



Wirtschafts- und  
Sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät

# THE CONDITION OF DEMOCRACY AND THE FATE OF CITIZENSHIP

International Conference 11th-13th July 2019  
Wissenschaftsetage im Bildungsforum Potsdam

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**International Conference 11th-13th July 2019**  
Wissenschaftsetage im Bildungsforum Potsdam

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## Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät

# The Condition of Democracy and the Fate of Citizenship

## Overview

The *Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity* is a space of international critical and vivid sociological and interdisciplinary debate on today's world's major economic, political, social and cultural problems and challenges. Its 2019 international conference aims at reviewing and elucidating the basic conditions, foundations and future prospects of liberal democracy in order to understand, explain and discuss crucial and pressing questions of citizens' rights to participate in political life. The first decades of the 21st Century have yet again revealed the vulnerability and fragility of democracy and its core institution, citizenship. With a focus on the transformed political-economic foundations of Western democratic societies, the dynamics and mechanisms of the emergence of "illiberal" democracies, an analysis of (counter-)democratic movements and developments in the Middle East and a discussion of the interdependencies of issues as diverse as big data, popular culture, violence and war, the conference brings together scholars from around the globe to discuss the Condition of Democracy and the Fate of Citizenship.

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# Programme Schedule: Overview

## Thursday, July 11

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 12:00 – 13:00 | <b>Registration</b>  |
| 13:00 – 13:30 | <b>Welcome Addresses</b> 4.24a   |
| 13:30 – 13:50 | <b>Introduction</b> 4.24a  |
| 14:00 – 15:00 | <b>Keynote</b> 4.24a<br>Can Citizenship Save Democracy From Market Justice?<br>Why Karl Polanyi is the Necessary Thinker for Our Times   |
| 15:30 – 17:05 | <b>Parallel Sessions</b><br>Session 1: The Impact of Neoliberalism on Democracy 4.24a<br>Session 2: Western Democracy and War in the Middle and Far East 4.24b<br>Session 3: Democracy and the Authority of Experts 4.25 |
| 17:20 – 18:20 | <b>Keynote</b> 4.24a<br>Enchaining Democracy:<br>The Now-Transnational Project of the Radical Libertarian Right  |
| 19:30         | <b>Conference Dinner</b> for Speakers  |

## Friday, July 12

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 10:15 – 11:55 | <b>Parallel Sessions</b><br>Session 4: The EU and Democracy 4.24a<br>Session 5: The Political Economy and New Governance 4.24b<br>Session 6: Democracy, Trust and Conflict 4.25  |
| 13:00 – 14:00 | <b>Keynote</b><br>The Abuses and Uses of the Discourse of Rights in the Case of Palestine 4.24a  |
| 14:15 – 16:40 | <b>Parallel Sessions</b><br>Session 7: Illiberal Politics in Western Democratic Regimes 4.24a<br>Session 8: Democracy under a State of Emergency? 4.24b<br>Session 9: Migration: Withholding Basic Rights of Refugees 4.25 |

17:25 – 19:00

**Parallel Sessions**

Session 10: The Demise of Democracy in Turkey *4.24a*

Session 11: Prospects of Democratic Movements in Northern Africa and the Middle East *4.24b*

Session 12: Fighting for Democracy and Citizenship Rights *4.25*

**Saturday, July 13**

10:00 – 11:00

**Keynote**

Democratic Participation and the Violence of Politics: Towards a Post-Weberian Enlightenment *4.24a*

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11:10 – 12:45

**Parallel Sessions**

Session 13: Democracy under Right-Wing Governments *4.24a*

Session 14: Democracy and the Permanence of Violence *4.24b*

Session 15: Democracy and the Permanence of Colonialism *4.25*

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14:00 – 14:30

**Conclusion** *4.24a*

# Comprehensive Programme Schedule

**Thursday, July 11**

12:00 – 13:00

## **Registration**

13:00 – 13:30

## **Welcome Addresses**

Florian Schweigert *Vice President for International Affairs,  
Alumni and Fundraising, University of Potsdam*

Jürgen Mackert *Co-Director Centre for Citizenship, University of Potsdam 4.24a*

13:30 – 13:50

## **Introduction**

Bryan S. Turner *University of Potsdam/ Australian Catholic University 4.24a*

14:00 – 15:00

## **Keynote 4.24a**

Margaret R. Somers *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Can Citizenship Save Democracy From Market Justice?

Why Karl Polanyi is the Necessary Thinker for Our Times

15:00 – 15:25

## **Coffee Break**

15:30 – 17:05

## **Parallel Sessions**

Session 1: The Impact of Neoliberalism on Democracy 4.24a

Joseph Vogl *Humboldt University Berlin: The Financial Regime*

Bob Jessop *Lancaster University: The Political Crisis*

*of Neoliberalization and Multi-Spatial Meta-Governance*

Session 2: Western Democracy and War in the Middle and Far East 4.24b

Martha Mundy *London School of Economics:*

*Beyond Legal Referent: The Yemen War*

Tim Anderson *University of Sydney:*

*How Colonial Intervention Destroys Democracy at Home and Abroad*

Session 3: Democracy and the Authority of Experts 4.25

Stephen Turner *University of Southern Florida:*

*The Ideology of Anti-Populism and the Administrative State*

Christian Schmidt-Wellenburg *University of Potsdam:*

*Drawing on Different Sources of Authority: The Changing Nature  
of Economic Expertise in Eurocracy*

17:20 – 18:20 **Keynote 4.24a**  
Nancy MacLean *Duke University:*  
Enchaining Democracy:  
The Now-Transnational Project of the Radical Libertarian Right

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19:30 **Conference Dinner for Speakers**

## Friday, July 12

10:15 – 11:55

### Parallel Sessions

Session 4: The EU and Democracy 4.24a

Peo Hansen *Linköping University: Refugee Reception or Welfare State Sustainability, or Both? Explaining Sound Finance's Toxic Impact on Migration Politics and Policy in the European Union*  
Vedran Dzihic *University of Vienna: Authoritarian Populist Nationalism as a Threat to European Democracies. Conceptual Considerations and Empirical Insights*

Session 5: The Political Economy and New Governance 4.24b

Thomas Biebricher *Goethe-University Frankfurt: The Problem of Democracy: Neoliberal Critiques and the Impossibility of Reform*  
Jürgen Mackert *University of Potsdam: The Legacy of Liberalism and the De-democratization of Modern Society*

Session 6: Democracy, Trust and Conflict 4.25

Tibor Desewffy *Eötvös Loránd University Budapest: May the Revitalization of Politics come from Popular Culture?*  
Eddie Hartmann *University of Potsdam and*  
Felix Lang *University of Potsdam:*  
*The Crisis of Social Trust in Nonviolent Routines.*  
*The Rise of Right-Wing Political Violence in Germany*

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12:00 – 13:00

### Lunch

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13:00 – 14:00

**Keynote 4.24a**

Ilan Pappé *University of Exeter:*  
*The Abuses and Uses of the Discourse of Rights in the Case of Palestine*

