PARTICIPATE

For further information on submissions, please consult the
guidelines at http://www.jofcp.org

THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBALIZATION TO COMPARATIVE RESEARCH[1]

Henry TEUNE[2]

Comparing systems assumes their relative independence. Assessing that assumption was central to the origins of systematic comparison in the legacy of Francis Galton and the concepts of diffusion, random variation, invasion, and dominance. Globalization of this era has fatally wounded human system autonomy hypotheses, making nearly all human systems components of a global system. Three strategies are suggested to address the alternative grand global hypothesis. The first is to start comparisons with global level variables and move downward to its "sub-systems", including countries. Second is to address a general global hypothesis of change as development rather that evolution and diffusion. Third is to explore the utility of global models of change and the recent improvements in world history to theoretical frame comparative research in contexts of contemporary globalizations.

Comparative social, economic, and political research assumes a world of relatively autonomous, closed systems that in traditional anthropological studies are considered "single", whole systems. That closed system assumption is challenged by the grand globalization hypothesis of the 21st century that all human systems are open to a degree that their behaviour is substantially determined by what happens "outside of them", both at higher regional and global levels as well as by neighbours. This hypothesis includes the preeminent human niche of the success of modernity, the nation-state. Closure assumptions in the 21st century retain credibility only for a few vanishing, relatively isolated

---

societies, usually cut off from the rest of the world, or in rare cases, definable ghettoes, situated but isolated in cities.

In addition locally circumscribed whole system comparisons is the three separate sectors assumption of society, economy, and polity that came out of the great 19th century European transformations that gave birth to the modern world era. Since then, the social sciences have aggregated activities that take place in human systems into these three analytical sectors that are assumed to require different modes of observation and theories for explanations. Globalization makes it more difficult to sustain the assumption of the three separate theoretical domains of human activities because it increases integration both across local systems as well as among the behaviours of individuals, groups, and organizations within those local systems. The separation of human organization and behaviour into three sectors itself requires theoretical explanation taken from developmental theories about why they were once together, and then differentiated, and the dynamics of their perhaps once again "merging in this global era.

Differences among systems, including countries, based on hierarchies of territorially based authorities are also fading with globalization as elites migrate among regional and global systems, both private and public. The flat, non-hierarchical nature of markets with buyers and sellers are mimicked today by flatting hierarchies of political authorities with democratization, along with the weakening of social hierarchies as globalized institutions replace localized social orders of status based on birth and religion.

1 INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

The point of departure is the debated proposition that the broad outlines of human behaviour and social change must be explained by the world as a total system rather than be treated as exogenous.[3] The world is a single physical system, even though knowledge of that is often segmented, as seen in regionally separate reports on weather and ocean temperatures. Nonetheless, the world as physical "environment" of all human systems is theoretically an integrated whole. Theories of the world as a living system assume that it is becoming a single system with immanent consequences of near instant spread of nearly any living thing throughout the world and its near total integration into the most encompassing ecological niche possible—the global system—absorbing nearly all local ecological niches of living things.

....

[3]   Kenneth E. Boulding, The World as a Total System (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985). Boulding saw this before its birth and naming as "globalization" after the transformation of communist states.

Human systems today, because of globalization, are on a fast track of accelerating change, compared to their evolutionary past, highlighting uneven globalization and "development". Indeed, overt conflicts between the "western, globalizing world" and other regions, notably the Islamic world, during the last 200 years or so are as likely due to their different rates of change as to different configurations of culture and religious beliefs. Differential rates of change widen differences across human systems because the more globalized localities become even more open, increasing their rate of change. That increasing gap in rates of change supports perceptions of economic and other disparities between globalized and more closed localities. Nonetheless, in this century whether local human systems are described as families, communities, regions, cultures, nation-states, organizations, groups, or associations, they all are becoming in different ways and at changing rates, local systems in a global system, integrating all human systems into a single system.

