

PEWS NEWS

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE WORLD-SYSTEM
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION**

THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN TUNISIA

The Tunisian constitution was adopted by the National Constituent Assembly in late January 2014 to much acclaim within Tunisia and outside it. Most of the principles are laid out in Chapter 2 of the constitution. They show the influence of feminists and the labor movement and reflect the popular demands of the Dignity Revolution for social rights and economic citizenship:

Articles 35, 36, and 37: guarantee the right to form political parties, unions, and associations. The right to form trade unions is guaranteed along with the right to strike, except for the army and security services.

Article 38: "Health is a right for every person" and the state shall "guarantee preventative health care and treatment for every citizen and provide the means necessary to ensure the safety and good quality of health services." The constitution promises "free health care for those without support and those with limited income."

Article 40: "Work is a right for every citizen, male and female. The state shall take the necessary measures to guarantee work on the basis of competence and fairness. All citizens, male and female, shall have the right to decent working conditions and to a fair wage."

Article 45: "The state guarantees the right to a healthy and balanced environment and the right to participate in the protection of the climate. The state shall provide the necessary means to eradicate pollution of the environment." The state is also given custody over ensuring the "conservation and rational use of water" as one of its duties.

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UPDATE FROM THE EDITOR OF JOURNAL OF WORLD-SYSTEMS RESEARCH: PEWS SECTION OPEN ACCESS JOURNAL

You have no doubt received numerous communications from the American Sociological Association about its new open access journal. As PEWS section members, you should take pride in the fact that our section is responsible for one of the first open access scholarly journals, founded in 1994 (when some of us were barely using e-mail!).

The May/June issue of the ASA Footnotes includes a report I wrote on some of what I've learned about the political economy of the publishing industry and how this has impacted the new push for open access journals. Please watch for that issue, since this topic is an important one for us as individual scholars and as members of the larger scholarly community.

In response to what I've learned in my time as editor of the Journal of World-Systems Research<<http://www.jwsr.org/>>, I have been working in consultation with PEWS section chair Mike Timberlake and the section council to develop a proposal to move the journal into the modern online publishing era. This proposal involves two steps. One is to return to the original journal practice of assigning copyrights to the authors of articles, which we will be doing in a more formal way through the creative commons<<http://us.creativecommons.org/>> licensing arrangement. The second is to move the journal to an online manuscript submission system.

When the JWSR became an official ASA journal in 2009, we were required to assign author copyrights to the ASA. This had been standard practice for all ASA journals, and the JWSR followed suit. Yet, many of our authors resisted this arrangement for various reasons. Also, the convention for most open access journals is to allow authors to retain creative commons license to their work, which allows users to share and distribute materials provided authors receive attribution. JWSR authors will once again retain the rights to distribute their own work.

The move to an online manuscript submission system has long been a goal for the journal, and I've been looking into our various options since I took on the editorship in 2012. I have learned a great deal in the process, and we are currently making a proposal to the ASA Committee on Publications to move the journal to a non-profit, online manuscript submission platform based at the University of Pittsburgh's University Library System. The open access platform we are proposing is operated by librarians who are committed to making information accessible and to increasing the visibility of open access content in scholarly indices. They are also active in developing alternative metrics for assessing the impacts of scholarly research that is published online. Thus, if the proposal to move to this platform is approved by the ASA Committee on Publications later this summer, you will see some big changes to the JWSR.

We will be asking authors to submit their work through a web-based submission system, which will help us to track papers through the review process. Reviewers will also see a change, as the online system will track their submissions and send reminders. This should help reduce our review times and allow us to build a larger reviewer database.

The most important improvement this change would mean, however, is that JWSR articles would be included in more of the major scholarly indices used by researchers to search for content. Most of these main indices exclude independent and online journals. But the publishing arrangement we would have with the University of Pittsburgh's open access scholarly publishing <<http://oscp.library.pitt.edu/uls-e-journal-publishing/>> system would help bring us into those indexing systems and other relevant databases identified by the information scientists with whom we will be working.

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Article 46: “The State shall commit to protecting women’s achieved rights and seek to support and develop them. ... The State shall guarantee equal opportunities between men and women in the bearing of all the various responsibilities in all fields. ... The State shall take the necessary measure to eliminate violence against women.”

