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(2023.1-2023.3)

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The Journal of North Africa Studies

ISSN: 1362-9387 Volume 28

Article 1

Introduction to the themed section: ‘commoning the future’: sustaining and contesting the public good in North Africa

Author: Cristiana Strava & Maryame Amarouche

ABSTRACT

Struggles over housing, land, and forms of mobility have been mainstays of both academic and popular coverage of North Africa in recent decades. As we firmly enter a period of accelerating crises linked to global forces, it remains important to document and reflect on how these issues are played out through local protests and debates over public goods and shared futures in the region. As such, this issue brings renewed attention to existing and emerging practices, ideas, spaces, and actors involved in shaping and contesting both old and new commons, and different understandings of the public good. Our goal is to better attune scholarly attention to emerging social dynamics and political agendas, especially in the aftermath of stalled revolutions and the ongoing privatization of space across the Maghreb region. Grounded in long-term, qualitative research conducted in Morocco by a combination of early career and established scholars, this collection of articles address how ‘commoning’ practices are enacted, contested, or recuperated and mobilized by various actors at different scales. The territorial manifestations, social entanglements, and discursive production of commons and collectivities emerge as ongoing processes crucial to both the reproduction as well as contestation of social orders and trans-local planning and governance regimes. The contributions gathered here are the outcome of conversations and work presented in November 2018 during the symposium Urban Space and the Common Good organized by the guest editors at the Netherlands Institute in Morocco (NIMAR), with the collaboration of the Leiden University Center for Islam and Society (LUCIS).

KEYWORDS

Commons, public good, Morocco, Rabat, peri-urban, shared resources

Article 2

More mobile, less common? The transit sociality of Rabat’s Central train station

Author: Nacima Baron & Tarik Harroud

ABSTRACT

Over the past few years, Rabat has been undergoing a double-process of modernisation and transformation into a heritage site. Its central railway station, which is currently being transformed into a large interchange hub, reflects the city’s

aspiration to become a global metropolis. Previously, this place functioned as an urban magnet where people also came to stroll and socialise. The article explores how the refurbishment is affecting its functional and symbolic uses. Official sources promise that the renewed infrastructure will be a great new ‘milieu de vie’, a notion that summons up a vision of togetherness and an aspiration to metropolitan high life. But will the future project still welcome everyone and every type of sociality? Structured as a before-and-after comparison, the article describes ethnographic observations conducted at the station’s successive entrances. It shows that the new entrance layout may make the infrastructure more functional, but that it offers less opportunity for social activities. Causal interpretations concerning the role of design in facilitating or preventing social practices are proposed. The article concludes that the capacity of transit infrastructures to become a ‘common’ place depends on the connection between physical features and cultural skills. Since Rabat Central Station has become an arena of conflict between tradition and modernity, the paper’s contribution aims to reposition the controversy within a broader perspective, which connects the architectural and social dimensions of a local culture of transit (im)mobility.

KEYWORDS

Transit infrastructure, railway station, public space, social interaction, Rabat

OUTLINE

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical background: transit places, public places, common practices
3. Three ‘threats’ to sociality at Rabat Central Station
4. Conducting ethnographic research in transit(ory) spaces
5. Transit hubs as shared spaces: challenges and opportunities
6. Conclusion
7. References

Article 3

Claiming their right to possess: the Guich Oudaya tribe’s resistance to land grabbing

Author: Soraya El Kahlaoui

ABSTRACT

In February 2014, at the heart of an upscale neighborhood in Rabat, police forces forcefully destroyed the homes of Douar Ouled Dlim’s inhabitants – descendants of the Guich Oudaya tribe. Refusing to leave their land, the inhabitants have since continued to live in makeshift camps made of plastic tarp, protesting their dispossession. Ultimately, they all wonder ‘wach hna maghrba – are we still Moroccan citizens?’ The Guich lands, which have been relinquished at nominal prices to private developers linked to the ruling elite, have been used since the 1980s to extend the city of Rabat and, particularly, to erect one of its most exclusive

neighborhoods, Hay Ryad. Despite the various struggles that shaped the resistance led by the Guich Oudaya tribe, today their lands have been consumed by concrete, erasing any trace of the existence of this peri-urban agricultural community. By analysing the mechanisms of dispossession put in place by the State, this paper seeks to show how the colonial logic – reconfigured through the discourse of modernity – has implemented a dichotomy between ‘progress’ and ‘nature’. Finally, the paper argues that this dichotomy continues to contribute to and legitimise the destruction of communal agricultural spaces and the consolidation of urban inequality in contemporary Morocco.

