



**Congress 2011  
of the Swiss Sociological Association**

***Democracy in Turbulent Times***

**University of Geneva  
Uni Bastions, room B106  
6th September 2011**

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|----------------------|---|
| <b>14h30-15h00</b>   | Registration  |
| <b>15h00-15h15</b>   | Eric Widmer, President of the Swiss Sociological Association<br><i>Welcome address</i>  |
| <b>15h15 - 16h00</b> | Kurt Imhof, University of Zürich<br><i>The new structural change of the public sphere and the lack of a transnational public sphere</i><br>Kate Nash, University of London<br><i>Democracy, human rights and social movements</i><br><br>Chair: Nicky Le Feuvre, University of Lausanne |
| <b>16h15 - 17h00</b> | Richard Münch, Otto-Friedrich-University<br><i>The Liberal Drift of Multilevel Governance</i><br>Christian Joppke, University of Bern<br><i>Rebirth of Christian Identity in Europe ?</i><br><br>Chair: Christoph Maeder, University of St-Gallen                                       |
| <b>17h15-18h00</b>   | Round Table<br>4 speakers, a chair and the audience<br><br>Chair: Thomas Eberle, University of St-Gallen  |
| <b>18h15-19h00</b>   | <b>General Assembly of the Swiss Sociological Association</b>   |
| <b>19h00</b>         | Buffet  |

## ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHIES

### 1. Kurt Imhof

#### I. Biography

Kurt Imhof (1956). Professor für Publizistikwissenschaft und Soziologie am »Institut für Publizistikwissenschaft und Medienforschung (IPMZ)« und am »Soziologischen Institut der Universität Zürich (SUZ)«. Leiter des »Forschungsbereichs Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft (fög)«.

#### II. Abstracts

##### *The new structural change of the public sphere and the lack of a transnational public sphere*

Research on transnational public spheres is based on the assumption that European integration also leads to the emergence of a transnational “demos” – a transnational public sphere and a transnational identity. This is an immanent rule of modern democracy. In order to abide by the principles of democracy, it is necessary to extend them over the boundaries of the nation state. This is simply an effect of economic globalization and the emergence of powerful supranational institutions. The new world order of the post-Cold War era advocated a politically motivated, top-down European integration process, especially with the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. Since then we have been experiencing severe problems with this top-down process, which also led to a lack of democracy in EU institutions (Parliament, European Council of Ministers, European Commission). There is a lack of transnational intermediaries like parties and social movements, an absence of a transnational public sphere and the very basis, a transnational audience or public, is also missing. Although the long dispute over the Treaty of Lisbon was finally solved in 2009, the world economic crisis and the growing conflicts about the problem of the state debts has demonstrated even more harshly than the problems around the European Constitution’s legitimacy that the main fallback solution is still the nation state. It has become clear that the nation state is still the core of political legitimacy. So while we are experiencing this fallback on the nation state, the question of the emergence of transnational intermediary groups (parties, movements, organizations), transnational public spheres and transnational publics is even more relevant than before. These questions focus on three developments of key interest:

1. The question of the emergence of transnational public spheres. Is there any progress or is even a rollback to expect?
2. The question of a rollback is not only affected by the fact that the nation state was the fall back solution in the crisis and the experience that periods of crisis strengthened always nationalism it is also important because of the new structural change of the public sphere and the media crisis. Both reduce foreign policy coverage. The media constructed landscapes of attention change and diminish.
3. Above that there are growing differences between elites, lower- and middle-class media consumers respectively the landscapes of attention for this different groups. This creates new opportunity structures for populist actors to problematize the national elite (“classe politique”) the foreign and the foreigners.

## 2. Christian Joppke

### I. Biography

Christian Joppke holds a chair in sociology at the University of Bern, Switzerland. He obtained a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley (1989). Previously he taught at the University of Southern California, European University Institute, University of British Columbia, International University Bremen, and American University of Paris. He has also held research fellowships at Georgetown University and the Russell Sage Foundation, New York. His recent books are *Citizenship and Immigration* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), and *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

### II. Abstract

#### *Rebirth of Christian Identity in Europe ?*

The recent European Court of Human Rights decision on "Lautsi vs Italy" (2011), which permits the display of the Christian cross in Italian public schools, is taken as a hub for a reflection whether we can witness the rebirth of a Christian identity in contemporary European states.

