



Memo for concluding TOI conference

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Introduction

If one wants to understand politics in the “West”, does it make sense only studying American politics? Similarly, one may ask whether it makes sense making general claims about different aspects of Islamism based on studies mainly on Sunni Islamist groups? This is the starting point for the research project “TOI: Bringing in the Other Islamists - comparing Arab Shia and Sunni Islamism(s) in a sectarianized Middle East” (www.ps.au.dk/toi).

The purpose of this memo is two-fold. First, it will provide a basic introduction to the overall aims, organization, and some of the outcomes of the TOI project. Second, it will introduce the themes and rationales for the four panels of this concluding conference. The last two parts (pp. 10-18) provide a list of publications (published, under review or in preparation) and activities (online/in-person workshops and conference panels) related to the TOI project.

On the TOI project overall

The TOI project began in September 2019. Due to Covid, it has been extended until January 2025. It is funded by the Independent Research Fund Denmark (5.383.987 DKK), but we have received additional funding from the Danish Institute in Damascus (for the subproject “Comparing Shia and Sunni Geographies of ‘Everyday Islamism’ in Greater Beirut” and various workshops), the Carlsberg Foundation (a workshop on “What is So Shia about Shia Islamism), from Aarhus’s Department of Political Science and from King’s College London.

The team is co-directed by Morten Valbjørn (Aarhus) and Jeroen Gunning (King’s College London) and consists of Raphaël Lefèvre (Bristol), Courtney Freer (Emory), Ben Robin d’Cruz (Aarhus), Toby Matthiesen (Bristol), Younes Saramifar (Vrije U Amsterdam), Fanar Haddad (Copenhagen) and Dima Smaira (Independent Researcher, Lebanon).

The project starts from the observation that scholarship on Islamism is both multi-faceted and sophisticated, and narrow and suffering from important blind-spots. Concerning the role Islam plays in Islamism, the debate has moved beyond both Orientalist essentialism, through which Islamism is reduced to a supposed Islamic essence, and instrumentalism, through which religion is perceived as a pure epiphenomenon. The current debate is marked by an exploration of how Islam plays a role for Islamists without essentializing it or ignoring the significance of contextual factors. This nuance can also be found in the “lumper/splitter” debate. Rather than lumping all Islamists together, most scholars today recognize that Islamism comes in different shapes and can change across time and space, giving rise to a wealth of typologies of different forms of non/armed, a/political forms of Islamism.

However, research on Islamism has been predominantly Sunni-centric since the 1990s, with Shia Islamists in their various variants receiving far less attention. The majority of studies on Islamism in the Arab Middle East have concerned branches of the Muslim Brotherhood and related “Ikhwanist” movements, various (quietist, political, militant) forms of Salafism, different kinds of (doctrinaire, nationalist resistance) armed Islamism like AQ, IS or Hamas – all Islamists that, despite great differences, share being Sunni. This Sunni-bias is also reflected in theoretical and typological debates on Islamism. The inclusion/moderation debate after 2011

has mainly concerned “the usual suspects”, i.e. Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan and Morocco, at the expense of insights from Shia Islamists with decades of experience of inclusion (Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, Kuwait). The “lumper/splitter” debate has focused on divisions within Sunni Islamism; when specific Shia Islamists have been included, interest in examining whether or how the Shia/Sunni distinction could be relevant has been limited.

Shia Islamists have not been absent from scholarship on the Middle East but usually this research has taken place within the smaller field of Shia Studies, which has moved along quite different methodological and analytical tracks than the broader field of Islamism Studies, and scholarly dialogue and cross-sect comparisons remain rare. Developments in the Middle East, particularly following the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Arab uprisings and the related “sectarianization” of regional politics, have made this lack of exchange increasingly unviable. Shia Islamists are not only more visible today, but the sect-centric aspect of their identity, like some of their Sunni counterparts, has also become more explicit in some places. Regional politics may have started to ‘de-sectarianize’ but regional reactions to the 2023-24 war on Gaza show how Shia Islamists still deserve attention (see forthcoming Special Issue).