KEYWORDS

Collective lands, Morocco, Guich Oudaya, urbanisation, dispossessions, resistance

OUTLINE

1. Introduction
2. The specificity of the Guich land tenure and the colonial logic of dispossession
3. When the ‘fight against slums’ serves the interest of privatisation
4. Reducing the beneficiaries’ base: discrimination against women
5. Spatial modernisation and the eradication process
6. Conclusion: Landless Moroccans or stateless Moroccans?
- 7 References

Article 4

From rural to urban areas: new trends and challenges for the commons in Morocco

Author: Bruno Romagny, Mohammed Aderghal, Laurent Auclair, H el ene Ilbert & Sylvaine Lemeilleur

The concept of commons is part of the long history of the Moroccan peasantry. Traditionally, many natural resources, such as water for irrigation, collective lands and common pastures or the forests were governed by community principles derived from customary rules, like in the ‘agdal’ system for example. However, these collective systems have been greatly weakened over the years. Firstly, these organisations, inherited from the traditional hierarchical system of local politics, had produced sometimes unjust and inefficient systems of resource distribution to the advantage of the most powerful. Secondly, rural communities were gradually stripped of their prerogatives to the benefit of the State, which was already ensuring through local power a levy on these same resources. Then, with liberalisation, it is the private sector that has benefited from transformations in public policies supporting the market logic and productivist-oriented modes of organisation. In this context of declining traditional natural commons, new forms of commons such as Protected Geographical Indications or Participatory Guarantee Systems are appearing through collective action, knowledge and know-how as a resource, especially in the field of food quality.

Nevertheless, in a country such as Morocco, where public policies place little value on issues of ownership, involvement, and more generally on local collective initiatives, we question the role of the Moroccan government in supporting these new initiatives. While recognition of the commons is not an end in itself, it is essential to rethink the role of the State, particularly to guarantee the rights of ownership and use of resources shared by certain communities and to avoid the excesses that led to the crisis of the traditional commons.

KEYWORDS

Commons, public policies, food quality, rural-urban relationships, Morocco

OUTLINE

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Traditional commons under pressure in rural areas
- 3 What can we learn about the ‘ success story ’ of Tizi n’ Oucheg local development association?
- 4 The mobilization of intellectual commons for food quality promotion and local development
- 5 Conclusion
- 6 References

Article 5

An evaluation of tax fraud cases limited by fiscal control in Algeria 2007 – 2013

Author: Brahim Blaha & Benabbou Senouci

ABSTRACT

In this paper we attempt to provide an estimation of the scale of fiscal fraud as practiced by certain companies in Algeria. Given its hidden aspect, the full extent of this phenomenon remains difficult to quantify, and would suggest that there are currently no methods in existence that would enable its magnitude to be measured.

It is our belief, however, that the use of a direct means of assessment, based on data provided by the tax authorities, can allow a significant proportion of tax fraud to be exposed. This illegal practice can be limited through fiscal control, carried out to inspect the sincerity of tax declarations and to penalise fraudsters for concealing their incomes and evading their tax obligations and/or to recover the sums due.

KEYWORDS

Tax fraud, external fiscal control, documentary on-the-spot check, tax reassessments, Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

OUTLINE

1. Introduction

2. Literature review
3. Methods of estimating tax fraud: fiscal control
4. Results of different types of fiscal control
5. Discussion: purpose and objectives of fiscal control
6. Conclusion
7. References

Article 6

Non-party ministers and technocrats in post-revolutionary Tunisia

Author: Andrea Carboni

ABSTRACT

Non-party ministers and technocrats have emerged as leading political actors in post-revolutionary Tunisia. Five heads of government out of eight appointed between 2011 and 2020 were not affiliated to any political party. Technocrat-led governments were appointed amidst acute political crises due to their ostensible technical expertise and non-partisan profile. Despite their prominent role in government, existing studies on post-revolutionary Tunisia have largely neglected the role of non-party ministers and technocrats, treating them as relatively marginal actors. The article situates their emergence along a decades-long technocratic turn started under Ben Ali, which opted to replace the professional politicians of the Bourguiba era with technocrats hailing from the public administration. After 2011, a combination of demand- and supply-side factors have contributed to their increased participation in government. In particular, the article argues that the institutional autonomy of the technocratic apparatus, weakness of political parties, a preference for technical expertise and consensual politics, and pressures from international financial institutions were key to the rise of non-party ministers and technocrats in post-revolutionary Tunisia.

