#### 8th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES



# Democracy and Electoral Systems: A Transatlantic Conversation

Alcalá de Henares, October 22-23, 2015



### SIGUE LA ACTUALIDAD NORTEAMERICA A TRAVÉS DE NUESTRO BLOG



El blog del Instituto Franklin - UAH





"Nothing is possible without men. Nothing is durable without institutions". - Jean Monet.

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#### **CONFERENCE THEME**

#### 8th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES

"Democracy and Electoral Systems: A Transatlantic Conversation"

The Consortium for Transatlantic Studies and Scholarship (CTSS) and the Instituto Franklin-UAH hold the 8th edition of this conference where specialists, academics, and young researchers from a variety of disciplines in either the Humanities or the Social Sciences (such as Politics, International Relations, Justice Studies, History, Legal Studies, International Organizations, Area Studies, and Sociology) are invited to discuss on the nature and evolution of Democracy and Electoral Systems from a transatlantic perspective.

#### Main topics of the conference:

- Electoral Systems
- Democratic Issues
- Human Rights and Democratic Values
- Globalization and Democracy
- Political Communication
- Transnational Democratic Practices

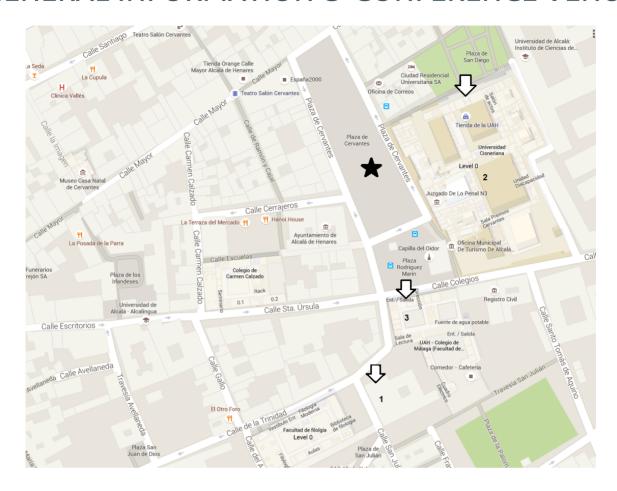
#### Themes of previous conferences:

- "Global Challenges to the Transatlantic World" (October, 2013).
- "North and South: The United States, the European Union and the Developing World" (October, 2011).

For more information, please visit:

http://www.institutofranklin.net/en/events/conferences/ 8th-international-conference-transatlantic-studies

#### GENERAL INFORMATION & CONFERENCE VENUE



1. COLEGIO DE TRINITARIOS (Calle Trinidad, 1)

Registration, Parallel Sessions and Closing Ceremony

- **2. COLEGIO DE SAN ILDEFONSO (Plaza de San Diego)**Opening Ceremony, Workshop and CTSS information session.
- **3. COLEGIO DE MÁLAGA (Calle Colegios, 2)** Parallel Sessions.

#### ரு, Main entrance



#### **Contact information:**

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# **SESSIONS AND PANELS**

Thursday, October 22	
9:00-10:30 Session I (Colegio de Trinitarios)	
Panel A - Human Rights and Democratic Values I: Laws, Governance and the Protection of Human Rights (Room Luis Rosales)	
Panel B - Democratic Issues I: Political Transitions (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	
Panel C - Democratic Issues II: Democratization (Room Jorge Guillén)	
11:00-12:30 Session II (Colegio de Trinitarios)	
Panel A - Globalization and Democracy I: Global Governance (Room Jorge Guillén)	
Panel B - Democratic Issues III: Democracy: Inconsistencies, Evolution and Future (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	
Panel C - Transnational Democratic Practices I: Promotion of Democracy and Citizenship (Room Luis Rosales)	
13:15-14:00 Plenary Lecture (Colegio de San Ildefonso)	
16:30-18:00 Session III (Colegio de Málaga)	
Panel A - Democratic Issues IV: Minorities' Representation and Proportionality (Room 8)	
Panel B - Electoral Systems I: Representation and Proportionality (Room 3)	
Panel C - Political Communication I: Financing of Political Campaigns and Shaping of Political Images (Room 2)	
Friday, October 23	
9:00-10:30 Session I (Colegio de Trinitarios)	
Panel A - Democratic Issues VII: Transparency and New Technologies (Room Jorgue Guillén)	
Panel B - Electoral Systems II: Effects of Certain Elections on Domestic and Foreign Policy (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	
11:00-12:30 Session II (Colegio de Trinitarios)	
Panel A - Democratic Issues V: Constrains on Political Participation (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	
Panel B - Democratic Issues VI: Democratic Revitalization and Polarization (Room Jorge Guillén)	
12:30-13:30 Plenary Lecture (Colegio de Trinitarios)	

# 8th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES

# Democracy and Electoral Systems: A Transatlantic Conversation"

# PROGRAM

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Panel A - Human Rights and Democratic Values I: Laws, Governance and the Protection of Human Rights (Room Luis Rosales)   Panel A - Human Rights and Democratic Values I: Laws.   University of South Dakcta   Petersen   Chair   Alejandra   Alejandra   University of South Dakcta   Petersen   Related to a salud de España como Estado	8:30	Registration (Cole	gio de Trinitario	s - Cloister)	
akata Jakata Academy of Bublic de Madrid Aissouri	9:00-10:3		de Trinitarios)		
Jakota rgos Jakota Academy of d Public de Madrid	Panel A - I	Human Rights and Demx	ocratic Values I: L	aws, Governance and the Protection of I	Human Rights (Room Luis Rosales)
rgos )akota Academy of de Madrid Aissouri		Bennett	Lauren	University of South Dakota	The Football Effect: The World Cup and Human Rights
Jakota Jakota Academy of A Public de Madrid Aissouri		Germán Doldán	Alejandra	Universidad de Burgos	El procedimiento parlamentario de legalización de las "expulsiones en caliente": un termómetro a la salud de España como Estado Democrático y de Derecho.
Sakota Academy of A Public de Madrid Aissouri		Petersen	Malachi	University of South Dakota	Big Brother is Watching: A Comparative Study of International Electronic Surveillance Laws and their Impact on Freedom of Speech
Sakota Academy of d Public de Madrid Aissouri	Chair	Cristina Stolpovschi	h, Instituto Frankl	lin-UAH	
of South Dakota es idential Academy of onomy and Public ninis tration vutónoma de Madrid f Central Missouri	Panel B - L	Democratic Iss ues I: Pol	itical Transitions	(Room Miguel de Cervantes)	
es idential Academy of onomy and Public ninis tration vutônoma de Madrid f Central Missouri		Schorn	Timothy	University of South Dakota	Constitutional Transitions: Case Studies from the Middle East and the Arab Spring
outónoma de Madrid f Central Missouri		Ponomarenko	Nadezhda	The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration	Specific of Political Regime Democratization in Post-Soviet Russia
outônoma de Madrid f Central Missouri	Chair	Timothy Scharn, Ur	riversity of South	Dakota	
d Autónoma de Madrid y of Central Missouri	Panel C - 1	Democratic Issues II: De	mocratization (Ro	bom Jorge Guillén)	
y of Central Missouri		Rodríguez López	Carmen	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid	The Question of Democratization
Chair Darlene Budd, University of Central Missouri		Wambuii	Henry K	University of Central Missouri	Devolved Governance, Devolved Gridlock? Politics of Democratization in Kenya
40-30,44-00 Coffee Break - (Colonis de Trinitarios - Cloister)	Chair	Darlene Budd, Univ	ersity of Central	Missouri	
	10:30-111	no Coffee Break - /C/	plea in de Trinita	nips - Cloister)	