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14:15 – 16:40

### Parallel Sessions

Session 7: Illiberal Politics in Western Democratic Regimes 4.24a

Mabel Berezin *Cornell University:*

*Place and Dis-Placement as Threat to Democracy*

András Bozóki *Central European University, Vienna: The Rise of Authoritarianism in the European Union: The Case of Hungary*

Monika Florczak-Wątor *University of Kraków: The Capture of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal and Its Impact on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens*

Session 8: Democracy under a State of Emergency? 4.24b

Zafer Yılmaz *University of Potsdam: The Strategic Legalism, Judicialization of Politics and the End of the Rule of Law in Turkey*

Hassan Jabareen *Adalah, Haifa: The Schmittian Constitution: The Israeli Basic Law. The Nation State*

Matthias Lemke *Federal University of Applied Administrative Science, Lübeck: 719 Days in a State of Emergency – Attempting to draw a Balance of état d'urgence in France*

Session 9: Migration: Withholding Basic Rights of Refugees 4.25

Özge Yaka *University of Potsdam: The Migrant and the Demos: Democracy in the Age of Anxiety*

Oliver Schmidtke *University of Victoria: International Migration, Rights and the Retreat of Inclusive Citizenship Rules*

Max Oliver Schmidt *University of Potsdam: Fighting for Access to Democratic Societies – Church Asylum as Ultima Ratio*

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16:45 – 17:20

### Coffee Break

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17:25 – 19:00

### Parallel Sessions

Session 10: The Demise of Democracy in Turkey 4.24a

Ertuğ Tomuş *Humboldt University Berlin: From Representation to Incarnation: Populism and Autocracy in Turkey*

Ulaş Şener *University of Potsdam: From Neoliberal to Populist Monetary Policy? Reflections on the Turkish Case*

Session 11: Prospects of Democratic Movements in Northern Africa and the Middle East 4.24b

Jessica Ayesha Northey *Coventry University: The Algerian Hirak – Civil Society, Non-violence and the New Movement for Democracy*

Benoit Challand *Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa: The Dialectics of State-Society Relations and the Prospect for Arab Citizenships.*

*Tunisia and Yemen in Comparative Perspective*

Session 12: Fighting for Democracy and Citizenship Rights 4.25

Munir Nuseibah *Al Quds University, East Jerusalem: Municipal Elections in Occupied Jerusalem: Why do Palestinians Boycott?*

Zeynep Kivilcim *Humboldt University Berlin: The Fate of Radical Democracy: Stateless Democracy in Rojava, Syria*

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19:30

**Sightseeing Potsdam (Bus Tour)**

**Saturday, July 13**

10:00 – 11:00

**Keynote**

Jenny Pearce *London School of Economics:*

*Democratic Participation and the Violence of Politics: Towards a Post-Weberian Enlightenment 4.24a*

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11:10 – 12:45

**Parallel Sessions**

Session 13: Democracy under Right-Wing Governments 4.24a

Rosario Forlenza *New York University* and Bryan S. Turner *Australian Catholic University/ University of Potsdam:*  
*Roman Catholicism and Democracy – Internal Conservatism and External Liberalism?*

Gregor Fitzi *University of Potsdam:*  
*Italy's Transition to Post-Democracy*

Session 14: Democracy and the Permanence of Violence 4.24b

Helga Baumgarten *Birzeit University, Palestine: Violent Settler-colonialism, Authoritarian Rule, and the Struggle for Democratic Space*

Scott Bollens *University of California, Irvine: Political Resistance and Contested Citizenship: Palestine and Northern Ireland*

Session 15: Democracy and the Permanence of Colonialism 4.25

John Holmwood *University of Nottingham: Colonialism, Postcolonialism and the Liberal Welfare State*

Thiven Reddy *University of Cape Town: Settler Colonialism and the Failure of Liberal Democracy*

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14:00 – 14:30

**Conclusion 4.24a**

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# Abstracts

## Tim Anderson

### *How Colonial Intervention Destroys Democracy at Home and Abroad*

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Human beings are social creatures with social structures which are always damaged by imperial interventions. These must be rebuilt after interventions, for society to properly function and reproduce itself. In the post-colonial era international law banned war and colonisation, while recognising the right of peoples to self-determination. However interests disguised in idealistic terms kept advancing imperial plans, to dominate entire regions and seize control of their resources. The artificial claims of ‚humanitarian intervention‘ and a ‚responsibility to protect‘ have been used to ‚re-normalise‘ war, using exceptional fabrications to fit exceptional pretexts. This propaganda can only be penetrated by (1) identifying and discounting interested / self-serving statements, and (2) making use of independent evidence and admissions against interest (post-colonial forensic principles). Whatever their pretext, all the Middle East wars of the 21st Century have been basically colonial in character, a phenomenon which not only damages the colonised societies, but also the colonisers. It is important to distinguish the primary from secondary consequences of these interventions. The primary have to do with the destruction of accountability and of the necessarily anti-social damage to social structures. The secondary are backwash effects: conflict, death and destruction, deception and the destruction of accountability in the imperial cultures, damage to trust and ‚normal‘ international relations and the stimulus of mercenary and war economies. All this means that the new colonialism acts to destroy democracy at home, as well as abroad.

## Helga Baumgarten

### *Violent Settler-Colonialism, Authoritarian Rule, and the Struggle for Democratic Space*

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This paper takes an in-depth look, on the micro-level, into the Palestinian struggle for democratic space, in the context of violent settler-colonialism on a first level, internal Palestinian authoritarian rule on a second level. Examples are taken from three fields, local government (both, on the part of the local elite, and on the part of women’s struggle from below), strikes organized outside official unions (teachers’ strike 2016) and finally NGOs, here the NGO consortium of AMAN, with a focus on its last report 2019 and its head-on criticism of the Palestinian Authority.

## **Mabel Berezin**

### *Place and Dis-placement as Threat to Democracy*

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This is a paper about the role of marginality in the pre-disposition towards illiberal politics. It looks at the issue of “dis-placement” – absolute or perceived loss of culture, status and economic security in the move towards fracturing democracy. The paper will use recent demographic and geographic studies of the relation between place and politics.

## **Thomas Biebricher**

### *The Problem of Democracy: Neoliberal Critique and the Impossibility of Reform*

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Despite the differences in the specific diagnoses, neoliberal thinkers concur that democracy figures prominently in what I call the ‘neoliberal problematic’ underlying their agenda. However, while they offer numerous proposals for how democracies ought to be reformed, they are incapable of sketching a pathway that would bring about these reforms. I conclude that neoliberalism is caught in a dilemma: Either it sticks to its critiques but consequently is unable to develop a consistent reform strategy, or it sticks to the possibility of implementing its reform plans and is thus forced to discard the assumptions informing its analytical framework.

