

Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences

# Lucerne Master Class 2015

With Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Wolfgang Streeck  
Emeritus Director, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne

## Markets and Democracy

28 September - 2 October 2014, University of Lucerne  
Course Location: Hotel Seeburg, Lucerne





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# Welcome!



## Dear Participants

We are pleased to welcome you in Lucerne, Switzerland for the second Lucerne Master Class entitled *Markets and Democracy* from 28 September – 2 October 2015!

Running annually from 2015–2019 under the general theme *The Culture of Markets*, the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences (GSL) at the University of Lucerne will be offering one-week Master Classes, which will offer the opportunity to analyse the variety of virulent problems in the market through a range of scientific perspectives.

We wish you all an inspiring and pleasant time at the University of Lucerne and we are looking forward to spending this week with you.

Yours sincerely

### **Prof. Dr. Martin Hartmann**

Professor of Philosophy, Chair for Practical Philosophy at the University of Lucerne. Associate member of the board, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Lucerne (GSL)

### **Dr. Christina Cuonz**

Managing Director, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Lucerne (GSL)

### **BA Sarah Kaiser**

Scientific Assistant, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Lucerne (GSL)

### **Viola Müller**

Secretary, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Lucerne (GSL)



*The Lucerne Master Class is supported by the Mercator Foundation Switzerland*

## Organisation

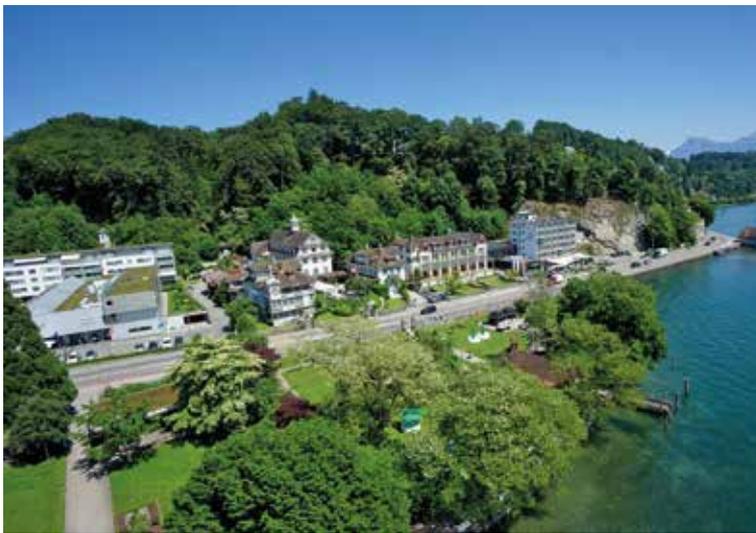
**For questions during the Master Class, please contact either Sarah or Christina**

### **Travel expenses**

We kindly ask you to hand in all expense receipts and travel tickets (original travel documents) and a filled in disbursement form after your return home in October. Thank you very much! Disbursement forms will be distributed during the master class.

### **Location**

The Lucerne Master Class 2015 takes place in a panorama meeting room at Hotel Seeburg in Lucerne.



Hotel Seeburg  
Seeburgstrasse 53–61  
6006 Lucerne  
Switzerland  
Tel. +41 41 375 55 55

### **How to get to Hotel Seeburg from the train station**

- 10 minutes by bus No. 24 to «Hotel Seeburg». Timetables: [www.vbl.ch](http://www.vbl.ch)
- 45 minutes on foot along the lakeside promenade

### **Trip to the greater Lucerne area on Wednesday**

Please bring a pair of walking shoes and rain gear with you.

## Preparation

### Presentation of PhD Projects

Participants are requested to prepare a short presentation of their thesis work (no longer than 20 minutes, no more than five PowerPoint slides). Please find your presentation slot in the detailed programme.

### Syllabus for text sessions (see detailed programme for individual text sessions):

**Brown, Wendy**, 2003: Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy. *Theory and Event*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

**Crouch, Colin**, 2004: *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

**Habermas, Jürgen**, 2015: Democracy or Capitalism? On the Abject Spectacle of a Capitalistic World Society Fragmented along National Lines. In: Habermas, Jürgen, *The Lure of Technocracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 85-102. Deutsch: Demokratie oder Kapitalismus? Vom Elend der nationalstaatlichen Fragmentierung in einer kapitalistisch integrierten Weltgesellschaft. *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*. Vol. 58, 2013, No. 5, 59-70.

**Heller, Hermann**, 1933 [2015]: Authoritarian Liberalism. *European Law Journal*. Vol. 21, No. 3, 295-301.

**Merkel, Wolfgang**, 2014: Is Capitalism Compatible with Democracy? *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*. Vol. 8, No. 2, 109-128.

**Streeck, Wolfgang**, 2015: Comment on Wolfgang Merkel, «Is Capitalism Compatible with Democracy?» *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 49-60.

**Streeck, Wolfgang**, 2015: Heller, Schmitt and the Euro. *European Law Journal*. Vol. 21, No. 3, 361-370.

**Streeck, Wolfgang**, 2014: *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso Books.

**Streeck, Wolfgang**, 2014: Small-State Nostalgia? The Currency Union, Germany, and Europe: A Reply to Jürgen Habermas. *Constellations*. Vol. 21, No. 2, 213-221. Deutsch: Vom DM-Nationalismus zum Euro-Patriotismus? Eine Replik auf Jürgen Habermas. *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*. Vol. 58, 2013, No. 9, 75-92.

## Wolfgang Streeck



WOLFGANG STREECK is Director emeritus and Professor at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, Germany. From 1988 to 1995 he was Professor of Sociology and Industrial Relations at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Among his widely discussed publications are *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*, London and New York: Verso Books, 2014; *Politics in the Age of Austerity* (ed., with Armin Schäfer), Cambridge: Polity Press 2013; *Re-Forming Capitalism: Institutional Change in the German Political Economy*, Oxford University Press, 2009; and *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies* (ed., with Kathleen Thelen), Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. His current research interests are crises and institutional change in the political economy of contemporary capitalism.

## Markets and Democracy

Markets and democracy function differently: one dollar, one vote the former, one man/woman, one vote the latter. Democratic politics with its egalitarian bent adjusts market outcomes to collective ideas of social justice; whereas markets reward winners and punish losers. Historically capitalists favored markets, and workers suspected them of plotting to abolish democracy. Conversely, workers often opposed the market economy, and capitalists were afraid of electoral majorities replacing it, and private property rights as well, with state planning. It was only in the «mixed economy» of the two or three decades after the Second World War that markets and democracy seemed to be birds of a feather. Since the 1970s, however, their relationship has again become unsettled as the neoliberal revolution has begun to set markets free from democratic-redistributive intervention. Deregulation, privatization, globalization are the key words now, announcing the construction of a new economic order free from democratic politics and governed by non-political «expert» institutions like independent central banks and international organizations – a development that was accompanied by a long-term «post-democratic» decline in political participation and a parallel increase in economic inequality. The Master Class is open to discussing these and other aspects of the relationship between markets and democracy, in the past as well as at present.

## Programme Overview

<b>MONDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER</b>		
<b>Afternoon</b>	12:30	registration and welcome at Hotel Seeburg
	13:00–15:30	introduction, expert presentation, presentation of interests
	15:30–16:00	coffee break
	16:00–17:30	presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion
<b>Evening</b>	off	
<b>TUESDAY, 29 SEPTEMBER</b>		
<b>Morning</b>	9:00–10:30	presentation of PhD projects (3)
	10:30–11:00	coffee break
	11:00–12:30	presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion
<b>Lunch</b>	12:30–14:00	lunch
<b>Afternoon</b>	14:00–16:00	texts: session I
	16:00–18:00	coffee break and transfer to the main university building
	18:00–20:00	public lecture
<b>Evening</b>	20:00–	dinner at Restaurant Helvetia
<b>WEDNESDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER</b>		
<b>Morning</b>	9:30–10:00	discussion of public lecture
	10:00–11:00	presentation of PhD projects (2)
	11:00–11:30	coffee break
	11:30–13:00	presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion
<b>Afternoon &amp; early evening</b>	13:00–	trip to the greater Lucerne area with a lunch picnic and an early dinner at Restaurant Opus Lucerne-Alpnachstad-Mount Pilatus-Kriens-Lucerne
<b>THURSDAY, 1 OCTOBER</b>		
<b>Morning</b>	9:00–10:30	presentation of PhD projects (3)
	10:30–11:00	coffee break
	11:00–12:30	presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion
<b>Lunch</b>	12:30–14:00	lunch
<b>Afternoon</b>	14:00–15:30	texts: session II
	15:30–16:00	coffee break
	16:00–17:30	texts: session II
<b>Evening</b>	off	
<b>FRIDAY, 2 OCTOBER</b>		
<b>Morning &amp; early afternoon</b>	9:00–10:30	texts: session III
	10:30–11:00	coffee break
	11:00–12:30	final discussion
<b>Lunch</b>	12.30–	lunch

## Detailed Programme

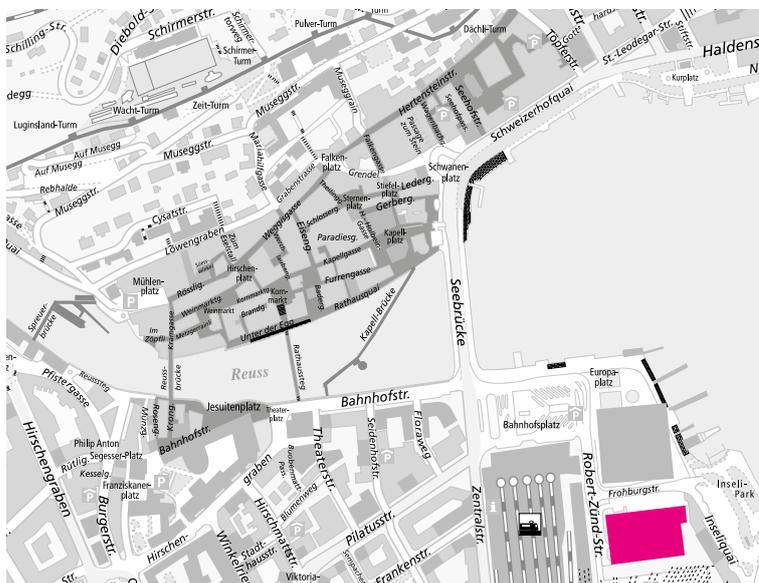
MONDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER		
Afternoon	12:30	<b>registration and welcome at Hotel Seeburg</b>
	13:00–15:30	<b>introduction, expert presentation, presentation of interests</b>
	15:30–16:00	<b>coffee break</b>
	16:00–17:30	<b>presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion</b> Martin Aidnik Frederik Beck
Evening	off	

The Lucerne Master Class 2015 takes place in a panorama meeting room at Hotel Seeburg in Lucerne.