Panel A - GI	obalization and Democra	acy I: Global Gov	Panel A - Globalization and Democracy I: Global Governance (Room Jorge Guillén)	
	Michelsen	Niell	Western Carolina University	Democracy in Non-Democratic International Institutions
	Gil Martín	Francis co Javier	Universidad de Oviedo	Globalization of Peace and Democratic Constraints
	Korobeynikova	Larisa	Tomsk State University	Democracy in the Context of Soft Globalization
Chair	Larisa Korobeynikova, Tomsk State University	Tomsk State U	niversity	
Panel B - De	emocratic issues III: Den	nocracy: Inconsis	Panel B - Democratic Issues III: Democracy: Inconsistencies, Evolution and Future (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	juel de Cervantes )
	Szklarski	Bohdan	American Studies Center, Warsaw University	Political Mythology and the Paradoxes of American Democracy
	Rosenthal Pubul	Alexander	Johns Hopkins University	Democracy and Liberalism in a Post-Secular Age
	Priego	Alberto	Universidad Pontificia Comillas	Towards a New Model of Politics: Sustainable Democracy
Chair	Cristina Stolpovschih, Instituto Franklin-UAH	Instituto Frankli	n-UAH	
anel C - Tr	ans national Democratic	Practices I: Pron	Panel C - Transnational Democratic Practices 1: Promotion of Democracy and Citizenship (Room Luis Rosales)	om Luis Rosales)
	Ghozzi	Kamel	University of Central Missouri	Secularized Societies and Transatlantic Muslim Religiosity
	Podraza	Andrzej	Catholic University of Lublin	Towards an Area of Democratic Governance: the Impact of the EU's Foreign Policy on the Neighbouring Countries
	Pintor Pirzkall	Heike	Universidad Pontificia Comillas	The Potential and Challenges of Triangular Cooperation. A Horizontal Partnership for Transnational Democratic Consolidation in Latin America
Chair	Ana Elena Sancho, Instituto Franklin-UAH	s tituto Frank lin-	UAH	
27.07.07.0	Conference Opening (Colegio de San Ildefonso -	g (Colegio de S	san Ildefonso - Room 3M)	
1240-13:10	Book P resentation: "Global Challenges to the Tra	'Global Challer	iges to the Transatlantic World" (Cole	nsatlantic World" (Colegio de San Ildefonso - Room 3M)
Presenter	Cristina Crespo, Instituto Franklin-UAH	tituto Franklin-L	JAH	
13:15-14:00	Plenary Lecture "Review of the 2012 Presidential	view of the 20		Elections in the US" (Colegio de San Ildefonso - Room 3M)
Speaker	Radivoje Grujić, Election Advisor OSCE/ODIHR	ction Advisor O		
Presenter	Don Wallace, University of Central Missouri	rsity of Central	Missouri	
14:00	Welcome Cocktail (Colegio de San Ildefonso)	Colegio de San	(Ildefonso)	
15:30-16:30	Workshop: "Transatlantic Studies: Going Beyond	lantic Studies:	Going Beyond the Classroom Experie	the Classroom Experience" (Colegio de San Ildefonso - Room 3M)
Cocobo	Marta Walliage Institute Complian II AL	Il cilde on I chick	411	

7 8		inorities' Represer	Panel A - Democratic Issues IV: Minorities' Representation and Proportionality (Room 8)	
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7 <b>8</b>	2000	Dallelle IVI.	Olivesity of Cellial Missoull	comparing cooking covering the sporees to century points in
<sup>7</sup>	Longoria	Thomas	Texas State University	the US and UK
B	Juan Rubio	Antonio Daniel	Centro Universitario de la Defensa San	El poder del voto hispano en el sistema electoral extadorinidense
	García Conesa	Isabel María	Javier	
5	Chano Regaña	Lorena	Universidad de Extremadura	El acomodamiento razonable de los DD. FF. de participación política y de las libertades inherentes al principio democrático
Chair Darle	ne Budd, Unive	Darlene Budd, University of Central Missouri	souri	
anel B - Electoral	Systems I: Rep	resentation and P	Panel B - Electoral Systems I: Representation and Proportionality (Room 3)	
	Lopez	Paulina	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	A Case for Proportional Representation and Voting in the United States and United Kingdom
Mon	Montabes Pereira	Juan	Universidad de Granada	Representación proporcional vs representación mayoritaria: estabilidad política y consolidación democrática.
고	Trujillo Cerezo	José Manuel	Universidad de Granada	Las Diputaciones Provinciales en España: rendimientos de un sistema
Pér	Pérez Castaños	Sergio	Universidad del País Vasco	electoral indirecto
Chair Don	Wallace, Univer	Don Wallace, University of Central Missouri	ouri	
anel C - Political C	communication	I. Financing of Po	Panel C - Political Communication I: Financing of Political Campaigns and Shaping of Political Images (Room 2)	Images (Room 2)
S	Cazorla Martín	Ángel	Universidad de Granada	Viejos y nuevos retos de transparencia en la financiación de las campañas electorales: el caso de los comicios autonómicos y municipales
Cap	Capdevila Gómez Moragas- Fernández	Arantxa Carlota M.	Universitat Rovira i Virgili	An Autonomous Community or an Independent State? Changing Catalonia's Definition over the Last 20 Years.
	Stoesou	Oana-Camelia	Independent Researcher	Political Communication during the European Crisis. Identity Discourse in Visual Representations of Greeks
Chair Ana I	Ana Lariño, Instituto Franklin-UAH	Franklin-UAH		

			Linday, october 20, 2010	1 20, 2010
9:00-10:30	Session I (Colegio de Trinitarios)	de Trinifarios)		
Panel A - Den	pocratic Issues VII: Tran	sparency and New T	Panel A - Democratic Issues VII: Transparency and New Technologies (Room Jorgue Guillén)	
	Michelsen	Niall	Western Carolina University	A Cure for (some of) Democracy's IIs
	Cárcar Benito	Jesús Esteban	University of Murcia	Digital Inclusion as a Prelude to Political Transparency. The Spanish Area
Chair	Alicia Ors, Instituto Franklin-UAH	rankin-UAH		
Panel B - Elec	toral Systems II: Effects	s of Certain Elections	Panel B - Electoral Systems II: Effects of Certain Elections on Domestic and Foreign Policy (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	Miguel de Cervantes)
	Carney Wallace	Emily Don	University of Central Missouri	Partisan Politics and the Prosecutor: Transatlantic Perspectives
	Hamdan	Amal	King's College London	Destabilization in Lebanon: The Role of the Electoral System
	Spirova	Maria	Leiden University	Electoral Rules and Ethnic Representation: Comparative Trends from Eastern Europe
Chair	Don Wallace, University of Central Missouri	sity of Central Missou	-	
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break - (Colegio de Trinitarios - Cloister)	legio de Trinitarios	- Cloister)	
11:00-12:30		de Trinifarios)		
Panel A - Dent	Panel A - Democratic Issues V: Constrains on Political Participation (Room M	trains on Political Par	ticipation (Room Miguel de Cervantes)	
	Chenault	Scott	University of Central Missouri	A Comparative Examination of Felon Disenfanchisement Laws in the United States and the United Kinodom
	Nex Diego Sánchez	Seorge	Universidad Alfonso X El Sabio	Feminist and Democratic Refoundations of Islam in the 20th and 21st Centuries
	Duszenko	Katia	University of South Dakota	Women of the Periphery: Muslims and Roma in Western Europe
Chair	Rosa Maria Garda-Barroso, Instituto Franklin-UAH	arroso, Instituto Fra	nklin-UAH	
Panel B - Den	pocratic Issues VI: Demi	ocratic Revitalization	Panel B - Democratic Issues VI: Democratic Revitalization and Polarization (Room Jorge Guillén)	
	n n	Musa D.	University of Central Missouri	From Philanthropy to Global Philanthrocapitalism: A Crifical Analysis of the Transmutation of Charitable Giving to Market Based
	O'Reilly	Dedan	University of East Anglia	Making Democracy Safe for Business: Ideology and Pragmatism in the American Breakup of IG Farben 1942-52
	Tanıyo	Şaban	Neomettin Erbakan University	Comparative Analysis of Social Transformation and Political Change in the US and Europe
Chair	Nall Michelsen, Western Carolina University	tern Carolina Univers	, kiy	
12:30-13:30	Plenary Lecture "Toward a New Trans atlantic Space: A Guillén)	oward a New Trans		New Geography and a New Vision for a Changing World" (Colegio de Trinitarios - Room Jorge
Speaker	David García Cantala	ipiedra. Associate Pro	David García Cantalapiedra. Associate Professor of International Relations. Universidad Computense de Madrid	rsidad Complutense de Madrid
Presenter	Cristina Crespo, Instituto Franklin-UAH	tuto Franklin-UAH		
12.20	Charles Organization Mathematics Consult of Tributation	O and Market Market		

#### **ABSTRACTS**

Bennett, Lauren

University of South Dakota lauren.bennett@coyotes.usd.edu

#### The Football Effect: The World Cup and Human Rights

Worker deaths in Qatar, disused stadiums in Brazil, corruption in Russia —all part of the process of hosting the World Cup of international football. Prestige and international attention guarantee that governments will commit all possible resources for the opportunity to host the World Cup. But at what cost? To make rooms for the venues, people were displaced —almost always the poor. Resources that could have been utilized for schools, job training, and other programs were used instead to build stadiums. Workers were exploited, their safety and wellbeing oftentimes compromised. Rather than enriching a country, the World Cup is more often than not, hosted on the backs of the citizens and migrant workers. Political, economic, and social rights are violated. This paper takes a global look at three cases—Russia, Qatar, and Brazil—and the costs that were paid to host the prestigious event. Grounded in the commitments to human that the host countries have made the gap between obligation and practice will be explored. The paper will conclude with suggested remedies.

