

A Crisis of Consensus:

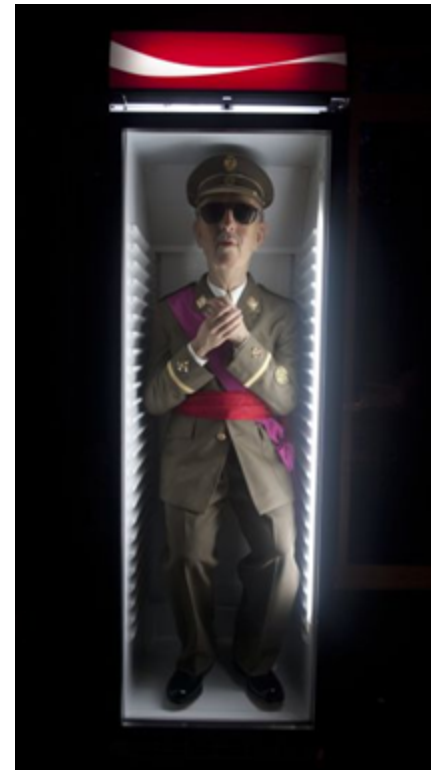
Legacies of the Spanish Transition, 1975-2013

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Metro
WE ARE
ONE

¿¿QUE TE DICE TU
CONCIENCIA??
HAZLA CASO

RED DE METRO
CAMINANDO
JUNTAS
CONTRA LA
TRANSFOBIA

MÁS
AGUA
MENOS
ALCOHOL

¿¿QUIEN ES NUESTRO??
TE IMAGINAS OBRERA
ENERGIA LIBRE PARA
TODOS

HAY NOCHES
QUE TODAVIA
SUEÑO

LIBERTAD
SIN MIEDO

MÁS
AGUA
MENOS
ALCOHOL

DISCIPLINARIO

EL FUTURO
ES
AHORA

LA DEMOCRACIA
ES UN BIEN
COMUN

IN-DIGNARSE
RECUPERAR LA
DIGNIDAD

¡MANOS ARRIBA
¡ESTO ES UN
CONTRATO

NOS MEAN
ENCIMA
Y NOS DICEN
QUE LLUEVE

NUESTROS
SUEÑOS NO
CASEN EN

ESTE PAIS

NO VOTO

Research Puzzle: What explains such increases in socio-political conflict in democratic regimes?

Research Question: What explains the increasingly conflictive dynamic between the government and society in Spain since 2011?



Theoretical Context

- Cultural Explanations:
 - Outdated
- Literature on Globalization:
 - Does not contextualize current demands
- Literature on Economic Crises:
 - Optimistic assumptions
- Political and Institutional Causes:
 - Not taken into account

My Argument

- Spain faces a crisis of consensus resulting from long-term historical processes as well as from short-term economic factors.
- Long-term effects of the transition to democracy:
 - Institutional constraints
 - Authoritarian legacies

Significance

- Different framework to evaluate democratization processes
- Reassessment of relationship between economic crises and social unrest
- Timely on both accounts:
 - Ongoing transitions to democracy
 - Austerity in Eurozone

