Contested Democracy
Contestation and Participation in the English-speaking World:
A Critical Evaluation

Colloque International
International Conference

20-22 septembre 2012
20-22 September 2012

Institut du Monde Anglophone
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle -
Paris 3
5 rue de l’École de Médecine
75006 Paris, France

Programme

Organisé par / organised by
Centre for Research on the English-speaking World (CREW - EA 4399)
Institut du Monde Anglophone, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3
The dissent and uprisings that spread through the Arab world during the Spring of 2011 occurred almost a quarter of a century after the fall of East European political regimes that saw the rise of «democracy» modelled on the Anglo-American representative system. This specific context which has come to characterize the past quarter of century calls for a renewed analysis of the models these political systems represent and of the processes that triggered them and led to their long-term establishment in the UK and the US. Since the 1990s, as a response to the story of the inevitable emergence of democracy in the aftermath of the Cold War, researchers on North American politics have provided an alternative reading of events: that of a «contested democracy».

The CREW Paris-based research group of the Sorbonne Nouvelle University has organized this international conference in order to reflect on the notion of «contested democracy» and its role in understanding democracy as theory and practice. In inviting a critical evaluation of this now commonly used phrase, the conference wishes to open up a wide-range of approaches and discourses relating to democracy in the English-speaking world, from individual expression to collective action, from infra-political practices to more explicit forms of dissent, from within political organizations or large-scale social movements, and including local democracy and debates on community-building and social cohesion. This conference is aimed at specialists on the Anglo-American world (and beyond, on the English-speaking world) who are interested in these questions from either an historical or contemporary perspective. The purpose of this conference is to encourage comparative analysis on participation, contest and contestation, as well as on phenomena such as adaptation and self-appropriation which characterize the exchange and transfer of ideas that can be observed in the different national contexts of the English-speaking world.

When popularising the notion of «contested democracy», historians and political scientists have underlined how democratic progress and the resulting democratic structures of the UK and US were borne of fiercely fought battles. Democracy's establishment has been the result of a jerky evolution beset by setbacks and victories, rather than a smooth and incremental evolution towards a presumed endpoint. The emphasis has thus been laid on the pluralism of a liberal system where successive claims and demands from «the excluded» within civil society have highlighted their rights to be included and to participate.

Whilst this is the main meaning of the phrase «contested democracy», this conference seeks also to reflect more widely on how contestation has been expressed and continues to be articulated within a dominant political model. Beyond the classic expressions of contestation and dissent, such as demonstrations, revolutions and civil disobedience, there are many other forms emanating from the public realm and from civil society as a whole, which aim to reinvent the very notion of democracy. The area of study for the conference need not be limited to the traditional opposition between the street «and «the rulers», although the events of the «Arab Spring» clearly invite us to rethink this relationship. It would also be interesting to deal with attempts made by political regimes to pre-empt contestation via consultative mechanisms or local partnerships, as was the case for example in the UK during the New Labour governments. Furthermore, the realm of private contestation can include the business world and alternative participation made accessible by digital communication. By definition, the notion of «contested democracy» also invites us to consider participation and contestation in conjunction, and to envisage forms of counter democracy» (Pierre Rosanvallon), borne of defiance towards so-called democratic structures yet simultaneously bearing the risk of endangering the very existence of the political community. In this way, depending on the context and the usage, new technologies and the new structures with which they are associated can become either tools for contestation or instruments for social cohesion.

The conference aims at providing an overview and assessment of current research on new and innovative forms of participation in the English-speaking world, both in the contemporary period and in history, with an emphasis on alternative and critical approaches to power.
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS / ORATEURS PRINCIPAUX

Dr Paul BAGGULEY
Reader in Sociology - University of Leeds, UK

Professor Gary GERSTLE
Political Sciences and Political History - Vanderbilt University, Tennessee, US

Dr Jennifer LEES-MARSHMENT
Senior lecturer in Political Sciences - University of Auckland, NZ

The conference is dedicated to the memory of Professor Naomi Wulf who very sadly passed away in April.

