

RES/PROJECT SUMMER SCHOOL 2015
DEMOCRACY, EXPERTISE AND POWER:
MAKING A NEW EUROPE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

15 – 24 JUNE, KRAKÓW, POLAND

Across Europe, the economic, political, social and cultural spheres are undergoing unrestrained globalization, and within each of these spheres it leads to varied consequences. Developing economies, circulation of goods, services, information and knowledge, diversity, transnational political networks, global social movements, and global civil society – these are only a few examples of the positive effects of globalization brought by its supporters. On the other hand, globalization presents a number of challenges such as fiscal austerity, liberalizing capital markets, increasing social inequalities both between the global North and global South and within countries, loss of cultural uniqueness, and human rights violations.

The complex reality of a globalized economy, politics, and culture also has effects on the democracy and the concept of power although there is little consensus what these effects are. Globalization has spread the idea of democracy and allowed new democratic practices to emerge. By challenging the classic perspective of representative democracy and the role of nation-state, it has created new possibilities for engaging various actors: citizens, social movements, and non-governmental organizations. No longer is democracy simply a matter of elections or representations, but it has become a personal commitment and involves local and national communities as well as becoming a tool of achieving social justice. The practices of democracy are thus embedded and shaped by the local, regional, national and global context and actors in these areas. At the same time, globalization may lead to imposing one model of democracy - from abroad and from above - reinforcing in this way the former power relations and placing the democratic public space in danger.

This complex relation between globalization, democracy and power will be discussed during the summer school. These key concepts will be analysed through the prism of politics, economy and culture: How can “democracy” be built and sustained in Europe? Are we witnessing the rise of newly emerging powers? How do we join the global power structures? How do we exert power in a global context? What is the role of Europe in new power relations?

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES AND WORKSHOPS

Opening Lecture : Democracy in Europe

Governance and Politics

This seminar/lecture will examine the overall quality, sustainability and legitimacy of democracy in contemporary Europe. It will review arguments: a) that it is difficult to combine mass representative politics with effective governance; b) that political parties themselves seek to restrict political competition; c) that it is difficult to maintain the autonomy of the democratic process from technocracy and private sources of power; and d) that voters are themselves disengaging from mass representative politics.

Democratic Deficit? The Democratic Audit of European Union

This seminar/lecture will discuss how we can assess how democratic the European Union is. It will first consider major contributions to the debate on whether there is a democratic deficit in the European Union. It will then introduce students to different methods of assessing the democratic quality of political systems before considering how those methods can be adapted to the case of the EU and whether that helps resolve competing arguments in the democratic-deficit debate.

The Limits of Power: European Neighbourhood in the European Parliament Debates.

At the tenth anniversary of the creation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), questions are returning about the long-term impact of this initiative on the targeted countries, as well as the EU itself. It is obvious today that the EU's neighbouring regions are becoming less stable and more dangerous and turbulent than a decade ago. The ENP is today contested and widely debated within the EU and in its neighbourhood. Similarly, EU enlargement, today directed toward a few of the EU's neighbouring countries, is a contested policy. The Turkish candidacy especially is widely debated at the popular and elite levels. The main aim of the session is to discuss how both ENP and EU enlargement are perceived and contested in the European Parliament, which is one of the most important arenas of legitimising practices for EU policies.

The Eurocrisis and the Citizens

Europe is in crisis. This fact has been on everyone's lips since the financial crisis erupted in 2008, and key members of the Eurozone showed more than a few signs of not being able to balance their books according to models of financial and economic stability. The handling of the crisis, its main players and its consequences both in macroeconomic terms and for ordinary citizens 'on the ground' has been widely discussed politically and academically. Not surprisingly, most political and academic commentary has focused on the macroscopic consequences of crisis. The economy,

financial systems, fiscal stability, budget deficits and institutional breakdown have been widely discussed. These are all important issues that also have effects on people. In these two sessions we will review and discuss three perspectives on the link between the Eurocrisis and the 'groundworkers' of the EU integration process, the citizens. This will be done by introducing the Eurocrisis and its origins, as well as specific sessions on the micro-, meso-, and macro-perspectives on EU citizenship in (the) crisis.

Globalisation, Crisis of Capitalism and New Challenges to Economic Policy

The aim of this course is to introduce students to the challenges faced today in global economic governance by both old and new players in the international arena. The course will cover the changing nature of international economic relations, as the balance of power slowly shifts and new emerging actors defy the old economic system, dominated by a Western-style. The current global economic crisis will be analyzed in depth in conjunction with its implications for capitalism as the recipe for economic growth. Growth models and varieties of capitalism will be discussed in both theory and practice. In particular, students will gain the capacity to critically analyse how economic policy decisions are currently being made at national, regional and international levels. Students will acquire the ability to understand the goals of economic theory and the politics of economic policy implementation. Empirical cases and international economics will be studied from both the historical perspective and from the contemporary point of view. Topics covered will include the evolution and regulation of global economic institutions and issues related to globalisation.

From Transition to Where? Growth Models and Economic Strategies for CEE and Poland

How to grow fast enough to achieve high levels of per capita income and wealth has been a core dilemma of economics since its foundation as a social science. In the second part of the course, emphasis will be placed on contemporary economic strategies for Poland and the Central European Region. Drawing on the theoretical analysis provided in the first lecture in this session, concrete issues will be discussed, such as macroeconomic balances or microeconomic aspects of competitiveness. We will study the political economy of policy reform in Poland to answer the basic question of what kind of a growth model CEE should use in the future to avoid the middle income country trap faced by many other emerging markets. Comparative economic analysis will be coupled with a historical perspective on the transition process itself. Students will have a chance to debate amongst each other recommendations and policy responses.

