DEMOCRACY

This work is published by the Socialist Group in the European Parliament in coordination with the Global Progressive Forum - © March 2009

http://www.socialistgroup.eu

http://www.globalprogressiveforum.org

PSE Socialist Group in the European Parliament

GLOBAL PROGRESSIVE FORUM

PES

Table of Contents

Click on the titles for direct access

Section 5 - Democracy

i. The European Union and Globalisation – A Progressive Agenda for the Future

***By Martin Schulz*[1]**

Europe can look back at *an unprecedented success story*. After centuries suffering under a precarious balance of power, devastating conflicts and the catastrophe of the two World Wars, a new era dawned with the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community. The idea of creating peace, stability and prosperity through regional integration has become a reality. The absence of war, together with Europe's open borders, has made one of humankind's oldest dreams come true. With member countries transferring a very few sovereign rights from the nation state to a supra-national institution a spiral of integration was set into motion. From the Schuman Plan in 1950, to the 1957 Treaty of Rome that paved the way for the common market, to the Monetary Union, a breath-taking level of integration has been reached. Starting with six founding members, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, over time the Union has grown to 27. Peace, freedom, democracy and prosperity were extended to Spain, Portugal and Greece at the end of their dictatorships. Eastern enlargement put an end to the artificial separation of the continent by the iron curtain, and has contributed substantially to the peaceful transformation of these countries, thereby contributing to the security and stability of Europe as a whole. A war between EU member countries is unthinkable today.

The common market is a daily reality for half a billion people. The Economic and Monetary Union has created prosperity, growth and employment. But the EU is also a political and social project. For decades the people of Europe supported the integration process. They wanted the EU because it brought peace to a war-torn continent and because the EU was a driving force for social progress. The people of Europe still want the EU, but they no longer support it without reservation. European citizens are formulating new demands and they are stipulating conditions for their support which must now be included in the political process. They want a social Europe that creates jobs. They want a Europe that protects them against the risks and challenges thrown up by globalisation. They want a Europe that tackles climate change and one that can manage the economic crisis. They want a Europe that makes life better.

If Europe wants to be an exciting project again, it needs to demonstrate its ability to solve problems that are important for its citizens. The legitimacy of the EU does not only come out of its past achievements - its raison d'être needs to grow from a future-oriented need. The EU must develop a new vision for the 21st century, a vision with a cohesive force to revitalise the integration process. It is time to go back to the drawing board and rethink the possibilities for future development and action. What can and must the EU contribute for coping with the global challenges of the 21st century?

Globalisation has become the basis of life and politics in the 21st century. Interdependence between economies and societies is growing, distances are

[1] Mr. Martin Schulz, MEP, president of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament

shrinking, and borders are increasingly becoming open for people, money and ideas. New communications technology has created a world more interconnected than ever before. Decreasing transport costs, new information technologies and new forms of organising production are resulting in a global fusion of markets for goods, capital and labour. The growing inter-dependence of the world has ambivalent effects. Globalisation generates both positive and negative dependencies, and it gives birth to winners and losers. Globalisation creates global change and risk, but also huge opportunities. It means that a growing number of people gain access to mobility, education and knowledge. If wisely managed, the productivity of the world economy could generate more and better jobs and eradicate poverty. Global wealth is increasing, but it is unevenly distributed. Many countries and people do not share in the benefits. While highly industrialised nations and emerging countries are the winners with globalisation, many developing countries are losers. 40% of the world's population lives in poverty. One billion people must survive on less than one dollar per day. Economic and social marginalisation, environmental pollution and increasing scarcity of resources are negative side-effects of globalisation.

Globalisation is without doubt controversial. Some claim that globalisation leads to more efficient economies and gains in prosperity for all. Others argue that growing interdependence diminishes the capacity of states to act and increases social inequality. The buzzword globalisation evokes the fear of “social dumping” and job loss, but also holds the promise of a better life for many. It is undisputable that the globalisation of the world can neither be stopped nor reversed. Whether globalisation turns out to be a blessing or a curse is largely a question of governance. The openness and integration of the global economy raises questions of social justice that need to be addressed urgently. The challenge for politics in the 21st century is to make globalisation fair, just and sustainable.

The European Union has a key role to play in coping with the challenges of globalisation. In many ways, the EU is the most appropriate answer to globalisation. Today's problems ignore national boundaries. Globalisation gives rise to transnational sets of problems, necessitating cross-border governance as no country can solve these problems by simply acting alone. The zero-sum game played by nation-states in the 19th century is no longer valid in an age where globalisation has changed the rules of the game. In many respects economic globalisation has outpaced political globalisation. Economic globalisation has made the world more integrated and interdependent and it has opened up many issue areas that need cooperative action and the setting of rules. Earlier threats and risks were local and the state could offer protection. Today’s dangers are often global and more imminent. Policy issues traditionally falling into nation-state responsibilities can today only be addressed in cooperation with other states. Neither the hole in the ozone layer, nor marine pollution, nor international terrorism can be solved single-handed. *Only* recently, the world experienced forceful reminders of shared vulnerabilities and global responsibilities. The first global food crisis demonstrated the complexity and interconnectedness of today’s world. The spring 2007 “Tortilla Revolt” in Mexico signalled a world-wide famine and a full-blown wave of protests. From *Cameroon to Haiti*, from Egypt to Bangladesh, soaring food prices have made corn and rice unaffordable for the poor, pushing them into taking to the barricades. The world is not facing *a temporary* bottleneck, but a global, fundamental food crisis. Its causes are multi-faceted and intertwined, making the crisis even more difficult to resolve. The world population is growing, while the amount of arable land is shrinking. Because of changing eating habits more and more forests are being turned into pastures that

yield fewer calories per acre than arable lands. Climate change is causing bad harvests and the loss of arable land, as a result of droughts, floods and erosion. Millions of people displaced by civil wars need food that they are unable to produce by themselves. Speculators are driving up the prices of food and fuels. By betting cynically on soaring prices they seek profit in the hunger of others.

The “silent Tsunami”, as the food crisis was christened by some observers, does not respect state boundaries, but hits all countries indiscriminately. The after-effects of the crises will be felt for a long time. UN Secretary-General Bang Ki-Moon has warned that the current crisis, if not handled properly, could result in a cascade of related crises, a multi-dimensional problem affecting trade, economic growth, social progress and political security. The fight against poverty is in danger of being thrown back years. The soaring food prices may at first sight seem to have local causes and local impact, but they are the result of multi-layered causes on the global level and have worldwide repercussions.

Thinking in a global dimension has become a prerequisite for finding solutions. Re-thinking governance and including new levels of governance expands the room for manoeuvre. Growing interdependence between societies and states does not only create new categories of problems, it offers the solution, too. Nation states simply might not be the best vehicles for mitigating global change. The EU is much better equipped for finding solutions and implementing concrete measures in cooperation with other major players. At a time when the world is struggling to cope with the financial crisis and climate change, Europeans need a strong and social Europe more than ever. Transferring a very few sovereign rights from the nation-state level to the European level boosts collective sovereignty - and increases the capacity of everyone to act. As the world's largest economic bloc and trading partner, the EU is a global player by definition. When it comes to fighting climate change, setting up new rules and supervision for the global financial markets, re-launching the economy, reforming the United Nations, eradicating poverty and fostering multilateralism, the EU can and must deliver. A large majority of EU citizens support the development of a stronger external policy dimension. They have realised a simple truth, *i*f Europe acts in unison and speaks with one voice all member states regain political power to shape the world. Europe faces the task of developing a true external dimension to match its internal peace project; a Europe with a global vision that gives a lead, but one that also lives up to its responsibilities. Managing globalisation to the benefit of everyone must be the cornerstone of a progressive agenda for the EU.

Leading the economic recovery and tightening control of financial markets

The worst credit crunch since the 1930s has plunged the global economy into a crisis that is hitting people hard. In times of economic recession, rising unemployment, high food and fuel costs, the EU faces a two-fold task- tightening the control of financial markets and leading the economic recovery by promoting jobs and growth.

Blind faith in the market has led the world into its deepest recession for 80 years. The spectacular failure of the financial markets brought Europe and the world to the brink of economic catastrophe. The financial sector was only one heartbeat away from meltdown, when governments around the globe issued rescue plans and economic packages and central banks coordinated their monetary policies. We now know that the market is sometimes the problem, and politics the solution.

When Wall Street went bust and threatened to drag the world’s financial markets down, the ideology of 'turbo-capitalism' filed for bankruptcy, too. The market,

claimed the High Priests of deregulation, regulates itself and does so more efficiently without state intervention. The near-collapse of the financial system has exposed self-regulation by the financial industry as illusory. In the brave new world of the market-radicals everyone wins eventually, or so unapologetic profiteers have claimed for years, because money is supposed to "trickle down" and help make everyone better-off in the long term. The reality, however, looks a lot different. The income gap has grown ever wider, and real earnings are in decline. While the poor became poorer, the rich became richer. Economic progress has become an end in itself instead of serving people's interests. Now the house has burned down and it needs rebuilding. The world would be ill-advised to follow the advice of some financial experts, who now warn of "over-regulation". Embracing self-regulation of the financial players would be akin to enrolling the arsonists in the fire brigade. The tremendous market failure was not only caused by the greed of speculators, however. A self-destructive dynamic inherent in capitalism drives it towards destroying its own foundations. In order to function well a market needs a regulatory framework. Taming the unleashed market forces of turbo-capitalism places too great a demand on the capacity of individual states. The financial crisis has laid bare the fact that the globalised economy needs a global political response.

The November 15th G-20 Summit in Washington, on the international response to the global financial and economic crisis, acknowledged the need for a global response and the fact that the world is entering a multi-polar stage. The era of the G-7 meetings has clearly come to an end. The G-20 meeting was a first step towards a New World Economic Order. The growing importance of the emerging countries was finally recognised by including them in the decision-making process. For an effective response all the world's major players needed to participate. As the mirror of an increasingly multi-polar world, the G-20 will be the forum in which future solutions to global problems will be found.

The summit's action plan was a first step towards a new global financial architecture. In order to prevent any repeat of the crisis, the financial market requires new global rules that produce more transparency, clearer rules, better supervision and greater stability. Effective order in the financial markets is inconceivable without institutions that work. One recommendation therefore is to turn the International Monetary Fund into an early-warning system. The Socialist Group in the European Parliament has long led demands to put financial markets on firmer foundations. Regulation need to be extended to all financial players, including rigorous capital requirements and limits on excessive borrowing and bad loans to prevent excessive risk taking and debt. Top executive pay and bonuses must be limited and de-linked from short-term profits. At the current time, perverse incentives exist to realise profits regardless of long-term effects. Detrimental short-selling and 'betting' on food prices should be outlawed. Rating Agencies must be subjected to closer supervision and better regulations, consulting and assessment must be de-coupled. It is intolerable that up to now Rating Agencies have been evaluating financial products that they have produced themselves. Hedge Funds and Private Equity Funds must be monitored and regulated more effectively. The disclosure of asset and regulatory structures must become obligatory, excess debt financing limited, and requirements to inform investors about risks restrictions on investments need to be stricter. Tax havens have to be closed down and we must put an end to tax avoidance schemes to ensure that all actors in the market pay their fair share of taxes. Governments now face the task not only of mending regulations, but reforming international economic institutions and fashioning a new global economic order in line with the principles of

the social market economy. If European states speak with one voice and act in concert, they have the chance to mould the future global economic order according to European ideas.

European cooperation is the key to fighting the recession effectively, because no national economy is capable of dealing with the effects of the financial crisis on its own. The real scandal in this crisis is that as the recession is now hitting home, it is felt hardest by the most vulnerable people - the EU has the duty to protect them. Besides providing support for member states experiencing financial difficulties, Europe has a vital role to play in raising and channelling capital for example through Eurobonds. Alongside closer coordination in the Eurogroup, a European initiative on jobs and small and medium-sized enterprises is required. Europe is the world leader in eco-technology. A package of smart green investments could create 10 million new jobs by 2020, at the same time putting Europe back to work and meeting its climate and energy goals.

A new social Europe

Existing inequalities, economic globalisation and the recession together place new pressures on people. Increased competitive pressures on the social systems threaten to damage the social cohesion of European societies. The pressure on salaries goes hand in hand with blackmail by international companies threatening to relocate to low-wage countries. In face of the highly mobile global economy nation-states have lost their capacity to act alone and to adequately protect social rights and collective goods. While capital, riding on the wave of globalisation, has swept away borders and has become 'Europeanised' in the common market, the welfare state has remained trapped within national boundaries and is now threatened by a 'race-to-the-bottom'. The old balance between capital and labour is now at risk in the internal market. Even though the EU does possess a social dimension, it is currently underdeveloped. For decades the EU success model was the combination of economic progress with social progress. Then the governing conservative-liberal majority in Europe decided to focus on the removal of trade barriers while neglecting the social dimension of Europe. Deregulators claimed that economic growth can only be achieved through pressing salary costs and lowering environmental and social standards. The opposite is true, economic growth cannot be an end in itself, it is worth nothing, if it does not benefit the people. After all, it is the knowledge and creativity of people that creates competitiveness.

Now it is time to correct the existing imbalance - it is time for a new social Europe that places people, and not the market, at its centre. The European Union must develop a veritable Social Union to complement the existing Economic and Monetary Union. A European Social Progress pact could propose goals and standards for national, social, health and education policy while respecting national social models. The recent European Court judgements -the Viking, Laval and Rueffert decisions- are worrying signals. The EU's Posting of Workers Directive is clearly in need of review. The rights of workers to collective bargaining and collective agreements across borders must be strengthened, as well as workers' rights to information and consultation. Participation in economic decision-making processes by employees at the European level is a key for the future. To achieve this goal, workers' rights need to be anchored more firmly in the European Company Statute and in European Works Councils. Additionally, a social progress clause needs to be included in every piece of European legislation, and a social and environmental impact assessments needs to be taken into account in developing European

legislation. If Europe again shows its social face, it will surely regain the trust and the support of its citizens.

Climate change

The financial and economic crisis is threatening to eclipse the danger of climate change. Some conservatives argue that the fight against climate change needs to wait until the recession is over. The reverse is true: recession is the world's most immediate challenge, but by far the biggest challenge of coming years is climate change. The only hope of avoiding catastrophe is a rapid shift towards a low emissions, low energy economy.