## **Scott A. Bollens**

### *Political Resistance and Contested Citizenship: Palestine and Northern Ireland*

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I examine the dynamics of resistance by citizens and identity groups to the implementation of national political agendas. My talk investigates two urban settings in which national policies operate amid contested citizenship and disputed political sovereignty. These are Israel’s program aimed at sole sovereign control of Jerusalem and Northern Ireland’s effort to build peace in Belfast. I base my findings on seven months of in-country research and 122 interviews conducted 2015 and 2016. Political goals of united Jerusalem in Israel and shared future in Northern Ireland are obstructed during local implementation. Difficulty in implementing national policy directives in a contested environment provides opportunity spaces that members of confrontational and mobilized ethnic and cultural groups exploit in ways to counteract national dictates. Unwilling to engage with formal governance institutions and asserting territorial claims, this capacity of mobilized opposition occurs in fundamentally different national programs, illuminating the inherent disruptive quality of intransigent urban interests to resist national mandates.

## **András Bozóki**

### *The Rise of Authoritarianism in the European Union: The Case of Hungary*

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The presentation focuses on the unique, role model characteristics of the Hungarian hybrid regime, the Hungarian political system's new incarnation forged in the past years' democratic backsliding process. Following the short review of the main hybrid regime literature and the key analyses putting the democratic quality of the Hungarian political system under the microscope, I argue that Hungary's EU membership, the competencies of EU institutions and the scope of EU law, has played a crucial role in the development of the system's unique characteristics which qualifies Hungary as an "externally constrained hybrid regime". However, the EU does not only fulfil system constraining functions regarding the Hungarian regime, but performs system support and system legitimization functions as well. The presentation will also focus on the new European power balance and its relationship with Hungarian politics, particularly the role of the European People's Party, after the European Parliamentary elections.

## **Benoit Challand**

### *The Dialectics of State-Society Relations and the Prospect for Arab Citizenships. Tunisia and Yemen in Comparative Perspective*

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State-society relations have been the focus of various studies in historical sociology dealing with the Middle East. N. Ayubi (1995) has set his analysis of the Arab state in relation to various societal configurations and patterns of state-making, while L. Anderson (1986) and M. Charrad (2001) helped us understand patterns of state management (with more or less reliance on clientele) and gender policies. This presentation is an attempt to re-read the transformations that were ushered by 2011 Arab uprisings, both in terms of positive and negative citizenship, and in relation to particular national configurations. It concentrates on two cases, Tunisia and Yemen, in which the "people" enjoyed a certain degree of involvement in deliberating a new constitutional order in 2014.

## **Vedran Dzihic**

### *Authoritarian Populist Nationalism as a Threat to European Democracies. Conceptual Considerations and Empirical Insights*

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## **Tibor Dessewffy**

### *May the Revitalization of Politics come from Public Culture?*

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I propose to describe the present crisis of legitimacy of and trust in liberal democracies herein in emotional terms. Different populist forces of the world are similar in their ability to emotionally organize and mobilize their supporters, often against their economic and political interest. Democratic forces are losing ground, unable emotionally involve enough supporters. Politics as usual, for most of the people, become hopelessly boring. (Social sciences are not innocent in this process of “making the social indifferent” either.) This presentation examines whether the revival of democracy can come from popular culture, which young people, who are not available with traditional political vocabulary, are intensively consuming and where emotions are abundant.

## **Gregor Fitzi**

### *Italy's Transition to Post-democracy*

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Colin Crouch proposed the category of post-democracy in 2003 to analyse the development of liberal-democratic political systems in the age of neo-liberalism. Here self-referential elites govern with less and less participation from the side of the electorate who becomes increasingly politically apathetic. Yet, in the last 15 years political praxis brought two further developments to the fore: the rise of right-wing political entrepreneurship and the substantial decomposition of political culture. These developments need to be inquired into with reference to the Italian case study, because Italy is a political laboratory where political pathologies develop that extend later to other European countries, as was the case in the 20th century. The presentation will illustrate three stages of Italy's transition to new forms of post-democracy that increasingly simulate and disrupt bottom-up political participation. 1. The growing orientation of political praxis toward short-term polls in the age of Berlusconi's governments (2001-2006 and 2008-2011). 2. The fake direct-democracy organized by the private software company who owns the Five stars movement (2009 until now). 3. Salvini's tactic for the disarticulation of the political discourse through the change of contents in political communication in a two days rhythm (2013 until now). In the final summary the presentation will sketch a diagnosis of the typological aspects of the pathological development of democracy that can be observed in the Italian case study.

## Monika Florczak-Wątor

### *The Capture of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal and Its Impact on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens*

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One of the tasks of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal is to protect the constitutional rights and freedoms of individuals by eliminating unconstitutional provisions from the legal order that violate these rights and freedoms. This task is realized, among others, through a constitutional complaint, whose positive consideration by the Tribunal may finally lead to the repeal of a court decision issued on the basis of a provision announced as unconstitutional. In accomplishing these tasks, the Court should protect the individual against the legislative activity of the parliamentary majority. However, if the Tribunal is subordinated to the parliamentary majority, as has been the case in Poland since December 2016, this Tribunal ceases to be a defender and guarantor of individual rights and freedoms. The presentation of statistical data will bring us to the conclusion that the activity of the Tribunal in the area of the protection of individual rights and freedoms in the last three years has been significantly reduced, and in some situations, it has even ceased to exist. The decline in public trust in the Court has resulted in a drastic reduction in the number of cases referred to this organ by courts and citizens. The number of judgments issued by the Tribunal every month has also decreased significantly. Moreover, the Tribunal gave up the pro-citizen interpretation of the Constitution, arguing for the interpretation that implements the policy of the current parliamentary majority. The Tribunal has also obviously prioritized cases initiated by the politicians of the ruling political party, which has resulted in an increase in waiting times for ordinary citizens' cases to be considered. On the basis of particular cases adjudicated upon by the "new" Tribunal over the past three years, it will be shown that the activities of the Tribunal not only fail to serve in protecting individuals' rights and freedoms, but also constitute a real threat to such rights and freedoms.

## Rosario Forlenza and Bryan S. Turner

### *Roman Catholicism and Democracy – Internal Conservatism and External Liberalism?*

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In sociology and politics, Catholicism is typically compared unfavourably with Protestantism in terms of support for modernity in general and democracy in particular. Protestantism is presented as the counterfoil to the historical analysis of Catholicism as a conservative force which sided with fascism in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century and with authoritarian regimes in Latin America in the second half. In this lecture we examine the question of democracy and Catholicism along two dimensions: the internal authority structure of the Church and its external dimension in relation to the realm of secular politics, and treat Vatican II (1962-65) as a critical turning point in the Church's relationship with these two dimensions. First we question to what extent its internal hierarchical structures remain in tension with modern notions of democratic participation. The contemporary crises around sex scandals inside the Church raise profound questions as to how far internal reform and democratization has

gone. Subsequently, we consider the consequences of Vatican II in terms of the external involvement of the Church in secular politics through Christian Democratic parties. The Council encouraged Catholics to support pluralism and democracy. In fact Christian Democracy had embraced these causes since the end of World War II, contributing to a redefinition of Catholicism as a project compatible with political modernity. Our conclusion examines what we refer to as ‘the long Protestantization of Catholicism’ and reflect on a remaining puzzle – the combination of internal undemocratic authoritarianism and external political liberalism in the shape of Christian democracy.

