

# PAUL A. KINDERMANN

PhD candidate ◊ London School of Economics and Political Science  
Houghton Street ◊ London, WC2A 2AE, UK  
p.a.kindermann@lse.ac.uk ◊ orcid.org/0000-0002-0695-9509

## EDUCATION

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<b>London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)</b> MPhil/PhD, European Institute Supervisor: Prof. Jonathan White	Oct. 2021 - Oct. 2025 (expected)
<b>Goethe University Frankfurt</b> MA, Political Theory MA, Philosophy (with distinction)	2019
<b>University of Hamburg</b> BA, Philosophy (major) and Political Science (minor) ERASMUS student at the University of Vienna, summer term 2014	2016

## AFFILIATIONS

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<b>Princeton University</b> Visiting doctoral student (VSRC), Department of Politics	Feb. - Apr. 2025 <i>Princeton</i>
<b>European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS)</b> Research Assistant to the Director-General, Schuman Trainee	2019-20 <i>Brussels</i>
<b>Northwestern University</b> Pre-doctoral Visiting Fellow, Department of Philosophy	2018 <i>Evanston/Chicago</i>
<b>Columbia University</b> Fulbright Visiting Student, departments of Philosophy & Politics	2017 <i>New York City</i>

## TEACHING

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<b>LSE, Department of Government</b> Graduate Teaching Assistant	Sep. 2022 - Jul. 2024 <i>London</i>
· GV251: <i>Government, Politics and Public Policy in the EU</i> , 2nd year undergraduate course Seminar teaching; designing class and learning activities; formative and summative marking	
<b>Goethe University Frankfurt &amp; University of Hamburg</b> Teaching Assistant / Class Tutor	2014 - 2017 <i>Frankfurt/Main; Hamburg</i>
· BM1: <i>Introduction to Philosophy</i> , undergraduate course · <i>Introduction to Political Philosophy</i> , undergraduate course · <i>Introduction to Ethics</i> , undergraduate course	

## FUNDING & AWARDS

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UACES Fieldwork Scholarship, London: £ 1500	2024
Research Grant of the Otto-Brenner-Foundation, Frankfurt/Main: € 9800	2023-24
LSE Data Collection Fund, London, for fieldwork in Ireland: £ 450	2024
LSE PhD Studentship: tuition fees and full stipend, London	2021-25
Fulbright Scholarship: tuition fees and full stipend, Columbia University, New York	2017
Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation Studentship: undergraduate & graduate stipend	2013-18

## WORK IN PROGRESS

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### **Innovating European democracy? Troubling promises of citizen participation in the EU**

PhD thesis in preparation (monograph), submission date in Sep. 2025

- Participatory and deliberative innovations such as citizens' assemblies are increasingly promoted to rejuvenate liberal democracy; by expanding the role of citizens in public policy-making, they should increase the legitimacy of political decision-making and contain the rise of anti-system politics. The PhD project focuses on the case of the EU, where such innovations are experimented with and claimed to address changing public expectations of more direct political engagement and a democratic disconnect between the EU institutions and European citizens. Integrating both original empirical research and normative analysis, I scrutinise these promises and develop an account of the added value of such innovations in the spirit of non-ideal democratic theory. The thesis argues that the case for participatory innovation in the EU is marked by normative tensions and contradictions that have implications for the desirability of this form of institutional design more generally and the potential to further democratise EU decision-making in particular.

Keywords: European integration; empirical democratic theory; legitimation; democratic innovations; realism

### **'Simulating democratic reform in the EU'**

Draft paper, presented at the PSA annual conference 2024, Glasgow

- The European Union has increasingly experimented with forms of direct citizen engagement, such as citizens' assemblies. While the emergence of these initiatives can generally be explained in terms of institutional legitimation, the rise of 'participatory and deliberative democracy' poses empirical puzzles: its strategic utility in terms of both public and external legitimation seems elusive. Grounded in an exploratory empirical study, I propose a new theoretical account to understand this development, arguing that the rise of the participatory and deliberative norm should be described as a form of democratic simulation. It is a simulative form of democratic reform insofar as it is established by self-referential patterns in the interactions of the actors who advocate, implement, and sponsor these processes. The design of the processes, their objective demand, as well as their (institutional) value can be created by this field of actors themselves. The theoretical argument is grounded in evidence from document analysis of institutional discourse, network data on affiliations between actors in the field, and 45 elite interviews. The concluding part of the article discusses normative implications and avenues for further empirical research.

Keywords: legitimation; European institutions; democratic innovations; elite interviews; affiliation networks

### **'The many-public: Challenging the empirical legitimacy of deliberative innovations'**

Working paper

- Advocates and scholars of deliberative mini-publics (DMPs) maintain that these forms of direct citizen participation are empirically or *externally* legitimate: their process is likely to find public acceptance, their outcomes to be perceived as fair(er) – not merely amongst participants in the DMP itself. Based on an original qualitative study and synthesis of different strands of existing evidence, the paper argues that this proposition is problematic and needs to be qualified. We conduct 34 vignette-based group interviews in various European regions in Italy, Germany, and Ireland to understand how different social groups react to and form opinions on DMPs. Drawing on public opinion scholarship, we argue that our findings complicate the promises of DMPs insofar as these designed forms of participation can mean many yet contradictory things to different groups of citizens and in different political contexts. We conclude by discussing different scenarios of how mini-publics may not 'complement and correct' but rather undermine representative institutions in Europe.

Keywords: mini-publics; legitimacy; procedural fairness; public opinion; methodology; mixed-methods

## PUBLICATIONS

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2021 | 'Assessing the role of regional parliaments in the EU: Parliamentary functions and problems of democratic legitimacy', in: G. Abels (ed.) *From Takers to Shapers? Challenges for Regions in a Dynamic EU Polity* (Occasional Papers 43), (Tübingen: EZFF)

2021 | 'Demokratisierungsstrategien in der Debatte zur Zukunft der EU: Perspektiven regionaler Parlamentsabgeordneter', with S. Meyer, in: Hilpold/Raffeiner/Steinmair (eds.) *Rechtsstaatlichkeit und Solidarität in Österreich und in Europa* (Vienna: Facultas).

## CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS (SELECTED)

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- German Political Science Association, Annual Conference**, Göttingen, DE Sep. 2024  
Panel organiser/chair: 'Participation professionals: Designing democracy with citizen engagement'
- Political Studies Association, Annual Conference**, Glasgow, UK Mar. 2024  
Paper presentation: 'Simulating democratic reform: The added value of citizen engagement in the EU'
- CIVICA Summer School**, European University Institute, Florence, IT Sep. 2023  
Paper presentation: 'Democratic capital in the EU: Advocating and designing citizen participation'
- CES, International Conference of Europeanists**, Lisbon, PT Jun. 2022  
Paper presentation: 'What role for regional parliaments in the EU?'
- ECPR Joint Sessions 2021**, online May. 2021  
Paper presentation: 'The future of EU democracy from a regional perspective', with S. Meyer

## FIELDWORK

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- Italy, Ireland, Germany: (focus) group interviews, urban & rural areas Oct. 2023 - Aug 2024
- Belgium, France: elite interviews & participant observation in the EU Feb. 2022 - Dec. 2023

## SOFTWARE & PROGRAMMING

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- Qualitative data analysis and mixed-methods with MaxQDA
- Data wrangling and visualisation with R
- LaTeX, Quarto, HTML

## LANGUAGES

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- English (fluent), German (native), French (conversational), Spanish (basic)