



SCUOLA  
NORMALE  
SUPERIORE

**Scuola Normale Superiore**  
Istituto di studi avanzati «Carlo Azeglio Ciampi»  
Dipartimento di scienze politico-sociali

### **The political consequences of inequality**

Two conferences of the Carlo Azeglio Ciampi Chair  
on 'The political economy and historical dynamics of modern capitalism'  
organised by Donatella della Porta and Mario Pianta

### **2. Inequalities, territorial politics, nationalism**

Florence, Scuola Normale Superiore, Palazzo Strozzi, 22-23 November 2018

In the context of prolonged economic and political crises, economic divergence, social inequality and political divisions may increase. The ability of states and political institutions to ensure unity and cohesion may weaken, new forms of territorial politics, disintegrating tendencies and nationalism may emerge.

Current examples include Brexit from the European Union and secessionist tendencies, such as those in Scotland and Catalonia. Previous, more complex experiences in a different political context, included the disintegration of former Yugoslavia.

Economic factors (such as income and wealth dynamics, inequality, employment) are combined with social and cultural factors (including social integration, identities, languages, migration, etc.) and political ones (such as political structures, movements, identities and activism) in shaping these developments. In a context of crisis, the ability of existing political institutions – nation states in particular – to control these developments may decline, domestic social compromises may be undermined, attachments to the nation-state may weaken, new sites of identity and solidarity may be constructed.

In addressing these topics, the conference will bridge different approaches, considering the political framing, social dynamics and economic bases of disintegration, nationalism and autonomism.

An important body of literature has focused on the aggregate-level determinants of secessionist support, considering, in particular, level of wealth and cultural heterogeneity as determinants of secessionist vote, mainly following an additive (to the detriment of an interactive) logic. Decentralization and EU integration/membership have also been considered. While the recent revivals of independentism in Catalonia and Scotland are often portrayed as a paradigmatic case of civic nationalism, attitudes towards secession are explained on the basis of three main predictors: national identity, partisanship and economic motivations.

While identity seems to play a clear role as a predictor of support for independence, the role of class and economic grievances is more disputed. In the shadow of the Great Recession, with increasing

inequalities within and across territories, the analysis of the interplay between class and nationalism acquires centrality. Bridging research on ethno-nationalism with social movement studies, this conference will discuss evidence referring to economic and territorial inequalities, the social bases of independence movements, the framing activities connecting nationalism and justice.

### *Programme*

**Thursday 22 November 2018**  
**h 16.00-19.00**

#### *Opening*

Donatella della Porta (Scuola Normale Superiore)  
Mario Pianta (Scuola Normale Superiore)

#### *Chair*

Mario Pianta (Scuola Normale Superiore)

#### *Session 1, Inequality and territories*

Michael Keating (University of Aberdeen) Beyond the nation state: territory, solidarity and welfare in a multiscalar Europe

Daniele Conversi (University of the Basque Country) Failed promise: Egalitarian principles and inegalitarian practices in the era of mass nationalism

Pier Francesco Asso (University of Palermo-Scuola Normale Superiore) New perspectives on old inequalities: Italy's North-South divide

#### Discussant

Chiara Saraceno (Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin)

h 20.00 dinner

**Friday 23 November 2018**

9.30-13.30

#### *Chair*

Manuela Caiani (Scuola Normale Superiore)

#### *Session 2, Demands for independence: Catalonia and Scotland*

Montserrat Guibernau (University of Cambridge) Belonging, identities and independence: the case of Catalonia

Anwen Elias (University of Aberystwyth) Making the economic case of independence: the case of Scotland

#### Discussant

Silvio Pons (Scuola Normale Superiore)

*Coffee Break*

*Session 3, Brexit, Europe and disintegrating forces*

Maurizio Ferrera (University of Milan) The political sustainability of the EU: problems and perspectives

Heikki Patomäki (University of Helsinki) Disintegrative tendencies in Europe

Milica Uvalić (Univeristy of Perugia) Lessons from former Yugoslavia

Discussant

Manuela Moschella (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Buffet

*15.00-17.30*

*Chair*

Giuliano Amato (Associazione Amici della Scuola Normale Superiore)

*Session 4, Democracy, political institutions and nationalism*

Donatella della Porta, Martin Portos (Scuola Normale Superiore) The class basis of Catalan independentism

Colin Crouch (University of Warwick) Territorial inequalities in post-industrial economies: Implications for the 'left behind'

Discussant

Laszlo Bruszt (Central European University)

General discussion and conclusions

Giuliano Amato (Associazione Amici della Scuola Normale Superiore)