## Peo Hansen

*Refugee Reception or Welfare State Sustainability, or Both? Explaining Sound Finance’s Toxic Impact on Migration Politics and Policy in the European Union*

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The political establishment and research community are in basic agreement that refugees make up a negative fiscal position, or a net cost for the receiving society. As Ruhs (2013: 46) and others postulate: “The lower the skills and earnings of migrants in the host country, the greater will be the strictly economic case for restricting some of their welfare rights in order to minimize the fiscal costs for existing residents.” This presentation looks closer at the claims regarding the fiscal position of refugees and the notion of there being a trade-off between migration and the welfare state. I will argue that the consensus is built on a false and fundamentally misleading premise concerning government spending, one linked to the equally mistaken government-household analogy that buttresses the EU’s “sound” fiscal framework. In politics as well as scholarship, then, the constraints that sound finance imposes on, let’s say, government spending on refugee integration are treated as were they determined by economic laws. They are approached as economic givens rather than what they really are, namely political choices and man-made rules that constrain economic policy and fiscal options. Sound finance, I will therefore argue, poisons migration politics and policy in the EU; it corroborates what the extreme right has always claimed and it leaves progressive politics little option but to fumblingly say that “we can afford it”, meaning we can afford to spend on refugees if we spend less on other budget items. To demonstrate the (affordability) fallacy involved in the trade-off claim and sound finance logic, I will use empirical evidence from Sweden and the consequences of its massive refugee spending in 2015–2016.

## Eddie Hartmann and Felix Lang

*The Crisis of Social Trust in Nonviolent Routines. The Rise of Right-Wing Political Violence in Germany*

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Democracies are always characterised by the particular relationship they maintain with violence. However, the issue here is not a democracy’s relationship with violence per se but rather the extent to which social actors interpret violent interactions as violent and characterise them as prohibited, permitted,

or mandated. Obviously, these areas or zones of violence are not self-evident but subject to constant social struggle over the production of cultural meanings and hence to processes of historical transformation. Nevertheless, in modern democracies, it is first and foremost the state's monopoly on violence that guarantees a particular order of these zones and therefore becomes a prerequisite for social trust in nonviolent routines of social life. Against this backdrop, our paper argues that the stability of these zones is no longer perceived as being guaranteed and their particular order as being legitimate, and that we are witnessing a historical phase of intensive struggles for their rearrangement. One possible outcome of such a rearrangement is that trust in nonviolent routines can reappear as trust in violence, that is, a reorientation of social trust that we conceive as radicalisation. This is the empirical context of larger social change in which the current rise of right-wing political violence in Germany unfolds. We would like to outline this argument on the basis of an empirical case study on the so-called "Bürgerwehr Freital", a semi-clandestine group of right-wing activists which carried out at least five explosive attacks on refugees and political opponents in the Saxon Freital and neighbouring Dresden between June and November 2015.

## John Holmwood

### *Colonialism, Postcolonialism and the Liberal Welfare State*

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This talk (written with Gurminder K. Bhambra) addresses the colonial and racial origins of the liberal welfare state. Most commentators represent it through the centrality of the commodified status of labour power expressing a logic of market relations. Instead, we argue that with a proper understanding of the relations of capitalism and colonialism, the sale of labour power as a commodity already represents a movement away from the commodified form of labour represented by enslavement. European colonialism is integral to the development of welfare states and their forms of inclusion and exclusion remain racialised through into the twenty-first century.

## Hassan Jabareen

### *The Schmittian Constitution: The Israeli Basic Law. The Nation State*

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The 2018 Basic Law: Israel – The Nation-State of the Jewish People illustrates the paradigmatic case of illiberal democracy in theory and in practice. This law provides that the Land of Israel is the historical homeland of the Jewish people, and only the Jewish people are entitled to self-determination in the State of Israel. The paper will open with an analysis of the liberal Zionists' opposition to the law. This group argues that there is no need for such a law, as Israel is a Jewish state; it creates alienation with the Palestinian citizens; and it damages Israel's image as a democracy internationally. How can we understand this position when this group has supported Israeli Supreme Court decisions justifying the idea of a Je-

wish state based on ethnic homogeneity and when this law more or less mirrors these judgments? I will argue that Israeli legal culture explains the nature of this opposition. This culture is based on two contradictory factors: the effect of international law for legitimacy and decisionism (taking decisions with a lack of legislative authorization). This paper will contend that due to historical trajectories, Israel avoided, with very few exceptions, legislating direct ethnic laws. However, to build a Jewish state that exercises democracy in Palestine, which is inhabited by native Palestinians, the state opted for decisionism. Carl Schmitt's theory on democracy provides a good explanation regarding this culture of decisionism. For Schmitt, Rousseau's 'general will' is the will of the founding people based on homogeneity, and this will does not need to be regulated in order to continue to control constitutionalism through decisionism. The Nation-State Law illustrates this Schmittian constitutional identity as the paradigm of anti-liberal democracy. Still, this paper will show that Schmitt's theory failed to acknowledge that the Court is also able to protect such 'general will', and to recognize that legitimacy is not dependent only on the people's will, but it also needs international recognition.

## Bob Jessop

### *The Political Crisis of Neoliberalization and Multi-Spatial Meta-governance*

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Neoliberalization is a variegated set of projects to complete the world-market. Its finance-dominated variant rests on political rather than rational capitalism and has global horizons of action. This undermines the elective affinity between capitalism and democracy. Moreover, because finance-dominated accumulation increases inequalities of income and wealth compared with *les trente glorieuses*, it becomes harder to reconcile the "comprehensive contradiction" in liberal democratic constitutions between enabling the political emancipation of subaltern groups and maintaining the social entrenchment of the dominant classes. This is reflected in the rise of authoritarian statism and enduring austerity for subaltern groups and in competing forms of multi-spatial metagovernance to manage the changing world market and the repercussions of uneven development. This contribution explores the interrelations among these tendencies.

## Zeynep Kivilcim

### *The Fate of Radical Democracy: Stateless Democracy in Rojava, Syria*

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The presentation aims to investigate on the new modes of sovereignty and of citizenship in Democratic Federation of Northern Syria commonly known as Rojava, where principles of the Eurocentric doctrine of liberal democracy are renegotiated. I investigate the articulations of sovereignty within the model of 'democratic autonomy' in Rojava with a focus on the legal practices that tend towards the decentralization of hierarchical sovereignty and the self-government of stateless citizens. Democratic autonomy prob-

ematizes state-society relations, and mainly aims at the development of gender sensitive self-governing capacities beyond the representative democracy.

The Democratic Federation of Northern Syria is politically extremely fragile in the turmoil of the Syrian war. The talks with the Damascus government on Rojava's de facto autonomy had reached an impasse. The administration of the Federation that is the second largest territory holder after the Syrian government in Syria is excluded from the Syrian constitution drafting work initiated by the United Nations. I will discuss to which extent the experience of stateless democracy in Rojava contributes to or challenges the conceptual and legal foundations of liberal democracy.

