

FABIO WOLKENSTEIN

Associate Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science
Aarhus University, School of Business and Social Sciences
Bartholins Allé 7
8000 Aarhus
Denmark

Email: wolkenstein@ps.au.dk
Telephone: +45 27159667

Born: Vienna, 4 July 1987
Citizenship: Austrian

Areas of research

Democratic theory, especially the theory of political parties, representation, and activism, as well as the political and legal theory of the European Union.

Current positions

02/2020-
present

Aarhus University, Department of Political Science
Associate Professor of Political Science (with tenure)

10/2017-
present

University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences
Affiliated Researcher in Political Theory (funded through an NWO Veni grant)

Previous positions & Visiting affiliations

Spring 2021
(TBC)

Oxford University, Faculty of Law & Bonavero Institute of Human Rights
Visiting Fellow

10/2017-
01/2020

Aarhus University, Department of Political Science
Assistant Professor of Political Science (without tenure)

01/2019

Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Centre of Advanced Studies (CAS)
Visiting Fellow (Host: Astrid Séville)

10/2016-
09/2017

Goethe University Frankfurt & Free University Berlin
Postdoctoral Fellow at Centre of Advanced Studies *Justitia Amplificata*

Education

- 10/2012-07/2016 **London School of Economics and Political Science**
Ph.D. in Political Theory
Thesis title: *Deliberative Democracy Within Parties*
Defended with no revisions on 15th July 2016
Supervisors: Prof. Jonathan White (LSE) and Dr. Abby Innes (LSE)
Examiners: Prof. Russell Muirhead (Dartmouth) and Prof. Albert Weale (UCL)
- 10/2010-09/2011 **London School of Economics and Political Science**
M.Sc. in Political Sociology (graduated with distinction)
- 10/2006-09/2009 **University of Vienna**
B.A. in Political Science

Research grants

- Volkswagen & Carlsberg Foundation *Challenges for Europe* Grant**
Project: "Populism and Democratic Self-Defence in Europe"
With Tore Vincents Olsen, Angela Bourne, Anthoula Malkopoulou, Anna Sroka and Aleksandra Moroska-Bonkiewics
2020- 2024 (€ 988.100)
- Danish National Research Foundation *Centre of Excellence* Grant**
Project: "The Center for the Experimental-Philosophical Study of Discrimination"
With Kasper-Lippert Rasmussen (PI), Göran Duus-Otterström, Marion Godman, Lasse Laustsen, Michael Bang Petersen, Kim Mannemar Sønderskov and Lotte Thomsen
2020-2026 (DKK 63.000.000 ~ € 8.400.000)
- Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) VENI Grant**
Project: "Democratising Europe Through Transnational Partisanship"
2017-2021 (€ 250.000)

Awards and scholarships

- 2019 **Aarhus BSS Research Prize 2019** (DKK 50.000)
- 2016 **Justitia Amplificata Postdoctoral Fellowship, Goethe University Frankfurt and Free University of Berlin** (approx. €31.200)
- 2015 **London School of Economics and Political Science Teaching Award, Government Department** (£350)
- 2013-2014 **London School of Economics and Political Science Travel Grant** (several grants, approx. £2650)
- 2012-2015 **London School of Economics and Political Science Full Ph.D. Scholarship** (approx. £45.000)
- 2012 **European University Institute (EUI), Full Ph.D. Scholarship** (declined)

Publications

Books

[2] Under contract. **Die dunkle Seite der Christdemokratie: Eine Geschichte von Adenauer bis Orbán.** (Working title) Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag.

[1] 2019. **Rethinking Party Reform.** Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Forthcoming "critical dialogue" on the book in *Perspectives on Politics* (with Cristina Lafont)

Peer-reviewed journal articles

[19] Forthcoming (accepted April 2020). **Multidimensional Representation.** (with Christopher Wrátil) *American Journal of Political Science*.

[18] Forthcoming (accepted October 2019). **The Social Democratic Case Against the EU.** *Journal of European Public Policy* (special issue on the EU and political ideologies, eds. Jonathan White and Carlo Invernizzi-Accetti).

