

**Luiss**  
Department of Political Science

**Luiss**  
PhD Programme in Politics

# Annual Postgraduate Conference

**Thursday, 15 June 2023**

Polivalente Room, Luiss Campus at Viale Romania 32, Rome

## 9:30 am Welcome to the Conference

Sergio Fabbrini  
Head of the Department of Political Science,  
Luiss University

## 9:45 am | Panel 1

### Presentation of the Department's Externally Funded Research Projects

#### Chair

Rosario Forlenza  
Associate Professor of Contemporary History,  
Luiss University

#### Speakers

Matteo Boldrini  
Jessica Di Cocco  
*The POSTGEN project*  
*A generation-aware analysis of political  
change in the Italian case*

Adriano Dirri  
Ylenia Guerra  
Alexandros Kyriakidis  
*Dissensus and Democracy in the European  
Union: the RED-SPINEL Project*

Andrea Capati  
*REGROUP («Rebuilding governance  
and resilience out of the pandemic»):  
Aims and Research Agenda*

Flavia Lucenti  
*Multilateralism, Technology  
and Geopolitical Competition:  
the REMIT project*

## 11:15 am Coffee Break

## 11:30 am | Panel 2

### The European and International arenas: studying reforms and processes

#### Chair

Mark Thatcher  
Professor of Public Policy, Luiss University

#### Speakers

Federico Bonomi  
*Explaining Developments in the EU Fiscal  
Governance: Institutions, Interests, and Ideas*

Samir El Khanza  
*Influencing the European trade policy-  
making process? National parliaments' role  
related to the EU-Canada Comprehensive  
Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)*

Ivan Zaccagnini  
*Industrial Policy in the Age of Complexity:  
Emerging Technologies  
and the International Competition  
in Commercial and Defence Markets*

**LUISS**





# Annual Postgraduate Conference

**Thursday, 15 June 2023**

Polivalente Room, Luiss Campus at Viale Romania 32, Rome

**1:00 pm Lunch Break** (for registered participants)

**2:15 pm | Panel 3**

**Current Challenges to Representation,  
Legitimacy and Governance**

**Chair**

Cristina Fasone

Associate Professor of Comparative Public Law,  
Luiss University

**Speakers**

Mattia Gatti

*The Hunt for the Untargeted*

Bosco Lebrun

*Liquid Democracy: Using Technological  
Innovation to Promote Global Democracy*

Lorenzo Santini

*Gendering the European Parliament's  
External Relations: A Feminist Governance  
Approach to Parliamentary Diplomacy  
and Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation*

**4:15 pm Coffee Break**

**4:30 pm Keynote Lecture**

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi

Professor of Democracy Studies, Hertie School in Berlin

*A Clash of Two Capitalisms?*

**Chair**

Thomas Christiansen

Professor of Political Science and European Integration and  
Coordinator of the PhD Programme in Politics,  
Luiss University

**5:30 pm Reception/Aperitif** (for registered participants)



# Annual Postgraduate Conference

## Overview of Conference Presentations



### ***The POSTGEN project - A generation-aware analysis of political change in the Italian case***

Matteo Boldrini and Jessica Di Cocco

The recent electoral outcomes call for a reflection on the role of ideologies in the political landscape of Western countries. Traditionally, their political space was structured around the opposition between left and right (i.e., between progressives and conservatives), which encompassed different positions on cultural and economic issues. However, recent studies have shown that challenger parties succeeded thanks to their ability to mobilize conflict across (and beyond) traditional ideological boundaries, hence questioning the role of ideologies today. Indeed, analyses have shown that voters appear progressively de-ideologized, with no exception for Italy. The POSTGEN project intends to contribute to research in this field by exploring, with qualitative and quantitative tools, the process of de-ideologization, focusing on the Italian intergenerational dimension. Do younger generations structure their political attitudes differently than the older ones? If they do, how are parties exploiting this new process of shaping political attitudes? Is there room for alternative actors to have a say? Whereas the role of non-political actors in influencing individuals' decision-making process is well-known in countries like the United States, it remains relatively underexplored in the Italian and European contexts. From the Ferragnez to footballers, from TV personalities to new tiktokers, these influencers have gone from dealing specifically with football, fashion, food and horoscopes to becoming increasingly interested in current affairs, not least the political sphere. POSTGEN aims to explore these questions, also considering how different generations relate to social media and collect information. The project aims, therefore, to investigate the evolution of the Italian political culture while, more generally, triggering a reflection on what the other Western democracies are experiencing.

### ***Dissensus and Democracy in the European Union: the RED-SPINEL Project***

Adriano Dirri, Ylenia Guerra, and Alexandros Kyriakidis

In recent decades, the foundations of liberal democracy as well as the pillars of the international liberal multilateral order have come under considerable strain. Recent crises have challenged key foundations of liberal democracy in Europe, such as the compacts between political and institutional liberalism, democratic and economic liberalism, and majoritarian rule and technocratic expertise. The overall aim of the HORIZON2020, EU-funded project RED-SPINEL (Respond to Emerging Dissensus: SuPranational Instruments and Norms of European democracy), is to analyse the changing nature of dissensus surrounding rule of law and liberal democracy and its implications

# Annual Postgraduate Conference

## Overview of Conference Presentations

for EU supranational policy instruments, also developing develop a range of scientifically informed policy recommendations and capacity-building efforts able to foster innovative democratic practices able to respond to the present-day dissensus. The project will focus on the key policy instruments and legal mechanisms shaping the EU's efforts in support of rule of law and democracy, including the EU rule of law toolbox, the neighbourhood and accession instruments, the European semester, the conditionality Regulation, fundamental rights, and judicial instruments, as well as citizen participation platforms.