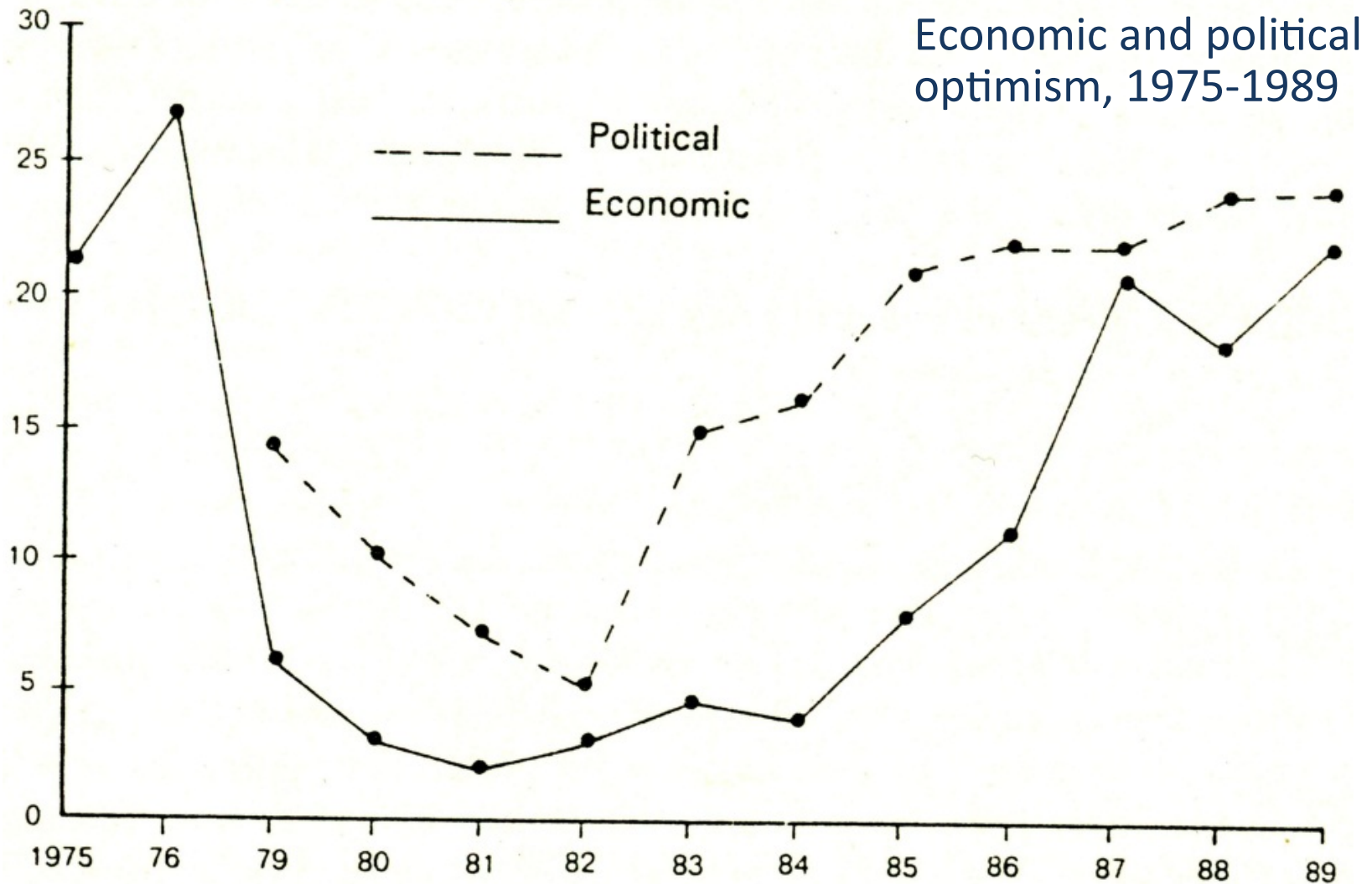
Why Spain?

- Access to and quantity of data
- Unprecedented economic crisis
- Paradigmatic transition to democracy
 - Regime-initiated, pacted process
 - Perceived as widely successful
 - Not anymore?