## **Matthias Lemke**

### *719 Days in a State of Emergency – Attempting to draw a Balance of état d'urgence in France*

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From November 13, 2015 to October 31st, 2017, France went through the longest state of emergency (état d'urgence) in the history of the Fifth Republic. Triggered by terrorist attacks on various locations in the Île de France-Region causing 130 civilian casualties, the following 719 days of state of emergency deeply affected the balance of freedom and security. In the course of the état d'urgence, the new French government under President Macron introduced important changes on security legislation, permitting exceptional provisions to be applied in normal times, too. Therefore, this contribution asks what the new normality in France after the end of the state of emergency looks like – and even more importantly: how we got there.

## **Jürgen Mackert**

### *The Legacy of Liberalism and the De-democratization of Modern Society*

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The paper argues that the legacy of liberalism has in the long run promoted de-democratization and de-politicization of European liberal democracies by triggering both their neo-liberalization and the institutionalization of a democratic deficit in the EU. This tendency has been reinforced by the consequences of the financial crisis and a politics of securitization. While sociology concentrates on processes within single societies or the „European society“ in order to understand the consequences of these processes, I argue that the 2015 “migration crisis” and the violence against „the migrant“ shows a resurgence of the „dark side of liberalism“.

## Nancy MacLean

### *Enchaining Democracy: The Now-Transnational Project of the Radical Libertarian Right*

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The talk will provide an overview of my findings in *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America* and the serendipitous research path that led to them, a path that underscores their stakes. *Democracy in Chains* reveals the unknown history of the relentless campaign by the U.S. radical rich to eliminate unions, suppress voting, privatize everything from schools to Medicare and Social Security, stop action on climate change, and alter the Constitution. I traced this game plan back to the Nobel Prize-winning political economist James McGill Buchanan, who forged his ideas in an attempt to preserve the white elite's power in the wake of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Focusing on this key figure who barely appears in the current literature on neoliberalism, the lecture will explain the genesis of today's American pro-corporate libertarian radical right, from its beginnings in academia to the eventual embrace and financial backing of the billionaire Charles Koch and the network of wealthy, right-wing donors he has built. I will conclude by noting that while *Democracy in Chains* told a US-based story, this cause is transnational, with a particular focus on blocking action on climate change. Its vehicle is the Atlas Network, an international umbrella organization with over 450 affiliates in 96 countries, working with rapidly escalating success to rig the rules of democracy across the globe. I expect to weave in some suggestive preliminary findings by journalists of Atlas affiliates' impact on matters from Brexit to the victory of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil and efforts by Australia's One Nation party to enlist Koch funding in elections—just the tip of the iceberg that researchers in affected countries could begin to explore. What they point to is a need to stop assuming that corporate neoliberalism and right-wing populism are opposed entities and start asking fresh questions about their relationship.

If you'd like to check the affiliates in your own country before the conference, here's the global directory: <https://www.atlasnetwork.org/partners/global-directory>

## Martha Mundy

### *'Beyond Legal Reference' – the Yemen War*

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The Yemen war is in its fifth year. One side controls the skies, raining bombs to decimate society below, and imposes a siege on some 20 million persons. There are massive breaches of the Geneva Conventions of which all parties – save the US and Israel – signed the 1977 additional protocol. For capital, Western governments lavish weapons and knowhow; when challenged, they invoke the hard edge of state law – official secret, security, executive veto. None of this is truly beyond legal reference. It is rather the decrees that facilitate the war itself, issued by the UNSC, that fall 'beyond legal reference'.

## Jessica Ayesha Northey

### *The Algerian Hirak – Civil Society, Non-violence and the New Movement for Democracy*

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Since 22 February 2019 Algerians have peacefully mobilised on an unprecedented scale for democracy. Known as the Hirak, massive weekly marches of millions led to President Bouteflika standing down, politicians, and the former secret services head being arrested and tried for corruption. This phenomenal mobilisation has led to dramatic political transformation. Uniting civil society, it has until now remained entirely peaceful. It is important to understand how and why Algerians have taken on such a powerful regime, without violence from any side, despite deep frustrations and a history of violent political change and the implications for future democratic reform.

## Munir Nuseibah

### *Municipal Elections in Occupied Jerusalem: Why Do Palestinians Boycott?*

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Since the Israeli occupation and illegal annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem in 1967, the Palestinian population of the city has been considered permanent residents in Israel. This status qualified them to vote in municipal elections, but not in parliamentary elections. However, the Jerusalemites have been boycotting these elections since the occupation until today. In 2018, two Palestinian blocs competed at the municipal elections, hoping that they would break the boycott and encourage Palestinian voters, but they both failed. This paper will examine the dilemma regarding participating in the elections.

## Ilan Pappé

### *The Uses and Abuses of Discourse of Rights in the Case of Palestine*

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This talk focuses on the exceptionalism that characterises human rights approach to the case of Palestine. The paper argues that the usual universal yardsticks which form the basis for any discourse on human rights abuses worldwide are not applied to Palestine. The paper explains the reasons for this exceptionalism, assess its implications and will consider ways of challenging it. The international conversation about the abuses of human rights in the Middle East since the onset of the Arab Spring (and even before) does not include the Israeli violation of human rights within historical Palestine. From mainstream media, through leading intellectuals and political elites, the Palestinians are included when there is a universal condemnation of abuses of human rights either by regimes or by those opposing them.

The reasons for this exceptionalism vary. In Europe this approach is still deeply rooted in the Holocaust memory and guilt complex. In the USA, it is a combination of Christian fundamentalism and neo-

conservatism that allows this exceptionalism. In the rest of the world, neo-liberalism is the main motive for exempting, not only Israel, states from international rebuke. This exceptionalism did not only prevent any significant progress towards peace and reconciliation in Palestine, but also defined any meaningful role for the west in the conversation about human rights in the Middle East as a whole. Only a universal approach that is inclusive about Palestine can contribute not only to changing the reality on the ground in Palestine, but also in the region as a whole.

## Jenny Pearce

### *Democratic Participation and the Violence of Politics: Towards a Post-Weberian Enlightenment*

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This paper is written in a context in which it appears that violence rather than politics might determine the future of the planet and humanity. Yet, politics has been seen as a way to reduce violence and transform our conflicts into other kinds of interactions. Critical to that view was the State itself, as the legitimate monopoly of violence. Rational lawmaking and administration completed a process, albeit a disenchanted one. As violence appears to grow both within and without our politics, the moment has come to review our premises about the relationship between the two. A starting point is to deontologize the assumptions about human violence which have given shape to what we understand to be politics, the State and the political. Our failure to distinguish aggression from violence, and to assume that the State is how we trade a part of our freedom for security is a starting point. As Carl Schmitt's shadow casts itself over the early twentieth first century, arguing that the State becomes political when it identifies the 'enemy', the urgency of new theories of politics becomes apparent. When we understand that aggression has biological roots and violence has social ones, and as social action has visibilized violences previously not recognized as such, we see better how violence emerges and reproduces in our social relationships, across the spaces of socialization, including the construction of the nation state itself. Thus, this paper argues, we now know so much about violence and its reproduction, that we no longer need to base our theories of politics on our incapacity to address it. A politics without violence becomes a theoretical and practical possibility, though it might not look like it at this time in history. Imagining such a politics, however, opens up debate about the potential for a distinct kind of democratic participation and further action on the material conditions, state actions and social relationships that reproduce violences.

