

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
LEIDEN, 14-16 JANUARY 2016

RECONSIDERING DEMOCRACY AND THE NATION STATE IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

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Leiden University, Institute for History



**Universiteit
Leiden**

Conference

Reconsidering Democracy and the Nation State in a Global Perspective

Modern liberal democracy has traditionally developed within national frameworks. The period that has often been seen as the first breakthrough of modern conceptions of democracy, the decades around 1800, also saw the rapid development of modern nation states such as France.

Vehement and exclusive nationalism, on the other hand, has also been one of the most dangerous enemies of liberal democracy.

The intimate relationship between democracy and nationalism masked the inherent tensions which became apparent during the democratization of many European nation-states since the end of the nineteenth century, a period during which nationalism emerged in a forceful and fitful manner. During the twentieth century the victory of the Allies in the Second World War seemed to spell the definitive victory of the western model of the democratic nation-state. However, it soon became evident that exporting and implementing this model was problematic. Communist countries had a completely different view of democracy and the relevance of the western model for postcolonial societies was questionable. The idea that democratic rights were not safe in the hands of nation-states and needed the support of non or supra-national organizations and movements began to spread and was taken up by universalist and internationalist advocates. In the twenty-first century globalization, European integration and populism all seem to challenge the old model, albeit in very different ways.

This conference will investigate the multifaceted relationship between democracy and the nation-state, not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world. Separate workshops will address this topic from different angles, ranging from the nationalization of the (mainly European) masses at the end of the nineteenth century to forms of the national state in postcolonial Africa; from the promise of democratic perpetual peace and pursuing democratic rights at the supranational level to populist and nationalist distrust of democratic oligarchy and to the challenges democracy faces when the monopoly of legitimate force of the nation-state is threatened. The conference will try to answer the question whether the age-old relationship between democracy and the nation-state is entering a new phase.

Program Leiden, 14-16 January 2016

Time	Activity	Location
14 January		
14.00 hrs	Registration	Academy Building
15.00 hrs -	Welcome by Henk te Velde, professor of Dutch History (Leiden University)	Academy Building
	Keynote lecture Glenda Sluga (University of Sydney), 'The International History of Democracy and the Nation-State: Three Methodological Propositions'	
	Keynote lecture Adam Fairclough (Leiden University), 'Government By the People? American Political Parties and the Nation-State'	
	Guided Tour Academy Building	
17.45 hrs	Reception in the Town Hall	Town Hall
15 January		
9.00 -	Workshops theme 1-9	Lipsius Building
11.00 hrs -	Break	
11.15 hrs -	Workshops theme 1-9	
13.00 hrs	Lunch	Lipsius Building
14.00 hrs -	Workshops theme 1-9	Lipsius Building
16.00 hrs -	Break	
16.15-18.00 hrs	Workshops theme 1-9	
19.00 hrs	Dinner	Faculty club
16 January		
9.00 hrs -	Workshops theme 1-9	Lipsius Building
11.30 hrs -	Round Table with theme coordinators	
13.00 hrs	Closure	
13.00 hrs	Lunch (optional)	Lipsius Building

Key notes

Prof. dr. Glenda Sluga, University of Sydney

The research of Glenda Sluga addresses the dynamic relationship between internationalism and nationalism at the forefront of international history. It offers important insights into the modes and mechanics of European nationalisms and how they interacted with global internationalisms in the twentieth century.

Prof. dr. Adam Fairclough, Leiden University

Adam Fairclough is Professor of American History at Leiden University since 2005, and wrote several books and numerous articles on the black civil rights movement in the United States, his main area of expertise.

Theme one

National Parliamentary Procedure and Democratization.

Room: Lipsius 030

Introduction

The workshop addresses the question of the relationship between the development of parliamentary procedure and the breakthrough of modern liberal democracy. How did the European democratization affect parliaments' deliberative practices, mainly from the late 19th century onwards? The workshop examines parliaments as representative assemblies, in which deliberation is organized and regulated by procedure. Despite their central role in building nation states, parliaments have always been international. Rules and practices of national parliaments have been created in close following of and comparison to models and developments abroad. In the 19th century, the British and French parliaments served as the most prominent and most cited models for deliberative assemblies across Europe. Lessons of foreign parliaments, however, were used selectively in national debates.