[17] Forthcoming (accepted August 2019). **Party Reforms and Electoral Systems: Proportional Representation is More Hospitable to Internal Democratisation.** *Representation* (special issue on the political theory of electoral systems, eds. Matteo Bonotti and Daniel Weinstock).

- Revised Italian translation forthcoming in *Notizie di Politeia*

[16] Forthcoming (accepted March 2019). **Party Policy Diffusion in the European Multilevel Space: What it is, How it Works, and Why it Matters.** (with Daniel Bischof and Roman Senninger) *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* (special issue on multi-level politics, eds. Martin Gross, Markus Baumann and Alejandro Ecker).

[15] 2020. **Democratic Intergovernmentalism, First Principles, and the Case for A Contest-Based Approach to Democracy in the EU.** *Political Studies* 68 (2), pp.408-425.

[14] 2020. **Epistemic Barriers to Rational Voting: The Case of European Parliament Elections.** *Social Epistemology* 34 (3), pp. 294-308.

- Forthcoming critical exchange on *social-epistemology.com*

[13] 2020. **Transnational Partisan Networks and Constituent Power in the EU.** *Constellations* 27 (1), pp. 127-142.

- With a reply by Markus Patberg in the same issue

[12] 2019. **Populism, Liberal Democracy, and the Ethics of Peoplehood.** *European Journal of Political Theory* 18 (3), pp. 330-348.

[11] 2019. **Agents of Popular Sovereignty.** *Political Theory* 47 (3), pp. 338-362.

[10] 2019. **Complementing and Correcting Representative Institutions? When and How to Use Mini-Publics.** (with Jonathan Kuyper) *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (2), pp. 656-675.

[9] 2018. **Gentrification and Occupancy Rights.** (with Jakob Huber) *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 17 (4), pp. 378-397.

- [8] 2018. **Membership Ballots and the Value of Intra-Party Democracy.** *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 21 (4), pp. 433-455.
- [7] 2018. **Exercising Deliberative Agency in Deliberative Systems.** (with Martin Ebeling) *Political Studies* 66 (3), pp. 635-650.
- [6] 2018. **Intra-Party Democracy Beyond Aggregation.** *Party Politics* 24 (4), pp. 323-334.
- [5] 2018. **Democracy, Transnational Partisanship, and the EU.** *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (2), pp. 284-299.
- [4] 2017. **The Crisis of Party Democracy, Cognitive Mobilisation, and the Case for Making Parties More Deliberative.** (with Carlo Invernizzi-Accetti) *American Political Science Review* 111 (1), pp. 97-109.
- [3] 2016. **A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy.** *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24 (3), pp. 297-320.
- [2] 2015. **What Can We Hold Against Populism?** *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 41 (2), pp. 111-129.
- [1] 2013. **The Grounds of Solidarity: From Liberty to Loyalty.** (with Jakob Kapeller) *European Journal of Social Theory* 16 (4), pp. 476-491.

**Book reviews
& review
essays**

- [5] 2019. **"Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself" by Frances McCall Rosenbluth and Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2018).** *Constellations* 26 (4), pp. 658-660.
- [4] 2019. **The Political Theory of Parties: A Critical Survey.** *Politik* 22 (2), pp. 10-29.
- [3] 2019. **"A Republican Europe of States: Cosmopolitanism, Intergovernmentalism, and Democracy in the EU" by Richard Bellamy (Cambridge University Press, 2019).** *Perspectives on Politics* 17 (3), pp. 879-880.
- [2] 2018. **"Partisanship and Political Liberalism in Diverse Societies" by Matteo Bonotti (Oxford University Press, 2017).** *Contemporary Political Theory* 17 (4), pp. 256-259.
- [1] 2015. **"Changing Societies, Changing Party Systems" by Heather Stoll (Cambridge University Press, 2013).** *West European Politics* 38 (3), pp. 747-749.