## Detailed Programme

TUESDAY, 29 SEPTEMBER		
Morning	9:00–10:30	<b>presentation of PhD projects (3)</b> Björn Bremer Alvin Camba Julia Drubel
	10:30–11:00	<b>coffee break</b>
	11:00–12:30	<b>presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion</b> Ulrike Ehgartner Sandra Engelbrecht
Lunch	12:30–14:00	<b>lunch</b>
Afternoon	14:00–16:00	<b>texts: session I</b> Brown, Wendy, 2003: Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy. <i>Theory and Event</i> . Vol. 7, No. 1.  Heller, Hermann, 1933 [2015]: Authoritarian Liberalism. <i>European Law Journal</i> . Vol. 21, No. 3, 295-301.  Streck, Wolfgang, 2015: Heller, Schmitt and the Euro. <i>European Law Journal</i> . Vol. 21, No. 3, 361-370.
	16:00–18:00	<b>coffee break and transfer to the main university building</b>
	18:00–20:00	<b>public lecture</b> <i>Capitalism and Democracy Today</i> University of Lucerne Frohburgstrasse 3 Room HS 5
Evening	20:00–	<b>dinner at Restaurant Helvetia</b> Restaurant Helvetia Waldstätterstrasse 9 6003 Luzern



University of Lucerne  
Frohburgstrasse 3  
Lucerne  
Switzerland

## Detailed Programme

WEDNESDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER		
Morning	9:30–10:00	<b>discussion of public lecture</b>
	10:00–11:00	<b>presentation of PhD projects (2)</b> Tim Holst Celik Julia Maisenbacher
	11:00–11:30	<b>coffee break</b>
	11:30–13:00	<b>presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion</b> Martin Mendelski Sebastian Möller
Afternoon & early evening	13:00–	<b>trip to the greater Lucerne area with a lunch picnic and an early dinner at Restaurant Opus</b>  Lucerne-Alpnachstad-Mount Pilatus-Kriens-Lucerne <b>Please bring a good pair of walking shoes and rain gear with you</b>  Restaurant Opus Bahnhofstrasse 16 6003 Luzern

### Schedule for the trip:

13:30	bus (No 24) from Hotel Seeburg to the Museum of Transportation
13:48–14:55	boat from the Museum of Transportation to Alpnachstad (lunch bags)
15:05–15:35	trip with the world's steepest cogwheel railway from Alpnachstad to Pilatus Kulm
15:35	snack and degustation of local products and wine at Steinbockbar & leisure time on mount Pilatus
17:00	gondolas from mount Pilatus to Kriens
ca. 18:30	walk in the city or leisure time
19:30	dinner at restaurant Opus, Lucerne



## Detailed Programme

THURSDAY, 1 OCTOBER		
Morning	9:00–10:30	<b>presentation of PhD projects (3)</b> Arpita Mukherjee, Maryna Onishchenko, Lukas C. Peter
	10:30–11:00	<b>coffee break</b>
	11:00–12:30	<b>presentation of PhD projects (2), discussion</b> Nils Redeker, Lukas Tobler
Lunch	12:30–14:00	<b>lunch</b>
Afternoon	14:00–15:30	<b>texts: session II a</b> Crouch, Colin, 2004: <i>Post-Democracy</i> . Cambridge: Polity Press.  Streeck, Wolfgang, 2014: <i>Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism</i> . London and New York: Verso Books.
	15:30–16:00	<b>coffee break</b>
	16:00–17:30	<b>texts: session II b</b> Merkel, Wolfgang, 2014: Is Capitalism Compatible with Democracy? <i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft</i> . Vol. 8, No. 2, 109-128.  Streeck, Wolfgang, 2015: Comment on Wolfgang Merkel, «Is Capitalism Compatible with Democracy?» <i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft</i> . Vol. 9, No. 1, 49-60.
Evening	off	

FRIDAY, 2 OCTOBER		
Morning & early afternoon	9:00–10:30	<b>texts: session III</b> Habermas, Jürgen, 2015: Democracy or Capitalism? On the Abject Spectacle of a Capitalistic World Society Fragmented along National Lines. In: Habermas, Jürgen, <i>The Lure of Technocracy</i> . Cambridge: Polity Press, 85-102. Deutsch: Demokratie oder Kapitalismus? Vom Elend der nationalstaatlichen Fragmentierung in einer kapitalistisch integrierten Weltgesellschaft. <i>Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik</i> . Vol. 58, 2013, No. 5, 59-70.  Streeck, Wolfgang, 2014: Small-State Nostalgia? The Currency Union, Germany, and Europe: A Reply to Jürgen Habermas. <i>Constellations</i> . Vol. 21, No. 2, 213-221. Deutsch: Vom DM-Nationalismus zum Euro-Patriotismus? Eine Replik auf Jürgen Habermas. <i>Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik</i> . Vol. 58, 2013, No. 9, 75-92.
	10:30–11:00	<b>coffee break</b>
	11:00–12:30	<b>final discussion</b>
Lunch	12.30–	<b>lunch at Restaurant Seeburg</b>

## Participants and Projects

Name, Affiliation	Project
<b>Aidnik, Martin</b> Department of Sociology Tallinn University, Estonia	A Study of Utopia in Zygmunt Bauman's Sociology: Public Sociology, Citizen's Income and Humanism
<b>Beck, Frederik</b> Democracy and Democratization Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), Germany	Democracy in Hard Times. The Political Legitimacy of Decisions in Economic Crises
<b>Bremer, Björn</b> Department of Political and Social Sciences European University Institute   San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy	The Missing Left? Explaining the Response of Social Democratic Parties to the Great Recession
<b>Camba, Alvin</b> Department of Sociology Johns Hopkins University   Baltimore, USA	The Specter of Imperial China: Geoeconomics of Chinese Capital in the Philippines and Vietnam
<b>Drubel, Julia</b> Department of Political Science Justus-Liebig-University Gießen, Germany	Unfree Labour in Global Production
<b>Ehgartner, Ulrike</b> School of Social Sciences (Sociology) University of Manchester, UK	Environmentally and socially responsible consumption? A study on the discursive construction of values towards sustainability
<b>Engelbrecht, Sandra</b> Hertie School of Governance Berlin, Germany	Labour Migration and Industrial Relations Institutions: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Social Partners' Responses to Labour Migration in Europe
<b>Holst Celik, Tim</b> Department of Business and Politics Copenhagen Business School, Denmark	'Governance to the Rescue': Diagnosing Cross-country Institutional Solutions to European Democratic Capitalism
<b>Maisenbacher, Julia</b> Department of Political Science   GSL University of Lucerne, Switzerland	The Transformative Power of Foreign Direct Investment – How Investment Flows of Western European Companies Liberalize Economies on the EU Periphery
<b>Mendelski, Martin</b> Department of Sociology University of Trier, Germany	Law & Capitalism: The Importance of the Rule of Law for the Development of Capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe
<b>Möller, Sebastian</b> Institute of Intercultural & International Studies University of Bremen, Germany	Local Budgets and Global Finance: The Spread of Financial Market Engagement of Municipal Governments and the role of Transnational Service Firms (working title)
<b>Mukherjee, Arpita</b> Department of Sociology University of Alberta   Edmonton, Canada	Politicizing the Aesthetics: Art, Gender, and Social Action through Social Practice of Art
<b>Onishchenko, Maryna</b> Department of Political Science Copenhagen University, Denmark	European Identity Construction in the Eurozone Crisis: between Strategy and Narrative
<b>Peter, Lukas C.</b> Institute of Political Philosophy University of Zurich, Switzerland	Democracy and the Commons: An Analysis of Democratic Freedom in the Classical Liberal and Marxist Discourses on the Commons
<b>Redeker, Nils</b> Department of Political Science University of Zurich, Switzerland	Distributional Conflicts in the Eurozone Crisis – the Political Economy of Persistent Surpluses
<b>Tobler, Lukas</b> Department of Political Science   GSL University of Lucerne, Switzerland	The Politicization of the Swiss Banks in the 1980s – The Swiss Financial Center in the Spotlight of Swiss Domestic and Foreign Policy

**Martin Aidnik**

Tallinn University  
Department of Sociology  
Magasini 3G, Tallinn, Estonia

martinaidnik@hotmail.com

**A STUDY OF UTOPIA IN ZYGMUNT BAUMAN'S SOCIOLOGY:  
PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY, CITIZEN'S INCOME AND HUMANISM****CV**

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\* 1988, Estonia

2007-2011 University of Tartu, Estonia – BA in Philosophy

2011-2012 University of Bristol, UK – M.Sc in Social and Cultural Theory

2013 - University of Tallinn – PhD student in Sociology

**Research Interests:** Classical and contemporary social theory, sociology of education

**Publications & Talks**

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- Aidnik, M. (2015) The Shadow of Thatcherism Over Estonian Politics. Truthout, 23.04.
- Aidnik, M. (2015) The new reforms are hollowing out Estonian education. openDemocracy, 16.03.
- Aidnik, M. (2015) Estonian elections: hope for change or just more of the same? openDemocracy, 21.02.