Today, parliaments seem to have lost their appeal as deliberative fora. They are considered incapable of influencing or challenging government policies and 'real deliberation' is deemed to have disappeared from the plenary sessions. Parliaments are neglected in the discussions on 'deliberative democracy' and their role in the democratic process is challenged by demands for direct democracy. Historically, however, parliaments can be understood as 'laboratories' for democratic practices. They have produced a rich variety of deliberative innovations. In addition to international networking and transfer of ideas, parliaments and their procedures have served as important models for associations, organizations, parties and meetings.

Theme coordinators:

Prof. Dr. Henk te Velde (Leiden University) and *dr. Onni Pekonen* (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'National Parliamentarism and Foreign Models. On the Making of National Democracy in Sweden', *Jussi Kurunmäki*, Södertörn University.
2. 'Courtesy in the Belgian House of Representatives (1888 – 1910)', *Karen Lauwers*, University of Antwerp.
3. 'National Parliamentary Procedure and Democratization in the Case of the Polish Sejm', *Cezar Ornatowski*, San Diego State University.
4. 'Redlich revisited', *Kari Palonen*, University of Jyväskylä.
5. "'Parliamentary Life" before Parliamentarism: Procedural Innovations and Democratization in the Grand Duchy of Finland 1860–1914', *Onni Pekonen*, Leiden University.
6. 'Parliamentary Sovereignty or Failure of the Parliament? The Case of the Law on Separation of the Church and the State (France, 1905)', *Nicolas Roussellier*, Sciences Po Paris.
7. 'Influence of British Constitution on Spain's First Modern Parliament', *Ignacio Fernández Sarasola*, University of Oviedo.
8. 'Parliamentary procedures in the Italian Parliament during the Liberal Age', *Francesco Mario Soddu*, University of Sassari.
9. 'Democracy, Industrial Modernity and the Culture of Parliamentary Politics in Victorian Britain, 1848–1902', *Ryan A. Vieira*, McMaster University.

Theme two

Democratization and nationalism in Europe.

Room: Lipsius 130

Introduction

From the last quarter of the 19th century, European societies gradually democratized and were thoroughly transformed by mass politics. Nationalism was deeply involved in this process and the subsequent nationalization of the masses has generally been presented as an almost linear process that was intimately connected to the widening of the suffrage and the general modernization process. As a result, it has been studied primarily as a top-down process in which the new voters had to be educated to become good and patriotic citizens. Consequently, the nation-building process began to target wider strata of the population. This became visible in education, in celebrating national holidays, erecting statues, organizing large scale commemorations, in a new interest in folklore, but also in more concrete efforts to include the lower classes

into the nation, such as the founding of choirs and excursionist associations, initiatives to revive traditional arts and crafts, public housing initiatives and the construction of garden cities, which all received a rather pronounced nationalist veneer.

The relationship between nationalism and democratization in the period 1870-1920 is thus largely taken for granted and has hardly been problematized or analysed explicitly. However, it is clear from many recent case-studies that the relationship between democratization and nationalism/nation-building was far from unidirectional, while it is also doubtful whether the nationalization of the masses merely was a top-down process.

Some of the questions this workshop wants to tackle are:

- To what extent has democratization impacted on nationalist movements?
- How was nationalism imbricated in the extension of suffrage or of social legislation?
- Does democratization necessarily imply a larger role of nationalism as a means of involving more citizens?
- Do state and sub-state nationalisms have similar relationships to democratization?
- To what extent was the political emancipation of workers, farmers and women accompanied by a growing national awareness?

