

# POPULISM, MAJORITARIANISM AND CRISES OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

**The Centre for Southeast European Studies and  
the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey  
present the Inaugural Symposium on Turkey  
Populism, majoritarianism and crises of liberal democracy  
Modes of illiberal governance in comparative perspective**

**1-3 October 2015 Graz**

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Centre for Southeast European Studies  
Zentrum für Südosteuropa Studien



Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey



Stiftung Föderationsteil Schweiz-Türkei



Das Land Steiermark



**DRAFT PROGRAMME 14/9/15**

## **The Centre for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz and the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey**

### **Populism, majoritarianism and crises of liberal democracy: Modes of illiberal governance in comparative perspective ● 1-3 October 2015 ● Uni Graz**

#### **Symposium Theme**

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The inaugural Symposium on Turkey deals with the problematic stepchildren of democracy: Populism, majoritarianism and competitive authoritarianism. These three modes of governance and contestation have become increasingly pronounced, to an extent even within solidly democratic polities. Several processes, from globalisation and transnational threats to the de-democratising effects of global financial flows, have narrowed down the space of democratic decision-making, while privatising public goods and the policing of public space. In the peripheries of the democratic world, the vulnerable borderlands, illiberal modes of governance sometimes displace democratic power arrangements.

Yet how exactly does governance in illiberal contexts, in the range between democracies and full dictatorships proceed? What do governments, which neither adhere to democratic principles nor want to be seen as brutal dictatorships, do in order to manufacture consent and maintain social cohesion? How meaningful are electoral and party politics in political systems, where most decisions are taken in exclusive centres of power? Under which conditions do weak democracies give way to post-democratic arrangements of power, and how sustainable can such post-democratic arrangements be?

These are some of the questions, which the Inaugural Symposium will engage with in its study of the contemporary Turkish case and comparative cases in the Balkans, Russia and beyond.

#### **The Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST)**

The Consortium is committed to the critical study of modern Turkey. It brings together the expertise of leading European research institutions with the aim to understand the society, politics and cultures of Turkey and its neighbourhoods: University of Leiden, University of Graz, London School of Economics, SciencesPo, Stockholm University, Hamburg University, University of Cambridge, and University of Oxford. The Consortium was launched in March 2015 at the University of Graz. The 2016 Symposium will take place at SciencesPo in Paris.

#### **The Centre for Southeast European Studies (CSEES)**

CSEES is a research and teaching centre at the University of Graz dedicated to the study of Southeast Europe. Comprising around twenty permanent and visiting scholars, the Centre has an excellent research and teaching output and a widely interdisciplinary scope. Research projects and publications range from political, legal, and economic to cultural processes in the region. The Centre's understanding of Southeast Europe is inclusive and comprises the Balkans as well as Greece, Cyprus and Turkey.



## The Centre for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz and the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey

Populism, majoritarianism and crises of liberal democracy: Modes of illiberal governance in comparative perspective ● 1-3 October 2015 ● Uni Graz

**Convenors: Kerem Öktem, Karabekir Akkoyunlu, Florian Bieber**

### Synopsis of sessions

Thursday, 1 October A2
16.00 - 17.00 Welcome and Introduction
17.00 - 18.00 Keynote Lecture by Ayşe Kadioğlu, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Sabancı University
18.30 - 20.00 Panel 1 <i>Charisma, leadership and ideology: Key constituents of illiberal governance</i>
20.00 Reception, buffet dinner and transfer to hotel

  

Friday, 2 October , SR 38.21
09.00 Coffee and tea
09.15 - 09.30 Opening statements
09.30 - 11.00 Panel 2 <i>Challenges and alternatives to liberal democracy</i>
11.30 - 13.00 Panel 3 <i>Illiberal governance in comparison: The Balkans, Russia and beyond</i>
14.30 - 16.00 Panel 4 <i>Electoral politics and the Justice and Development Party</i>
16.30 - 18.30 Panel 5 <i>Culture, society, religion</i>
19.00 Symposium Dinner at Weinstube Herzl, Old Town

  

Saturday, 3 October SR 38.21
10.00 - 12.00 Panel 6 <i>Illiberal political economies</i>
12.00 - 13.00 Closing session
13.00 Closing of the Inaugural CEST Symposium 2015