**Conference papers**

- Roundtable presentation at the British Sociological Association's annual conference in 2014 in Leeds, Titel: A sociology for the 21st century? An enquiry into 'public sociology' reading Zygmunt Bauman
- Presentation at the Nordic Sociological Association's conference in 2014 in Lund, Titel: The perpetual becoming of humans: Zygmunt Bauman and critical humanism

## Dissertation Project:

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Social theory and sociology have since recently shown greater concern for questions of normativity and social justice. Both can be said to be vitally engaged with repression, oppression and indignity of unequal social relations. They present deeply political and profoundly humane critique of structural forces which underlay the self-destructive pathologies of modern societies. The thesis will follow this trend with a study on Zygmunt Bauman's sociology which has been widely influential in the last two decades and is considered one of the most important sociological theorists of our time.

The dissertation, first of all, is going to be a study on <utopia> in Bauman's sociology, it is a thematic continuity in his work that deserves a study dedicated to it. In comparison to his other persistent themes such as <power>, <socialism> and <freedom>, it is still a relatively little studied topic. It will explore Bauman as a critic of utopia and a utopian thinker – it will ask what these different engagements with utopia say about its meaning for Bauman and how the meaning of utopia for him has changed during the course of his transitions as a sociologist. It will also set out to engage with the subject matter critically and to identify problems in Bauman's treatment of the topic. This is something that the existing literature on this topic has not done. The connections between his early works in English and his critique of modernity and transition to postmodernity need more thought in general for this topic.

In order to give utopia a concrete aspect, the thesis will study a particular contemporary idea that seeks to tackle insecurity and inequality, namely the 'citizen's income' (known also as 'guaranteed basic income'). Citizen's income is a policy that seeks to ensure that everyone has the resources for their well being, regardless of employment. Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) was created in 2004 in order to research and deliberate citizen's income (<http://www.basicincome.org/>). The connection between citizen's income and Bauman's sociology is not accidental, he has voiced his support for the idea. The thesis looks to study the debates that have occurred on this topic in the Estonian media. In addition, it looks to study the opinions of the people who are proponents of citizen's income in Estonia, as well as get an insight on this issue from politicians. Some of the important questions would be: What are the main obstacles and benefits of citizen's income? How would it change work and welfare? How is work perceived in society – is it a source of self-realization or a necessity? How are social relations implicated in views on citizen's income? The study should help understand the relations between work, income and welfare in Estonia. In addition, the study would contribute to the discussion of citizen's income.

**Frederik Beck**

Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)  
Democracy and Democratization  
Reichpietschufer 50, D-10785 Berlin

beck.frederik@gmail.com



## DEMOCRACY IN HARD TIMES. THE POLITICAL LEGITIMACY OF DECISIONS IN ECONOMIC CRISES.

### CV

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\* 11th of April, 1968, Siegburg, Germany

02/2014 – present	Political Advisor & Speechwriter to the Secretary General, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)
06/2012 – 02/2014	Political Advisor on Strategy & Research, Unit for Policy Planning, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)
10/2009 – 09/2010	M.Sc. in European Political Economy, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)
10/2008 – 10/2009	M.A. in Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin
03/2006 – 06/2008	B.A. in Political Science and Philosophy, University of Mannheim Fellow of the German National Academic Foundation

**Research Interests:** Political Economy, Critiques of Capitalism, Democracy, Austerity, Neoliberalism

### Publications & Talks

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- Invited speaker at the „IX Foro Anual del Progresismo“ in Santiago de Chile (November 2014)
- Invited speaker at the Planning Conference of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation in Santa Cruz de la Sierra (November 2013)
- Beck, Frederik & Max Neufeind. 2012. „Die Idee des Fortschritts in der Wahrnehmung junger Deutscher. Implikationen für sozialdemokratische Politik.“ [The Perception of the Idea of Progress Among Young German Citizens. Implications for Social Democratic Politics.] WISO Diskurs.
- Beck, Frederik. 2010. „Nietzsches Fortschrittskritik – Implikationen für politische Theologie.“ [Nietzsches Concept of Progress – Implications for Political Theology.] Nietzscheforschung Band 17. Akademie Verlag.
- Beck, Frederik et al. 2010. „Im Namen der Sicherheit. Perspektiven auf israelische Anti-Terror-Politik.“ [In the Name of Security. Perspectives on Israeli Anti-Terrorism Policy.] In: Studienkolleg zu Berlin (Hg.): Projekt Junges Europa 6. Wehrhahn Verlag.
- Beck, Frederik. 2007. „Manuel Probst: Die humanitäre Interventionspflicht.“ [Manuel Probst: The Duty for Humanitarian Intervention.] International Politics and Society (3): 150-152.

## Dissertation Project:

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„Sovereign is he who decides on the exception.“ Carl Schmitt’s dictum points to the crucial question of political sovereignty in times of crisis. Looking at the developments in Europe since the financial meltdown of 2008, the concept of political sovereignty becomes of crucial importance. During the crisis, institutions like the IMF, the ECB and the European Commission enforced far-reaching austerity programs with high social costs, and, at least for a limited amount of time, assumed core governmental responsibilities. In Italy and Greece, “expert”-governments were installed in the name of rebuilding the so-called market confidence. And today, the democratically elected government in Greece has barely any options left, mainly because it chose to partially reject the demands of its creditors.

These phenomena seem to indicate a fundamental shift: It is no longer the people who are the true sovereign, but poorly legitimated international actors or supposedly anonymous market forces. If this holds true, democracy is in danger. Democratic legitimacy is based on the concept of popular sovereignty, „government by the people“, as Lincoln famously declared. It is the idea that the people are simultaneously the authors and addressees of the law. If popular sovereignty is transferred to market forces, democratic legitimacy is hollowed out. If it is no longer the people but rather technocrats who have sovereign powers, the fundamental promise of democracy would go unfulfilled.

My project aims to explore the impact that economic crises have on democratic sovereignty and legitimacy. Are times of crises automatically times of the empowerment of the executive, as Schmitt indicated? Is it plausible to interpret the current situation through the lens of a state of exception that displaces sovereign power from the people to the market? And if so, what are the implications for democratic legitimacy – on a theoretical as well as practical level?

In order to approach this issue I want to look at the quality of democratic legitimacy in different crises in Germany after 1945 and compare them over time. Analyzing legitimacy in terms of (a) procedures, (b) institutions & policies and (c) discourses, I will argue that while the quality of procedures employed in times of crises remains constantly weak, with respect to institutions & policies as well as discourses I expect significant variation over time. The changes in capitalist dynamics that are usually referred to as ‘financialization’ gave market actors like banks, insurance companies and institutional investors much more direct influence on the political decision making process in the last 30 years or so. My working hypothesis is that this new configuration of power systematically influences the distributional consequences of policies chosen in economic crises and alters the discursive justifications of relevant actors.

**Björn Bremer**

European University Institute  
Department of Political and Social Sciences  
Badia Fiesolana, Via dei Roccettini, 9  
I-50014 San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy

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## THE MISSING LEFT? EXPLAINING THE RESPONSE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES TO THE GREAT RECESSION

### CV

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\* 07.09.1990, Henstedt-Ulzburg, GER

2007-2009 UWC Atlantic College, UK

2009-2012 University of Oxford, UK: BA in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE)

2012-2014 Johns Hopkins University - School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), US:  
MA in International Relations and International Economics

2014- European University Institute (EUI), Italy: PhD Candidate and Researcher in the  
POLCON project

**Research Interests:** Comparative politics, political economy, the politics of economic crises and macroeconomic policy, European integration, political parties, and political participation.

### Publications & Talks

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- Bach, Stefan, Guido Baldi, Kerstin Bernoth, Björn Bremer, Beatrice Farkas, Ferdinand Fichtner, Marcel Fratzscher, and Martin Gornig. 2013. «More Growth Through Higher Investment.» *DIW Economic Bulletin*, 08/2013.
- Guido, Baldi and Björn Bremer. 2013. «Verluste auf dem deutschen Nettoauslandsvermögen – wie sind sie entstanden?» *DIW Wochenbericht*, 49 (4).
- «The Increasing Importance of Wealth: Explaining Policy and Party Preferences?» Presentation at the LIVEWHAT Summer School, 11.07.2015, Florence

## Dissertation Project:

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The current economic crisis in Europe has also caused a crisis of social democracy. Following a brief period of 'emergency Keynesianism' shortly after the 2008 financial crisis, social democratic parties accepted austerity as the dogma of the day since 2010 and, thereby, proposed and implemented macroeconomic policies that are contrary to their general economic ideology. This thesis attempts to explain this trajectory of social democracy in Western Europe in the shadow of the Great Recession.

Uncovering the surprising amount of popular support for austerity among supporters of social democratic parties, the thesis argues that parties adopt policies that appeal to their electoral constituency. Consequently, the social democratic response to the crisis was driven by the demand-side of politics and, in particular, by the differentiation of interests among the traditional constituencies of social democratic parties. In the context of the financial crisis in Europe, the material preferences of the working class and socio-cultural professionals have diverged due to their different statuses as debtors and creditors in the economy, respectively. To the extent that social democratic parties are increasingly middle-class parties, they represent the interests of creditors over debtors and, therefore, favour austerity over traditional Keynesian demand management policies.

By employing a most different systems design, the thesis tests this argument by analysing the supply- and demand-side of politics in Germany, France, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. It will first use automated content analysis (ACA) to examine the macroeconomic policies that social democratic parties have proposed before and during the Great Recession in these countries. Afterwards, it will use elite interviews with social democratic politicians and leading macroeconomic policy-makers to explain this response of social democratic parties through process tracing. The interviews will be used to probe policy-makers about their reasons to support austerity and to disentangle the importance of interests, institutions and ideas for their response. Third, the thesis will complement this qualitative analysis with a quantitative analysis of cross-national survey data. It will examine to what extent the supporters of social democratic parties are integrated into the financial system and can be classified as creditors or debtors. This analysis will be used to test the hypothesis that the relative importance of income from financial assets (including housing) and pension entitlements has become more important than traditional labour market income for most voters in advanced capitalistic countries.

Based on this analysis, the thesis argues that traditional definitions of class along occupational lines or labour market income are not appropriate anymore; even the supporters of social democratic parties have gained a large stake in the financial system through private investments and pension entitlements. Hence, the thesis argues that social democratic parties do not support traditional Keynesian economic policies because the perceived interests of their electorate have changed dramatically. In this way, it attempts to bring the «electoral turn» to the ideational literature in political economy.

