



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

The Fourth Annual

ACRPS International Winter School Program

Political Culture Revisited: How Values Drive Politics

7-17 January 2023



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The Fourth Annual **ACRPS International Winter School Program**

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About the International Winter School

The International Winter School (WS) is a 10-day annual program organised by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) that seeks to provide an in-depth and critical look at selected topics in the broader study of the Middle East and North Africa. It provides an opportunity for participants to network with regional scholars, gain substantive knowledge and insight, and receive feedback from respected academics. The WS invites regional and international lecturers to generate these much-needed discussions and provide participants with nuanced feedback and intellectual exchange.

Since its launch in 2020, the WS has received hundreds of applications from around the world. This made the program a place where specialists in the field can meet others from across the world and form ties with the various departments at the ACRPS. Thus, the program is a starting point for future collaborations, opportunities for guest lecturing, and a place for getting a better idea of the research conducted in the field from the Arab World.

The theme of the 2023 Winter School, "Political Culture Revisited: How Values Drive Politics", was selected to reflect emerging research trends in a variety of social science disciplines and to generate fruitful discussion. The political culture as a theoretical framework has become indispensable to understanding the influence of ideologies, norms, values, religions, and political consciousness on the complex relations between participants in the political process and institutions of power. It has been utilised in many fields of the social sciences, such as the study of social movements, social conflicts, political mobilisation, nationalism, democratisation, and so on. Nevertheless, there is also a growing awareness among scholars that overstressing the role of political culture can evoke fatalistic and xenophobic views of cultural differences.

As such, the objective of the 2023 Winter School is to provide an in-depth and critical reading of studies written by academic experts on political culture. Participants will have the chance to present and receive feedback on their research papers in dedicated sessions, looking at political culture in different regions and examining it in relation to a variety of social and political issues. The research projects reflect on data collected in Canada, Ecuador, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and the US. Political culture is discussed in relation to democratic transitions, voting behaviour, levels of institutional trust, reactions to constitutional reforms, participation in different social movements, attitudinal and value changes over time, foreign policy, among other issues. The diverse nature of the empirical work to be presented alongside the theoretical focus of the lectures on political culture will provide a unique opportunity to enrich our understanding of this year's Winter School topic.

Timetable

Day 1: Saturday, 7 January 2023

9:00 – 9:30	Registration
9:30 – 9:45	Welcoming Remarks
9:45 – 11:00	<p>Opening Lecture</p> <p>Azmi Bishara: On Political Culture and Democratic Transition</p> <p>Chair: Hani Awad</p>
11:00 – 11:15	Coffee Break
11:15 – 12:30	<p>Ameni Mehrez: When Right is Left: Values and Voting Behavior in Tunisia</p> <p>Chair: Ammar Shamaileh</p> <p>Discussant: Mark Tessler</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Narmin Butt</p>
12:30 – 13:30	Lunch Break
13:30 – 14:45	<p>Haifa Souilmi: A Tale of Two "Exceptions": Everyday Politics of Democratic Backsliding and Elites' Conflicting Views on Democracy in Tunisia</p> <p>Chair: Mohammed Hemchi</p> <p>Discussant: Ellen Lust</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Carmen Fulco</p>

Day 2: Sunday, 8 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Ellen Lust: Everyday Choices: The Role of Competing Authorities and Social Institutions in Politics and Development</p> <p>Chair: Aicha Elbasri</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Ernesto Espindola: A Psychosocial Approach to "Constitutional Instability" in Ecuador</p> <p>Chair: Natalie Tayim</p> <p>Discussant: Ammar Shamaileh</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Haifa Souilmi</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:00	<p>Silvia-Lucretia Nicola: How Values Drive Politics: To What Extent Can Germany's Culture of Military Restraint Stabilise Iraq and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq?</p> <p>Chair: Mohammed Hemchi</p> <p>Discussant: Marwa Fikri</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Haya Mahanna Al-Nuaimi</p>

Day 3: Monday, 9 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Mark Tessler: Political Culture, Elections, and the Implications for Governance in Six Arab Countries</p> <p>Chair: Ammar Shamaileh</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Mohamad Al-Ashmar: The Political Culture of the Civic Opposition in Syria since the 2000s</p> <p>Chair: Elizabeth Kassab</p> <p>Discussant: Walter Armbrust</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Paulina Warsza</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:15	<p>Roundtable Discussion</p> <p>The Relevance of Political Culture</p> <p>Chair: Bassel F. Salloukh</p>

Day 4: Tuesday, 10 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Abdelwahab El Affendi: Political Culture as an Affliction: The Uses and Abuses of Culture as an Explanatory Variable in Politics</p> <p>Chair: Ayat Hamdan</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Zeyno Kececioglu: How Does Religion Influence Policy Making: Comparative Politics of Abortion in Poland and Turkey</p> <p>Chair: Tomas Dumbrovsky</p> <p>Discussant: Moataz El Fegiry</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Ernesto Espindola</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:00	<p>Corina Lozovan: The Young and the Restless in the Virtual Sphere: A Vision of Political Culture in Contemporary Omani Society</p> <p>Chair: Ismail Nashef</p> <p>Discussant: Amal Ghazal</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Mohamad Al-Ashmar</p>

Day 5: Wednesday, 11 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Walter Armbrust: Patterns and Events: The Anthropology of Revolution</p> <p>Chair: Amal Ghazal</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Haya Mahanna Al-Nuaimi: Strategic Narratives and Foreign Policy: Study of Small Arab States</p> <p>Chair: Mehran Kamrava</p> <p>Discussant: Marwan Kabalan</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Marko Jovanović</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:00	<p>Narmin Butt: Voting for Former Collaborators of Insurgent Groups in Afghanistan</p> <p>Chair: Mounir Kchaou</p> <p>Discussant: Omar Ashour</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Silvia-Lucretia Nicola</p>

Day 6: Thursday, 12 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Wenfang Tang: How Can Political Culture Prevent the Clash of Civilisations? The Chinese Experience</p> <p>Chair: Imad Mansour</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Robert Asaadi: Political Culture, Crisis, and Attitudinal Change in Contemporary Iran</p> <p>Chair: Ayhab Saad</p> <p>Discussant: Mehran Kamrava</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Joseph Rodriguez</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:00	<p>Carmen Fulco: When Value-Systems Constrain Pact-Making: The Case of the Tunisian Opposition Coordination Failures in the Post-July Order of 2021</p> <p>Chair: Elias Khalil</p> <p>Discussant: Nizar Jouini</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Ameni Mehrez</p>

Day 7: Saturday, 14 January 2023

10:00 – 12:00	<p>Workshop</p> <p>Measuring Political Culture Using Surveys: The Arab Opinion Index as a Case Study</p> <p>Chair: Mohammad Almasri</p>
12:00 – 13:00	Lunch Break
13:00 – 14:15	<p>Joseph Rodriguez: Education for Democracy: Political Formation for Undemocratic Times</p> <p>Chair: Marwa Farag</p> <p>Discussant: Stephen Welch</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Zeyno Kececioğlu</p>

