Values and institutions: What has changed in post 2011 North Africa?

October 25-26<sup>th</sup>, 2019 Tangier, Morocco

Deadline for Abstracts: July 7th, 2019

Research in the field of democratization studies has established that democracies are predicated on the existence of institutional structures that take the form of democratic institutions (based on the principles of delegation and representation) on the one hand, and on a value system that governs the relations between the actors and shapes their behaviour on the other. Accordingly, any political system that is not characterized by a value system that allows peaceful play of power cannot establish a stable democracy (Lipset 1959). This understanding of democracy as a binary system consisting of both institutions and values has constantly been at the heart of the debate on democracy and democratization. The locus classicus of the idea of a value-cultural basis for democracy dates back to Ibn Khaldun and Montesquieu, who suggested that factors like natural conditions (such as climate) have an impact on culture, and that both culture and natural conditions "produce 'spirits' that shape the working of alternative political institutions, including the separation of powers" (Besly and Persson 2017). Starting from the second half of 20th century, Almond and Verba's work on "civic culture" have become a milestone in democratization studies and paved the way for other social scientists to highlight the cultural dimension of democracy and democratization, particularly the works of Inglehart (1997, 2018), Welzel (2005), Ticchi, Verdier, Vindigm (2013), to mention only these few examples.

Based on the theoretical and methodological accumulation created by these and other studies, this symposium aims to contribute to a preliminary assessment of the political transformations that resulted from the first wave of the Arab uprisings of 2011 from the perspective of the supposed mutual influence between democratic institutions and the democratic value system.

The interaction between values and institutions in the context of Arab uprisings is based on two underlying assumptions. First, mass protest activities should be seen as a qualitative shift in the ways individuals (the ruled) represent power and power relations. From this perspective protest ushers in a slow but steady change in the deep trends of political culture in North African societies (from subjecthood to citizenship, from tribes to state, and from community oriented to individual oriented societies). Obviously, these changes are yet to take root in these societies in a way that would help to break with the value system of authoritarianism and bring about genuine democracy.

The second underlying assumption is that the political and institutional changes that occurred since 2011 are not enough to measure, on their own, the democratizing effect of the Arab uprisings. Such an endeavour entails a more comprehensive and in-depth approach that looks at potential changes in the values and cultures of the members of the new elites, and the way they interact with institutions. In this regard, it is worth noting that the 2011 protest movements did not occur in a void. Protest activities took place within and in interaction with institutions of the existing social systems, everywhere in Arab spring countries. These institutions served and continue to serve as a sort of reservoir of expertise acquired by the people over the centuries. Indeed, the accumulation of this multilayered historical experience

forges a sort of "collective political mind," which consists of key events, memories, and know-how that shape the identity of societies in the present and, to some extent, conditions their future. Although this collective political mind usually goes unnoticed and seems to be overlooked in routine politics, it manifests itself through a broad swath of forms and patterns of political behaviour in the context of crisis. This can be observed in the ways different components of a North African society have been interacting with each other and deal with challenges posed by their environment since before, during and after 2011 uprisings. Hence, beyond some superficial similarities, the so-called "collective political mind" in North Africa is context-specific and far from being identical across all North African Societies. As result North African countries seem to follow divergent trajectories of change in the post Arab uprising era (Revolution, anti-revolution, democratic transition, status quo, or the so-called third way of reform.).

Of all the issues that are on the agenda of social scientists interested in political change in

Identifying and analyzing cultural constructions can do much to help activists, scholars, and community members address and deepen the necessary work of undoing ingrained racisms within majority Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish-speaking societies;

Examining processes of racialization and racial hierarchization vis-à-vis thick slices of everyday life and cultural production outside the US and its particular histories of race-making may offer the field of Cultural Studies new lenses through which to understand and deconstruct racism and its relationship to different economic systems. To that end, this forum is imagined as the first in a series that seeks to address cultural constructions of race and racism around the world.

Lateral Forums are imagined as tools for conversation, education, and agitation and as such should be written in accessible prose. The incorporation of multi-media is welcome. Authors may be individual academics, journalists, activists, or community members, or collaborations. The forum as a whole will be peer-

differences (as for example in the recent declaration of the congregation for Catholic education on the 'question of gender theory in education'). As a consequence, feminist research has responded to religion with a certain amount of reserve. This also holds true for feminist analyses of religion(s); often, they are not regarded as a constituent part of feminist studies. Accordingly, feminism and religion seem not to be compatible. Instead, feminism – understood as a programmatic approach which is inherently connected to an enlightened, egalitarian modernity – seems to go hand in hand with secularism, although the promise of gender equality does not obtain insofar as it includes an androcentric bias.

