

**ECPR STANDING GROUP ON
SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS**

**RESHAPING STATE AND SOCIETY
IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**

**Section
ECPR General Conference
University of Glasgow
3-6 September 2014**

--BOOK OF ABSTRACTS--

Section Convenors:
Susannah Verney, University of Athens
Maria Kousis, University of Crete
Senem Aydin Düzgit, *Istanbul Bilgi University*

PANEL 1
 Thursday 4 September, 11:00-12:40
2014: TURKEY AT THE CROSSROADS

**Always Stuck in Second Gear? Democratic Consolidation
 in Turkey in Comparative Perspective**
Evren Celik Wiltse

Saying ‘Turkey poses a challenge for democratization literature’ would be an understatement. Despite its long experience with competitive, multi-party elections, democratic progress is stuck in the Partly Free Freedom House category for decades. In the 1980s and 1990s Turkey was struggling with military tutelage, political instability, ethnic conflict and macroeconomic chaos, but the last decade witnessed progress. To fully gauge its scale and scope it’s useful to look at some of Turkey’s ‘peers’. Unlike most single-case studies of democratic progress in Turkey, this paper tackles the arrested democratic consolidation problem from a comparative and historical-institutional perspective. Without grasping long-term institutional trends, it is difficult to contextualize the unexpected chain of events & elections in Turkish politics in 2014. Secondly, ‘we gain knowledge through reference.’ (Dogan & Pelassy, 1990) Mexico, Brazil & Argentina will be utilized as benchmarks to gauge the past performance and future prospects of democratic consolidation in Turkey.

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**Doctrinal Irrationality: The AKP’s Regional Security Engagement
 and US Strategic Preferences**
Kostas Ifantis, University of Athens & Kadir Has University, Istanbul

Security relations with the US have been critical for Turkey. Cold War strategic imperatives dictated typical bandwagoning policies, although disagreements and frictions were present at times. In the 2000s a combination of domestic developments and rapidly changing regional security patterns have resulted in a more assertive Turkish regional security policy, which for many represents a departure from traditional Kemalist principles. This paper attempts to assess the current course of Turkish regional security engagement and the extent to which relations between the USA and Turkey are subject to major change. The analytical context accounts for the impact of domestic, regional and global levels. The empirical focus is on the trajectory of the bilateral relations with Israel.

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**EU-Turkey Accession: Why Brussels is Rhetorically Entrapped
 and What Ankara Can Do About It**
Natalie Martin, De Montfort University

Whilst there is no doubt the EU acts geostrategically when making enlargement policy it does so within a normative framework. Perceived geostrategic value may expedite the progress of a candidate like Turkey but it will not enable it to bypass the Copenhagen criteria. Accordingly Turkey’s period of most rapid progress

was between 2002 and 2004 when it was helped to make constitutional progress by its geostrategically motivated advocates within the EU. The “Arab Spring” has re-highlighted Turkey’s geostrategic value to the EU. Accordingly it would seem to be an opportunity for progress towards membership to be made. However, the necessary constitutional reform looks very remote and the AKP much less likely to accept external “advice” than a decade ago. This paper argues that EU accession is now out of the hands of the EU, or its member states, and depends entirely on what happens next in Turkish politics.

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Panel 2

Thursday 4 September, 14:00-15:40

DEMOCRACY UNDER STRESS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

All Technocratic Governments are Equal but Some are More Equal than Others: The Peculiarities of the Greek Case
Giulia Pastorella, London School of Economics & Political Science

When Mario Monti and Lucas Papademos were appointed as prime ministers at the head of two technocratic governments, respectively in Italy and Greece, there was similar media upheaval. They were seen as equally dangerous for party democracy – even for democracy as such. However, under closer inspection the two cabinets shared few characteristics in terms of composition, mandate and duration. Papademos’ cabinet was a technocrat-led, ecumenical government, which, though not unique in European political history, had very specific characteristics. This exceptionalism applies to all four Greek technocratic governments in the period following the country’s democratization: Grivas (1989), Zolotas (1989), Papademos (2011) and Pikrammenos (2012). The paper explores Greek technocratic cabinets’ peculiarities in a comparative manner, finding that key explanatory factors are: special constitutional provisions on government formation, the role of the judicial vis-à-vis weakened presidents and the conflictual party system with little incentive for coalition formation in case of stalemate.