## Thiven Reddy

### *Settler Colonialism and the Failure of Liberal Democracy*

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My paper will focus on how we theorize a conception of politics in countries like South Africa, historically marked by settler-colonial modernity. An important description of the post 1994 democratic period

is the emergence of two different modes of politics which interact with each other in various, complex ways. Over the last two decades these can be viewed as two different conceptions of 'the political' manifested in everyday political behavior: the first, more expressive of the historical and emergent middle class embrace institutional and constitutional 'democratic rules of the game'; the second, rooted in mass-subaltern politics, desires to re-distribute power so that subalterns obtain symbolic recognition and material redress through collective action. The paper will frame this discussion about democracy and politics by drawing on the work of Schmitt and Biko.

## Max Oliver Schmidt

### *Fighting for Access to Democratic Societies – Church Asylum as Ultima Ratio*

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The Geneva Refugee Convention declares that persons have the right to seek asylum from persecution in other countries. To ensure this right the EU and its member states took measures to grant equal treatment regarding asylum proceedings. However, actual administrative practices differ from this façade. Rather, the EU implemented control techniques to impose hidden and collectivist strategies of exclusion inside and outside the territory of the EU. In brief, the EU and its member states exclude refugees from asylum procedures and accordingly from their right to pursue access to democratic societies. To defeat these exclusionary actions, church organisations showed solidarity with refugees and mobilized resource not only to claim formal rights for the refugees, but to usurp the administrative procedure and consequently overturn the administrative action.

The paper will analyse these conflicting practices of exclusionary and usurpationary actions within social closure theory. Thus, it concentrates on strategies of usurpation which firstly establish new power relations between state agencies and refugees by changing the modes of 'presence-availability' of the refugees. Secondly, it explains how church organisations manipulate the action of state authorities through setting new rules of interaction and embedding certain religious narratives into the review process of asylum procedures. Thirdly, it briefly illustrates how actors deploy strategies of conflict and technologies of power in the struggle and construction of asylum practices.

## Oliver Schmidtke

### *International Migration, Rights and the Retreat of Inclusive Citizenship Rules*

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Migration as a genuinely global phenomenon requires regional or global governance approaches. The drive towards the Global Compact on Migration under the auspices of the UN is a notable move in this direction. Yet, the nationalist backlash against immigration in general and refugees in particular has created a political environment in which access to rights especially for irregular migrants are severely curtailed. This presentation addresses how the access to fundamental rights associated with citizenship

has gradually been restricted in the European context and how depriving the most vulnerable migrants of those entitlements has been employed as a political strategy of deterrence.

### **Christian Schmidt-Wellenburg**

*Drawing on Different Sources of Authority: The Changing Nature of Economic Expertise in Eurocracy*

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High-level European expert groups such as de-Larosière-Group (2009) or Liikanen-Group (2012) have been controversially discussed for two reasons: the economic expertise produced and their composition. Similar stakes are at the centre of both struggles. First, what the economy is and how it should be regulated. Second, who is deemed legitimate to articulate her/his point of view and why. Analysing the groups' compositions and outputs allows reconstructing relationships between EU political institutions and different forms of expertise. Comparing these to other national and transnational economic expert groups allows understanding their specificity as part of a new form of stateness in the making.

### **Ulaş Şener**

*From Neoliberal to Populist Monetary Policy? Reflections on the Turkish Case*

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Over the last years Turkey has been increasingly described as a country with a soaring populism and an authoritarian political economy, which get off the path of Western style democracy and capitalism. This article seeks to contribute to the literature on the political economy of populism and neoliberal authoritarianism, focusing on recent developments in Turkey with an emphasis on monetary policy. Starting from an elaboration on theoretical aspects of Neoliberalism and its economic policies, I will outline the conjunctures of a de-politicization of monetary policy and neoliberal authoritarianism with an emphasis on their mutual contingency and inherent contradictions in the case of Turkey.

### **Margaret R. Somers**

*Can Citizenship save Democracy from Market Justice? Why Karl Polanyi is the Necessary Thinker for Our Times*

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Today's crises of dedemocratization and radical inequality are the same as those Karl Polanyi identified as the preconditions to fascism and the products of market "utopianism." Capitalism invented "market justice"—that market outcomes are morally deserved—from the utopianism of market naturalism, which justified social exclusion and laid the predicate for democracy as mortal threat. Polanyi demystified the utopianism of market justice to reveal its redistributive political engineering, making the market an allocative institution of power that, in 1930s Europe, drove social exclusion, dedemocratized, and

facilitated authoritarianism. But predistribution is contingent; its constitutive state power is comprised of social goods and collective wealth—that is to say, by citizenship as an accumulated and inherited public good. In America’s New Deal, progressive forces dodged the “fascist virus” by subordinating market justice to the public good of citizenship. Can citizenship be again mobilized to save democracy from market justice?

## Ertuğ Tomuş

*From Representation to Incarnation: Populism and Autocracy in Turkey*

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The relation between populism and democracy is one of the central disputes in populism studies. This paper aims to shed light on this relation by explaining populism as a particular kind of representation claim, which follows a trajectory as populist actor moves from opposition to power. This trajectory, the paper argues, starts from representing the voice of the people and develops into a claim of incarnation. Understanding this trajectory not only brings temporality into discussion but also goes beyond the left-right populism distinction to explain populism’s effects on democratic system. To make this theoretical argument, the paper uses populism in Turkey in the last two decades as its substantiating case.

## Stephen Turner

*The Ideology of Anti-populism and the Administrative State*

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Conventional accounts of liberal democracy tend to obscure a basic fact: the phenomenon of administration. The American reception of the administrative state was self-consciously imitative of Continental models of state bureaucracy, as a remedy for the ills of democratic politics, but construed as a means of saving democracy from itself, from populism, and from lawyers and legalism, in the name of efficiency. This produced its own ideology, which pervades present discussion of populism.

## Joseph Vogl

*The Financial Regime*

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Modernity has given rise not merely to the sovereign state apparatus, to international trade companies, to influential financiers, to decentralized markets... It has also witnessed the formation of a particular type of power that cannot be properly described in terms either of political structures or of economic strategies. This type of power is constituted, instead, by the interpenetration of these poles. From the integration of private creditors into the politics of early modern states, to the creation of central banks and public credit,

all the way up to today's capitalism of financial markets, we can trace the emergence of a type of “economic governance” that ultimately has immunized itself against the democratization of political power.

## **Özge Yaka**

### *The Migrant and the Demos: Democracy in the Age of Anxiety*

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Migration, again, is being discussed as a cause for the crisis of Western democracies in the last few years both within academic and public discourse. A more accurate description would be that migration and the “refugee crisis” exposed the fragilities of the relationships between the spheres of the social, the economy and the political, expressed in the notion of “democracy”. The controversy surrounding the admission (or rejection) of refugees was centred around two paradigmatic arguments: The first addresses the “scope” of democracy, or, the failure of democratic governance to provide adequate conditions for “substantial citizenship” (Arjun Appadurai). A failure, which in turn has been interpreted by many scholars as one of the main dynamics to foster anti-migrant sentiments, fears and collective anxieties (Zygmunt Bauman). The second argument can be described as result of the recent shift in political culture, mainly achieved by right-wing populist parties: The rearticulation of the concept of “demos” (common people) on the basis of race, ethnicity and religion (also signified by the term “culture”). Against this background, the paper explores the idea of demos and democracy in relation with the figure of the migrant, utilizing critical theories of democracy such as the works of, Balibar, Ranciere and Derrida.