#### Budd, Darlene M. and Thomas Longoria

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#### Comparing Local Government Responses to Gender Equality Duties in the US and UK

A considerable amount of the attention to promoting human rights and democratic values occurs at the national and transnational level. However, local governments are "closer" to the citizen and have significant impact on empowering minorities and women. This study examines public sector administrator support for addressing gender equity. The issue of "gender mainstreaming" in policymaking has received considerable attention (Daly 2005). The pace of change is slow and, as a result, the UK passed the Gender Equality Duty (GED) law that requires local governments to take gender into account. Hailed as the "biggest change in sex equality legislation in thirty years" (Conley and Page, 2010, p. 325), the law requires public authorities in the UK to actively pursue the elimination of unlawful discrimination based on sex and to promote equality of opportunity between men and women. In this paper, we develop and administer a survey to explore support for GED strategies among city managers in the US and the UK. We ask about support for a range of process and product (policy) innovations (Osborne 1998; Walker 2002). We hypothesize that US city administrators

will be supportive of product innovations, but less supportive of process innovations compared to UK administrators, due to the fact that UK administrators have a national government policy mandate and US city administrators do not. Support for GED policies is examined as a function of individual respondent and community characteristics to better understand the barriers for support and the potential for broader adoption. We hypothesize that community characteristics will be more consistent predictors of support as professional administrators attempt to reflect community values in their policy preferences. The findings shed light on how local government administrators become opinion leaders without crossing the line and becoming "political" as they talk about the importance of taking into account gender.

#### Cárcar Benito, Jesús Esteban Universidad de Murcia jesuse.carcar@gmail.com

#### Digital Inclusion as a Prelude to Political Transparency: The Spanish Area

In this paper an approach is made to the demand for transparency and the right of access to public information, promoting e-participation and the use of new technologies. In particular, it should be noted the development of forecasts of policy of electronic administration (e-government portals in Spain and transparency). The paper identifies citizens in Spain and digital inclusion (use of e-government services). Particularly, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: (1) what factors affect citizens' digital inclusion?; (2) how can the usage and perceptions of digital transparency be described?; and (3) what factors determine a transparency policy in the information society era if an advanced digital society requires that most of its citizens can access to the Internet regularly and they can benefit from the opportunities it provides?. That is, do we need plans submitted to a process of continuous review and adaptation, open to participation and collaboration with other authorities and with the economic and social partners, as well as the actions that they develop? The main results of the research are: (a) There is no transparency without digital engagement tools which enable that certain public initiatives of interest can be discussed and supplemented by citizens' views in order to steer public action towards their demands. (b) Maximum inclusion is required throughout all media for dissemination of transparency.

#### Cazorla Martín, Ángel

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# Viejos y nuevos retos de transparencia en la financiación de las campañas electorales: el caso de los comicios autonómicos y municipales

Uno de los puntos de interés recurrentes, también de polémica, en la articulación de las campañas electorales para los distintos procesos electorales es el de la financiación de las mismas. La tensión entre el sometimiento a derecho de las formaciones políticas, así como la a veces difusa línea que separa la adecuada transparencia referida a las fuentes de financiación, cuantía y destino de los gastos, hace necesario un análisis que describa, y ahonde en dicha problemática. Todo ello en un contexto que podríamos definir de "hipersensibilidad" ciudadana, marcado por los efectos devastadores de la corrupción política y de la crisis económica, que ha desembocado en unos altos requerimientos de la ciudadanía respecto a la gestión y funcionamiento de los partidos políticos, especialmente en lo concerniente a su financiación. A este respecto, y sobre la base de los recientes comicios municipales y autonómicos en España nos proponemos desarrollar un estudio de los cauces de financiación en dichas campañas electorales, trazando, en primer lugar, un análisis evolutivo de las fuentes de financiación y gastos de las campañas electorales a lo largo de la democracia, así como de las distintas vías, ya sean públicas o subvenciones, en los distintos niveles competenciales recogidos por la normativas electoral, ya sea LOFPP, o las propias competencias regionales en lo concerniente a la financiación de las campañas electorales autonómicas. Por último, y a pesar de centrarnos en las subvenciones públicas de financiación, pretendemos realizar un estudio pormenorizado de las vías alternativas de financiación; relacionadas, fundamentalmente, con recursos propios, ahorros, donaciones o créditos bancarios. También nos parece interesante estudiar las alternativas de financiación anticipada llevadas a cabo por los denominados "partidos emeregentes", ya sean microcréditos, crowfounding o bonos reembolsables.

#### Chano Regaña, Lorena

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# El acomodamiento razonable de los Derechos Fundamentales de participación política y de las libertades inherentes al principio democrático

El derecho a la participación política en sentido estricto está recogido en el art. 23.1 de la Constitución Española, pero en sentido lato abarca una esfera de actuación mucho más amplia, ya que el contenido del precepto presenta una vis expansiva sobre otros derechos y libertades. La democracia conlleva la existencia de un espacio

de libertad y de autodeterminación del individuo dentro de la sociedad, que le permite formar libremente su voluntad y participar de los asuntos públicos en condiciones de igualdad. Este espacio de libertad se concreta en el ejercicio de derechos fundamentales que se ponen al servicio de la participación política, trascendiendo de su esfera individual y adquiriendo una dimensión política que los convierte en la base del Estado democrático. Entre estos derechos y libertades, se encuentran: la libertad de conciencia, opinión, expresión, prensa, información y comunicación, y, los derechos de reunión, manifestación, asociación y sindicación. Las normas que desarrollan el contenido material de estos derechos y libertades, así disposiciones del texto constitucional que recogen fundamentales, convergen en ocasiones en un mismo supuesto fáctico ocasionando una colisión entre derechos fundamentales. El objetivo del presente trabajo es establecer si cuando se producen estas colisiones, los derechos fundamentales de participación política y las libertades inherentes al principio democrático presentan un peso superior que el resto de derechos; o, si son susceptibles de un acomodamiento razonable, cediendo ante otros bienes jurídicamente protegidos que no presenten ese sustrato de participación política.

#### Chenault, Scott and George Rex

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# A Comparative Examination of Felon Disenfranchisement Laws in the United States and the United Kingdom

The critical lever of any democracy is the ability for the citizenry to vote for its leaders. However, in the United States disenfranchisement of those convicted of crimes restricts this right for nearly 6 million Americans. Due to racial disparities in the criminal justice system this fact disproportionately impacts African Americans. This paper examines the laws impacting felony disenfranchisement in the United States and the United Kingdom. A comparative examination of the issue in these two countries should provide interesting insights into the impact on democracy of this policy.

#### Diego Sánchez, Jorge

Universidad Alfonso X El Sabio jorgediegosanchez@gmail.com

#### Feminist and Democratic Refoundations of Islam in the 20th and 21st Centuries

This paper studies the pioneering promotion of democracy undertaken by two women in India in the beginning of the 20th century (Partition of Bengal, 1905) and in

Iran in the beginning of the 21st century (revisitation of the Iranian Revoltion in 1979 on the occasion of the Arab Spring). Firstly, I will present the story "Sultana's Dream" (1908), written in English by Indian/Bangladeshi author and activist Rokeya S. Hossain as the paradigm through which analyze how Muslim women can denounce and subvert the causes and consequences that the patriarchal domination has imposed over them. It is in this sense that I will reflect on how Hossain offers a new representation for Muslim women as promoters of democracy through an inclusive and liberal Islam in a key historical moment. Secondly, I will expose how the film "Women without Men" (2009), directed by Iranian artist and activist Shirin Neshat calls for the movement of women who fought against the Irabnian Revolution (1979) to foster an integrative fight for Muslim women so that contemporary Iranian women feel empowered in present social and political life. Thus, it is my aim to bring together and compare these two reforming visions about Islam that promote democratic political and social resolutions not only for women but for Muslim society in general. Thus, the comparative study will prove itself as a bridge that highlights the importance of ambivalent communication among current feminist and Muslim ideals to attain a much more broader and worldwide democracy for all.

**Duszenko, Katia** *University of South Dakota*katia.duszenko@gmail.com

#### Women of the Periphery: Muslims and Roma in Western Europe

Despite the near continent-wide acceptance of the universality of human rights in twenty-first century Europe, there continue to be widespread violations of these rights, particularly concerning women of marginalized minority communities such as Muslims and Roma. Both France and Germany — powerful Western European nations who have acted as vocal espousers of human rights — are failing to protect the rights of their Muslim and Roma women, rights guaranteed under the European human rights regime. These women consistently rank lower in terms of education, employment, health, and social status when compared to the mainstream population of their countries of residence and their male minority counterparts. Their struggles to fit into their country while simultaneously retaining vital aspects of their minority culture or heritage are often exacerbated due to uniquely challenging societal demands placed on women, particularly across cultural divides, which render them increasingly susceptible to a number of human rights violations. That such violations should occur in such a perennial manner despite Europe's uniquely developed regional regime, which is unparalleled in its reach and capability and lacks many of the pragmatic challenges inherent in the application of international human rights, necessitates an appraisal of the regime itself as well as an examination of the conduct of the European countries that comprise it. By surveying the treatment and socio-economic conditions of Muslims and Roma within the borders of two prominent European advocates of human rights, focusing particularly on the circumstances of women, and contrasting this with the standards and principles set forth as fundamental within Europe, a clearer image of the status, the challenges, the deficiencies, and the tentative future of the European human rights regime may emerge.