She was a driving force behind the conception and organisation of this conference and she is very much missed.
CONFERENCE TIMETABLE

Thursday 20 September 2012
12.30-1.30pm - Registration
1.30-2.00pm - Welcome address and opening remarks
2.00-3.00pm - Keynote 1 - Gary Gerstle
3.00-4.30pm - Session 1
4.30-5.00pm - Tea / Coffee break
5.00-6.30pm - Session 2

Friday 21 September 2012
9.00-10.30am - Session 3
10.30-11.00am - Tea / Coffee break
11.00-12.00pm - Keynote 2 - Paul Bagguley
12.00-2.00pm - Lunch
2.00-3.30pm - Session 4
3.30-4.00pm - Tea / Coffee break
4.00-5.30pm - Session 5

Saturday 22 September 2012
9.30-11.00am - Session 6
11.00-11.30am - Tea / Coffee break
11.30-12.30pm - Keynote 3 - Jennifer Lees-Marshment
12.30-1.00pm - Closing remarks
PROGRAMME

Grand amphi

1.30-2.00pm - Welcome address and opening remarks

The conference will be opened by Professor Marie-Christine Lemardeley, President of Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3

Reading by Johann Neem in homage to Professor Naomi Wulf

Grand amphithéâtre - Chair Johann Neem (Western Washington University)

2.00-3.00pm - Keynote 1 - Gary Gerstle

Democracy and Money in America, 1840-1940

SESSION 1 - Thursday 20 September 2012 - 3.00-4.30pm

A. Early Democracy: Multiple meanings, conflicting practices

Grand amphi - Chair Johann Neem (Western Washington University)

- Peter Gurney - The Democratic Idiom: languages of democracy in Britain, 1830-1848
- Mark Philp - Between Word and Deed: languages of democracy/practices of participation: England from 1789-1850
- Reeve Huston - Rethinking 1828: the emergence of competing democracies in the United States

B. Twists & Turns of Democracy

Petit amphi - Chair Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Université Paris Diderot)

- Andrew Robertson - Democracy: America’s other peculiar institution
- Claire Ceruti - Cycles of Contestation: the maturing contradictions in the Zuma movement in South Africa
- Yann Beliard - Conquering Public Bodies or “The Factories and the Streets”? Visions of democracy in Hull’s labour press (1906-1918)
SESSION 2 - Thursday 20 September 2012 - 5.00-6.30pm

C. Critical Perspectives on Free Market Democracy

Grand amphi - Chair Martine Azuelos (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- **Scott Fitzgerald** - Movements, Policy and Protest: challenging economic inequality in the US and the UK
- **Pierre Guerlain** - Democracy Inc.. in the US
- **Jean-Baptiste Velut** - Contested Plutocracy: reformist and radical forms of social advocacy in America

D. Activists across Borders

Petit amphi - Chair Yann Beliard (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- **Yohanna Alimi** - Weaving a Transatlantic Feminist Network: the impact of the French revolution of 1848 on the American contest for women’s rights
- **Daniel Prosterman** - Global Democratic Visions: electoral reform activism in the early twentieth century
- **Jim Cohen** - Defending the Rights of Undocumented Immigrants and Contesting the Boundaries of National Citizenship in the US

SESSION 3 - Friday 21 September 2012 - 9.00-10.30am

E. Who Governs?/Who Participates?

Grand amphi - Chair Pauline Schnapper (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- **David Fée** - Planning for Housing in the UK: the contradictions of democracy
- **Houari Mired** - Democratic Renewal in the English Regions since 1994. Why is governance (still) contested?
- **Coralie Raffenne** - Multi-level Governance, Managerial Ideology and the Myth of Citizen Participation in the EU
F. Democracy at Work

Petit amphi - Chair Evelyne Payen (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- Christine Zumello - Crafted Democracy in the USA? ‘Vote, invest and express yourself’
- Sheena Raja - A Faux-public Sphere: marketing online conversation economies for citizen consumers
- Jean-Christian Vinel - The Right-to-Work: the American Right and the struggle against industrial democracy, 1941-1958

Grand amphithéâtre - Chair Romain Garbaye (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