Article 6 balances respect for religion with moderation and tolerance, and it bans religious violence or hate speech. “The state is the guardian of religion. It guarantees freedom of conscience and belief, the free exercise of religious practices and the neutrality of mosques and places of worship from all partisan instrumentalization.” The Tunisian constitution has no reference to the Islamic Sharia (unlike that of Egypt) and explicitly bans the issuance of *Takfir*, or the charge of apostasy – which, in the Islamic tradition, can justify assassination or execution.

My most recent visit to Tunisia took place in early March 2014 to conduct a survey, a focus group interview, and interviews with individual activists and political leaders. Tunisians’ self-characterization as a tolerant “arabo-musulman” culture is practically a mantra. As many of my interviewees declared, “We are Muslims but we are not Islamists.” This identity – and the influence of progressive civil society groups and political parties – helps explain the tendency toward pragmatism and compromise on the part of the main Islamic party, Ennahda, and its leadership, although many progressives remain suspicious of Ennahda’s objectives. As a result of growing societal dissatisfaction with its deficiencies in the areas of economic policy and security, the Islamist-led coalition government (known as the “troika”) agreed in October 2013 to step down and make way for a nonpartisan and technocratic caretaker government in advance of elections scheduled for Fall 2014. The change of government occurred in January, the same month the constitution was finalized and formally adopted. Today, the secular political forces are working overtime to build a large electoral coalition that will prevent another Ennahda victory, whether as majority or plurality. As one of the coalition leaders said to me: “I had to build a monster to face a monster.” A trade unionist who is also a women’s rights activist told me: “We are very happy with the equality article in the constitution. But where are we after the constitution? We still have lots to do, with laws and so on, and anyway Ennahda is still here. So I can’t celebrate yet.”

Tunisia launched the Arab Spring in January 2011 and of all the countries affected by the uprisings, it is the only one proceeding on a relatively smooth path toward what political scientists call a democratic consolidation. There are many reasons for Tunisia’s advantage, but a vibrant civil society is a key factor. The large, left-leaning trade union UGTT, human rights organizations, the left-wing student organization UGET, many secular and liberal professional associations, and two very well-established feminist organizations connected to other civil society organizations as well as certain political parties are features of Tunisia’s civil society. These groups predate the Dignity Revolution and thus have developed the civic skills and wider legitimacy needed to help build democracy and face any Islamist resurgence. Tunisia is not one of the stronger or richer semi-peripheral countries, and the state does not have oil wealth at its disposal. A key challenge for any new government will be to strengthen the economy in a way that addresses the popular demands for jobs, housing, security, and quality public services. One member of the National Constituent Assembly with whom I spoke last March told me of her preference for a socio-economic program that combines the welfare state of the Nordic countries and the “modèle participatif” of the left-wing Latin American countries. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**

UPDATE FROM THE EDITOR OF JOURNAL OF WORLD-SYSTEMS RESEARCH: CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

In addition to increasing the attention JWSR will receive in scholarly databases, the move to this publishing arrangement will increase the visibility of the journal in a variety of other databases that are developing as the field of open access publishing matures. We expect this to have a tremendous impact on our ability to reach an international audience.

Another benefit is that this publishing system works with Plum(tm) Analytics<<http://www.plumanalytics.com/>>, which provides up-to-date measures of articles' research impacts. The librarians operating the scholarly publishing program are strongly committed to helping scholars who publish in open access journals gain recognition for their work, and these metrics are designed to provide fairer and more accurate assessments of a scholar's contributions to scholarly and public debates. Existing metrics privilege printed content, but the move towards open access is changing the scholarly publishing landscape. All of this will help make JWSR a more appealing publishing venue for junior scholars and others who are concerned about formal assessments of their research output.

In short, these moves will bring the JWSR up to the current standards for online open-access publishing. It will also greatly improve the visibility of the journal in a range of scholarly databases available to researchers around the world. We look forward to transitioning to this new era of open access publishing, joined as we are by a much larger population of online publications than when our journal first started. As open access becomes more mainstream, we expect to continue to be a leader in defending the knowledge commons and making world-systems research widely available to all who seek it, anywhere in the world.

If you have any questions about these developments, feel free to contact me at jwsr@pitt.edu<<mailto:jwsr@pitt.edu>>.