The implications of globalization for comparative research suggest three general approaches. First, the pervasiveness of globalization at the beginning of the 21st century points to analysis of change in local systems starting rather than finishing with "global" variables. Rather than using differences among countries to explain other differences among them, for example, their populations' educational level and national economic growth, the first step in seeking to explain country differences should be sought at the global level, for example "foreign" direct investments by technology intensive corporations. One macro global variable that can be a general candidate in explaining patterns of growth of national economies is their engagement in the global economy, the European Union, rather than being tied to national policies. Another example is the relationships between individual voting in national elections. They can be interpreted initially as part of world or global/regional trends shifting from the political left to right, a vote on the welfare state, rather than by national candidacies or voting systems. Alternatively, the decline in voting participation in established democracies, moving to around less than half of the eligible voters, may be a global change coming from the developmental impact of education and electronic communications, shifting public engagement from the formal political institutions of elections to social organizations and communities. The behaviour of national stock markets should be assumed to change across countries in response to global variables, that is, correlate with each other, rather than be interpreted as responses to national and regional events. The world price of oil may be a better predictor of national stock prices than policies of specific countries.

Second, comparative research should begin with developmental, non-equilibrium, social theories of the 20th century that take into account the most important global fact of recent times, the massive increase in the sheer

scale of human systems. The ecological concepts of the 19th century should be discarded. Comparative research was inspired by Charles Darwin and was translated for the study of human societies by his relative, Sir Francis Galton. His thinking shaped comparative social research, in particular anthropology, much as Darwin's evolutionary theory dominated the study of all living systems, including applications to 21st century theories of population genetics. The shadows of the 19th century are still seen in social science concepts and theories of macro equilibrium, competition, boundaries, functionalism, zero-sum games, and adaptation, applied within defined local systems for comparisons across systems.

Third, it is necessary to study local phenomena, including countries as local, through the perspectives of improved world system models and major ideas emerging from late 20th century world history. The world system models of the 1970s, exemplified by the Club of Rome report on "limits to growth" proved to be failures for prediction, perhaps because they were ill conceived, premature, or limited by computational technologies. Perhaps they have been pre-empted and secreted from public use by intelligence communities. They are rarely used in comparative research. The aspirations of these "models", however, are more needed for comparisons of local systems in the globalized world of the 21st century than they were in the 1970s, the decade of the beginnings of the globalization of this era. World history is still being created and shaped. It too is more necessary than before to explain local variations. Trying to explain, for example, trafficking in persons across national boundaries without introducing historical trade routes, world demographic change, and the economies of established local markets will distort those explanations.

A major intellectual leap forward for the social sciences during the last decades of the 20th century was an awakening about the world as a single human system. That was already a reality for several centuries, but not perceived as such. The common human heritage was poorly grasped during the past two centuries of comparing human societies in encounters through trade and travel by using ideas about separate human "races". Only now is there acceptance of the overwhelming evidence of a single genetic origin that sparked the emergence of humans, who then began to create societies of all kinds around the world. The history of early human beings and world history is now coming into its own with radically better scientific instrumentations for assessing both human nature and the development of human societies.

2 GLOBAL SYSTEM VARIABLES AS EXPLANATORY

Globalization is the process of integrating all the diversity of all human societies.[4] This idea of globalization is problematic for comparing systems because it asserts that local human systems are fading as independent ecological systems and becoming components of a single, encompassing, world system. The grand globalization hypothesis is that localities are progressively losing their independence as systems. Relationships of variables among them will be dependent on other systems. Independent states that behaved as systems within an "international systems of states" no longer can do that in more integrated regional and global political systems, losing autonomy in trade, war, and cultural contacts to "absorbing systems". In the period after the first decade of the 21st century, issues about comparing countries within the European Union is especially critical with the diminution of their the autonomy and "sovereignty" as Union political institutions emerge and strengthen.

