



Democratic Representation in Crisis

What kinds of theories for what kinds of research,
and to what ends?

April 9, 2013 - NYU Florence, Villa La Pietra

April 10, 2013 - EUI, Villa La Fonte

A joint conference by **NYU-Florence La Pietra Dialogues/NYU
Liberal Studies**
and the **Max Weber Programme, EUI.**

Organizers:

Simon Jackson (EUI-MWF): simon.jackson@eui.eu

Brendan Hogan (NYU-LS): bh72@nyu.edu

How do political and philosophical theories of democratic representation interrelate with empirical social scientific research on democratic practices and institutions? And how do such methodological issues ramify into wider political and social debates at a time when democratic processes are under strain from Cyprus to Cairo and from Budapest to Brussels? This interdisciplinary conference brings together political philosophers and sociologists with historians and political scientists to discuss these questions through a variety of specific lenses and case studies.

Conference Programme

Day 1: Tuesday 9 April. Villa La Pietra, [NYU-Florence](#). Villa Sassetti.

10:15 - Coffee

10:30 - Welcome Remarks – Ellyn Toscano (NYU-Florence Programme Director),
Ramon Marimon (MW Programme Director)

10:45-12:45 – **Panel 1: Elites, Technologies and Elections.**

Chair: Gregorio Bettiza (EUI-MWP)

Alessandro Pizzorno (EUI – Emeritus)

‘Two Functions of Political Electoral Representation.’

Maria Laura Sudulich (EUI – MWP)

‘Wired voters: the effects of internet use on voters’ electoral uncertainty’
(with Matthew Wall & Leonardo Baccini)

13:00 – 14:30 – Lunch, Villa La Pietra

14:30 – 16:30 – **Panel 2: Postcommunist representation and legality.**

Chair: Brendan Hogan (NYU-LS)

Joshua Tucker (NYU):

‘Subjective vs. Objective Proximity in Poland: New Directions for the Empirical Study of Political Representation.’

Brad Epperly (EUI-MWP):

‘Postcommunist Legacies and Trust in the Legal System.’

16:30-17:00 – Coffee

17:00 – 19:00 - **Panel 3: Civil Society and Democratic Representation.**

Chair: Debora Spini (Syracuse University in Florence)

Petri Koikkalainen (EUI-HEC Academy of Finland Fellow):

‘Civil Society and the Disciplines, Concepts, and Practices of Politics’

Donatella della Porta (EUI-SPS):

‘Can democracy be saved? Representation, Participation and Deliberation’

19:15 – 20:45: Dinner, Villa la Pietra (Participants)

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Day 2: Wednesday 10 April. [Villa La Fonte, Max Weber Programme, EUI](#). Conference Room.

10:15 - Coffee

10:30 - Welcome Remarks – Brendan Hogan (NYU-LS), Simon Jackson (EUI-MWP)

10:45-12:45 – **Panel 4: Capitalism, Institutions and Representation in Europe.**

Chair: Simon Jackson (EUI-MWP)

Philippe Schmitter (EUI-Emeritus):

‘Crisis and Mutation in the Institutions of Representation in ‘Real-Existing’ Democracies.’

Aidan Regan (EUI-MWP):

‘What Future for Egalitarian Capitalism in Europe? Labour Market Reform and Distributional Tensions in the Core and Periphery of the Eurozone.’

13:00 – 14:30 – Lunch (participants)

14:30 – 16:30 – **Panel 5: Democracy, Disputing, Citizenship.**

Chair: Jean Thomas (EUI-MWF)

Daniel Viehoff (Sheffield University/Yale University):

‘The Authority of Impartiality.’

Gabrielle Clark (EUI-MWF):

‘From Emergency to Bureaucratic Legalisms: Temporary Labor Migrants and Administrative Justice across Managed and Neoliberal Capitalism (1942-2011)’

16:30-17:00 – Coffee

17:00 – 19:00 - **Panel 6: Region, nation, Europe: scales of representation.**

Chair: Julia Cordero Coma (EUI-MWP)

Thomas J. Miley (Cambridge):

‘Democratic Representation and Nation-Building in Catalonia and the Basque Country.’

Alan Granadino (EUI-HEC):

‘Transnational political concepts and cooperation: The renovation of the Spanish Socialist Party and the European left during the early 1970s’

19:00 - 19:15 - **Closing Remarks by the organizers.**

19:15 – 20:45: Dinner and Drinks reception, Villa La Fonte.

