

The XVIII International Sociological Association World Congress of Sociology  
Yokohama, Japan  
July 13 – 19, 2014  
Session Proposals  
RC 18 Political Sociology

**1) Democracy and Inequality across the World**

Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow, Polish Academy of Sciences,

In every democracy resides social, economic and political inequality. This session asks two main questions: “How do inequalities impact democracy?” and “How does democracy impact inequalities?”

This session draws inspiration from the American Political Science Association Task Force report (2004) on “American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality.” While a landmark project, the APSA Task Force is limited to the U.S. and did not integrate several critical issues in detail, such as digital divide and internet democracy, globalization, mass media impact, militarization and armed conflict, immigration, and intersectional approaches to understanding how democracy and inequality co-exist. In addition, gender, ethnicity and class were underemphasized; across nations, women’s representation in parliament, ethnic political parties, and the salience of class in political participation are key features of the nexus of democracy and inequality.

This session seeks empirical (quantitative and qualitative) papers that examine the relationship between democracy and inequality, especially in places outside of the United States and in comparative perspective.

**2) T.b.A.**

Jurate Imbrasaite, Vytautas Magnus University

Citizenship has become a fashionable concept during recent decades. There is a great deal of public debate about the meaning of the citizenship, the relationship between citizens and government, effectiveness of democracy, policy measures aimed at promoting citizenship and future prospects in the globalized world. Citizenship can be conceived in statist terms as legal, political and social entitlements, which define the privileges of citizens (Marshall, 1964), but equally it can be defined as a set of institutionally embedded practices (Somers, 1993; Turner, 1993; Schudson, 1998). In common usage, citizenship is a very broad concept, which can encompass questions of identity, ethnicity, participation, values and attitudes.

Citizenship can be something to which virtue can be attached as there are different ways to be a good citizen. The distinction among liberal, communitarian and republican forms of citizenship reflects divisions among approaches stressing the rights and responsibilities and resonates with the contemporary political life.

There are increasing concerns about changes in society which undermine the effectiveness of democracy and weaken traditional conceptions of citizenship. Pessimistic authors (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Putnam & Gross, 2002) argue that widespread decline of feeling of solidarity, growing political cynicism among public, disaffection with political institutions weakens representative democracies. Proponents of postmodern citizenship (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart & Welzer, 2005; Norris, 1999) are more optimistic regarding the decline of trust in government and citizen participation. They indicate that it may be explained as the shift from traditional forms of citizenship to the new ones.

There are increasing concerns about the role of the state in promoting effective policy-making and the effects of a strong civic tradition on the performance of the political system as a whole. Most scholars agree that the nation state is in decline and there is a need to do some hard thinking about what these changes mean for being citizen. What does it mean to be a citizen at the beginning of the twenty-first century? What does it mean to be a “good” citizen? What are the consequences of citizenship for the effectiveness of the political system? What is a sense of political membership in a globalized world?

### **3) The social bases of far-right political parties and movements in modern Europe**

Igor Barygin

Papers:

Professor, dr. Igor Barygin «The social bases of far-right political parties and movements in modern Europe». Russia, Sankt-Petersburg State University

Professor, dr. Natalia Eremina «Theoretical and practical aspects of European radical right parties in the context of social bases growth: comparative analysis» ». Russia, Sankt-Petersburg State University

Professor Stanislav Protasenko «Forming a Radical Right social base in modern Europe: elitist and populist approaches». »Russia, Sankt-Petersburg State University

### **4) New challenges for member driven political organisations: addressing demand, supply, and the digital context**

Ariadne Vromen and Anika Gauja

Ostensibly established political organisations in advanced democracies are facing a period of change. Challenges to their sustainability come from three main directions: changing demand for active membership; the supply-side and high threshold for participation within organisations; and the reduced complexity of organisation in the context of the growth of digital politics. This panel will address the implications of these challenges for both political organisations themselves, and representative democracy more broadly.

The first starting point for this panel is the increasing evidence that citizens in advanced democracies are disillusioned with traditional forms of democratic participation and representation. The ‘demand-side’ literature identifies many reasons why it is that citizens seem to eschew modes of participation or organisational membership that imply time-intensive face-to-face engagement. Second, we will examine the way political organisations have redesigned and configured themselves in ways that seem to require less (or sometimes no) direct engagement from members or supporters. The research on political parties especially notes a drift away from mass-membership models towards cartel style parties that require little by way of a permanent member base.