Theme coordinators:

Dr. Eric Storm (Leiden University) and *dr. Maarten Van Ginderachter* (University of Antwerp)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'In the Shadow of the State. Nationalization, Democratization and Cultural Homogenization in Spain (1875-1922)', *Ferrán Archilés*, University of Valencia.
2. 'The 1918 Election and the Fall of the Irish Parliamentary Party', *Martin O'Donoghue*, National University of Ireland.
3. 'Contested Majorities? Democratisation, Nationalism and the State 1870-1920', *Brian Girvin*, University of Glasgow.
4. 'The Spatial Politics of State-Building after Civil War: the Case of Prussia, 1866-1920', *Jasper Heinzen*, University of York.
5. 'Beyond microhistory: On Curating between Democratisation and Nationalisation', *Chrystalleni Loizidou*, The London Consortium.
6. 'Democratization in Croatia-Slavonia and the Decline of the Habsburg Empire', *Branko Ostajmer*, Croatian Institute of History.
7. 'Mass Meetings, Popular Opinion & Democracy. A Comparison of Two Nationalist Gatherings in Amsterdam, 1881-1899', *Anne Petterson*, Leiden University.
8. 'Political Culture and the Driving Forces of Democracy – the Emergence of Finland 1870-1920', *Matti Roitto* and *Petri Karonen*, University of Jyväskylä.
9. 'Time-Scales of Agency: The Politics of Class and Nation in Late Nineteenth-Century Romania', *Andrei Sorescu*, University College London.

Theme three

Democracy, the Nation State and War.

Room: Lipsius 148

Introduction

Since Kant's Perpetual Peace, democracies have been considered more peaceful than their authoritarian counterparts. The democratic peace narrative, however, remains contested. Several scholars, starting from Carl von Clausewitz, have noted a connection between democracy, nationalism and the advent of total, mass warfare, observing that democratizing states often conduct aggressive foreign policies. Moreover, even within the democratic peace camp, substantial disagreement remains as to whether democracies are more peaceful in general or simply do not go on war against one another and as to whether the causes of this peaceful behaviour are institutional (electoral incentives, parliamentary veto points and constitutional checks and balances) or cultural (liberal and democratic norms).

Furthermore, while democracies do not necessarily behave peacefully, they tend to engage war in a peculiar fashion, adapting the conduct of military operations to various domestic political constraints and considerations. Hence, there is a need to go beyond the democratic peace narrative to provide more nuanced and sophisticated studies of the interplay between democratic politics and democracies military postures, capable of providing both theoretical and policy insights.

This workshop will contribute to the democratic peace debate by focusing on the empirical evidence provided by European states between World War I and today. By analysing several historical and contemporary cases of European democracies military intervention, the workshop would offer a topical, multidisciplinary contribution to the existing scholarship on democratic peace, international security and democracy at large.

Theme coordinator:

Dr. Eugenio Cusumano (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'The Responsibility to Protect and Uses of Force Short of War', *Eamon Aloyo*, The Hague Institute for Global Justice.
2. 'Democratization and Post Armed Conflict: European Union Crisis Management in Bosnia Herzegovina', *Sergio Aguilar*, Universidade Estadual Paulista.

3. 'A Decision-Making Experiment into Public Support for War Within Different Regime-Types', *Femke Bakker*, Leiden University.
4. 'Military Service and the Crisis of Democracy in South Korea', Jin Sung Gong, Chosun University.
5. 'Taxes and Democracy: a Nineteenth Century Global Perspective', *Marjolein 't Hart*, VU Amsterdam.
6. 'Anti-Communism, Nationalism and Democracy in the Republic of Korea', *Jiyoung Kim*, Hanyang University.
7. 'Double Standards in Finnish and Swedish Security Policy during the Cold War', *Henrik Meinander*, University of Helsinki.
8. 'Democracy Vs Nation State: the Fable of the Civic Nation', *Fedor Popov*, Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
9. 'Is there a Parliamentary Peace? Evidence from military interventions since the end of the Cold War'. Would you mind changing the title of his paper in the programme?', *Wolfgang Wagner*, VU Amsterdam.

Theme four

Democratic Rights on the Global Stage 1870-1970.

Room: Lipsius 203

Introduction

Democratic rights are often conceived of, and have developed, in national frameworks. However, not all groups within the nation state have always felt they could stake their claims sufficiently on the national stage. In order to make their claims heard and increase their legitimacy they appealed to the international stage, a phenomenon that Keck and Sikkink call the boomerang effect. This workshop aims to contribute to this literature by investigating the connections between scales of mobilisation. The groups involved tended to be those marginalised in society, such as workers, women, immigrants or groups that were not even perceived to be part of society such as colonial subjects. They were not the only ones to connect these scales of mobilisation however. Other, often more privileged, activists conceived of national democracy as part of international democracy and thus lobbied to connect the two. In taking an inclusive approach and including papers on all these groups, this workshop aims to examine how claims to democracy on the international as well as the national level involved processes of in- and exclusion.