Hence, feminist approaches in the religious sphere often disappear from view: how women\* and LGBT\*persons in varying religious contexts are reshaping and transforming religious gender arrangements, or how they are fighting to shift religious notions of sexuality and change religious gender codes—whether on the level of religious organizations, religious practices, or religious knowledge—how they question power relations, demand rights and recognition, or take over social space in the religious domain, does often meet a negative response in secular feminism. Moreover, it seems to be difficult to understand from a secular feminist perspective, how religion is experienced as a resource of practiced emancipation, lived equality and freedom, or how the turn to religion could also align with a feminist approach. Finally, a dialogue between secular and religious women\* becomes impossible, when secular feminism envisions itself as neutral.

The special issue of *feministische studien* focuses on these complex, but scarcely discussed connections between feminism, secularism, and religion. In order to get to the bottom of the interdependencies and tensions between religious and non-religious worldviews, the special issue invites contributions that shed light on the problem from different contexts and theoretical perspectives.

The aim is to contribute to a deeper understanding between secular and religious feminist approaches. This subject unfolds against the backdrop of an intensifying problematization of religious gender relations in the context of migration and asylum discourses, whether on the global or on the local level, recognizing in particular that 'Islam' and the 'Islamic gender order' have become the epitome of racialization and othering. Secular feminism must deal carefully with racism and antisemitism; this also means, to engage in introspection regarding its own reproduction of white, colonial, anti-Islamic, or anti-Semitic patterns of thinking and the \$\$

agents, British journalists, and Asian diplomats to a Coca-Cola manager and a former First Lady. Globalizing Morocco traces how these networks helped the nationalists achieve independence and then enabled the establishment of an authoritarian monarchy that persists today.

David Stenner tells the story of the Moroccan activists who managed to sway world opinion against the French and Spanish colonial authorities to gain independence, and in so doing illustrates how they contributed to the formation of international relations during the early Cold War. Looking at post-1945 world politics from the Moroccan vantage point, we can see fissures in the global order that allowed the peoples of Africa and Asia to influence a hierarchical system whose main purpose had been to keep them at the bottom. In the process, these anticolonial networks created an influential new model for transnational activism that remains relevant still to contemporary struggles.

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# Rethinking the repression-dissent nexus: assessing Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood's response to repression since the coup of 2013

Khalil al-Anani Democratization, 27 June 2019

This article examines the repression-dissent nexus in Islamist social movements. Several studies have overwhelmingly focused on the effects of repression on protest volume, level, and tactics. However, understanding the responses of individual members to regime repression and how they relate to the movement's collective response is rarely discussed. By analysing the response of the Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood to regime repression since the coup of 2013, this article explains the effects of repression on opposition movements. It argues that to understand the impact of repression on these movements, we need to differentiate between the collective and individual responses to repression. These two levels of analysis are crucial to better understand the repression-dissent nexus. Also, the article contends that collective and individual responses to repression cannot be explained by focusing solely on the structural and institutional ZUMCfg (].Y. cf[ Ub]nUf]cb, ]XYc`c[ m, `YUXYfg\]d, YHW). MYa VYfg\DdYfgcbU Yl dYf]YbWg a Ya cfm emotions, and trauma play a key role in shaping their response to repression. The article thus accounts for both the formal and informal effects of repression on Islamists.

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## The Gülen Movement and Surviving in Exile: The case of Australia

David Tittensor

Volume 19, 2018 - Issue 1: Ruin or Resilience? The Future of the Gülen Movement in Transnational Political Exile

In 2010, cracks began to emerge in the tacit alliance between the ruling **Partisi** (Justice and Development Party in Turkey, AK Party) and the Gülen Movement (GM) y,

Precarious Teachers Strike for Public Education in Morocco Zakia Salime

## Sudan revolution: How women's participation reveals societal fissures

Azza Ahmed Abdel Aziz Middle East Eye 1 July 2019

One of the singularities of the uprising in Khartoum was the remarkable visibility of women from all walks of life. The proportion of men to women was quite equitable, but it was perhaps the unexpected presence of young women that led to the hyperbolic depiction of women as being at the forefront.

As the uprising progressed, women stood as gatekeepers to diverse facets of broader Sudanese realities that were intimately tied to its evolution.

There is no denying that Facebook, Twitter, and - to a lesser degree - other social media platforms, have been instrumental in large-scale organising and mobilising, so much so that Egypt's 2011 uprising was dubbed "the Facebook revolution". As one protestor put it: "We use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate, and YouTube to tell the world." *Continue reading here* 

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Prosecution takes up political line in interrogation of several Coalition for Hope defendants, hands down 15-day detention orders

Rana Mamdouh Mada Masr June 27, 2019

Despite facing charges of coordinating with the Muslim Brotherhood to "bring down the state," many of the people detained in a Tuesday arrest campaign have been questioned during initial interrogations about their leftist political affiliations and plans to form a new coalition to field candidates in the 2020 parliamentary elections.

After the initial interrogations played out over the last two days, the eight people arrested — former Member of Parliament Zyad Elelaimy, journalist Hisham Fouad, Multiples Group investment firm founder Omar El-

and journalists who were looking to enter the political arena and prepare to run in the upcoming 2020 parliamentary elections.