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## THE SPECTER OF IMPERIAL CHINA: GEOECONOMICS OF CHINESE CAPITAL IN THE PHILIPPINES AND VIETNAM (working title)

### CV

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\* October, 8, 1987

2015-onwards Johns Hopkins University, Doctoral Researcher in Sociology  
2013-2015 Binghamton University, Masters of Arts in Sociology  
2010-2013 University College London, Masters of Arts Economy, State, and Society  
2010-2012 University of Tartu, Masters of Arts Social Sciences: Baltic Sea Region  
2010-2012 University of the Philippines, Masters of Arts History  
2005-2009 University of the Philippines, Bachelor of Arts in History

**Research Interests:** Global Political Economy, Environmental History, Political Sociology; Global China in Southeast Asia

### Publications & Talks (Selection)

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- Camba, Alvin A. (2015). «Manila, Hanoi, and the South China Sea: The Political Economy of Chinese Capital in the Philippines and Vietnam,» paper to be presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, 22-25 August, 2015.
- Camba, Alvin A. & Jason W. Moore (2015). «Cheap Natures and Cheap Money: Chinese Capitalism in the 21st Century,» paper to be presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, 22-25 August, 2015.
- Camba, Alvin A. (2015). «Goeconomics and Chinese Capital in Southeast Asia:» paper to be presented to the Revisiting Modernity, Comparative-Historical Sociology Conference, Chicago, 21 August, 2015.
- Camba, Alvin (2015). «The Four Cheaps and China's Trajectory in the Capitalist World-Ecology,» paper presented to the conference, World Society, Planetary Natures, Binghamton, NY, 10-11 July.
- Camba, Alvin A. (2015). «From Cheap Natures to Cheap Money: Chinese Capitalism in the 21st Century,» paper presented at the Cornell-Binghamton Graduate World-Ecologies Workshop, Cornell University, 9 May.
- Camba, Alvin A. (2015). «The Specter of Imperial China: Goeconomics and Capital in Southeast Asia,» at the Sociology Graduate Student Union's Faculty-Student Joint Research Talk Series, Binghamton University, 22 April.

## Dissertation Project:

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Numerous observers point to the divergent responses of the Philippines and Vietnam, two countries in open diplomatic and territorial dispute with the People's Republic of China (PRC), over the suzerainty of South China Sea. In Vietnam, there are conflict-reducing mechanisms that have been institutionalized for more than twenty years: hotline, maritime emergency protocols, diplomatic special arrangements, and military envoys. Conversely, there are no substantial military agreements between the Philippines and China. There were joint natural resource development agreements in the South China Sea from 2001 to 2009, but when the Philippine President Benigno Aquino (2010-onwards) took office, he rescinded these agreements. Despite China's economic and political threats, the Philippines affirmed the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) with the United States in 2014, conducted joint military exercises with the US and Japan, bought billions of dollars' worth of military arms from Australia, called for numerous UN resolutions in the dispute, and criticized the Chinese publicly in numerous occasions. But Chinese economic involvement in both states is huge. Since 2010 to 2013, Chinese investments in Vietnam increased from 4.9 to 6.2% while investments have decreased from 4.8% to 2.4% in the Philippines. In absolute terms, both economies have approximately around \$40-50 billion of existing Chinese investments. If the involvement of China is considerable in the economic life of both states, the key empirical puzzle is this: what accounts for the divergent responses of Philippine and Vietnamese foreign policy to Chinese aggression in the South China Sea? Subsequently and secondarily, what are the ways in which Chinese capital becomes a transformative force in terms of reconstituting the power of China's allies, the international preferences of political elites, and to some extent, the domestic class constellations?

I argue that the kind of collective bargaining organization generated from the differentiated kind of production explains the variation in the foreign policy approach towards the PRC in the South China Sea. Vietnamese manufacturing is interpolated by the national elites and national unions. Chinese capital in manufacturing not only creates 33% of GDP and generates the high employment in Vietnam, but it has also included members of the Vietnamese Communist Party and national unions in key governance and workplace positions. Negotiations regarding wages, insurance, and healthcare, thus, have become an institutionalized routine. I forward that the Chinese has included these actors because manufacturing places the workers at a central position to disrupt the production process. By extension, economic production has become a bridge to mitigate some of the geopolitical issues by linking the different Chinese and Vietnamese actors with one other. Conversely, Chinese capital in the Philippine mineral industry, interpolated by local elites in the provinces, has not created the same kind of collective bargaining organization between the Chinese and the Filipinos. The mineral industry, instead, dispossesses workers from their lands and embeds further mechanization on production to extract mineral. Workers employed by the industry are not only paid poorly, often abused, and used to provide auxiliary services, but are also not central to production. These makes the workers and villages dispensable, generating backlash from national elites and local groups. This situation has therefore exacerbated the geopolitical tensions.

The Philippines and Vietnam provide interesting cases to study not only because of inter-sectoral comparisons, but also because of the territorial issues with the PRC. It becomes possible, therefore, to more complexly understand China's growing role by putting security and economics vis-à-vis one another, as well as interrogating the reaction of US power and American capital, thus providing richer comparisons of Chinese capital within Southeast Asia and with other regions.

**Julia Drubel**

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## UNFREE LABOUR IN GLOBAL PRODUCTION

### CV

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\*24-11-1986, Kassel / GER

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 15-04-2014-today      | Research Associate at the Chair of International Relations at Department of Political Science, Justus-Liebig-University Gießen/GER.            |
| 11-01-2013-02-04-2013 | Research Assistant/Project Intern at the FES (Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation) Regional Office Southern Caucasus in Tbilisi/GE0.                    |
| 15-03-2010-21-04-2010 | Research Assistant at the Department of Sociology, Westphalian-Wilhelm University in Münster/GER.  |
| 15-09-2009-15-12-2009 | Research Assistant/Project Intern at the German Development Cooperation GIZ in the project of sustainable economic development in Bishkek/KGZ. |
| 15-10-2010-31-09-2013 | Master of Arts in Peace- and Conflict Studies at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies of the Philipps-University in Marburg / GER.        |
| 01-10-2006-08-12-2010 | Bachelor of Arts in Public Administration at the Department of Political Science at the Westphalian Wilhelm-University Münster/GER.            |
| 15-09-2008-08-12-2010 | Bachelor of Science in European Studies at the Department of Management and Governance at the University of Twente in Enschede/NL.             |

**Research Interests:** Global social and economic governance; norms in world politics; [In-class simulations in teaching IR]

### Publications & Talks

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- Talk A EISA: 9th Pan-European Conference on International Relations. Paper accepted: *“Capitalist Diversity and Space within Critical IPE – From the ‘Underside of Globalization’ to a Systematic Examination of Forced Labour”* 23-09-2015-26-09-2015. “Aristotle’s Politics of the Hunt,” Presented at the *Ancient Philosophy Society*, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN, April 6th, 2013

## Dissertation Project:

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**Research Question:** While the internationally accepted legal definition of forced labour<sup>1</sup> is not subject to changes and covers a vast number of labour relations, the specific appearance of labour has evolved over time and is subject to changes. I argue that these specific labour relations and their contexts are in need of explanation. The research question therefore is: Which forms of labour relations do exist and which global characteristics of capitalism explain these variances, if any?

**State of the Art:** The processes underlying (un-)free labour in the context of (fragmented) global capitalism and country-specific conditions have been insufficiently theorized so far. Even though this observation is not new, tendencies of de-politicizing forced labour as (criminal) aberration from the proper working of the global capitalist economy prevail (i.e. Busse and Braun 2003). Significant parts of capitalism operate autonomously from territorial logics, i.e. the transnational reallocation of production. These processes, I argue, are constitutive for social characteristics (i.e. exploitation mechanisms) within a national mode of capitalism or across its variances. My dissertation aims at closing these academic voids. It therefore draws empirically on the quantification of forced labour by the ILO as a starting point but as indicated above aims at conceptual advancement of the international recognized definition.

**Theoretical and methodological demarcation:** The dissertation follows a qualitative research design (Decock 2007; Kutnick et al. 2007) that treats labour as the dependent variable. Theoretically the project therewith goes beyond the hitherto ahistorical and meta-theoretical conceptions of unfree labour within International Political Economy (Brass 1999; Rao 1999; Lerche 2007). It draws upon research in the field of compliance (Thomann 2011; Böhning 2005) thereby recognizing that it has not yet been possible to obligate states and private actors effectively to observe the rules against forced labour. The dissertation therewith also tangent to jurisprudential and economics research (Busse and Braun 2003; Allain and Hickey 2012; O'Connell Davidson 2006). And needs to take the research field on globalization effects on national developments into account (Mosley 2011; Ehmke et al. 2009; Fuchs 2007; Gunter und van der Hoeven 2004: 17; Cioffi 2000).

<sup>1</sup> Forced labour is legally defined as „[...] all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily“ (ILO 1930: C29 Art. 2(1)).

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## ENVIRONMENTALLY AND SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION? A STUDY ON THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF VALUES TOWARDS SUSTAINABILITY

### CV

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\* 28.06.1985, Tamsweg (Austria)

10/2014 – present	Sustainable Consumption Institute, University of Manchester PhD (Sociology)
03/2012 – 06/2012	Karl Franzens University of Graz – Institut für Erziehungs- und Bildungswissenschaft Student Assistant  Teaching empirical research methods
03/2009 – 10/2013	Karl Franzens University of Graz and Alpen-Adria University of Klagenfurt Master Studies of Media Education (Studium Irregulare)
10/2007 – 11/2010	Karl Franzens University of Graz Master Studies of Sociology Study semester at the University of Örebro (Sweden)

**Research Interests:** Discourse analysis, sustainability, culture of everyday life, informal learning

Other interests: travelling, cycling, cooking

### Publications & Talks

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- (2014): "Ernährungsalltag und Lebensalltag : Untersuchung der Motive und Werteorientierungen von KonsumentInnen im Hinblick auf die Bildung für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung." Wien: Forum Umweltbildung im Umweltdachverband. Forum Exkurse 11
- (2011): "Grenzen in unseren Köpfen : Überlegungen zur Funktion, Konstruktion und Dekonstruktion von nationalen Stereotypen," in: Bettina Gruber and Daniela Rippitsch (eds): Modell Friedensregion Alpen-Adria? Lernerfahrungen in einer europäischen Grenzregion Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag, p. 282-291

## Dissertation Project:

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Corporations currently come to face that they can't anymore afford to not present themselves in the light of doing something 'good' to the world. Facing the competition on the market, it became customary for businesses to give some kind of 'good' CSR performance. While previously a notion of trust meant that a corporation fostered an image of the production of 'safe' and 'useful' goods, trust currently refers to the organizations' image as a non-exploiting, sustainable organization.