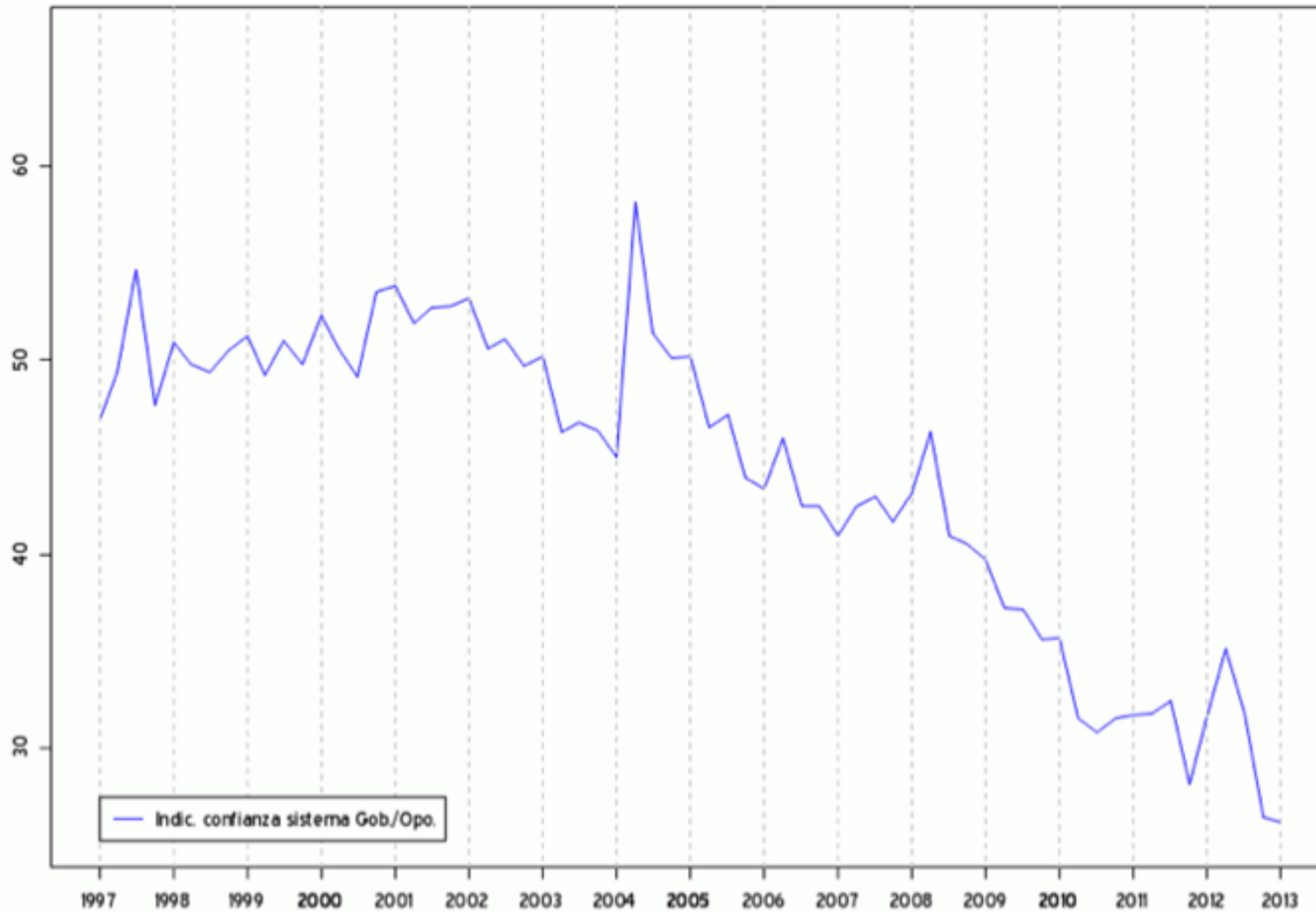
Research Design and Methodology

- Single-case study
- Process tracing along longitudinal axis of comparison
 - Preceding economic crises
 - Previous instances of social unrest
- Textual analysis of speeches by political elites
- Use of interviews, polls, Government documents, newspaper articles.