Day 8: Sunday, 15 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Stephen Welch: Political Culture Research: Conceptual Problems and Research Opportunities</p> <p>Chair: Sari Hanafi</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Giulia Macario: Challenging the Order of Subjugation: Female Political Participation within the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood</p> <p>Chair: Raoudha Elguédri</p> <p>Discussant: Sari Hanafi</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Robert Asaadi</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:00	<p>Marko Jovanović: Indicators of Anti-American Attitudes in Arab Countries</p> <p>Chair: Mohamad Hamas Elmasry</p> <p>Discussant: Wenfang Tang</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Ayfer Erdoğan Şafak</p>

Day 9: Monday, 16 January 2023

10:00 – 11:15	<p>Lecture</p> <p>Sari Hanafi: Understanding Political Culture in the Arab World through Religious and Moral Congruence</p> <p>Chair: Abdelkarim Amengay</p>
11:15 – 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:45	<p>Ayfer Erdoğan Şafak: Post-Islamism in Tunisia and Turkey: Divergent Trajectories</p> <p>Chair: Abdelfattah Mady</p> <p>Discussant: Abdelkarim Amengay</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Giulia Macario</p>
12:45 – 13:45	Lunch Break
13:45 – 15:00	<p>Paulina Warsza: State-Society Power Struggle in Iraq: Between the "Non-State" and "We Want a Homeland"</p> <p>Chair: Muhanad Seloom</p> <p>Discussant: Bassel F. Salloukh</p> <p>Participant Discussant: Corina Lozovan</p>

Day 10: Tuesday, 17 January 2023

10:00 – 11:30	Closing Remarks
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Participants



Robert Asaadi

Instructor in the Department of Political Science at Portland Community College in Portland, Oregon, US. He holds an MA and a PhD from the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, and a BS in Political Science from the University of Iowa. His research and teaching interests cover international relations theory; international security; modern and contemporary Iranian politics; and US Foreign Policy. His first book, *Post-Revolutionary Iran: The Leader, the People, and the Three Powers*, was published with Rowman & Littlefield in April 2021 and released in paperback in August 2022.

Political Culture, Crisis, and Attitudinal Change in Contemporary Iran

This paper explores varied expressions of crisis and their impact on political culture through a case study of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The paper follows two lines of empirical inquiry in its attempt to identify and explain the meanings and consequences of crisis on political culture in the Iranian case: quantitative analysis of social survey data (World Values Survey, IranPoll, and the Group for Analysing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran) and qualitative analysis of reform-oriented social movements. Through this mixed-method approach, the paper draws attention to the dynamics of regime reproduction and durability as well as the broader shifts in mass political culture in Iran. The paper advances a novel perspective on the relationship between culture and crisis, what the paper terms the "cultural transition model", arguing that societies prefer protest under circumstances in which cultural change from high confidence to low confidence in government is met by the state with repression rather than reform. The paper contributes to our understanding of the relationship between crisis and political culture by demonstrating that the transition from high to low public confidence in state institutions, rather than a static cultural measure, is critical in our understanding of how cultural change shapes political action.



Mohamad Al-Ashmar

PhD student in the School of International Relations at the University of St Andrews, UK, and a Research Fellow at the Centre for Syrian Studies. He previously worked as Policy Leader Fellow and Research Assistant at the European University Institute and EUI Middle East Directions Programme, and Research Fellow at the Syrian Centre for Policy Research, Beirut. He combines 12 years of professional and academic experience as a Humanitarian Affairs Consultant for several donors, INGOs, and international agencies in the region, and as a scholar-activist, where his academic research is embedded in the context of activism, human rights, forced displacement, migration, security, civic spaces, and justice. His research focuses on the political economy of the Syrian diaspora, humanitarianism, transnationalism, and authoritarian resistance in Syria. His most recent publication is "Supporting Internally Displaced People: Transnational Solidarity and the Syrian Diaspora" (2022).

The Political Culture of the Civic Opposition in Syria since the 2000s

The Syrian regime had undergone changes in the decade prior to the 2011 revolutions. These changes enabled the emergence of aspiring democratic discourses and stimulated transformations in political culture by allowing a limited space for the development of opposition groups, advocacy for human rights, platforms and forums for political participation. With the opening of such spaces, it became possible to see the development of a Syrian civil society centered around modern values and aspiration for political pluralism. By presenting cases of opposition activity and political thought in Syria in the years preceding the revolution, this paper seeks to challenge the idea that Arabs and Islamic values contradict principles of democracy, participation, and pluralism. The paper discusses the cases of several Syrian intellectuals, academics, and religious leaders and their struggle for democratization, pluralism, and political reforms. The paper also discusses the emergence of diaspora institutions (i.e., Syrian civil society) post-2011. In doing so, the paper seeks to discuss the political culture amongst political activists during the 2000s in Syria and how this helped shape the continued resistance to the regime in the diaspora.



Narmin Butt

PhD student in Political Science at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). She specialises in comparative politics, experimental methods, and identity politics. Her regional specialisation is predominantly Muslim countries in the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. Her most recent funded projects include a comparative study of the integration of former collaborators into Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, and Nigeria. Her doctoral thesis addresses how a past of collaboration with an insurgent group impacts an individual's likelihood of being integrated back into different spheres of society. Her research has received funding from the National Association of University Women, Khpal Kor Foundation (KKF), and the Afghanistan Democracy and Development Organization (ADDO).

Voting for Former Collaborators of Insurgent Groups in Afghanistan

As cities and states transition from rule by armed groups to legitimate governments, concerns regarding integrating former collaborators back into society rise. This process is complicated by the overlap of ethnicity with insurgent groups, and by the fact that collaboration with these groups has often been widespread. Previous work has shown that the nature of collaboration shapes re-integration of civilians, while ethnicity has relatively little impact. Employing a conjoint survey experiment conducted in Kabul, Afghanistan, this paper expands earlier work from civilian to elite collaborators and considers a case where identity considerations are likely to be important. The paper finds that respondents are less likely to vote for political candidates that have a history of collaboration and that they are more likely to vote for co-ethnic collaborators than non-co-ethnic collaborators. Finally, the paper finds that the role a group plays in the conflict determines whether a motivated reasoning of politics or respectability dynamic holds in their assessment of in-group and out-group members.



Ernesto Espindola

PhD student in Government, University of Essex, UK. He received an MA in Ideology and Discourse Analysis from Essex, an MA in Public Policy from FLACSO, Ecuador, and his BA in Political Science from Universidad de Belgrano, Argentina. He has worked as a public servant at the Ecuadorian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the Development Bank of Ecuador. His academic interests lie in the intersection of political theory, Lacanian psychoanalysis, religion, and ideology in postcolonial contexts. He has published a book on the meaning of the tithe's survival in nineteenth century Ecuador.