Continue reading <a href="here">here</a>

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Istanbul mayoral vote: Is 'disastrous' loss beginning of Erdogan's end?

By Mark Lowen BBC News "The presidential elections are the only way to democracy," he said. "It [the elections] remains the only democratic, realistic and reasonable solution."

His speech comes just days before his interim mandate expires on July 9.

Algeria has been hit by months of protests that initially culminated in ailing President Abdelaziz Bouteflika stepping down in early April after tens of thousands opposed his bid for a fifth term.

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Visiting Professor, Kuwait Program at Sciences Po, Spring 2020 Semester

Deadline for Applications: September 1st, 2019

Based at Sciences Po's Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA), this position is open to professors and researchers who are full-time faculty members of professorial rank at their

**Minimum Qualifications** Ability to teach courses in area of specialization and global history required. Ph.D. in history or a related field, teaching experience, and evidence of scholarly potential expected. Candidates who are ABD will be considered, but the position requires completion of all doctoral requirements by August 2020.

**Additional Areas of Interest (No Minimum Level Required)** An ability to teach/support public history, history education, and/or digital history initiatives.

**Essential Duties and Responsibilities** Teach courses in area of specialization and global history. In addition to instructional duties, faculty members are expected to maintain an active program of scholarship as well as participate in service activities.

**Special Instructions to Applicants** Applicants must email a complete application consisting of an application letter, C.V., and three letters of recommendation to the Search Committee Chair c/o <a href="mailto:gamblerr@appstate.edu">gamblerr@appstate.edu</a>. The initial review of complete applications will begin on September 16, 2019 and continue until the position is filled.

**Initial Review Date** 9/16/2019

**Person and address to whom the application should be sent** Search Committee Chair c/o gamblerr@appstate.edu

**Description of the Department or Unit** The History Department at Appalachian State provides students with knowledge of their own cultural tradition and an appreciation of other cultures and societies of the past. It promotes an appreciation of the complexity of human affairs and the difficulties involved in interpreting them. The department offers a broad curriculum in local, national, regional, and world history, which encourages history majors to develop a comparative approach to human problems. The department offers four undergraduate majors, and three tracks within a master's degree program - employing approximately 25 tenure-line faculty members. Additional information about the department, the university and the surrounding area is located at: <a href="https://history.appstate.edu/">https://history.appstate.edu/</a>

**Seated Disability Statement** Individuals with disabilities may request accommodations in the application process by contacting Maranda Maxey, Director & ADA/504 Coordinator, at 828-262-3056 or maxeymr@appstate.edu.

**Description of the University** Appalachian St

**Diversity Statement** Appalachian State University is committed to developing and allocating resources to the fundamental task of creating a diverse campus culture. We value diversity as the expression of human similarities and differences, as well as the importance of a living and learning environment conducive to knowledge, respect, acceptance, understanding and global awareness. Learn more at <a href="http://diversity.appstate.edu">http://diversity.appstate.edu</a>.

**Background Check Statement** Any offer of employment to a successful candidate will be conditioned upon the University's receipt of a satisfactory criminal background report.

**Eligibility of Employment** Proper documentation of identity and eligibility for employment will be required before the hiring process can be completed.

More information and application <a href="here">here</a>

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Assistant Professor (Tenure-Track Position) in Law and Politics in Global or Middle East Context, Whitman College, Washington

Deadline for applications: August 15th, 2019

Tenure-track position in law and politics in global context at the rank of assistant professor. Effective August 2020. Ph.D. required.

We are interested in a teacher-scholar with a focus on law and politics in a global context. We welcome candidates who work with a variety of methods, including fieldwork, archival, historical institutional, political theoretical, and/or legal textual approaches. Candidates might offer courses such as international law; international politics; decolonization; human rights; theories of empire; comparative constitutionalism; indigenous politics; and/or area-specific courses on Asia, Africa, or Latin America. The candidate selected for the position will have the opportunity to contribute to the work of the college's Center for Global Studies, as well as interdisciplinary programs such as Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Environmental Studies, Gender Studies, and Race and Ethnic Studies, as appropriate. Women and minority candidates are strongly encouraged to apply.

The standard annual teaching load is five courses. The College provides a generous sabbatical leave program and professional development support for both research and teaching.

Whitman College is committed to cultivating a diverse learning community. Applicants should explain how their classroom and scholarly practices will serve to create and sustain an inclusive learning environment. This statement can be included in the cover letter or the teaching statement. In their cover letter, candidates should address their interest in working at a liberal arts college with undergraduates, majors as well as non-majors, at all levels of instruction.

To apply, go to https://whitmanhr.simplehire.com/, click "Faculty" and "Assistant Professor of Politics". The online application will prompt you to submit all of the required materials: a letter of application; separate statements addressing the candidate's teaching interests and scholarly agenda; curriculum vitae; the contact information for three people who will be