KEYWORDS


Tunisia, non-party ministers, technocrats, democratic transition, government, elites

OUTLINE

1. Understanding the role of technocrats and non-party ministers
2. Government elites in Tunisia
3. The authoritarian era
4. Non-party ministers and technocrats in post-revolutionary Tunisia
5. Explaining the rise of technocrats in post-revolutionary Tunisia
6. Conclusion
7. Disclosure statement
8. References

Article 7

Smart Specialisation strategies in North Africa: a catching-up strategy for less-developed countries – the case of Tunisia

Author: Mirko Kruse & Jan Wedemeier 

ABSTRACT

The European Union Cohesion Policy lies on a variety of policy instruments including Research and Innovation Strategies for Smart Specialisation (RIS3) on a regional level. Despite its proximity to Europe, there is currently no strategy of its own for North Africa, only a strategy-building process. Since Smart Specialisation claims to address regional disparities by initiating catch-up processes and exploiting endogenous growth potential, the concept is particularly promising for less-developed regions. The authors present five steps to define priority sectors for the development of a Smart Specialisation strategy for the country of Tunisia, using the regions of Sfax and Medenine as an example. These steps involve regional qualitative and quantitative assessment, trend analysis and an analysis of sectoral internationalisation potential. The findings align with previous work and contribute to the discussion about Smart Specialisation on the African continent.

OUTLINE

1. Introduction
2. Literature review: Smart Specialisation
3. Smart Specialisation in Tunisia
4. Conclusion, limitations and recommendations
5. References

KEYWORDS

Structural transformation, Smart Specialisation, innovation, EU Cohesion Policy, European neighbourhood policy, Tunisia

Middle Eastern Studies

ISSN: 0026-3206 Volume 69 Issue 1

Article 1

Imagined landscapes for contested politics of land reform, peasant struggles and women in rural Turkey

Author: Bengü Kurtege Sefer

Abstract

In Turkey, land reform was subject to fierce debates among different political groups throughout the 1960s. Land occupations and small peasant demonstrations were seen as new forms of struggle to voice demands for land reform. This article explores the gender and class specific effects of global post-war American expansion policies on agrarian change and peasant struggle in the form of land occupations in rural Turkey. Focusing on the Aegean villages of Golluce and Atalan in the late 1960s, it argues that different political organizations imagined villages as laboratories to test their visions of land reform and the occupiers as a homogeneous class regardless of gender-specific claims. In doing so, it highlights the characteristics of rural class struggles and the politics of land reform with reference to social class and gender in Turkey in this period.

Outline

- 1 New forms of peasant politics in the 1960s
- 2 Class and gender specific contents of politics and rural women
- 3 The FKF and the national democratic revolution
- 4 The CHP and the AP against the radical left
- 5 The TİP and socialism
- 6 Gendered outcomes of the land occupations
- 7 Conclusion

Keywords

Turkey, Land Occupations, Political Organizations, Land Reform, Peasant Women

Article 2

Governing by partnership: the role of Abdolhossein Nikpour and the Chambers of Commerce in Iran's national economy

Author: Ali Asghar Saeidi & Mary Yoshinari

Outline

1. Nikpour's place in the extant historiography
2. The rise of Nikpour and the Chambers of Commerce
3. Iranian merchant capital and the corporate-monopoly system
4. Nikpour's power and influence during the 1940s and 1950s

5. Conclusion

Abstract

This article will discuss the partnership of Abdolhossein Nikpour and the Chambers of Commerce with the Iranian government in managing the national economy from the 1920s until the 1950s. In particular, it challenges the state-society paradigm, where it shows that Nikpour, as well as other merchants and entrepreneurs of the Chambers nationwide, worked with the Iranian government while striving to maintain their economic and political autonomy. Conversely, the Iranian government depended on the expertise of these economic actors. Hence, this article will offer new perspectives on Iran's twentieth-century political economy. Based on their collaborative research, including Iranian, Soviet, and British primary sources, the authors conclude that Nikpour was a driving force of both the Chambers and Iran's modern economy for most of his lifetime, encompassing the interwar, wartime, and early postwar periods. Ultimately, however, Nikpour and the Chambers' power was curtailed by Mohammad Reza Shah in the late 1950s.