The challenge of making comparisons is the question of whether observed relationships among local systems are systemic at that level or at higher levels. The opposite can also be asked: whether a level of systems has disintegrated to a point where the behaviour of the "components" of a system has become separate systems. That is the question of the fall of empires or a "failing state". Any recognition, however, of globalization requires multi-level models of comparison in order hypothetically to partition what is observed into different levels and time periods within a dynamic theoretical model of the behaviour of the global system and its "components". The practical formulation of this question is where to start the analysis. The suggestion made is that the global level should have first consideration of rejection, moving to lower levels in some theoretically ordered way from the global to transnational regions, countries, sub-national regions, and then localities, including large cities and metropolitan aggregations.

The core of the logic of comparative analysis is the connections of relationships across systems, across levels, and across time. That is also the key logical link between macro and micro research in the social sciences. Rather than macro economics being presented at one level of theoretical discourse and micro, at another, the two would be tied together, Rather than international relations being one topic and domestic politics another, both levels would be linked and analyzed together. The general research questions are how much of what happens in one system or country is a result of the international or global

....

[4] See Henry Teune and Zdravko Mlinar (2000), "The Developmental Logic of Globalization" in The Art of the Feud: Reconceptualizing International Relations ed. Jose V. Ciprut (New York: Praeger, 2000). This is based on Henry Teune and Zdravko Mlinar, The Developmental Logic of Social Systems (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978).

system and how much a consequence of the force of local or domestic politics. For some systems, the global would be dominant. For most, the impact of the global on the local would vary but would, as globalization proceeds to integrate the diversity of human societies into a world scale, global variables would be expected to become generally more important.

The central theoretical questions in comparative research can be re-formulated as how much of the observed variance is explained by what variables and at what levels of aggregation, and for what time periods. If there are different explanations at different levels, local, regional, and national, for example, and for different time periods, the main theoretical question then is why that is so and why do the variables shift in their significance across levels. The simplest structure of this formulation in an example is two levels, cities and countries at two time periods, before and after, for example, a "war". The relationships between wealth and size of a country's cities may be positive before a war, but then turn negative or disappear after the war, as the infrastructures of large cities for production are replaced by smaller cities and localities integrated into transnational, regional economies. Any such theoretical, analytical structures can be made more complex by adding levels and time periods in a changing mosaic of interacting local systems.

The top down, global to local, approach reverses previous principles and practices of comparative research to exhaust local explanations first and then search for explanatory variables at higher levels, usually at the country, regional levels or large cultural areas. Good reasons to start analysis with the local, however, remain. It is more readily and directly observable in contrast to global variables that require complex inferences from discrete indicators used in measurements of system level variables. The realities of this era of globalization, however, suggest consideration of turning the operational research principle of starting with local observations and analysis on its head and looking for global variables first.

Globally focused analyses are embedded in data with multiple levels of aggregations in "pooled" analyses. Data from a variety of sampled systems can be pooled. Using the Democracy and Local Governance research program (DLG) as an example, pooled analysis allows for comparisons of local political leaders individually, without regard to their community, regions within counties, countries, or transnational region.[5] The "traditional" starting point would be individuals grouped and compared by national samples of local political leaders.

....

[5] For examples, see Krzyzsztof Ostrowski and Henry Teune, "Local, National, and Meso Regional Patterns of Democratic Governance: Development vs. Culture", paper presented to the XVIII World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Quebec City, July 2000 and Henry Teune, "Local Responses to the Globalizations of Our Era" in Mastering Globaliztion: New Sub-states' Governance and Strategies ed. Guy Lachapelle and Stephane Paquin (New York: Rutledge, 2005).

In contrast, national aggregations would follow as decompositions of the global. The impact of the "global", however, might be established through variables that are periodized by time, if only "before and after". The top down approach would start with the proposition that exposure of the local to the global would stimulate the articulation of democratic values as well as democratic practices in local politics. That was hypothesized to be "true" during the initial "period" 1990-95 of this research, where the global pressures, for many democratizing countries came from the European Union, were strongest. Democratizations of localities and countries near to the EU core countries were expected to be both more extensive and faster than in localities and countries more removed from those global centres. The time lag of the global pressure for democratization global pressure and democratic responses in countries peripheral to the EU, Kyrgyzstan, and the Ukraine for example, resulted from especially weak global (European) pressures. Their democratizations took a longer time to take form and were weaker than in those countries that rapidly entered the global system in the 1990s.