## **Zafer Yılmaz**

### *The Strategic Legalism, Judicialization of Politics and the End of the Rule of Law in Turkey*

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Turkish president Erdoğan and the AKP government initiated a comprehensive restoration process right after the failed coup in mid-July 2016. In fact, the country experiences a very comprehensive and violent regime transformation. The new strategic legalism of the AKP has been playing a highly critical role in the organization of a regime change in that context. It combines total subordination of the judiciary to the executive with subtle judicial repression strategies so as to demobilize all sources of opposition and suppress the emergence of any possible alternatives within current power bloc as well. To shed light on the ways in which current legal practices providing the necessary authority to President Erdoğan and the AKP government for regime transformation, I will discuss the main characteristics of the Party's strategic legalism, which reduces rule of law to the rule by law approach, executive prerogative principle, and law as technique of demobilization. Consequently, I will argue that the impacts of this model of legality will go beyond the national borders of the country since it provides a new legal model for other authoritarian regimes as well.

# Participants

## Tim Anderson

Dr. is Director of the Sydney-based Centre for Counter Hegemonic Studies. He worked at Australian universities for more than 30 years. His recent books include: *Land and Livelihoods in Papua New Guinea* (2015), *The Dirty War on Syria* (2016, in ten languages), and *Axis of Resistance* (2019).

## Helga Baumgarten

taught Political Science at Birzeit University. Among her publications are *Palaestina. Befreiung in den Staat* (Suhrkamp 1991), also available in Arabic (Muwatin 2006), and *Kampf um Palaestina: Was wollen Hamas und Fatah?* (Herder 2014), as well as her article *The Oslo System* (INAMO 79, 2014), available in English on academia.edu.

## Mabel Berezin

Professor of Sociology at Cornell, writes on challenges to democratic solidarity in Europe and the United States. Her works include *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security, and Populism in the New Europe* (Cambridge, 2009). Her current writing focuses on extreme nationalism in contemporary Europe.

## Thomas Biebricher

is a political theorist. Currently he is a Post-Doc at the Cluster of Excellence 'The Formation of Normative Orders' at the Goethe-University in Frankfurt. His *The Political Theory of Neoliberalism* has just been published by Stanford University Press.

## Scott A. Bollens

is Professor and Warmington Endowed Chair of Peace and International Cooperation, University of California, Irvine. He studies urbanism and political conflict in contested cities. His recent book is *Trajectories of Conflict and Peace: Jerusalem and Belfast since 1994* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

## András Bozóki

is Professor of Political Science at the Central European University (CEU), Budapest, Hungary. His research interest are comparative politics in East Central Europe, democratization, hybrid regimes, political ideas, and the role of the intellectuals.

His books include *Ars Politica* (2007), *Virtual Republic* (2012) and others.

## Benoit Challand

is Associate Professor in Sociology at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence. He holds a PhD from the EUI in Florence (2005) and has published on civil society in the Arab world from a variety of facets: Foreign aid for civil society (*Palestinian Civil Society. The Power to Promote and Exclude*, 2008), Islamic charities (2007 article in *IJMES*), and popular mobilizations in the 2011 Arab Uprisings (2011 and 2013 articles in *Constellations*).

## Tibor Dessewffy

is a sociologist, a Chair at the Department of Social Psychology at ELTE, Faculty of Social Sciences, Budapest. He received his PhD from the University of Amsterdam in 1997. He was a visiting fellow of Boston University and New School for Social Research. In 2010 he was a Fulbright scholar at USC, Los Angeles. His main fields of interest are digital sociology, digital cultures, sociology of the everyday life, cultural impacts of technology and politics in the network Society.

## Vedran Dzihic

Dr., is a senior researcher at the oiiip (Austrian Institute for International Affairs) and lecturer at the University of Vienna. He is also a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, Washington D.C. His field of research are related to democracy and transition processes, European integration, civil society and protest movements, foreign policy, conflict research, and nationalism. His regional focus lies on Eastern and Southeastern Europe and the USA.

## Gregor Fitzl

is a co-director of the Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity at University of Potsdam, Germany. He was interim full professor for General Sociology and Sociological Theory at the

University of Bielefeld, in Germany (2015-2016). He has been visiting professor at the University of Montréal, at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris and at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Recent publications: – *The Challenge of Modernity. Simmel's Sociological Theory*. Abingdon-New York: Routledge (2019).

### **Monika Florczak-Wątor**

is a professor at the Constitutional Law Department of the Jagiellonian University in Poland, an attorney-at-law, a member of the executive board of the Polish Association of Constitutional Law, and a member of the European Group of Public Law. From 2004 to 2017 she was a clerk at the Office of the Constitutional Tribunal.

### **Rosario Forlenza**

is a Fellow at the Remarque Institute, New York University, and an Associate Research Scholar at Potsdam University's Center for Citizenship, Social Pluralism, and Religious Diversity. He is a historian of modern Europe and has worked at the University of Cambridge, Princeton University, Columbia University, and the University of Padova. Recent books include *On the Edge of Democracy: Italy 1943-1948* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

### **Peo Hansen**

is Professor of Political Science at the Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society (REMESO), Linköping University. His research focuses on European integration, migration policy, citizenship, political economy, colonialism and postwar European geopolitics. His most recent book is *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism* (with Stefan Jonsson). He is currently writing a book on Europe's migration crises.

### **Eddie Hartmann**

is a Visiting Professor for political sociology at the Max Weber Institute for Sociology at the University of Heidelberg. His research focuses on sociological theory, political sociology, and the sociology of violence. He has recently published "Die Gewalttheorie von Jan Philipp Reemtsma. Programmatische Impulse für eine Allgemeine Soziologie der Gewalt" (*Zeitschrift für Theoretische Soziologie*, 1, 2019, p. 74-85).

## John Holmwood

is Professor of sociology at the University of Nottingham. In 2014-15 he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. He is author (with Therese O'Toole) of *Countering Extremism in British Schools? The Truth about the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair*.

## Hassan Jabareen

is a lawyer and the founder and General Director of *Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel*. Over the last 25 years, he has litigated scores of landmark cases regarding Palestinian human rights both in Israel and in the 1967 Occupied Territory before the Israeli Supreme Court. He is also an Adjunct Lecturer in the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University. He has received several awards for outstanding public interest lawyering and top human rights law prizes. Hassan was a Yale World Fellow in 2005-6, and a Senior Robina Law Fellow in 2012-13 at Yale Law School and a research fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin in 2015-16.

## Bob Jessop

is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at Lancaster University, UK. He is best known for his contributions to strategic-relational state theory, critical governance studies, and cultural political economy. He is currently writing a book on *Civil Society as a Mode of Governance: Between Self-Emancipation and Self-Responsibilization*.