Keywords

Iran, Nikpour, Chamber of Commerce, merchant, bazaar, Iranian economy

Article 3

The Israeli Arameans: a people-in-progress

Author: Giovanni M. Quer

Outline

1. Part one: from 'Christian Arabs' to 'Christians v. Arabs'
2. The Arameans: Indigeneity and trauma
3. Part two: Speaking, dancing, and eating like an Aramean
4. Part three: the Aramean collective in-the-making
5. Conclusion

Abstract

This article analyzes the collective narrative of the Christian-Arameans in Israel and the on-going process of identity building. Pursuing a collective definition alternative to the Christian-Palestinian identity, the Arameans claim indigeneity and peoplehood. With national recognition in Israel and international recognition among the trans-national Aramean community, Israeli Arameans are developing a collective identity and memory that differentiates them from the predominant Arab-Muslim surroundings. After investigating the underlying historical causes comprised of Islamization and a growing Christian-Muslim divide following the Arab Spring, this article explores the Aramean collective narrative and identity, including language, religion, symbols, and folklore. Moreover, it explores the relations to the Zionist dominant narrative in light of the Aramean collective claim to territory, aspiring to re-establish the Maronite village of Bar'am after its evacuation in 1948 as an Aramean

community. This article is based on a variety of sources, including archival, textual, audiovisual material and interviews.

Keywords:

Arameans, Christian Arabs, Israel, Middle East minorities

Article 4

The changing identity of Muslim/Jewish holy places in the State of Israel, 1948–2018

Author: Doron Bar

Outline

1. Cultural geography and the appropriation of holy places
2. The history of Palestine's Jewish holy places before 1948
3. Judaization of Muslim holy places during the years 1948–1967
4. The Six-Day War and its influence on the Judaization of holy places in Judea and Samaria
5. The Judaization of Muslim holy places from 'below'
6. Judaization of Muslim holy places: the Israeli-Jewish perception
7. Conclusion

Abstract

Over the past seven decades, dozens of Muslim holy places in Israel have undergone a process of Judaization, becoming an integral part of the Israeli-Jewish sacred landscape. The current paper compares three waves of Judaization that followed the 1948 and 1967 wars, emphasizing the institutional and popular character of this process. The appropriation of Muslim holy places and their conversion is tied to the political, social, and religious changes that Israeli society underwent during its seventy years of existence. During these decades, Jewish holy spaces gained social, cultural, and religious importance; visiting them became a popular pastime. As the demand for holy places grew, former Muslim sites were converted and became part of Jewish sacred space. The process of transformation took place in parallel on two planes – the institutional and the popular – as both Israeli governmental bodies and worshippers converted Muslim holy places into Jewish sacred sites. The outcome of the process was the expansion of sacred space in the State of Israel and the inclusion of the periphery, which in many cases contained former Muslim holy places, as an integral part of the Jewish map of holy places.

Keywords:

Holy places, State of Israel, Muslim, Jewish, Jerusalem

Middle Eastern Studies

ISSN: 0026-3206 Volume 69 Issue 2

Article 1

A tribal confederation at the intersection of the Ottoman, Russian and Qajar empires: the Zilan Confederation and the empires (1810–1860)

Author: Yener Koç

Abstract

Focusing on the pastoral nomadic tribe of Zilan, located at the intersection of the Ottoman, the Qajar and the Russian imperial borders, this article discusses the political and military relations between imperial states and nomadic tribes during the nineteenth century. It analyzes how the war-making, boundary-making and state-making attempts of these three rival empires on a tribal and frontier space shaped the social, political and economic organization of a nomadic tribe, its loyalties, alliances and allegiances. It argues that imperial states and tribes in this military frontier, rather than acting as two hostile camps, depended and needed each other in military, political and economic spheres. Such a long-lasting mutual interdependence not only transformed political and administrative structure of the tribal groups, but also forced empires to redraw their plans and projects according to tribal and frontier settings.