Global variables, as indicated, are of several kinds. First, there are global variables that come from simple quantitative change over time, the global score on population growth, increases in the number of democratic countries, velocity of currency exchanges, etc. Second, there are the hypothesized "real" global system changes. As global quantitative data are relatively recent, this kind of variable can be an unspecified, contextual "background" variable that can be formalized as binary. The Cold War era can explain apartheid, tolerance of tyrannies, and suppression of "terrorists" and the post Cold War period, something else. The Second Democratic Revolution after 1989 explains a rapid increase in trade and economic growth in poor world areas. Understanding world history in this era of globalization marked by the "big" world events of the past 200 years or so indicates that change is "punctuated" rather than continuous. Third, there are global decisions by global actors. The formation of the EU and the G-20 are obvious, but several global institutions are acquiring more capacities in banking, criminal prosecutions, and regulation of capital exchanges. Global changes have differential and variable penetrative impact on localities. That is obvious today in the global spread of viruses, but also in information distribution in the use of the internet. Differentials in the global penetration power of these forces can be entered as local, country and region, variables.

3 FROM ECOLOGICAL TO DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES AND EXPLANATIONS

The new era of globalization characterized by integration rather than dominance and subordination, suggests standing back from Galton and his problem of diffusion, invasion, and adaptation as formulated by anthropologists in the 19th and early 20th centuries in order to consider theories of world system development as alternatives. As discussed, this requires examining phenomena and relationships at multiple levels and using lower levels—the country, the region, the metropolis—as default options to the global. That is, all phenomena should be explained globally, and failure to do so should move down to lower level explanatory options, including the conventional engine for explaining change in 20th century social science theories, the nation-state.

The main globalization dynamic of the past two centuries is development, the emergence of a human system of global scale. The development of a global human social system has proceeded from locality to region to state, to multi-national regions; from small groups to international societies; from local enterprises to multi-national corporations and now to global corporations. All roads, however few in number, so it was said in Europe, "led to Rome"; now all roads and wires and electronic waves lead everywhere, providing networks for the integration of diversity world-wide.

The implications of globalization for the logic of comparing systems requires understanding the traditional interpretations of comparisons referred to as Galton's problem: whether (the extent to which) observed variations among cultures (populations) on defined variables are the result of growth from common origins; borrowing/diffusion; or independent evolutionary/developmental processes. In testing these hypotheses, an assumption is used: those evolutionary processes are generally weak and long term. If so, then items that are similar across cultures are likely the result of diffusion and those that are different to the internal developmental dynamics of separate, independent systems.

The grand Galton hypothesis is that the correlations of variables across systems occur as disturbance terms, more or less independent of proximity in time (when the item emerges) and space (where). The null hypothesis is the ideal for comparing systems: a world of disjointed, ecologically independent systems, That would mean that important common human developments occurred at different times and places randomly, neither originating in a single niche nor found distributed in some non-random frequency in those systems in close

contact with each other.[6] The important corollary evolutionary hypothesis for social systems is that the complexity of spatially and temporarily unconnected systems are related to general "laws", meaning that those items and processes that added to increasing variety of local systems would do so anywhere, given the "right conditions", including enough time for apparent random variations to become ordered as systems. Neither the grand nor the corollary hypotheses have anything but a very small probability of being true in the globalized world of today.

