

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

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*Heinz-Jürgen Axt*

Griechenland: Neue Regierung als Chance nach zehn Jahren Krise

*Gülistan Gürbey*

Erdoğan's „Neue Türkei“ am Scheideweg – Die Türkei nach den Kommunalwahlen 2019

*Johannes Wetzinger*

Hochschulreformen in der Republik Moldau

*George Jigla*

The Romanian Party System and the Permanent Desire for Change



**Schwerpunkt:  
Geschlechter-Politik  
in Südosteuropa**

**Beiträge von**  
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## **Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,**

Nord-, West- und Mitteleuropa sind seit geraumer Zeit durch eine fortschreitende Liberalisierung der Geschlechter-Politik gekennzeichnet. Dies zeigt sich etwa in der mittlerweile nahezu flächendeckenden Einführung der gleichgeschlechtlichen Ehe, dem Ausbau der Grundrechte im Bereich der geschlechtlichen und sexuellen Selbstbestimmung und einem relativ hohen Maß öffentlicher Toleranz gegenüber nicht-traditionellen Familien und Beziehungsmodellen.

Demgegenüber ist Südosteuropa größtenteils durch einen gegenläufigen Trend geprägt: Kroatien (2013) und die Slowakei (2014) haben per Verfassungsänderung die Einführung einer „Ehe für alle“ verboten; in Rumänien ist 2018 ein entsprechendes Verfassungsänderungsverfahren in einem Referendum gescheitert. Eingetragene Lebenspartnerschaften sind nur in einer Minderheit der Staaten etabliert worden. In vielen Ländern kommt es regelmäßig zu homophober Gewalt. So können etwa die jährlichen „Pride-Paraden“ meist nur unter starkem Polizeischutz und gegen vehemente Gegenproteste durchgeführt werden. Weite Teile der politischen Eliten und einflussreiche gesellschaftliche Gruppen (wie etwa die christlichen Kirchen) bekämpfen alle Schritte zu einer Liberalisierung der Geschlechter-Politik.

Vor diesem Hintergrund diskutierte ein Symposium des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft am 1. März 2019 an der Universität Bamberg unter dem Thema „Konservatismus, Homophobie und die Angst vor dem ‚Genderwahn‘: Geschlechter-Politik in Südosteuropa“ verschiedene Aspekte der Geschlechter-Politik und der einschlägigen Rechtsentwicklung in Südosteuropa. Die Beiträge zu dieser Tagung bilden – in überarbeiteter Form – den Inhalt des Themenschwerpunkts im vorliegenden Heft der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen. Dabei werden nicht nur die Differenzen zu den nördlichen und westlichen Teilen des Kontinents, sondern auch die zum Teil stark variierenden Trends innerhalb Südosteuropas beleuchtet. Zudem wird den Ursachen und Folgen der skizzierten illiberalen Trends nachgegangen.

Außerhalb des Themenschwerpunkts wirft dieses Doppelheft Schlaglichter auf weitere Themen von aktueller Bedeutung in der und für die Region: Im Fokus stehen hier der Regierungswechsel in Griechenland, die Entwicklungen in der Türkei nach den Kommunalwahlen 2019 mit ihren teils überraschenden Ergebnissen, die Hochschulreformen in der Republik Moldau sowie das Parteiensystem in Rumänien. Die Analysen werden ergänzt durch Berichte über einige hoch relevante Veranstaltungen wie auch durch den passenden Rezensionsteil.

Eine erkenntnisreiche Lektüre wünscht Ihr Redaktionsteam

*Hansjörg Brey*

*Claudia Hopf*

# **SÜDOSTEUROPA**

## **Mitteilungen**

**Zeitschrift der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft**

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**Heinz-Jürgen Axt**

### **Greece: New Government as a Chance after Ten Years of Crisis**

The outbreak of the Greek financial crisis in 2009 has radically changed the economy and social life in Greece. Subsequently, the political system was turned upside down. Two parties, the liberal-conservative Nea Dimokratia and the social-democratic PASOK, had dominated the party system since 1974. That domination came to an end when left-populist Syriza won the elections in January 2015. Four years later the hope of many Greeks that Syriza would be able to improve the situation had eroded. Thus, Nea Dimokratia was the winner of the parliamentary elections in July 2019. The new government represents a chance for Greece, but the economic and social conditions turn out to hinder revitalization. Public debt is the highest in the European Union. Rankings of independent international agencies still put Greece at the very end of the list. Losses in citizens' welfare are massive, unemployment remains high, and young peoples' perspectives are commonly associated with the wording of a "lost generation". Although economic growth is gradually recovering, fiscal space is limited by the fact that Greece is obliged to generate a primary surplus of the state budget of 3.5 per cent of GDP until 2022. Also, the new government raises hope that following a path of reform will boost creditors' willingness to make concessions and thus reduce the primary surplus target in 2020.