Jackie Smith, University of Pittsburgh

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As she explained: "We tested liberalism and see where it brought us. We want an interventionist state that is not anti-business but is people-oriented." A leader of the Nida Tounès electoral coalition showed me the draft "Appel pour la Tunisie et notre vision économique et sociale", which suggests a model drawing on the East Asian developmentalist state and the Nordic welfare state but also includes a reference to a solidarity economy. Were Nida Tounès to retain the support of both the UGTT and the business community, the vision might actually be realized.

The international environment can enable this vision or undermine it. The U.S. and the Gulf sheikhdoms seek economic ties – and there are elements within Tunisia's business community and political society that favor such ties – but these could compromise the developmentalist and welfarist vision of the progressive parties, the UGTT, and the women's rights groups. In addition, the involvement of the Gulf countries could encourage Tunisia's Islamist forces, notably the salafists who call on Tunisians to join the *jihad* in Syria and in the first two years of Tunisia's transition sought to eradicate any semblance of secular practice in Tunisia.

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The main task is to build a progressive electoral coalition strong enough to win the next elections and form a government. To accomplish that, some of the disputes among the progressive and liberal forces will need to be resolved and a united front established. It was the absence of such a front that led the Iranian Revolution toward an Islamic Republic (Moghadam 1987). An Iranian-style outcome could never occur in the Tunisian case, and legally the new constitution prohibits that. Still, a broad-based coalition with a clearly defined and articulated program for economic and social development needs to resonate with different segments of society – and convince young people in particular who polls show are alienated from political society. The program should also distinguish itself from what one left-wing politician told me was the “demagoguery of the extreme left and the Islamist right.” Tunisians can establish a functioning government and a social democracy to realize the demands of the Dignity Revolution and thus present their country as a model of a successful democratic consolidation in the Arab world.

(Editors Note: Val sent many more great pictures along with her feature article, but the attachments would have made the PDF way too large to send out! Feel free to email me for copies of the pictures -Nicole).

Val Moghadam, Northeastern University



ANNOUNCEMENTS

New PEWS listserv

During the winter quarter of 2014, a new PEWS listserv was created. This listserv allows us to circumvent some of the restrictions placed on postings to the ASA Pews-announce listserv, and to reach a much broader international community of scholars who are not members of ASA. Unlike the ASA listserv, anyone can join the new version, and one's membership does not depend on the payment of ever increasing ASA membership fees. Both of these will likely generate a cumulatively growing list of potential PEWS contacts, as (1) non ASA members are brought on board, and (2) both former and current members of the ASA section will remain in contact. Please feel free to invite scholars with kindred spirits to join the listserv by visiting http://lists.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/mailman/listinfo/asa_pews.

The listserv is hosted here at the University of California, Riverside (UCR). I would like to take this opportunity to thank Michaela Curran (UCR) and Daniel Thompson (Johns Hopkins) for the work they did to get this project off the ground. I was largely a passive observer/giver of opinions throughout, but can attest to the fact that the effort involved was far from trivial. We owe Michaela and Daniel a debt of gratitude.

Matthew C. Mahutga-University of California, Riverside

PEWS SESSIONS AT THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (Sunday is PEWS day!!!!)

Section on Political Economy of the World-System Roundtables (one-hour). Sunday, August 17, 8:30 to 9:30am, TBA

Table 01. Health

Health International Non-Governmental Organizations, Democracy, and Tuberculosis Mortality in Developing Nations Michael Restivo, State University of New York-Stony Brook; Gary Maynard, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga; and Eric J. Shircliff, State University of New York-Stony Brook

Gendered Vulnerabilities to a Neglected Disease Mark D. Noble, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and Kelly Austin, Lehigh University

The African Development Bank and Women's Health: A Cross-National Analysis of Maternal Mortality John M. Shandra, State University of New York-Stony Brook and Carolyn R. Coburn, State University of New York-Stony Brook

The International Migration of Nurses and Doctors in the Global Care Economy: The Philippine Experience Ligaya Lindio McGovern, Indiana University-Kokomo

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PEWS SESSIONS AT THE ASA: CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

Table 02. Environment and Natural Resources

Economic Development and Environmental Quality: An Empirical Examination of Economy's Impact on Environment for APEC Members Feng Hao, Washington State University