Against this background, the TOI project’s aim has been to bring Arab Shia Islamists into the broader Islamism debate. We were interested in gaining more knowledge about Shia Islamists but also to compare whether, how, when, where and why they differ from/resemble their Sunni counterparts, what role religion plays in this versus contextual factors, and to what extent their “Shia/Sunni-ness” varies across time and space – are they more/less alike in some rather than other contexts, at some rather than other times, in some rather than other countries; are they alike/ different on some rather than other parameters (doctrines, activities, membership profiles, organization, narratives, symbols, state context, etc.). The aim has further been to examine whether and how (studies of) Shia Islamists can contribute to broader Islamism scholarship. In addition to offering new case material to test classic hypotheses about Islamism (theory-testing), a broadening of the case universe and greater dialogue between the research communities can also generate novel research puzzles (theory-development) or spark (self)reflections on the study of Islamism as such (meta-theorizing).

To address these questions, the project has adopted a cross-disciplinary approach. This is reflected in the team which consists of scholars with different disciplinary training (political science, religious studies, history, Islamic studies, sociology), different country expertise (Lebanon, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, etc.). expertise in Sunni and/or Shia Islamism, and sectarianism. By combining various theoretical tools, in particular Bourdieusian, we have aimed at studying Shia and Sunni Islamism in a way that takes religion seriously without essentialising it. Originally, we envisioned a considerable extent of field work but due to Covid we had to rethink our methodology, drawing more on archive studies, commissioning our own cross-country opinion surveys (in cooperation with SEPAD), drawing on existing opinion surveys, constructing new datasets (DASSIG: Dataset on Armed Shia and Sunni Islamist Groups, ASID: Armed Shia Islamist Dataset, Islamist reactions to the Abraham Accords), cooperating closely with scholars and (mentored) youth researchers based in the region.

We have carried out a range of different studies. In addition to (meta)-theoretical studies, we have made empirical studies of individual Islamist movements and their transformation (e.g. the Sadrists); made comparisons of specific Shia and Sunni Islamist movements, e.g. Iraqi Sadrists/Palestinian Hamas, Lebanese Hizbullah/Palestinian Hamas; made comparative studies of the Islamist scene in specific countries both intra-sect and cross-sect, e.g. Kuwait and Iraq, and (cross-)regional comparisons of both political and armed Shia and Sunni Islamists in electoral and conflict contexts. Our findings have been disseminated in a large number of publications, through podcasts and interviews, in panels at international conferences, and have organized various public events as well as a large number of workshops (in person and on-line), some in cooperation with other research projects, including POMEPS, SEPAD, TransJihad, and AlterUmma.

Panel 1: Social Theory and Comparing Shia/Sunni Islamisms

Before comparing Shia and Sunni Islamists, it is important to reflect on the meta-theoretical questions raised by bringing Shia into the broader Islamism debate. What are the different ways in which adding Shia would change the debate? Besides adding new case material to test/support existing theories, adding Shia can bring up new questions or provide important twists to existing debates, such as the role of external state support or the changing interplay between sectarian and religious identity. It can also fundamentally challenge our conceptual framework, raising questions e.g. about how Islamism or the relationship between politics and religion should be (re)conceptualised. Distinguishing between ‘Shia’ and ‘Sunni’ raises questions about how to make sense of what role religion plays in shaping Islamist movements without essentialising it. Where there are distinctions – and it is important to underline that these change over time and can be minimal – these often stem from demographic differences, differences in the relationship with state authorities and the make-up of the political system, in colonial histories, etc. Even ostensibly religious differences, such as in how religion is managed or in the relationship between Islamists and clergy, are often shaped by political and socio-economic context, such as the way states treated Sunni and Shia clergy differently or changes in class structures affecting the relationship between clergy and elites. How do we separate religion out from its context? How do we assign causality to ‘religion’ if it is so enmeshed in context? How should we theorise the relationship between religion, politics, society, security, etc. in a way that captures important differences without reifying them?

