementation. Current grants (excluding CREID) include:

PI, Coptic Culture Capture Collective, an initiative to capture the intangible cultural heritage under threat of Copts in Egypt, two grants from British Council totalling £552,845.00. November 2017-2020.

PI, “Heritage Repertoires for inclusive and sustainable development in Egypt and beyond”, British Academy Sustainable Development Programme, 2018- ongoing, award of £207,494.49

PI, for the co-creation of the Masters in Gender and Development degree at Cairo University, original grant of \$ 193,116.15 from UN Women, then two additional grants were made in 2017 and 2019 amounting to £128,110.64

Co-led with Professor John Gaventa and Dr Anu Joshi successful bid for the Empowerment and Accountability programme (DFID £5.5 million over five years)

Also contributed to securing funding from the Swiss Development Cooperation worth £ 636,450 (roughly £50,000 my component); and the Swedish International Development Assistance grant £1,697,040.55 (roughly 70,000 my component).

List of publications

Books : Single author monographs

1. Resistance, Revolt and Gender Justice in Egypt:

Syracuse University Press, US, May 2016, 352 pages <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Resistance-Revolt-Gender-Justice-Egypt/dp/0815634617>

This book is the synthesis of over twenty years of writing and researching on collective action on gender issues in Egypt, it relies on hundreds of interviews, dozens of focus groups and participant observation as well as insider information from key players who have influenced unfolding political settlements. It makes new theoretical inroads on analyzing different kinds of collective action, challenges assumed relations between different types of democratic governance and gender equality outcomes, and presents new ways of examining regime types and gender equality outcomes.

Some of the comments on the book include:

“Drawing on over two decades of activist engagement with struggles for gender justice in Egypt, this volume is rich in case studies, new findings and valuable lessons about the multiple entanglements of mobilization for gender equality with contestations over political power, governance and authority.” Deniz Kandiyoti, author of *Women, Islam and the State*.

"Tadros's study of the Egyptian women's movement following 2011 explains its 'red lines' while providing rich and nuanced empirical analysis of the women's movement's organizational, ideological, and legal challenges."—Diane Singerman, editor of *Cairo Contested: Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity*

"An important contribution to the literature on women's movements in the Arab world as well as to theoretical debates about transitions to democracy and collective action."—Hoda Elsadda, author of *Gender, Nation, and the Arabic Novel: Egypt, 1892–2008*

2. Copts at the Crossroads: The challenges of building an inclusive democracy in contemporary Egypt:

American University in Cairo Press, IB Taurus and Oxford University Press of America, 2013 (320 pages) <http://www.amazon.com/Copts-Crossroads-Challenges-Inclusive-Democracy/dp/9774165918>

This book examines the predicament of the Arab world's largest religious minority, the Copts over the course of over half a century, starting from the 1950s and up to 2012. The book examines the relations among the state, the Church, Coptic citizenry, and civil and political societies against the backdrop of the increasing diversification of actors, the change of political leadership in the country, and the transformations occurring in the region. It examines the relationship between regime types and sectarian violence and presents new theoretical insights drawing on unique quantitative and qualitative data that the author collected over the course of many years.

Reviews include:

"Tadros explores the shifting societal position of Egypt's Christian minority, the Copts, over the past 50 years, with a particular focus on the 2000-2012 period. She addresses the relations among the state, the Church, Coptic citizens, and civil and political society and considers the impact of changing political leadership following the fall of Mubarak (although the timing of publication has precluded consideration of the recent military coup deposing Mohamed Morsi). The analysis is characterized by a multidisciplinary approach drawing on history, politics, sociology, and anthropology and combines a case study of the micro-level dynamics of church-state relations, insider-informant perspectives, macro-political analysis, and quantitative analysis of sectarian incidents from 2007 to 2012."-Reference & Research Book News