**Gülistan Gürbey**

### **Erdoğan's "New Turkey" at a Crossroads Turkey after the Local Elections in 2019**

Despite unfair electoral conditions in Turkey, advantageous use of state and media resources, a hyper-nationalistic strategy of polarization as well as defamation and marginalization of the opposition, the AKP-led government of President Erdoğan lost the country's big cities in the local elections of 2019. The biggest defeat came in the economic and financial metropolis of Istanbul.

This development implies that retaining the monopoly of power through the use of repression and hyper-nationalism has finally reached its limits. It marks a turning point: President Erdoğan and his AKP-government (Party for Justice and Development) as well as the alliance with the ultra-nationalistic MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) have now reached their zenith and are standing at a crossroads. Whether President Erdoğan and the AKP-government will react with even more repression, or a moderate democratic U-turn is still uncertain. Thus – despite this

turning point – there is no quiet time in sight in a Turkey still undergoing political turbulences.

**Johannes Wetzinger**

### **Higher Education Reforms in the Republic of Moldova Context, Trends and Challenges**

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union the higher education system of the Republic of Moldova is undergoing significant changes. After gaining independence in 1991, Moldova had to cope with far-reaching political and socio-economic transformations, which had a lasting impact on the higher education system of the country. At the same time, international influences – such as Moldova’s approximation towards the European Union and the participation in the Bologna Process – left their mark on the higher education system.

Against this backdrop, the article reviews main trends and challenges in the Moldovan higher education system. In a first step, the political and socio-economic context of higher education reforms is outlined. Secondly, core trends in the higher education system are depicted – ranging from a diversification of the higher education landscape to the accession to the Bologna Process and the impact of a demographic crisis. Thirdly, the role of the EU as an external actor in the reform process is reviewed. Finally, the paper closes with main findings and an outlook on development prospects for the higher education system in Moldova.

**George Jigla**

### **The Romanian Party System and the Permanent Desire for Change**

The purpose of the article is to explore the current state of the Romanian party system and its main parties in order to obtain a better understanding of Romania’s relevance within the EU as well as the positions it expresses on some of the main topics of the EU’s agenda.

Based on classical approaches in literature on parties and party systems, such as Sartori’s taxonomy and indicators like electoral volatility or effective number of parties, the author provides an outlook on the evolution of the Romanian party system focused on the legislative changes that shaped the current dynamic. These factors had a direct impact on the outcome of the recent elections for the European Parliament in May 2019 and, foreseeably, on the results of the upcoming presidential elections in November 2019 as well as of the local and national elections in 2020. Romania is undergoing frequent changes in the legislation, often contradictory in nature. Therefore the future of the party system, as well as the faith in upcoming elections, remains uncertain.

## **Main Focus: Gender Policy in Southeast Europe**

**Damir Banović**

### **The Gender Equality Discourse in Southeast Europe**

Gender equality as a political and legal principle has been put forward within the modern constitutional systems in Southeast Europe. Implementing this principle also includes introducing anti-discrimination laws and changing legal, social and political practices in the respective countries. By adopting different directives and politics, the European Union has emphasised the importance of gender equality in the EU. Additionally, this has become one of the political criteria for the countries that want to become EU member states. Beside the EU, the Council of Europe has adopted a Recommendation on the Protection of Women against Violence (2002) and the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2011), the so-called *Istanbul Convention*. It came into force on 1 August 2014 and is a binding legal document for the countries that ratified it. Moreover, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) has developed comprehensive case law directly or indirectly related to gender equality (e.g. prohibition of torture and/or inhuman behaviour; prohibition of discrimination). In the Council of Europe member states, there still is a gap between the social context and the normative sphere. Nevertheless, the ECHR in 2012 clearly stated that references to traditions, general assumptions or prevailing social attitudes are insufficient justification for a difference in a treatment on grounds of gender setting the way of how we should interpret and implement conventions and recommendations adopted by the Council of Europe.