We have wrestled with these questions in most workshops and papers. But to highlight a few, we organised workshops on ‘What is so Shia about Shia Islamists’, how to bring the (Sunni) jihadism literature into dialogue with the literature on armed Shia Islamists, and how to compare armed transnational Islamists. We edited a Special Forum in *Mediterranean Politics* on bringing Shia into Islamism studies (Valbjørn and Gunning 2021) which looked at different ways to explain differences, whether regarding the way anti-Sunnism and anti-Shiism was framed (Haddad 2021) or the interplay between religion and context in shaping Hamas and Hizbullah (Gunning 2021). Albloshi, Freer, and Valbjørn (under review) have shown how Kuwaiti Shia Islamists, while nominally supportive of shari‘a, resist its application, fearing it would enforce a Sunni interpretation on the Shia minority. Lefèvre (2021) used ‘vernacular’, spatial and social movement lenses to explain the interplay between ideology and context in Tripoli’s Tawhid. Matthiesen (2023) traced the changing relations between Sunni and Shia communities over the centuries, highlighting the importance of changing contextual factors (2023). Haddad (2021, 2023, 2024; Haddad et al., including Matthiesen, 2022) made numerous interventions on how Iraq’s Shia Islamists should be conceptualised given their divergence from dominant definitions in Islamism studies and what their evolution says about conceptualising sectarianism. Valbjørn (2020, 2021, 2023) likewise wrote several articles on how to (re)conceptualise sectarianism. Robin d’Cruz used various theories to understand the interplay between politics and religion in the Sadrist movement (2022, 2023, under review, in preparation) and its role in elections and protests (2021, 2022, 2024). Saramifar (two forthcoming papers) used the lenses of ‘warscape’, ‘war machine’ and ‘inhumanities’ to reflect on the effects of war on Shia combatants.

Panel 2: Electoral and Everyday Islamism

The TOI project sought to understand better whether, how, why, when the Shia/Sunni distinction matters for Islamists. This does not mean that contextual factors should be ignored – on the contrary, these may play an important role for whether and how this distinction matters. We compared Shia and Sunni Islamists in different contexts.

Concerning political Islamists in *electoral contexts*, we have revisited some of the “classic” debates to examine whether and how the introduction of the “Other Islamists” could enrich these. One concerns the question of whether Islamists have a dis/advantage in electoral politics. We studied electoral dynamics for Sunni and Shia Islamists in the Middle East after the Arab uprisings, which complicate assumptions made about Islamists in electoral politics in the Arab world (Valbjørn 2020, 2023; Freer 2023, 2024; Freer and Mahmood, forthcoming), and examined electoral strategies among specific movements, i.e. the Sadrist movement, which differs significantly from other Iraqi Shia Islamists (Mansour and Robin d’Cruz, 2022; Robin d’Cruz 2023). Another “classic” debate concerns relations between ruling regimes and Islamists, who generally have been assumed to be oppositional. A study of Kuwait’s Shia and Sunni Islamists shows that (Shia and Sunni) Islamists can be both oppositional and loyalist, and this may change over time, sometimes in surprising ways (Freer and Leber, 2021; Freer 2023, 2024; Freer and Valbjørn 2022; Hamad, Freer and Valbjørn, under review). Another debate we revisited concerns the profile of the “Islamist party supporter”. While some of the classic assumptions from the Islamism literature fit supporters of Sunni Islamist parties quite well, this is not the case for their Shia counterparts, which, rather than constituting a different homogeneous profile, display significant diversity (Leber et al., under review). A final classic debate we examined concerns what happens if Islamists come to power through elections. While Shia Islamists have been in power in Iraq for almost two decades, this has not translated into “Islamization” and, contrary to the 2000s, sect-specific identities have recently lost much of their mobilizing potential (Haddad 2021, 2024).