#### Germán Doldán, Alejandra

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# El procedimiento parlamentario de legalización de las "expulsiones en caliente": un termómetro a la salud de España como Estado Democrático y de Derecho

El Congreso español aprobó el 30 de marzo la Ley Orgánica 4/2015 de Protección de la Seguridad Ciudadana con 181 votos a favor y 140 en contra y, con ello, un Régimen jurídico especial para Ceuta y Melilla. La particularidad dada a estas ciudades se produjo a través de la incorporación de la disposición adicional décima a la Ley Orgánica 4/2000 sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración, la cual posibilita el «rechazo» de quienes sean detectados en la línea fronteriza de la demarcación territorial de estos enclaves mientras intentan salvar los elementos de contención fronterizos para cruzar irregularmente la frontera. El procedimiento parlamentario que dio lugar a la aprobación de esta norma salió adelante gracias a la mayoría absoluta con la que cuenta el actual partido de gobierno y fue realizada a través de una enmienda que no contó con los informes de los órganos consultivos que habrían sido imprescindibles en el caso de que la modificación hubiera estado en la redacción del Proyecto de Ley. Ello, a pesar de las fuertes contestaciones que sufrió tanto por parte del conjunto de los partidos políticos como por los movimientos sociales e instituciones regionales e internacionales.

La presente comunicación se centrará en reflexionar sobre la salud de nuestro sistema democrático y de derecho a través de la actuación legislativa que ha aprobado una norma que, desde su nacimiento, ha sido acusada de infringir la normativa internacional de derechos humanos y de protección internacional de la que España forma parte, así como los derechos fundamentales previstos en la Constitución Española para las personas extranjeras. Y en consecuencia, esbozar una serie de reflexiones sobre como un gobierno puede convertir lo ilegal en legal, gracias a la mayoría parlamentaria.

#### Ghozzi, Kamel

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#### **Secularized Societies and Transatlantic Muslim Religiosity**

As they explain the rise of "defensive religiosity" among third generation Muslims in transatlantic societies, sociologists often use various versions of a classical durkheimian approach to resurgence of religious consciousness as collective indictment directed at real or perceived processes of socio-economic marginalization and cultural estrangement.

In my view, if such an approach could be helpful in explaining the rise of religious consciousness among the Muslims of the European side of the transatlantic world, who have known so little social mobility over generations and remained largely stuck in the poor European working class, its explanatory power becomes questionable in the American side. Here, upward mobility among second and third generation Muslims has led to the rise of a relatively solid Muslim American middle class and high levels of religiosity among its members as well.

This paper goes beyond durkheimian approaches by highlighting the power of comparatively different "secularized locales" in shaping levels and forms of religiosity among Muslim minorities in both sides of the transatlantic world. In European secularized societies dominates a view of religion as a strictly "private sphere", as well as a view of Muslim immigrants as the illegitimate children of colonial history. Both views make the idea of the "incompatibility of cultures" more acceptable and offer European Muslims less opportunities for upward mobility. In America, the "immigrant identity" of the American society and its unique secularization as separation of "church and state", and not of "religion and society" make it less exclusive to Muslim immigrants, and makes Muslim religiosity in America more moderate.

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#### **Globalization of Peace and Democratic Constraints**

The conversion of peace into a legal category of human right has received definite outlines during nearly the two last decades, preceded by a strengthening of a worldwide culture of peace. After an official codification process undertaken since 2010 by the UN Human Rights Council, this legal transformation will presumably culminate with the approval in 2015 or in 2016 of the Universal Declaration on the Human Right to Peace by the UN General Assembly. Such a juridification of peace

reflects some strengths and ambivalences of the globalization processes from which it results. In my talk I will focus on the globalization's impact on the very status of the human right to peace and on some of its political implications. Moreover, I will claim that the enduring and complex controversies (both in the academia and within the UN Human Right Council) around such issues of the proper status and the political implications are due above all to the democratic constraints, and that these explain why powerful states like USA and regional actors like the European Union oppose or are reluctant to recognize a robust implementation of the human right to peace and other solidarity rights.

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#### Destabilisation in Lebanon: The Role of the Electoral System

The role of the electoral system has been widely overlooked within the vast research examining the reasons for political instability and periodic violence in Lebanon. This paper demonstrates that the implementation of an electoral system and related laws that facilitate disproportionate parliament representation are a key underlying cause of instability and conflict. The case of the 1958 conflict provides evidence to support this argument. The 1958 civil war has been long attributed to then President Camille Chamoun's adoption of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Under the Eisenhower Doctrine, any Middle Eastern country could request US military intervention if it claimed it was threatened by Communism. Drawing on empirical evidence, however, this paper argues that Chamoun's 1952 electoral law planted the roots for violence. The 1952 law marks the most historic reform to the electoral system in Lebanon to date, for it amended two out of the three key components: the electoral formula and district magnitude. It also overhauled electoral districts that required the redrawing of boundary lines. Thus, Chamoun introduced the plurality formula, single and dual member constituencies, and new electoral districts. The interaction of these three variables led to the exclusion of voters from equal participation and fair representation. Districts were gerrymandered to exclude Chamoun's political opponents from political representation. The political consequence of this was Chamoun's allies received a disproportionate share of seats to their votes received. Disproportionate representation was further magnified by the plurality formula and district magnitudes of one and two. In 1957 Chamoun again used the electoral system as a weapon to exclude political opponents. This time, however, redistricting was aimed at excluding political representatives opposed to Chamoun's foreign policy. The 1957 elections excluded significant political representatives who were at the forefront of conflict the following year.

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# From Philanthropy to Global Philanthrocapitalism: A Critical Analysis of the Transmutation of Charitable Giving to Market Based

Philanthropic organizations have permeated the landscape of modern societies. These organizations founded by wealthy, powerful elites, and individuals have tried to solve pressing societal problems that the modern system of economic, political, and cultural institutions created. Traditional charity organizations and new charity organizations are going through a fundamental social change that I think will affect how the externalities of the market system are addressed. In this paper I want to bring a version of the sociological imagination to bear on what I regard as a significant development in the field of philanthropy. This paper critically discusses the transmutation of traditional philanthropy charity giving to philanthrocapitalism model that now dominate the landscape of charity giving. The first part of the paper provides an in-depth socio-historical analysis of the development of traditional philanthropic organizations and foundations, core agendas, and their impact on societies. The second part of the paper discusses the new wave of philanthropists; philanthrocapitalists, their organizing principles and ideology. It is argued that this form of philanthropy is informed by the neo-liberal capitalist free market thinking that emphasizes that private entrepreneurs are better at delivering socially needed services. The third part of the paper questions both the traditional philanthropy and new philanthrocapitalism as models of charity giving. Jürgen Habermas's conception of the colonization of the lifeworld, his discursive theory of democracy is used to argue that philanthrocapitalism should be rejected and in its place institutions within civil society should be developed that will encourage democratic empowerment and equality.

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#### El poder del voto hispano en el sistema electoral estadounidense

En las pasadas elecciones legislativas de noviembre de 2014, la población hispana volvió a jugar un papel clave en la configuración del paisaje político del país. Los diferentes candidatos hispanos han demostrado que se puede perseguir y lograr escaños en ambas cámaras del Congreso estadounidense con un éxito más que razonable. Aunque los hispanos siguen estando mal representados tanto como votantes como candidatos electos, los políticos estadounidenses están prestando cada vez mayor atención a su potencial a la hora de influir en las elecciones

presidenciales. Los hispanos suelen preferir tradicionalmente al Partido Demócrata y comparten las mismas prioridades que la mayoría de los ciudadanos: un puesto de trabajo, una educación pública de calidad y atención sanitaria. Por lo tanto, el principal objetivo de este artículo será el de proceder al análisis de la influencia y el poder del voto hispano en las elecciones legislativas estadounidenses y en el propio sistema electoral del país. No sólo nos limitaremos a establecer su relevancia histórica en el país, sino que nos adentraremos en la relevancia que en la actualidad tiene este grupo de legisladores hispanos a la hora de confeccionar la actual política estadounidense.