A two degree change in temperature will be the tipping point. If, and only if, the rise in temperature by the end of the 21st century does not exceed two degrees, only then will humanity still be able to adapt to the effects of climate change. This is the conclusion of the fourth assessment report of the International Panel on Climate Change from 2007. If the international community does not act now, the consequences of unchecked global warming would be catastrophic- rising sea levels, water shortages caused by periods of drought, melting glaciers, and the desolation and desertification of land. Climate change would affect the lives of millions of people throughout the world, their food production, access to water and health. All countries will be affected by climate change, but some of the poorest people will suffer most. Hunger and thirst would drive more and more people from their homes. Ecological collapse could lead to social breakdown; extreme weather could lead to political crisis. The threat of violent conflicts, mass migration and regional destabilisation loom over increasingly scarce resources. Climate policy is security policy! Even the UN Security Council has come to understand that. Climate policy, however, is also economic policy. The Stern report, commissioned by the UK government, clearly shows that just one per cent of global GNP would be enough to cut CO2 emissions - the follow-up cost of unchecked climate change could range between 5% and 20% of global GNP. The costs of inaction easily outweigh the costs resulting from the fight against global warming. The bad news is that, if we do nothing, we are careering towards global disaster. The good news is that we can overcome the greatest challenge the world faces - if we act now.

Reversing climate change requires global cooperation and a real commitment by the international community to cut CO2 emissions by half by 2050 compared to 1990 levels. Highly industrialised nations carry a special responsibility in the fight against global warming, as they are still the main producers of CO2 emissions. The USA alone are responsible for one quarter of the world’s CO2 emissions, but to date they have not signed the Kyoto Protocol. While Barack Obama has promised a U-turn in climate policy, the booming Chinese economy has drawn level with the USA on CO2 emissions. The poorest of the poor are currently afflicted most by the first effects of climate change. Bangladesh is increasingly haunted by storms and flooding, if sea level rises further, one third of Bangladesh might be lost to the sea. Without doubt, highly developed countries are called upon to assist developing countries in complying with climate goals as well as in mitigating the effects of climate change. The EU must shoulder the responsibility of taking measures against climate change within its own borders as well as leading the world by example.

Transforming Europe into the world leader in the fight against climate change will require both developing new efficient technologies that reduce Europe’s dependence on fossil energy, and also taking a lead in the negotiations for a global agreement on the post -Kyoto period after 2012. Europe has long advocated an

active climate policy and binding emission targets. The EU has signed both the 1992 Rio de Janeiro *UN Framework Convention on Climate Change* and the 1997 *Kyoto Protocol*. In the run up to the Kyoto negotiations, the EU member states signed a *Burden Sharing Agreement*, the first ever fixing of climate policy targets that have an impact on energy and traffic policy. In 2007*,* EU leaders agreed to limit greenhouse gas emissions and increase the proportion of renewable energy. The “energy and climate package” better known as the ”20-20-20” agreement showed the way forward by adopting ambitious goals. The EU has committed itself to increasing the percentage of renewable energy from 5% to 20% by 2020, and also to become 20% more energy efficient than it is today. In order to reach these goals, Europe has invested in research and development activities focusing on environmental technologies, new energy sources, and the implementation of research undertakings. The EU will also reduce CO2 emissions by 20% compared to levels in 1990, and it will take on extra responsibility by increasing the amount of emissions from 20% to 30% - if other countries join in the framework of a global treaty for the post-Kyoto period 2012. The EU accepts a shared distribution of responsibility, within its territory richer countries shoulder greater burdens than poorer countries. “Climate justice” must be the model for a global agreement, especially as it follows the UN principle of common but differentiated responsibility. So Europe should increase its assistance to developing countries to fight climate change as well as adapt to it. Massive technology transfers could ensure that developing countries are able to fight poverty and develop economically – without disastrous effects on the environment. The Copenhagen Conference in December 2009 will set the course for the fight against climate change for years to come. Europe must take the lead in setting global climate policy goals and getting all major players on board.

Climate policy is the Siamese twin of energy policy. It is difficult to resolve one without tackling the other. Energy consumption is growing and, with it, the dependence on oil and gas, largely imported from non-EU countries. By 2030, 70% of all energy consumed in Europe will have to be met with imports, one serious prognosis claims. Reducing energy dependence therefore must be a priority for Europe. Security of supply, diversification of supply routes and diversification of energy sources should be the three pillars of a coherent EU energy policy. Rising energy prices are not only a geo-strategic issue, but they are also a socio-political issue. Soaring electricity prices and heating costs quickly wipe out the budgets of low income households. Energy poverty has become a threatening prospect for many Europeans. The key to reversing global warming and cutting energy costs lies in finding environmentally friendly and energy-efficient solutions. Investing in research, development, and innovation, and adjusting from an industrial fossil fuel-based economy to a sustainable society is the road we must take.

Eradicating poverty

Over the past two decades most of the world enjoyed unheard levels of growth, prosperity and low inflation. The economies of 124 countries expanded by 4% or more in 2007. Still, 80% of world populations live in developing countries. And one in five people live in extreme poverty and have to cope with less than one dollar per day. As a result of the credit crunch, the ILO estimates that 150 million jobs will disappear this year throughout the developing world. Much needed capital is flooding out of developing countries in search of safe havens. With its annual 6 billion Euros, the EU is the world’s biggest donor of development aid. In addition, it has signed agreements with the 49 poorest countries concerning duty-free access to the EU

market for 'Everything But Arms' (EBA). Yet there is no hope of achieving the Millennium Development Goals, that the EU member states signed in 2000 which agreed to eight goals, ranging from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, if global finance and trade return to 'business as usual' after the crises. In the short-term, we must see to it that the IMF makes enough credit available for the developing and emerging countries. In the long run, the underlying rules of global finance must be changed to ensure a more accountable, stable and fairer global financial governance. The Doha trade round of trade negotiations must be concluded swiftly and in a development-friendly way. *Although the EU has reduced its production subsidies and export subsidies,* the EU agriculture policy, widely perceived as protectionism, is a shame. It inflicts grave damage on the credibility of the EU as a player living up to its global responsibility. The Socialist Group supports the “20-20” initiative. 20% of EU development aid should be directed towards social aid, especially health and education programs. Eradicating extreme poverty continues to be one of the main challenges and requires the combined effort of everyone to form a more effective global partnership.

Nuclear disarmament

Two decades after the end of the Cold War, there are still 27,000 nuclear warheads, making the proliferation of nuclear weapons one of the biggest threats to international peace and security. There is even the danger of a new arms race, if nuclear weapons are developed outside the recognised nuclear-weapons states. Also, terrorists could gain access to nuclear devices. Existing monitoring and inspection mechanisms do not guarantee adequate security. Every nuclear facility that is not properly safe-guarded brings with it a potential security loophole.

A radical shift away from Cold War deterrence thinking towards a new consensus on banning nuclear weapons and placing fissile material under multilateral control is needed. The Coal and Steel Community, the bedrock on which the EU was founded, was based on a simple calculation. Two strategic industries, coal and steel, were placed under collective supervision to generate trust between former enemies. A lack of trust between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons states is one of the biggest problems of the existing non-proliferation regime. Placing the nuclear production cycle under multilateral controls thus might make supervision more effective and build confidence. The task waiting at the upcoming review conference of the non-proliferation treaty in 2010 is to develop a constructive timetable and practical measures to reduce the number of nuclear weapons, tighten control over the peaceful use of nuclear energy and counteract the threat from nuclear terrorism. Multilateralism and international treaties bring greater security. A world without nuclear weapons is a safer world for all.

A project of regional integration that is as ambitious and successful as is the European Union exists nowhere else in the world. With 27 member states, half a billion inhabitants and a quarter of world's GDP, the EU is a global player by definition. Being an economic superpower comes with a responsibility for peace and stability in the world. It is time to give the successful 'within-Europe' peace model a true external dimension. Democracy, dialogue and diplomacy, cooperation and consensus – these values are at the heart of the European model for peace and must guide its external relations.

The EU has an important contribution to make to solving global problems and boosting global governance. First, the European methods of integration are the best strategies for solving transnational problems in a globalised world. The most

important ones are the pooling of sovereignty, the continuous development of common interests, solidarity, and governing beyond nation-states, the setting of legally binding rules for cooperation, economic interdependence and an effective multilateralism. Peace, security, democracy and prosperity are served most effectively and at the lowest cost by pooling sovereignty and by international cooperation. Secondly, the EU is perceived as a benevolent player in world affairs. A large majority of people would like the EU to play a more important and active role on the world stage. No other player receives higher approval rates. The EU is not only perceived as a genuine broker between conflicting interests, for example in the Middle East, but also as a problem-solver as in the case of climate change. Europe's capacity to act globally is based not on military power, but on its economic, cultural and political attractiveness - as a soft power the EU possesses moral capital and enjoys trust.

In a world that is becoming increasingly multi-polar, the development of a cooperative global-governance architecture built on a fair and rule-based multilateralism is a necessity. Nevertheless it requires great political effort to bring it about, but no one is more likely to play a major role as the protagonist of multilateralism than the EU. At a time when the election of Barack Obama as the 44th US President raises hopes that the era of US unilateralism will be closed for good, climate change and the financial crisis have demonstrated clearly that global cooperation is the key for solving global problems, a window of opportunity exists to strengthen and reform multilateralism. The EU now has the great opportunity to fashion the processes of globalisation. The EU must now translate its great potential into a capacity to act effectively.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the European Union faces new global challenges. Looking inward, it must strengthen its social dimension and conclude the reform process. Facing outward the EU must act in unison and speak with one voice. The EU must deliver when it comes to tightening control of the financial markets and re-launching the economy, the fight against climate change and the reform of international organisations, dealing with international terrorism, eradicating hunger and poverty in the world.

Sixty years after its foundation, the EU again stands at a cross-road. Euro-sceptics claim that the EU is opening the gates to unrestrained market forces. Economic nationalists make people believe that the nation-state is an effective protecting power against the negative side-effects of globalisation. By conjuring up nostalgia for the lost idyll of the protectionist nation-state, politicians may win elections. But they severely hurt the interests and the well-being of future generations by suggesting that 19th century ideologies can provide answers for the challenges of the 21st century. The retreat of politics behind state borders is neither desirable nor practicable. Slowly giving up integration leads us down the blind alley of a fragmented and powerless Europe. Will the people of Europe accept the destruction of the best tool they hold in hands for coping with the global challenges in the 21st century? Or will we develop a new vision for Europe and provide the EU with a progressive agenda and the means to face up to the tasks ahead? In the 20th century, Europeans needed Europe to overcome the past; at the beginning of the 21st century we need a progressive Europe to manage globalisation for the benefit of everyone.

ii. Participatory Budgeting: Understanding the new role of participatory institutions in contemporary politics[*]

(the case of Brazil)

By Leonardo Avritzer[2]

Since the middle of the twentieth century, legitimate government has been increasingly associated with the existence of electoral mechanisms through which the general population of citizens delegate power to political agents authorized to act on their behalf (Schumpter, 1942; Sartori, 1962; Dahl, 1990; Bobbio, 1984). However, in the last 10 years, democratic theorists have begun to question this association in two ways. Firstly, the construction of a supra-national political organization in Europe created of multiple and superimposed forms of national and post-national representation. The overlapping of different levels of participation and the emergence of a post-national political institution brought into question the role of political parties, which did not exist at the supra-national levels as well as the form of dealing with post-national forms of political representation (Held, 2004; Habermas,2003; Schmitter, 2000; 2003). In the place of political parties, new forms of civil society representation and political participation (Baquet and Sintomer, 2005) at the European level began to emerge (Risse, 2003), raising questions about how to coordinate various forms of representation and whether civil society organizations could be considered "functional equivalents" of political parties. The question on how political participation fits into the European political arrangement is still an open one.

A second debate that led to the re-evaluation of the role of participation occurred through a variety of experiments in the developing world (or in the South) promoting the participation of civil society organizations in public policy formulation and implementation. These new "hybrid" institutions (Avritzer and Pereira, 2005; Avritzer, 2009) are now very common in Latin America (Dagnino, Olvera, Panficci, 2005; Abers and Keck, 2006; Peruzzotti, 2006), and have also been created in Asia (Heller, 2006; Jun, 2009) and in Africa (Friedman, 2009). Of all these countries, Brazil seems to be one of the most advanced in terms of creating new hybrid forms of state civil society relations.

Political participation in democratic Brazil has been marked by two important phenomena: the expansion of civil society involvement in public policy making and the growth of new types of "participatory institutions". Since the end of the authoritarian period (1964-1985), civil society actors have demanded greater presence in policy deliberations in health, social services, urban policy and other areas (Coelho, 2004; 2005; Cunha, 2004, Avritzer, 2006, Avritzer, 2007). Alongside increasing support for decentralization and "stakeholder governance" coming from the international policy community, this demand from civil society helped produce a series of new deliberative arenas. The Participatory Budget experiments, initiated by the local administrations of Worker's Party - which involve local citizens in decisions

[*] Parts of the data used in this paper were originally written in co-authorship with Brian Wampler for the World Bank project "The Expansion of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil".

[2] Mr. Leonardo Avritzer, Associate professor at the Federal University of Minas Gerais and coordinator of the think-tank Prodep, Brazil.

about basic infrastructure - have been studied in depth (Santos, 1998; Avritzer, 2002a; Avritzer, 2002b; Faria, 2005; Wampler, 2008). The Participatory Budget has disseminated throughout Brazil and mobilized large numbers citizens – approximately 180,000 people in four major cities alone in 2004[3]. Less well studied are hybrid institutions called "councils" which bring together civil society organizations and state actors and have a formal mandate to make health care, social assistance, environmental, urban and other policies at the municipal, river basin, state and national levels, also have a strong impact in Brazil. (Coelho, 2006, Abers and Keck, 2006; Tatagiba, 2002.). Participatory budgeting also expanded to Europe where, in 2008, there were more than 100 cities practicing participatory budgeting (Sintomer, 2008; Alegretti, 2006).

These new deliberative institutions have largely been understood as places of increased political participation in the sense that they increased the direct participation of citizens in the polity. However, it is also correct to point out that their main role has been to bring citizens into policy making arenas and to provide new forms of articulation between participation and representation. These new forms of participation also enhance the deliverance of public goods, making PB an efficient public policy. In this paper, I will first explain the main characteristics of PB in Brazil. Secondly, I will give details of PB expansion inside Brazil and make reference to its expansion in Europe and Africa. Finally, I will make a proposal for the implementation of participatory budgeting in different situations.