Moving beyond Islamism studies’ organisational focus, we explored what Schwedler (2018) calls ‘Islamistness’ – the fluid ways people connect religious beliefs and practices to social, economic and political spheres. We focused on people’s everyday practices across space, building on our research on everyday security and peace practices (Gunning & Smaira 2021; Smaira & Gunning 2023). In this TOI spin-off, we used participatory place-based digital story-telling to map geographies of ‘everyday Islamistness’ in a mostly Sunni and mostly Shia area in Greater Beirut, exploring the implications of adopting ‘everyday Islamistness’ for methodology and how to conceptualise Islamistness outside organisations (Smaira, Gunning & Valbjørn, in prep.; Gunning, Smaira & Valbjørn, in prep.). Our youth researchers highlighted the importance of agency, fluidity (not in/out but moving along ideational, social, political axes) and ‘bi’a [بيئة]’ (environment). This includes Islamist groups such as Hizbullah or (Sufi) al-Ahbash and their uneven spread across space but also one’s family and its social standing, mosques, religious institutions, place of employment, leisure activities and where these take you. For those growing up in Beirut’s Southern Suburbs, Hizbullah dominated their bi’a; but they all found their own identity and beliefs, parting from religion (though not socially), or becoming more religious, distinct from Hizbullah’s version.

Panel 3: Armed Islamism

TOI also explored how adding armed Shia Islamists would affect classic debates. Testing the debate on armed Islamism’s evolution, which typically focuses on Afghanistan and the subsequent spread of (Sunni) global jihadi groups, we built a new dataset containing both Sunni and Shia armed Islamist groups, expanding existing datasets with 88 Shia groups. This dataset (DASSIG) allowed us to show that armed Shia Islamism started earlier than armed Sunni Islamism in the lead-up to the Iranian Revolution, that the creation of new groups declined through the 1980s-2000s in contrast to armed Sunni Islamism’s steady increase, but overtook the latter in the 2010s with the proliferation of groups in Iraq and Syria. It enabled us to show that inter-sectarian relations changed over time, from largely cooperative in the 1980s and Sunnis emulating Shia, to Sunni Islamists rejecting Shia and relations becoming mostly

hostile (Lefèvre, Gunning & Valbjørn, under review; see also Ataie, Lefèvre & Matthiesen 2021). It allowed us to re-examine the debate about which branch of Islamism is more revolutionary. While Shia Islamists started out revolutionary, groups formed after 2010 have been pro-government, while new armed Sunni Islamists are anti-government (Lefèvre, Gunning & Valbjørn, under review; Valbjørn, Gunning & Lefèvre, forthcoming).

We revisited debates on external state support – which Islamists are typically considered to lack – and Shia Islamists’ supposed communal focus. Matthiesen (in prep.) and Valbjørn, Gunning and Lefèvre (forthcoming) explored differences in the structure of state support, contrasting Iran’s dominance for Shia (though not total – Lefèvre, Gunning and Valbjørn, in prep.) to the multiplicity of state sponsors for Sunnis. Matthiesen examined the interplay between communal focus and state sponsorship, arguing that communally-focused Islamists have tended to be more successful than the globally-focused. Valbjørn, Gunning and Lefèvre further showed that, unlike global jihadis, transnational armed Shia Islamists are regionally-focused, highlighting the importance of differentiating global from transnational.

Two final debates concerned the role of foreign fighters and how to study armed Islamists in protracted conflicts. Lefèvre and Ataie (in prep.) challenged the literature’s focus on Sunni foreign fighters and its exclusion of state-paid foreign fighters, arguing that focusing on voluntary fighters excludes important transnational dynamics and documenting the role of foreign fighters in the Iran-Iraq war. In a Special Issue introducing the ‘warscapes’ concept to Islamism studies, Lynch, Gunning and Valbjørn (forthcoming), Saramifar (forthcoming) and Valbjørn, Gunning and Lefèvre (forthcoming) explore the ‘warscapes’ lens, which emphasises the enduring impact of armed conflict beyond formal ‘start’ and ‘end’ dates, the importance of looking beyond armed actors, and conflicts’ embeddedness in global flows. Saramifar proposes an ethnographically-guided phenomenological analysis of nonstate armed actors’ situatedness in warscapes, blurring micro-, meso- and macro-level analysis.