A Psychosocial Approach to "Constitutional Instability" in Ecuador

Ecuador has replaced its constitution nineteen times since independence. The Constituent Assemblies (CAs) in charge of writing the new constitution have been convened by democratic and non-democratic "caudillos" ("authoritarian" leaders). How can we best characterise and account for Ecuador's constitutional volatility? The literature on constitutional instability speaks of legal, economic, context-dependent, and institutionalist explanations accounting for this type of instability. Despite their usefulness, these schools fall short in identifying and elucidating the ideological grip obtained by the frequent abolition-replacement of the constitution in force. From a transdisciplinary perspective, this paper contributes to our understanding of this type of emotional phenomenon in presidential Latin America. Drawing on history, ideology, and psychoanalysis, the paper conducts a diachronic discourse analysis of the ideological grip procured by the constant destruction of the Ecuadorian charter. It argues that Ecuador's long-lasting history of political instability has prompted a political culture prone to supporting messianic leaders—that is, lawgivers whose images have blended with the aspiration of perpetual stability found in CAs. This work focuses on the 1869 and 2007-2008 CAs. These constitutional processes were highly influenced by Presidents Gabriel García Moreno, Eloy Alfaro, and Rafael Correa, key "lawgivers" in Ecuador's history.



Carmen Fulco

Teaching Assistant in the Politics Department at Otago University. Her prime research interests comprise politics and religion, pact-making, and populism in the MENA region. She pursued her undergraduate and master's degrees in Oriental Studies at Sapienza University of Rome and has lived and studied in Egypt and Tunisia, which remain her main geographic areas of interest. In her PhD thesis, she explored the change capacity of the Ennahda Movement and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood by unpacking their organisational dynamics in the post-uprisings period (2011–2020) and assessing the overall imprint that those dynamics left on their respective organisations ten years later.

When Value-Systems Constrain Pact-Making: The Case of the Tunisian Opposition Coordination Failures in the Post-July Order of 2021

Following the 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections, Tunisian domestic politics has plunged into a state of institutional and political impasse. On July 25, 2021, amid widespread anti-government protests, Tunisia's current president, Kais Saied, ousted the prime minister and suspended parliament. In the six months since the president's power grab, party leaders and key civic actors took shifting, ambivalent, and disaggregated stances on Saied's move. Drawing on a political party perspective, this paper invites us to examine the historical legacy of Tunisian pact-making and alliance politics by applying Timothy Mitchell's theory of the State Effect framed in a historical perspective. In doing so, this paper contends that Tunisian pact-making in the post-July 2021 setting follows similar opposition coordination patterns that emanated from the state-idea of the Tunisian One-Party State. On the occasion of Saied's presidential coup, political forces have preferred to unite exclusively and selectively, driven by the "secular vs Islamist divide" fuelled under the Tunisian One-Party State. The Tunisian selective consensus that emerged from the post-2021 scenario provides us with an instrumental case study to reflect on how pre-existing group values drive alliance politics and contribute to authoritarian regression.



Marko Jovanović

Research Assistant at the Institute of Social Sciences. He holds a BA and an MA from the University of Belgrade's Department of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Philology, and is currently pursuing a PhD within the same Department. He also holds an MA degree in International Politics from the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Sciences. His research interests include various areas of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, as well as Political Sciences and Public Opinion research. He has presented his research at universities such as Cambridge, Harvard, Chicago, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Bonn, Bratislava, Sofia, Yerevan, among others.

Indicators of Anti-American Attitudes in Arab Countries

This paper will examine negative attitudes towards the foreign policy and citizens of the US that are present in the Arab world. It will briefly explore relevant literature on sources of anti-American sentiments among the populations of Arab countries. Based on that, the paper hypothesises that American hegemonism, religiosity, satisfaction with internal conditions in a given country, and general openness to the world determine the political and societal anti-Americanism of the citizens of Arab countries. To examine that, the paper analyses data gathered in 2018 and 2019 during Wave V of the Arab Barometer, a regional public opinion survey, which was conducted in twelve different countries.



Zeyno Kececioglu

PhD student in the International Relations Department at Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey. Since September 2018, she has worked as a research and teaching assistant at Sabancı and Koç Universities. Her MA thesis examines the effect of ethnic and religious ties on the emergence and persistence of solidarity between Arab-Turkish citizens and Syrians in Turkey and the areas of contestation and conflict between the two communities. Her research interests include nationalism, state-making, migration studies, and identity politics. She has presented her research at international conferences organised by the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) and Humboldt University, Berlin.

How Does Religion Influence Policy Making: Comparative Politics of Abortion in Poland and Turkey

Poland and Turkey show parallelism in terms of the factors explaining the (il)legal status of abortion in the literature, such as the influence of religion in policy-making, a pious population, authoritarian populism, the feminist movement, and anti-global exclusive nationalism. Why, then, was abortion banned in Poland, which is more democratic, better in terms of women's empowerment and gender equality, and a member of the EU, and not in Turkey, despite a legal attempt to ban it? This paper argues that the role of religion in state-making accounts for the difference. Although religious mobilisation played an essential role in the making of both Poland and Turkey, the Catholic Church's influence has continued, while Turkey's political elite initiated a path toward secular modernisation that divided society along secular and religious lines. Despite the ever-increasing power of religion in politics and society, the whole of Turkish society, unlike in Poland, does not embrace religion as the saviour of the nation. Therefore, the capacity of religion to regulate social life and politics is less in Turkey than in Poland.



Corina Lozovan

PhD student in Political Science and International Relations at the Institute for Political Studies at Universidade Católica Portuguesa. She holds an MA degree in Middle Eastern Studies from Lund University and a postgraduate course in Strategic and Security Studies. Her focus is on the Middle East and Gulf region, where she spent a year as a visiting researcher at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman. Her research interests lie in politics, governance, transition, history, conflict, art, and religion.

The Young and the Restless in the Virtual Sphere: A Vision of Political Culture in Contemporary Omani Society

Despite being portrayed as a peaceful country, Oman has also seen sporadic initiatives of young people expressing their grievances about the lack of opportunities. Yet, the focus on political culture in Oman is scarce and usually unwilling to understand its youth. As envisaged by Sultan Qaboos bin Sa'id, Omani society has been modernised. In this process, this paper argues that the Omani citizen emerged as a neutral citizen, which the author defines as "a subject characterised by taking few stances or limited public self-expression on political matters". Although neutrality is often perceived as someone who is depoliticised, in this case, the argument is that neutrality is in itself a political choice, which contradicts the usual depictions of Omanis as passive or alienated from politics. Despite the lack of political participation, many young people are aware of what is happening in their surroundings and are actively engaged in the virtual sphere. Thus, the country's political culture is not stagnant. The complex dynamics of internal and external changes are crucial to understanding how political culture develops and influences the relationship between the elites and ordinary citizens. This paper aims to concentrate on the young, vibrant layer of the population and to understand their views and conceptualisation of political engagement. It examines how young Omani citizens are redefining the values that drive politics and becoming an engine for potential changes. Supported by fieldwork methodology, the paper intends to understand how they distinguish themselves from the older generations as they navigate a landscape of challenges and the leadership transition of Sultan Haitham.