11.00-12.00pm - Keynote 2 - Paul Bagguley
Crisis, Democracy, Protest: reflections on the British case

SESSION 4 - Friday 21 September 2012 - 2.00-3.30pm

G. Alternative Spaces of Public Expression

Grand amphi - Chair Divina Frau-Meigs (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- Guillaume Marche - Local Democracy and Contested Public Space: San Francisco and the politics of graffiti
- Emmanuelle Avril - Social Networks and Democracy in the English-speaking world: counterculture or mainstream?
- Andrew Perrin - Letters to the Editor: demographic and cultural contours of a mediated public sphere

H. Vested Interest Democracy

Petit amphi - Chair Romain Garbaye (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- Daniel Carpenter - Anxieties of Soliciting Empire: transformations of the petition across languages and peoples in the Saint Lawrence Valley and the Gulf of Maine, 1740-1840
- Romain Huret - No Representation without Taxation! Businessmen against federal taxation from the Progressive Era to the New Deal
- Marie-Claire Considère-Charon - Identifying a Democratic Deficit in Ireland: focus on institutional and constitutional issues
SESSION 5 - Friday 21 September 2012 - 4.00-5.30pm

I. Productive Protest

Grand amphi - Chair Hélène Le Dantec-Lowry (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- **Sandrine Tolazzi** - Channeling Indigenous Contestation of Uranium Mining in Australia: legislation, negotiation, co-optation

- **Pauline Peretz** - Common Cause: a democratic organization of distrust vis-à-vis the State in post civil-rights America

- **Sarah Pickard** - Productive Protest? The contested higher education reforms in England, 2010-2012

J. Leaders & Citizens

Petit amphi - Chair Fabrice Bensimon (Université Paris Sorbonne)

- **Joanna Innes** - Democracy and Demagoguery in the British Isles, 1700-1850

- **Daniel Foliard** - The Lion of Nineveh: Henry Layard, radicalism and the reflections of fallen Empires

- **Paul Blokker** - A Comparative Engagement with Dissent and Constitutionalism
SESSION 6 - Saturday 22 September 2012 - 9.30-11.00am

K. Representative vs Direct Democracy

Grand amphi - Chair Nathalie Caron (Université Paris Est Créteil Val de Marne - UPEC)

- Geoffrey Pleyers - Contesting or Complementing Representative Democracy? Experiments and tensions in the alter-globalization and indignados/occupiers movements


- Isabelle Sinic-Bouhaoula - Conservatism and Direct Democracy in California: questioning the legacy of progressivism

L. Creative Destruction?

Petit amphi - Chair Christine Zumello (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

- Gary Anderson, Geoff Bright, Gillian Whiteley - `What Rough Beast...? Monstrous practices of dissent and the ends of conviviality

- Christos Efstathiou - The Ideological Roots of the Battle of Cable Street

- Valérie Peyronel - The 1998 Agreement and its Consequences: contested democracy in post-conflict Northern Ireland

Grand amphithéâtre - Chair Emmanuelle Avril (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle)

11.30-12.30pm - Keynote 3 - Jennifer Lees-Marshment

Partners not Protesters? Managing contests to traditional democracy through expanded public input into political decision making

12.30-1.00pm - Closing remarks - Divina Frau-Meigs - Directrice CREW EA 4399

Conference papers will be given in English
Les communications seront en anglais
SPEAKERS / INTERVENANTS

Yohanna Alimi, PhD student, Teaching Fellow, American Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Gary Anderson, Lecturer in Contemporary Performance, Liverpool Hope University, Coorganiser, Free University of Liverpool, UK

Professor Emmanuelle Avril, British Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Yann Béliard, British Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Paul Blokker, Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Trento, Italy

Geoff Bright, Research Associate, Education and Social Research Institute, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Professor Daniel Carpenter, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, USA

Claire Ceruti, PhD student, University of Johannesburg, associated with the South African Research Chair in Social Change, SA

Professor Jim Cohen, American Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Professor Emeritus, Marie-Claire Considère-Charon, British and Irish Studies, Université de Franche-Comté, France