Third, the advent of the internet and social media platforms is reshaping political organisations and the advocacy landscape. New kinds of campaigning organisations have emerged that demonstrate political organising can be quicker, more nimble and provide multi-issue political responses in a way traditional political organisations cannot. We will explore how organisations are adapting to the digital political context, and whether they engage with new online campaigning organisations in a cooperative or competitive manner.

For this panel we welcome papers that focus on these three challenges to member driven political organisations, particularly those with a comparative dimension.

### **5) Regional powers and their partners: bilateralism, regionalism, cooperation and hegemony**

Mikhail A. Molchanov, St. Thomas University, Canada

This panel will explore international and transnational structures of inequality, as they exist in regional communities of nations, such as the European Union, ASEAN, ECOWAS, Mercosur or the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It will examine both bilateral relations between the region’s most powerful state or states and their neighbours and the transnational social movements and hierarchies that arise as a result of structural inequality in the region. We will seek to assess the impact of various types of relations between more and less powerful states in the region on the construction of a respective regional society. The analysis of a state-society nexus in a regional context will help shed a new light on genesis and reproduction of inequality within and between geographically adjacent nations. By looking at a dialectic interplay between international, domestic and transnational social factors in foreign policies of individual member states of a regional community, the panel will seek to reach comparative conclusions on similarities and differences that determine regional hierarchies and power structures. Its objective is to explain, how, in some cases, inequality within a region becomes

entrenched by means of trade, politics and diplomacy, while in other cases proactive foreign policies and multilateral cooperation generate broader regional solutions and check hegemonic impulses of regionally dominant powers.

**6) Joint session RC18, RC47 and RC48 Democracy and Social Movements**  
(ti rimando l'abstract) Paola Rebughini

**7) Rituals and Rhetoric: attending to the performative dimension of politics**  
Florence Faucher (Sciences Po, Paris), Colin Hay (Sheffield University)

The panel builds from the premise that the performative dimension of political practice remains largely unexplored by contemporary political sociologists. It explores this through a series of linked papers, which consider the performance of political ritual and the performative use of rhetoric in contemporary political practices.

Faucher (Sciences Po) and Hay (Sheffield), "Voting rituals in France and Britain"

Finlayson (University East Anglia), "A rhetorical political analysis of British political speeches"

Mandret (Toulouse), "The rituals of naturalisation as an instrument of public policy", TBC

Rai (Warwick), "Gendered ceremony and ritual in parliament", TBC

Mische (Rutgers), "Partisan dramaturgy in Brazil", TBC

**8) What is party membership 1? Perspectives in the 'European tradition'**  
Anika Gauja

This panel will interrogate contemporary understandings of the concept of party membership and its application to changing patterns of political participation and organization. Against a backdrop of declining party membership figures, we ask paper givers to re-consider what membership means in the 'European tradition' of party scholarship (conceptualizing membership as formal affiliation) and how this applies not only to the democracies of Europe, but beyond to countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. A number of broad themes will be explored, including the impact of technology and changing patterns of political participation, other forms of affiliation and engagement as functional alternatives (for example, supportership) as well as the ongoing relevance and function of formal membership and how these understandings are shaped by cultural, political, legal and historical circumstances.

**9) What is party membership 2? Perspectives from Asia**  
Anika Gauja

This panel will interrogate contemporary understandings of the concept of party membership and its application to changing patterns of political participation and organization. We ask paper givers to consider what membership means beyond the 'European tradition' of party scholarship – to explore how citizens join, interact with or express their support for political parties in countries and regions throughout Asia. A number of broad themes will be explored, including the impact of technology and changing patterns of political participation, other forms of affiliation and engagement as functional alternatives (for example, supportership) as well as the ongoing relevance and function of formal membership and how these understandings are shaped by cultural, political, legal and historical circumstances.