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#### **Democracy in the Context of Soft Globalization**

Traditionally democratic politics is interpreted as a system of norms based on the principles of equality, freedom and non-violence, providing dynamics of political process, which creates constant and stable reproduction, conservation and affirmation represented in the democratic laws social values, conditions, mechanisms of political regulation. However even within the boundaries of the democratic paradigm of the politics, which exemplifies the principle of liberty in political practice, we can find some repressive mechanisms of political regulation. Democratic society's decision-making process not always will be able to eliminate conflicts of belief and value among its population, because agreement in society cannot be achieved by violence. I argue that development of contemporary transatlantic politics requires not to refuse Western democracy, but its softening by non-repressive mechanism of political and social regulation -soft globalization, namely globalization, which is represented in spiritual form. Now globalization occurs in strict, material, mainly economical form, which has as advantages, for example, wide spread of advanced forms of western social being over the world; so and disadvantages, because aggressive potential of globalization meets negative response by several nations, ethnic and cultural minorities, religious confessions in forms of religious extremism and terrorism. In conditions of contemporary globalizing world, the democracy must be oriented to gradual leveling of all globalized communities on the base of quintessence of spirituality formation/which leads to elimination of V the opposition between a liberal society's life and a fundamentalist society's life. Fundamentalist societies are burdened with religious extremism as manifestation of the basic needs of human existence, which are concentrated in the principle of survival as natural principle of self-preservation of human beings. Elimination of the opposition between liberal and fundamentalist societies can be achieved on the basis

of a new type of spirituality formation, which excel the problem of human survival. Within the boundaries of the new type of spirituality a new democratic politics providing dialogue of religious confessions and consensus can be formed. In this case, a society's decision-making process and the content of its law takes into account conflicts of belief and value among its population because a new person not burdened with a destructive religious extremism appears. So that in reality could appear democratic politics as a form of liberty (in Kantian's sense), as combination of conditions in which tyranny of one person can be agreed with tyranny of another person according to principle of liberty shared by both persons.

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# A Case for Proportional Representation and Voting in the United States and United Kingdom

The problem with a winner takes all or first past the post electoral system is that, in most cases, between one third and one half of the population is misrepresented. This paper examines the data from the United States' 2000 Bush vs Gore Presidential election, 2014 congressional elections, and the 2015 United Kingdom general election, as well as the mechanics of proportional representation, to illustrate the short comings of the electoral college and the first past the post system, and how proportional representation would better reflect the popular vote. For the election of the US President, swing states distribute a large number of electoral votes according to a simple majority; in multiple elections, this system has produced an electoral win which did not match the popular vote. In Bush v Gore, for instance, if each state's electoral votes were distributed proportionally, the election would have had a different result. As far as Congress is concerned, rather than divide each state into potentially gerrymandered districts in which the winner of a simple majority represents the area, which, in 2014, failed to represent approximately 45% of the electorate, each state could split its representatives proportionally according to the popular vote. The same method can be applied to the Parliament in the United Kingdom. Each nation's MPs would be distributed according to their percentage of the popular vote. In the May 2015 election, the popular vote percentages for the UK as a whole illustrate the failure of first past the post seat allocation to reflect the will of the people. This analysis clearly illustrates that the US and UK legislatures, as well as the Electoral College, would better represent the people if each state or nation's seats in the legislature, and each state's electoral votes, were allocated proportionally to the popular vote.

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#### **Democracy in Non-Democratic International Institutions**

While domestic democracy is firmly rooted in the transatlantic region, it is not yet well rooted in the institutions of global governance. Moreover, it may be impossible for those global institutions to become democracies in the traditional sense. However, an expanded understanding of democracy as a system of governance in which decisions and decision-makers are transparent and accountable to some degree, might illuminate some new paths to greater global democracy. This paper will focus on the G8 system which encompasses the G7/G8 and G20 institutions. Transatlantic actors are prominent members in these and have been since their inceptions. The paper will attempt to develop a working definition of democracy appropriate to these particular institutions and perhaps to other global governance institutions. Then the paper will measure the level of this type of democracy in comparison to other global institutions. Finally the paper will conclude with an overall evaluation of the current status of democracy within the G8 system and suggest further steps that might increase the level of democracy within the broader global governance system.

At first glance, the G8 system contains both promising and unpromising features. On the promising side, some of the world's foremost democracies are members. All the members of the G8 are also members of the G20 but the additional members comprise both democratic and non-democratic members. On the unpromising side, all of these bodies are self-appointed, and lack any type of mandate or constitution that sets goals or limits. Among the measures that will be taken are: One is the degree to which other formal and informal arrangements are made to insure that alternative voices are heard, and that the decisions taken are well-communicated and explained. Another is the number of years since the leaders were last elected/selected.

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#### A Cure for (some of) Democracy's Ills

Most fears about the future of democracy are derived from across the board declining voting participation rates. Legitimacy of democratic governments seems to be at stake since non-voters are seen as "voting" against the democratic political system.

Many explanations focus on the decline of voting among young voters with some of

them connection it to the advent of new forms of information delivery. Democracies also exhibit gaps in voting rates between citizens high on the SES scale and those on the low end (oftentimes coupled with ethnic or racial disparities). This paper offers a path to rejuvenate voting by inspiring young people to vote, and in the process of doing this it offers a solution to the SES gap. The solution is simple, even if counter-intuitive. Reduce the voting age to 16 (18 is typical). This paper argues that 18 is the wrong time to initiate voters into the electoral process, and that 16 is much more opportune. It will address the common criticisms that this suggestion will trigger, and show their logical fallacies. It will sketch out the ways in which this proposal if adopted will alleviate some of contemporary democracy's dysfunctions. It will draw lessons from the few examples of under-18 voting including the recent referendum on Scottish independence. It will show how some efforts to promote civic engagement in US colleges inadvertently exacerbate the problem of SES disparities even if they are successful in increasing political participation among college students and graduates.

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### Representación proporcional vs representación mayoritaria: estabilidad política y consolidación democrática

Los modelos comparados de representación giran en torno a las consecuencias políticas derivadas ellos. En este comunicación se pretende abordar la estabilidad y cambio de las democracias contemporáneas atendiendo fundamentalmente a los procesos iniciales de su instauración. Siguiendo las conocidas olas de democratización de HUNTINGTON se apreciarían cuatro modelos históricos de democracias en sus distintas fases. Se trataría de ver en cada una de ellas, incluidas las últimas relacionadas con las primaveras árabes, que modelos re presentación han obtenido mayores cuotas de estabilidad en los procesos de transición y estabilización de las democracias.

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# An Autonomous Community or an Independent State? Changing Catalonia's Definition over the Last 20 Years

On September 11, 2012, 1.5 million Catalans demanded the creation of a "New European State". Since then, the Catalan Government has been leading a process whose main goal is to hold a referendum on self-determination. But, when did the

independence of Catalonia become a main issue in the agenda of political parties? This is the question we want to answer in this research. Our main goal is to analyze how the discourse about Catalonia and its role as an 'emancipatory nationalism movement' (Guibernau 2013) has evolved in the last twenty years. For that, we focus on three different political organizations, which have a right, a centrist and a left wing ideology and that have taken different positions through this period of time. These are: the Popular Party of Catalonia, Convergence and Union and the Republican Left of Catalonia. So, the aim of the present study is not only to see how the situation of what Catalonia has changed during these years, but also how it has been redefined in each party. It is in during periods of electoral campaigns when political parties have the opportunity to shape the image they have of certain issues and political advertisements are the most used devices to do that (Johnston and Kaid 2002). This is why our sample is based on all political ads from the political organizations mentioned above between the 1992 election and the 2012 election. The methodology used to analyze what has been said about Catalonia is Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004). Through the detection of the different conceptual domains used to shape the way political parties understand Catalonia we are able to identify the main meanings they have associated to this country. Among the main results, Convergence and Union's definition of Catalonia, which varies from an Autonomous Community to an Independent state, must be highlighted.

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# Making Democracy Safe for Business: Ideology and Pragmatism in the American Breakup of IG Farben 1942-52

When America entered WW2 it developed an analysis of bad capitalism remarkably close to Marxist ideas. The ant-trust 'New Dealers' of President Roosevelt's administration believed that cartels and monopoly industry was anti competition and dangerous to democracy. These had to be broken up and more democratic business units created. The chief target in America's sights was the German chemical colossus IG Farben. For the Americans the German entity was an industrial foot-slogger, a co-conspirator in Hitler's aggressive design, without which the Nazis could never have been able to make war. From the outset of war the United States treasury officials were determined to break IG Farben up. This attitude was best exemplified by the 1944 Morgenthau Plan to de-industrialize Germany and new urgency to American plans was adduced by the post-war discovery of Farben's involvement in spoliation, plunder and mass murder. IG Farben's senior executives were to be prosecuted for war crimes and the company dissolved. However, with the death of President Roosevelt and changes in the top of the democratic administration many

anti-trust Treasury officials transferred to Germany hoping to boost the fires of anti-monopoly in the defeated Reich, because they were unable to do so in Washington DC. Despite strenuous efforts the break-up of IG Farben did not produce a democratic chemical industry, rather it left intact the old economic elite who were able to kickstart the Wirstchafts-wunder (economic miracle) of the 1950s.