"Far from falling into the easy trap of reducing the history of anti-Coptic discrimination to a peak during the Islamists' year in office, Tadros takes a step back and looks at the accumulation of discrimination across the last decade of Mubarak rule that included, in addition to anti-Copt violence, a wide range of injustices that incrementally fed into the demonstrations of 25 January 2011. Copts at the Crossroads is not just about lamenting the state of affairs for Copts. It also aims to suggest options for ending sectarian violence and promoting an inclusive democracy."—Al Ahram Online

"A highly readable, sophisticated, and timely text which will serve as a valuable resource on the Coptic predicament in the early 21st century."—Febe Armanious, The Middle East Journal

"Tadros's carefully researched and beautifully written book offers a punchy alternative to commentary that has too often trivialized Egyptians' democratic struggle over the past decade. With unparalleled fieldwork and insight she offers readers the most systematic treatment of recent anti-Coptic violence and the Egyptian state's pernicious role in stoking confessional hostilities."--Jason Brownlee, Review of Middle East Studies (International Journal of Middle East Studies)

3. The Muslim Brotherhood in Contemporary Egypt: Democracy redefined or confined?

Routledge Press, UK. 2012 (195 pages) http://www.amazon.co.uk/Muslim-Brotherhood-Contemporary-Egypt-Democracy/dp/0415465966/ref=sr_1_3?ie=UTF8&qid=1459778044&sr=8-3&keywords=the+Muslim+brotherhood+in+contemporary+egypt

This book examines the Brotherhood's visions and practices, from its inception in 1928, up to its response to the 2011 uprising, as it moves to redefine democracy along Islamic lines. The

book relies on dozens of interviews with members of the Muslim Brotherhood, not only on a leadership level but also among the rank and file and engages with hundreds of original and unique first hand sources as well as secondary sources with a view to understanding the movement's political thought. The book analyses the Muslim Brotherhood's position on key issues such as on the nature of the state, gender, political pluralism and religious minorities. The book provides foresight on governance conundrums which the Muslim Brothers would face which proved to be well placed

Reviews include:

"The author is exquisitely sensitive to the multi-vocal nature of the Brotherhood, canvassing a wide variety of sources in order to generate a detailed picture of the full spectrum of Brotherhood beliefs on these issues... Though this perspective may seem, on the surface, similar to those who argue that the Brotherhood practices taqiyya [dissimulation] and kitman [concealment], Tadros eschews such terms. The account offered here suggests that there is nothing intentionally misleading about the Brotherhood's behavior, and her deep surveys of Muslim Brotherhood texts reveal that the movement's intellectuals have been transparent about their long-term aspirations throughout. What Tadros calls us to do, then, is to take the Muslim Brotherhood seriously — to attend to what its leaders and intellectuals actually say. This book is thus an important corrective to both those who make the Brotherhood out to be more liberal than it is, and those who make it out to be secretive (and thus sinister) about its aims... Tadros has done [an extraordinary service] with this volume, which will be the standard English-language treatment of the Muslim Brotherhood's contemporary political thought for years to come."- Tarek Masoud, Associate Professor at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government; Middle East Journal Winter 2012.

"Tadros's professional background as a journalist for Al-Ahram during the later years of Hosni Mubarak's rule, and as an Assistant Professor at the American University of Cairo, allows for an astute analysis that largely eschews the reductionism that often accompanies studies of Islamist movements in favour of an issue-based examination into this multifaceted, ever-evolving organisation... Tadros produces a highly readable, informative analysis" - Gerasimos Tsourapas; Polyvicia – The SOAS Journal of Graduate Research, Vol. 5 (2013)

Tadros' book is meticulously researched: its bibliography is sixteen pages of close type in length. Many of the books and articles to which she refers to are written in Arabic: the book makes available to the reader, therefore, much material to which English speaking authors would not have access. This is one of its undoubted strengths. David Kibble, reviewer for Amazon.

Edited Books:

Christianity in North Africa and the West Asia, with Ken Ross and Todd Johnson,
Edinburgh University Press, April 2018, 502 pages

This book contains demographic, empirical and analytical material spread over more than 35 chapters, capturing the heterogeneity of Christian communities in the NAWA region through the perspectives and lens of scholars from the region and beyond.