Giulia Macario

PhD student in Institutions and Politics at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart (UniCatt) in Milan, Italy. Her research interests focus on Islamism, political activism and participation, political violence, gender, and religion studies. She works with Gramscian theory, subalternity, and decolonial approaches. Her doctoral dissertation focuses on women in the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, theoretically relying on performance and politics studies and adopting a historical case-study research design. Prior to that, she worked as a Research Assistant at the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan in Amman focusing on Jordanian politics, Islamism, and religion in public space in the MENA region.

Challenging the Order of Subjugation: Female Political Participation within the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood

This paper aims at deciphering female participation within the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood (JMB). It relies on the theoretical framework provided by performance and politics studies while aiming at reconstructing the history of female participation within the movement from the early 1950s until today. The paper aims at mapping the morphology of women within the JMB, looking at their work and participation in the organisation, including its political party branches (1992-). This would be done on three different levels: women in the main political party branch, the Islamic Action Front (IAF); women's participation in the parties that split off from the IAF after that party's fracturing since 2011; and women's participation in Islamist educational and charity sectors. Furthermore, the goal is to narrate women's perspectives in the JMB, and their understanding of leadership, power, and future opportunities. The paper employs a historical case-study design and focuses on qualitative methods. It will result in the first major study on the important subject of Islamist women's participation in Jordan. The paper will make an important contribution to our understanding of the intersection between women and Islamism, which carries relevance for those studying Islamist parties in the entire region and for scholars focusing on female political participation in politics.



Ameni Mehrez

PhD student in Comparative Politics at the Doctoral School of Political Science, Public Policy, and International Relations at Central European University (CEU). She is a Junior Fellow at the Association for Analytic Learning about Islam and Muslim Societies (AALIMS). She is also the Chair of the Middle East and North Africa Space (MENAS) at CEU, the co-principal investigator of the Arab Elections project, and was the co-principal investigator of a post-election survey fielded in Tunisia, which will contribute to the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES).

When Right is Left: Values and Voting Behavior in Tunisia

According to theories on ideological differences, individuals who endorse the values of freedom, justice, and equality are expected to be left-wing oriented, whereas individuals who endorse authoritarian values are expected to be right-wing oriented. This paper hypothesises that such associations do not hold in the Arab world, where in the context of past state formation trajectories, leftists and secularists endorsed an authoritarian-nationalist discourse to build post-colonial states, while Islamists endorsed a freedom-and-justice discourse as a reaction to state oppression. Using original representative face-to-face survey data collected right after the 2019 Tunisian elections, this paper tests this hypothesis by examining which values determine citizens' voting behaviour in both parliamentary and presidential elections. Results show that people who endorse liberty-and-justice values are more likely to vote for Islamist right-wing parties, whereas those who endorse authoritarian-nationalist values are more likely to vote for leftist parties. These results have important implications for the study of voting behaviour in the Arab world and in comparative politics.



Silvia-Lucretia Nicola

Research Associate at the Bundeswehr Center for Military History and Social Sciences. She is currently pursuing her PhD at the Freie Universität Berlin with a project on the relations between Germany and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), which has a strong empirical grounding based on several months of field research across the KRI. Her research interests include security studies, post-conflict transformation, political economy, and migration. Her latest two articles deal with the political and military situation in Sinjar after 2014 and migration attitudes after the KRI's latest financial crisis.

How Values Drive Politics: To What Extent Can Germany's Culture of Military Restraint Stabilise Iraq and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq?

When talking about the critical role of Western actors in the Middle East, the focus usually falls on the US, Great Britain, or France. Far less researched is the German influence, despite the region's utmost geo-strategic importance on the borderlands of the European neighbourhood. Yet, Germany's involvement in Iraq seems to be benevolently tolerated, potentially even welcomed, as a non-Mandate power, the second largest aid-donor, and a reluctant military interventionist. While much has been written about Germany's historically developed culture of strategic military restraint, far less is known about the impact of other employed means of promoting stability, political change, and conflict transformation. Under these circumstances, this paper examines: Which ideas and values have been promoted by Germany during interactions with Iraq and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) between 1991 and 2020? The focus lies on the way specific German sets of values, beliefs, and attitudes are being implemented in Iraq and the KRI to promote stability, political change, and conflict transformation outside of the military realm, targeting both government institutions as well as civil society groups. The work is based on field work conducted in the region in 2019 and 2022.

Haya Mahanna Al-Nuaimi

PhD student in the School of International Relations at the University of St. Andrews and a Lecturer in the Department of International Affairs at Qatar University. She completed her MA in International Relations in the Department of War Studies at King's College London and holds a BA in International Affairs with a concentration on Security Studies and Diplomacy from Qatar University. Her interests are in small state foreign policy, Gulf studies, public diplomacy, strategic narratives, and critical security studies. Her PhD research is titled "Small Gulf States and the Role of Strategic Narratives in their Foreign Policies".

Strategic Narratives and Foreign Policy: Study of Small Arab States

This paper presents the role of strategic narratives in the foreign policy of small states. Strategic narratives are calculated storylines of events intended to shape perceptions, outcomes, and to an extent, policy. While strategic narratives have been utilised by many actors, their use by small states has been understudied. Within the traditional understanding of international relations, states are expected to abide by certain "natural" roles; small states, for example, are expected to join international institutions in order to regain some agency within a system that favours great, powerful states. However, the reality of international relations is not a well-ordered ecosystem of natural roles, but one of socially constructed roles through the interaction and communication of states with each other and other actors in the system. Using Qatar and the United Arab Emirates as case studies, this paper forms a theoretical framework suitable for examining the role the strategic narrative plays and through which small states attempt to construct self-identities and shape perceptions of issues and policies within the region and internationally.



Joseph Rodriguez

PhD student in Political Science at Duke University. His research interests lie in normative political theory, constitutional law and jurisprudence, and education. Prior to Duke, he completed his undergraduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, majoring in Political Science and Philosophy.

Education for Democracy: Political Formation for Undemocratic Times

Contemporary democratic theory largely takes the formation of political citizens for granted. This elision is problematic given that democracy is the most cognitively demanding form of political organisation. If the strength of democracy relies on active, autonomous, and civically educated citizens, how might they be formed? Questions about education are not only technical questions, that is, questions about how to teach, but also moral and political questions about what should be taught, to whom, for what ends, and on what authority. Education is thus always political since it concerns the formation of the future generations. The aim of this paper is to consider the normative basis of education. Its primary task is to lay out an account that shows the democratic potential of education to show that democratic formation can take place in schools. The larger idea underlying the paper is that no one is born a democratic citizen — democratic formation takes hard work. Democratic institutions are therefore more likely to shape and form us to become more democratic.