### **REGROUP («Rebuilding governance and resilience out of the pandemic»): Aims and Research Agenda**

Andrea Capati

Culminating more than a decade of crisis in Europe, the Covid-19 pandemic has opened an important window of opportunity for institutional and policy change, not only at the “reactive” level of emergency responses, but also to tackle more broadly the many socio-political challenges caused or exacerbated by Covid-19. Building on this premise, the Horizon Europe project REGROUP (Rebuilding Governance and Resilience out of the Pandemic) aims to: 1) provide the European Union with a body of actionable advice on how to rebuild post-pandemic governance and public policies in an effective and democratic way; anchored to 2) a map of the socio-political dynamics and consequences of Covid-19; and 3) an empirically-informed normative evaluation of the pandemic.

### **Multilateralism, Technology and Geopolitical Competition: the REMIT project**

Flavia Lucenti

Multilateralism is under attack, and the EU is caught between the United States and China while facing Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Although there are many ways in which the decline of multilateralism affects the EU, none is more problematic than rivalries in technology. Technology is crucial to collective security, including threats to democratic principles, international norms and institutions. The EU Horizon Project REMIT

(full title, REignite Multilateralism via Technology) aims at creating knowledge that generates policy recommendations and strategies that support the EU in reconceptualizing multilateral governance in four crucial policy areas: digital, biotechnology, security, defence and financial technologies. In doing so, it targets the re-mobilization of a transnational collective spirit that addresses global problems through technology. Moving beyond China's systemic rivalry in technology and Russia's rise as a technology abuser, the project explores how to define a leading role for the EU in multilateralism in the near future.

### **Explaining Developments in the EU Fiscal Governance: Institutions, Interests, and Ideas**

Federico Bonomi

The aim of this project is to understand the factors explaining the ongoing process of reform of the EU fiscal rules, looking at both the new paradigms that emerge and the elements – like a central fiscal capacity – that fail to do so. The work will test alternative hypotheses drawn from consolidated EU integration theories, including historic institutionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, neofunctionalism, and post-functionalism, which will be eventually further refined. Such hypotheses will be tested using qualitative data gathered from sources like European and national institutions and elite interviews. Data will be analysed through process-tracing. Results will contribute to the literature on EU integration by adding a non-yet-studied case which has the potential to both set new boundaries to established theories and refine them to account for the developments of fiscal governance occurring in this peculiar historical period.

### **Influencing the European trade policy-making process? National parliaments' role in the ratification, entry into force and implementation of the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)**

Samir El Khanza

Today, the national parliaments of the European Member States play a central role in the European Trade policy-making process. The aim of this thesis is to focus on how and to what extent national parliaments effect the European Union's ability to conclude trade agreements. It focuses on the socio-economic and intersectional concerns raised during the ratification, entry into force and implementation of the CETA. The analysis starts with the study of the sources of EU and national law that permits national parliaments to act in the EU policy-making process. Then it concentrates on how contestation and the democratic deficit in the EU enhance the influence of national parliaments in the EU's political arena. Finally, it assesses how

# Annual Postgraduate Conference

## Overview of Conference Presentations

differences in the understanding of liberal democracy between the actors involved in the EU Trade policy-making process paved the way to democratic conflicts within the parliaments and the legal systems involved. The methods of analysis for this research are content analysis and systematic content analysis (SCA) method. The mix of these content analysis permitted to conduct a qualitative analysis of the data collected in our case study.

### ***Industrial Policy in the Age of Complexity: Emerging Technologies and the International Competition in Commercial and Defence Markets***

Ivan Zaccagnini

What role can states still play in achieving technological goals? Is today industrial policy still effective like it was in the past? Starting from these questions my PhD project focuses on the efficacy of industrial policy in the so-called age of complexity and aims to answer these questions exploring the dynamics of the defence and commercial industry throughout the first machine age (1915-1960) and the second machine age (1982-2020). The goal is to contribute to a central debate in the social sciences, outlining the role of the government in promoting economic and technological development and explaining success or failure of industrial policy. In order to achieve that I introduce an often-neglected variable in the debate on the efficacy of industrial policy: technological complexity. I assert that the change in technology may directly affect the outcome of industrial policy in multiple ways. Finally, I propose four case studies, two from the first machine age and two from the second machine age, to maximize variation and with the intention of putting my theory to hard test and competing theories to easy test. My preliminary cases focus on the EU attempts to catch up (in particular with China and US) in emerging technologies. Specifically, I propose to study and compare industrial developments of drones, fighter-jets, cloud computing and automotive.