Is Parliamentary Democracy Good Enough? For Whom; For How Long; and For What Purpose? The Contemporary Struggle for Radical Democracy.

A longitudinal look at the history of political representation reveals a secular trend towards democratic empowerment. Since its conception in its modern form in the wake of the American Revolution in the late 18th century, parliamentarianism has been spreading in a systematic way. Despite drawbacks here and there, representative institutions have expanded both geographically (well known waves of democratization) and within the social tissue, including in its functions those previously excluded (the poor, women, racial and ethnic minorities etc.), thus fulfilling its promise of universal suffrage. However spectacular and soul-inspiring, this success brings about a new problem: the more ubiquitous the democratic empowerment becomes, the more intense the tension between the liberal and the democratic component of parliamentary regimes grows. It's a fact impossible to cover up anymore that representative institutions – the constituted power – serve at the same time to empower the people – the constituent power – and to limit their capacity to directly influence any decision making process. Every pertinent theory of representative democracy – like those of Robert Dahl or Joseph Schumpeter – reveals this contradiction in an explicit way. It was also deliberately postulated by the Founding Fathers of the United States, especially James Madison. As the democratic empowerment progresses, the people grow more and more reluctant to accept representation, as they perceive it is an excuse to foster particular and anti-egalitarian interests of powerful actors (international corporations, the financial elite, lobby groups, the in-famous 1%, etc...). Recourse to seemingly impartial expertise is just one way of carrying out this endeavor, while private funding of political parties and corporate media machines provide other tools for limiting the democratic component of parliamentarianism in favor of oligarchic and aristocratic ones. Overcoming this tension is the fundamental challenge for democracy nowadays. If the emancipatory promise of modernity is to be fulfilled, there is no going back. Democratization has to move forward, towards more direct and more inclusive ways of exercising power. This is precisely the stake of the contemporary struggle for radical democracy.

Deliberation and Deliberative Democracy: Origins, Debates, and the Systemic Turn

Deliberative democracy became a hot topic of research from the 1990s. Forged as an alternative theory of democracy to the dominant ones of so-called 'aggregative' democracy, research proliferated on normative issues, institutional solutions, and so-called deliberative experiments. This session introduces the concept of deliberation and its link to theories of democracy. In doing this, the aim is to make students familiar with the distinct characteristics of deliberative theory, its contributions to our thinking on democracy, and the latest debates on a so-called systemic turn in the field.

Why Does Democracy Need Participation? From Empowerment of an Individual to Empowerment of Communities

The starting point for this session and discussion is the documentary *La Comuna 9. Reclaiming a city*. The film aims at showing what happened when the people of Comuna 9 – a district in Medellin, Colombia, were allowed to take control over the resources available through participatory budgeting.

Participatory budgeting, among many tools of participatory democracy, is now in the spotlight. This method provides people with an opportunity to decide about the money that comes from taxes. First implemented in Porto Alegre, Brazil, 25 years ago, participatory budgeting is now spreading around the world. It is radically different from the traditional top-down redistribution system, as it assumes that people themselves should make decisions about their own lives. Handing control over resources to the community does not only have an empowering effect, but also helps to secure their just and equal redistribution.

Is wide civic participation the solution for the crisis of modern democracy? What are the effects of participation on the level of an individual and whole communities? The session aims to start a discussion and answer these questions.

Europeanisation and Globalisation: Complementary or Contradictory Trends? – prof. Zdzisław Mach

Is Europe dominant? If yes – why? What are the limits to European power? If not – what are the reasons for the power decline? Role of Europe in future.

Europe in Search of a Common Heritage: Discourses of Transnational *lieux de mémoire*

In the context of increasing interest in a common European heritage or European *lieux de mémoire*, the seminar will propose reflections on the Europeanization of national *lieux de mémoire*, exemplified by the intergovernmental and Union "European Heritage Label" initiative.

The main idea of the seminar is to present the concepts of national memory, history and heritage, their relation/tension and interdependence at the European level. The seminar will show the process of European heritage invention as a process of self/group definition. A strong need for a common European heritage will be discussed especially in the context of the process of Europeanization and in respect to national and local initiatives referring to the concept of European heritage.

An additional objective of this seminar will be to focus on the change of meaning that national sites underwent, while leaving the purely national context and reaching the European level. In other words the seminar will try to answer the question of the nature of European semiotisation / Europeanization of this national *lieux de mémoire*.

Vertical and Horizontal Coordination in European Knowledge Policy: The Role of Universities in Multi-level and Multi-actor Governance

Relation between knowledge and governance. Politicization of science and political uses of expertise and knowledge; social and political construction of political problems.; how to use knowledge in policy-making.

Assessing new responsibilities and roles of universities. How can universities respond to the challenges related to democracy and expertise? Partnership between education, business and politics. Changes in academic structures in Europe.

Seminar: Is Ukrainian conflict a global or regional problem?

The purpose of the seminar will be to determine to what extent an inter-state conflict is nowadays a global or a regional matter. The main case examined will be the war in eastern Ukraine. However, other examples from post-Soviet space will also be touched upon. The seminar will be complemented with an Oxford debate during which participants will be able to confront two contradictory views on the analysed topic.

Journalistic Workshop: The Art of Editing

This workshop will give participants greater insight into the everyday life of an editor of a trans-national magazine. The workshop will focus on the role of an editor; ethical considerations of editing texts; day-by-day process of an editor's job; and some practical exercises for editing texts meant for an international audience. The workshop is meant to be a discussion and opportunity for participants to work together to better understand the critical role the editor plays in print journalism.