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**Berlusconi, the Eurozone Crisis and the Italian Presidency:
Accordions, Triangles and Constitutional Change**
Paul Furlong, Cardiff University

This paper considers the changed role of the Italian Presidency and the impact of Silvio Berlusconi and the Eurozone crisis on this. Since 1992, in response to wider socio-political change, successive Presidents have used their formal and informal powers to maintain the status of the office and to promote political goals. The Eurozone crisis, and the roles of Berlusconi and Napolitano, therefore constitute an important acceleration of long-term changes in the configuration of Italian constitutional roles. The domestic impact of the crisis and of the politics of austerity associated with it should not be underestimated; that the crisis has had fundamental effects on the internal politics of southern European states can hardly be doubted, but it is important to see these in the context of long-term changes in politics and society.

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Greek Polity Against Extremism: From Bewilderment to Militant Democracy?
Sotiris Vantoros, University of Peloponnese

The rise of right-wing extremism and its violent manifestations are aspects of the Greek political system crisis which ongoing economic crisis, functioned as a catalyst, made explicit, deep and intense. The paper analyses the way main institutions reacted to this challenge, most significantly expressed by the neo-Nazi party “Golden Dawn”, giving emphasis on the party system. It suggests that there is strong evidence of an apparent shift from fragmented, contradictory and ineffective tactics to a relatively comprehensive strategy which pertains to the so-called “militant democracy”. However, its consolidation and long-term effectiveness is being questioned, particularly since GD’s social influence remains strong. This leads to a broader question, discussed here briefly: Does this fight against extremism reshapes the public perception of democracy and its boundaries? And in what ways?

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The King and the Joker: Italy’s Debate on Constitutional Bill 813
Elisabetta Cassina Wolff, Universitetet I Oslo

My paper aims to analyse the debate that emerged in Italy in 2013 over the Constitutional Bill 813. The bill dealt with procedural issues in order to shorten the time necessary to approve amendments to the Italian Constitution and to assure the electorate’s participation to the constitutional process. The new party Five-star Movement dominated the opposition to the bill. The peak of the conflict was reached with the impeachment to the Italian President of the Republic Napolitano, accused of ‘monarchical’ leadership. I am arguing that the core of the debate has to be placed in the interaction and conflict between two opposite forces: on one side, the Letta government’s and the presidency’s attempt to promote more efficient decisional rules, in order to better fit into the EU’s integration project and meet the economical challenges from globalization; one the other, the oppositional parties’ resistance in defence of the national parliament’s role.

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Assessing Legitimacy in the Southern Eurozone Crisis
Through Discursive Actor Attribution Analysis of Media Reports, 2009-2013
Moritz Sommer, Jochen Roose
& Franziska Scholl, Freie Universität Berlin
Maria Kousis, University of Crete & Kostas Kanellopoulos, University of Athens

Alexander (2006) conceives of politics as a “discursive struggle” between actors over public support for their positions. Accordingly, the perceived legitimacy of these actors depends - among others - on the attribution of blame and success in the media which in turn affects the legitimacy of the democratic process as a whole. The Eurozone crisis represents a critical juncture for the future of democracy in Southern European countries and hence, the reported image of core democratic institutions in

these countries is of particular importance. This paper draws on fresh empirical data on attribution claims concerning crisis driven policies and the contention these produced in Southern European countries. The data stems from a collaborative Greek-German research project (GGCRISI) applying a novel empirical tool, Discursive Actor Attribution Analysis which allows approaching legitimacy via a detailed analysis of who blames or applauds whom for what in the debate on the Southern Eurozone crisis.