Findings I: Impact of current crisis upon political optimism



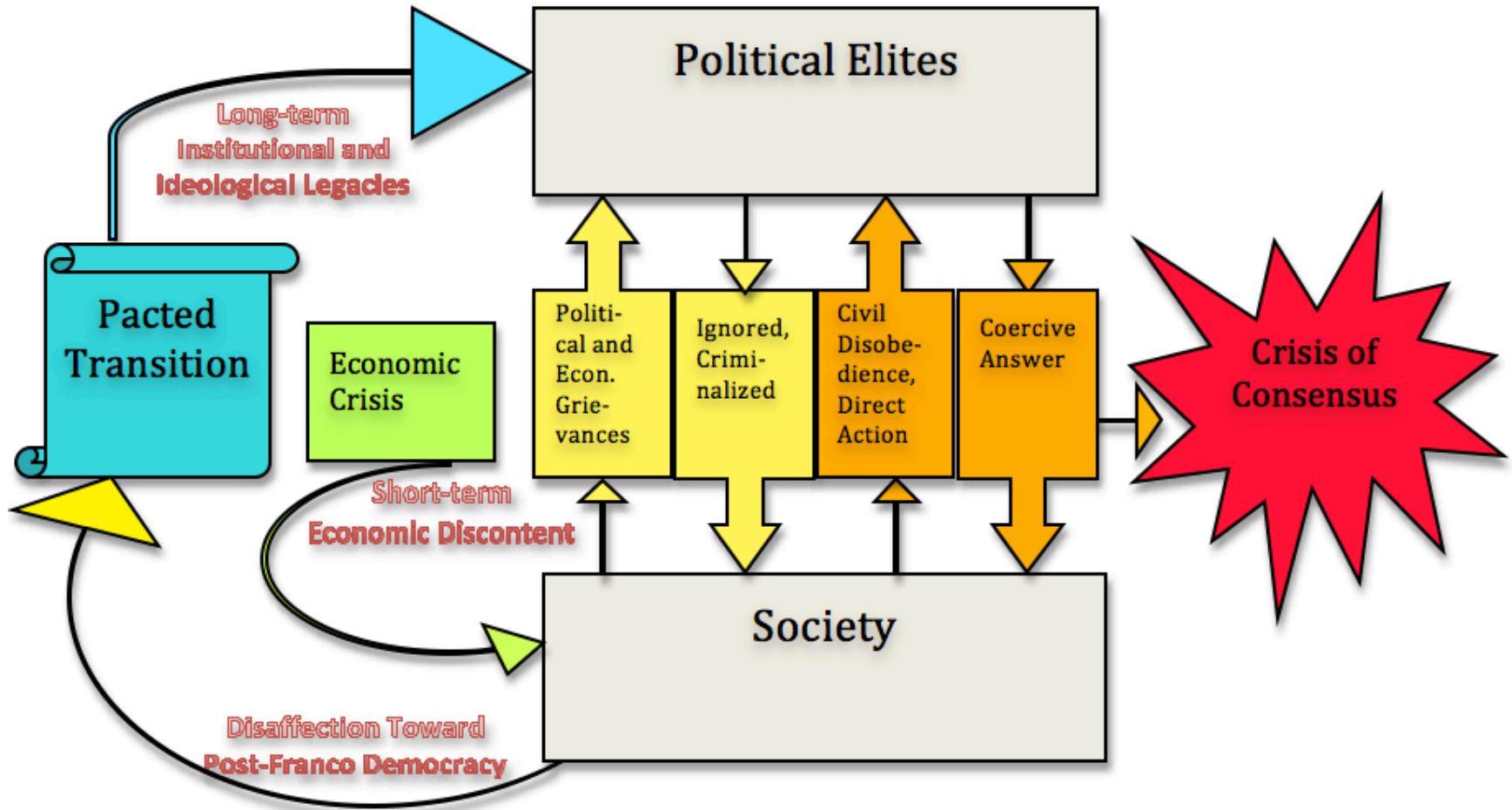
Trust in Government and Opposition, 1997-2013



Voting Intention toward PP and PSOE, 1996-2013



Findings II: Action-reaction dynamic between government and society



Findings III: Relationship of previous findings to legacies of pacted transition

- Institutional legacies:
Party system increasingly perceived as a liability
 - Majoritarian bias
 - Closed party lists
- Authoritarian legacies:
conservative party actively increases socio-political conflict

Implications

Theoretical

- Need for historical approach to democratization processes: *dual effect* of transition pacts
- Economic crises as an *intervening variable* that increases socio-political conflict

Practical

- Identification long-term effects of Spanish transition
- Applicability to other (pacted) transitions to democracy
- Reassessment of austerity policies across Eurozone

Future Research

- Spain:
 - Secessionism in Catalonia and Basque Country
 - Economic model: end of “embedded neoliberalism.”
- Application of framework to other cases?
 - Eurozone PIIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece)
 - Latin America (Chile, Brazil)

From Celebrity to Zombie