Participants

[Gabrielle Clark](#)

European University Institute

Gabrielle came to the European University Institute from New York University’s interdisciplinary Institute for Law & Society. Her dissertation, titled: *Persistently Illiberal? Law and Deportable Labor in American Political Development* examines the intersection of immigration and employment laws in a historical context, focusing upon the case of foreign temporary workers across time and sectors (1942 to today). More specifically, Gabrielle looks at law’s Janus face in the US labour market; namely, the extent to which and how immigration law’s disciplinary force in production is mitigated by migrant workplace protections. This is an area of administrative law; thus, in examining hundreds of cases of foreign temporary employment law, she brings to light an heretofore understudied area of state practice and rights-claiming. Gabrielle also tracks changes in state practice and law over time, specifically those produced as a past interventionist state (1942-1964) has pulled back from managing foreign temporary workplace relations directly and rolled out a more minimalist rights-based framework across sectors (1964-present). Moving forward from her dissertation, Gabrielle’s post-doctoral project examines the intersection of immigration & employment law in comparative/global historical contexts. More specifically, at the European University Institute, she is mapping past and present global temporary labour regimes and examining the role of foreign temporary workplace laws in three contemporary migrant-receiving countries: the US, France, and the United Arab Emirates. More broadly, her research interests include labour control and regulation, employment law, administrative law, legal history, comparative state formation, law & globalization, and post-colonial theory.

[Donatella Della Porta](#)

European University Institute

Donatella Della Porta is Professor of Sociology in the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute. She is on leave of absence from the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, where she is Professor of Political Science. Professor Della Porta received a *Diplôme d’Etudes Approfondies* at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales of Paris* and a

Ph.D in political and social sciences at the European University Institute in Florence. She has directed the DEMOS project (Democracy in Europe and the Mobilisation of Society), financed under the 6th Framework Program by the European Commission. She coordinated the *Gruppo di Ricerca sull'azione collettiva in Europa* (GRACE) and has conducted research at Cornell University, Ithaca N.Y. and at the *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung*. In 1990 she received a Career Development Award from the H.F. Guggenheim Foundation and in 1997 a *Stipendium* from the *Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung*. In 2011, she has received an Advanced Scholars grant from the European Research Council for a 5-year research project on 'Mobilizing for Democracy'. In the same year, she was awarded the Mattei Dogan Prize for Political Sociology. Her main research interests include social movements, political violence, terrorism, corruption, police and policies of public order. On these issues she has conducted investigations in Italy, France, Germany and Spain. She has directed a project of comparative research on the control of public mass demonstrations in Europe and on the police in Italy. She is currently involved in several comparative projects on citizenship and social movements. She is also co-editor of the *European Political Science Review*. Professor Della Porta has been appointed to the Chair in Sociology and joined the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute on April 1, 2003. Her book 'Can Democracy be Saved?: Participation, Deliberation and Social Movements' is forthcoming from Polity Press and can be found here: <http://www.polity.co.uk/book.asp?ref=9780745664590#toc>

[Brad Epperly](#)

European University Institute

Brad Epperly is currently a Max Weber Fellow for the 2012-2013 academic year, after which he will take up an appointment as an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of South Carolina. He received a B.A. from the University of California, Santa Cruz, an M.A. in Russian Studies from the European University, St. Petersburg, and an M.A. in Political Science from the University of Washington. Brad's substantive interests focus on the rule of law and governance, institutional development, and the politics of post-communism. He is especially interested in how institutions of democracy and dictatorship intersect with political competition to produce legal structures. His dissertation, *Political Competition and Judicial Independence After Communism*, examines the causes and consequences of judicial independence in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In non-dissertation work he extends the geographical focus of this analysis, as well as explore novel empirical implications of theoretical arguments put forward in my dissertation. His teaching experience has included courses on law and courts, comparative politics, international relations, and research methods.

[Alan Granadino](#)

European University Institute

Alan Granadino is a researcher in the Department of History and Civilization at the EUI. His research agenda pivots around the question of 'Democratic Socialism or Social Democracy? The Influence of the British Labour Party and the Parti Socialiste Français in the Transformation of the Partido Socialista Portugues and the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (1974-1982)

[Brendan Hogan](#)

New York University Florence

Brendan Hogan works on issues in the philosophy of social science, political philosophy, and pragmatism. He received his doctorate in philosophy from The New School for Social Research and since 2008 is a Master Teacher in the Liberal Studies Program at New York University. Last year he taught for NYU Paris and is at NYU Florence for the academic year 2012-2013. Current projects include the research group *Reconstruction of Democracy: beyond deliberation and recognition* based in Madrid.