**Policy reports
& published
working papers**

- [2] 2018. **Transnational Partisanship and Networked Constituent Power in the EU.** *LSE Europe in Question (LEQS) Discussion Paper Series.*

[1] 2015. **Involving Millennials in Politics.** *Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) Policy Brief.*

Papers in other languages

[2] 2019. **Populismus und Volkssouveränität.** In: *Populismus-Aufklärung-Demokratie*, eds. Ralf Mayer and Alfred Schäfer. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 45-65.

[1] 2018. **Ændrede politiske vaner kræver nytænkning i partierne.** In: *Politologisk Årbog 2018-2019*, eds. Carsten Jensen and Caroline Howard Grøn. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, pp. 32-35.

Under review

Partisan Complicity, Democratic Backsliding, and the European Constitution. Revise and resubmit with [Global Constitutionalism](#).

Partisan Complicity in Democratic Backsliding. Paper prepared for a special issue of [Global Justice: Theory, Practice, Rhetoric](#) on global justice and populism (eds. Miriam Ronzoni and Tiziana Torresi).

How Can Political Parties Integrate Today? Paper prepared for a special issue of [Ephemera](#) on political parties and organisational theory (ed. Emil Husted).

A Democratic Theory of Growth Regimes.

Work in progress

Operationalizing Multidimensional Representation. (with Christopher Wratil)

When do Social Democratic parties turn right on immigration? (with Philip Rathgeb)

Party Constitutionalism: Freedom of Speech Within the Party? (with Udit Bhatia)

Europe's Ideology. (with Josef Hien) Book project.

Conference presentations

A Democratic Theory of Growth Regimes.

- *ARENA Tuesday seminar*, University of Oslo, November 2019
- *Challenges to Democracy Seminar*, University of Amsterdam, November 2019

The Social Democratic Case Against Europe.

- *26th International Conference of Europeanists*, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, June 2019

Partisan Complicity in Democratic Backsliding.

- *DSE-ECSA Conference*, Aarhus University, October 2019
- *ECPR General Conference*, University of Wrocław, September 2019
- *Workshop on Political Parties and the Constitution*, University of Oxford, June 2019

- *26th International Conference of Europeanists*, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, June 2019
- Workshop on *Global Justice and Populism*, European University Institute, June 2019
- Political Theory Seminar, Stockholm University, March 2019
- Aarhus-Oslo Workshop, Aarhus University, March 2019
- Workshop on *Democracy and Populism in the EU after the Refugee Crisis*, University of Munich, February 2019

Transnational Partisanship and Constituent Power in the EU.

- *Political and Legal Theory Seminar*, University of Oslo, December 2018
- Workshop on *Transnational Partisanship and Constituent Power in the EU*, University of Amsterdam, November 2018
- *ECPR Standing Group on Europe Conference*, Science Po Paris, June 2018
- *ECPR Joint Sessions*, University of Nicosia, April 2018

Operationalising Multidimensional Representation. (with Christopher Wratil)

- *ECPR General Conference*, University of Oslo, September 2017

Counteracting Failures of Representative Institutions: When and How to Use Mini-Publics. (with Jonathan Kuypers)

- *ECPR General Conference*, University of Oslo, September 2017
- *Democratic Theory Beyond Deliberation*, Workshop at University College Oxford, June 2017

The Struggle for Popular Sovereignty.

- *Justitia Amplificata Annual Conference*, Forschungskolleg Humanwissenschaften, Bad Homburg, July 2017
- Forschungskolleg Humanwissenschaften Fellows' seminar, Bad Homburg, May 2017

Transnational Partisanship as a Revolutionary Practice.

- *Association for Social and Political Philosophy Annual Conference 2016*, London School of Economics and Political Science, June 2016
- *Workshop on Transnational Partisanship*, London School of Economics and Political Science, May 2016

Liberalism, Populism, and the Ethics of Peoplehood.

- *Conflicting Populisms: Left and Right-Wing Populism in Europe*, University of Vienna, June 2016.