**10) Party membership and intra-party democracy in comparative perspective**  
Giulia Sandri (Université Catholique de Lille)

Political parties in established democracies have faced three significant trends that have altered their relationships with the grassroots: declining voter loyalty, declining party membership, and the

declining importance of cleavage politics. Parties have elaborated two main organizational responses to cope with such challenges: the introduction of functional alternatives to party membership, and the expansion of intra-party democracy. On the one hand, parties have been prompted to develop new strategies to broaden their boundaries and reach out to non-member supporters, which could erode even further their membership basis. On the other hand, parties have adopted a wide range of internal organizational reforms that, at least formally, give members more say over outcomes. Direct democracy is now used in a wide range of intra-party decision-making procedures such as candidate selection, leadership selection and policy positions formulation. These responses trigger significant changes in the role and power of the party on the ground, and can potentially generate conflicts between the various party strata. This panel will interrogate to what extent the recent trends in party organizational change have affected the balance of power within parties, and how this has modified the power and role of the party on the ground. A number of connected themes will be explored, such as the emergence of conflict between various party strata, the attitudes of the party on the ground towards organizational change, as well as how these changes are part of general transnational trends that overcome cultural and political differences between established democracies. Empirical and comparative papers are encouraged, but theoretical and qualitative papers are also welcome.

### **11) Party membership and activism in comparative perspective**

Karina Kosiara-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen

The number of party members is a common indicator of party participation and the extent to which parties are able to form a channel of participation within representative democracy. And these party membership figures are in general in decline. However, party members vary in their participation both within parties and across parties, countries and time. Party membership has a 'polymorphic nature' and varies both in degree, type and intensity. The aim of the panel is to reach a better understanding of how party members participate within the context of changing parties. In particular, we encourage analyses of how the application of new information and communication technologies, the professionalization of election campaigning and the blurring of the distinction between party members and supporters have affected the character of party member participation.

### **12) Colonial Injustice of the Twenty-First Century: The Latin American Case**

Elena Pavlova, University of Tartu

The appearance of the politicians like Hugo Chavez and Evo Morales provoked a special attention to the new discursive practices in Latin America today. Western criticism of ALBA's ideology is at the centre of inter-paradigm debates. The principal idea of this ideology is the creation of a more equitable, more just world. At the same time it would not be entirely correct to say that the idea of justice is focused exclusively on the opposition between Latin America and the West. The idea of justice and the struggle for it establishes equivalence between the colonialism of the sixteenth century and a similar oppression of the native people brought by the neocolonialism of the globalizing world. This new discourse is not structured in direct opposition to Western hegemony. Its origins are rooted in the conflicts dating back to the time of the Great Discoveries, while the idea of eliminating injustice continues to be the cornerstone of nationhood in Latin America. The justice vs. injustice discourse does not follow in the wake of the Enlightenment debates about freedom and equality, but emerges as part of the postcolonial legacy projected at the current situation. As a result, this discourse is in a way locked inside society and is addressed within, making it impossible to criticize from outside.

### **13) Politics, bureaucracy and political appointments**

Felix Lopez, Institute of Applied Economic Research

The interaction between politics and bureaucracy are central to understand different political systems. One aspect, in particular, deserves more research: political appointments to various levels of

bureaucracy.

This session seeks empirical - quantitative and qualitative - papers that examine political appointments within differing regimes and contexts and how these appointments relate to the distinct characteristics of the political systems in which they operate. Among the possible issues for debate are: the criteria that appointments are based on (politicians, career bureaucrats/public servants, party members and members of the personal or factional network, among others), the observed differences in national and transnational contexts and among branches of government, the differing ways in which parties fill bureaucratic government positions; the relationship between political appointments and the process of designing and implementing public policy.

#### **14) Varieties of contemporary populism**

Marco Maraffi, University of Milan

The panel seeks to explore the different forms, characteristics, origins, and operations of present-day populism in a comparative perspective. Populism -- a distinctive type of mass politics and political regime -- is a widespread phenomenon, in Europe (both Western and Eastern), United States, and Latin America. Briefly put, the rise of contemporary populism -- as opposed to "traditional" populism of 1920s and 1930s -- is rooted in the upheaval in social, political and economic relations and structures brought about by globalization. The collapse of traditional social and political institutions has facilitated and called for a political response based on the direct appeal by political leaders, of different political persuasions and ideological stances, to the "people", bypassing traditional channels of political intermediation such as parties and sometimes (and somewhat) diminishing the role of representative bodies. The panel aims at charting and explaining this contemporary political phenomenon in a comparative fashion, drawing on different national experiences and case studies.