

**ECPR STANDING GROUP
ON SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS**

SECTION

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

**ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE
MONTREAL
26-29 August 2015**

PAPER ABSTRACTS

Panel 1

**CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE
IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**

Chair and Discussant: Luis Ramiro, University of Leicester

Thursday 27 August

09:00-10:40

Jean-Brillant Building, Floor 3, Room **B-3335**

Dominant Party Systems in Turkey, South Africa and Japan

Mustafa Yagci & Ali Carkoglu, Koç University, Istanbul

Turkey has been ruled by the same political party since 2002 and its political system has been identified as a "dominant party system" in several studies. One party dominance in a democracy is a very rare political phenomenon, yet understanding the dynamics behind it is crucial to have a better understanding of the path Turkish democracy will take in the following years. Most studies on Turkish democracy and its dominant party system rely on single case studies and do not take advantage of a comparative perspective. Using Sartori's (1976) criterion of a "predominant-party system" in a democracy and utilizing a "most different systems design", we try to identify the conditions under which one-party dominance is possible in democratic political systems (Turkey, South Africa and Japan) and bring a comparative perspective to the debate on challenges to democracy.

**The Structures of the Corrupt Exchange:
The Role of Networks in the Italian Case**
Jacopo Costa, *Università degli Studi di Torino*

The paper studies the role of illicit network in corruption, using the Network Analysis. We focus on the scandals of corruption exploded in Italy after 2010, analyzing the relations between the actors of corruption, the network shape and the genesis of its informal rules. The goal is to define how the network sustains corruption, exploiting the opportunities offered by the legislation. The networks are able to capture practices and decisions of the public sphere, influencing its agency. Thanks to relational structures and polyadic exchanges, the illicit networks force the discretionary powers of public officials and politicians. We have empirically analyzed the judicial documents produced for the “Big Events” investigations, mapping the relations between actors. This permits us to identify the most powerful nodes of the net and their roles, the types of resources and the direction of the exchanges. This analysis gives important information on the contemporary characteristics of corruption.

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Panel 2
**CHANGING PARTY LANDSCAPES AND THE POPULIST BACKLASH IN
CRISIS ERA SOUTHERN EUROPE**
Chair: Bonnie Field, Bentley University
Discussant: Duncan McDonnell, Griffith University, Queensland

Thursday 27 August
11:00-12:40
Jean-Brillant Building, Floor 4, Room **B-4310**

The Emergence of New Forms of Populisms? Evidence from Southern Europe
Myrto Tsakatika, *University of Glasgow*
Paolo R. Graziano, *Bocconi University*
Nuria Font, *Universit Autónoma de Barcelona*

Over the past years, parties such as Podemos in Spain, the 5 Star Movement in Italy and Syriza in Greece have become increasingly prominent in both the political and institutional domestic scene. The three South European parties have been examined individually (Hernandez and Fraile, 2014 ; Corbetta and Gualmini, 2013 ; Bordignon and Ceccarini, 2013 ; Tsakatika and Eleftheriou, 2013) but to date not in comparative perspective. The purpose of this paper is to provide a comparative analytical framework, and argue that the crisis has produced a new form of populism which is quite different from the more classic radical right variant. The paper will revisit the existing literature on radical right populisms (RRP) and draw insights from it, but it will argue that new conceptual tools need to be developed in order to fully understand the new political phenomena that have shook Spanish, Italian and Greek political systems.

**Resurgence of Populism in Southern Europe
as a Challenge to Liberal Democrati Regimes: Case of Italy and Greece**
Martin Mejstrik, *Charles University in Prague*

This paper aims to compare main political changes and mutations of party and political system which occurred in Italy and Greece during the economic and political crisis, since the comparison of these two countries reveals many similarities, as well as important differences. Even though we observed a rise of populism in both countries, its impact on the political system and institutions differed in certain perspectives. The paper will compare these variables according to four principles of populism by Albertazzi and McDonnell. These principles consist of the role of the leader in the success of populist ideas, openness of the political environment to new populist movements, particular opportunity structures helping to the development of populism and strategies of mainstream parties in reaction to the populist rhetoric. This analysis could explain how and to what extent there exist a correlation between the depth of the crisis and the success of populist movements.