The emergence of responsibility for environmental issues and social issues such as justice, fairness, rights, virtue and sustainability has caused a fundamental transformation of the nature of corporate-consumer-relations; forcing the individual into a supervisory authority role that critically observes corporations' and other stakeholders' behavior. Scholars refer to this role based on rational and utility-maximizing principles. Further it has also been explained with ideas of social consciousness and solidarity. From this notion, figures such as the 'consumer citizen' or the 'political/ethical consumers' arise.

Based on the idea of consumers' choice, scholars have discussed the link between ethical consumerism and politics. Social theory here is often built on the assumption of the reflexive individual, facing the current global society from a moral perspective. While some scholars approach the emerging idea of the 'citizen consumer' from an optimistic perspective, suggesting that these new types of individualistic agents push forward a social change and a reconstruction of democracy, others follow a rather pessimistic line, claiming that the neoliberal ideology transfers all the initial responsibilities of the state on to the individual. Rather than understanding the morally concerned consumers as pre-existing categories, my research suggests that these notions are constructed, for example by organizational or institutional discourses, and are – therefore – contestable. The manner in which socially and environmentally responsible consumption is understood and addressed plays an important role in the promotion of sustainable lifestyles, because discursively (re-)produced ethics, norms, and beliefs ultimately legitimize practices as being sustainable. Therefore, it has to be recognized how 'sustainability' might be a contested issue, how claims about it are mediated and how such claims alter as new information is introduced and how information is prepared, structured, accepted or discounted.

In order to gain a better insight into the implied discussions about rightness, fairness and justice that frame and articulate the meaning of sustainability, I am particularly interested in the moral perspectives given in that discourse. However, rather than looking at how NGOs, corporations, policy makers, campaigners, lobbyists and third sector organizations deal with societal and environmental issues (e.g. what they do to show corporate social responsibility), this research investigates on the moral discourses they thereby (re-)construct and promote.

Therefore, my research explores the relationships between multiple moral framings on food consumption and their joint contribution to the framing of desirable 'sustainable behavior'. It examines how organizations frame and define sustainability problems, how such framings become associated with different forms of food consumption and what claims such framings enable organizations to make with respect to sustainable development (e.g. by making references to data or statistics). Also, rather than looking at the individuals' responsibilities and opportunities (restrains, obligations, duties, difficulties, actions or failures) in their role as 'citizen consumers' or 'ethical consumers', this research investigates how this figure is effectively constructed in current debates. Given the social constructivist theoretical approach of this research, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been chosen as a valid methodological way to approach the empirical field (textual material of several organizations and institutions operating in the food sector).

**Sandra Engelbrecht**

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## LABOUR MIGRATION AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS INSTITUTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL PARTNERS' RESPONSES TO LABOUR MIGRATION IN EUROPE

### CV

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\* 20 October 1985, Trollhättan, Sweden

2013 – 2016 (expected) PhD in Governance, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany

2004 – 2008 M.Sc. in Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Nov 2008 – Aug 2013 Consultant, International Labour Organization (ILO), Geneva, Switzerland.

Nov 2011 – Aug 2013 Research Associate, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Apr 2010 – Jun 2011 Research Associate, Africa Progress Panel Secretariat, Geneva, Switzerland.

Aug 2009 – Feb 2010 Project Development and Implementation intern, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Nairobi, Kenya.

**Research Interests:** Labour migration, European integration, and institutional stability and change in contemporary capitalism, particularly in the sphere of industrial relations.

### Publications & Talks

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- Christensen, L. & Engelbrecht, S. (2013) *Egenintresset i arbetsmarknadsopinionen [Self-interest in Swedish labour market opinion]*. University of Gothenburg: SOM Institute.
- Christensen, L. & Engelbrecht, S. (2012) *Insiders och outsiders i svensk arbetsmarknadsopinion [Insiders and outsiders in Swedish labour market opinion]*. University of Gothenburg: SOM Institute.

## Dissertation Project:

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Labour mobility is a key feature of globalization and a defining feature of the European Union. Over the last decade, most advanced economies in Europe have experienced increased labour migration. My dissertation project aims to improve our understanding of institutional stability and change in the industrial relations of different market economies by bringing labour migration into the analysis. The core of the causal theory that I develop in my research is that the interaction between employers' and trade unions' migration responses will lead to different outcomes in terms of impact on the institutions regulating employment relationships; either in contributing to institutional stability, or in driving different forms of change. By theorizing and empirically testing the causal mechanisms behind these processes in typical cases, my research aims to bring further clarity to the current uncertainty surrounding the impact of labour migration on industrial relations in transformation. The typical cases that I study are the German manufacturing sector, and the construction and hotel and restaurant sectors in Germany, Norway, and Sweden.

**Julia Maisenbacher**  
University of Lucerne  
Department of Political Science  
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## THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT – HOW INVESTMENT FLOWS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COMPANIES LIBERALIZE ECONOMIES ON THE EU PERIPHERY

### CV

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\* 11.07.1985, Neuenbürg (Germany)

Since 01/2012 Assistant, Department of Political Science, University of Lucerne

2009–2011 MA Global Governance and World Society, University of Lucerne.  
MA thesis: “Neoliberal Migration Policy – A Neogramscian Perspective on EU  
Mobility Partnerships”, supervised by Prof. Dr. Sandra Lavenex and Dr. Xavier  
Guillaume

**Research Interests:** EU External Relations, Global Political Economy, Competition Policy

### Publications & Talks

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- 2015: The Political Economy of Mobility Partnerships, in *New Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2015.1041477
- Forthcoming: Women in the Neighbourhood: Reinstating EU’s civilising mission on the back of gender equality promotion?, in *European Journal of International Relations*, together with Rachel Kunz.
- The EU’s Influence on the Periphery – Does Western European FDI liberalise emerging and developing economies?, paper presented at the WISC Conference, Frankfurt, August 2014.

## Dissertation Project:

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The shift of economic power from the global economic core to emerging countries has encouraged scholars to investigate capitalist systems beyond Western Coordinated Market Economies (CMEs) and Liberal Market Economies (LMEs). In this regard, a body of literature has started to show how important foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows from the Western European core are for peripheral and emerging economies. However, until recently, scholars investigating the EU's influence on its periphery have primarily focussed on rule-shaping resulting from intergovernmental social learning and/or legal conditionality. How FDI flows from Western European companies influence economies beyond the Western core has only recently started to gain attention. This paper aims to contribute to this burgeoning literature. Illustrated with the examples of an emerging economy – Turkey – and a developing economy – Serbia –, the paper examines how Western European FDI flows influence inter-firm relations (national merger and acquisition M&A markets) in peripheral economies. The argument presented in the paper is that the FDI inflow from Western European companies leads to a liberalisation of inter-firm relations in peripheral economies. FDI does not only result in more dynamic (M&A) markets, M&A deal performance increasingly share characteristics typical of LMEs. Local companies start to mimic foreign investors' investment behaviour integrating M&As in their corporate strategies. We can observe different effects in the two countries; the more dependent a country is on FDI inflows, the more influential is the liberalisation pressure exerted by FDI on national M&A markets.

**Martin Mendelski**

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Department of Sociology  
Trier, Germany

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## LAW & CAPITALISM: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RULE OF LAW FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (POST-DOC PROJECT)

### CV

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- Since 04/2015 Post-doc project (Habilitation) at University of Trier, Supervisors: Prof. Andrea Maurer, Prof. Andreas Nölke
- 03/2011 - 09/2014 PhD in Political Science, University of Luxembourg. Dissertation title: "The Limits of the European Union's Transformative Power: Pathologies of Europeanization and Rule of Law Reform in Central and Eastern Europe", Committee members: Robert Harmsen, Jean-Paul Lehnens, Harlan Koff, Leonardo Morlino, Geoffrey Pridham
- 10/2003 - 10/2004 Master of European Studies (MES), Viadrina University Frankfurt/Oder

**Research Interests:** Europeanization, Democratization, Transnationalization, Rule of Law, Judicial reform, Legal transplants, Legal pluralism, Human rights, Economic Sociology, Sociology of Law, Legal History, Comparative Political Economy, Varieties of Capitalism, Industrial relations

### Publications & Talks

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- Mendelski, M. (2016) "The Rule of Law and the Courts", in: Kopecky, P. /Fagan, A. (eds.) The Routledge Handbook of East European Politics, [forthcoming with Routledge]
- Mendelski, M. (2016) "Fragmented Capitalism in South Eastern Europe" [forthcoming with Ashgate]
- Mendelski, Martin (2015) "The EU's pathological power: The failure of external rule of law promotion in the Western Balkans and beyond", [forthcoming in South Eastern Europe]
- Markus, Stanislav/Mendelski, Martin (2015) "Institutional Complementarity, Economic Performance, and Governance in the Post-Communist World and Beyond", Comparative European Politics, 13(3), 376-404.
- Mendelski, Martin/Alexander Libman (2014): "Demand for Litigation in the Absence of Traditions of Rule of Law: An Example of Ottoman and Habsburg Legacies in Romania", Constitutional Political Economy, 25(2): 177-206
- Mendelski, M. (2013) "They Have Failed Again! Donor-driven Promotion of the Rule of Law in Serbia", Südosteuropa 61(1): 79-113
- Mendelski, M. (2012) "EU-Driven Judicial Reforms in Romania: A Success Story?", East European Politics 28 (1): 23-42

## Dissertation Project:

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Puzzle/Research Problem: Countries from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have undergone multiple, mainly neo-liberal reform waves, which resulted in different degrees and varieties of capitalism (VoC). Why did only some few countries establish competitive and embedded market economies and most others did not?