The international fora targeted included both more formal venues such as international organizations, but also more informal platforms such as diasporic groups and

transnational (social) movements. By bringing together papers covering a range of platforms this workshop aims to start a conversation on the connections between these trans- and international platforms.

Theme coordinator:

Dr. Anne-Isabelle Richard (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'Political Participation beyond Nation, Parliament and Party: Transnationalising "Functional Democracy" in Interwar Europe', *Stefan Couperus*, University of Groningen.
2. 'India cannot stand aloof!': Exploring the entangled web of Indian anti-fascism, anti-colonialism and humanitarian solidarity in the interwar period', *Maria Framke*, Rostock University.
3. 'Turning to the United Nations when Their Nation Failed Them: African American Women and the Post-War Struggle for Human Rights', *Julie Gallagher*, Penn State University.
4. 'The dream of the Wise or a Gospel of Despair? The World Parliament Movement, 1945-1960s', *Daniel Gorman*, University of Waterloo.
5. 'From the international to the national and back: negotiating ideas of the anti-Imperial nation in Central Asia in the Cold War', *Hanna Jansen*, University of Amsterdam.
6. 'Between National and Transnational Setting: the Anti-apartheid Movement in France (1960-1974)', *Anna Konieczna*, Science Po Paris.
7. 'The League of Nations and National Minorities: the Case of South Tyrol', *Nathan Marcus*, Higher School of Economics.
8. 'Indian Revolutionaries in the Age of Internationalism', *Ali Raza*, Lahore University of Management Sciences.
9. 'From Delhi to Cairo. Mobilising anti-imperialist activists across 1950s Afro-Asia', *Carolien Stolte*, Leiden University.
10. 'African political rights on the European stage', *Anne-Isabelle Richard*, Leiden University.

Theme five

Democracy, the Nation State and their Adversaries.

Room: Lipsius 204

Introduction

A democracy and its constituency only explicitly define themselves when they come under threat. This panel seeks to explore the tension that develops when oppositional groups within a democratic society challenge its fundamental principles. Such challenges can be based on very diverse motivations, ranging from groups that criticize the existing institutional framework on ideological grounds while seeking a wider international connection, through those who oppose the current geographic boundaries of the democratic entity, to elements seeking a sharper definition of those who are to be included in and excluded from the nation. By using violent and other extra-legal as well as legal means, these socialists, separatists, rightwing nationalists, and other (radical) oppositional groups constitute a potential threat to the survival of a democracy and its institutions. These groups, moreover, often challenge implicit and explicit assumptions regarding the meaning and boundaries of democracy, i.e. the groups that are considered part of the democratic polity and the groups that are not, as well as what ideas and repertoires of action are considered democratic and undemocratic.

This panel will focus on the interaction between the state and these oppositional groups, from legal and extra-legal political action to the verbal utterances of representatives from both sides, and their effect on the political discourse within the democratic polity. In this way we explore how threats to democracy elicit new definitions of democracy.

Theme coordinators:

Dr. Joost Augusteijn (Leiden University), *Constant Hijzen* (Leiden University) and *Dr. Mark Leon de Vries* (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'Contested Statehood, Contested Democracy? Analysing the Challenges Posed by De-Facto States in the Post-Soviet Space', *Ana Maria Albuлесcu*, King's College London.
2. 'The Role of the Terrorist Constituency in State-Terrorist Conflict. An Overview', *Joost Augusteijn* and *Jacco Pekelder*, Leiden University and Utrecht University.
3. 'Parliamentary Democracy Versus Means of Direct Democracy? Conceptualization of 'Democracy' in the German Bundestag during the Anti-Nuclear Demonstrations in 1995-1998', *Miina Kaarkoski*, University of Jyväskylä.