Ayfer Erdoğan Şafak

Lecturer of Modern Languages at Yildiz Technical University, Istanbul. She holds an MA degree in Politics and International Studies with a specialisation in Eurasian Studies from Uppsala University, and a PhD in International Relations and Political Science from Yildiz Technical University. Her research interests are democratic transitions, civil-military relations, civil society, and Islam and politics in the MENA region. She has published on post-Arab Spring politics in Tunisia and Egypt, transitions from authoritarianism, political Islamist movements, and civil society in the Middle East. She is the author of *Arab Spring-Arab Fall: Divergent Transitions in post-2011 Tunisia and Egypt* (Lexington, 2021).

Post-Islamism in Tunisia and Turkey: Divergent Trajectories

The Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey and Ennahda Party in Tunisia have gone through significant transformation both in their political rhetoric and the policies they have adopted. They have transcended the narrow boundaries of Islamism and have struggled to incorporate religiosity within the framework of modern civil state and to harmonise Islam with democracy. Due to this significant shift, these parties could be investigated within the framework "post-Islamism", a term coined by Asef Bayat. This paper delves into the varied experiences of these two prominent post-Islamist parties. Drawing on the individual experiences of the two parties, this article seeks to answer the following question: How do the post-Islamist parties diverge in terms of their ideology, discourse, and strategies with regard to democratisation in Tunisia and Turkey? It argues that the variations in the political trajectories of these countries are largely shaped by the parties' leadership styles, their understanding of democracy, intra-party politics, and the parties' strategic and tactical choices at critical times (e.g., coalition making, their approach to constitutional drafting, and choosing between presidential versus parliamentary systems). Thus, the paper aims to shed light on the relationship between post-Islamist parties and the course of democratisation or de-democratisation in Tunisia and Turkey in a comparative context.



Haifa Souilmi

PhD student and Graduate Teaching Fellow in the Political Science department at the University of Oregon. She holds an MA in Political Science, an MA in English Language Literature and Civilisation (Major American Civilisation), and a Graduate Certificate in Interfaith Dialogue. She is also a Graduate Student at the Graduate Certificate Program in New Media and Culture at the University of Oregon. She has a Graduate Certificate in Interfaith Dialogue and a CONTACT Certificate in Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation from SIT Graduate Institute, Vermont. She taught English, French, and Drama in Turkey, Poland, Tunisia, and the US. She is currently working on her dissertation research on the role of media and civil society in democratic backsliding in Tunisia and Hungary. Her academic interests are comparative politics and international relations. She is specifically interested in democratisation, democratic backsliding, religion, politics, media, civil society, US foreign policy, international relations, and politics of the MENA region.

A Tale of Two "Exceptions": Everyday Politics of Democratic Backsliding and Elites' Conflicting Views on Democracy in Tunisia

Why do citizens support democratic backsliding? And how do elites' divergent understandings of democracy in nascent democracies influence the ability to prevent democratic backsliding and oppose it? Tunisia has been upheld as the exception in the Arab World for its successful democratisation. However, it has seen deliberate acts of democratic subversion despite its exceptional status. Polls show an overwhelming support for the president despite his acts of democratic subversion. Ethnographic evidence in the rural community of Vaga where the "yes" vote for the referendum was 80 percent shows that emotional voting, illiberal values, and the paradox of nostalgia and fear can explain the support for Kais Saied and his executive aggrandisement. Yet, the support is conditional and contested. Tunisians have not given up on key democratic practices. Also, elites' divergent understandings of democracy contribute to complacency with executive aggrandisement and fragmentation of the oppositions.



Paulina Warsza

PhD student at the University of Warsaw and visiting doctoral researcher at the Middle East Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science. She completed internships at NATO's Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, Middle East and North Africa Section as well as in the National Security Bureau. Her research puts emphasis on analysing and deconstructing various levels and aspects of identity as one of the factors determining the stability of the state in the Middle East.

State-Society Power Struggle in Iraq: Between the "Non-State" and "We Want a Homeland"

The paper analyses responses from interviews with 50 Iraqi supporters of the October revolution through the prism of a broader discourse on Iraqis' national self-identification and its significance for state stability. The concepts of the non-state [*Lā Dawla*] and desire for a homeland [*Nurīdu Watan*] have been central to protesters' rhetoric. With the expansion of the Westphalian order to the non-European world, embodied in the Wilsonian mandate ideal – Iraq of 1932, came the universalisation of sovereignty, which resulted in the internal instability of many postcolonial states, validating the claim that decolonisation meant the end of the empirical state. Designations of de facto sovereignty no longer had to accompany de jure sovereignty. So, for contemporary Iraqis, what constitutes a substantial difference between a state and a non-state, between a state and a homeland? There has been a prevailing notion of the dichotomic relation between a weak state and a strong society, then a strong state and a weak society which enables authoritarianism. In reality, this antinomy is flawed and not absolute. Iraqis' self-identification is understood as emancipation through the negotiation of meaning and the reflective relationship with the postcolonial state. The prefix "post" indicates not a time sequence but a certain continuum of consequences, a reflective and, indeed, reflexive relationship with the preceding era. Thus, the national identity of Iraqis is interwoven with the discourse of state legitimacy and civil society. For the interviewees, the protest became a performative ritual of citizenship emancipation.

Lecturers



Abdelwahab El Affendi

President of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI). He previously served as Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities (2017-2020) and Head of the Politics and International Relations Program (2015-2017) at the DI. He acquired his PhD in Political Science (1989) from the University of Reading, UK, and is the founding coordinator of the Democracy and Islam Program at the University of Westminster, UK (1998-2015). He has also worked as a pilot, London-based Sudanese diplomat, journalist, and magazine editor in the UK. He is the author of *Who Needs an Islamic State?* (1991), among other books and research published in peer-reviewed journals.

Political Culture as an Affliction: The Uses and Abuses of Culture as an Explanatory Variable in Politics

The term "culture" is problematic in many ways, but primarily because it is used in two opposing senses. The origins of the term culture/cultured is used with reference to an attainment in terms of developed learning, sophistication, and refined conduct. Often applied as a synonym of "civilisation", it denotes superiority over the "uneducated", uncouth, vulgar, "barbarian", etc. However, when used in the phrase "political culture", it often has negative connotations, referring to whatever beliefs, ideas, and values a community shares. In the literature, the political cultures of developed democracies are contrasted to those of shaky democracies, with political culture often taken as the key explanatory variable to the level of shakiness/stability of a democracy. In this paper, we explore the complications at the heart of this debate, starting with the two implicit, interlocking claims of culture as a prerequisite for, and an obstacle to, political development. In the first case, political culture has evolved independently of democracy and facilitated its development. In the second case, political culture plays the opposite role where political action is needed to transform culture for it to become the "right" one while, ironically, often bringing about discord and conflict. Our working hypothesis is that while political culture (especially when defined tautologically as the prevalent attitudes toward politics) does indeed shape politics, it is also shaped and/or transformed via political action. The solution is to recognise that culture is "political", which means that it is an arena of contest: one that is not necessarily "civil" at all.