Research questions: 1. What types of capitalism have developed in Central and Eastern Europe (Central Europe and the Baltics, South Eastern Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States) and in particular in Poland, Romania and Moldova? 2. What impact had the EU and transnational actors on the development of capitalism in CEE? 3. What explains post-communist capitalist diversity across these countries (country groups)?

Main arguments (hypotheses): H1: Three different types of capitalism have developed in CEE: 1. A legally and socially embedded capitalism (as found in Poland and in CEB), based on a capable state and the rule of law. (Potentially a sub-variety could be identified in the case of the Baltic States, which is more neo-liberal and unsustainable.) 2. A fragmented, unaccountable capitalism (as found in Romania and SEE), which lacks the rule of law 3. An oligarchic form of capitalism (as found in Moldova and CIS), which is characterized by state capture and weak rule of law. H2: External (EU) conditionality is not transformative but reinforces the existing institutional and economic (capitalist) development trajectories. H3: Capitalist diversity is explained through a causal theory of virtuous and vicious reform cycles, which draws on the logic of “circular and cumulative causation” (Myrdal 1957) and emphasizes the mutual reinforcement between structure (social order), agency (reformers) and the reform approach of transnational reform coalitions (process). In particular, I argue that reformers in advanced countries from CEB are constrained by horizontal accountability structures (such as the Constitutional Court, judiciary, Ombudsman) which mitigate “reform pathologies” (e.g. legal instability, systemic incoherence, lack of impartial enforcement, state capture), resulting in an enhanced reform approach (i.e. more inclusive, strategic, gradual, coherent, accountable), the consolidation of the rule of law and a well-functioning, embedded capitalism. In contrast, reformers in laggard countries (SEE, CIS) are insufficiently checked by weak and politicized accountability structures, which makes the reform process deficient (ad-hoc, short-term, instrumentalized) and results in the undermining of the rule of law and a legally and socially disembedded type of capitalism.

Theoretical framework: The project is based on an original conceptual framework of capitalism which extends the VoC-framework (Hall/Soskice 2001), by considering additionally the role of the state (including of the rule of law), international actors and the different forms of embeddedness and constraints (e.g. horizontal and social accountability) (see Figure 1 in appendix).

Methodology: Mixed methods study: A.) quantitative analysis (N=22) which measures the development of capitalism with an original set of quantitative indicators (see appendix) and B.) Three qualitative (n=1) country case studies (“typical or pathway cases”), consisting of Poland, Romania and Moldova.

Expected Conclusions and implications: 1. Capitalism needs not only social “beneficial constraints” (Streeck 1997) but alternatively legal constraints (rule of law) to improve the quality of the reform process and to guarantee the legal embeddedness of capitalism. 2. Under certain conditions (e.g. closed-access social order), neoliberal reforms as advanced by the EU can have pathological (suboptimal) effects and resistance to ill-conceived reforms by accountability structures can mitigate these pathologies. 3. Transnationalization and Europeanization processes (including neoliberal reforms) are not transformative but rather reinforce the already existing capitalist diversity, both in a positive and negative way.

Innovation/Originality/Contribution: 1. Original conceptualization of capitalism as a multi-dimensional concept, which emphasizes the legal embeddedness of capitalism in rules and accountability structures. 2. Development of an innovative causal theory (vicious and virtuous reform cycles) to explain differences in capitalist diversity. 3. Mixed-method study on capitalism in CEE, including the systematic measurement of capitalist development over time with the help of a unique set of objective and subjective indicators (see data in appendix). 4. Relevant policy implications for international donors and reformers.

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## LOCAL BUDGETS AND GLOBAL FINANCE: THE SPREAD OF FINANCIAL MARKET ENGAGEMENT OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE ROLE OF TRANSNATIONAL SERVICE FIRMS (working title)

### CV

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\* 21 August 1984, Schwerin (Germany)

Since 10/2014	Research associate & PhD Candidate at the Research Group “Transnational Political Ordering in Global Finance”, University of Bremen (Prof. Botzem) & Visiting lecturer for Political Economy at the University of Wuppertal
04/2013 – 08/2014	Student research and teaching assistant for the chair of International Relations and International Political Economy, Goethe University Frankfurt (Prof. Nölke)
11/2011 – 09/2012	Student research assistant at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF)
04/2009 – 07/2011	Student research and teaching assistant for the chair of International Relations and Comparative Politics, University of Wuppertal (Prof. Behrens)
2011 – 2014	MA Political Science, University Frankfurt & University of Southampton
2007 – 2011	BA Political Science & History, University of Wuppertal

**Research Interests:** International & Comparative Political Economy, Municipal financial market activities, financial regulation, European Integration, External trade policies of the European Union

### Publications & Talks

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- (2014): *Transnational Political Ordering in Global Finance: A Research Program*. (with Sebastian Botzem, Natalia Besedovsky, Marcus Wolf & Ludovico Rella), InIIS/BIGSSS-Colloquium, 08/12/2014, University of Bremen
- (2015): *Expertise matters: Public affairs agencies and civil society organizations in European financial regulation* (with Marcus Wolf), IAPSS World Congress 2015, 15/04/2015, London
- (2015): *Local budgets and global finance: The spread of financial market engagement of municipal governments and the role of transnational service firms*, InIIS-Colloquium, 13/07/2015, University of Bremen
- (2015): *Kräfteverschiebung in der globalen Finanzmarktregulierung? Repräsentation der Nicht-OECD-Welt in öffentlichen und privaten Regulierungsarenen* (with Sebastian Botzem), DVPW Kongress 2015, 22/09/2015, Duisburg

## Dissertation Project:

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Over the last decades, municipal budgets have become much more intertwined with global finance in many countries through a wide range of new financial market activities including the purchasing of derivatives like interest rate swaps. These new instruments are either money raising or hedging in purpose but mostly speculative in character. Far from just being a technical alternative or supplement to traditional bank-based financing of public debt and spending, they connect local institutions and trajectories with rules, performances, and rationalities of global financial markets. Critics highlight the risk and unsustainability of such activities and their implications for local democracy with distant investors becoming a new constituency for municipal governments and the margin of democratic decisions being increasingly determined by the performance of financial markets. In public debates, such financial market activities are often also scandalized as cases of incompetent bureaucrats and irresponsible politicians causing huge losses, since more often than not the financial market activities of local governments do not turn out quite as planned for the city budgets. It remains puzzling why local authorities who usually lack financial market expertise engage in highly complex and risky products. While, sometimes, the role of underfunding of many municipalities stimulating demands and inspiring new pathways in budgetary politics is referred to, the systematic character and transnational dimension of municipal financial market engagement is mostly overlooked.

Two initial assumptions motivate this research project. Firstly, the increasing engagement of municipal governments in global finance can be observed across different structural, institutional and political settings, therefore establishing a systematic trend that needs to be explained. Secondly and consequentially, local contexts can only insufficiently explain this development. In order to understand why local governments more and more rely on capital markets we, therefore, have to take financialization and the role of transnational service firms as drivers of change into account. On the one hand, financialization provides new products and rationalities that also become available for local governments. On the other hand, service firms like banks, consultancies and law companies operate as intermediaries between global financial markets and local authorities. In general, the recent crises of capitalism increased both the public and academic salience of financial market dynamics and their repercussions for other sectors of economic, political, and social life. However, scholars of political economy and economic sociology often underestimate the importance of the subnational sphere. While sovereign debt on the national level is at the heart of current debates, municipal finance so far plays only a marginal role in the literature. Therefore, the interplay of local and transnational dynamics deserves more academic attention. Particularly, the financialization of local governance needs to be studied more comprehensively and comparatively. For this purpose, the existing literature on municipal financial activities needs to be pushed forward by tracing the transnational dimension of various local stories.

The project addresses the research question of how and why and how municipal governments engage in new and speculative financial market activities. More specifically it is interested in the role of transnational service firms in the spread of such practices. It will adopt a comparative design and carry out four case studies of different municipalities in Austria, Germany, Spain and the United States. Qualitative data on each case will be collected with documentary analysis, process tracing and expert interviews. Eventually, the cases will be compared in order to describe and analyze different paths of local financialization and to detect both idiosyncratic characteristics and common patterns. The project aims at contributing to the conceptual and theoretical debate on financialization that still lacks a convincing diffusion argument beyond the rather abstract notion of spreading logics. Furthermore, I want to contribute to a better understanding of transnational service firms, particular at the subnational level. The empirical findings of this research will be interpreted through the theoretical lenses of entrepreneurial cities, policy transfer, and institutionalist approaches on transnationalization.

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## POLITICIZING THE AESTHETICS: ART, GENDER AND SOCIAL ACTION THROUGH SOCIAL PRACTICE OF ART

### CV

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\* India

PhD in Sociology (Second Year) – Expected Completion August 2018

MA in English - August 2011

**Research Interests:** Gender and Political Economy; Gender, Work, and Globalization; Postcolonial Theory; Feminist Theory

Other Interests: Gender, and Development; Women in the third world and the politics of art; Social Practice of Art; Art as a medium of politicizing the aesthetics

### Publications & Talks

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- “Safety and Empowerment of Women Employees in Indian Call Centers”. Canadian Sociological Association (CSA) 2013, Session: *Economy, Labour Markets, and Employment II*. Congress of the Humanities and the Social Sciences 2013. Victoria, British Columbia. June 8, 2013.
- “Feminization of Labour and Garment Workers in Bangladesh”. Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID) 2013, Panel 30: *Gender— Urban Women Organizing*. Congress of the Humanities and the Social Sciences 2013. Victoria, British Columbia. June 6, 2013.
- “How Safe is the Digital Economy for Women? Call Centers and their Women Employees”. Women’s and Gender Studies et Recherches Féministes (WGSRF) 2013: *Bringing Critical Race Analysis to Cultures of Rape and Economies of Desire and Power*. Congress of the Humanities and the Social Sciences 2013. Victoria, British Columbia. June 4, 2013.
- “The Aesthetics of Eroticism and the Politics within: An Analysis of the Women Painting Women in India”. Department of English and Film Studies, University of Alberta. Edmonton. December 5<sup>th</sup> 2011. (Graduate Seminar Presentation)
- “Western Women As the “Cultural Other” in Bollywood Movies: A Comparative Study of *Lagaan* and *Rang De Basanti*”. Film Studies Association of Canada (FiSAC) Conference 2011: *Bollywood and South Asian Cinemas*. Congress of the Humanities and the Social Sciences. Fredericton, New Brunswick. June 2nd 2011.