4. 'Informal Networks and Parliamentary Culture in Defense of the Weimar Republic, 1930-1932', *James McSpadden*, Harvard University.
5. 'Nazis, Violence and the State: Social Democratic Repertoire Discussions in Germany and the Netherlands around 1930', *Kristian M. Mennen*, University of Münster.
6. '20 Years after Dayton: Post-War Bosnia between Nationalism and Democracy', *Arianna Piacentini*, University of Milan.
7. 'Hindu Majoritarianism and the Eclipse of Minority Rights: Assessing the Threats to India's Survival as a Democratic Nation-State', *Badrinath Rao*, Kettering University.
8. '(In)Effectiveness of Local Social Movements on Turkish Democracy', *Yavuz Yildirim*, Nigde University.

Theme six

Democratic Distrust: Power, Paranoia and the People.

Room: Lipsius 228 (15 January), Lipsius 235B (16 January)

Introduction

This workshop aims to explore the role of distrust in democratic traditions on the basis of a few of the individuals, parties, and movements advocating it in the transatlantic world from the end of the eighteenth century to the present.

As French political historian Pierre Rosanvallon among others has argued, distrust should be part of democratic traditions because, next to representative bodies and parliamentary procedures, it helps legitimize democracy. Yet Rosanvallon also warns that, in movements such as populism, political distrust negates its very usefulness because it turns simply or purely negative.

How democratic and valuable is political distrust? Next to exploring the conditions that give rise to political distrust, this workshop aims to deal with the question when distrust turns excessive and impracticable--when the vigilance expressed by it no longer differs from paranoia. Does especially populism represent one of these moments? Seeking to give reality to the fictional concept of the people, the distrust against governing elites that populist movements exhibit frequently involves

glorifications of the nation that undermine, or at least shift, their democratic potential: they displace the concept of the people by the concept of the nation. Does populist distrust undermine the very democratic elements it aims to foster? Is democratic distrust easily tainted by these populist elements and as a result in need of being used selectively?

These questions will be explored on the basis of the transatlantic history of Western Europe and the United States. Politically distrustful individuals and movements from the Age of Democratic Revolutions and these countries many past and current-day populist persuasions - and those questioning their ideas should be the subjects of this workshop.

Theme coordinator:

Dr. Eduard van de Bilt (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'Spectemur Scribendo: John Adams's Political Therapeutics', *Eduard van de Bilt*, Leiden University.
2. 'In Defense of Paranoia: The Confidence-Man and the Inside-Dopester', *George Blaustein*, University of Amsterdam.
3. 'Friedrich Meinecke and the Appraisal of German Culture over Democracy', *Thijs Bogers*, VU Amsterdam.
4. 'Tensions between Secrecy and Democracy. Distrust Regarding Intelligence in French and Dutch Parliaments, 1975-1995', *Eleni Braat*, University of Utrecht.
5. 'Distrust and Disclosure', *Joris Gijzenbergh*, Leiden University.
6. 'A New World. European Socialists and the American Democratic Experiment, 1870-1914' *Hanneke Hoekstra*, University of Groningen.
7. 'American Democracy and the World: The US Congress and the Founding of the United Nations, 1941-1945', *Antero Holmila*, University of Jyväskylä.
8. 'Between a professional army and citizen-soldiers: American perceptions of the role of the military in their democracy', *Ruud Janssens*, University of Amsterdam.
9. 'Serbian Nationalism between 1880 and 1914', *Geert Luteijn*, University of Amsterdam.
10. 'Conservative Mistrust of the U.S. Supreme Court', *Mark Miller*, Clark University.
11. 'Paranoid of the People. Reigning in "We the People" in Post-Revolutionary America', *Jelte Olthof*, University of Groningen.

Theme seven

'Congomania' and Forms of the National State in Africa (1950s-1960s).

Room: Lipsius 208

Introduction

When the Congo exploded into conflict in 1960 it was a moment of crisis not just for the country itself but also for the broader international community. One of the key points of intersection between the Cold War and the process of decolonization, the Congo can be regarded as a contested space in which forms of the national state were debated and evolved and in which the very role of the national state as the basic building bloc of international society was challenged.