**Petra Ahrens**

### **Attitudes towards Gender Equality and LGBTQI Issues in European Comparison**

Right wing and populist parties are on the rise in almost all European countries and in some they are part of the government. Such parties are united in opposing gender equality and LGBTQI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer, Transgender and Intersexual) rights and supporting traditional hetero-normative gender roles and family forms. Against this background, the article analyzes whether such political positions can build on support among the broader population. It sheds light on national differences in attitudes towards gender equality and LGBTQI issues and uses different surveys to illuminate variances in the spread of gender stereotypes, gender equality as a norm and towards sexual minorities.

In general, gender equality functions as an accepted norm in all countries and is perceived as a core element of democracy and a goal towards European Union integration. Nevertheless, 'old' and 'new' EU member states differ considerably regarding their populations' ideas about what gender and LGBTQI equality in day-to-day life entails – with 'old' EU member states usually taking a more progressive stance than 'new' member states.

**Martin Mlinarić**

**Emancipation of Sexual Difference and Homophobic Populism in the Post-Yugoslav Space  
Findings from a Mixed Methods Study**

This mixed methods study examines context factors, mechanisms and outcomes of sexual difference in two post-Yugoslav societies after the outburst of the 2008 financial crisis and the implementation of anti-discrimination bills (2008/2009) in Croatia and Serbia. The European Values Survey (EVS 2008) documented the high degree of homophobic attitudes in post-Yugoslav societies. Banned pride parades in Belgrade (2011-2013), right-wing hate speech and violence in Belgrade / Split (2010/2011), as well as the Croatian referendum on constitutional protection of heterosexual marriage are illustrating events of homophobic outbursts.

The analysis indicates that the Serbian context circulates rather around public visibility of sexual difference, whereas in Croatia legal-symbolic equality and recognition are more dominant. In both cases sexual difference is linked with pillars of pluralistic democracy and liberal-permissive multiculturalist tolerance. Sexual difference becomes a metaphor for the liberal-democratic transition of peripheral European societies. However, a prohibitive mechanism of closure including populist pro-life grassroots movements opposes “gender ideology” and “homosexual propaganda” thereby clashing with liberal-secular concepts, like pluralism and anti-discrimination. In both countries only partial concessions for sexual difference are granted in the sphere of public visibility (Serbia) and same-sex partnerships (Croatia) due to the successful resistance of homophobic populism.

**Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić**

**European Narratives of Gender Policy  
Discourses around Gender in Croatia in the Framework of European Integration**

In recent years and decades, European institutions – above all the Council of Europe and the European Union – have undoubtedly played a central role in the process of establishing gender equality policies in Southeast Europe. For Croatia, the youngest EU member state since July 2013, the EU integration process first of all meant, just as for any other candidate state, the adoption of the *Acquis Communautaire*. This body of legislation and jurisprudence included fundamental rights such as gender equality and anti-discrimination.

However, Croatia’s membership in the Council of Europe since 1996 also had a strongly polarizing influence on gender equality policy of the predominantly Catholic post-socialist state. The vibrant discussions surrounding the ratification of the so-called *Istanbul Convention* in recent years have underlined this polarization.

The article examines different types of gender narratives in Croatia. Based on expert interviews, it specifically traces the importance of the EU pre-accession period as a time of empowerment for gender equality and antidiscrimination stakeholders in EU candidate countries.



**Michael Hein**

**Romania between Homophobia and Indifference**

**The Debate on the Prohibition of Same-sex Marriage in the Romanian Constitution**

In October 2018, a referendum on banning same-sex marriage in the Romanian Constitution failed due to low turnout. Given the widespread conservative and homophobic attitudes in Romania, this result came as a surprise for most observers. Although same-sex marriage continues to be banned at the statutory law level, two judgments by the European Court of Justice and the Romanian Constitutional Court issued in 2018 give cautious hope that the social and legal discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people (LGBTI) could decrease in the medium term.

The article analyzes the discussion on the prohibition of same-sex marriage in the Romanian constitution since 2015 against a threefold background: The social attitudes towards sexual minorities; the political conflicts between the parliament, the cabinet and the President of Romania; and the influence of European law.