Economic Crisis and Left-Right Ideology in Spain
Rosa M Navarette, *Universität Mannheim*

Spain was well-known as one of the countries in which left-right ideology has a high impact on voting decision. The European debt crisis and its dramatic consequences for the Spanish society have transformed the previously stable political arena. The indignados are the more visible expression of citizens' discontent. This scenario of growing disaffection may lead to extreme positions and to the emergence of radical parties. However, it seems that extremism has no options to get a seat on the Spanish parliament. Political discourse changed and new parties claim to have no ideological constraints. Does this crisis represent the end of ideology as the more relevant factor of voting in Spain? Are the new parties innocent of ideology? This paper answers these questions by analyzing data from Spanish national studies from 2004 to 2015.

Panel 3
**DEMOCRACY IN HARD TIMES: THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF
DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGES
IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**
Chair: Ilhan Uzgl, Ankara University

Thursday 27 August
15:50-17:30
Jean-Brillant Building, Floor 4, Room **B-4310**

Political Economy of Democratic Challenges in Southern Europe
Evren Celik Wiltse, *University of South Dakota*

Significant amount of scholarship in social sciences is dedicated to highlight the impact of free, democratic and accountable regimes on economic growth and prosperity (Acemoglu & Robinson 2012, Norris 2012, Boix 2003). This papers looks at the relationship between economy and democracy in the Southern European context, but it flips the lenses and looks from the opposite end. As South American President Jacob Zuma put it succinctly, “You can’t eat democracy”. What happens to Southern European democracies, when main economic indicators deteriorate? How does the political system (parties and voters) react, when a democratic regime does not seem to deliver as generously as it used to? This paper looks at both the macroeconomic indicators for a select group of countries in Southern Europe, as well as to their social policies and social spending practices. In the last few years, anti-systemic, populist and black swan parties are becoming increasingly more prevalent in the region. This paper is an attempt to uncover the political-economic dynamics behind these parties.

**Socio-political ‘Risk’ Factors in Italian Regions:
Impediments to Investment and Democracy?**
Julian Campisi, *York University*

This paper examines the broad concept of 'political risk', with a key focus on the more socio-political factors/causes of risk such as corruption and accountability that are perceived to impede investment and economic growth in both developed and developing markets. Does political and democratic instability in Europe affect private investors and businesses to the same degree that it affects sovereign debt-holders and capital markets? This research takes Italy as a case study in the post-financial crisis period, focusing on the diverse social and institutional factors that potentially lead to different levels of political risk in regions. It makes use of qualitative research and fieldwork conducted with businesses and professionals in Italy, pointing to important conclusions on the role and state of democratic and political stability in Italy, and on investor confidence in developed European markets.

**The Hidden Opposition to a Fiscal Union in Southern Europe:
A Conjoint Analysis of Attitudes on Economic Policy in Italy**
Fabio Franchino & Paolo Segatti, *Università degli Studi di Milano*

What explains and structures the attitudes toward EMU economic policy reforms? In June 2014, we have administered to 3026 Italians a conjoint analysis to assess the measures they support and the dilemmas facing government's policy responses to citizens' preferences. Fighting unemployment, even at the expense of higher inflation, is the main priority. Low unemployment is even more important than keeping the euro. There is no support for downsizing public services, while there is opposition to both supranational oversight of national budgets and expansion of EU fiscal capacity. The left-right divide structures these positions in an internally incoherent manner. Left-wing respondents defend the single currency, but they are more inflation tolerant and oppose spending cuts. Right-wing participants are critical of the euro and oppose EU budgetary control and spending, but they support national fiscal consolidation. These results shed new light on the debates on fiscal union and policy responsiveness.

Social Citizenship in the European Monetary Union: The Case of Portugal
Tiago Ramalho, *Sciences Po Paris*

The impact of monetary integration on European welfare capitalism has received longstanding attention. Yet, the unfolding of events has brought new light and pertinence to the investigation of processes of continuity and change in social protection at the country-level. Focusing on T.H. Marshall's concept of social citizenship, this dissertation analyses the impacts of the establishment of the common currency specifically on the Portuguese case. With resort to historical explanation and process-tracing, it is claimed that the EMU contributed to a different strategic context, as well as new discursive selectivities, for welfare governance, which led to a recalibration of the Portuguese welfare state towards managed recommodification. It is further argued that the deep restructuring of social policy that followed external intervention by the troika, far from being a structural break, has strong elements of continuity with the period prior to the crisis.