The emergence of participatory budgeting in Brazil

The social and political origins of participatory budgeting must be traced back to the tradition of mobilization in the city of Porto Alegre in the extreme South of Brazil during the post-war period. The origin of popular movements in Porto Alegre was marked by the formation of Fracab, Federation of Community Associations in Rio Grande do Sul, in the second half of the 1950s (Silva, 2001: 79). Porto Alegre neighborhood associations in the 50s aimed to foster a "humanist, anti-paternalist" form of participation which departed from forms of political clientelism organizing associations in other larger cities of Brazil (Silva, 2001: 81). Porto Alegre also had a strong tradition of leftwing politics which can be traced back to the same period. Between 1947 and 1963, the PTB (Brazilian Labor Party) received the largest share of the votes in all the elections for City Council whereas in the rest of Brazil it was closer to 12% of the national vote. Thus, participatory budgeting has its origins in the presence of a more democratic and horizontal political practice in one region of the country during the 1946-1964 democratic period.

Brazil passed through 21 years of authoritarianism after the break of democracy in 1964. At the time of democratization (1985-1988), the main electoral contest at the local level, was between candidates of the left and the right in most Brazilian capitals apart from Porto Alegre. There, the contest was between the PDT, a center-left party which sought to retrieve the populist past, and the PT, which sought to renew the Brazilian left and proposed popular councils to govern cities (Keck, 1992; Abers, 1996). Neighborhood associations and the PT, however, claimed that the forms of participation were too limited. It was in this context that UAMPA, the União de Associações de Moradores de Porto Alegre, launched the idea of participation in the budget-making process (UAMPA, 1986). Porto Alegre was thus the only city in Brazil in which political competition in the aftermath of re-

[3] This figure refers to 2004 and was obtained by totaling the participation in PBs in São Paulo (80,000), Porto Alegre (30,000), Belo Horizonte (30,000), and Recife (40,000).

democratization occurred among sectors of the left and centered on the issue of local participation. It was in this context that Olívio Dutra was elected mayor of Porto Alegre in 1988, and introduced participatory budgeting as a means of deliberating on the distribution of public goods by his administration.

Participatory budgeting in its Porto Alegre version (1990-2005), introduced many new institutions, three of them with strong deliberative elements: the regional and the thematic assemblies, the Council of Participatory Budgeting (COP), and the determination of the rules for decision-making[4]. The regional and thematic assemblies are places where participants can make claims, criticize the administrative actions of local authorities, and negotiate their priorities among themselves. In Porto Alegre there are 16 regional and five thematic assemblies. The format of the regions was a point of conflict between social movements and the administration. Social movements pressed hard to maintain the pattern of collective action in the city's regions, arguing that the administrative design of districts would conflict with the mobilization of many community movements (Baierle, 1998). The city agreed to redesign the regions in a way that overlapped with existing forms of mobilization. Thus, the first element of the deliberative process was an attempt to combine the logics of collective action and administration starting the participatory process from the bottom.

Regional and thematic assemblies are places for discussion and deliberation. An analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of the participants shows the strong presence of poor city-dwellers in the regional assemblies: 30.22% of the participants earn no more than twice the minimum wage and 25.51% two to four times the minimum wage, indicating that participants in the PB come close to the socio-economic condition of the population at large. In each assembly, 45 minutes are open for contributions of the participants. Presence in the assemblies does not necessarily translate into equality at other levels, as is indicated by Table 1, which correlates income with active participation in Porto Alegre's PB.

Table 1: Socio-economic condition of the participants and of the speakers in the Assemblies in POA[5]

Income (multiples of minimum wage)	Participants in the assemblies	Never spoken in assemblies
Up to 2	30.22%	47.30%
2 to 4	25.51%	37.90%
4 to 8	20.60%	37.20%
8 to 12	9.43%	27.10%
Others	14,24%	---------
Total	100,00%	100%

We can thus note several deliberative characteristics of the PB regional assemblies in Porto Alegre. In the first place they express the social diversity of the city, a

[4] There are many useful descriptions of the functioning of participatory budgeting which I will not repeat here. For a full description of the process see, Baierle, 1998; Santos, 1998; Abers, 2000; Avritzer, 2002c; Baiocchi, 2002.

[5] Source:Cidade, 1999.

characteristic that establishes a new social balance in deliberation about the distribution of public goods. In the second place, although there are still some inequalities in relation to gender or class participation, there is rough gender equity in the number of interventions. Women participate in PB meetings slightly more than men (51.4% of participants are women) and are also more willing to speak. However, we should also note that socio-economic condition sharply predetermines the inclination to speak. Among the participants who make up to twice the minimum wage, a majority of the participants, 47.30%, have never spoken in an assembly. The number of those who have never spoken stands in inverse proportion to income.

A second deliberative body of the PB is the COP, the Council of Participatory Budgeting. The COP is formed during the second round of regional assemblies, when the region elects councillors to the PB Council. This process leads to the formation of a council composed as follows: two councillors from each of the 16 regions (32), two from each of the five thematic assemblies (10), one from the UAMPA and one from the public service trade union (2). The PB Council has 44 members. Administrative members do not vote, although they participate regularly and wield considerable influence[6]. The PB Council is a deliberative body in which two types of negotiations take place: between community members on their priorities and between community members and the administration on the final format of the budget. Several decisions are made at this level, among them the substitution of previous assembly deliberations by other deliberations due to what is called a 'technical veto,' when the administration disallows the decisions of regional assemblies on technical grounds. The most common vetoes involve environmental, property, and financial issues. Common environmental vetoes in Porto Alegre include the channelling of local creeks, which the population demands but the administration regards as a cause of summer floods[7]. Property issues involve the misidentification of land as belonging to the city; when it turns out to be owned by state companies, the state, or the union, the cost of public works increases.

Financial issues, finally, which involve the cost of extending sewage or water pipelines. In all these cases, there is vigorous debate between the members of the PB Council and the administration, with mixed results. One of the important results of these debates is the requirement imposed by the administration that the technicians attend the regional and thematic assemblies and discuss their positions on these issues with the population. Again, it is important to note that the presence of the technicians in popular assemblies enhances their deliberative nature. PB council is also a key element of bottom-up design. It is an institution constituted at the end of open entry assemblies. In spite of the use of representation in its composition its members are strongly linked to the regional leaderships from the places in which they have been elected. The presence of PB councils is a key element of bottom-up design because it expresses the concentration of most of the decision-making process in the hands of civil society actors.

[6] To my knowledge there is only one city in which the administrative members vote in the PB Council, the city of Santo Andre. Santo Andre changed the composition of its P.B. council in 2004 and cancelled voting prerogatives of the administrative personnel

[7] Pavement has been the public good mostly demanded in Porto Alegre since the emergence of the PB. As of today, 6 million square meters of pavement have been laid. As a consequence of the increase in the amount of pavement in the city, the soil of the city became impermeable and summer flooding increased. This has led to a technical veto on new channeling of creeks.

The third deliberative element of the PB is the process of decision-making on rules for deliberation. Porto Alegre inaugurated a rule-making process that has been followed by other cities in Brazil. In this process, the city determines the initial rules for deliberation (regimento), and then the PB Council is able to change them at the beginning of the following year. These rules involve: the composition of the Council of PB (COP); the attributions of the COP; rules for the election of local delegates; conditions for losing a mandate; rules for argumentation in the COP; rules for the election of a coordination body within the COP; and, last but not least, rules by which the COP can change the rules for deliberation. Thus, the COP may be understood to be a body which sets up its own forms of regulation, from its composition to its rules for deliberation. It shares some of its prerogatives with other bodies, such as the CRC and the GAPLAN. However, the final budgetary deliberation takes place at the COP level and includes making rules for the COP's future operation.

The most familiar theories about Porto Alegre's PB argue that participation increased quickly due to its deliberative elements (Avritzer, 2002a; Baiocchi, 2003; Wampler and Avritzer, 2004; Santos, 2006). Despite low rates initially, participation in the new institution grew rapidly and it is worth exploring the details of the process. Regions with previous traditions of participation, like Parthenon or the East zone of the city, had relatively high levels of initial participation whereas regions without such traditions, such as Restinga and Navegantes, had lower levels. Here, we see again the importance of civil society organization for the emergence of the institutional innovation. Without the participation of neighborhood association members in the initial deliberations, the process could have collapsed. Learning and demonstration effects occurred as the neighborhoods singled out above received more benefits than the least organized regions, leading to the reorganization of the more populated neighborhoods (Abers, 2000; Wampler and Avritzer, 2004; Baiocchi, 2005). PB in Porto Alegre has enjoyed steady growth in participation, rising from 976 people in 1990 to 26,807 in 2000.

This evolution tells us something important about the relationship between civil and political society in the consolidation of participatory arrangements. Civil society was responsible for the initial success of the arrangement by providing the participatory institution with actors capable of fulfilling the roles required of them: attending meetings, identifying neighborhood problems, and participating and deliberating in councils (Wampler and Avritzer, 2004). Political society and the state then generalized previously existing practices to the rest of the city: they extended forms of participation to other neighborhoods and ensured that this would be the only way of claiming public goods in the city. Together, the two actions led to the consolidation of participatory budgeting in the early nineties as a strongly deliberative institution.

Table 2: Participation in Porto Alegre's P.B. by selected regions[8]

	Region	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998
Regions with strong	Leste	152	510	339	623	710
associative traditions	Lomba	64	569	575	973	638
	Partenon	75	1096	661	809	805
	Cruzeiro	181	297	494	649	604
Regions with weak	Navegantes	15	165	135	495	624
associative traditions	Nordeste	33	276	350	682	906
	Restinga	36	369	1096	763	1348
	Centro-Sul	101	591	352	151	1461

Thus, it is possible to note the importance of Porto Alegre in the emergence of the participatory design. Porto Alegre's politics is directly linked to the bottom-up design of participatory budgeting. Civil society and political societies in the city have influenced a radically participatory design that caught the attention of Brazilian political actors from the early nineties on. However, in spite of the influence of civil society in the original design and in spite of the consensus of Porto Alegre's political society on the design, two issues are important to keep in mind: the first one is that PB expanded from Porto Alegre to other cities in Brazil from 1993 to 1997 mainly due to the initiative of the PT. From 1993 to 2000 the number of PB cases expanded to 120, among them 37 (49%) belonged to PT administrations; in spite of the fact that most of the expansion of PB from 1993 onwards was based on the bottom-up design of Porto Alegre, most of the new cases adapted the design in its bottom-up elements in order to make it more palatable to both the local PT and the rest of political society, in particular, City Hall. In the next section of this article I will deal with the expansion of participatory budgeting to other regions and cities in Brazil.

The expansion of participatory budgeting in Brazil

Participatory budgeting emerged in Porto Alegre in 1990 and expanded to the rest of Brazil and, by the beginning of the 21st century, to many other counties in Africa, Europe, Latin America and Asia (Avritzer, 2002a; Wampler, 2003; Wampler and Avritzer, 2005; Sintomer, 2008). The expansion of participatory budgeting in Brazil is noteworthy for numeric, political, and regional reasons. Numerically, PB expanded from 13 cases in 1992 to 53 in 1996 to 120 in 2000 to 190 in 2004 and to 201 cases at the end of 2008. The significant expansion of PB over a twenty-year period means that PB has been adopted in municipalities that are significantly different from Porto Alegre, the municipality with the first PB program. The greater number of PB cases, combined with a careful tracking of PB over the past twenty years now provides us

[8] Source: Wampler and Avritzer, 2004

with an incredible opportunity to better understand how factors such as region, municipality size, and political party affect how PB programs function.

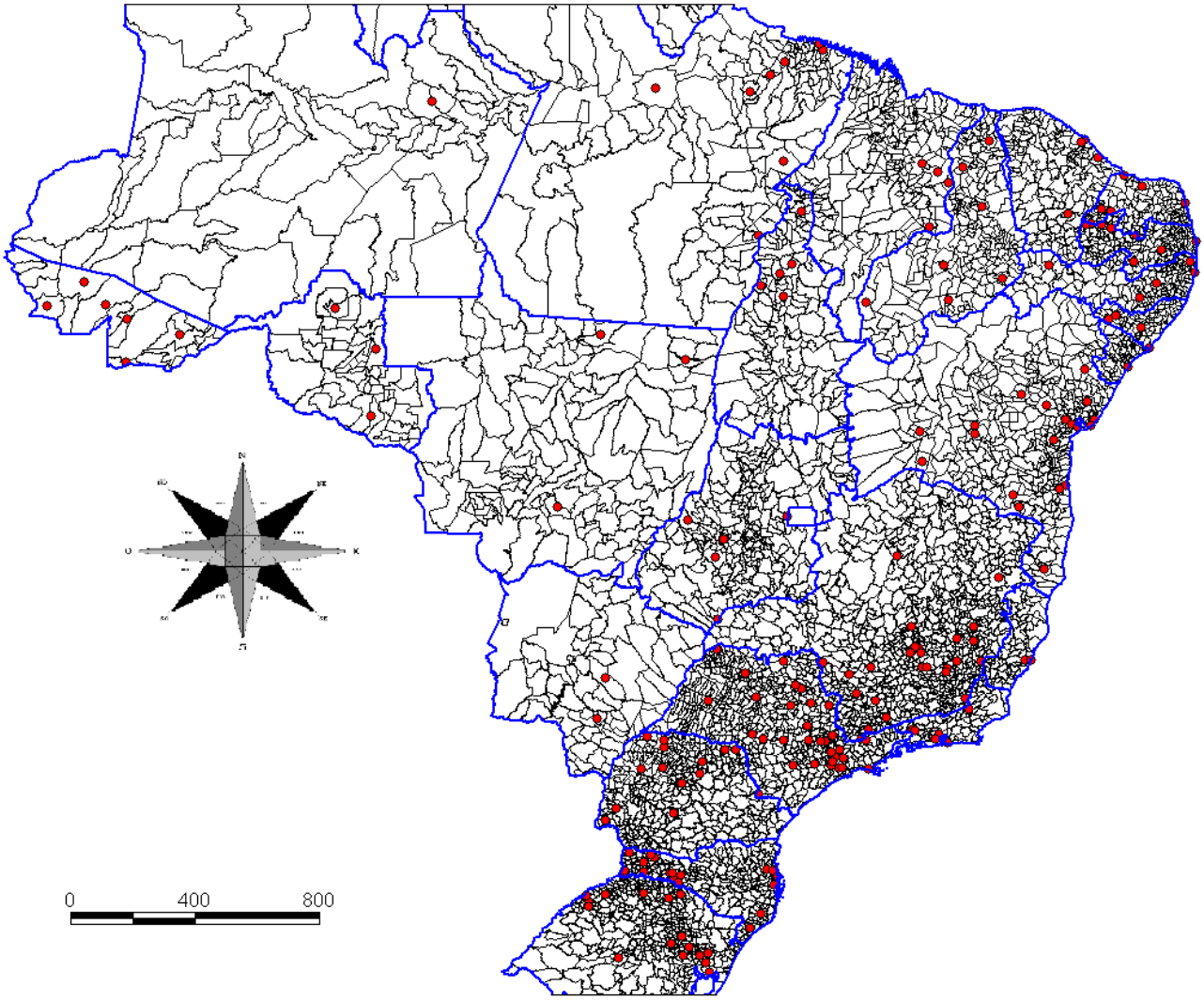
The adoption of PB evolved in regional terms as PB expanded out of its original base in the South and Southeast of Brazil to other regions, particularly, the Northeast region (see table 3 below). The expansion of PB poses important research and institutional design questions to policy makers: How does municipality size or region affect PB performance? Which are the important institutional design innovations and continuities? How does variation in the institutional design of internal processes affect PB performance? Finally, how does party governance affect PB performance? There has been a de-centering of PB as it is no longer closely tied to the Workers' Party, which led us to investigate how PB has been adapted to meet local needs.