[Simon Jackson](#)

European University Institute

[Simon Jackson](#) is a historian of colonial empire with a special focus on the French imperial system in the Mediterranean between World War One and World War Two. He works on the discourse and politics of economic development in the French League of Nations Mandate in Syria and Lebanon, on the history of Fordism in the post-Ottoman Middle East, and on the global history of colonial commodities and natural resources. He has designed and taught numerous classes at Sciences-Po, Paris IV Sorbonne, and at NYU's Paris campus, focused on French colonial history, modern France, World War Two, historical social theory and world history. He earned a B.A. in Modern History from the University of Oxford and a Ph.D. in History from NYU under the

mentorship of the late Tony Judt. He is currently a Max Weber Fellow in History at the European University Institute in Florence and will hold a Jean Monnet Fellowship at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the EUI in 2013-14.

[Petri Koikkalainen](#)

Academy of Finland Fellow

[Petri Koikkalainen](#)'s main research interests are in the history of political thought and political theory. In particular, the relations between social science, ideology and public policy since the mid-twentieth century. His recent publications have chiefly addressed the following three themes: the evolution of political theory and political philosophy after the 1950s, the influence of theoretical and ideological models on public policy and governance, and post-WWII political and social history with an emphasis on ideology and modernization. During the academic year 2011–2012 at the EUI, Petri Koikkalainen is working on an Academy of Finland funded research scholarship entitled "Contextualism in Political Theory" (funded from 2011–2016). During its early stages, one principal aim will be to study the conditions that led to the emergence of historicist contextualism as a mainstream approach in the history of political ideas during the decades that followed WWII. The results of this analysis will be used to produce constructive critical evaluations of contemporary contextualist practices, as well as historically and contextually sensitive analyses of contemporary governance.

[Thomas Jeffrey Miley](#)

University of Cambridge

Thomas Jeffrey Miley is Lecturer of Political Sociology in the Department of Sociology at Cambridge. He received his B.A. from U.C.L.A. (1995) and his PhD. from Yale University (2004). He has lectured at Yale University, Wesleyan University, and Saint Louis University (Madrid); and he has been a Garcia-Pelayo Research Fellow at the Center for Political and Constitutional Studies in Madrid. His research interests include nationalism, language politics, identity politics, immigration, religion and politics, regime types, and democratic theory. His publications include "Franquism as Authoritarianism: Juan Linz and his Critics," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* (Forthcoming, Spring 2011); "The Constitution and the Politics of National Identity in Contemporary Spain," *Nations and Nationalisms* Vol. 16, Issue 1: 6-30 (2010) (with Eric Martínez); "Analyzing the Dynamics of Assimilation in Nationalist Contexts: Is There Really More Assimilation in Catalonia than in the Basque Country?," *European Journal of Political Research*, 47: 710-736 (2008) (with Luis de la Calle); "Against the Thesis of the Civic Nation: The Case of Catalonia in Contemporary Spain," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13 (1): 1-37 (January-March 2007); and *Nacionalismo y política lingüística: El caso de Cataluña* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2006). He is co-editor with José Ramón Montero of the *Obras escogidas de Juan J. Linz* (7 volumes) (Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2008-2011).

[Alessandro Pizzorno](#)

European University Institute

Alessandro Pizzorno is Emeritus Professor of Social Theory at the European University Institute. He has been a Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, Chair of the Sociology Department at the State University of Milan and Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. Pizzorno has written numerous studies of political sociology, urban sociology and the sociology of labor. He is interested in the theory of action, rational choice, collective identities and theories of democracy. Among his main publications: *Le classi sociali* (Il Mulino, 1959), *Comunità e razionalizzazione* (Einaudi, 1960), *I soggetti del pluralismo: classi, partiti, sindacati* (Einaudi, 1960), *Le radici della politica assoluta* (Feltrinelli, 1993), *Il potere dei giudici. Stato democratico e controllo della virtù* (Laterza, 1998) and *Il velo della diversità. Studi su razionalità e riconoscimento* (Feltrinelli, 2007).

[Aidan Regan](#)

European University Institute

Aidan Regan's primary research interests include the comparative political economy of labour relations, welfare states, income inequality, fiscal adjustment and processes of institutional change in the European Union. His Ph.D. dissertation was an examination into the political economy of institutional change in European varieties of capitalism. Using a comparative historical case study he traced the rise and fall of Irish social partnership to the policy constraints of the EMU. Since finishing his Ph.D. Aidan Regan has been working on a project with the International Labour Organisation (ILO), examining the politics of adjustment in Ireland to the Eurozone crisis. He is also involved in a comparative book project examining the trade union response to the financial crisis and he serves on the editorial board of the new e-journal of International and Comparative Labour Studies. In addition to these

research projects he writes regularly for a variety of online blogs, journals and newspapers. From 2008-2011 he was a Teaching Assistant at University College Dublin and an associate faculty lecturer at the National College of Ireland. This diverse teaching portfolio included social policy, comparative politics, research methods, political theory, industrial relations and sociology. From 2011-2012 Aidan Regan worked as a researcher at the Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS), at the University of Amsterdam. This involved a comparative study into the labour market reform strategy of Spain, Ireland, Germany and Netherlands to the Eurozone crisis.