Walter Armbrust

Professor of Modern Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Oxford's Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, and a fellow of St Antony's College. He is an anthropologist whose research focuses on mass media, popular culture, and politics, with a specific focus on Egypt. Recent publications include *Martyrs and Tricksters: An Ethnography of the Egyptian Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 2019), and "Meandering through the Magazine: Print Culture(s) and Reading Practices in Interwar Egypt" (*Middle East Journal Culture and Communication*, 2022).

Patterns and Events: The Anthropology of Revolution

This lecture will survey anthropological approaches to revolution, giving particular attention to recent scholarship on the Arab Uprisings that began in 2011. Anthropology does not have a long history of explicit engagement with revolution as a political and social phenomenon. However, demands to explain recent political upheavals in a number of locations have resulted in new disciplinary thinking about the matter. There have been efforts to devise both new anthropological insights about political revolutions, and reappraisals of disciplinary traditions that can be drawn on to crystallise a more vigorous anthropology of revolution. Anthropology's relatively slight attention to political revolution as an event contrasts with a very strong disciplinary orientation toward understanding political processes, particularly in recent decades. This lecture will explore these emerging disciplinary approaches to revolution. An anthropology of revolution to some degree mirrors tensions between structural and contingent explanations in the disciplines with long standing traditions of researching revolution as a social and political phenomenon: political science, sociology, and history. Yet the discipline's ongoing commitment to embedded "participant observation" arguably gives the anthropology of revolution a distinctive perspective, whether the focus is on events or long-term social patterns.



Azmi Bishara

General Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He is one of the Arab World's most prominent scholars. He has published on political thought, social theory, and philosophy. His publications include *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context* (in 3 vols., 2013; 2015); *Sectarianism without Sects* (Oxford University Press, 2021); *Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice* (Hurst, 2022); *On Salafism: Concepts and Contexts* (Stanford University Press, 2022), among other writings. Based on empirical and theoretical investigation, his trilogy on the Arab revolutions was published by I.B. Tauris: *Understanding Revolutions: Opening Acts in Tunisia* (2021); *Egypt: Revolution, Failed Transition and Counter-Revolution* (2022); and *Syria 2011-2013: Revolution and Tyranny before the Mayhem* (2022).

On Political Culture and Democratic Transition

This lecture aims to challenge the assumption that certain norms entrenched in institutions predate these institutions. It will argue that not only do these norms not necessarily predate said institutions but that such norms could also be a by-product of them. There is no simple causal relation connecting so-called political culture to the prevailing political system. The discussion should be one of political culture as opposed to culture more generally, though I will also argue that no political culture can apply to an entire people. I will explain the importance of elite political culture during a democratic transition, as well as defining a minimum required level of democratic political culture among influential elites in the first and second phases of democratic transitions and during the period where democracy is consolidated. This lecture also argues that democratic mass culture cannot emerge under autocracy, and that popular political culture must not be neglected or downplayed in contexts where there is universal suffrage and widespread access to media and communication.



Sari Hanafi

Professor of Sociology, Director of the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies, and Chair of the Islamic Studies Program at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. He is President of the International Sociological Association and the editor of *Idafat: The Arab Journal of Sociology*. He has written numerous journal articles and book chapters on the sociology of religion, the connection of moral philosophy to social sciences, the sociology of (forced) migration in the case of Palestinian refugees, and the politics of scientific research. Among his recent co-authored books are *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of the Middle East* (with Armando Salvatore and Kieko Obuse); *Knowledge Production in the Arab World: The Impossible Promise* (with Rigas Arvanitis); and *The Rupture between the Religious and Social Sciences* (forthcoming from Oxford University Press). In 2019, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the National University of San Marcos, and in 2022 he became a lifetime corresponding fellow of the British Academy.

Understanding Political Culture in the Arab World through Religious and Moral Congruence

How much does religiosity impact political culture? In the Arab world, we often find two camps. The first camp advocates the slogan "Islam is the solution", meaning that increasing religiosity will automatically lead to religious congruence and the spread of good and justice in society. The second camp sees that religiosity not only has a minor impact on the conception of justice and political affairs, but when it does have an impact, it tends to generate political violence. For this camp, religion is understood as sets of beliefs about the world rather than rituals and community building. The lecture will deal with the concept of religiosity by reflecting on religious congruence. Religious congruence, according to Mark Chaves, encompasses three dimensions: religious ideas hang together, religious beliefs and actions hang together, and religious beliefs and values indicate stable and chronically accessible dispositions in people. After analysing some surveys conducted in the Arab World about religion in public life and ongoing research about how people conduct moral reasoning, Hanafi argues that there is plenty of evidence showing that forms of religious congruence are related not only to how social actors conceive of religion but also to other spheres of life (i.e., political, economic, social, and other sources of morality). This is why religious (in)congruence is nothing but a complex process of moral (in)congruence. Many findings presented demonstrate what Hanafi calls "practical partial secularisation from below". Religious actors are reacting to this process by either facilitating or impeding it. The various forms of secularity from above (distinction/separation of politics and religion, and state neutrality) also play a role as facilitators or impediments to moral congruence. Looking at both processes can allow us to understand the predicament of the political liberal project in the Arab world.



Ellen Lust

Founding Director of the Programs on Governance and Local Development at Yale University and University of Gothenburg, and Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg. She also serves as a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Project on Middle East Democracy in Washington, DC. She received her MA in Modern Middle East and North African Studies and her PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan, and has conducted fieldwork and implemented surveys in Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, and Tunisia. She was a co-founder of the Transitional Governance Project and a founding associate editor of *Middle East Law and Governance* and currently chairs its board of directors. In collaboration with Hana Brix and Michael Woolcock of the World Bank, she published *Trust, Voice and Incentives: Learning from Local Successes in Service Delivery in the Middle East and North Africa* (World Bank, 2015). She also published *Everyday Choices: The Role of Competing Authorities and Social Institutions in Politics and Development* (Cambridge University Press, 2022). Her current research is aimed at developing local governance indicators and examining the role of social institutions in good governance.

Everyday Choices: The Role of Competing Authorities and Social Institutions in Politics and Development

This lecture draws from the lecturer's book *Everyday Choices*. It aims to present a framework for the study and practice of politics and development that views culture in institutional terms. Scholars and practitioners seek development solutions through the engineering and strengthening of state institutions; yet the state does not constitute the only or even the primary arena shaping how citizens, service providers, and even state officials engage in actions that constitute politics and development. Individuals are members of religious orders, ethnic communities, and other groups that make claims on them, creating incentives that shape their actions. Recognising how individuals experience these claims and view the choices before them is essential to understanding political processes and development outcomes. A framework elucidating these forces is key to knowledge accumulation, designing future research, and effective programming. Drawing on findings from existing literature and her own research, the lecturer presents a framework that explains how the salience of arenas of authority associated with various communities and the nature of social institutions within them affect politics and development.