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Thursday 4 September, 16:00-17:40

**PATTERNS AND VARIETIES
OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOUTHERN EUROPE:
INNOVATIVE, DIVERSIFIED AND CONTENTIOUS**

**Enhancing New Forms of Active Citizenship Via Social Media Platforms:
The Case of the Gezi Park Movement in Turkey**
Cristiano Bee, University of Surrey
& *Stavroula Chrona, University of Surrey*

In our paper we explore the role of social media in the enhancement of public participation in the case of the Gezi protests in Turkey. The civil unrest that started as a protest for the protection of Gezi Park became quickly an anti-government movement. This paper focuses on the role that social media played in shaping the social dynamics that the movement unveiled and which appear to challenge long established socio-political norms. This paper argues that social media played a dual role. First, they offered the space of disseminating information regarding the protests both at the national and international level. Second, they became a channel for communication amongst protesters and supporters, which resulted into large demonstrations that spread throughout the country. We suggest that social media became a tool for bringing to the forefront a form of active citizenship that urges for greater democracy and civil rights in Turkey.

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**Party-society Linkages and Contentious Politics:
Cyprus in a Comparative South European Perspective**
Giorgos Charalambous, University of Cyprus
& *Gregoris Ioannou, Frederick University*

Southern European countries are currently experiencing a dramatic economic slump and fully fledged austerity measures. Accordingly, the standard of living of the majority of southern European populaces has fallen significantly. Nevertheless, the dynamics of social contention in the form of strikes and protests that accompany these experiences remain understudied. Why in certain southern European countries collective upset arising from economic deprivation has translated into frequent and large-scale contentious acts, while in others it has not? Drawing on the case of Cyprus from a comparative southern European perspective, we seek to explain how the relations between and within the party system and civil society can create the conditions that obstruct open social conflict. The intensity and nature of party-society

linkages which have their causal roots in a country's historical trajectory can be a sufficient condition for the absence of strikes and protests.

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**Patterns and Repertoires of Contention and Responses to
Austerity Measures in Spain and Greece**
Angela Bourne, University of Roskilde
& *Sevaste Chatzopoulou, University of Roskilde*

One of the most striking consequences of the European sovereign debt crisis has been the scale and variety of mobilization by citizens and civil society groups against the crisis policies of authorities at national, EU and international levels. Drawing on Europeanisation research of social movements, the paper addresses the extent to which the Eurozone crisis and the established austerity measures contributed to the emergence of new patterns and repertoires of social contention to austerity measures in Spain and Greece. More specifically, whether social movement targets, participants and issue frames are exclusively national, European and transnational or combine all three dimensions. A focus on links, learning and collaboration among European groups, conceptions of collective responsibility and claims about solidarity is particularly important for analyzing the implications of the crisis for patterns of identification among movement participants. The study is based on data collected from national newspapers and social media during 2011-2012.

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Friday 5 September, 09:00-10:40
**RESHAPING CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIL SOCIETY
IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**

**Bringing Civic Engagement In: Post-transitional Justice
and Politics of Memory in Spain and Turkey**
Ebru Akarçay, Yeditepe University

Spain and Turkey are the two countries of Southern Europe in which demands for shedding a new light on the past are increasingly voiced. Long after transitions to democracy, both countries have been displaying elements of post-transitional justice. With a particular attention to the developments in the quest for truth and justice, the paper intends to analyze the agenda-setting potential of civil society actors. Factors such as the breadth of partisan divide, the impact of political cycles, the extent of privatization as well as localization of efforts, the level of synergy between state institutions and civil society actors and the influence of differing cohort experiences surface in accounting for the variation in the agenda-setting potential of these actors between the two countries.

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**The Europeanisation of Organised Civil Society in Turkey:
The Case of the Youth Organisations in the Prospect of European Integration**
Ayhan Kaya, Istanbul Bilgi University
& *Cristiano Bee, University of Surrey*

The paper presents the background of a newly funded IEF Marie Curie project that investigates the interactions between NGOs activists and policy makers both at the European level and in Turkey, in order to gather new theoretical knowledge regarding the development of the processes of bottom up and top down Europeanization, the development of practices of civic engagement and active citizenship and the social representation of Europe by the various policy actors involved in the research. More specifically, this paper discusses the theoretical and methodological framework that we are going to employ in order to analyse the process of europeanisation of the Organised Civil Society in Turkey -with a particular focus on the organisations working in the Youth sector- by looking at insights and findings of previous research that focused on the establishment of public engagement and active citizenship in Europe.