Keywords: History, culture, politics

Outline

- 1 The making of a tribal confederation
- 2 War-making: from a tribal zone to a triple military border
- 3 Boundary and state-making and nomadic tribes
- 4 Conclusion

Article 2

Persian Gulf coups misrepresented

Author: Tancred Bradshaw & Michael Curtis

Abstract

One of the less well-known facets of the final years of pax Britannica in the Persian Gulf was the unwritten policy that the British government overthrew rulers who breached their treaty commitments, failed to develop their states or who declined to accept advice. Between 1965 and 1970 the Foreign Office orchestrated three coups in the region: Sharjah in 1965, Abu Dhabi in 1966 and Salalah (Oman) in 1970. Various objectives were achieved including the maintenance of prestige, strategic interests and the introduction of a ruler who was more amenable. The mechanisms of influence that the British employed varied considerably between the Trucial States, which were protected by treaties signed in the nineteenth century with the Government of India,

and the Sultanate of Oman, which was always regarded as nominally independent. The British created a network of influence in the Gulf that endured for 150 years.

Keywords:

Foreign policy, politics, Arabian Peninsula

Outline

- 1 The characteristics of the pax britannica
- 2 A triumph of hope over expectation: Sheikh Shakhbut and his British 'allies'
- 3 The dog days of August 1966
- 4 Said bin Taymur and the foreign office: a failed relationship
- 5 The July 1970 coup
- 6 Conclusion

Article 3

How political rights are created from Sharia rules in Iran

Author: Mohammad Abdolahpour Chenari

Abstract

This article evaluates how political rights, such as the right to vote and the right to elect, are created in Iran. This analysis has been done according to the historical, conceptual, and jurisprudential context in Shi'ite theology. The article argues that Iran's political rights led to regarding individuals as religious followers rather than citizens. The first reason for this claim is that the meaning of political rights is derived from Shi'ite theological concepts such as Haqq (right) and Velayat (guardianship). The theological meaning of these concepts has led to the deprivation of the political sense of rights and giving them a religious meaning. The second reason is that the content of political rights in Shi'ite jurisprudence has been produced in two ways. One way is when there is no specific Sharia rule for a right, such as the right to vote. In such conditions, Faqihs try to allow this right through Sharia and make these rules permissible. The other way is when the Sharia rules for a specific right already existed, such as the right to elect. Under such circumstances, Faqihs attempted to turn the Sharia rules into political rules by extending them. As a result, the right to vote is authorized from a religious perspective to a religious duty. Furthermore, the right to elect is changed into religious allegiance to politics.

Keywords:

Political rights, Shiite Sharia, right to vote, right to elect

Outline

- 1 The right to vote
- 2 The right to elect
- 3 Conclusion

4 Disclosure statement

Article 4

Justice and vilayat in post-revolutionary Iranian Shi'ism

Author: Meir Litvak

Outline

1 The essence of justice in contemporary Shi'i thought

2 The definitions of justice

3 Justice and vilayat

4 Conclusion

5 Disclosure statement

Abstract

Justice and the guardianship of the jurist (vilayat-i faqih) have been the two ideological pillars of the Islamic Republic of Iran ever since the 1979 Revolution. Unlike vilayat-i faqih , the meaning and essence of justice in post-revolutionary Shi'i-Iranian thought has not received due attention in the scholarly debate. The hegemonic Shi'i discourse in Iran defines justice as based on three principles: awarding every person their due rights according to the law; 'setting everything in its place', and the elimination of tyranny and oppression. It maintains that true justice can be realized only within an Islamic system ruled by the 'fully qualified jurist'. This formula has elicited additional debate, especially since 2011, over the reciprocal status and dependence of the two concepts. The debate was triggered by intra-elite tensions, and subsequently by the need to respond to public disaffection over the deficiencies in the implementation of social justice in Iran. It culminated in subordinating the ideal of justice to clerical authority and to the principle of expediency as determined by that clergy. Thus, vilayat-i faqih has been transformed from the means to implement justice to the ultimate self-serving end-goal of the regime's ideology.