Table 3: Experiences of P.B. in Brazil

	Total number	% PT
1989-1992	13	92%
1993-1996	53	62%
1997-2000	120	43%
2000-2004	190	59%
2005-2008	201	65%

The map bellow shows the spatial distribution of PB experiences:

Figure 1: Distribution of 2005-2008 PB experiences



The main identified in PB are: (a) the institutional design of the participatory process that brings citizens into budgetary decision-making; (b) the administrative agency/department that is responsible for the program; and (c) the frequency with which the participatory budgeting process is held. In the following sections of this article, I will outline each one of them.

Institutional Design

Participatory budgeting emerged in Porto Alegre with a very specific design as I have demonstrated above. Assemblies would take place every year at the regional level (sub-municipal). Two processes, based on the results region-level deliberations and voting, ensured that policies were implemented according to the demands of the regional assemblies. A municipal-wide Participatory Budgeting Council would oversee the drafting of the budget and the implementation of the public works would be carried out by the planning department (GAPLAN). A detailed analysis of these institutions shows that they were designed to fit into Porto Alegre´s politics. Regional

assemblies were designed to fit in with the participatory logic of the city of Porto Alegre, which was very intense in the beginning of the 1990s. The structure of a council and an administrative agency were also important for the success of participatory budgeting. The PB Council was important to establish a process of debate on budgetary issues outside the government. The regional assemblies were not the place for in-depth discussion on the whole of budget due to the importance of technical issues and also due to the way citizens and CSOs were organized. Many important issues were discussed in the assemblies such as who will aquire housing or whether the city would need new large avenues, such as the third "perimetral", the most expensive public work carried out in Porto Alegre during the 90's.

In addition, GAPLAN (Planning Department) also played an important role in the success of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre due to many coordination issues that emerged from the participatory process and needed to be tackled by the administration. An administrative body with direct links to the mayor helps to solve crucial problems in the implementation of PB. Since the organization of PB in Porto Alegre was based on the political needs of CSOs and government officials, it is important to see how variation in this feature would affect the PB process. Today in Brazil, the most successful cases of participation have adapted the Porto Alegre's proposal of PB administrative organization. In a research carried out in 2008 we found that in 32, % of cases, the PB administration is transferred to the Planning Secretary. If we concentrate on cases of continuity of PB for at least eight years, this data increased to 38, 2% (Avritzer and Wampler, 2008). In our view, this demonstrates that adaptation of the PB adminsitrative location is one key to its success.

Thus, the Brazilian experience shows many different options of institutional design for participatory budgeting Belo Horizonte placed PB in its Planning Department, as did the city of Recife but there are other alternatives such as its allocation to the secretariat of government or the creation of a participatory budgeting secretariat which the city of Uberlandia did in the late nineties. It is important to evaluate success in relation to where participatory budgeting is allocated when we consider the possibility of expansion of the experiences of participatory budgeting to other countries in Latin America and Africa.

It is also important to analyze, the cycle of the participatory process as we discuss reasons for variation. Porto Alegre´s participatory process has been on a yearly basis. However, the yearly process does not fit completely with the administrative dynamics. Very few public works can be delivered in one year, due to the manner in which the Brazilian public administration works. Bidding processes in Brazil are slow as is the administrative process of implementation of public works. Although participatory budgeting created a public pressure for more efficiency in both areas (Marquetti, 2003), the fact that it assumed an unrealistic view about the completion of demands did not help its success. The solution of the city of Porto Alegre was to try to finish most of the demands for public works before the electoral period (Santos, 2002). Therefore, variation in timing is an important consideration when we think about the expansion of participatory budgeting. A more realistic approach as to how long it takes to process demands and how not to make excessive demands that governments may not be willing to meet in the short term is important for the success of participatory budgeting. Thus, it is important to bear in mind the two main variations caused by PB expansion: institutional placement of PB in the administration and duration of the budget cycle. Both of them should be adapted during the process of expansion of participatory budgeting.

Cases of Participatory Budgeting 2005-2008: explaining long term trends

The number of cases of PB in Brazil during the 2005-2008 period is 201 (Avritzer and Wampler, 2008). This number is nearly the same between 2001 and 2004 (172 according to a previous research and 199 in our most recent data collection). The first important issue to analyze is the distribution of cases according to region and municipal size. Historically, Brazilin PB case experiences have been concentrated in the South and Southeast regions, as well as in municipalities with more than 100,000 residents. With regard to city size, the first observation is that 41% of the 2005-2008 experiences are located in cities with more than 100,000 residents and 40 % of all PB cases are located in cities with a population between 100,000 and 500,000 people[9]. Importantly, this means that a little fewer than 50% of the PB cases were functioning in either small or mid-sized municipalities.

A second clearly identified trend is a change in the regional profile where PB is being adopted. There has been a de-concentration from a strong presence in the South and Southeast regions of Brazil and a growing presence in the Northeast region. Table 4 hereunder shows the PB experiences in Brazilian regions during the 2001-2004 administrative periods and compares it with the incidence from 2004 to 2008 Furthermore, the growth in PB in the North doubled during 2005-2008, which is remarkable given the smaller number of municipalities in this region (verify # of municipalities per region). There was also a comparable level of growth in PB cases in the Center-West region, also with conditions of minimal growth

Table 4: Percentage of PB experiences

Regions of Brazil	Years		
	1997-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008
North	2,5%	5,5%	8,5%
Northeast	14,2%	22,6%	22,4%
South	39,2%	22,6%	21,9%
Southeast	41,7%	45,2%	41,3%
Center West	2,5%	4%	6,0%

Thus, it is possible to make the following argument on incidence of PB experiences in Brazil between 1997, 2004 and 2008. There is a de-concentration of experiences from the South and Southeast regions. The decrease is more important in the South whose number of experiences decreased by 10% from 32, 9% to 22, 9%. The number of experiences in the Southeast region remained more or less stable concentrating 40, 2% of the experiences. The most important increase has taken place in the Northeast region where the total of experiences went from 16,45 to 21,0%. The above data indicates a new equilibrium among PB experiences among Brazil's regions.

[9] Brazil has 5,592 cities. However most of these cities are very small. The number of cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in 2008 was 224 (4%).

Continuation/Maintenance of PB programs

An interesting finding is the degree of continuity of PB between the 2001-2004 and 2005-2008 administrative periods. We differentiate between two kinds of continuity: the first is between two administrations (2001-2004, 2005-2008) and the second over three mayoral administrative periods (including the 1997-2000 periods). There are 116 cases of continuity during the 2001-2004 and the 2005-2008 mayoral periods. There are 40 cases of PB continuity between 1997 2008. What characteristics are associated with municipalities where PB endures?

The first important characteristic of the cases of PB continuity is that these cities have socio-economic living standards that are well above the Brazilian and the PB average. The Brazilian HDI is 0,699, and the average HDI for cities which have PB is 0,753. When it comes to continuity this average goes even higher reaching a gap in between 0,701 and 0,800 in 47,4% of the cases.

The population of the municipality and that of the municipality's region are two other factors that have a significant effect. Continuity between 2001 and 2008 was stronger in the Southeast region with 40,9% of the cases. When it comes to the second higher incidence of continuity the Northeast and the Southern regions occupy the second place with 23,6% of the cases. Table 3 below summarizes the cases of continuity according to region and size of city:

Table 5: Continuity between 2001-2004 and 2005-2008 mayoral periods

Regions of Brazil	%	Size of city	%
North	5,6	Up to 20,000	19,1
Northeast	30,3	From 20,001 to 50,000	21,3
Center West	5,6	From 50,001 to 100,000	14,6
South	15,7	Above 100,001	39,3
Southeast	42,7	Above 100,001 and 500,000	5,6

Two important patterns in the data on continuity can be ascertained:

The first pattern already noted in Wampler's and Avritzer's (2005) work is the concentration of PB cases and the cases of continuity in cities with socio-economic indicators above the Brazilian average. There are two explanations: the first one regarding the election of administrations whose cities rank between in the HDI cannot be explained by PB itself. It is the strong electoral presence of the PT in these cities that may explain the implementation of PB there. The PT is elected in these cities and implements participatory budgeting there. However, the continuity issue has to be explained in a different way since administrative continuity in Brazil is not so strong and large cities are particularly competitive.10 Here the explanation of administrative success emerges as strong and PB is a large part of this argument. Large cities with high HDI have more likelihood of having PB for 8 or 12 years

[10] The rate of administrative continuity at the local level in Brazil is 39,4%, the number of reelected mayors in the year 2000. There is a regional variation in this number with a 48,2% rate of reelection in the Northeast and 34,1% in the Southeast.

showing that there is a combination of strong electoral insertion of the PB and the success of the administrations which have implemented it.

The second pattern has to do with the expansion of PB to the Northeast region. In previous researches made on a number of cases of PB since 1997, the Northeast region of Brazil always ranked low in terms of number of cases. In between 1997 and 2003, the Northeast region has had 14 cases of PB totaling 13,6% among the 103 cases (Ribeiro and Grazia, 2003). In the following administrative period between 2001 and 2004, the Northeast region had 30 out of 170 cases making up 16.4% of the total cases (Wampler and Avritzer, 2005). In the current administration, 2004-2008, the number of cases of PB in the Northeast region increased to 21%. Thus, we can see a change in the regional profile of PB with the number of cases decreasing in the Southern region and the number of cases increasing in the Northeast of Brazil. What kind of new institutions does PB involve and how does it work in the Northeast? Does it have an impact on the administrative performance in the region? What can be proposed in terms of PB expansion to other countries?

Understanding the Potential of the Expansion of PB

Participatory budgeting can be expanded outside its initial context. Data for Brazil clearly shows that participatory budgeting has expanded to all regions and has recently made important inroads in the northeast of the country, one of its poorest regions. However, in order for participatory budgeting to expand outside its original context, two conditions must be met (and they are valid outside Brazil as well).

The first one is an institutional adaptation. Porto Alegre, the city that generated PB produced specific institutions, including a direct link between the mayor's office and PB which gave the latter a centrality in the public administration. The expansion of PB tends to change this institutional arrangement. In its expansion to other cities in Brazil, but also to European cities, PB transforms itself into one participatory policy in the administration. This changes its relation within the administration and it is better for PB in this situation to be located in Planning Secretariats. The data that we have for Brazil shows that this adaptation is not crucial for the success of PB that may still have democratizing and distributive effects in this situation.

The second important issue involved in the expansion of PB, particularly to poor regions, is the way it allocates cities to regions and increases access of the poor to public goods. This is the most important aspect of PB that is reproduced in most of the new experiences in Brazil: distribution of public goods in the poor regions based on lack of access to public goods. This is the aspect that makes PB distributive and whose results are very clear. This feature is also readapted in many experiences, some of them involving the distribution of public goods and others expanding PB to the discussion on how to re-organize social policies.

The last important point to be made is the adaptation of the budgeting cycle. PB was introduced in Porto Alegre as a yearly budget program. However, even in Porto Alegre this was one of its most vulnerable points, because as I have already stated, it is very difficult to implement budget decisions in Brazil in a one year time gap. One of the important adaptations of PB, that also seems to work well in other countries in the developing world, is the biannual budget cycle for PB. It has been adopted in important cities in Brazil such as Belo Horizonte and Montes Claros. This is also one of the adaptations that make sense at the international level.

To conclude, PB is an important instrument for the democratization of public policies in Brazil. It has been successfully expanded outside Porto Alegre. One of the reasons for its portability is its adaptability to different institutional formats. Experiences in Brazil and elsewhere show that once PB is adapted it can work well in different contexts.

Bibliography

Abers, R. (1996) From ideas to practice: the P.T. and participatory governance in Brazil. Latin American Perspectives 23.4, 35–53.

Abers, Rebecca. 2000. Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil. Boulder: Lynne Rynner.

ABERS, Rebecca N and Keck, Margareth E. 2006. Muddy waters: Decentralization, coordination and power struggle in the Brazilian water management reform. International Journal for Urban and Regional Research.

ALEGRETTI, G. Orçamentos participativos na Italia. Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais. Junho.2007.

AVRITZER, L. Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil. Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009.

AVRITZER, L. . Democracy and the public space in Latin America. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002a.

AVRITZER, L. . Sociedad civil, espacio publico y poder local:un analisis del presupuesto particpativo. In: Evelina Dagnino. (Org.). Sociedad civil, esfera publica y democratizacion en America Latina. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Econimica, 2002b.

AVRITZER, L. . Urban Reform, Participation and the Right to the City in Brazil. IDS Bulletin (Brighton), v. 1, p. 1/1-27, 2007

AVRITZER, L. . New Public Spheres in Brazil: Local Democracy and Deliberative Politics. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (Online), v. 30, p. 623-637, 2006.

AVRITZER, L. ; PEREIRA, Maria de Lourdes Dolabela . Democracia, participação e instituições híbridas. Teoria & Sociedade (UFMG), Belo Horizonte, p. 16-41, 2005.

AVRITZER, L.; WAMPLER, Brian. (2008). The expansion of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil. Research Report Consultancy Project for the World Bank and MDP-Africa.