### ***The Hunt for the Untargeted***

Mattia Gatti

The last twenty years witnessed substantial electoral losses for

mainstream parties, with voters either flocking to challenger parties or abstaining altogether. The surge of populist challengers appears, among the others, driven by citizens' dissatisfaction with democratic institutions and procedures. Growing levels of political distrust or even outright political disengagement call for a thorough evaluation of the effectiveness of the process of political representation. By focusing on substantive representation, issue congruence and responsiveness, this research project assesses to what extent political representation work effectively with respect to specific policy issues. More specifically, on polarizing issues such as the nationalization of the economy, European Integration, and gender issues, how do Western European parties fare – comparatively and longitudinally – in the attempt to represent the preferences of their citizens? By answering these questions, this research project aims at singling out the 'issue preference profiles' of those who I shall call the untargeted – i.e. those sections of national electorates who experience substantial underrepresentation on specific policy issues – in order to match them against potentially feasible programmatic appeals and (re) positioning strategies available to political parties in Western European party systems.

### ***Liquid Democracy: Using Technological Innovation to Promote Global Democracy***

Bosco Lebrun

Richard Rose demonstrates that transnational influences are making it more difficult for governing parties to be effectively as well as formally responsible for policy outcomes. Interdependencies and external constraints taking place at the European and international level create a deficit of legitimacy and accountability. In response, international political theorists have defended various models of global democracy. However, they have been so heavily criticized both in terms of desirability and feasibility that there seems to be no remedy. In the meantime, the world has experienced a technological upheaval. As James Bohman explains, it heralded «new possibilities for political participation, if not direct democracy, even in large and complex societies, as 'electronic democracy' might replace the mass media democracy of sound-bite television». Could the technological innovations provide a solution to the problems of legitimacy in the world? In which way?

# Annual Postgraduate Conference

## Overview of Conference Presentations

***Gendering the European Parliament's External Relations: A Feminist Governance Approach to Parliamentary Diplomacy and Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation***

Lorenzo Santini

Despite being a “highly gendered” institution, characterized by the overrepresentation of men and the gross underrepresentation of women in senior positions (Aggestam and Towns 2018), feminist approaches to diplomacy are rather scarce in academic scholarship, particularly in the field of global and regional parliamentary diplomacy and interparliamentary cooperation (IPC). In the European Parliament (EP)’s case, gender has been employed to study the Assembly internally in the context of European elections, political groups, leadership, and Committees allocations, without a specific policy or thematic focus. To date, there is only one seminal study on EP’s gender equality promotion through parliamentary diplomacy (Jancic et al. 2021), and one ECPR Conference abstract (Miller 2022). This presentation will illustrate the trajectory of a PhD project seeking to fill this major gap by employing gender as an intersectional analytical category through the theoretical frameworks of feminist institutionalism and governance. The objective is to understand firstly, what internal gender-related factors and informal governance mechanisms shape the EP’s diplomatic initiatives; secondly, how and to what extent these factors impact the EP’s diplomatic practices, norms and outcomes externally; lastly, how and to what extent these outcomes feedback into the formal gender equality policy of the EP. By employing the immersive qualitative methodology of parliamentary ethnography, this project aims at advancing scholarship on the EP by adding a long-missed feminist perspective and unravelling the gendered dynamics of its parliamentary diplomacy.

***Keynote Lecture: A Clash of Two Capitalisms?***

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi

The Russian-Ukrainian war is presented not only as a geopolitical war, but also as a clash of values. The post 1989 expectations that China and Russia would democratize did not materialize. Instead, both Russia and China seem to have consolidated their autocratic regimes and have profited from globalization. From Ukraine to Africa, a real conflict has been growing between political capitalism (a system where the government, and not the market decides the market winners), and merit based liberal capitalism, as promoted by the West. But does academic evidence support this radicalization? How is the political capitalism from Russia, China or India different from the old crony capitalism? And is the Western capitalism still meritocratic, or, as Thomas Piketty and Branko Milanovic argue, it has become itself quite plutocratic and enabling of kleptocrats? This talk is based on an ongoing group research project in cooperation with the Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

# Annual Postgraduate Conference

## List of Participants

Davide Angelucci  
Paolo Bellucci  
Matteo Boldrini  
Federico Bonomi  
Andrea Capati  
Alessandra Carraro  
Maria Elena Cavallaro  
Thomas Christiansen  
Noemi Ciarniello  
Lorenzo De Sio  
Jessica Di Cocco  
Adriano Dirri  
Samir El Khanza  
Sofia Eliodori  
Sergio Fabbrini  
Cristina Fasone  
Rosario Forlenza  
Mattia Gatti  
Giulia Gallinella  
Ylenia Guerra  
Dora Hegedus  
Alberto Manuel Hers  
Alexandros Kyriakidis

Bosco Lebrun  
Flavia Lucenti  
Nicola Lupo  
Sebastiano Maffettone  
Alina Mungiu-Pippidi  
Lorenzo Santini  
Kristina Stoeckl  
Maria Rita Testa  
Mark Thatcher  
Manfredi Valeriani  
Ivan Zaccagnini