Panel 4: “Reversed Q&A”: What – if anything – is so Shia about Shia Islamists and in which way can “the Other Islamists” enrich the broader scholarly debate on Islamism

While the first three panels are based on presentations by members of the TOI team, the idea of this last panel is to reverse roles. TOI team members will pose the questions and the audience becomes the main player. Our questions will revolve around what – if anything – is so Shia about Shia Islamists and in which ways “the Other Islamists” can enrich broader debates on Islamism. Put differently, the purpose of this panel is to invite all conference participants to contribute to a discussion on the broader lessons of the TOI project and to trigger ideas as for how it might cultivate new research ideas or projects.

Publications published so far by the TOI team

- **Freer, Courtney** and Naeman Mahmood (forthcoming). “An Islamist Disadvantage? Revisiting Electoral Outcomes for Islamists in the Middle East”, *Middle Eastern Studies*.
- **Saramifar, Younes** (forthcoming). “Warscapes and Reticulating Inhumanities: Ethnographic Lessons from the Shia Militancy”, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*
- **Valbjørn, Morten, Jeroen Gunning and Raphaël Lefèvre** (forthcoming). “When Transnationalism is not Global: Dynamics of Armed Transnational Shi’a Islamist Groups”, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*
- **Valbjørn, Morten, André Bank & May Darwich** (forthcoming). “Forward to the Past? Regional Repercussions of the 2023-24 Gaza War”, *Middle East Policy*
- **Lynch, Marc, Jeroen Gunning & Morten Valbjørn** (forthcoming). “Changing Warscapes, Changing Islamists?”, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*
- **Saramifar, Younes** (forthcoming). “Sectarian Inhumanities: Collective Memory and Nonmemory of the Iran-Iraq War among Seasoned Iraqi Shia Combatants”, *Middle East Journal*.
- **Haddad, Fanar** (2024). “Explaining de-sectarianization - Instrumental design or organic atrophy”, *Babylon - Nordic Journal for Middle East Studies*, vol 23. no 2.
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- **Valbjørn, Morten** (2020). “Sectarian identity politics and Middle East international relations in the first post-Arab Uprisings decade - from ‘whether’ to ‘how,’ ‘where’ ‘when’ and for ‘whom’”. *POMEPS Studies*, no. 38 (Sectarianism and International Relations)

- **Gunning, Jeroen & Dima Smaira** (2020). “Everyday security in Beirut’s southern suburbs: mapping the capacity and legitimacy of state and non-state actors”. *POMEPS Studies*, no. 37 (Challenges to the Middle East North Africa Inclusionary State).
- **Valbjørn, Morten** (2020). “Countering Sectarianism: The Many Paths, Promises, and Pitfalls of De-sectarianization”. *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 1,
- **Valbjørn, Morten** (2017). “Bringing the ‘Other Islamists’ back in: Sunni and Shia Islamism(s) in a sectarianized new Middle East”. *POMEPS Studies*, no. 28 (New Analysis of Shia Politics).

**Activities: TOI Events:
Conferences, Workshops,
Panels and seminars
organized as part of the TOI
project**

2024

TOI Workshop ‘Evolutions in Islamism Studies’
Place: online
Date: April 15 2024
Speaker: Carrie Rosefsky Wickham (Emory University).

TOI Workshop ‘The Yemeni Houthi Movement and the War on Gaza’
Place: online
Date: March 15 2024
Speaker: Alexandra Stark (RAND).

TOI Workshop ‘Arab Islamist Responses to the War on Gaza’
Place: King’s College London
Date: March 6 2024
Speaker: Toby Matthiesen (University of Bristol), Alexander Weissenburger (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Inna Rudolf (King’s College London), Aurélie Daher (Université Paris Dauphine-PSL), Jérôme Drevon (International Crisis Group) - Syrian Islamist responses (Toby, Alexander, Inna).