Reviews include:

For anyone interested in the past, present and future of Christians in North Africa and the Middle East (or, more correctly, West Asia), this volume is pure gold! Formerly lecturer in

Islamic Studies at the Near East School of Theology and visiting lecturer at the Arab Baptist Theological Seminary in Beirut, Lebanon

"A welcome addition to the growing scholarship on Christianity in North Africa and West Asia. In an accessible style the forty contributors, most of whom are from the region, paint a broad picture of contemporary Christianity in North Africa and West Asia, including Cyprus, Sudan, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, preceded by an excellent introduction by Mariz Tadros." -- Heleen Murre-van den Berg, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*

Women in Politics: Gender, Power and Development

Zed book, UK , 2014, 304 pages

<http://www.amazon.co.uk/Women-Politics-Gender-Development>

This book uses a “pathways” approach to understanding the enabling and inhibitive determinants that affect women’s leadership. Drawing on seven country case studies, it presents some new theoretical insights on what undermines women’s ability to make the bridge from informal to formal political leadership.

The book was cited as one of the top ten recommended reads in international development by the Guardian in 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/aug/27/development-studies-books-students-read-review>

Reviews include:

A review in the journal of Gender and Development praised the book for its breadth and policy relevance:

“Although the stories detailed in *Women in Politics* come from the lived realities of women in challenging national political climates, they speak to all women involved in politics around the world, in developed, developing and emerging economies alike. The book offers valuable, grounded insights into the experiences of women engaging in formal politics, and derived from these insights, possible policy interventions for increasing women’s political representation. As such, it will be of interest to new generations of politicians, both women and men, to students of political economy and all those concerned with issues of gender, politics and power” (Tandon, 2015. - See more at: <http://www.genderanddevelopment.org/page/women-in-politics-review#sthash.C3TvFvjL.dpuf>)

Refereed Articles:

Religious Marginality, Covid-19, and Redress of Targeting and Inequalities, (with Maryam Kanwar and Jaffer Mirza) **IDS Bulletin**, 52:1, 2021

Typology of Women’s Collective Agency In Relation to Women’s Equality Outcomes: Case Studies from Egypt and Beyond, **European Journal of Development Research**, (2020).

Collective Struggles Against Sexual Harassment: What We Have Learnt About Pathways to Accountability and their Outcomes, with Jenny Edwards, **IDS Bulletin**, 51:2.

Negotiating Women in Egypt’s Post-Mubarak Constitutions (2012 –2014), **Politics and Gender**, March 2019, 1-29

Challenging Binaries to Promote Women's Equality, **Feminist Dissent** 3, 1-22, 2018

The Pitfalls of Disentangling Women's Agency from Accountability for Gender Equality Outcomes, The Case of Egypt, **Feminist Dissent** 3, 57-87, 2018

Christians Coping with Insecurities in the Aftermath of the Arab Revolts: Converging and Diverging Strategies, **The Review of Faith & International Affairs**, 15:1, 21-30, 2017.

Does revolutionary politics reconfigure Islamist women's agency organizationally? The case of the Muslim Sisters of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (1928-2013), **Feminist Dissent**, 2017 (2), pp. 85-114.

Political settlements as a violent process: deconstructing the relationship between political settlements and intrinsic, instrumental and resultant forms of violence, with Jeremy Allouche, **Conflict, Security and Development**, 2017, 17: 3, 187-204.

A political settlements lens onto Egypt's critical junctures and cyclic violence (2011-2014), **Conflict, Security and Development**, 2017, 17:3, 265-286

Politically motivated sexual assault against men in Egypt: challenging reified masculinities, **Journal of Middle East Women's Studies**, 12:3 323-342, November, 2016.

Politically motivated sexual assault in protest spaces: **Journal of Social and Legal Studies**, March 2015 (online)/.

Prefigurative contentious politics in Egypt's Vigilante Groups' struggle against sexual violence (2011-2013) **Development and Change**, December 2015

Epidemics and the Politics of Knowledge: contested narratives in Egypt's H1N1 response, **Journal of Medical Anthropology**, published online September 2013, co-authored with Melissa Leach

A dictatorship with an Islamic reference, **Orient, German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East**, January 2013.