**Analysing the Mediterranean Welfare State in the Context of Southern Europe:
Economic Changes and Political Challenges Facing the Future**
Maria Belén Martín Castro, *Universidad de Granada*

A wide panoramic view will be shown analysing the evolution of Latin Welfare State (WS), the changes about in the contents and management, the lights and shadows of the expansion period, the effects of this national economic model, that is socio-economic crisis and also political and institutional. All of them developed inside a double process of Europeanization and decentralization in a multilevel government. Hence, in addition to having financial consequences, its instability impacts upon its own capacity to act and upon its complicated legitimacy and governance. Nowadays the WS has to face different priorities (i.e.: high unemployment and relative poverty) traditional and new problems and social risks (i.e: inefficient redistribution, low

skilled workers, strongly dualized labour market) challenges and new designs (i.e.:better administrative coordination, activation, flexi-cure, reconciliation work-family policies). Simultaneously the role of new actors beyond the State grows (non-formal and non-profit sectors, private market, social movements and even neo-patronage forms and creative ways) in its decision-making and implementation. So the prominence of the different public and social partners with respect to citizens' welfare is shifting, although the family networks retain their role for support, particularly in times of recession. Consequently, it has been progressively necessary to reshape our mixed welfare system, as well as to redefine the role of the public sector. Including this change, it is accepted the need of multiple reforms (renewal of enterprises, recapitalization of labour and refocusing of financial system) in order to transform the unsustainable productive model. And especially stressed is the requirement to look for new resources and employments in strategic sectors. The post-Keynesian WS is undergoing constant material readjustments and the consequent strategic reforms to its character are more qualitative. Therefore, debates will continue concerning its future and the impact of current economic crisis might have on its sustainability.

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Panel 4

MAKING OR BREAKING GREEK DEMOCRACY
Chair and Discussant: Myrto Tsakatika, Glasgow University

Friday 28 August

09:00-10:40

Jean-Brillant Building, Floor 4, Room **B-4310**

The Perils of Greece's Protracted Transition

Spyridon Kotsovilis, *University of Toronto*

Since the onset of its sovereign debt crisis in 2010, main aspects of Greece's finances and politics resemble those of the 1989 simultaneous transitions in CE Europe. This paper compares Greece to 'Fourth Wave' former Communist European cases, arguing that despite obvious differences, its trajectory also bears many similarities. It begins by a brief review of 'transitology' and the 1989 cases, and then it compares them to economic and political dimensions of the recent Greek experience. It finds that, fiscally, Greece's particular strain of Statism had devastating consequences on its ailing welfare state model, inviting painful structural reforms similar to some post-Communist states; politically, old party and ideological cleavages have also been redrawn, and at the same time, explicitly populist and anti-system parties have risen; finally, the role of the European Union's conditionality likewise remains a crucial component. A concluding section assesses the prospective outcomes of this protracted Greek transition.

The Greek Voter (2015)

Ioannis Andreadis, *Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

The 2015 Greek electoral competition is structured by two main axes that form a political map. The first of these axes depicts the position of parties in the GAL: (Green, Alternative, Libertarian) vs TAN: (Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalist) dimension. The second axis captures the juxtaposition of the parties regarding the management of the debt, country's commitments to its lenders and the attitudes towards the European Union. At the first edge of the axis we can find parties that support that staying in the Eurozone should be a top priority for Greece (pro-European); at the bottom of the axis we can find the opposite view (anti-Troika), i.e. that we should cancel the austerity measure immediately even if this means that we would risk getting out of the Eurozone. This paper presents the location of the voters of each parliamentary party on this political map.