BACQUÉ, Marie-Hélène, SINTOMER, Yves dir. Gestion de proximité et démocratie participative : une perspective comparative. Paris : La découverte, 2005

Baierle, Sergio (1998). A explosão da experiência: Emergência de um novo princício ético-político nos movimentos populares urbanos em Porto Alegre. <http://www.portoweb.com.br/ong/cidade/texto10.htm>

BAIOCCHI, Gianpaolo. (2005). Militants and citizens: the politics of participation in Porto Alegre. Stanford:University Press, 2005.

Baiocchi, G. (2003) Participation, activism and politics. In A. Fung and E. Wright (eds.), Deepening democracy , London, Verso.

Bobbio, Norberto. 1984. The Future of Democracy: a defense of the rules of the game. Mineapolis: University of Minesota Press.

Cidade (2000). Quem é o público do orçamento participativo: seu perfil, por que participa e o que pensa do processo [Who the participants in participatory budgeting are: their profile, why they take part and what they think of the process]. Cidade, Porto Alegre

COELHO, V. S. R. P. 2004. Conselhos de saúde enquanto instituições políticas: o que está faltando? In: Coelho, Vera Schattan r. P.; Nobre, Nobre (eds.). Participação e Deliberação. São Paulo: 34 Letras.

COELHO, Vera Schattan. et. al. 2006. Projeto – Participação e distribuição de serviços públicos de saúde no Município de São Paulo (forthcoming).

COELHO, V. S. R. P. . Democratization of Brazilian Health Councils: The paradox of bringing the other side into the tent. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, v. 30.3, p. 656-671, 2006

CUNHA, Eleonora. S. M. Aprofundando a democracia: o potencial dos conselhos de políticas e orçamentos participativos. Dissertação de Mestrado. Departamento de Ciência Política da UFMG, Belo Horizonte, 2004.

DAGNINO, E. (Org.) ; ESCOBAR, A. (Org.) ; ALVAREZ, S. E. (Org.) . Política Cultural &Cultura Política - Una nueva mirada sobre los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos. Bogotá: Taurus/ICAHN, 2001. v. 1. 492 p.

DAGNINO, E. (Org.) ; Alberto J. Olvera (Org.) ; Aldo Panfichi (Org.) . La Disputa por la Construcción Democrática en América Latina. 1a.. ed. Cidade do México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006. v. 01. 536 p.

Dahl, Robert.1990. Democracy and its Critics. New Haven; Yale University Press.

FARIA. C. F. O estado em movimento: complexidade social e participação política no Rio Grande do Sul. Tese de Doutorado. Doutorado em Ciências Humanas: Sociologia e Política, Belo Horizonte: universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2005

HABERMAS, J. Mudança estrutural da esfera pública. Rio de Janeiro : Tempo Brasileiro, 2003.

Wampler, Brian and Leonardo Avritzer. 2004. “Participatory Publics: Civil Society and New Institutions in Democratic Brazil. Comparative Politics. V36:N3. 291-312
Held, David (2004). Global Covenant: The Social Democratic Alternative to the Washington Consensus. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Keck, Margaret. (1992). The workers’ party and democratization in Brazil. New Haven, CT:Yale University Press
MARQUETTI, A. A.(2003). Participação e Redistribuição: o Orçamento Participativo em Porto Alegre. In: Avritzer, Leonardo; Navarro, Zander. (Org.). A inovação democrática no Brasil. 1 ed. São Paulo: Cortez Editora, v. 1, p. 129-156.
PANFICHI, Aldo. 2003. Sociedad civil, esfera pública y democratización en América Latina: Andes y Cono Sur. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, Universidad Veracruzana.
PERUZZOTTI, Enrique. The politics of institutional innovation. The implementation of participatory budgeting in the city of Buenos Aires. Paper apresentado no Seminário Internacional "Arranjos Participativos no Mercosul”, organizado pelo Projeto Democracia Participativa, Departamento de Ciência Política, UFMG, 2007
PERUZZOTTI, Enrique. “Demanding Accountable Government. Citizens, Politicians and the Perils of Representative Democracy in Argentina” in Steve Levitsky and Victoria Murillo (eds.), Argentina: The Politics of Institutional Weaknesses, Oxford University Press, 2006.
Risse, Thomas (2003): An Emerging European Public Sphere? Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Indicators. Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), Nashville TN, March 27-30, 2003.
Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. (1998), Reinventar a democracia. Lisboa: Gradiva.
SANTOS, Boaventura de Souza. Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa (Org.). Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2002
SARTORI, Giovanni. A teoria da representação no estado representativo moderno. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos. Belo Horizonte, 1962.
SCHMITTER, Philippe C. Federalism and the Euro-Polity. Journal of Democracy, 11, n. 1, January 2000
SCHMITTER, Philippe C. Democracy in Europe and Europe's Democratization. Journal of Democracy, 14, n. 4, October 2003
Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. Capitalism, socialism and democracy. New York: Harper.
SANTOS, Boaventura de Souza (org.), Trabalhar o mundo: os caminhos do novo internacionalismo operário. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2006
Silva, M. K. (2001) Construção da “participação popular”: análise comparativa de processos de participação social na discussão pública do orçamento em municípios da Região Metropolitana de Porto Alegre/RS. Porto Alegre: Departamento de Sociologia da UFRGS. Tese Doutorado.
SINTOMER, Yves. Participatory budgeting in Europe:potentials and challenges. International Journal of Regional and Urban Research. 2008.
TATAGIBA, Luciana. Os Conselhos Gestores e a Democratização das Políticas Públicas no Brasil. In: Dagnino, E. (org.) Sociedade Civil e Espaços Públicos no Brasil. RJ: Paz e Terra, 2002
TORRES RIBEIRO, Ana Clara; GRAZIA de Grazia. (2003). Experiência de Orçamento Participativo no Brasil: Periodo de 1997 a 2000. São Paulo: Editora Vozes.
UAMPA (1986) A participação popular na administração municipal [Popular participation in municipal administration]. UAMPA, Porto Alegre.
WAMPLER, Brian. (2003) Orçamento Participativo: uma explicação para as amplas variaçoes nos resultados. In A inovação democratica no brasil. Edited by Leonardo Avritzer and Zander Navarro. (São Paulo: Editora Cortez). (Title in English: “Participatory Budgeting: An explanation of the broad variations in outcomes”).
WAMPLER, Brian. Participatory Budgeting in Brazil. Contestation, Cooperation, and Accountability. Penn State University Press, summer 2007.
Wampler, B. and L. Avritzer (2004) Participatory publics: civil society and new institutions in democratic Brazil. Comparative Politics 36.3, 291–312.
Wampler, B. and L. Avritzer (2005) The spread of participatory democracy in Brazil. Journal of Latin American Urban Studies 7, 37–52.

iii. Democracy and New Technologies: Democratic innovation or illusion?

By Fernando Mendez[11]

The various contributors to this volume have been asked to consider the phenomenon of globalization and to critically evaluate its impact across a number of areas. One of the areas, which like globalization is equally difficult to pin down, is the topic of democracy. In this essay the nexus between democracy and a specific attribute of globalization, namely technological change will be explored. Fortunately, the editors have provided a small analytical window of opportunity for grappling with what would otherwise have been a herculean task. Instead of an academic-style paper on the topic, the editors have asked for a macroscopic overview of the salient themes and some indication (speculation) on possible longer term trajectories. Nonetheless, the fact that both globalization and democracy constitute examples of contested concepts par excellence suggests that some definitional precision will be in order. This is what I propose to tackle in the first section, and then proceed to delimit a narrower area that is focused on the purported impact of technological change on a variety of democratic processes. Against this backdrop I will then explore three possible medium term trajectories for ICT and democracy.

On globalization

Let us start, then, by saying a few words about globalization. The concept is used to refer to a complex array of overlapping processes at the macro-level that seem to be related to the increasing intensity and variety of interactions between individuals and social groups across space and time. In facilitating these myriad exchanges of an economic, cultural, political and social nature, the most recent manifestation of globalization has overcome a series of previous barriers in an unprecedented way. However, contrary to suggestions of automaticity, globalization is an overtly political phenomenon. Indeed, we need not be reminded of Polanyi's observation that liberal markets do not emerge in a political vacuum to realize globalization's political nature, or that the present process has been encouraged, if not subsidized, by a complex decision-making web of generally acquiescent political authorities. Politics matters, it could hardly be otherwise. More relevant to our analysis, however, is the fact that what appears to matter most is a particular form of politics practiced in a specific type of political regime, a democracy. In other words, at the forefront of the process we refer to as globalization are some of the world's oldest democracies. Admittedly, these archeo-democracies have been recently and enthusiastically joined by a variety of neo-democracies -the latter being a rather broad church which includes many regime types that more accurately warrant the label of hybrid-democracies. It appears that democracy and globalization seem to be interlinked in ways that make it extremely difficult to identify any clear direction of causality. At such a meta-level of abstraction the tensions, interactions, and feedback mechanisms between democracy and globalization make it difficult to discern possible pathways of cause

[11] Mr. Fernando Mendez, E-Democracy, University of Zurich, Switzerland

and effect. We could therefore try a move down the ladder of abstraction. One way to accomplish this is by focusing on a particular manifestation of globalization and trying to investigate its impact on democracy. This will be the approach adopted in this essay.

One relatively unambiguous manifestation of globalization is the role of technological change. The spectacular global proliferation of the Internet since the mid-1990s offers us an illustrative example of such a process of technological change. The Internet merely represents one of the latest innovations in information and communication technologies (ICT), though it is arguably one of globalization's most potent symbolic markers. As an example of technological change, the ICT variable can at least be broken down into analytically manageable chunks. Furthermore, a causal type relationship between ICT and democracy can be specified that, in principle, is empirically explorable. The thesis could be formulated in the following way: the rapid, apparently uncontrollable diffusion of ICT is impacting upon the way in which citizens, civil society and political authorities organise themselves, communicate and exchange information with each other, and take collective decisions. This is a relatively easy question to answer in the affirmative. In countries where there is access to ICT, say, above a certain minimal threshold, it is reasonable to assume that ICT is impacting on the way certain individuals, groups and political organisations interact and perhaps even ultimately on how they take collectively binding decisions. The interesting question, therefore, is not whether ICT is having an impact per se, but rather the intensity, direction and overall effect of the impact. For political scientists the pertinent research question is typically formulated in terms of whether ICT is having an effect on democratic performance. When this question is asked in relation to one or more democratic regimes, the methodological aim is to somehow attempt to isolate the ICT variable and ascertain whether the latter has had any effect on some democratic criterion, such as the quality or quantity of political participation. The range of applicable democratic criteria suggests that there are important ideational and normative considerations at play when addressing the purported impact of ICT on democracy. We will attempt to specify this connection more fully below.

On ICT and Democracy

Two questions are raised by the discussion thus far. First, what do we mean by ICT and, second, how might it affect democratic processes. The first question is relatively easy to answer since it has an obvious material manifestation. As the acronym suggests, ICT refers to a vast array of information and communication technologies that had been around for some time as largely separate fields, but which converged spectacularly in the 1960s to bring about various so-called revolutions, the IT revolution, the mobile phone revolution, and the Internet revolution -to name but a few. Thus, ICT is a broader concept than the Internet and it includes other channels such as mobile telecommunications or digital television. Much more sophisticated taxonomies of ICT could obviously be formulated, but this would not necessarily add much to our understanding since the material dimension of ICT is characterised by rapid change or, to put it more accurately, by an accelerating pace of technological obsolescence. In other words, even in the short term the physical properties of ICT are changing so dramatically that it makes little sense to try to anticipate medium-term, let alone longer term dynamics. From a quantitative standpoint, therefore, we can assume that the variety and scope, as well as the intensity and frequency, of ICT-enabled interactions is likely to increase and spread over time. In terms of our

line of inquiry, this suggests that fine distinctions or extended taxonomies of the material properties of ICT are less important than ICT's normative application in the political realm. This ideational dimension, which will be clarified below, has attributes that are more 'sticky' than those properties of a material nature.

The importance of ideational factors calls for a more carefully tuned analysis of the application of ICT to the democratic process. Such an approach is less concerned with statistics on the availability and deployment of this or that ICT technique in a given country and its possible correlation with a country's rank on some quality of democracy measure. Many social scientists engage in this type of inquiry by making use of the datasets readily available from international agencies specialized in compiling such statistics. The correlations that emerge from this type of study might demonstrate empirical regularities, for instance that authoritarian regimes have less internet hosts per capita of population than democratic regimes, or that archeo-democracies tend to have higher ICT deployment than neo-democracies. Though valuable in themselves, such findings can only scratch the surface of the social phenomenon. Whilst it may be possible to agree on certain objective brute facts about the material dimension, i.e. the rate of broadband penetration, the number of internet service providers, the number of mobile phone subscribers etc., what is missing from this account is what philosophers call intentionality. In the social (and political) world, the physical brute facts are directed at something and it is this intentionality that largely distinguishes the social sciences from the natural sciences. Intentionality is thus a convenient way to bring the discussion back to what it is that ICT techniques are directed at. This raises the second, more complex question of how ICT may affect democratic process.

Once we have shifted from the relatively simple material properties of ICT to examine its directedness in relation to democratic processes, a host of tricky issues are raised mostly connected to the meaning of democracy. Scholars have argued endlessly over this question and we shall not rehearse it in any detail here. The most relevant point for our discussion on ICT and democracy is perhaps the rather heated debate during the 20th century on whether to concentrate on the form of democracy (i.e. its procedural features), or whether to focus on democracy's content (i.e. its substantive features). It is probably fair to say that the debate was resolved in favour of the former rather than the latter, though as we shall see below, the substantive features of democracy cannot be ignored. Scholars who focused on the form of democracy tried to ascertain what constitute the minimal features of a democracy while remaining agnostic as to specific institutional arrangements. Notable attempts at a minimalist or generic working definitions of democracy include those offered by Schumpeter, for whom democracy was a ‘method’ for arriving at political decisions, or Dahl’s influential conception of democracy which is premised on the continued responsiveness of rulers to the preferences of the citizens, as well as more recent attempts, such as those of Schmitter and Karl, which have stressed the notion of accountability.