The securitization of civil society, **Journal of Security, Conflict and Development**. Vol 11, issue 1 (March 2011)

Beyond Ballotocracy: Citizen voices and the many faces of unruly politics **IDS Bulletin**, 45.5 September, 2014, pp48-57

Devolving the power to divide, **IDS Bulletin** 45.5 in press, 2014

Backstage Governance, The Pulse of Egypt's Revolt, **IDS Bulletin**, Vol 43, issue 1, 2012

The Faith factor in Development, **IDS Bulletin** Vol 42, issue 5

The Muslim Brotherhood's Gender Agenda in Tadros, M Gender, Rights and Religion at the Crossroads **IDS Bulletin**, Vol 42, no 1, 2011 pp88-98

Introduction, Gender, rights and religion at the crossroads, **IDS Bulletin**, vol 42, no 1, January 2011 pp1-9, Vol 41 Issue 5 September 2010

Quotas: A highway to Power in Egypt...but for which women? IN Tadros, M and Alcantara, A: Quotas: Add Women and Stir? **IDS Bulletin** Vol 41 Issue 5 September 2010

Between the elusive and the illusionary: Donors empowerment agendas in the Middle East in perspective. **Journal of Comparative Studies of Asia, African and the Middle East**, Volume 30, issue 2, 2010

The Non-Muslim Other Gender and contestations of hierarchy of rights, **Hawwa**, Volume 7 issue 2 2009 p111-143 (Brill Publ.).

Vicissitudes in the Coptic Church-State Entente in Egypt, **International Journal of Middle East Studies**, volume 41, issue 02, 2009 pp. 269-287

Disrupting Pathways of Intergenerational Transmissions of Gender Ideology and Practice IN Intergenerational transmissions: cultivating agency?, **IDS Bulletin** Vol. 40, no1, 2009

State Welfare in Egypt since adjustment: hegemonic control with a minimalist role, **Review of African Political Economy**. June 2006 Number 108 Volume 33

Book Chapters

Regime Ruptures and Sectarian Eruptions in Post-Mubarak Egypt." In **Making the New Middle East: Politics, Culture, and Human Rights**, edited by Hoffman Valerie J., 194-221. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2019.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv14h4pr.12>.

Egypt's Tale of Two Constitutions: Diverging Gendered Processes and Outcomes. In R. Rubio-Marín & H. Irving (Eds.), **Women as Constitution-Makers: Case Studies from the New Democratic Era** (pp. 314-350). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Christians in Egypt, Libya, and Palestine: Responding to the Aftermaths of the Arab Revolts in **Under Caesar's Sword**, edited by Philpott, D. and Shah, T. Cambridge University Press, March 2018.

The Praxis of Islamist Models of Citizenship in a Post-Arab Revolt Middle East: Implications for Religious Pluralism In **Routledge Handbook of Minorities in the Middle East** edited by Paul Rowe, (chapter 4) 2018

The Undesirables of Egypt: A story of persecution and defiance In Van Doorn, N. Copts in Context, University of South Carolina Press, 2017

Participation not domination: Morsi on an impossible mission? In Rivetti, Paola and Kraetzschmar, Hendrik, **Islamists and the Politics of the Arab Uprisings**, Edinburgh University Press (chapter 2) 2017

Copts of Egypt: Defiance, compliance and continuity in Christianity and Freedom, Vol 2, edited by Hertzke and Shah, Cambridge University Press,

<http://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/law/socio-legal-studies/christianity-and-freedom-volume-2>

From Secular Reductionism to Religious Essentialism" (chapter 31) in Baksh, R and Harcourt, W. ed. The Oxford Handbook of Transnational feminist movements, USA : Oxford University Press of America, July 2014

Ejecting women from formal politics in the "old-new" Egypt 2011-2012 In Tadros, M Edt. Women in Politics Gender, Power and Development, Zed book, UK (May 2014).

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