Dr Jacques-Henri Coste, Associate Professor, American Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Christos Efstathiou, PhD student, Department of History, Classics & Archaeology, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Dr David Fée, Senior Lecturer, British Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Scott T. Fitzgerald, Associate Professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, USA

Dr Daniel Folliard, Lecturer in British Studies, Université Paris Ouest La Défense, France

Professor Pierre Guerlain, American Studies, Université Paris Ouest La Défense, (CREA - EA 370), France

Dr Peter Gurney, Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of Essex, UK

Dr Romain Huret, Associate Professor, American Studies, University of Lyon 2 / Institut Universitaire de France, (Cena, IUF), France
Dr Reeve Huston, Associate Professor, Department of History, Duke University, USA

Joanna Innes, MA, Fellow and Tutor in Modern History, Somerville College, University of Oxford, UK

Dr Guillaume Marche, Associate Professor, American Studies, Université Paris-Est Créteil, (IMAGER - EA 3958), France

Dr Houari Mired, Teaching Fellow, British Studies, Université Paris Est Créteil, France

Dr Pauline Peretz, Assistant Professor, History, Université de Nantes, Researcher, Centre d’études nord-américaines (Cena / EHESS), France

Dr Andrew J. Perrin, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA

Professor Valérie Peyronel, British and Irish Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Mark Philp, Fellow and Tutor in Politics, Oriel College, University of Oxford, UK

Dr Sarah Pickard, Senior Lecturer, British Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Geoffrey Pleyers, Research Associate, Sociology, FNRS and UCL, (CADIS-EHESS), Belgium

Dr Daniel O. Prosterman, Assistant Professor, History, Salem College, USA

Dr Coralie Raffenne, Senior Lecturer, British Studies Université d’Orléans, France

Sheena Raja, PhD student, Media Studies, Rutgers University, USA, Intern, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, USA.

Professor Andrew W. Robertson, Deputy Executive Officer, History Ph.D. Program, The CUNY Graduate Center, USA

Dr Isabelle Sinic-Bouhaouala, American Studies, Researcher, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, (CREW - EA 4399), France

Dr Sandrine Tolazzi, Associate Professor, Anglophone Studies, Université Stendhal-Grenoble 3, (CEMRA - EA 3016), France

Dr Jean-Baptiste Velut, Associate Professor, American Studies, Université Paris Est Marne La Vallée, (IMAGER - EA 3958), France

Dr Jean-Christian Vinel, Associate Professor, American Studies, Université Paris Diderot, France

Dr Gillian Whiteley, Senior Lecturer in Critical and Historical Studies, Loughborough University, UK

Dr Christine Zumello, Professor, American Studies, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, Paris, (CREW - EA 4399), France
CONFERENCE ORGANISERS / COMITÉ D’ORGANISATION

Yohanna Alimi (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - OPA), Emmanuelle Avril (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 1), Yann Béliard (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 3), Jacques-Henri Coste (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CERVEPAS), Divina Frau-Meigs (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 2), Romain Garbaye (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 3), Hélène Le Dantec-Lowry (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CRAN), Anne-Claire Lévy (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - OPA), Valérie Peyronel (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CERVEPAS), Sarah Pickard (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CREC), Naomi Wulf (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - OPA)

SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE / COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE

Emmanuelle Avril (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 1), Paul Bagguley (Leeds University, UK), Yann Béliard (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 3), Jacques-Henri Coste (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CERVEPAS), Divina Frau-Meigs (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 2), Romain Garbaye (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - Axe 3), Hélène Le Dantec-Lowry (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CRAN), Johann Neem (Western Washington University, USA), Valérie Peyronel (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CERVEPAS), Sarah Pickard (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - CREC), Andrew Robertson (Graduate Center, CUNY, USA), Naomi Wulf (Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW - OPA)

CREW GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES THE GENEROUS SUPPORT FROM

Le conseil scientifique de l’Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3
Les services des relations internationales de l’Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3

Institut Universitaire de France

TO OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION AND TO REGISTER CONTACT

contested-democracy@univ-paris3.fr

CONFERENCE WEBPAGE

www.univ-paris3.fr/contested-democracy