What tends to unite scholarship on the form of democracy is the following. First, a focus on the relationship between citizens and rulers and second, a minimalist understanding of the properties of a democratic regime that does not privilege any specific institutional arrangement or format. By adopting a minimalist understanding of democracy's operational procedures we can answer the 'directed at what question' in relation to ICT. If we understand democracy as a form of governance in which citizens hold rulers accountable for their actions or where rulers are more responsive to citizens' preferences, then we can delimit our empirical

inquiry on the impact of ICT to precisely this narrower dimension. This substantially reduces our analytical universe. On the plus side, the benefit of this property reduction is that it allows us to exclude a wide range of ICT-related phenomena that are mentioned in the literature and frequently conflated as being part of a democratic process but do not satisfy this condition. For instance, this understanding would exclude a range of ICT innovations in e-government or e-administration which are all about making government operate more efficiently rather than democratically. On the down side, we are still left with a vast array of ICT techniques that could potentially be used to make rulers more accountable and responsive to citizens. This suggests the need to refocus on questions of intentionality and, more specifically, on some of the underlying normative conceptions of democracy that underpin ICT experimentation. Why should this be so? Well, for the simple reasons that the material properties of ICT cannot be divorced from their social intentionality. It is this interaction between the material and the ideational that defines the social facts we are trying to investigate. What I will suggest is that ICT techniques deployed in the democratic realm can be grouped under three primary categories and that this should probably hold across different linguistic and cultural divides. This is because ICT techniques applied in the democratic realm, as defined by our minimalist understanding, are informed by particular conceptions of democracy. It could hardly be otherwise. At the risk of gross simplification, there are at least three ideal type conceptions of democracy whose primary focus is on strengthening specific mechanisms of (1) representation; (2) participation and (3) deliberation. We shall now investigate the connection between each of the three models of democracy and the development of specific ICT techniques.

On three conceptions of democracy

All conceptions of democracy are based on some ideal account of values, e.g. freedom, political equality, enlightened understanding, and these values inform prescriptions about specific institutions such as the functioning of elections, forms of direct participation like citizens' initiatives, or deliberative institutions such as citizens' juries. Each of the three conceptions analysed below occupies a large space in political theory and one could easily identify additional models. Furthermore, there can be a great deal of overlap between them. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the three highly stylized conceptions of democracy have rather important prescriptive implications for our inquiry into ICT-enabled democratic experimentation.

1. *ICT and representation*: ICT techniques are especially suited to improving the transparency of the political process. This is very important for the representative conception of democracy because of the delegated nature of modern forms of liberal democracy. Since universal participation in the contemporary national state is impractical for reasons of size and scope of policy-making, the classical variant of democracy had to be reinvented to incorporate mechanisms of representation. The key was to have citizens elect political representatives at regularly convoked elections and to be able to hold them accountable through sanctioning measures such as dismissal at subsequent elections. For some proponents of this minimal conception, such as Schumpeter, democracy was simply an efficient method for citizens to choose among a cartel of competing elites who would then get on with the job of governing. Through this act of delegation and ex-post sanctioning, the principal (citizens) would exert control over its agent (political representatives).

In such a political marketplace greater transparency is an important lubricant because it helps to reduce information asymmetries between agents and their principals, increases competition among elites, and may even ultimately lead to more electoral choice.

Within the representative conception, ICT offers the potential to improve political transparency and monitor representatives more closely. A rather primitive example (these days) is a basic government website, which could contain information on parliamentary sessions, pending bills, as well as delegates' salaries, their declared commercial interests, and so forth. More sophisticated versions might have webcast feeds of live parliamentary debates, committee meetings etc., and these could be coded and archived in ways that facilitate an easy retrieval of information. There is no need to be restricted to the websites of political authorities, political parties or representatives. In fact, the websites of politically active civil society organisations could become increasingly rich repositories of political information. Many such websites are presently searchable by electoral district or constituency and provide information on, say, a representatives' campaign donations and their subsequent voting behaviour. Sometimes they offer tools that reveal representatives/candidates or political party's position on salient issues and allow for these to be matched with citizens' own preferences. ICT tools are being developed to enable citizens to monitor their representatives' performance in novel ways, in real time or through pre-configured alert systems on salient issues that have been pre-selected by citizens. In short, the ability to collect and store political data, organise it and retrieve it seamlessly and instantaneously is unprecedented. However, the intriguing element that flows from a representation conception is that it is not vital for citizens to actually get actively involved. The business of monitoring can be simply left to intermediaries organisations such as the media and civil society. The lubricant of ICTs helps to achieve a more transparent and efficient political marketplace, with improved signalling mechanisms that foster greater competition among competing elites and improved electoral choice. Crucially, these ICT developments do not require much time or commitment from citizens since competitive elections still provide the central mechanism for dismissing representatives.

2. *ICT and participation:* The participatory conception of democracy is rather more demanding of the citizen than the previous model. In its ideal form it would resurrect many of the perceived positive elements of Athenian democracy, in terms of an assembly of directly participating citizen legislators, while avoiding some of its more unsavoury features such as its very restricted notion of who counts as a citizen. Although the modern variant of participatory democracy has many strands to it, there is an identifiable common thread. This is the notion of self government by a community of citizens directly engaged in the process of making the decisions by which their lives are regulated. Rather than the passive involvement of the representation model, participatory democracy is predicated on an active conception of citizenship. However, as noticed by Rousseau -one of participatory democracy's most famous proponents- the model is only suited to small-scale communities such as the city-states of Ancient Greece, Renaissance Italy, or his own birthplace in the Republic of Geneva, rather than the modern national state. It is precisely on this last point where some theorists see potential for ICT to overcome constraints such as size and scale. Like the New England town

meetings that inspire this model, the starting point for a participatory variant would be at the local level where citizens would interact directly with one another. These horizontally spread community assemblies could also be vertically integrated through regional and national systems that enable citizen legislators to actively discuss salient issues at all levels of political aggregation. Furthermore, since political participation is radically incomplete without an actual decision at the end, citizens would need a mechanism to make their preference count. This is where the mechanisms of direct democracy, such as the referendum and the citizen's initiative, come into play.

In the participatory model the properties of ICT operate in at least two principal ways. First, they provide the logistic tools for distributing the flow of information within and across communities at all levels of public aggregation. This is no small achievement even in a medium-sized country let alone a continent-sized democratic polity such as the US or India. Second, ICT can be used to facilitate the decision-making process through a variety of electronic voting technologies permitting citizens to not only express their preferences on a range of issues but to do so in a convenient and effortless way. In this regard, one could list a host ICT tools that can be used, and are being developed, in order to facilitate citizens' direct participation such as e-voting, e-consultation, e-petition, e-budgeting, e-referendums, e-enabled citizens' initiatives, and so forth. One could make a number of further distinctions such as the degree to which the results of any ICT-enabled direct participatory mechanism are legally binding on authorities (e-consultation may not be, whereas an e-enabled referendum could be) and whether they are initiated top down or from a bottom up process. An e-enabled citizen's initiative or an e-petition is bottom up (i.e. proactive) whereas an e-consultation or e-budgeting is generally top down (i.e. reactive). Notwithstanding these distinctions, the cumulative impact of these ICT tools, if made available and used intensively, offer radical opportunities for reconfiguring current models of democracy by opening up new spaces for direct forms of citizen participation.

3. *ICT and deliberation:* The deliberative model is the most demanding on citizens. It sets a high standard for citizen deliberators who are expected to interact discursively with one another on the basis of reasoning that is rational and acceptable to all. The intellectual backdrop to much of the present deliberative discourse swirling in the air flows from two sources on either side of the Atlantic: the revival of political philosophy in the Anglo-Saxon world brought about by the American philosopher, John Rawls, and work on the transformation of the public sphere by his European contemporary, Jurgen Habermas. Building on the latter's conception, in an ideal deliberative setting where participants are exposed to a plurality of viewpoints, legitimate public policy making is about reasoned argumentation. Arguing or deliberating acquires some very special procedural characteristics in this conception. Put very simplistically, in tackling a given issue of public salience, citizen deliberators first need to be capable of imagining themselves stripped of their possible communal associations, ethnic, class and professional ties, etc. This generates favourable conditions for a type of political argumentation that is more enlightened since it is constrained by the need to argue in terms of a universal common good rather than the particularistic interests of a specific group or constituency. In this more impartial speech setting, the 'force of the

better argument' is likely to prevail, as is its corollary, a more legitimate public policy. Whether one comes at this from a Rawlsian 'original position' or a Habermassian 'ideal public sphere', philosophically both tend to converge on some rationalist procedure for creating legitimate public policies.

How, then, does the deliberative conception relate to ICT? The simple answer is that ICT can help to create favourable conditions for deliberative interactions by opening up new, online spaces of opinion formation. The spectacular proliferation of social networking sites, such as Facebook or MySpace, is an example of the technological architecture that could be used to this effect. Much hope is placed, therefore, on electronically mediated forums or virtual communities that could be configured to maximise deliberative ideals. Deliberative dynamics could spontaneously emerge in civil society initiated online forums, or they might be facilitated by the recent proliferation of web blogs, though strictly speaking the latter would need to cross-link with alternative viewpoints to maximise the deliberative ideal. In a vibrant civil society, deliberative virtual spaces could start to emerge as a result of some Hayekian type of spontaneous order. Alternatively, deliberative spaces, say for the formulation of a public policy, could be deliberately engineered by enlightened political authorities and moderated by experts. Sponsored e-forums could be designed to maximise the plurality of viewpoints and might, in some near future, even be able to do so in ways that overcome certain linguistic barriers or a host of other functional barriers. Furthermore, ICT-enabled deliberative spaces could be opened in many institutions of representation, such as parliaments and political parties as well as regulatory agencies, courts and so on. In short, ICT can be deployed to reform current political practices in ways that create opportunities for fostering deliberative interactions, ultimately improving the quality of political participation.

Is there an evidence base?

So far, the discussion has been framed in the realm of possibility, but what is the actual evidence base for any claim of movement towards any of these models. The first point to note is that evidence of experimentation with a variety of the techniques mentioned above can probably be marshalled for most countries, including unlikely cases with either abysmally low ICT penetration rates or with authoritarian governments. To take some trivial top-down examples, e-voting technologies are the object of experimentation in a number of authoritarian regimes, many archeo-democracies have trialled government sponsored e-forums, and some neo-democracies have amongst the most sophisticated and interactive government websites. In fact, countless isolated examples of ICT-enabled experimentation promoting one (or a combination) of the normative strategies of each model can be found. But one cannot infer a change in forms of political organisation from an isolated example, or from many examples for that matter. This applies with particular force to models 2 (participation) and 3 (deliberative). Presently, if there is any evidence of effective ICT deployment that can be the basis for an aggregate style generalisation, then it is mostly in relation to the techniques connected to model 1 (representation). Even the poorest nations on earth have government websites as do most of their parties where the latter exist in any meaningful way. On the other hand, we do not have evidence of transformation towards participatory or deliberative models of democracy. What we do have are examples of small scale experimentation using the techniques of models 2 and 3. Sometimes the experimentation is on a relatively large scale, i.e. at the national level, but mostly it

occurs at the local level. We know, for instance, that there has been experimentation with participatory technologies such as e-voting across archeo and neo-democracies, and even in authoritarian regimes. We also know that, at this initial stage at least, the uptake of these technologies in terms of becoming a permanent, generalised mode of participation has been spectacularly unimpressive. Only a neo-democracy, Estonia, has thus far rolled out a generalised and binding system of e-voting for an entire electorate. Admittedly, this tells us little of the numerous examples of more informal and less binding experiments with ICT. Again, we can point to cases of experimentation with ICT-enabled forms of direct and participatory democracy across archeo and neo-democracies, which are primarily conducted at lower levels of political aggregation. Some of these are potentially very innovative such as the Brazilian ICT-enabled participatory budgeting (e-budgeting) which appears to be spreading to some archeo-democracies. Experiments with top-down e-referendums, e-consultations, or bottom-up e-petitions and electronically facilitated citizens' initiatives are still very much in their infancy. We know of a few (usually overly cited) examples from archeo-democracies that are considered successful. I would speculate, however, that at the aggregate level the mortality rate for most of this ICT experimentation is rather high. The same would most likely be true of government initiated e-forums, though at the level of civil society, and across our regime types, the situation is likely to be highly varied.

In brief, I do not believe that at the present stage we can empirically sustain the thesis that ICT is transforming democracies in terms of movement towards any of the models. Even in the case of ICT techniques within the paradigm of model 1, we cannot say -at any meaningful aggregate level – that ICTs are making rulers more accountable or that the latter are, as a result, more responsive to citizens' preferences. We can probably confirm that model 1 type tools are the most frequently deployed. None of this means that significant changes are not taking place in the way citizens, civil society organisations and political authorities interact using ICT. Indeed they are. What it does mean, however, is that it is too early to draw anything apart from anecdotal conjectures as to concrete trends towards any normative model. We are simply intervening in a process that is in its infancy. Probably the best we can do in terms of proffering any medium term prognostication -with all the usual disclaimers that apply to such speculations – is to identify three basic scenarios based on diverging assumptions about the nature of change. This is done in the three conjectures below that diverge in terms of the purported effects of ICT on democracy. Those effects can be positive, negative or neutral.

- *The transformation thesis*: The bare bones of this thesis have already been sketched out at length in the previous section. According to a strong variant of this thesis, ICT techniques from all three models could be deployed across all levels of political aggregation. The net effect would be a transformation of political practices. This thesis can even draw on a rich and well documented historical record for support. All previous information and communication revolutions, given a sufficient time frame, appear to have been accompanied by some significant reconfiguration of political organisation, from the emergence of papyrus in ancient Egypt, to the printing press in Reformation Europe and, in the previous century, the revolution in broadcasting. There is no reason to expect modern ICT to be any different. In its strong version, the major transformation would be a movement towards some combination of participatory and deliberative models of democracy. This would be the

normative holy grail for some theorists with ICT playing a significant role in combining the models. The key condition would be some form of ICT-enabled deliberative setting that fosters exposure to a plurality of viewpoints and rational argumentation. Technically, such a deliberative setting could induce consensus without the need for any explicit preference revealing mechanism. However, it is hard to escape the conclusion that in the final instance some mechanism for aggregating social preferences, such as voting, would be necessary for the formulation of public policies. And it is precisely on this point where the participatory ICT techniques of direct democracy would come into play. On the basis of prior deliberative interactions, ICT voting technologies would then provide the mechanisms for translating reasoned arguments into public policies. There is a potential snag however. The transformation thesis requires a considerable degree of institutional change. Present rulers, i.e. those who actually benefit from the existing rules, would need to change current practices in order to implement forms of direct democracy in any meaningful way. Crucially, this cannot be achieved by technology operating on its own. It is possible, however, that an incremental process of informal experimentation may over time generate formal institutional change. Given sufficient time, informal and non-binding practices could become institutionally embedded and lead to a formal change in rules. In the transformation model, the basic trend line is one in which citizens' preferences -whatever the pattern and sequence in which they are revealed, discussed, and transmitted– have a progressively greater impact on the direction of public policy.