TOI Workshop ‘Global International Relations and the International Thought of Turkish Islamists’
Place: Aarhus University
Date: February 28 2024
Speaker: Katerina Dalacoura (LSE)

TOI Workshop ‘What is so Shia about Shia Islamism’
Place: King’s College London
Date: February 13 2024
Speaker: Raphaël Lefèvre, Morten Valbjørn, Benedict Robin-D’Cruz, Courtney Freer, Younes Saramifar, Toby Matthiesen, Jeroen Gunning.

2023

TOI Workshop ‘Why is there no Shia Salafis’
Place: virtual
Date: November 8 2023
Speaker: David Patel (Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard U.)

TOI Workshop - What can Middle Eastern protests in the past tell us about protests in the future (co-funded by Danish Institute in Damascus)
Place: Department of Political Science, Aarhus University
Date: November 2 2023
Speakers: Jillian Schwedler (CUNY), Dima Smaira (AUB), Jeroen Gunning (KCL), Younes Saramifar (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

TOI Workshop ‘Shia Islamism in Iraq – the case of the Hizb al-Dawa and SCIRI’
Place: virtual
Date: April 14 2023
Speakers: Thibaud Laval (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales) and Joseph Edward Kotinsky (U of Texas at Austin).

TOI Workshop
Place: London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK, April 3, 2023
Date: April 4 2023
Speakers: Toby Matthiesen (Ca’ Foscari U. & Stanford U), Raphaël Lefèvre (Bristol U), Jeroen Gunning (KCL), Courtney Freer (Emery U), Morten Valbjørn (Aarhus U)

TOI Workshop ‘Comparing Shia and Sunni Islamism in Yemen’
Place: virtual
Date: March 11 2023
Speakers: Laurent Bonnefoy (SciencePo), Alexander Weissenburger (Austrian Academy of Science’s Institute for Social Anthropology)

2022

TOI Workshop: Current Trends in Jihadism Studies
Place: Dept of Political Science, Aarhus University.

Date: December 13 2022.
Speakers: Trica Bacon (American University), Assaf Moghadam (Reichman University), Mona Sheikh (DIIS: Danish Institute for International Studies) Morten Valbjørn (Aarhus University).

MESA TOI Panel: “Bringing in the Other Islamists – comparing Shia and Sunni Islamism”

Place: The Middle East Studies Association’s 56th annual meeting , Denver, United States.

Date: December 4 2022.
Speakers: Courtney Freer (Emery University), Younes Saramifar, Andrew Leber, Morten Valbjørn.

TOI Workshop “Comparing Shia and Sunni Transnationalism” (co-funded by Danish Institute in Damascus)

Place: Dept of Political Science, Aarhus University

Date: November 10 2022
Speakers: Mona Sheikh (DIIS: Danish Institute for International Studies), Dino Krause (DIIS/Aarhus U), Saer El-Jaichi (DIIS); Oliver Scharbrodt (Lund U), Yafa Shanneik (Lund U), Oula Kadhum (Lund U), Fouad Marei (Lund U), Morten Valbjørn (Aarhus U), Jeroen Gunning (King College London), Simon Mabon (Lancaster U).

TOI Workshop ‘Comparing Shia and Sunni Islamism in Lebanon’

Place: virtual
Date: October 14 2022
Speakers: Tine Gade (NUPI) and Filippo Dionigi (Bristol University).

NSMES Double TOI panel “Beyond Sunni-centrism: Shia and Sunni Islamism in the Middle East”

Place: The 12th Nordic Conference for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Date: September 23 2022.
Speakers: Courtney Freer, Toby Matthiesen, Morten Valbjørn, Tine Gade, Maria Louise Clausen.

TOI workshop “What is So Shia about Shia Islamism” (funded by the Carlsberg Foundation)

Place: Dept of Political Science, Aarhus University

Date: July 26-27 2022.
Speakers: Raphaël Lefèvre, Morten Valbjørn, Benedict Robin-D’Cruz, Courtney Freer, Fanar Haddad, Younes Saramifar, Toby Matthiesen, Jeroen Gunning.