An Agency-Based Approach to Deliberative Systems. (with Martin Ebeling)

- *ECPR Joint Sessions*, Workshop on Deliberative Systems in Comparative Perspective, Scuola Normale Superiore, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna and the University of Pisa, April 2016

Three Failures of Intra-Party Deliberation.

- *Europe @ LSE seminar*, London School of Economics and Political Science, February 2016

The Crisis of Party Democracy, Cognitive Mobilisation, and the Case for Making Parties More Deliberative. (with Carlo Invernizzi Accetti)

- *MPSA Annual Conference*, University of Chicago, April 2016
- *ECPR General Conference*, Université de Montréal, August 2015

When Partisans Deliberate: Disagreement, Justification and Compromise Within Political Parties.

- *Compromise and Disagreement Conference*, University of Copenhagen, May 2015

Can Intra-Party Referenda be Democratically Legitimate?

- *ECPR Joint Sessions*, Workshop on Political Theory and Parties, University of Warsaw, April 2015
- *7th European Graduate Network Conference in Political Science*, European University Institute, March 2015

Parties in the Deliberative System.

- *LSE Political Theory Seminar*, London School of Economics and Political Science, November 2014
- *LSE European Institute Research Seminar*, London School of Economics and Political Science, October 2014

Parties and the Challenge of Multiple Principals.

- *Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence Research Workshop*, King's College London, September 2014

Is the Mass Party an Appropriate Prescriptive Model for Intra-Party Democracy?

- *Association for Legal and Social Philosophy Annual Conference 2014*, University of Leeds, July 2014

A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy.

- *Swiss Summer School in Democracy Studies*, University of Lucerne, June 2014
- *EPSA General Conference*, Royal Society of Edinburgh, June 2014
- *6th European Graduate Network Conference in Political Science*, Sciences Po Paris, February 2014
- *Toward democratic inclusion*, University of West Bohemia Plzeň, November 2013
- *LSE European Institute Research Seminar*, London School of Economics and Political Science, October 2013

Response to Jane Mansbridge, Negotiating Agreement in Politics.

- *Swiss Summer School in Democracy Studies*, University of Lucerne, June 2014

On the Normative Critique of Populism.

- *Democracy in Times of Crisis*, Charles University Prague, November 2013

Invited talks

Speaker. Seminar on Rethinking Party Reform

Université Libre de Bruxelles, March 2020

Speaker. Book launch: Rethinking Party Reform

University of Oxford, January 2020

Speaker. ARENA Tuesday Seminar

ARENA Oslo, November 2019

Discussant. Book launch: What Is Christian Democracy?

City College of New York (CUNY), New York, October 2019

Speaker. Making Sense of Populism

Constructive Journalism Institute Aarhus, October 2019

Discussant. Book workshop: Constituent Power in the European Union

University of Hamburg, September 2019

Speaker. Political Parties and the Constitution

University of Oxford, June 2019

Speaker. **On the Concept of Populism**
Constructive Journalism Institute Aarhus, June 2019

Discussant. **Book workshop: Multilateral Democracy and its Institutions**
Goethe University Frankfurt, April 2019

Speaker. **Political Theory Seminar**
Stockholm University, March 2019

Speaker. **Democracy and Populism in the EU after the Refugee Crisis**
University of Munich, February 2019

Speaker. **Political and Legal Theory Seminar**
PluriCourts, University of Oslo, December 2018

Speaker and workshop leader. **Bundeskonferenz der Europaschulen**
Hannover, September 2018

Speaker. **The Future of Political Parties**
Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, May 2018

Speaker. **Populism and the Crisis of Democracy**
City College of New York (CUNY), New York, May 2018

Speaker. **EU i undervisningen**
Aarhus University, Aarhus, March 2018

Speaker. **Populismus, Aufklärung, Demokratie**
Martin-Luther-Universität Halle, Halle (Saale), June 2017

Panelist. **Right-wing populism and the future of European integration**
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, November 2016