This workshop will consider how nation building and democratization took place in Africa before and after the Congo crisis. As European imperialism crumbled and nation states moved into the Black Atlantic, the nation state as an organizing tool was reconsidered. While the discussion about the future of the Congo was taking place, there was simultaneously a broader reimagining of what the national state was, as decolonization forcefully reshaped the contours of international society. The Congo experience exploded many myths about the ease of installing a Western-friendly regime in a post-colonial state and the difficulties of constructing a nation state in Africa.

This is a particularly pertinent time for such a workshop to take place. The publication, and popularity of Congo, The Epic History of a People by Leiden alumnus David Van Reybrouck has renewed interest in the history of the Congo, disseminating the topic extensively. In academia, the surge of publications in the area has even been referred to as "Congomania".

Theme coordinators:

Dr. Alanna O'Malley (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'Pan-Africanism in Making of Nation-States', *Colak Gözde*, Ankara University.
2. 'Our Ancestral Home. The American Society for African Culture (AMSAC) and the One-Year Celebration of Nigeria's Independence, December 1961', *Lonneke Geerlings*, VU Amsterdam.
3. 'A Belgian Blueprint for a New Congolese Republic', *Emmanuel Gerard*, KU Leuven.
4. 'Nkrumah's Critique, MacMillan's fears: The Export of Democracy and the African

Nationalist Rejection of a Western Concept', *Frank Gerits*, New York University.

5. 'Resisting Independence? Matsouanist Resistance and State Repression in Congo Brazzaville, 1942-1960', *Meike de Goede*, Leiden University.
6. 'Using the Cold War to Conceal the Neo-Colonialism of Decolonisation and the Damage Inflicted on the Emergence of a Congo Nation State', *John Kent*, London School of Economics.
7. 'Beveridge's Social Insurance in the Colonial Office: The Fabian Colonial Society, Anticolonial Nationalism and the Welfare State in Postwar British Africa', *Luke Messac*, University of Pennsylvania.
8. 'Unconstitutional Change of Government and Popular Uprisings in Africa', *Tushar Kanti Saha*, Kenyatta University.

Theme eight

Necropolitics and Political Authority: Violence and Death in the Control over Populations.

Room: Lipsius 235C

Introduction

The power over life and death is a resource to govern and control populations. Political authorities, colonial powers and national states have profusely exerted violence and imposed death, during armed and civil conflicts throughout history. Today, under the neoliberal order, societies in all regions of the world are exposed to wars on terrorism, drugs, criminality, extremism, radicalisation and other forms of deviancy with different kinds of perpetrators and victims. Brutality and barbarism against populations and minorities leads to human degradation and destruction.

The display of violence, torture and death plays a key role in the symbolical domination over societies. The horror in the practices of violence and death conveys different messages in various arenas, where the state but also non-state actors become involved. In the context of neoliberal democracy, violence and the politics of death do influence the relation between citizens and their political authorities. Clearly, death is an instrument in the struggle for and exercise of power, and it co-defines neoliberal definitions of democracy.

This panel explores the different geographical and historical contexts in which necropolitics have defined state-society relations, and the extent it (perversely) influences definitions and projects of democracy. Necropolitics are visible in the relation between capitalism and war, militarisation, authoritarianism, terror, cultures of violence and their fetishism, that have different social registers, including the mass media. What are the messages death and torture can convey? What kinds of technologies and techniques are herein employed? What is the impact of violent death on democracy projects? How do fear, death and violence constitute political legitimacy? What are their cultural expressions? We invite scholars from the social sciences and humanities to look at the multiple political, social and cultural arenas across geographies where the politics of death become noticeable, and the extent they underpin or erode legitimacy.

Theme coordinators:

Dr. José Carlos G. Aguiar (Leiden University) and *Dr. Erella Grassiani* (University of Amsterdam)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'Genocidal consolidation: A final solution to elite rivalry', *Eelco van der Maat*, Vanderbilt University.
2. 'Legitimate authority, the powers of death and the question of "proper disposal"', *Finn Stepputat*, Danish Institute for International Studies.
3. 'Necropolitics under the Chinese ideological context', *Zhai Yu*, Universität Siegen.
4. 'Blue heroes: Policing gang violence in El Salvador', *Sonja Wolf*, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas.
5. 'After sovereignty: the hallucinatory nature of habeas corpus', *Frans-Willem Korsten*, Leiden University.
6. 'From parallel power to ghostly sovereignty in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil', *Martijn Oosterbaan*, Utrecht University.
7. 'Dead bodies on the border of democracy', *Nerina Weiss*, Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies, Oslo.
8. 'Bodies, bones, skulls. Crisis and the representation of death and evil in Mexico', *Jose Carlos G. Aguiar*, Leiden University.