National Imaginaries, New Ways of Seeing, and Regimes of Violence in the Philippine Mining Industry, 1900-2013 Alvin Almendrala Camba, State University of New York-Binghamton

Natural Resource Extraction and State Repression, 1976-2011: A Cross-National Study Alessandro Morosin, University of California-Riverside

Table 03. Social Movements, Contention, Conflict, Revolution

A Critical Assessment of Wallerstein's Anti-Systemic Movements in the West and the Rest Zachary Joseph McKenney, University of Tennessee

Elite Conflict and Democratic Transitions in the Global Periphery: April Revolution in South Korea Rakkoo Chung, State University of New York-Albany

Spring of Hope or a Winter of Despair: How the Egyptian Revolution Foundered on Class Contradictions Tarique Niazi, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Theorizing contention for the professionalized world: SMOs, NGOs, and formal organization under neoliberalism Meghan Elizabeth Kallman, Brown University

Table 04. Exchange and States

Emergence of Mutual Interests among Lobby Organizations: A History of Gift-Giving Society Juha-Antti Lamberg, University of Jyväskylä; Saku Mantere, Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration; and Kalle Pajunen, University of Jyväskylä

International Relations and the Post-War World: Notes Toward a Reflexive History of the European Project David Michael McCourt, University of Sheffield

Racing Down The Global Garlic Commodity Chain Kathleen C. Schwartzman, University of Arizona

State Neoliberalism: China's Response to the 2008 Global Economic Crisis Alvin Y. So, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Uneven Development: Largest Settlements and Politics in World Regions Since the Bronze Age Christopher Chase-Dunn, University of California-Riverside; Alexis Antonio Alvarez, University of California-Riverside; Hiroko Inoue, University of California-Riverside; Rebecca Alvarez, Palomar College; Lulin Bao, Minzu University of China; Christian Jaworski, University of California-Riverside; Stacey Hernandez, University of California-Riverside; Stephanie Hernandez, University of California-Riverside; and Mengxian Li, University of California-Riverside **CONTINUED ON PAGE 8**

PEWS SESSIONS AT THE ASA: CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Section on Political Economy of the World-System Invited Session. Sociological Knowledge and Inequality in World-Historic Perspective: Reflections at the 40th Anniversary of Wallerstein's Modern World System (Vol. 1) and the 20th Anniversary of the Journal: Sunday, August 17, 10:30am to 12:10pm, TBA

Presiders: Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz, University of Maryland-College Park, Jackie Smith, University of Pittsburgh

Presenters: Christopher Chase-Dunn, University of California-Riverside, Shelley Feldman, State University of New York-Binghamton and Cornell University, Ravi Arvind Palat, University of New York-Binghamton, Ari Sitas, University of Natal

Section on Political Economy of the World-System Paper Session. Urbanization and Cities in the World-System: Sunday, August 17, 12:30 to 2:10pm, TBA

Shanghai and Hong Kong: Chinese Global Cities as Competitors or Not? David A. Smith, University of California-Irvine; Wai Kit Choi, California State University-Los Angeles; and Andrew Allen Duncan, University of California-Irvine

Urban Development and the World City System: Inter-City Relations and the Fate of U.S. Cities Arthur S. Alderson, Indiana University; Jason Beckfield, Harvard University; and Joe Johnston, Indiana University

Dependency, Urban Slums, and the Forgotten Plagues: A Cross-National Analysis of Tuberculosis and Malaria Kelly Austin, Lehigh University

Settlements Dynamics and Empire Dynamics: Comparative and Evolutionary World-systems Perspectives Hiroko Inoue, University of California-Riverside

The Globalizers and the Globalized: Public and Private Sector Development Visions in 21st Century Accra Deborah Hobden, University of California-Santa Barbara

Section on Political Economy of the World-System Invited Session. China vs. US: Could Geopolitical Rivalry Lead to War?: Sunday, August 17, 2:30 to 4:10pm, TBA

Presider: Albert J. Bergesen, University of Arizona

Presenters: Amitai Etzioni, George Washington University, Anne M. Hironaka, University of California-Irvine, Randall Collins, University of Pennsylvania, Ho-Fung Hung, Johns Hopkins University

AWARDS and HONORS

Robert D. Woodberry won the 2013 Award for Excellent Research from the National University of Singapore, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. It recognizes the NUS faculty member who had the most significant research accomplishment in the previous year.