## Dissertation Project:

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Behind the spectacle of near double-digit growth of the Indian economy and the political slogan of 'India shining' deployed to capture the imagination and the assertiveness of the newly emerging middle class in India, lies a vast network of masses who have been dispossessed and relocated to the crowded metropolitan cities in the service of transnational capital. This apocalyptic imagery of the ever-increasing influx of dispossessed people into the Third World cities amid the rise of consumerism has been brilliantly captured by Mike Davis in his book *Planet of Slums*. The ,miracle' growth of the Indian economy and its consequent restructuring of the labour market, however, have had a gender-specific dimension. The mobile nature of transnational capital in this age of globalization has precipitated the demand for flexible labour. The New Economic Policies of the 1990s especially targeted women as the predominant source of this type of labour. My doctoral research focuses precisely on this emergent area of feminization of labour in the context of globalization and post-colonialism.

The recent emergence of India as one of the core regions of world economic growth after centuries of colonial oppression and the simultaneous degradation of the lifestyle of the masses present a unique problem for social theorists, which calls for an urgent synthesis of globalization and postcolonial perspectives. Globalization scholars have adequately theorized the recent changes in the capitalist social structures. For example, for the likes of Immanuel Wallenstein, Samir Amin and Christopher Chase-Dunn, globalization signals the completion of the capitalist project that started in 15th century Europe. In this world-system schema, the narrative has mostly been about the semi-peripheral countries gradually assuming the core position displacing the old hegemonic powers. The unit of analysis in this perspective is the world as a whole rather than the fragmented realities of the nation-states. For David Harvey, however, globalization is actually American imperialism in disguise, which he calls the ,New Imperialism' . On the other hand, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri see the current phase of capitalist development or globalization as a shift away from material to immaterial production of labour, in which production becomes increasingly 'bio-political'.

Given the above theoretical underlining, my dissertation project for the upcoming doctoral research proposes to explore the structural changes in the Indian economy since the 1990s, and the growing participation of women in the informal labour force. Specifically, I am interested in researching the condition of women workers who work as support services in the information technology-enabled (IT) services in New Delhi and Kolkata, two of the biggest metropolitan cities in the world. The choice of these two cities is significant because the former is the current capital of India, which opened its economy to foreign direct investment in the early days of liberalization. Whereas Kolkata was the colonial capital of the British Raj and had been ruled by a democratically elected Left government for 33 uninterrupted years until 2011, and therefore was a late entrant in terms of economic liberalization.

While these theories are helpful, they account little for the micro-social changes on the post-colonial landscape of India, where women have been ,emancipated' from old forms of patriarchal and colonial control only to be brought under the gaze of transnational capital and new forms of subjugation. Postcolonial feminist critics such as Gayatri Spivak and Chandra Mohanty continue to focus on the differential experiences of Indian women originating from their racial, ethnic and national identities in articulating their feminist critique of the current exploitation of women. Spivak along with other postcolonial theorists have been using the concept of the ,subaltern' to explain the intricacies of subjugation of varied social classes. The subaltern is a composite figure that carries within itself a complex blend of class, caste, age and gender. The only problem with this concept is that as much as the subaltern is a nation-state bound concept, its contours are shaped heavily by the colonial historiography of India as well. In this age of capital mobility, a spatially- and temporally-bound concept, such as, the subaltern needs major reworking in order for it to be efficiently employed in explaining the plight of a postcolonial and a globalized labour force.

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## EUROPEAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE EUROZONE CRISIS: BETWEEN STRATEGY AND NARRATIVE

### CV

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\* 13.03.89, Simferopol, Ukraine

02/2015-01/2018 PhD, Department of Political Science, Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, Denmark;

09/2011-09/2013 MA degree, University of Aarhus, major in European Studies, Aarhus, Denmark;

09/2010-06/2012 MA program, National University of "Kiev-Mohyla Academy", major in Cultural Studies: Theory and History, Kiev, Ukraine;

09/2006-06/2010 BA degree (with distinction), National University of "Kiev-Mohyla Academy", major in Cultural Studies, Kiev, Ukraine;

**Research Interests:** Identity construction, European integration, symbols and myths, discourse analysis, psychoanalysis

### Publications & Talks

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- 11/2014 – 3<sup>rd</sup> Midterm ESA Conference "Europe's Global Challenges: Politics, Markets and Societies", paper "Myth, Symbol and Ritual in European Identity Construction during the Eurozone Crisis", EuroChallenge, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

## Dissertation Project:

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My research project engages with a comprehensive investigation of European identity construction in the context of the Eurozone crisis. The study concentrates on three main aspects: 1) it explores the role of symbols, myths and ritual practices in the development of European identity promotion strategies in the context of the Eurozone crisis; 2) it analyzes how the narrative of European integration evolves and adapts to the conditions of the Eurozone crisis; 3) it investigates the international perspective on European identity construction by looking into the EU foreign policy toward Russia in the context of the Ukraine crisis.

The project explores a question: How does the Eurozone crisis affect strategic and discursive aspects of European identity construction? With a view to investigate the issue, the present research establishes a cross-disciplinary approach that draws from theoretical stances of political science, cultural anthropology and psychoanalysis. The study employs analytical approach of critical discourse analysis, a corpus of theoretical works on narrative, symbol, myth, tradition, ritual, identity construction and Lacanian approach to the analysis of the political. The project specifically seeks to contribute to the research of the Eurozone crisis, EU democratic deficit, Euroscepticism, and identity studies more broadly.

The project sets forward three case studies, whose objective is to provide holistic and comprehensive analytical approach. Thus, the research includes two case studies that explore European identity construction from the EU institutional perspective and account for strategic and discursive dimensions respectively; and one case study that offers a perspective on European identity construction accounting for international and diplomatic angles. Moreover, this project's hypothesis supposes a tendency of transformation in the nature of European identity construction during the Eurozone crisis from reason-driven and rational to affective, and thus the proposed case studies will additionally testify to confirm (or refute) this supposition.

The first case study addresses European identity promotion projects. It investigates the strategic aspect of European identity construction by analyzing identity promotion projects launched by the European Commission at the time of and in response to the Eurozone crisis within the framework of enhancing public identification with Europe and the European Union post-2009. The second case study investigates discursive dimension of European identity construction and is based on the Commission's narratives of European integration, including comparative analysis of the Nobel Narrative and the New Narrative for Europe; it further relies on 2009 – 2017 European Parliament debates on European integration with emphasis on the 2014 EP elections. The third case study investigates international perception of Europe and the EU in the context of the Ukraine crisis. The project sets forward two aspects of the case relevant for the objectives of this research. Firstly, it addresses the phenomenon of "Euromaidan", an unprecedented pro-European socio-political movement in Ukraine instigated by the decision of the former president V. Yanukovich to suspend provisions for signing the Association Agreement in November 2013. With the issue of European integration prominently featuring on the nation's political agenda in domestic and foreign policy spheres since the Orange revolution of 2004, the case of "Euromaidan" offers an insight into international perception of Europe's and the EU's identities. It further allows for investigating an alternative pattern of symbiosis between the European integration narratives, the use of the symbolic and the value of performative ritual for underpinning the affective economy of the European identity. Secondly, analysis of the EU diplomatic involvement in moderation of the Ukraine crisis provides the present research with an insight into regional and global perspectives on EU's international identity.

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## DEMOCRACY AND THE COMMONS: AN ANALYSIS OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM IN THE CLASSICAL LIBERAL AND MARXIST DISCOURSES ON THE COMMONS

### CV

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\* 25th March 1981, Zürich Switzerland

- Since 2.2015: Research assistant at the Institute of Business and Vocational Education and Training at the University of Zürich
- Since 2.2014: Doctoral student in the Doctoral Program for Democracy Studies of the National Center of Competence in Research on Democracy (NCCR Democracy) at the University of Zürich
- 10.2004 – 05.2012: Lizenziat (Masters) in Educational Science, Philosophy and Sociology at the University of Zürich
- 10.2006 – 12.2008: Semester assistant for Prof. Dr. Jürgen Oelkers at the Institute of Education at the University of Zürich
- 10.2002 – 06.2003: Studies in Agricultural Sciences at the Swiss College for Agriculture (Schweizerische Hochschule für Landwirtschaft) in Zollikofen, Bern
- 09.1999 – 03.2001: Undergraduate studies in Philosophy, Anthropology and Religious Studies at McGill University in Montréal, Canada

**Research Interests:** Political and economic freedom, democratic theory, capitalism, commons, theories of property, human rights, post-capitalist politics

Other interests: solidarity economies, community supported agriculture, food, mountains

### Publications & Talks

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- Peter, Lukas C.: Elinor Ostrom's Concept of Polycentric Governance of the Commons as a Decentralized and Participatory Theory of Democracy. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Society for Applied Philosophy in Edinburgh, Scotland 3<sup>rd</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> July 2015

## Dissertation Project:

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Since the WTO protests in Seattle in 1999 and the international financial crisis of 2007/8, much discontent with both the present economic system of capitalism and the existing structures of democratic nation states has been voiced. This discontentment is expressed in theories of “post-democracy” (Crouch 2007), the legitimacy crisis of democratic capitalism (Streeck 2013) or unfulfilled democratic promises and potentials (Marti 2006; Graeber 2013). Put somewhat simply, the problem can be broken down to a conflict between the democratic freedom and the freedom of the market. Here, economic freedom and growth based on the endless appropriation and accumulation of wealth goes hand in hand with the “tragedy of the commons”: the over-use of un- or deregulated natural and social resources held in common. This ongoing, global process has not merely led to the gradual devastation of ecosystems, but also to excessive public debts and massive cuts in public goods. In this sense, this process is undermining the biological living conditions, the socio-economic livelihoods and the egalitarian participation and collective self-determination rights supposedly guaranteed through democratic citizenship.