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**Transformations of Citizenship in Southern Europe:
The Case of the Mortgage Affected Platform**
Jorge Estévez, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

To understand how citizenship is being transformed, especially in Southern Europe, we need to go beyond formal and legal definitions. Two main paradigms can help us to grasp the complex transformations occurring in citizenship. The first refers to a secured citizenship, a process consolidating a specific model of order and society and establishing rigidly acceptable forms of doing politics and therefore of being citizens. In contrast with the secured citizenship, but also in a process of constant and mutual constitution, we introduce the idea of act of citizenships, defined as creative and unexpected acts, individual or collective, through which new subjects, as well as new forms of political engage are created. To better understand the interplay between these opposite forces, I analyse the case of the Spanish Mortgage Affected Platform, the campaign they launched around an action called "escrache" and the reaction of the Spanish government.

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Friday 5 September, 11:00-12:40
**RESHAPING SOUTHERN EUROPE:
STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORS**

Crisis and Civil Servants: A Comparative Analysis of Portugal and Spain
Oscar Briones Gamarra, University of Vigo,
Joaquim Filipe, Universidade de Minho
Ferraz Esteves Araujo & Enrique José varela Álvarez, University of Vigo

Recent decades have been hard times for civil servants in western countries which systems were under pressure for personnel reforms. The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) brought in an extreme stresses for changes and cutback management in the civil service. These were particularly deep in European Southern countries like Portugal and Spain where governments are introducing budgets cuts and private sector

practices in the management of public services to reduce the payroll. As a consequence, many areas of public services have lost their uniqueness and become quite similar to the general employment system. The aim of this paper is to do a comparative analysis of the changes in Portuguese and Spanish public services in recent years. This compared analysis will also allow us to know if some greater magnitude changes in the public sector are being produced.

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**Is it Really a Strong Power or Not? The Italian Association of Banks (ABI):
Organisational Resources, Lobbying Strategies and Influence**

Andrea Pritoni, Università di Bologna

The aim of this paper is to empirically measure the influence of the Italian Association of Banks (ABI) with respect to three policy processes, each of which being oriented towards the liberalization of the Italian banking policy sector, between 2006 and 2012. Theoretically, I argue that interest groups' influence depends upon: the quality of their organizational resources and lobbying strategies; the characteristics of the issue(s) at stake. In order to be influential, interest groups' organizational resources and lobbying strategies have to fit with issue characteristics. The empirical analysis shows that: ABI holds some organizational resources (expertise) and does not hold others (symbolic resources); ABI prefers to develop insider lobbying strategies rather than outsider lobbying strategies; ABI is less influential than it is commonly assumed. This is probably because of the characteristics of liberalization policies (high political salience; low technical complexity), which do not constitute the ideal battleground for ABI.

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Internationalisation of Turkish Multinational Corporations and State Capacity

Caner Bakir, Koç University

The internationalization of Turkish corporations is part of the economic globalization process whereby multinationals from developing countries began to play an increasingly important role over the last decade. This paper has two aims. First it offers a comparative analysis of internationalization strategies and motivations of Turkish multinational corporations. Second, it discusses how state capacity in investment regime affect these strategies and motivations.

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Corruption in Democratic Spain: Causes, Cases and Consequences

Antonio Robles-Egea, Universidad de Granada

Corruption has become a daily reality in Spanish political life, and it is a recurrent theme found in the media, institutes of social research, demoscopic agencies and citizenship. Right now, it is one of the most intense issues in public debate. As a result of this ubiquity, democratic principles and processes are undergoing a process of degradation that undermines the credibility and legitimacy of leaders, parties, cultural and political institutions. The objective of this research is to synthetically

show causes, cases and consequences of the corruption phenomenon in Spain since the democratic transition to today, including recent government policies taken to control political corruption. In our analysis of these issues, we use as main sources several journals and newspapers, annual reports and studies of different institutions (International Transparency, CIS, Report from the States against Corruption, GRECO), and the EU Report against Corruption 2014, among others.

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Friday 5 September, 15:50-17:30

**THE EUROPEANISATION OF TURKEY:
TRANSFORMING OR EMPOWERING
ACTORS, INTERESTS AND INSTITUTIONS?**

The Fight against Corruption in Turkey: A Failure of Europeanisation?