[Philippe Schmitter](#)

European University Institute

Philippe Schmitter is a graduate of the Graduate Institute for International Studies of the University of Geneva, and took his doctorate at the University of California at Berkeley. Since 1967 he has been successively assistant professor, associate professor and professor in the Politics Department of the University of Chicago, then at the European University Institute (1982-86) and at Stanford (1986-96). He has been visiting professor at the Universities of Paris-I, Geneva, Mannheim and Zürich, and Fellow of the Humboldt Foundation, Guggenheim Foundation and the Palo Alto Centre for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences. He has published books and articles on comparative politics, on regional integration in Western Europe and Latin America, on the transition from authoritarian rule in Southern Europe and Latin America, and on the intermediation of class, sectoral and professional interests. His current work is on the political characteristics of the emerging Euro-polity, on the consolidation of democracy in Southern and Eastern countries, and on the possibility of post-liberal democracy in Western Europe and North America. Professor Philippe C. Schmitter was Professor of Political Science at the European University Institute in Florence, Department of Political and Social Sciences until September 2004. He was then nominated Professorial Fellow at the same Institution. He is now Emeritus of the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute.

[Maria Laura Sudulich](#)

European University Institute

Maria Laura Sudulich completed her Ph.D. in Political Science at Trinity College Dublin in 2010. Her dissertation investigated the impact of the adoption of new communications technologies on Irish electoral competition. She also holds a post-graduate diploma in statistics from Trinity College Dublin. Between 2009 and 2012 she worked at the Department of Political Science of the University of Amsterdam (UvA), where she held teaching responsibilities at undergraduate as well as postgraduate level, offering courses on New Technologies and Politics, Media system and Politics, and Electoral Campaigns. Maria Laura Sudulich focused on integrating recent relevant research findings as core components of the courses and on strengthening the research design element. The research component of her job at the UvA was within the Support and Opposition to Migration project, funded by the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme. She is also producing research in the field of electoral campaigns; to date, she has published research articles on the effectiveness of electoral campaigns in the Republic of Ireland and she is currently exploring campaign effects in European Parliament elections and she is planning to expand the study to a number of Westminster democracies, beginning with the 2010 UK general election. Maria Laura Sudulich previously worked on a number of projects which involved elite surveys and voter studies, and she has produced research outputs based on those studies. She was part of the team that developed the first Voting Advice Application website in Ireland and she contributed to the 2009 EU Profiler project. She is interested in studying the political implications of Voting Advice platforms as well as the contributions that those sites can bring to survey research.

[Joshua Tucker](#)

New York University

Joshua A. Tucker is Professor of Politics with an affiliated appointment in the Department of Russian and Slavic Studies at New York University (NYU) and an Affiliated Professor of Politics at NYU-Abu Dhabi. Professor Tucker specializes in comparative politics with an emphasis on mass political behavior in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, including elections and voting, the development of partisan attachment, public opinion formation, and mass protest. He is the author of *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-99* (Cambridge University Press, 2006). His work has appeared in numerous academic journals, including the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Journal of Politics*, and the *Annual Review of Political Science*, and his opinions have been published in *The New Republic*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Al Jazeera English*, and the *International Herald Tribune*. In 2006, he was awarded the Emerging Scholar Award for the top scholar in the field of Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior within 10 years of the doctorate. He has served as a Truman National Security Fellow since 2008, and was the

recipient of NYU's "Golden Dozen" teaching award in 2011. He is currently the Vice-President of the *Midwest Political Science Association* and a Member of the Executive Board of the *Association for the Study of East European and Eurasian Societies*. He is also a co-author of the award winning politics and policy blog The Monkey Cage (www.themonkeycage.org).

[Daniel Viehoff](#)

The University of Sheffield

Daniel joined the Sheffield philosophy department in 2010, after completing a Ph.D. at Columbia University and spending a year as Faculty Fellow at Harvard University's Safra Center for Ethics. Daniel's research is primarily in political, moral, and legal philosophy, but he is also interested in social philosophy, philosophy of action, and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. He is currently engaged in two projects. The first is on democracy and authority; it asks whether the fact that laws are made democratically imposes on us a special duty to obey them, and why the answer to this question matters for theorizing about democracy. (Daniel's book manuscript on this topic is about to be completed; a related article, entitled 'Procedure and Outcome in the Justification of Authority', was recently published in the *Journal of Political Philosophy*.) The second project is on the ethics of democratic enfranchisement. It seeks to understand who must be granted voting rights in a democracy and who need not be.