The Advent of the Single-issue Government:

The New Greek Governing Coalition

Maurits Meijers, *Hertie School of Governance*

Within hours of its historic win in the Greek parliamentary elections, the radical left Syriza formed a coalition government with a populist radical right party ANEL. The two parties do not have much in common ideologically but their rejection of the Troika-imposed austerity politics and their calls for debt relief. Usually, single-issue parties do not recommend themselves for government participation, since governments have to make delicate, well-informed decisions across the policy spectrum. In the Syriza-ANEL case, precisely the single-issue character of both parties has led to the formation of a single-issue government. This article argues that the single-issue government can be a bad thing for Greek democracy, since it exacerbates the disintegration of the Greek party system as traditionally relevant political issues make way for a single political issue: austerity and debt relief. This constellation leaves the voter with an empty kind of politics likely to aggravate political disaffection.

The Troika Oversight at a Crossroads

Max Lügert, *Bonn University*

In the previous years, several European states were forced to apply for financial support and in turn had to accept the agenda-setting and evaluation of the Troika. This constellation, consisting of representatives of the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund devised the adjustment programs, which clarified the policy conditionality for the financial support. In countries such as Spain or Greece, the austerity measures championed by the Troika have led to recession and unemployment, but up until now have been carried out by the respective governments. With the rise of SYRIZA to power in Greece and its vocal dismissal of the Troika's authority, this setting looks to be rearranged. My contribution would assess how the path undertaken by the new Greek government reshapes the political influence of the Troika.

Panel 5
**ROCKING THE BOAT: CHANGES IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN CRISIS ERA SOUTHERN EUROPE**
Chair and discussant: Evren Balta, Yildiz Technical University

Friday 28 August
11:00-12:40
Jean-Brillant Building, Floor 4, Room **B-4310**

What Changes are Needed in Spanish Democracy?

José Luis Rey Perez, *Universdiad Pontificia Comillas*

Spanish Constitution of 1978 can be understood as a result of the agreement of political parties to change the political system without any conflict. The Spanish Constitution created a Constitutional State where civil and political rights have more importance than social ones, where some aspects cannot be changed without consensus, a special type of asymmetry federalism and a system where the majority political parties have a homogenous role. The economic crisis started in 2008 has shown a general disagreement with some aspects of this democracy as it has seen in 15th May Movement or in the last European elections. In this paper I will try to expose some changes that Spanish political system need. It will be analyzed the system of rights and the role played by Constitutional Court, the democratic system, especially at the local and regional level, the way the MP are distributed and the problem of corruption.

**The Five Star Movement:
A Democratic Tsunami or Another One-man Show?**

Luca Manucci, *University of Zurich*

This paper focuses on the potential challenge for Italian democracy represented by the Five Star Movement (5SM). Its winning formula looks like a digital Utopia able to counteract the current political disenchantment: an influential blog connecting a horizontal network of citizens; a constant interaction between web tools and offline mobilization; the online selection of representatives. However, issues such as internal democracy and transparency, low levels of participation, and the ambiguous role of the leader (Beppe Grillo) have fostered criticisms and raised fundamental questions about its illiberal policy. The paper, confronting the party's idealist approach to democracy with its contradictory political organization, contributes to the agenda of the panel in two ways: by presenting empirical evidence from an in-depth exploratory case study and by enlarging the theoretical debate about the role of web tools and their impact on the quality of democracy.

**Evaluating Podemos' Direct Democracy Experience through New Technologies
and its Impact in Terms of Democratic Participation and Regeneration**

Victória Alsina Burgués & José Manuel Martínez Sierra, *Harvard University*

From the deepest economic crisis the European economy has seen since the great depression, Southern Europe democracies are emerging with new social/political movements/parties. In this paper we analyse Podemos, a new Spanish political party who has born from a new grass roots activism. Podemos has introduced massive on-line direct democracy participation mechanisms to breathe new life into a socially considered decadent democracy system where citizens feel no longer represented by public institutions. Taking into account that the citizen's response to this political initiative is being overwhelming, the Podemos study case is socially and theoretically relevant because it allows not only analyzing a unique contemporary experience of direct democracy that has no worldwide comparison but also its consequences in terms of how new technologies can better serve to democratic participation and regeneration. This paper is the final result of the research jointly conducted by two Harvard study groups.