Digdem Soyaltin, Freie Universität Berlin

Why is corruption still prevalent in Turkey although successive governments have adopted a massive amount of reforms in the last decade? Departing from the gap between formal change in the laws and administrative changes in the practices this paper challenges the transformative power of Europe bringing domestic policy change in different national settings. The paper highlights two features of Turkish political and administrative system, namely, “strong politicians and weak bureaucrats” and “central and local level distinction”, and demonstrates how they shape the domestic incentives and capacity to promote fight against corruption. It maintains that the anti-corruption efforts in Turkey led to more continuity rather than transformation.

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Turkish Social Policy and the Limits of Europeanisation

Dimitris Tsarouhas, Bilkent University

Domestic policy reform in candidate countries is often assumed to be the result of EU-stemming pressure for change. Such pressure translates into desirable policy results once veto players are weakened and an appropriate coalition demands change. Examining the case of Turkish social policy reform in the last decade, this paper argues that domestic policy change can be linked to the EU only in an indirect way and at the initial level of reform drive linked to aspirations for EU membership. That approach changed substantially over time and as Turkey-EU relations deteriorated. In reality, governing authorities have instrumentalized “Europe” as an intermediate stage towards seeking to advance their policy agenda, primarily on healthcare and pensions. This agenda, in turn resulted from the mixed push by IFIs and the ideological convictions of the government.

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Friday 5 September, 17:40-19:00
**RESHAPING SOUTHERN EUROPE:
 WHY THE EU MATTERS**

**Revisiting Spain's Double Transition: Reassessing Spain's Democratisation
 and European Integration Processes after the Financial Crisis**

Pablo Calderón Martínez, Kings College London

Recent events in Spain deem it necessary to revisit the Spanish transition to democracy from a different perspective. There is still enough evidence to support the claim that, albeit not without its problems, the Spanish transition succeeded in developing a strong market economy within the framework of integration into Europe, raising the welfare indicators to Western European levels and establishing a robust democracy (Waisman, 2005: 1-3). However, the idea that the 'viability of Spain's democracy' has been achieved to 'some cost to its quality' (McDonough et al., 1998: 1) seems to be more relevant than ever. This paper seeks to re-examine the role the process of European integration – by influencing the speed with which the process was completed, as well as the nature of how this was achieved (via pacts) – played in shaping some of the peculiarities of Spanish democracy that helps us explain the current democratic crisis.

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**The Portuguese Labour Code under European Scrutiny:
 Analysing and Comparing the 2003, 2009 and 2012 Policy Process**

Helene Caune, Fondation Nationale Des Sciences Politiques

This paper explores the political processes that have led to the definition and reforms of the Portuguese Labour Code in a European context. It compares the main reforms of the Labour Code (2003, 2009 and 2012). With a particular focus on the latter one, the paper shows that in 2012, the conservative government developed employment flexibility further than what the Troika was expecting. Even though political leaders took European constraints as opportunities, the comparison of the three reforms shows that partisan politics is less important than European pressures, which constitutes a great political difficulty for the major trade union (Confederação geral dos trabalhadores portugueses). The policy cases under study should draw attention on the importance of analyzing social reforms in the light of European orientations, an angle that is underestimated in the welfare studies literature.

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Changes in Turkey's Illegal Migration Management: Why the EU Still Matters

Alexander Bürgin, Izmir University of Economics

In view of the fading credibility of Turkey's EU membership bid, the impact of EU conditionality on policy change in Turkey seems to be weakening. However, Turkey has recently tackled three key demands of the EU related to migration policy: Ankara negotiated a readmission agreement with the European Commission, drafted a law on border management and passed a law on foreigners and international protection. Based on four series of interviews with officials of EU member states,

Turkey and the European Commission I argue that the EU still has an important transformative influence on domestic policy change: (1) a community of Europeanized bureaucrats still consider the membership incentive as an important motivation for reform, (2) the European Commission was able to incorporate the visa liberalization process as an additional incentive, (3) in the implementation of IPA-funds the EU exerts influence via conditional acceptance of certain projects and socialization processes

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The Political and Socio-economic Context of Biomass Crop Production in Greece
Eugenia Petropoulou, University of Crete