Panelist. **What kind of Europe? Die EU zwischen Zerfall und Föderalstaat**
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Brussels, November 2016

Panelist. **Politics and leadership: How are populist movements attracting millennials and why?**
Foundation for European Progressive Studies/PolicySolutions public debate, Brussels, September 2016

Panelist. **How can millennials' trust and participation in politics be improved?**
Foundation for European Progressive Studies "Call to Europe" conference, Brussels, June 2016

Panelist. **Discussion of survey results of the FEPS Millennial Dialogue**
Launch of Austria's Millennial Dialogue Results, Vienna, November 2015

Panelist. **Political Extremism in the Time of the Economic Crisis in Europe**
Czech Parliament, Prague, November 2012

Conference and workshop organisation

2019	Panel on Ideologies and European Integration , <i>26th International Conference of Europeanists</i> , Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, June 2019 (co-organised with Tom Theuns)
2018	Workshop on Constituent Power and Transnational Partisanship in the EU , University of Amsterdam (UvA), November 2018 (co-organised with Markus Patberg)
2017	Panel on Liberal Democracy, Populism, and the Role of Democratic Innovations , <i>ECPR General Conference</i> , University of Oslo, September 2017 (co-organised with Jonathan Kuyper)
2017	Justitia Amplificata Annual Conference , Forschungskolleg Humanwissenschaften, Bad Homburg, July 2017 (co-organised with Sara Amighetti, Amy Hondo and Caleb Yong)

Teaching

2017-
present

Aarhus University, Department of Political Science

Course convenor and class teacher of five MA-level courses:

- Europe and Its Democratic Crises (Spring 2018)
- Representative Democracy and Its Alternatives/Introduction to Democratic Theory (Summer 2018)
- Democracy as A Way of Life (Autumn 2018)
- Populism: Past, Present, and Future (Spring 2019)
- Do We (Still) Need Political Utopias? (Autumn 2019 and 2020)

Co-teacher in:

- Kernefag: Videregående politisk teori (Autumn 2020)
- Aarhus/Aalborg doctoral course in Political Theory (Autumn 2018)

MA thesis supervision: 3 theses

Internship-related supervision for MA students: 3 students

2019

University of Lucerne, Department of Political Science

Guest lecturer and course convenor of BA-level course:

- Parteiendemokratie zwischen Radikalkritik und Renaissance (Autumn 2019)

2015

LSE Widening Participation Programme

Guest teacher, offering interactive seminars to A-level students

2014-2015

London School of Economics and Political Science, Government Department

Graduate teaching assistant for BA-level course:

- Contemporary Political Theory (Convenors: Dr Kai Spiekermann and Dr Laura Valentini).

Awarded *LSE Class Teacher Award* based on students' evaluations of teaching performance.

Training in teaching skills & pedagogy

2014-2015

British Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education (PGCert HE Associate level)

2014-2015

London School of Economics and Political Science teaching skills & pedagogy training for Graduate Teaching Assistants

Participation in research projects

European Values Think Tank, Prague

Member of the Austrian project team of "Defining Responses to the Rise of Extremism in Europe", April 2012-June 2013

European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO) and European University Institute, Florence

Member of the Austrian project team of "EU-Profiler", January-October 2009

Professional service

Refereeing

Journals

American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; British Journal of Political Science; European Journal of Political Research; Journal of Political Philosophy; Perspectives on Politics; Political Studies; West European Politics; Comparative Politics; European Journal of Political Theory; Public Administration; European Union Politics; Journal of Common Market Studies; Politics; Philosophy & Economics; Constellations; Contemporary Political Theory; Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties; British Journal of Politics and International Relations; European Political Science; Democratization; Res Publica; Politics; Philosophy & Social Criticism; Populism; LSE Europe in Question Series (LEQS).

Funding bodies

European Research Council (ERC consolidator grant scheme); Irish Research Council.