This paper examines whether real democratization of the German chemical industry was possible or whether in fact what actually happened was inevitable given America's attitude to capitalism and the onset of the Cold War.

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# Big Brother is Watching: A Comparative Study of International Electronic Surveillance Laws and their Impact on Freedom of Speech

On May 5, 2015 French lawmakers approved a new law granting the nation sweeping powers to spy on its citizens in the wake of terror attacks that occurred in the country earlier this year. The new law allows spy agencies in France the power to sort through digital and mobile communications of anyone linked to "terrorist" activity. On May 6, 2015 the Canadian House of Commons approved the Anti-Terror Act which is expected to pass the Canadian Senate at the end of May. This law, which also comes in the wake of terror attacks that occurred in Ottawa last year, would give Canadian spy agencies the power to prosecute those who promote terrorism on the internet. This paper gives a transatlantic comparison and analysis of the two laws, including the details surrounding their creation. The paper also looks at the internet spying laws of other European countries and also analyzes the American Patriot Act. The goal of this paper is to understand the reason these laws are created and whether the laws pose a threat to freedom of speech and political discourse in the nations where they are enacted. The paper also looks at the legality of the laws in the European countries by analyzing the language of various case studies concerning internet and electronic surveillance in those nations. Finally the paper analyzes the legality of the laws in relation to the language of the European Convention on Human Rights and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union concerning internet and electronic privacy of citizens of signatory nations.

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## The Potential and Challenges of Triangular Cooperation: A Horizontal Partnership for Transnational Democratic Consolidation in Latin America

The objective of my research is to evaluate the effects of triangular cooperation as a tool to improve development and reinforce democratic values among the different actors involved in this new form of partnership. The study will include a comparative analysis of traditional structures and new models of cooperation as well as the evolution and impact in the near future.

Development cooperation has undergone drastic changes in the last decade. The era of bilateral cooperation is fading away, as countries of the "South" (former developing countries) are working together to address their development challenges. These countries are aware that the traditional financial contributions from the "North" (industrialized countries) ant their technical assistance are not enough to achieve the development goals, and therefore new forms of cooperation are needed to guarantee the achievement of these objectives. The expanding Middle Income Countries (MICs) are joining Low Income Countries (LICs) in a new model of horizontal partnership to deal with poverty, education, health, climate change and democratic consolidation.

The horizontal partnership has become an alternative way to do development cooperation but without forgetting the other two key pillars, which are financial and technical assistance provided by traditional donors. Even though it has proven to be an excellent tool, it is not a substitute for traditional aid structures. It has helped to fulfill the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) quicker and has allowed a higher level of engagement of the countries involved. The increase of horizontal partnership projects in recent years is confirming the existing potential of this "new way of doing things".

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# Towards an Area of Democratic Governance: the Impact of the EU's Foreign Policy on the Neighboring Countries

The main aim of the paper is a theoretical and empirical analysis of the impact of the European Union on the democratization process in neighboring countries. It is assumed that the European Union in its foreign policy has a strategic interest in stabilizing turbulent neighboring countries through the export of democratic values in order to ensure its own security. It is argued, however, that the ability to influence

the outside world by the European Union is limited. The effectiveness of political conditionality as used by the EU is mainly connected with perceived benefits by a third country in return for an acceptance of democratic norms and values. The membership as the most effective incentive cannot be, however, offered to the North African countries at all or is a distant perspective in case of some East European countries.

The following individual problems will be addressed in the paper:

- An analysis of the EU as a civilian power (promoting stability through economic and trade development, democracy, good governance and the rule of law) or a normative power (creating a more peaceful world by a diffuse of norms, such as democracy, rule of law and human rights constituting the EU normative basis). Other concepts and theories of the EU as an international actor will be discussed.
- Conceptualizations of democracy promotion: an analysis of different forms and typologies of democracy promotion, instruments used by the EU and other actors (especially the United States). Adequacy of different theories of international relations and those having sociological inspirations (inter alia neo-realism, neoliberal institutionalism, social constructivism and the democratic peace concept) will be addressed.
- The problem of efficiency of the EU democracy promotion in the neighborhood will be especially discussed: an issue of political conditionality in a comparative perspective, vis-à-vis North African and East European countries will be addressed.
- The transatlantic discourse on democracy promotion (different strategies of the European Union and the United States) will be analyzed.

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#### **Specific of Political Regime Democratization in Post-Soviet Russia**

Russia's democratic transit represents some specific pattern which discloses some additional aspects of the phenomenon of democracy. The formation of any democratic regime is a complex process characterized by some specificity of its realization in different social systems. Correlation between the processes of democratization and the peculiarities of functioning of the political élite is one of the aspects of any democratic transit. The degree of correlation determines the specificity of formation of democratic regimes and has a direct effect upon the progress and course of subsequent reforms.

In our study, we have carried out an analysis of the political élite (1991 to 2010) in the

conditions of democratization of post-Soviet Russia. As the conceptual basis of the analysis use was made of the systems approach. As a result of the present research it was established that, irrespective of the specifics of transformation of the social structure, the political élite system in Russia in its evolution undergoes three stages, namely, fragmentation, institutionalization, and consolidation. Each of the stages possesses a certain reformist potential, besides it also forms some strategic aims of the ruling élite. Transition from one stage to another is characterized by some changes in the structural frameworks and filters both for incorporation and excorporation, structural modification of the system, as well as transformation of the principles of interaction with the environment. On the whole, we came to a conclusion that no democratization of the political regime in post-Soviet Russia plays any significant role in the political élite system. Rather we can talk of a retroactive action of the political élite upon the rates and course of democratic transformations. The tempo and the extent of democratization is largely determined by the structures of the political elite. The system of the post-Soviet Russia's political elite is the main factor of democratization.

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#### **Towards a New Model of Politics: Sustainable Democracy**

The democratic peace theory - for some authors only thesis - establishes that liberal democracies do not make war. On the one hand, some IR authors like Michael Doyle, John Owen or Ido Oren claim that this axiom is only applicable to democracies when interacting with other democratic regimes. In fact, some authors, such as Kenneth N. Waltz, argue that while it is true that democracies do not make war against other democracies, these regimes are more aggressive when comes to spread democracy. In recent history we find significant cases--Iraq, Afghanistan or Libya--in which the promotion of democracy has led to violence and instability. On the other hand, other authors - essentially Rudolf Rummels - consider that democracies do not make war either against other democracies or against non-democratic regimes.

This paper will be divided into three different parts. The first part will try to establish minimum points that any democracy must meet. Secondly, we will face a brief analysis of the democratic peace theory and its critics. Then, we will analyze what "sustainability" is and how can it serve to our ideal model of political system. Finally, we will try to combine "democracy" and "sustainability" to build the concept that we are looking for: a model for sustainable development.

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#### The Question of Democratization

Democracy and democratization are recurrent concepts in political science research due to their importance and repercussions. The very definition of democracy continues to be the subject of a number of interesting studies that have tried to establish the characteristics required to define a regime as democratic.

On the other hand, the concept of democratization has been applied to very different situations. However, although the term appears repeatedly in the analysis of third wave regime changes (Huntington, 1991), it is not as commonly found in case studies that analyze consolidated democracies. The term has been mainly applied to transition processes from authoritarian to democratic regimes. But how can we measure democratization processes when observed in hybrid regimes? And furthermore, can we apply this term to processes experienced within consolidated democracies?

The question of democratization presents a challenge insofar as how to define and measure the process. These two issues are the focus of this presentation, which is intended to generate both debate and proposals.

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#### **Democracy and Liberalism in a Post-Secular Age**

In the twilight of the Cold War, the American political philosopher Francis Fukuyama spoke of "the triumph of the West, of the Western idea..." reflected in the "...universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." Today in the second decade of the twenty-first century this triumphalism appears premature. While there has been something of a democratic revolution in that the mechanisms of electoral democracy are today more widespread than ever before, popular democracy has not necessarily translated into an acceptance of Western liberalism. Liberalism is a specific political philosophy emanating from the Enlightenment consisting of an emphasis on individual rights and liberties and the separation of religious and political authority. The global backlash against secular liberalism may be seen by investigating developments in three regions – the Islamic world, Russia, and India. In the Middle East - largely in consequence of the Arab Spring - democratic elections have gone hand in hand with a popular Islamic religious resurgence empowering for example the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (until

a decidedly un-democratic military coup). In Russia, the popularly elected leader Vladimir Putin has presided over an illiberal regime while promoting a resurgence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Meanwhile Russian intellectuals like Aleksandr Dugin promote the traditionalist ideology of Eurasianism as an explicit alternative to Western liberalism. In India, elections have empowered the BJP - a Hindu nationalist party. The evident failure of liberalism to adequately address the religious question in its specifically political dimension points to a fundamental weakness – the tendency of the West to posit its own peculiar historical development as universal and normative (Huntington, Nasr.) Understanding the global religious resurgence will be crucial to the West in navigating the challenges of the 21st century.