BRISMES TOI panel “Bringing in the Other Islamists – Comparing Shi’a And Sunni Islamism”

Place: The BRISMES Annual Conference, University of St. Andrews (UK),

Date: July 5 2022.
Speakers: Raphaël Lefèvre, Morten Valbjørn, Benedict Robin-D’Cruz

TOI POMEPS workshop on Islamists in Warscapes (co-funded by Danish Institute in Damascus)

Place: Dept of Political Science, Aarhus University

Date: June 29-30 2022
Speakers: Jeroen Gunning, Mohammed Hafez, Michael Gabbay, Raphaël Lefèvre, Marc Lynch, Inna Rudolf, Younes Saramafir, Jérôme Drevon, Morten Valbjørn,

TOI POMEPS Workshop

Place: Virtual (Department of Political Science, Aarhus University/Georg Washington University)

Date: February 4 2022
Speakers: Jeroen Gunning, Mohammed Hafez, Michael Gabbay, Raphaël Lefèvre, Marc Lynch, Inna Rudolf, Younes Saramafir, Isak Svensson, Jérôme Drevon, Morten Valbjørn,

2021

TOI Guest talk on “THE OTHER JIHADIS: HOW SHIA AND SUNNI JIHADIS DIFFER FROM EACH OTHER”

Place: Department of Political Science, Aarhus University.

Date: November 16 2021
Speakers: Raphaël Lefèvre (Oxford/Aarhus U).

TOI Workshop ‘The 2021 Iraqi Parliamentary Elections’

Place: virtual
Date: October 13 2021
Speakers: Toby Dodge, Renad Mansour, Fanar Haddad, Benedict Robin-D’Cruz

TOI Workshop ‘When Islamists Kill Islamists: Islamist fratricide in civil wars’

Place: virtual

Date: February 25 2021

Speakers: Inna Rudolf, Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, Jérôme Drevon.

TOI-POMEPS workshop on “Changing Warscapes, Changing Islamists? Religion, Organization, Strategic Context and New Approaches to Jihadist Insurgencies”

Place: virtual

Date: January 6-7 2021

Speakers: Leonora Ardemagni, Jeroen Gunning, Mohammed Hafez, Thomas Hegghammer Stathis Kalyvas, Dino Krause, Raphaël Lefèvre, Brynjar Lia, Marc Lynch, Assaf Moghadam, Afshon Ostovar, Inna Rudolf, Younes Saramafir, Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, Mona Sheikh, Isak Svensson, Ora Szekely, Morten Valbjørn, Lianne Vostermans, Joas Wagemakers

Further info [here](#)

2020

TOI-TJ-RJC Workshop on (Shia and Sunni) Jihadism

Place: virtual

Date: November 5 2020

Speakers: Mona Sheikh, Saer El-Jaichi; Dino Krause; Telli Betül Karacan; Isak Svensson, Jeoren Gunning and Morten Valbjørn

2019

TOI Guest talk on ‘The Conflict in Libya, Proxy Wars and Madkhali-Salafis’ /Jalel Harchaoui

Place: Aarhus University.

Date: November 29 2019

Speakers: Jalel Harchaoui (The Hague’s Clingendael Institute)

ICSRU/TOI Workshop on the TOI project

Place: Arab Islamic Studies, Aarhus

University.

Date: October 28 2019

Speakers: Morten Valbjørn (Aarhus University),

Further info [her](#)

TOI Guest talk on the Transformation of the Islamist scene in Iraq and th Gulf /Cortney Freer (LSE) and Fanar Haddad (NUS)

Place: Department of Political Science, Aarhus University.

Date: October 22 2019

Speakers: Cortney Freer (LSE) and Fanar Haddad (NUS)

TOI Kick-off Research Workshop.

Place: Department of Political Science, Aarhus University.

Date: October 21 2019

Speakers: Morten Valbjørn (Aarhus University), Jeroen Gunning (KCL), Cortney Freer (LSE), Raphaël Lefèvre (Oxford U), Fanar Haddad (NUS), Toby Matthiesen (Oxford U).