Student Representative

- **Staff Student Liaison Committee Representative**, London School of Economics and Political Science, European Institute (10/2014-09/2015)
- **European Graduate Network**, LSE European Institute representative (11/2013-06/2015)

Outreach Commentary

2019. **Lesenotiz zu Philip Manow *Die Politische Ökonomie des Populismus***. *Theorieblog.de*

2018. **Ændrede politiske vaner kræver nytænkning i partierne**. *Videnskab.dk/forskerzonen*.

2018. **Why did the EPP vote against Orbán?** *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*.

A version of this piece has also appeared at *Emerging Europe.com* portal.

2018. **Transnational partisanship vs. transnational democracy**. *Verfassungsblog.de*.

2017. **Austria's new interior minister is a man to watch — and not for the right reasons**. *Democratic Audit UK*.

A version of this piece has also appeared at the *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*.

2017. **The right is set to be the big winner in Austria's upcoming general election**. *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*.

A version of this piece has also appeared as **Now It's Austria's Turn** in the *Fair Observer*.

2017. **Third-way à la française: What do Macron's reforms involve and how likely are they to succeed?** (with Philip Rathgeb) *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*.

2016. **Austria's presidential election: Van der Bellen has won, but there is little reason for complacency**. *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*.

2016. **The Labour party, Momentum and the problem with intra-party democracy.** *Democratic Audit UK.*

2016. **The friendly face of the populist right.** *Democratic Audit UK.*

2016. **The future of political leadership.** *Progressive Post 2/2016 (Autumn).*

2016. **Austria after the presidential election: A country divided.** *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog.*

2016. **Reform oder Untergang: Ist die SPÖ noch zu retten?** (with Philip Rathgeb) *Der Standard*, 2 May 2016.

2016. **A Long Goodbye to the Grand Coalition: The 2016 Austrian Presidential Election** (with Philip Rathgeb) *Policy Network Blog.*

A version of this piece has also appeared as **A Long Goodbye to the Grand Coalition: Austrias Presidential Election** at the *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog.*

2015. **The Millennial Dialogue's Austrian findings signal polarisation among the youth.** *FEPS Millennial Dialogue Blog.*

2015. **What Austria's migrant crisis says about the country's sovereignty.** *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog.*

2015. **UKIP's future hangs on the strength of its leadership, not its internal democracy.** *LSE British Politics Blog.*

2013. **The SPD's referendum on the German coalition agreement poses legitimate problems, but it could also reaffirm citizens' confidence in party politics.** *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog.*

2013. **The success of anti-system parties in the Austrian election reflects very real problems with political corruption.** *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog.*

Interviews given

Interview given on the 2019 Danish parliamentary elections, *Kontrast* (Austria), 27 June 2019.

Interview given on the 2017 Austrian general elections and right-wing populism, *Público* (Portugal), 12 October 2017.

Interview given on populism and the future of party democracy, *To Βήμα* (Greece), 27 November 2016.

Interview given on populism in Europe, *Hospodářské noviny* (Czech Republic), 21 November 2012.

Interview given on perspectives for young scholars, *Kurier* (Austria), 23 August 2012.

Opinion cited in:

Vox.com (US) (Austria just decisively rejected the far-right's presidential candidate, 4 December 2016)

VG Nyheter (Norway) (Presidentvalg i Østerrike: Gamle storpartier har mistet makten, 4 December 2016)

Vox.com (US) (An Austrian Holocaust survivor explains why the far right's rise scares her, 30 November 2016)

Kurier (Austria) (Biederfrau und die Brandstifter, 30 November 2016)

Aftenposten (Norway) (Velger østerrikerne en EU-skeptisk innvandringsmotstander?, 21 March 2016)

Vox.com (US) (A party founded by Nazis just lost the Austrian election—barely, 23 May 2016)

Languages

Full fluency

- English (IELTS score 9/C2)
- German (mother tongue)
- Danish (*studieprøven*, grade avg. 12.0/C1)

Advanced reading competence

- French
- Swedish
- Norwegian

Basic reading and speaking

- Italian

References

Upon request. Please email me at wolkenstein@ps.au.dk