A declared target of the European Union is to produce 15% of energy requirements from renewable resources by the year 2020; however Greece is unlikely to achieve this goal. The Department of Agriculture and Rural Development has identified the potential amongst the farming industry to help meet this objective but there is little published research on how organisations and different stakeholders can successfully interact with farmers to achieve structural change. This paper aims to address the social, economic and political context/framework; that is the limits and the determinants of the acceptance or rejection of the production and use of bio-energy crops a- by producers and b- by various other stakeholders. The current research is a combination of desktop and field research. It will include primary data collection (economic, socio-demographic and attitudinal), secondary analysis of economic data and extensive literature reviews. The qualitative method to be employed is focus group research.

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Saturday 6 September, 09:00-10:40

ANTI-AUSTERITY PROTEST IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

**Trade Unions' Strategies and Austerity Politics in Southern Europe:
 The Role of Labour in Spain, Italy and Portugal vis-a-vis Austerity Measures**
Angie Gago, Università Degli Studi di Milano

This paper attempts to compare trade unions' strategies in Spain, Italy and Portugal vis-à-vis government's austerity measures since the beginning of the crisis in 2008. The main aim is to give some insights about the interactions between unions' strategies (social pacts versus general strikes) and governments' strategies (concertation versus unilateral decision-making) during the process of political exchange (Pizzorno, 1977). The effects of the opportunity structure (Streeck and Hassel 2003) on union's strategies will also be analysed. The main argument is that although Spanish, Italian and Portuguese unions' strategies are influenced by the government's strategies, the model of industrial relations of each country and the links with political parties, we can find a co-variation in unions' strategies due to the different unions' political identities. Finally, the paper argues that further research on unions' political identities is needed if we want to explain this variation.

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**Major Organisations and Groups Behind the Greek Anti-austerity Campaign:
Repertoires of Action and Political Claims**
Kostas Kanellopoulos, University of Athens
Konstantinos Kostopoulos, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

As various surveys have shown, a significant proportion of the Greek population has taken part in at least one protest event against austerity policies and structural adjustment reforms during the last crisis-ridden years. Do these protests exemplify a reactionary aspect of the Greek political culture or are they signs of an active process of contestation and empowerment? In our research we focus on the main organizations/groups that called and coordinated the major and most visible protest events of the period (general strikes, demonstrations, square occupations). Our sample includes trade unions, political parties, anarchist groups, justice oriented groups and Indignados, while their repertoires of contention are combinations of demonstrative, confrontational and violent protests. In this paper we will focus on the interplay between forms of action and the political claims raised by each group. Our findings are based on a questionnaire that was distributed to the main organizers of each organization.

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Civil Disobedience and Housing Policies in Spain
Marina Pera Ros, Columbia University

From 2008 to 2012, courts in Spain issued 455,000 eviction orders. Around 60 percent of these were carried out (CGPJ, 2012). The Spanish legal system means that those who default on a mortgage must continue to pay the mortgage, despite banks taking over the property. Evictions mean that the victims not only lose housing, they must pay the outstanding mortgage. Spain is estimated to have as much as 2 million empty houses, many of them owned by banks. As a result of foreclosures, affectees gathered together to form the PAH (Association of Mortgage Affectees) in 2009. The PAH campaign has started taking over empty buildings to offer housing to evicted families. The aim of the campaign is to pressure the Spanish Government and banks to offer social housing. I will discuss the reasons families choose to participate in the campaign, the strategies used and the response of Spanish politicians.

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Redefining the Crisis/Redefining Democracy
Cristina Flesher Fominaya, University of Aberdeen

Contemporary anti-austerity movements are challenging some of the most deeply held and widely shared assumptions about the role of the market and the State. In this article, I analyze mobilization around an issue that lies at the origin of the global financial crisis and has generated one of its largest social costs: housing. I centre on the Spanish grassroots citizen platform, the Platform for those Affected by Mortgages, and their controversial escrache campaign, to explore the nexus between crisis and its human cost, the creativity and agency of the collective response it can generate, and the response of the State. I argue that social movements actively resisting austerity measures transcend the concrete issues around which they mobilize, and are contesting hegemonic definitions of crisis and of democracy.