Wenfang Tang

Presidential Chair Professor and Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Science at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shenzhen. His research focuses on public opinion, political culture, and mass politics. He has published several books and many articles on these subjects. His book *Populist Authoritarianism: Chinese Political Culture and Regime Sustainability* (Oxford University Press, 2016) won the CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title Award. Professor Tang played a leading role in the 6th and 7th World Values Surveys in China. He also served as an Academic Advisory Committee member of the Chinese Family Panel Survey (CFPS) at Peking University, the Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS) at Renmin University, and the Chinese Labor Dynamics Survey (CLDS) at Sun Yat-Sen University. He is a co-Editor-in-Chief of *Frontiers in Political Science*, Comparative Governance Section, an editorial board member of *Political Psychology* and *Advances in Political Psychology*, and an Executive Committee member of the International Political Science Association's Comparative Public Opinion Section.

How Can Political Culture Prevent the Clash of Civilisations? The Chinese Experience

This lecture will revisit the theory of democracy by examining political culture in different societies. It will first discuss the philosophical and institutional roots of the Western concept of democracy. It will show how the traditional study of democracy represents the Western liberal elites' view of the world, while overlooking public perception. Drawing data from the World Values Surveys, the lecture will show that Chinese survey respondents express a high level of satisfaction with democracy in their country, and that their understanding of democracy is not that different from the Western concept of democracy. The lecture hopes to conclude that political culture as defined by people's perception of democracy should be included in the theory of democracy. It aims to suggest that Western elites have exaggerated the ideological gap between civilisations and underestimated the potential for common needs and cooperation in different societies.



Mark Tessler

Samuel J. Eldersveld Collegiate Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan. He has studied and conducted field research in Tunisia, Israel, Morocco, Egypt, Palestine (West Bank and the Gaza Strip), and Qatar. He is co-founder and co-director of the Arab Barometer survey project, and many of his publications are data-based studies of the attitudes and values held by ordinary citizens in the Middle East. Among the sixteen books he has authored, co-authored, or edited are *Public Opinion in the Middle East: Survey Research and the Political Orientations of Ordinary Citizens* (2011); *Islam and Politics in the Middle East: Explaining the Views of Ordinary Citizens* (2015); and *Social Science Research in the Arab World and Beyond: A Guide for Students, Instructors, and Researchers* (2022).

Political Culture, Elections, and the Implications for Governance in Six Arab Countries

This lecture investigates the impact of electoral participation and voting on the connection between the possession of democratic values and expressed support for democracy at the individual level of analysis. This impact is measured in six Arab countries (Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan) and at three points in time (2013, 2018, and 2022), with country and time-specific attributes considered as conditionalities. Studies of democracy and democratic transitions place emphasis on the attitudes, values, and behaviour patterns of ordinary citizens. Among the relevant normative and behavioural orientations are political trust, political efficacy, political knowledge, interpersonal trust, and societal participation. These individual-level orientations are said to define a "democratic" political culture orientation. The lecture considers the impact of voting on the relationship between a belief that democracy is the best political system and the possession of democratic values and attitudes. Using Arab Barometer data, it tests two hypotheses: First, when an election is broadly free and fair, this relationship is stronger among those who have voted than among those who have not voted. Second, when an election, broadly, is not free and fair, this relationship is weaker among those who have voted than among those who have not voted.



Stephen Welch

Honorary Fellow of the School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University, UK, where he was a lecturer in Politics (1993-2017). He previously worked at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest and at the Department of Government at the University of Texas, Austin. Prior to that he undertook undergraduate and postgraduate study at Oxford University. He is the author of three books: *The Concept of Political Culture* (Macmillan, 1993), *The Theory of Political Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2013), and *Hyperdemocracy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). His teaching has covered East European politics, US politics, democratic theory, and philosophy of social science. His current interests focus on political culture and democracy in the US.

Political Culture Research: Conceptual Problems and Research Opportunities

This lecture will survey the broad range of uses and conceptualisations of "political culture", and several other concepts that have been assimilated to or subsumed within it. The aim is to demonstrate not only the range of difficulties and problems that the concept continues to generate, but also the ways in which these can stimulate further research. The lecture will consider the following areas: (1) Referential scope and adjacent concepts: approaches to definition; (2) Comparative versus sociological uses of political culture; (3) Positivism and interpretivism: questions of measurement and meaning; (4) Political culture's effects: values and attitudes as explanations of behaviour, and the theory of attitudes in psychology; (5) The dynamics of political culture: how does it change, how quickly can it change, and what causes it to change?; and (6) The relationship of political culture and democracy: the question of a "democratic" political culture and the contestation of culture within a democracy: cultural politics.

Discussants & Chairs



Abdelkarim Amengay

Assistant professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Qatar. He holds a conjoint PhD in political science from Sciences Po Paris and the University of Ottawa. His research interests include political behaviour, political trust, youth representation, and populism in Western countries and the MENA region. He published peer-reviewed articles in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Political Studies Review*, *Revue Française de science politique*, and *Siyasat Arabiya*. He collaborates with Team Populism, an international research network that brings together scholars from several universities to study the causes and consequences of populism; the Konrad Adenauer Research Chair in Empirical Democracy Studies, and has recently joined the editorial board of *La Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*.



Omar Ashour

Associate Professor and Founding Director of the Critical Security Studies Programme (MCSS) at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and the Strategic Studies Unit in the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He previously taught at the University of Exeter (UK) and McGill University, Canada, and served as a senior consultant for the United Nations on security sector reform, counter-terrorism, and violent radicalisation. He was a Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution and an Associate Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London. He is the author of *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (Routledge, 2009), *How ISIS Fights: Military Tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021), and editor of *Bullets to Ballots: Collective De-Radicalisation of Armed Movements* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021).



Hani Awad

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editorial Manager of *Omran* Journal for Social Sciences. He received a PhD in International Development from the University of Oxford, UK. He is the author

of *Transformation of the Concept of Arab Nationalism* (the Arab Network for Research and Publishing, 2013) and *The Dilemma of Authoritarian Local Governance in Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press, 2022).



Aicha Elbasri

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. She is a former UN official and has held various media and communications positions in the Department of Public Information in New York, the United Nations Development Programme in Sudan, and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. She was the spokesperson for the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur and a regional advisor in the UN Population Fund in Cairo. She received her PhD in French Literature from Savoy Mont Blanc University in France. She has published numerous peer-reviewed articles in addition to a book titled *L'Imaginaire Carcéral de Jean Genet, l'Harmattan* (Editions L'Harmattan, 1999).



Tomas Dumbrovsky

Assistant Professor in the Human Rights Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He earned his PhD in constitutional theory from Yale Law School, US. He worked as a post-doctoral fellow at the European University Institute and Amsterdam University and was a visiting researcher at the University of Michigan Law School and at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg. His research focuses on comparative constitutionalism, constitutional and democratic theory, and European integration. His upcoming book, *The European Republic: The Revolutionary Foundations of European Constitutionalism*, reinterprets the origins of European integration.