**Competing Sexual Citizenships:
LGBTQ Activism in Puerta del Sol and Gezi Park**

Pablo Pérez Navarro, *University of Coimbra*

LGBTQ activism has been an active part in the "Occupy Movements". In their respective squares, LGBTQ assemblies have established fruitful coalitions with other groups, produced an impact on the movement as a whole, and gained visibility for their demands beyond the limits of the movement itself. I will explore some similarities –and differences- between the strategies deployed by the Transmaricabollo de Sol Assembly, in the occupation of Puerta del Sol in Madrid, and the LGBT Block, in the occupation of Gezi Park in Istanbul. Taking into account the contrast between the social and political contexts of LGBTQ citizenship in both countries, I will stress the importance of the bidirectionality of their spatial politics - toward the space of the city and toward the space of the protest- in order to gain a better understanding of the work developed by these and other "minoritary" groups within contemporary social movements.

Panel 6
**TOLERANCE, MINORITIES
AND MEMORY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**
Chair and Discussant: Evren Celik Wiltse, University of South Dakota

Friday 28 August
15:50- 17:30
Jean-Brillant Building, Floor 4, Room **B-4310**

**Religious Minorities in Democratic Spain:
Rekindle with the Past and Part of the Future**

Claude Proeschel, *Sciences Po Paris*

Democratic Spain has been built on the idea of civic nation, which means community of citizens. This idea constitutes a rupture with the notion of national catholicism omnipresent in its history. This founding political project emphasizes above all the notion of equality. The legislative and symbolic evolutions, and the ensuing public policies directed to the religious minorities had been faced with a situation rooted in the history of the country. On the one hand, the Spanish national community has been founded, in the 15th century on the exclusion of minorities. Democratic public authorities have made an official rereading of the past in order to reintegrate them in the nation. On the other hand, the public policies of the past twenty years seem to lead to an everyday acceptance of minorities multiplying since the democratization. These policies put an emphasis on citizenship and equality of rights, even if numerous obstacles remain.

**Between Blindness of Secularism and
Discrimination of Religious Authority: Cem-Houses**

Erhan Kurtarir, *Yildiz Technical University*

This paper focused on cem-houses as unrecognised places of worship of Alevis and their socio-spatial meaning from the urban democracy and human rights perspectives. Paper based on PhD and postdoctoral fieldworks findings. Researches continued in Istanbul, Turkey and United Kingdom. During the fieldworks I've analysed the meaning and role of place for sustaining the cultural identity of religious minorities on public space. With the evaluation of in-depth interviews and participant observations, Alevi cem-houses establishment process tried to be explored. Spatial adjustments of these groups have been analysed within their narratives and discourses by interpretive approach. I'll evaluate the expression of their identity on public space with the relation of human rights and geography of religion perspectives. Main obstacles of Turkish urban planning legislation for recognising cem houses and places of worship will be revealed in the paper.

**A Failed Case in Confronting the Past: Turkey Parliamentary Investigation
Committee on Military Coups and Memorandums and its Report**

Ilhan Uzgel, *Ankara University*

First time in the political history of Turkey an ad hoc parliamentary investigation committee was formed to review the dark history of the coups and memorandums and laid out its Report in November 2012. Although both the composition and the political conjuncture that the Committee was formed in connection with the wording and the results of the Report require scrutiny on a number of aspects, the main focus would be limited to two preeminent points. This paper is aiming at shedding light firstly, on the principal reasons in technicizing the Committee and its Report by the ruling AKP government in order to solidify its position on both domestic and international political arena. Secondly, the paper is to elucidate how and why the technicization has reflected on the wording and the political results of the Report, for which we strongly argue is a failed example in confronting the past.

Pacto del Ovido: The Elephant in the Room

Rodrigo Vaz, *School of Oriental and African Studies*

This article deals with the politics of memory in Spain. I first engage with the literature on different approaches to remembering (or forgetting) harm in a post-conflict society. The article then moves to its case-study, the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Republic. Historical events such as the regime's repression of local autonomies, state-built narratives regarding the atrocities of the civil war, and especially how the democratic regime chose to deal with the crimes of the Franco regime are highlighted. It must be said that the heavy emphasis in history is intended: Spanish history is full of intricacies that must be addressed in order to understand how Spain deals with its memory of the conflict. The 'pacto del olvido', the commitment imposed by the Spanish political elites after the fall of Franco's regime (and even after 1981) deserve particular attention.