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#### Constitutional Transitions: Case Studies from the Middle East and the Arab Spring

Since the late 1980s, numerous countries have transitioned from authoritarian regimes to democracies. Part of that transition requires the drafting and ratification of a new constitution. Conventional wisdom contends that new constitutions will ensure that democracy will take root and succeed. This paper applies those notions to the Middle East, namely Tunisia and Egypt. Their efforts to create a new type of system, based on a new constitution, were the result of the Arab Spring, but have roots in the wave of democratization that occurred in Eastern Europe and Latin America in the 1990s. This paper examines two important questions as they apply to the constitutional transitions in the Mideast. Do the new constitutions embrace and protect democratic values? Do the documents reflect real changes from their predecessors? The answers are mixed. Before answering those questions in detail, however, the purpose of constitutions, and especially their preambles, is explored. Additionally, the particular historical and political context of each of the countries is examined in order to explain why the new constitution was viewed as necessary.

This paper is one of three proposed papers on the process of constitutional transition covering the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. Each paper represents a comparison of region-based case studies. The regional approach is broadened in the panel by engaging in comparisons of the regions.

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#### Electoral Rules and Ethnic Representation: Comparative Trends from Eastern Europe

The political integration of ethnic minorities is one of the most challenging tasks facing the countries of post-communist Europe. The roads to political representation in the mainstream political process are numerous and diverse. This paper focuses on one form of political representation of ethnic minorities – ethnic political parties and analyses the way in which the electoral arrangements in the region have encouraged or discouraged ethnic parties. It uses the experience of Bulgaria and Romania to examine in detail the relationship between electoral arrangements and success of ethnic parties, and the impact of the presence of ethnic parties on trends of political participation of minorities. The results of the analysis support the paper's argument that electoral arrangements are important but no key to achieving meaningful political representation. Electoral arrangements thus seem to matter, but to mostly do so in situations where other factors of political mobilization seem to make representation uncertain. The effect of electoral arrangements on the success of ethnic parties is clearly mitigated by the size and dynamics of the minority they represent. However, there seems to be some link between the presence of ethnic parties in the political system and the level of political participation of the ethnic minority.

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# Political Communication during the European Crisis. Identity Discourse in Visual Representations of Greeks

American cartoonist C. D. Batchelor believed that "a political cartoonist should have in him a little of the clown, the poet, the historian, the artist and the dreamer", but there is no standard formula for this combination. The study presents general aspects of political communication and political marketing during the European economic crisis, with an emphasis on specific political situation in Greece. The paper identifies the elements that contributed to the development of ethnic stereotypes in political cartoons of selected European newspapers and magazines. What kind of nationalism is reconstructed in political cartoons? Is this a kind of patriotism or national breed feelings of superiority by using ethnic stereotypes? Does cartoon contribute to exaggeration? Our goal is to prove that political cartoons of selected media perpetuate stereotypes on Greeks represented by figures and / or political figures

depicted through textual and visual messages. The methodology for this study is the qualitative analysis and the discourse iconographic examination of selected editorial cartoons.

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#### Political Mythology and the Paradoxes of American Democracy

In my presentation I would like to discuss the role that political myths play in reducing the tensions between the inconsistencies of democracy, or as a psychologist would have it -the role of mythical thinking in the reduction of cognitive dissonance among Americans: both the elites and ordinary citizens. Discrepancy in the perception of reality and expected performance of a political system is often taken as a fact of life, however, the responses to it vary across different systems. Some tackle it by denying the very existence of such a discrepancy, though more often we see practical solutions in the form of redefining the expectations or advocating the reform of political practices. In the American case we encounter yet another strategy of dealing with paradoxes of incompatible expectations —using political mythology to reduce the tensions resulting from such discomfort. The consequences of adopting such mental strategies is the delegitimization of non-evolutionary mode of change and a strong tendency towards status quo. My perspective is primarily functional so after discussing the theories of political mythology from interdisciplinary perspectives I would like to present its multiple uses in contemporary American politics. Then I wish to offer a brief presentation of some 30 political myths followed by the analysis of their consequences for the stability of the system.

#### Tanıyıcı, Şaban

Necmettin Erbakan University staniyici@konya.edu.tr

# Comparative Analysis of Social Transformation and Political Change in the US and Europe

The US and European societies have been undergoing significant social transformations. Economic, demographic and cultural changes bring about new dimensions of political conflict in these countries. One of these dimensions is nationalist-globalist axis. This paper will examine the causes, characteristics and effects of this new dimension of political conflict in Western countries.

In the US, early signs of this conflict was expressed in Samuel Huntington's 'Who are we' warning for the erosion of American national identity. The election of Barack

Obama as president has mobilized new groups such as the Tea Party that attempted to transform the Republican Party from within. Some observers now call increasing ideological polarization of American politics as 'tribal politics'. This new dimension of political conflict will not subside and continue to grow through 2016 presidential elections in which minorities such as Hispanics will certainly play an important role. In European countries, new dimension of political conflict mobilizes societal groups in new social movements such as PEGIDA in Germany and increases support for new political parties such as UKIP in the UK. In some countries such as France center parties are obligated to move to the right because of powerful rivals such as radical right National Front. New dimension of political conflict will not go away in the near future and will significantly change the politics of Western countries. Politics in these countries will be less stable. This paper will examine the causes, characteristics and effects of this new nationalist-globalist dimension of political conflict in western countries.

# Trujillo Cerezo, José Manuel and Sergio Pérez Castaños Universidad de Granada; Universidad del País Vasco jmtrujillo@ugr.es

# Las Diputaciones provinciales en España: rendimientos de un sistema electoral indirecto

Tras prácticamente cuatro décadas de elecciones locales en España, el sistema de elección de los representantes políticos que componen el Gobierno de las Diputaciones Provinciales no ha experimentado ninguna reforma, más allá de algunas propuestas de eliminación de dichas instituciones de Gobierno local. Esta ponencia pretende realizar un análisis de cuál es el rendimiento que ofrece dicho sistema y en qué medida se puede hablar de un comportamiento estratégico de los partidos políticos para obtener los Gobiernos de dichas instituciones, atendiendo a los resultados de las elecciones locales de mayo de 2015.

#### Wallace, Don and Emily Carney University of Central Missouri wallace@ucmo.edu

#### Partisan Politics and the Prosecutor: Transatlantic Perspectives

Across the transatlantic world, the notion of an elected prosecutor would not be even contemplated. But, in the United States, it is the norm for most states and localities. The majority of state and local prosecutors are elected. Thus, electoral politics plays an important role in the life of a prosecutor in the US. To some degree this phenomenon holds true for federal prosecutors who are appointed by elected prosecutors.

In contrast to civil legal traditions seen in many parts of the transatlantic world, prosecutors in common-law systems exercise a great amount of discretion in the criminal justice system. Prosecutors under common-law tradition exercise a significant amount of discretion in a decentralized criminal justice system. There are only weak institutional controls on prosecutors, especially for those laboring under the dominant form of accountability in the US where prosecutors wanting to continue in office must be reelected by the voters. Additionally there are partisan elections in many jurisdictions in the US. As such many prosecutors are political actors who are more attentive to their own interests than those of the institutions they serve.

In the US, the dominant form of accountability is for prosecutors to face voters in an election. Recent empirical observations indicate that election concerns have the potential for impacting the actions and decisions of prosecutors. Specifically, studies show that prosecutors, when running for reelection, take more cases to trial and reject more plea bargain offers. Thus, the popular election of prosecutors' results can lead to a variety of injustices such as wrongful convictions, erroneous sentences, and, as a result, successful appeals.

Wambuii, Henry K.

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#### Devolved Governance, Devolved Gridlock? Politics of Democratization in Kenya

In August 2010, the Kenyan government, under pupilage from developed western democracies, especially the members of the European Union and the United States of America, adopted a new referendum driven Constitution ushering in the key concept of devolution as a means of conducting politics in the country. Devolution has been defined as "the transfer of power from a central government to sub national (e.g., state, regional, or local) authorities." Going forward, political and economic power was to be shared between the central government and a total of 47 newly-created counties. Clearly, this new arrangement portends a myriad of challenges with significant implications for consolidation of democracy in a developing country dealing with an increasing double burden of poverty and ethnic fragmentation. This research driven paper will seek to explore the mechanism of governance and the resulting outcome in terms of consolidation of Kenya's young democracy under the new devolution arrangement. The paper will also analyze the strategies and challenges faced in the emergent governance environment. At the heart of this inquiry is the key question of how the emergent governance model has impacted Kenya's commitment to democratization.