Marwa Farag

Associate Professor in the School of Public Administration and Development Economics at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She held the position of Associate Professor in the School of Public Health at the University of Saskatchewan, Canada. She previously worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Schneider Institutes for Health Policy, Global Institute for Health and

Development, at Brandeis University. Her international field experience includes working in Iraq on health financing and resource allocation issues and on health sector reform in Egypt. She received her PhD in Health Policy from the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University, US. Her primary research areas are health policy, health financing, health economics, and health program planning and evaluation.



Moataz El Fegiry

Assistant Professor and Head of the Human Rights Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained his MA and PhD in Law from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK. Previously he was a senior teaching fellow of law at SOAS and the Executive Director of the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies. He has represented key international human rights NGOs, including the International Centre for Transitional Justice and the International Foundation for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, and was elected as Treasurer and as member of the Executive Committee of the Euro Mediterranean Human Rights Network since 2006. His research interests focus on the interaction between Islamic law and human rights in the Arab and Muslim states, evolving dynamics of international and regional protection of human rights, and the roles of transnational advocacy networks. He is the author of *Islamic Law and Human Rights: The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt* (2016).



Marwa Fikri

Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University. She received her PhD from Northeastern University, US. She is a former fellow of the Forum of Transregional Studies in Berlin, Germany. She has a number of publications in Arabic and English on the topics of international relations and democratic transition. Among her publications: *Introduction to International Relations: from the Crisis of Globalization to the Horizons of Universality* (2020); *The Arab Intellectual and the Tiananmen Square Syndrome* (2016); and a study titled "Authoritarian Regional Powers and Containing Democratic Transition: Saudi Arabia and Russia" (*Siyasat Arabiya*, 2019).



Amal Ghazal

Professor of History, Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, and Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Almuntaqa*. She was formerly a professor of history and director of the Centre for Comparative Muslim Studies at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada. She is the author of *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, 1880s-1930s* (2010), and a co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle Eastern and North African History* (2016).



Raoudha Elguédri

Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Sociology and Anthropology Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She obtained her PhD in sociology from the University of Tunis, where she has served as assistant professor. She has worked as a consultant for research and activities at the "Knowledge Transfer" project at the Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities and as a researcher on gender equality at the Centre for Research, Studies, Documentation, and Information on Women in Tunisia (CREDIF) in Tunis. Her research interests concern identity, youth, current societal changes, sexuality, and gender-based violence. Her latest publications include a study entitled "Emergence of the Individual in Tunisia: Specificities and Difficulties" (*Omran for Social Sciences*, April 2022) and a book titled *The Sociology of the Body, Religion, and Power in Tunisia* (Presses du Centre d'Études et de Recherches Économiques et Sociales [CERES], Tunis, 2022).



Ayat Hamdan

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editor-in-Chief of the historical studies journal *Ostour*. She received her PhD from the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter where she worked as a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Political Science and was also awarded a Visiting Researcher fellowship at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, UK.



Mohammed Hemchi

Researcher at the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies and Assistant Professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He is a former lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Oum El Bouaghi, Algeria. He holds a PhD in International Relations from University of Batna 1, Algeria. His publications include *Introduction to Complexity Theory of International Relations* (2021), a translation of Emmanuel Wallerstein's *After Liberalism* (2022), and a translation of *Populism and Global Politics* (2022), in addition to other articles and chapters in peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes.



Nizar Jouini

Head of the Public Policy Program at the School of Public Administration and Development Economics at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. From 2007-2015, he worked as a consultant at the African Development Bank and also served as a consultant to the Conseil des Analyses Économiques (Tunisian government). He has taught at several universities in Tunisia since 2004. The most recent of his articles published in peer-reviewed academic journals are "Fiscal Policy, Income Redistribution, and Poverty Reduction: Evidence from Tunisia" (*Review of Income and Wealth*, 2018), with Nora Lustig, Ahmed Moumni, and Abebe Shimeles; and "North African Countries' Production and Export Structure: Towards a Diversification and Export Sophistication Strategy" (*Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 2016), with Nassim Oulmane and Nicolas Péridy.



Marwan Kabalan

Director of the Political Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, President of the Gulf Studies Forum, and Director of the Diplomatic Studies and International Cooperation Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has published several books and extensive research in Arabic and English on Foreign Policy and International Relations, including *Qatar's Foreign Policy: Strategy versus Geography* (ACRPS, 2021).



Mehran Kamrava

Professor of Government at Georgetown University Qatar. He also directs the Iranian Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He is the author of a number of journal articles and books, including, most recently, *A Dynastic History of Iran: From the Qajars to the Pahlavis* (Cambridge University Press, 2022); *Triumph and Despair: In Search of Iran's Islamic Republic* (Oxford University Press, 2022); *A Concise History of Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2020); *Troubled Waters: Insecurity in the Persian Gulf* (Cornell University Press, 2018); *Inside the Arab State* (Oxford University Press, 2018); *The Impossibility of Palestine: History, Geography, and the Road Ahead* (Yale University Press, 2016); *Qatar: Small State, Big Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2015); *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*, 3rd ed. (University of California Press, 2013); and *Iran's Intellectual Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).



Elizabeth Suzanne Kassab

Associate Professor of Philosophy at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She is the author of *Contemporary Arab Thought: Cultural Critique in Comparative Perspective* (Columbia University Press, 2010) and *Enlightenment on the Eve of Revolution: The Egyptian and Syrian Debates* (Columbia University Press, 2019). Both have been translated into Arabic.



Mounir Kchaou

Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has published two books in French on the American philosopher John Rawls, *Etudes rawlsiennes: contrat et justice* (2006) and *Le juste et ses normes: John Rawls et le concept du politique* (2007). He is also the author of many articles and chapters in books published in Arabic, English and French.



Elias Khalil

Professor of Economics at the School of Public Administration and Development Economics, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He received his PhD (1990) from the New School for Social Research (New York, USA). He has held teaching

positions at Monash University (Victoria, Australia), Vassar College (New York, USA), and Ohio State University at Mansfield (Ohio, USA). He was a Humboldt Fellow, a visiting researcher at Cambridge University's Judge Institute, the University of Chicago's Department of Economics, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Economic Systems (Jena, Germany), and the Konrad Lorenz Institute for Evolution and Cognition Research (Klosterneuburg, Austria). His research areas are behavioural economics and political economy. His papers have appeared in journals such as *Economic Inquiry*, *Biology and Philosophy*, *Biological Theory*, *Theory and Decision*, *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, *Journal of Evolutionary Economics*, *International Negotiation*, *Theoria*, *Philosophy*, *Economic Modelling*, *Economics Letters*, *Critical Horizons*, and *Economics and Philosophy*.



Abdelfattah Mady

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Imad Mansour

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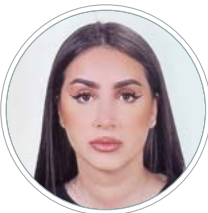
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