### **3. Richard Münch**

#### **I. Biography**

Münch, Richard, born in 1945, is professor of sociology at Otto-Friedrich-University in Bamberg. His focus of research is on social theory and comparative macro-sociology. He is spokesman of the interdisciplinary doctoral program “Markets and Social Systems in Europe” (funded by the German Research Foundation). Moreover, he is a member of Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, of the scientific directorate of the Institute for European Politics in Berlin, of the council of the German Sociological Association, and chairman of the advisory board of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne. His most recent publications include: *Die akademische Elite. Zur sozialen Konstruktion wissenschaftlicher Exzellenz* (2007), *Die Konstruktion der europäischen Gesellschaft* (2008), *Globale Eliten, lokale Autoritäten. Bildung und Wissenschaft unter dem Regime von PISA, McKinsey & Co.* (2009), *Das Regime des liberalen Kapitalismus* (2009), *European Governmentality. The Liberal Drift of Multilevel Governance*. London: Routledge, 2010, *Das Regime des Pluralismus. Zivilgesellschaft im Kontext der Weltgesellschaft*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2010.

#### **II. Abstract**

##### ***Transnational Governmentality - The Liberal Drift of Multilevel Governance***

The future of democracy within the system of multilevel governance is a much debated problem. There is still no solution in sight. While the intellectual debate is searching for a democracy in the multilevel system, which is strongly built along the lines of national representative government, a form of multilevel governance that features strong elements of liberalism is actually evolving. The latter increasingly gets the upper hand of the republican and representative traditions of national government. This is what can be identified as transnational governmentality in the sense outlined by Foucault. Democracy in this context generates a preference for diversity over homogeneity as creative potential for the governance of society, a precedence of civil rights over political and social rights and the private citizen over the public citizen. Democracy changes from representation to liberal pluralism and it is increasingly captured by the laws of scientific governance, lobbyism and media communication.

## 4. Kate Nash

### I. Biography

Kate Nash is Professor of Sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London and Faculty Fellow at the Center for Cultural Sociology, Yale University. She has written and published widely on political sociology, including the second edition of *Contemporary Political Sociology* (Wiley-Blackwell 2010); and human rights, including most recently, 'States of Human Rights', with comments by Daniel Levy, Giovanna Procacci, George Steinmetz and Bryan S. Turner, and a Reply by the Author, *Sociologica* no. I (forthcoming, available at [www.sociologica.mulino.it](http://www.sociologica.mulino.it)), 'Towards a political sociology of human rights' in E. Amenta, K. Nash and A. Scott (eds) *The New Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology* Wiley-Blackwell: 2011), 'Between Citizenship and Human Rights' *Sociology* 2009, and *The Cultural Politics of Human Rights: Comparing the US and UK* (Cambridge University Press 2009). She is currently writing *The Political Sociology of Human Rights* (Cambridge University Press forthcoming).

### II. Abstract

#### Democracy, human rights and social movements

Human rights have long been seen as necessary to democracy. At the same time, the substantive realisation of human rights, especially socio-economic rights, are often seen as a product of democracy. Human rights and democracy seem to go together in a virtuous circle. In this respect, the turbulence of globalization has been heralded as throwing up new possibilities for democracy and human rights beyond the exclusionary citizenship through which they have historically been realised. On the other hand, human rights are also seen as anti-democratic, as contributing to restructuring sovereign states in ways that are favourable to unelected judges and elite interests. What difference do the activities of social movements make to the terms of this debate? We tend to think of progressive social movements as necessarily democratic, as fighting for rights 'from below'. But is this always the case in our turbulent times?

## MAP - UNIBASTIONS

### Address

Rue de Candole 5  
1211 Genève 4  
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### Access from the airport

Bus 5, direction Hôpital, stop at Place Neuve

### Access from the station

Tram 13/15, direction Palettes, stop at Plainpalais  
Tram 14, direction Bachet-de-Pesay, stop at Plainpalais  
Bus 5, direction Hôpital, stop at Plainpalais

### Parking

Parking David Dufour, entry on Balmat street, access from avenue Henri-Dunant  
Parking Plainpalais, entry avenue du Mail