#### PLENARY SPEAKERS

#### Radivoje Grujić

**Election Advisor OSCE/ODIHR** 



Radivoje is citizen of Serbia. Since late 1990's he has been engaged in various types of election-related activities and civil society development – citizen observer groups in Serbia and as part of many international election observation missions throughout the OSCE region. He also worked in election assistance programs for different agencies such as the Council of Europe, IFES, NDI and as an independent consultant, in Moldova, Georgia, Jordan, Serbia and other countries.

His work included advocacy on many public policy issues and think-tank development in his home country. Prior to joining OSCE/ODIHR in May

2013 as an Election Adviser, Radivoje served as Country Representative of IFES in Serbia. He has a university degree in Law.

Lecture: "Review of the 2012 Presidential Elections in the US"

WHEN: Thursday, October 22, 13:15h

WHERE: Room 3M, Colegio de San Ildefonso

#### David García Cantalapiedra

Associate Professor of International Relations. Universidad Complutense de Madrid



Phd. in Political Sciences and Sociology by the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Phd. Special Award. National Defence Award.

Principal Researcher of Real Instituto Elcano of International and Strategic Studies, Research Fellow at Instituto Franklin-UAH, and Principal Researcher at UNISCI.

He was also a member of the independent advisor group to review NATO's strategy for Afganistán, and was also part of different working groups of CESEDEN.

He has published more than 70 books and articles in national and international journals such as Routledge, Palgrave, Cambridge Scholar Publishers, Ariel o Plaza y Valdés about Spain's Foreign Policy, United States' Foreign Policy, Transatlantic Relations, Hispanic-North American Relations, and about theoretical concepts related to International Relations.

Lecture: "Toward a New Transatlantic Space: A New Geography and a New Vision for a Changing World"

WHEN: Friday, October 23, 12:30h

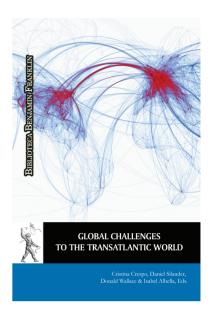
WHERE: Room Jorge Guillén, Colegio de Trinitarios

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

**Book Presentation: "Global Challenges to the Transatlantic World"** 

#### **Synopsis:**

Transatlantic Studies refer to a recent academic discipline foremost studying the economic, cultural, political, legal, and social linkages between Europe and the U.S. However, the main focus of Transatlantic Studies has shifted somewhat over time. While Transatlantic Studies in a narrow perspective have referred to Anglo-American relations, or at most transatlantic relations including the European Union (EU) and Canada, contemporary Transatlantic Studies have come to put greater attention to a broader geographical scope, including Latin America and Africa. This is foremost due to the political and economic growing importance of many states in Latin America and Africa in international politics and economics. These geographical spaces all border on the Atlantic Ocean and it is the nature and dynamics of these relations over time that are of



crucial interest in Transatlantic Studies. There has been a growing notion that in order to understand the common, the national, there is great need to explore the uncommon, the transnational. The growing interest in Transatlantic Studies finds its roots in area studies, but has been reinforced and redeveloped by the notion of globalization. This book addresses the challenges to the transatlantic world, reflecting upon the contemporary situation of transatlantic relations at the early 21st century.

Presenter: Cristina Crespo, Instituto Franklin-UAH

WHEN: Thursday, October 22, 12:45h

WHERE: Room 3M, Colegio de San Ildefonso

#### Workshop "Transatlantic Studies: Going Beyond the Classroom"



The aim of this workshop is to explore the evolution of transatlantic studies abroad. To do so, the focus of the lecture will be on professors career development, and curricular design. Attendees will be encourage to actively participate and share their insights on the issue.

#### Speaker:

Dr. Marta Walliser (Instituto Franklin-UAH).

WHEN: Thursday, October 22, 15:30h

WHERE: Room 3M, Colegio de San Ildefonso

# SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS

### **Welcome Cocktail**



On the first day of the Conference a Cocktail will be held to welcome every attendee and participant to the Conference, the University and Alcalá.

WHEN: Thursday, October 22, 14:00h

WHERE: Colegio de San Ildefonso

### Guided Tour: Alcalá de Henares, World Heritage Site

A guided tour around the University and the Historic Precinct of the city, UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1998, has been organized.

WHEN: Thursday, October 22, 18:00h

**MEETING POINT:** Colegio de Trinitarios, main entrance.



### **Networking Snack**



The Networking Snack is a good opportunity to meet and interact with conference's participants and attendees.

WHEN: Friday, October 23, 13:30h

WHERE: Cloister, Colegio de Trinitarios.

# CONSORTIUM FOR TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES AND SCHOLARSHIP



The Consortium for Transatlantic Studies and Scholarship seeks to encourage and promote a transatlantic perspective by providing faculty and students with a unique multicultural environment in order to aid their personal,

professional, and academic development. Furthermore, we encourage collaboration within the consortium and between the member institutions in the area of academics, research, sharing of resources, and development of new programs, at all levels of the college/university: student, faculty, and administration. Current members: University of Central Missouri, University of South Dakota, Western Carolina University, University of Dubuque, Linnaeus University, University of South Wales, University of Alcala, Texas State University and Tomsk State University.

### **Program objectives**

- To promote the knowledge and understanding of the historical, cultural, political, economic and social relations of both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.
- To offer a diversity of courses suited for students with different interests, which will contribute to develop ideas, discussion and debate on subjects important to the transatlantic community. Block courses are taught in English.
- Develop students' intercultural skills through different activities outside the classroom and cultural visits, in order to build up their attitudes, beliefs, communication styles and cultural competences.
- Help faculty to develop its interests in different research areas, support their network, and facilitate their cultural adjustment.
- Give students and faculty the possibility of living, enjoying and learning about Spain, its customs, traditions, language and culture. The Universidad de Alcalá is one of the oldest universities in Europe. Located in Alcalá de Henares, the birthplace of Cervantes, the author of Don Quijote de la Mancha.

If your university is interested in joining the Consortium or in sending students to the program please contact:

- Prof. Donald Wallace (University of Central Missouri) wallace@ucmo.edu
- Rosa María Garcia-Barroso (Instituto Franklin-UAH) rosi.garciabarroso@uah.es

# INSTITUTO FRANKLIN DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE ALCALÁ

# The Research Institute of American Studies in Spain

The Instituto Universitario de Investigación en Estudios Norteamericanos Benjamin Franklin" is a center of the Universidad de Alcalá (Instituto Franklin-UAH) founded in 1987 to research of North America.





The Instituto Franklin-UAH has focused on developing new ways of institutional collaboration between Spain and North America, through the support of different research projects, the organization of international meetings and conferences, and developing academic programs for American students.

### **MISSION**

The mission of Instituto Franklin-UAH is to serve as a cooperative platform that unites Spain and North America with the objective to promote awareness and knowledge about the diversity of cultures that pertain to those territories.

### **ACTIVITIES**

### **OUR RESEARCH**

- Major lines of research: Hispanics in the USA, bilingual education, and US society and culture.
- Allocate €150,000 every year to the training of new researchers and to disseminate research conclusions.
- Publish the journals Tribuna
   Norteamericana (focused on US current events) and Camino Real (focused on Hispanics in the US).
- Promote research by funding academic publications (4 per year).
- Organize international seminars and conferences.

### **OUR ACADEMIC PROGRAMS**

- PhD in North American Studies.
- The first official Master's in North American Studies in Spain.
- 4 Master's degrees in International and Bilingual Education.
- Teacher training of North American conversation assistants in Spain.
- 500 North American students every year.

INSTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO DE INVESTIGACIÓN EN ESTUDIOS NORTEAMERICANOS "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN"

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Marta Walliser (Instituto Franklin-UAH)

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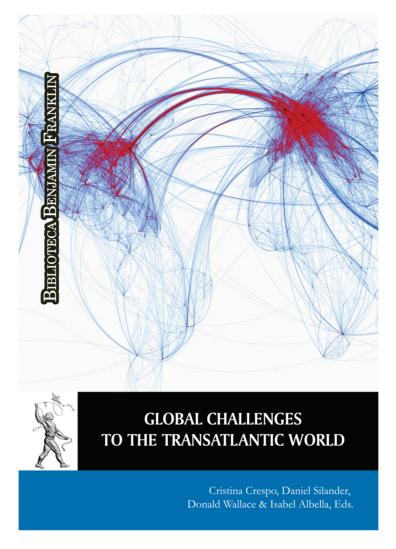
Para más información contacta con Ana Lariño (ana.larino@institutofranklin.net)

# **NOTES**

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### Book available on the website and at the conference main desk



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ON SECURITY: Security in the Age of Ambiguity

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