## Zeynep Kivilcim

is an Associate Professor of public international law. She got her MA and PhD degrees from Université Paris II and she taught at Istanbul University, Göttingen University, Osnabrück University and Humboldt University. She was a fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin (2017-2018) and currently is an Einstein Foundation Senior Fellow at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

## Felix Lang

is a PhD student at the Chair of General Sociology and an associate researcher at the Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity at the University of Potsdam. His PhD project deals with the rise of right-wing violence in Germany since 2015. His research interests include political violence, right-wing extremism as well as discourse and field analysis.

## Jürgen Mackert

is Professor of Sociology and a co-director of the 'Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Pluralism' at Potsdam University, Germany. His research interests are in sociology of citizenship, political economy, liberalism and neo-liberalism, democracy, closure theory, and settler colonialism.

## Nancy MacLean

is the William H. Chafe Professor of History and Public Policy at Duke University and the award-winning author, most recently, of *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America*, a finalist for the National Book Award and the winner of the Los Angeles Times Book Award in Current Affairs and the Lillian Smith Book Award.

## Martha Mundy

is Professor Emerita of Anthropology at the London School of Economics. Major books are *Domestic Government: Kinship, community and polity in North Yemen* (1995) and (with R Saumarez Smith) *Governing Property, Making the Modern State: Law, administration and production in Ottoman Syria* (2007). See also Thimar: [www.athimar.org](http://www.athimar.org).

## Jessica Ayesha Northey

Dr., is Director of Postgraduate Research at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University. She is country expert for Algeria with the Bertelsmann Foundation Transformation Index and is the author of *Civil Society in Algeria: Activism, Engagement and the Democratic Process* (2018).

## Munir Nuseibah

is a human rights lawyer and academic based in Al-Quds University in Jerusalem, Palestine. He is an assistant professor at Al-Quds University's faculty of law; the director (and co-founder) of Al-Quds Human Rights Clinic, the first accredited clinical legal education program in the Arab World; and the director of the Community Action Center in Jerusalem. He holds a B.A. degree in Law from Al-Quds University; an LL.M in International Legal Studies from the Washington College of Law of the American University in Washington DC and a PhD degree from the University of Westminster in London, UK, which he acquired after successfully defending his thesis entitled: *Forced Displacement in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, International Law, and Transitional Justice*.

## **Ilan Pappé**

Professor of History, Director of the European Centre for Palestine Studies and a fellow in the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, United Kingdom. Professor Pappé holds a BA from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a D Phil from University of Oxford. He has published 20 books, among them *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2007), *The Modern Middle East* (2010, 2012) and *On Palestine* (with Noam Chomsky in 2016). His most recent book is *The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Israeli Occupation* (2017).

## **Thiven Reddy**

is an Associate Professor and HoD in the Political Studies Department at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. He has published books and articles on South African politics. His interests focus on the relationship between colonial impacts on politics. He recently published *South Africa, Settler-Colonialism and the Failures of Liberal Democracy*.

## **Max Oliver Schmidt**

is a research associate at the Chair of General Sociology. He was Doctoral Researcher at the DFG-Research Training Group 'Wicked Problems, Contested Administrations: Knowledge, Coordination, Strategy'. He was a research associate and taught at the Chair of Organizational and Administrative Sociology. He holds a M.A., Military Studies – Military Sociology/History, University of Potsdam. His research is on social closure theory, forced migration and organisation theory.

## **Oliver Schmidtke**

is a Professor in Political Science and History at the University of Victoria where he currently also serves as the director of the Centre for Global Studies. He received his PhD from the European University Institute in Florence. His research interests are in the fields of migration, citizenship, nationalism, and populism.

## **Christian Schmidt-Wellenburg**

is an Assistance Professor of Sociology at Potsdam University and currently fellow at Käte Hamburger Kolleg Law as Culture, Bonn. Current publications are: "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft aus feldanalytischer Sicht" ZfD 7(2), 2019; "Struggling over Crisis", HSR 43(3), 2018; "Europeanization, Stateness, and Professions" EJCS, 4(4), 2017.

## Ulaş Şener

completed a doctorate in economics and is currently a PostDoc and Research Assistant at the Chair of International Economics at the University of Potsdam. His main areas of research include International Political Economy, Monetary Policy and Theory, Populism. His PhD won the Jörg Huffschmid Award 2017 for Political Economy.

## Margaret R. Somers

Professor Emerita of Sociology and History, University of Michigan, specializes in the work of Karl Polanyi and the political economy of citizenship. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights* (2008) explains how market governance transforms citizenship into statelessness. *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique* (2014) examines how the alchemy of the “free” market obscures the state-driven redistribution of wealth.

## Ertuğ Tombuş

is a research associate at the Department of Social Sciences, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, and the academic coordinator of Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies Program. He holds a Ph.D. in political science and currently completing a book manuscript titled *Life-Cycle of a Populist: Populism and its Trajectory in Turkey*.

## Bryan S. Turner

is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Institute for Religion Politics and Society at the Australian Catholic University, Honorary Professor and Director of the Centre for Citizenship at Potsdam University Germany, and Emeritus Professor at the Graduate Center at the City University of New York. He is the founding editor of the *Journal of Classical Sociology*. He recently edited the *Blackwell Wiley Encyclopedia for Social Theory* (2018) and published (with Alan Shipman and June Edmunds) *The New Power Elite* (Anthem, 2018). He was awarded a Doctor of Letters by Cambridge University in 2009 and received the Max Planck Award in social science in 2015.

## Stephen Turner

is currently Distinguished University Professor at the Department of Philosophy, University of South Florida, USA. His books include *Liberal Democracy 3.0: Civil Society in an Age of Experts* (2003) and es-

says collected in *The Politics of Expertise* (2013). He has also written extensively on Max Weber, especially on politics, in *Max Weber and the Dispute Over Reason and Value: A Study in Philosophy, Ethics, and Politics* 1984, and *Max Weber: The Lawyer as Social Thinker*, 1994 (with Regis A. Factor).

### **Joseph Vogl**

is Professor of German Literature, Cultural and Media Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin and Permanent Visiting Professor at Princeton University. Recent monographs: *On Tarrying* (2011), *The Specter of Capital* (2014), *The Ascendancy of Finance* (2017).

### **Özge Yaka**

has received her PhD in Sociology from Lancaster University in 2011. Since then, she has held post-doctoral and professorial positions in Turkey, France and Germany. She is currently an Alexander von Humboldt PSI Fellow at the Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity, Universität Potsdam.

### **Zafer Yılmaz**

is a visiting scholar (Dr.) at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Potsdam University. He is affiliated at both the Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity and the Chair of Sociology at the University of Potsdam. His latest publications include “Revising the Culture of Political Protest in Turkey after the Gezi Uprising: Radical Imagination, Affirmative Resistance and the New Politics of Desire/Dignity”, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Special Issue: Erdogan and the Transformation of the Turkey, Vol. 29, Issue, 3, September (2018).

# Conference Venue

## **Wissenschaftsetage im Bildungsforum**

Am Kanal 47  
14467 Potsdam

„Platz der Einheit / Bildungsforum“

Tram 93  
Tram 94  
Tram 99  
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