Keywords: Shi'ism, Iran, justice, vilayat-i faqih, clerics

Article 5

Lebanese Phalangism and fascism: history of a symbolic appropriation

Author: Christian Thuselt

Abstract

This article discusses the alleged ideological roots of the Lebanese Phalanges party. It refutes both the reproach of the party being patterned after the Spanish Francoist model as well as the apologetics of having had no further ties to fascisms at all. Instead, the article argues, the Lebanese Phalangists held a thoroughly objectivist version of a united society, defined by their own 'untouchable resources'. Therein they shared similarities to fascism, yet, established a genuine transformation by

adopting symbols, concepts, and narratives that had been taken inter alia from Western fascist models, while omitting other elements, as suited their situation.

Keywords: Politics, religion, culture

Outline

- 1 Ambivalences of a visit
- 2 The name as an indicator
- 3 Phalangism as counter-modernism?
- 4 The Catholic nation
- 5 Conclusion

Article 6

An initial Shi‘a debate on the Palestinian question

Author: Elisheva Machlis

Abstract

The following article will shed light on the initial phase of the Shi‘i encounter with the Palestinian question during the British mandate over Iraq. It will focus on the thought of a prominent Shi‘i cleric of the time, Muhammad Husayn Al Kashif al-Ghita’, who published numerous fatwas in support of the Arabs of Palestine. In the context of Iraq's strong identification with Palestine, his strong rhetoric was not exceptionally unique. The novelty in Kashif al-Ghita’'s discourse was in mitigating its Shi‘i angle, viewing himself not only as a Shi‘i mujtahid but as an Arab and pan-Islamic leader, disregarding the historical apolitical position of Shi‘a Islam. Kashif al-Ghita’ embraced several circles of identifications: the Shi‘i community, the Arab world, and the Islamic nation, even incorporating the broader notion of humanity, reflecting his reformist agenda of activism, renewal, and pan-Islam. He also took an important stand within the Shi‘i community, given the diverse Shi‘i positions on Arabism. Any attempt at mobilizing the Arab and Muslim masses was welcomed by Hajj Amin al-Husayni as Kashif al-Ghita’ planted the first seeds in Shi‘i support for the Palestinian question—framed in a non-Shi‘a discourse—during this initial stage of building the Palestinian national movement.

Keywords:

Palestinians, Iraq, Shi‘i, Kashif al-Ghita’, Arabism, pan-Islam, General Islamic Congress

Outline

- 1 The Iraqi context: Arabism and Palestine
- 2 Kashif al-Ghita’ and the Palestinian question
- 3 Conclusion

Turkish Studies

ISSN: 1468-3849 Volume 24 Issue 1

Article 1

Beyond mutually hurting stalemate: why did the peace process in Turkey (2009–2015) fail?

Author: Musa Akgül &Çiğdem Görgün Akgül

OUTLINE

1 Introduction

2 Literature review

3 Zartman's Ripeness Theory: push and pull model

4 The democratic opening process: a ripe moment for resolution

5 The failure of the democratic opening process: why did the MHS fail to turn into MEO?

6 The Kurdish resolution process: another ripe moment for resolution

7 Why did the Kurdish resolution process fail?

8 Conclusion

9 References

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the peace process between the Turkish government and the PKK, invoking the mutually hurting stalemate (MHS) and mutually enticing opportunity (MEO) formulations of Ripeness Theory. It questions why the negotiations failed although Turkey's conditions had become ripe for resolution. This research shows that even though the ripe moment occurred before the process steered the parties toward the negotiation table, their perspectives regarding the table ultimately changed due to both domestic and international developments. Hence, the MHS seized at the beginning of the process did not turn into the MEO that would lead to resolution.

KEYWORDS:

Peace process, Kurdish question, PKK, conflict resolution, Ripeness Theory

Article 2

Ethnic and religious nationalism in Turkey: the cases of Atsız and Arvasi

Author: Tunahan YıldızORCID Icon &Didem KizirORCID Icon

ABSTRACT

This article compares the ideas of Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Seyyid Ahmet Arvasi, two iconic ideologues of ethnic and religious nationalism in Turkey, respectively, on the issues of history, identity, and national ideal. It first argues that Atsız mainly presents

a history of Turkish supremacism whereas Arvasi embraces a method of Islamization to remember history. It also demonstrates that Atsız tends to equate the racial and the national while Arvasi uses Islamic legitimacy for Turkish identity and nationalism. It is also evident that while Atsız offers classical pan-nationalism, Arvasi shows third-worldist and universalistic tendencies in defining Turkish destiny.