- *The Dystopian thesis*: Like the transformation thesis the dystopian view is also predicated on some fundamental shift in forms of political organisation. However, unlike the transformation thesis the prognostication is an explicitly negative one. There are many potential strands to the dystopian thesis, which include a rich literary pedigree, such as Orwell's 1984 and Huxley's Brave New World, and an imaginative genre of cinematic science-fiction. Many of the latter depict a new global order governed by unscrupulous corporations who stifle human freedom and are resisted by anarchic hacker movements. We need not speculate about such scenarios or the emergence of new social actors. In line with the framework set out in this essay our analytical focus is much narrower. If our working definition of democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are more accountable and responsive to citizens, then the dystopian thesis is an anti-democratic hypothesis. ICT, according to this conception, could reverse the purported arrow of causality providing rulers with new and unprecedented mechanisms for controlling citizens. The facade of elections could well persist, but behind the scenes a sophisticated architecture of control is perfected, which regulates and penetrates an ever increasing sphere of human behaviour, and thereby erodes individual freedom and creativity. In this dystopian scenario, the impact of ICT on democracy would be tremendous.

Is there any evidence of anti-democratic surveillance tendencies? Well, actually there is. Whilst ICT has many potentially liberating and decentralising features it is also undoubtedly a technology of control. Indeed, the control and monitoring potential of ICT is the current bête noire for many civil rights groups. One could take as an example the yearly global surveys of Privacy International, a leading civil rights NGO,

according to which some of the classic archeo-democracies (mainly the US and the UK) are increasingly becoming surveillance societies on a par with some of the repressive/authoritarian regimes of North Korea, China and Malaysia. Admittedly, their analysis is mostly confined to the impact of ICT on privacy, though the latter is broadly understood to incorporate fundamental rights such as constitutional protections as well as capabilities for communications interception, visual surveillance, border surveillance, workplace monitoring etc. In short, there is evidence of the deployment of ICT in ways that enhance new forms of surveillance and control and which, in the post-9/11 context, is increasingly legitimated under the rubric of addressing a dangerous external threat. Should this trend persist and be amplified, the net effect would be to tilt control in favour of rulers rather than citizens. Hence, the anti-democratic nature of the dystopian hypothesis. It should be also be noted that one could apply a much weaker dystopian view to the ICT strategies of models 2 and 3. From this more sceptical viewpoint, the deployment of participatory ICT techniques would not foster direct democracy but, instead, lead to negatively loaded variants of push-button democracy or plebiscitary forms of democracy. Similarly, efforts to create ICT-enabled deliberative spaces are unlikely to generate Habermassian rational, enlightened deliberative interactions. Instead, through some law of group polarization, forums are more likely to consist of echo chambers that reinforce pre-existing prejudices rather than lead to deliberatively induced preference change.

- *The Lampedusa thesis*: This thesis draws on an insight from Di Lampedusa's classic novel -Il Gatopardo (The Leopard) - that deals with change and continuity during Italy's unification. Lampedusa uses the imagery of the 'leopard changing its spots in order to stay the same' as a metaphor for Sicilian life. Some centuries before him Machiavelli, a Florentine, made analogous observations about religious institutions. More recently, Robert Dahl, one of democracy's foremost scholars, is famous for articulating a similar view about democracy. He noticed that over the centuries democracy has had to change its practices in order to stay the same. Perhaps the same will be true of the present challenges and opportunities to democracy heralded by the proliferation and application of ICT to political practices. In other words, democratic practices are likely to be altered but democracy's underlying principles might stay the same. This is a comforting thought when juxtaposed against the dystopian thesis.

How likely is the Lampedusa hypothesis? In the short term at least, it is rather likely. We do not have any solid evidence for the claim that democracy at some notional aggregate level, or even amongst the supposedly more advanced archeo democracies – is moving towards participatory or deliberative democratic models. Of course, we do know that some archeo-democracies, like Switzerland, possess features of the participatory model at all levels of political authority, including sophisticated mechanisms of direct democracy from the citizens' initiative to the facultative referendum and which, incidentally, have been established without the need for ICT. Switzerland is an obvious outlier case among archeo-democracies however. In the final analysis, though there appears to be greater experimentation with mechanisms of direct democracy across archeo and neo democracies in the last two decades (especially at local level), this does not constitute evidence of an emerging participatory model. We do have evidence of changing practices though.

For instance in the way people consume political information, in the way interest organisations operate, in the way new social movements spring up, and in the way in which political parties organise themselves and mobilise support, to name but a few. We also have evidence of a general decline in party membership and party identification, and a general dissatisfaction with political parties. This may be telling of a broader crisis of representation or, to be more precise, a malaise with particular channels of representation, such as political parties. The same is generally true of political participation, which appears to have dipped in democracies across the world since the 1990s, as measured by turnout in elections. All of this suggests that there is ample room for improvement and ICT could play an important role. We have already suggested ICT's role in improving the flow of information and the transparency of the political process. This could generate changes in forms of representation, for example, by tilting the balance towards a Maddisonian notion of representatives as 'delegates' responsive to the preferences of their constituents, rather than the Burkean notion of representatives as 'trustees' who once elected are left to decide on the most appropriate course of action. ICT could also help reconfigure channels of representation, for instance, by empowering new political intermediaries such as social movements or fringe parties, rather than traditional 'mass' political parties.

Other changes over the medium term could include a widening of the voting franchise to the significant numbers of foreign residents, or what is perhaps more likely and the subject of increasing experimentation, the use of ICT to try to incorporate so-called denizens more fully within the political process. In short, one could envisage the deployment of more participatory measures (say at the local level) and more ICT-enabled grass-roots democracy within political parties and other institutions of representation, and this could even entail more deliberative experimentation across various level of political authority. However, all of these changing practices operate at the margins of models 2 and 3 and firmly within the paradigm of model 1. From the Lampedusian perspective, therefore, none of these changing practices necessarily entail a regime transformation from the current model of liberal representative democracy to participatory or deliberative democracy.

Between scenarios and conclusions

Presently, there is evidence to support each of the three conjectures noted above. The literature is infused with hypotheses that adopt one or more combinations of the basic scenarios outlined above. The social sciences do not provide much help in adjudicating between scenarios, especially in the medium term, and are obviously even less reliable on any purported long term dynamics. What the social sciences can provide us with, however, is something akin to a rear view mirror that can be used to give us an idea of the possible road ahead. When looking through this rear view mirror what we notice is that from an historical perspective, democratic institutions are inherently fragile social institutions. In fact, so fragile are our democratic institutions that we do not know if in the medium term to long term we shall live in democracies, but we do know - at least with a greater degree of probability – that we will live in societies dominated by technology.

Since we cannot adjudicate between the scenarios we might want to apply some conceptual tools in order to explore their underlying assumptions. One important distinction is between the transformation and the dystopian thesis on the one hand, and the Lampedusa scenario on the other. Both the transformation and the dystopian thesis share the implicit assumption that the quantitative increase in the availability ICT will produce a qualitative shift in forms of political organisation.

But, there is no a priori logical reason for warranting such a belief. This brings us back to the Lampedusa thesis which tends to be more neutral with regard to wholesale type qualitative transformations. ICT's effects could simply be ambivalent, in some cases reinforcing existing power structures or undermining them in others – all depending on the particular context. This brings us to another potentially important dimension: that of convergence. Both the transformation and the dystopian theses, taken to their logical conclusion, are convergence type theses. Over the longer term, countries would converge on a particular model. The Lampedusian perspective tends to be more agnostic on this front. As a result of ICT deployment, it is probable that the present normatively dominant Western archeo model of democracy may reconfigure some of its channels of representation and may even introduce more participatory and deliberative experimentation at the margins. But this would not lead to regime transformation or regime convergence. For instance, some neo-democracies (e.g. former communist countries within the EU orbit) might converge on archeo practices, including how ICT is deployed in the political realm. Others might remain neo-democracies or hybrid democracies (e.g. successor states to the former Soviet Union that are within the Russia orbit). The same would apply to authoritarian regimes - some might transform themselves, though most regimes would probably simply adapt to ICT and use it to their advantage as appears to be presently the case. My own view is that the transformation thesis is normatively the most appealing although some variant of the Lampedusa scenario is, on balance, probably the most likely outcome. Evidently, the dystopian thesis is to be avoided – a point which suggests the need for a greater public scrutiny of the disturbing implementation of dubious surveillance measures across many democratic regimes.

There is one transformation that has been conspicuously absent from the analysis and, at this stage, is simply mentioned en passant. It relates to the possible transformation of the nation state. It is one of the dominant themes in the globalization literature but has been beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, our analytical concern has been directed at the interactions between citizens and rulers broadly understood rather than potential reconfigurations of political boundaries. The logic of the analysis - the three models, as well as the three scenarios - could of course be extended to supranational and international forms of governance. I leave such speculations as further food for thought to the reader. By way of conclusion, I will instead turn to the question in the title of this essay. Is ICT likely to be a possible source of democratic innovation or will it instead be nothing more than a digital illusion? At the aggregate level we cannot say much apart from the obvious observation that it will depend heavily on the particular context. I would expect to see innovative and illusory elements in various combinations across the regime types we have mentioned. A convergence on some Western archeo model of democracy seems to me unlikely. Instead, I would expect to see greater differentiation and alternative ways of applying ICT to democratic practices across the globe. Perhaps the greatest potential for democratic innovation is in some of the neo-democracies as opposed to some of the more sclerotic archeo democracies. The former should certainly be given more attention by the research community interested in democratic innovation. One thing remains certain however. Whether ICT will have an innovative or illusory impact on democracy will be the result of specific human choices and a whole host of other broader social practices rather than technology.

Works cited

Dahl, R. (1989). Democracy and Its Critics. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Habermas, J. (1989). The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.
Jean-Jacques, R. (2009). The Social Contract. Regnery Publishers.
Machiavelli, N. (1950). Discourses. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Polanyi, K. (1946). Origins of our time : the great transformation. London: V. Gollancz.
Rawls, J. (1971). A Theory of Justice. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Schumpeter, J. (1950). Capitalism, socialism, and democracy. New York: Harper.
Schmitter, P., & Karl, T. (1991). What Democracy Is… and Is Not. Journal of Democracy, 2(3), 75-88.

iv. A Real New Deal: Progressive Global Governance and Democratization

***By Zita Schellekens*[12]**

The next generation will be a key element to delivering real change.

'The Future is Now', a 1955 short film by Larry O'Reilly shows the audience an insight into the future. It offers a tour through some of the finest American laboratories and centres of technology. In the film young scientists show us automated kitchens, video telephones and solar powered batteries. Mind you, the film was made in 1955. Who now wants to claim that young peoples' imagination is 'just their imagination'? Much has changed in the last decades. We need to work with those changes and use them to our best interests. These changes are part of the solution.

I would like in this article to share my reflections on current events, solutions and future possibilities. As a representative of the Union for Socialist Youth (IUSY), I will choose an international perspective and will focus on the role of youth in getting progressive global governance and democratization back on top of the political agenda.

In the years to come, we are facing some of the toughest challenges in our lifetime: amongst these the so-called credit crunch, severe recession, climate change and volatile commodity prices. There is a need to create worldwide action plans that do not just offer quick fixes but concrete sustainable solutions. Though logical for some, real sustainable solutions will have to come from truly working together.

My plea is to not overlook the aspect of democratisation as a tool for binding people, plans and projects or the role of young people in this process. I strongly believe that only by working with democratic countries and institutions, can we tackle world-wide problems and formulate sustainable solutions. I would like to support my argument by discussing the characteristics of the current generation of youth, the so called 'Millennials', and relate it to the question of whether there is still a future for intergovernmental and supra-national institutions like the European Union and the United Nations and if so, what their focus should be. Also, the current possibilities offered to us by technological advances and opportunities should not be overlooked. Finally, I will reflect on the possible role that today's youth could play in these processes.

Democratization

Many countries, especially the developing and least developed countries, are hampered in their growth and development due to factors such as bad governance and soaring corruption. If democracy is a vital ingredient to reaching sustainable growth and development, then we all have cause to worry. There is a strong correlation between the level of development and good governance especially in the so-called third world countries. Children in countries like Burma grow up having no role model nor even the slightest idea of what makes a democracy, how it works and how they can find the means to change the current political climate. This leads to the continuation of problems

[12] Zita Schellekens is the IUSY representative of the Global Progressive Youth Forum and works for the Anne Vondeling Stichting as a liaison officer on European Affairs.

such as corruption and undemocratic processes, and hinders many positive changes, let alone possibilities. At the same time, this generation will be the next generation to lead these respective countries, and if nothing changes, they will make use of the same methods as their predecessors.

Developing countries, of which many are also developing democracies, tend to have a pyramid youth 'bulge-like' population - a predominantly young population. Gunnar Heinsohn (2003) argues that a population excess, particularly in a young adult male population, predictably leads to social unrest, war and terrorism, given that the "third and fourth sons", who are unable to find prestigious positions in their existing societies, rationalise their impetus to compete by religion or political ideology.13 More basically; people tend to fight even when there is nothing to fight over. Heinsohn claims that most historical periods of social unrest lacking external triggers such as rapid climatic changes or other catastrophic changes of the environment, and most genocides can be readily explained as a result of a 'built-up youth bulge', including European colonialism, 20th-century fascism, ongoing conflicts such as that in Darfur and, of course, terrorism. If we follow Heinsohn's theory, 'bulge-like' populations can present a serious threat to societies.

Faced with this daunting pessimism, there are reasons to be optimistic. Youth can play a positive and vital role in politics. Based solely on democratic principles, the ideas and voices of such an important part of the population should be taken seriously. Young people can play a significant role in the reformation and stabilization process that their countries are undergoing. Unfortunately, this is not always understood and often is not the case. There are many countries that are led by malfunctioning governments which do not allow fair and free elections or any other form of civil participation, whilst not having to be accountable for any of their wrongful or brutal actions.

Youngsters growing up in these countries do not just need to learn what a democratic system resembles but they also need to be able to expand and defend democracy. They need to be able to use it to achieve their goals and bring about real change.