PEWser **David A. Smith**, University of California, Irvine, has been named president-elect of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. His term will begin in August 2015. Way to go Dave!

BOOKS

Atasoy, Yildiz. 2014. *Global Economic Crisis and the Politics of Diversity*. London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

"The book brings together an interdisciplinary group of scholars from the global North and South to critically explore the global deepening of market economy models. It also examines the associated tensions of livelihood and ecology in the current context of global economic crisis. The book's emphasis on case-specificity and the flexibility of neoliberalism, based on extensive coverage of countries from four distinct regions of the world, allows us to move beyond a singular preoccupation with economic slowdown to consider a multidimensional understanding of crises. This is achieved through an examination of natural ecology, water use, health, childcare, technology and work, migration, and economic growth. Our analysis of the complex connections between domestic and global dynamics across diverse cases and issues, helps reveal that state-centric approaches are still hovering over the politics of restructuring through which conformity to economic growth is addressed, with an added emphasis on redistribution, and thus, the reintegration and disciplining of the poor."

***Social Justice and the University: Globalization, Human Rights and the Future of Democracy*. 2014. Jon Shefner, Harry F. Dahms, Robert Emmet Jones and Asafa Jalata eds. Palgrave Macmillan.**

This book unites scholars including sociologists, lawyers, social workers and others with students, teachers and community organizers to examine how universities can contribute to social justice amid the inequality driven by globalization.

***Global Democracy and the World Social Forums, 2nd Edition*. 2014. Jackie Smith, Marina Karides, Marc Becker, Dorval Brunelle, Christopher Chase-Dunn, Donatella della Porta, Rosalba Icaza, Jeffrey Juris, Lorenzo Mosca, Ellen Reese, Peter Jay Smith, and Rolando Vázquez eds. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers.**

Global Democracy and the World Social Forums is an accessible, comprehensive introduction to the origins, history and present debates of the World Social Forum process- which has been called "the most important political development of our time." Drawing from the collaborative research of leading scholars of the WSF and social movements from 5 different countries, the book integrates multiple methods of research done over more than a decade to advance understandings of the WSF process. The new edition incorporates research from the most recent activities of WSF and

U.S. Social Forum activists, and includes a new chapter on the post-2011 anti-austerity, Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street protests. As we witness a new surge of popular protest around the world, the authors assess how the WSF process can inform and guide movements in a time of large-scale crisis.

ARTICLES

Atasoy, Yildiz. 2013. "Supermarket Expansion in Turkey: Shifting Relations of Food Provisioning", *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol.13, No. 4:547-70.

Bahl, Vinay. 2013. "Muslim Women's Attire and Identity Politics". *Sociological Viewpoints*.

Lapegna, Pablo. 2014. "Global Ethnography and Genetically Modified Crops in Argentina" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. Vol. 43, No.2: 202-227

Lindsey, Linda L. 2014. "Sharp Right Turn: Globalization and Gender Equity", *the Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 55, Issue 1:1-22

Raynolds, Laura T., Michael Long, & Douglas Murray. 2014. "Regulating Corporate Responsibility in the American Market: A Comparative Analysis of Voluntary Certifications." *Competition & Change*, Vol. 18, No. 2: 89-108.

**Remember to vote in the ASA Election! Voting will be closed on June 1, 2014 at 5:00 PM EDT.
Below are the candidates for PEWS section offices:**

Chair:

Paul Almeida, University of California - Merced
Marina Karides, Florida Atlantic University

Council Members (vote for 2):

Tanya Casas, Delaware Valley College
Rob Clark, University of Oklahoma
Frederick Schiff, University of Houston
Daniela Danna, University of Milan

Student Representative on Council:

Jeb Sprague, University of California - Santa Barbara
Zachary McKenney, University of Tennessee – Knoxville

Look for the Fall Issue of PEWS NEWS in October 2014

CHECK US OUT ON THE WEB!

<http://www2.asanet.org/sectionpews/publications.html#pewsnews>

**PEWS NEWS EDITOR: Nicole Shortt, University of California,
Irvine**