OUTLINE

- 1 Introduction
- 2 History: golden age, chosen people, and trauma
- 3 Identity: race, culture, and the ‘Other’
- 4 Ideal: mission, future, and empowerment
- 5 Conclusion
- 6 References

KEYWORDS:

Turkish nationalism, ethnic nationalism, religious nationalism, Atsız, Arvasi

Article 3

What makes the re-instatement of night watchmanship dubious in Turkey: myth making, identity crisis and securitization policies

Author: Neslihan Demirtaş-Milz & Ahmet Barbak

OUTLINE

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Conceptual framework: neoliberal interventions, the changing security landscape, and the turkish context
- 3 Back to the bekçi: myth-Making in the service of re-institutionalization
- 4 Identity crisis: swinging between community/nation, bekçi/police, informal/formal
- 5 What makes the re-instatement of bekçilik dubious?
- 6 Conclusion
- 7 References

ABSTRACT

Turkey’s institution of night watchmanship, or bekçilik, almost vanished during the 1990s as new recruitment was halted. Since 2016, however, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) has renewed recruitment in line with its agenda of revitalizing the institution, with recruits now officially named Market and Neighborhood Watchmen. The new regulatory and administrative context is highly centralized while their duties are scarcely different from those of the regular police forces, giving the institution’s longstanding ambiguity or in-betweenness a more complicated form. In its attempt to publicly legitimize the institution, the AKP has relied on myth creation. Accordingly, this article contextualizes this process of double myth creation at the intersection of Turkey’s neoliberal security sector reforms and AKP’s securitization policies. In doing so, the article reveals the reasons underlying

growing public anxiety regarding the institution.

KEYWORDS

Night watchmanship, myth creation, securitization, neoliberalism, security reform

Article 4

Private benefits, fiscal costs and economic resource costs of the private defined contribution pension systems in Turkey

Author: Glenn P. Jenkins, Godwin Olasehinde-Williams & Roya Amel

OUTLINE

- 1 Introduction
- 2 The evolution of social security pensions in Turkey
- 3 Alternative pension investment systems
- 4 Modeling alternative investment options
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion
- 7 References

ABSTRACT

This study addresses economic issues associated with the private defined benefit pension system in Turkey. Findings show that the new Turkish pension scheme has generated significant welfare improvements for individual investors, but at a loss in tax revenue and an economic resource cost to the country. If the bank-administered Tax-Free Contribution Accounts and/or Tax-Free Savings Accounts, similar to those operating in Canada, were adopted in Turkey and the requirement of holding government securities was lifted, such schemes would provide contributors with benefits similar to what they currently enjoy under the new Turkish scheme, while eliminating the economic resource costs of administration and improving their net fiscal impact.

KEYWORDS:

Private pensions, Turkey, pension administration costs, economic resource cost

Article 5

Towards a New Political Economy of Turkish Capitalism: Three Worlds

Author: Ali Burak Güven

OUTLINE

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Authoritarian neoliberalism
- 3 Crony capitalism
- 4 State capitalism
- 5 Crisis and renewal: from three worlds to research and policy futures

6 References

ABSTRACT

Political economists investigating Turkey's turbulent path in recent years predominantly work from within three different characterizations of Turkish capitalism: authoritarian neoliberalism, crony capitalism, and state capitalism. This article critically reviews these competing visions and identifies directions for future research. I argue that, fundamental differences aside, these approaches together illustrate the indispensability of a political economy perspective for comprehending Turkey's current predicament, in particular its authoritarian turn and ongoing systemic crisis. Yet meeting the potential of this research program also requires resisting rigid macro conceptualizations and aiming instead for empirically rich analyses of nuts-and-bolts phenomena such as changes in the class map, sectoral regimes, and challenges of development, with a view to identifying feasible strategies of renewal post-AKP.

KEYWORDS:

Political economy, authoritarian neoliberalism, crony capitalism, state capitalism, crisis

Africa Monitor: West Africa

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