As an answer to these diverse problems, the idea of democratically governed commons has become quite popular as an alternative form of democracy “beyond markets and states” (Ostrom 2010; Bollier/Helfrich 2012). Due to its popularity, the term commons has been utilized, however, in quite diverse and sometimes even opposing ways: on the one hand, it legitimizing a classical liberal critique of the state and, on the other hand, supporting a Marxist critique of markets. Thus, the aim of this investigation will be to analyze and compare the concepts of democracy within the “classical liberal” and the “Marxist” discourses on the commons.

In order to examine the concept of the commons, I will begin by shortly presenting diverse philosophies of property and their relationship to diverse concepts of freedom. In turn, I will discuss the conflicting systemic principles or “logics” of democratic, collective freedom and the freedom of the market. After setting the stage with this background information, I will begin to analyze the discourse on the commons with Garrett Hardin’s famous article “The Tragedy of the Commons” from 1968, in which he argues that all open, natural and social common resources structured according to laissez-faire principles will inevitably be overused and destroyed. As an answer to this problem, I shall then turn to the work of Elinor and Vincent Ostrom, who demonstrate that – under specific circumstances – the democratic and sustainable governance of common pool resources is possible. Here, I will show how the concepts of cooperation, common property and polycentric democratic governance in the work of the Bloomington School are a development in and revision of certain central, classical liberal principles. Then, I will turn to the Marxist discourse on the commons, in which commons are understood as an inherent element of social reality, making the problems of detrimental market mechanisms, commodification and enclosures the focus of their analysis. I will critically assess the concepts of democracy in both discourses and analyze whether the concept of the commons may possibly strengthen democratic culture and institutions against the limitations of parliamentary politics and globalized capitalism.

Bollier, David/Helfrich, Silke, Helfrich (ed.) (2012): *The Wealth of the Commons: A World Beyond Market and State*. Amherst, MA: Levellers Press.

Crouch, Colin (2007): *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Graeber, David (2013): *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. New York: Spiegel & Grau.

Marti, Urs (2006): *Demokratie: Das uneingelöste Versprechen*. Zürich: Rotpunkt.

Ostrom, Elinor (2010): *Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems*. In: *American Economic Review*. 100(June): 1-33.

Streeck, Wolfgang (2013): *Gekaufte Zeit. Die vertagte Krise des demokratischen Kapitalismus*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

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## DISTRIBUTIONAL CONFLICTS IN THE EUROZONE CRISIS – THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PERSISTANT SURPLUSES

### CV

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\* 10/06/1990, Bremen, Germany

Since 05/2015	PhD Student in Political Economy, University of Zurich & ETH Zurich
Since 05/ 2015	External Consultant at Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
11/2014 – 05/2015	Intern at Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Berlin
03/2014 – 09/2014	Research Assistant, Bretton Woods Project, London
09/2013 – 09/2015	MSc in International Political Economy, London School of Economics
09/2010 – 03/2013	Personal Assistant of Member of German Bundestag, Dr. Bärbel Kofler
10/2009 – 08/2013	BA in Political Science & Economics, Free University Berlin

**Research Interests:** International & Comparative Political Economy, Financial Crises, Income & Wealth Distribution, Global Imbalances

## Dissertation Project:

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This dissertation is embedded in a broader research project that aims at understanding the distributional conflicts that have shaped the politics of the euro crisis. The project builds on the insight that the crisis is, at its root, a balance of payment crisis. In the long run the imbalances that underlie such crises can only be resolved through significant economic policy adjustment - either in the surplus or in the deficit countries. Starting point of the project is that core interest groups' in different European countries show very different vulnerabilities to the various possible policy responses to the crisis. We thus expect the policies and politics that have characterized the management of the Eurozone crisis since 2010 to be the result of distributive conflicts surrounding these issues, the instrumental and structural power of different domestic groups as well as their ability to form coalitions across European countries. The distributive struggles in deficit and surplus countries thus are distinct but related and therefore are going to be analysed in a unified framework.

Within this framework my dissertation focuses on the role of surplus countries. So far, adjustment policies have been heavily one-sided. While deficit countries were forced to undertake radical economic reforms in order to depress domestic demand and bring down the prices of their goods and services, surplus countries have largely restrained from any form of accommodating policies. In the literature the ability to shift the burden of adjustment to deficit countries is often depicted as a sign of the dominance of the interests of Northern surplus states (and especially Germany).

However, these arguments tend to overlook the fact that large and politically relevant groups in surplus countries would actually win from a more balanced approach to the crisis. As adjustment policies in surplus countries would entail increasing relative prices, for example through higher wages or increased public spending, they should be beneficial for a wide range of groups including low-wage earners and employees more generally, consumers, and domestic debtors as well as domestic oriented firms. Against this background the persistence of balance of payment surpluses in some of the Northern countries in the Eurozone are very much contingent on distributive struggles that favor the interest of certain actors over others.

To understand the lack of adjustment in surplus countries the dissertation tries to combine two approaches. In order to identify the political factors and institutional arrangements that lead to large and sustained current account surpluses the dissertation firstly takes a broader and more comparative perspective. Looking at periods of large trade surpluses in advanced countries throughout history allows to quantitatively analyze some of the broader political set ups that produce high levels of exports, while at the same time depressing domestic demand and increasing private and public savings. Building on this analysis and including insights from Varieties of Capitalism and Regulation approaches the study tries to develop an encompassing model of the political economy of sustained trade surpluses.

In a second step, these findings are used to examine the politics of surplus countries during the euro crisis in greater detail. In depth case studies of the distributional conflicts surrounding crisis responses in Germany, the Netherlands and Finland are used to examine how the political and economic factors that shaped these economies during the build up of their trade surpluses have empowered certain societal actors to push through their interest in non-adjustment against the interest of other domestic and international actors.

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## THE POLITICIZATION OF THE SWISS BANKS IN THE 1980S – THE SWISS FINANCIAL CENTER IN THE SPOTLIGHT OF SWISS DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

### CV

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10<sup>th</sup> May 1983, Lucerne

2000–2003 Commercial Apprenticeship

2003–2004 Commercial „Berufsmatura“ in Lucerne.

2006-2010 Master of Arts in Secondary Education I at the University of Teacher Training Lucerne

2011-2014 Master of Arts in History and Political Science at the University Lucerne

2011-2015 Research Fellow at the University of Teacher Training Lucerne

2013-2014 CAS „Vocational Education“ (History) at the PH Lucerne.

2013-2014 Teaching Diploma for the Secondary Education II (History) at the PH Lucerne.

Since 2015 Awardee of the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Lucerne (GSL). Dissertation project about the politicization of the Swiss financial sector in the 1980's with Prof. Dr. Daniel Speich Chassé of the University of Lucerne and Prof. Dr. Tobias Straumann of the University of Zurich.

**Research Interests:** interdependence between economy and politics and their influence of society, political history, world politics, swiss history, human rights and human rights education

Other interests: history and politics in general, reading, traveling, skiing, hiking.

## Dissertation Project:

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The Swiss Financial Center<sup>2</sup> shaped the idea and self-image of Switzerland similarly strong as the watch or chocolate industry in recent decades. This had not only economic but also political consequences. Due to the high importance of banks for the Swiss economy, the influence of banks on politics and society grew rapidly.

In Switzerland, banks have long been immune to all criticism. The Chiasso scandal, however, began in Switzerland in terms of the perspective of the banks, a paradigm shift, and it started a new kind of politicization of the Swiss Financial Center, which significantly influenced and changed the social and political position of the banks during the 80s.

In the economic and social transformation processes of the 1970s the banks moved increasingly into the focus of left-wing and development organizations. On Marxist lines of argument tying power criticism was adopted and applied to the financial sector.<sup>3</sup> Therefore the dominant role of the financial sector in the capitalist system was judged increasingly critically. In particular, the role of banks in terms of economic ties with the former Third World were perceived negatively. Linked to this were the demands for more stringent banking regulations and the increased government monitoring of banking transactions. Moreover, the criticism aimed at the classic economic power of banks, which was characterized by the influence as a creditor and therefore as a key player in the context of the financial and investment policy.<sup>4</sup>

This criticism has established itself as key element of the incipient politicization of the Swiss Financial Center in the 80s. This debate was largely determined and initiated by the beginning of the Chiasso scandal in 1977, which marked the beginning of a new phase of policy towards the Swiss Financial Center.<sup>5</sup>

### Research Questions

Due to the theoretical background of the politicization of the Swiss Financial Center in the 80s the following main question can be derived:

- How was the social and political position of the banks altered by the politicization of the Swiss Financial Center during the 80s?

Starting from this main question the following topics and sub-questions can be formulated inter alia:

- What were the consequences of the economic, political and social changes for the Swiss Financial Center?
- By what means did the Swiss Financial Center tried to influence the design of the foreign economic policy of Switzerland?
- How has the cooperation and networking of the Swiss Financial Center influenced the Swiss policy regarding the criticism against the banks in the domestic and foreign politics?

<sup>2</sup> The Swiss Financial Center is the conglomeration of international financial institutions – mainly banks. The Swiss Financial Center in the 70s and 80s was dominated by the five large banks, namely the Schweizerischen Bankgesellschaft (SBG), the Schweizerischer Bankverein (SBV), the Schweizerische Kreditanstalt (SKA), the Schweizerische Volksbank and the Bank Leu AG.

<sup>3</sup> Tanner, J.: „Macht der Banken“: analytisches Konzept oder politischer Topos? Zum Bedeutungswandel einer kontroversen Kategorie. In: Ernst, A./ Gerlach, T./ Halbeisen, P./ Heintz, B./ Müller, M.: Kontinuität und Krise. Sozialer Wandel als Lernprozess. Zürich 1994. S. 319-341.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Kuhn, K.: Entwicklungspolitische Solidarität. Die Dritte-Welt-Bewegung in der Schweiz zwischen Kritik und Politik (1975-1992). Zürich 2011.





















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