## Symposium programme

Thursday, 1 October A2		
16.00 - 16.30 Words of Welcome and Introduction by the Dean, Florian Bieber, André de Munter (EP)		
16.30 - 17.00 Introduction by Kerem Oktem and Karabekir Akkoyunlu		
17.00 - 18.00 Keynote Lecture by Ayşe Kadioğlu, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Sabancı University		
18.00 - 18.30 Refreshments		
18.30 - 20.00 Panel 1 <i>Charisma, leadership and ideology: Key constituents of illiberal governance</i>		
Chair: Florian Bieber (CSEES, Uni Graz)		
<b>Nora Fisher Onar</b>	George Washington University, Institute for Middle East Studies	Acts of State: Why Comparative Politics and IR should take Performance Seriously
<b>Adam Szymanski</b>	Institute of Political Science, University of Warsaw	Conservative Ideology and Illiberal Modes of Governance – The Case of Turkish Justice and Development Party and Polish Law and Justice
<b>Murat Somer</b>	Koç University, Political Science and IR, Istanbul	Explaining Turkey's Old and New Authoritarianism: Secularism and Democracy, and Domestic and External Dimensions
20.00 Reception, buffet dinner and transfer to hotel		

Friday, 2 October , SR 38.21		
09.00 Coffee and tea		
09.15 - 09.30 Opening statements		
09.30 - 11.00 Panel 2 <i>Challenges and alternatives to liberal democracy</i>		
Chair: Paul Levin (SUITS, Stockholm University)		
<b>Janek Mus</b>	Institute for East-Central Europe, Warsaw	Disappointment and nostalgia. Peripheral experience with liberal democracy 25 years after transformation
<b>Orçun Selçuk</b>	Florida International University	Plebiscitary Democracy under Populism: Erdoğan's Turkey, Chavez's Venezuela, Morales' Bolivia and Correa's Ecuador
<b>Ömer Tekdemir</b>	Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry U	The 'Other Turkey': HDP's 'Turkeyfication', 'New Life' Discourse and Left-Leaning Populism in an Agonistic Radical Pluralism
11.00 - 11.30 Coffee and tea		
11.30 - 13.00 Panel 3 <i>Illiberal governance in comparison: The Balkans, Russia and beyond</i>		
Chair: Benedikt Harzl (Uni Graz)		
<b>Cengiz Günay &amp; Vedran Džihic</b>	Vienna University	Decoding the Authoritarian Code: Exercising "legitimate" power politics through the ruling parties in Turkey, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina
<b>David Tittensor &amp; Özlem Süssler (R. Urribarri)</b>	La Trobe Uni Melbourne & Deakin Uni, Melbourne	Judiciaries as Tools of Illiberal Governance: Approaching the Turkish Case in Comparative Perspective
<b>Marc Herzog &amp; David White</b>	British Institute Ankara / University of Birmingham	Songs of Fire and Ice: Contentious politics, regime response and state capacity in Turkey and Russia
13.00 - 14.30 Lunch		

<b>14.30 - 16.00 Panel 4 Electoral politics and the Justice and Development Party</b>		
Chair: Elise Massicard (Sciences Po)		
<b>Toygar Sinan Baykan</b>	University of Sussex	Control and Participation in a Hybrid Organization: the Justice and Development Party in Turkey
<b>Esra İşsever Ekinci</b>	Syracuse University	The Politics of Electoral Reforms in Turkey: Insights from the concept of neopatrimonialism
<b>Gökhan Mülayim &amp; Yusuf Kutlu</b>	Boğaziçi University	Maintaining Hegemony in the Face of Critical Events: An Analysis of the JDP's Discursive Strategy
16.00 - 16.30 Coffee and tea		
<b>16.30 - 18.30 Panel 5 Culture, society, religion</b>		
Chair Ayşe Kadioğlu (Sabancı University)		
<b>Josh Carney</b>	University of South Florida, Dept. of Communication	Censor-seep: film festivals as crucible for censorship in “New Turkey” and beyond
<b>Funda Üstek</b>	Goldsmiths College, Department of Sociology,	Governing with[out] numbers: The case of “Missing persons” in official statistics
<b>Demet Lüküslü</b>	Yeditepe University, Istanbul, Department of Sociology	Creating a pious generation: Education and Youth Policies of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey
<b>Jeremy Walton</b>	Max Planck Institute for the Study of Ethnic and Religious Diversity, Göttingen	Anxieties of Tolerant Power: Interreligious Dialogue and the Blurring of Liberal and Illiberal Governance in Ankara
19.00 Symposium Dinner at Weinstube Herzl, Old Town		

<b>Saturday, 3 October SR 38.21</b>		
<b>10.00 - 12.00 Panel 6 Illiberal political economies</b>		
Chair Nora Fisher Onar (George Washington University)		
<b>Bilge Serin</b>	Heriot Watt University, Edinburgh	Illiberal Production of Urban Space: The Case of Branded Housing Projects in Istanbul
<b>Berk Esen &amp; Şebnem Gümüşcü</b>	Sabancı University / Middlebury College	Political Economy of Rising Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey
<b>Diğdem Soyaltın</b>	Istanbul Gelişim University	The Politics of good governance reforms in Turkey: Insights from the concept of neopatrimonialism
<b>12.00 - 13.00 Closing session</b>		
The convenors Michiel Leezenberg, University of Amsterdam		
<b>13.00 Closing of the Inaugural CEST Symposium 2015</b>		