There are several reasons to explain the importance of youth taking part in political processes. One of those is representation, where a just democracy makes its decision based upon the judgments of all groups within society, which is particularly important in countries with youth-bulge populations. These societies should, therefore, include the interests and opinions of the youth. This will only be the case if they become an active partner and actor in the political decision-making process, either through formal functions or through (political) activism. Furthermore, when compared to adult politics and politicians, youngsters are usually less sensitive to the threat of corruption, nepotism, and electoral focuses. They tend to have strong ideals focused on the future instead of only aiming for quick wins.

However, as long as young people do not have the means, tools and experience to get actively involved in the political process, we end up in a deadlock. Therefore, youngsters need to learn and practice on their civil society and political skills. Young people have to familiarise themselves with the forms of debate, presentation, organisation building, capacity building, recruiting and activating volunteers and so on. As political and non-governmental movements, we have to invest in those processes.

---

[13] Gunnar Heinsohn (born 1943 in Gdynia, Poland) is a German university professor who has published more that 400 scholarly articles and books. He has focused his research on the history and theory of civilization. Since 1984, he has been a tenured professor at the University of Bremen, where he heads the Raphael-Lemkin-Institute for Comparative Genocide Research.
The Nation Master Encyclopedia http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Gunnar-Heinsohn

Participation in civil society and governmental framework phases out the need for violence to achieve change. Young people need to learn how to effectively work without the use of violence, especially in fragile states. An early participation thereby results in a more stable and structural democratic development.

Stimulating the youth to participate in these developing countries will not be an easy task. However, as soon as the youth starts to join hands and build alliances, it can be very successful. There are many positive examples such as in the former Communist countries in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. Youth does make and, in the past, has made a difference.

That is why we must invest in youth. The idea is to work closely with young people and teach them how they can peacefully and democratically achieve results, even in a country that is far from democratic. We should involve all young people who will be at the heart of current and future political activities. Instead of working with guns and violence, they must learn how to work together with other groups in society in order to build a strong civil society.

IUSY is a mechanism which endeavours to do so by exchanging knowledge and best practices, but also through the means of training programs. Moreover, we have a two-year solidarity program in which we support a youth organisation to bring about change in the most difficult situations. However, we can use all the help we can get. Through the means of this article, I call upon all organisations to put the topic of democratisation and the role of youth high on the agenda and act upon it!

Millennials & Internet

I represent the so-called 'Millennials', also known as the Web 2.0 generation. From the end of the Second World War and up until now, the world has known three generations. The first are the 'Baby boomers', known for their strong sense of justice and equality. As a group, they were the healthiest and wealthiest generation of that time, and amongst the first to grow up genuinely expecting the world to improve with time.[14] The 'baby boomers' are now middle-aged and entering their senior years. Many of today's political leaders belong to this generation, but at the same time, a lot of 'baby boomers' are retiring and leaving the workforce. Their children are known as the Generation X and are quite different. They are known for a cynical and low key attitude when it comes to politics. Generation X values espouse community, relationships, altruism and entrepreneurship. They witnessed the end of the cold war and saw the fall of the Berlin wall. This generation saw the inception of the home computer and later the internet, as a tool for economic purposes. Generation Y, Millennials or Web 2.0, born between 1976 and 2000[15,] grew up with the internet and often perceive themselves as world citizens. This generation is considered individualistic, diverse, possessing a broad field of knowledge. It is said that Millennials are optimistic and politically interested[16,] which is perfectly characterised by the 'change-politics' of the President of the United States, Barack Obama. Millennials believe change is possible which often clashes with the more 'real-political' and cynic attitude of Generation X.

When we look at the recent elections in the United States, research has proven that if the 18-29 age-groups would have been the only group of voters, the outcome

[14] Jones, Landon (1980), *Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation*, New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan

[15] The definition differs, some say the Millennials generation is between 1982 and 2000.

[16] Before generation Y was typed to be seeking for wealth and a disinterest in politics, however new research shows a high interest in politics. For the sake of the article, we use this definition, the future might prove otherwise.

would have been 455 constituencies for Obama and only 57 for McCain. [17] For the record: the actual outcome of the elections in November 2008 was 365 constituencies or votes for Obama and 173 for McCain. It was not just the message of change Obama used to gain popularity with young Americans; it was also his presence on and use of the internet. Obama has his own Facebook [18] site with over 5.412.601 friends and fans. A group of youngsters organised themselves as 'students for Obama' and within one year there were more than 700 branches all over the country actively campaigning for Obama. At one point the organisation became an important part of the Obama campaign.

The term "Web 2.0" describes the changing trends in the use of World Wide Web technology and web design that aim to enhance creativity, communications, secure information sharing, collaboration and functionality of the web. Nowadays there are many aspects of the internet and new media, such as social network sites (Facebook), Twitter, blogs and video channels (Youtube). The idea is that anyone can post anything on the internet and the information can travel all around the world. This has led to a greater democratisation of information.

One of the biggest drivers of globalisation is the internet. Moreover, the number of households owning a computer and internet connection are continually growing. There are around 1,574,313,184 internet users[19] worldwide, which is around 23.5% of the world's population. Despite ongoing poverty, illiteracy and hunger, the growth rate of Internet users in Africa is high. According to International World Statistics, the number of Internet users on the African continent increased by 1100% during 2000-2008.20 The penetration of internet usage is by far the highest in Oceania/Australia with 59.9%, followed by the European continent with 48.5%. Needless to say, youngsters are the most active internet users.

Internet based activities are also used to spread and distribute news, especially in countries where journalists are restricted in their activities, for example during wars or in repressive dictatorships. Internet-based communication has, therefore, started to play a bigger role. A good example can be found in Burma where journalists are not allowed into the country and general footage is filmed at random. A group of thirty Burmese anonymous video reporters is trying to change that by secretly shooting materials of the ongoing abuses and violent acts in the country. During the demonstrations in September 2007 and Hurricane Nargis in October 2008, journalists and most NGO workers who were present were simply thrown out of the country. Thanks to those very courageous Burmese video reporters, information was diffused via the internet and the world was able see footage of the real situation; a peaceful demonstration of Buddhist monks being brutalised by the military army.[21]

Some politicians are already using these different forms of communication. For instance, the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affair, Maxime Verhagen, is an active Twitter[22]

[17] Research done by: the outcomes of the other 26 constituencies are still unknown

[18] Facebook is a social utility (website) that connects people with friends and others who work, study and live around them. A Facebook member has its own profile page, like a small website. Friends can go to your page and leave a message, but you can also join causes and groups.

[19] Statistics of December 2008 by Internet World Statistics. Every year there is approximately one percent growth in the number of Internet users.

[20] International World Statistics : http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm

[21] The Movie 'VJ Burma' shows their footage and is highly recommended. The movie is also promoted by the Amnesty International program 'Movies that Matter'.

[22] Twitter is a social networking and micro-blogging service that allows its users to send and read other users' updates (otherwise known as tweets), which are text-based posts of up to 140 characters in length.

user. Twenty times a day, he posts small items on his meetings and travels and is followed by about 5000 Twitter users.

We can, therefore, conclude that the internet is an ideal tool for democratization as a whole. It allows any individual to participate in politics and to set the political agenda. Internet also brakes down barriers between different countries, situations and citizens. Internet allows news to travel faster and gives everyone access to that news. It also adds to build a bridge between politics and citizens. Political parties, think tanks and intergovernmental institutions should use the possibilities the internet offers. It is an excellent way to include and inform people as well as a means to increase political participation of youth.

Even more importantly, internet can be a tool for the democratization process. News has never travelled faster or reached so many people world-wide.

Global Governance

Here I will be frank and straightforward. When it comes to global governance, we are currently doing a very bad job given situations such as those in Burma, Belarus, North Korea, the Middle East, Afghanistan or Darfur. We are not even close to finding solutions.

It is absolutely unacceptable that a Nobel Prize laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi has been living under house arrest for more than 13 years and she is not allowed to participate in the so-called 'free elections' planned to take place in 2010. There are many reasons for such situations. There seems to be a general lack of interest for these 'forgotten nations' and the countries that do care are often on their own. These issues can be addressed on an international level but rarely are there any concrete proposals. There is also no official body that focuses on the implementation or 'follow-up' on resolutions that have been adopted.

However, thanks to the internet and youth pressure groups the attention is often raised on exactly such issues. A good example of an excellent youth campaign on a forgotten nation is the Students Take Action for Darfur (STAND)[23] in the United States. STAND, is the student-led division of the Genocide Intervention Network, and envisages a world in which the international community protects civilians from genocidal violence. Their mission is to empower individuals and communities with the tools to prevent and stop genocide.

To do so, STAND's Leadership Team recruits, trains, organizes and mobilizes students around the world by providing materials, educational information, online resources, policy expertise, and a network of concerned and active peers. Every day, STAND chapters are initiated by students in schools around the world. As key actors in the fight to build political will for putting a stop to genocide, students in STAND chapters organise and educate their peers and communities, advocate to their elected officials for substantial legislative action, and fundraise for civilian protection.

It has been called the fastest-growing student movement in the world today. Since the first chapter was formed in 2004, STAND has grown into an international network of more than 850 chapters in schools around the globe. As an international network of students, STAND has endowments and pension funds of more than 25 states and 8 universities from business companies in Sudan has advocated for the successful passage of federal legislation, including the Sudan Accountability and Divestment Act (SADA) and the Genocide Accountability Act (GAA) and hundreds of millions of dollars

---

A user basically tells others what they are doing or thinking at that specific moment. Other followers (who read your tweets) can respond to your actions or thoughts.

[23] http://www.standnow.org/

in peacekeeping and relief funds in the United States; fundraised more than $650,000 for the Genocide Intervention Network's Civilian Protection Programme in Darfur; organized large-scale demonstrations in more than 25 major cities around the world, including New York, London, Los Angeles, Paris, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Fort Wayne, Los Angeles, Miami, Washington D.C., Austin, Atlanta, Boston, and Denver; established more than 850 chapters in more than 25 countries worldwide; sponsored and organized, over a two year period, 13 conferences on genocide attended by more than 2,300 students in total. Here again, the internet played a vital role in this successful ongoing project.

This example greatly emphasizes the will of youngsters today to fight for justice and to bring to the attention of the world the forgotten nations and conflicts. We really want change and we want to raise our voices for those people who are unable to do so. But, what is the situation we are in right now? Do we really need to fight this hard to change the international global framework? What is the current global governance framework?

Human Rights; the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) established in March 2006. This inter-governmental body succeeded the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and acts a subsidiary body of the UN General Assembly. Its main task, and only official authority, is to make recommendations to the General Assembly on Human Rights violations. In return, the General Assembly's only authority is to advise the UN Security Council. It is the UN Security Council that votes resolutions dealing with the Human Rights violations. Needless to say, most Human Rights resolutions are blocked as the Human Rights Council has 47 seats and members such as China and Russia. We can, therefore, conclude that the Human Rights Council has no real power. The General Assembly of the United Nations does, however, adopt some of the discarded resolutions. The United Nations now has the responsibility to protect but is unable to actually put this into practice, Darfur being a prime example. In terms of democracy within the UN framework, there are many legitimate complaints; on the composition of the Security Council, on the role of the developing countries and so on.

Likewise, other well known international institutions are far from democratic, especially when it comes to developing countries. The IMF and World Bank have a long-term western centralised programme, similar to the Washington Consensus, requesting demands from the poorer countries that they are unable to provide within their own countries. There is little room for discussion and those who either do not listen or are not keen on implementation are simply left to their own devices. Take decisions and reaching any agreements for the poor are long and tiresome processes, such as the Doha rounds for example.

This all sounds pretty discouraging. The great international institutions like the United Nations, the IMF and the World Bank are ineffective and unable to save and improve human lives! While nobody has all the answers to these great problems, we have to believe that it is not too late; we can and must continue to work to ensure change to improve this world and safeguard Human Rights. It is the young generation that has to push this agenda forward. But, they need to work together with political leaders and other important decision-makers! Together they can make history and change the global situation.

Role of the European Union in global governance

The European Union has an important and strong role to play within the international framework. Whilst international politics are very complicated and agreements cannot

always been reached, there are still many issues that can be agreed upon, especially when it comes down to basic Human Rights. We have to combine our efforts and forces to combat dictatorships, genocide, environmental crisis, the food crisis more recently the credit and economical crisis.

You might be wondering why I am addressing such these issues in this publication: "Dilemmas in Globalization". Firstly, a democratic Europe can play a strong role on democratizing the global framework. Secondly, a democratic Europe can play an important role on the international scene. Where there are many global problems such as HIV and Climate Change, the question remains as to whether Europe alone can solve these serious problems. The answer is no, a more democratic Europe with one voice cannot take the sole responsibility to change the current situation. It also has to rely on other key actors such as the United States of America, China, Russia, etc. But, the EU can serve as a good example to be pursued by others. The EU can be the guide, and it could become the leader of the "new world"

There are themes on which Europe especially can make a difference. A united Europe can, and within a short time-frame, make a difference on topics such as democracy and Human Rights, international diplomacy and the financial market and world trade.

With the new Lisbon Treaty, which will hopefully soon be ratified by all Member States, there is a strong focus on a common international foreign agenda. With the Special High Representative of Foreign Affairs also becoming Vice-chair of the European Commission, this is a strong sign to the international community and definitely a step in the right direction.

However, one problem will remain, even with the acceptance of the Lisbon Treaty. The European Union has a very long decision-making process. This may entail the High Representative spending more time on the decision-making process behind closed doors rather than in the international arena. The democratisation of Europe can only contribute to global governance if it speeds up the decision-making process. Global players such as China, Russia and the United States move faster and are able to respond quickly to sudden crisis or situations. The European Union is in this respect at a disadvantage.

Secondly, the democratic reform of Europe will only work if it is in conjunction with the democratization within the UN. As long as all members of the Security Council have a veto, there is no sense for Europe to claim a seat. Only when a fair and democratic voting system is in place, can the European Union Member States consider voting within the Council of the UN. The European Union should speak with one voice in the UN and work jointly with other continental frameworks such as the African Union and the Americas.

To conclude, there are many positive sides to the new Lisbon Treaty and we should remain optimistic. There are, however, still issues to be tackled before a more democratic Europe can make a real difference in the world.

We need democratic countries, nations and institutions to tackle the challenges presented in this book. Only by achieving democracy at all levels will solutions prove sustainable. It will clearly be a difficult and challenging process. We will, however, be able to tackle whatever crisis or threat we are faced with in the future, if we have a strong political leadership and competent institutions. In this process, we need to make maximum use of the internet to reach across continents and ensure stronger participation in the political process.