Theme nine

Politics of Discontent in the Southern Cone.

Room: Lipsius 307

Introduction

The past five years have seen the emergence of multitudinous protests across Latin America, the Middle East and more recently East Asia. In these protests we see the middle class emerging as a major political actor, making demands over democracy and representation. This is despite rapid advances in economic development and living standards that, as the literature used to lead us to believe, would eventually result in deeper democratization and a more stable polity.

In several South American countries (such as Argentina, Chile, and Brazil) the new forms of protest that have emerged in recent years have not been over the form and content of citizenship. Today, the new social movements are rather seeking change within the existing structure. Middle class movements are seeking to reaffirm state-civil society relations and are insisting on the central role of the state in mediating their demands. They are claiming that the state has not lived up to its part of the democratic contract, and are demanding that it start to do so.

This panel will explore the various dimensions of the revolution of rising expectations as it has played out on various national stages in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile. It will look at the core demands of middle class protests and examine them in terms of the implications they have for the ongoing process of forming and consolidating democratic states. Key to understanding this will be the influence of economic growth and past inequality, and the question of legitimacy. In doing so, it will deepen understandings of how these new forms of protest against the state transform the practice of democracy as well as national identity.

Theme coordinators:

Prof. Dr. Patricio Silva (Leiden University) and *Dr. Michelle Carmody* (Leiden University)

Participants in alphabetical order:

1. 'Conflicts over the Use of the National Past in Argentina', *Michelle Carmody*, Leiden University.
2. 'Assessing present-day Political Discontent in Chilean Democracy', *Patricio Silva*, Leiden University.
3. 'From the "Best President on Earth" to the Call for Impeachment: Transformative Democracy, Popular Protest and Political Discontent in Brazil: From Lula to Dilma', *Kees Koonings*, Utrecht University.
4. 'Chile: Between the Mythology of Legalism, Political Disaffection and the Crisis of Leadership', *Pablo Isla Monsalve*, Leiden University.
5. 'Political Disaffection and Antiparty Mood in Chile during the 1950s and 2010s', *Joaquín Fernández Abara*, Finis Terrae University.
6. 'Subverting democracy through "political networks"? State-social movements relations in Bolivia', *Soledad Valdivia Rivera*, Leiden University.
7. 'Negotiating the Nation in Cuenca, Ecuador', *Luz Marina Castillo Astudillo*, Politecnica Salesiana University.

Registration

On Thursday, participation in the conference is free of charge and open to the public. On Friday and Saturday, participation in the conference is on invitation only and only for participants registered with the conference. The conference fee is 50 euro.

Conference Locations:

Academy Building, Rapenburg 67-73, Leiden
Lipsius Building, Cleveringaplaats 1, Leiden

Organization

Research Group Political Culture and National Identities (PCNI)
Leiden University, Institute for History

Prof. dr. Henk te Velde

Dr. Patrick Dassen

Dr. Margit van der Steen

With assistance of Simone Nieuwenbroek and Eveline van Rijswijk M.A.

In cooperation with the coordinators of the workshops

Contact and information:

Conference.democracy.nation.state@leiden.edu

<http://hum.leiden.edu/history/conference-democracy-nation-state/>

Abstracts and contact details of the speakers are on the website.

Follow us on Twitter: @PCNIConf

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Research Group Political Culture and National Identities (PCNI)

<http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/research/description-pcni/description.html>

The research group Political Culture and National Identities of Leiden University investigates a wide range of national political cultures in Europe and the Americas in the 19th and 20th centuries. The group focuses on political culture in a broad sense and covers three main realms. Firstly, the cultural aspects of the political realm, secondly, forms of political behaviour in a broad sense of the word and thirdly, the social, cultural and intellectual embedding of politics.