The technologies of the "industrial revolution" produced large scale examples for analyses of diffusion vs. internal developmental dynamics of different local systems. Those technologies diffused in the 19th century and yielded increasing similarities everywhere they spread, even as they created local diversity in their combinations. The organization of production differed but the inputs yield the outputs according to the same "laws", just as the zebra and the horse are different, but each obey the laws of gravity in their movements. It is still not clear whether the two "types" national systems, capitalist and socialist countries, of political significance in the last century could have used the "laws" of production and distribution to develop and reinforce radically different kinds of social and political systems.

 Theories of development and use ecological paradigms with equilibrium and its disruptions to explain increasing scale of human systems that generate new components and relationships. The ecological/developmental hypotheses must be specified for testing, where ecological factors aid or inhibit developmental dynamics.[7] The first is that the closer systems are in space and in time (time defined since origination); the more likely they are to be similar rather than different. Hence the justifications for international historical studies of "civilizations" in the late 19th century and carried forward as deep cultural penetration after enough time has passed for a culture to be foundational, leading to ideas about distinctive development of civilizations as well as "clashes of civilizations" There are two other general ecological hypotheses. One is that indigenous forces are likely to be strong if the closer the systems are in time and space, the more different they are. Conversely, the more distant systems are in time and space and yet the more they are similar, the more likely the local systems were invaded by systems from afar. The latter is a "background"

....

[6] Whether there was or is a Galton's problem is the question. See E. Anthon Eff, "Does Mr. Galton Still Have a Problem? Autocorrelation in the Standard Cross-Cultural Problem", paper presented to the Southern Anthropological Meeting, Nashville, Tenn., April 2001. A classic formulation of the problem in post 1945 comparative social science is much reprinted Raoul Naroll, "Two Solutions to Galton's Problem", Philosophy of Science, 28, 1 (1961), 15–39. The problem, like that of "ecological fallacies" in inferring relationships among individuals from the relationships of them in aggregates, is a matter of making best estimates.

[7] This is based on Henry Teune, "Theories of Ecological Change", paper presented to the IX World Congress of the International Sociological Association, Uppsala, July 1978.

hypothesis of similar archaeological findings in comparing Egypt and Central and South America. It is also becoming a likely hypothesis as 21st century data and analyses show the common genetic origins of humans and their patterns of migration, as can be seen in humans of different skin pigmentation being more similar genetically than those with a similar one.

The force of ecological dynamics, although still at work, recedes in importance in a globalizing world, in explaining changes in local systems. Major global actors are corporations, governmental and non-governmental institutions, associations, as well as countries spreading ideas and material items in pursuit of differentiating goals. Invasion of localities today comes from above rather than as penetrations by others into the boundaries of social niches. Some local components aggressively seek out imports from others and the global system; others resist. Local/national politics becomes centred on the issue of what should be local and what global and who will decide and how.

Three macro characteristics marked a "new global world order" as it emerged after the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s: a positive sum world economic system; an ascendant universal, secular moral order in law and human rights; and legitimate global institutions growing in numbers and strength. These three new global realities are based on a decentralized world of political communities, tolerant and encompassing of all social and cultural diversity. Development would ascend to being a property of the world as a total system, not the possession of any particular organizations or countries. This world of global development is vastly different from that of expanding empires, national competition/conflict among countries, and efforts to establish ideological hegemony of religion or secular political belief.

The side-by-side world of thousands of local cultures of the 18th and 19th century European explorers has now, become a world society. The global hypothesis stands as the constant explanatory alternative to a world of separate, contending cultures; the international relations of conflicting interests among states; and assertive ideologies of different national economies and societies, invidiously compared.

4 Understanding change globally: global models and world history

Global theoretical models and world history are two ways to seek and test global explanations of rapidly opening local systems. Both, however, are weak reeds to support explanations of macro level changes in an emerging system, especially those happening at uneven, but generally accelerating rates. Lumpy change is characteristic of newly integrating systems, as is the world system

in the 21st century. Global models are barely theoretical and world histories are fragmented and controversial. Global models provide little more than background and projections about changes that can be expected everywhere, however obscured in local, national, and regional contexts. World history sets broad parameters for understanding macro change. One example of modelling is the impact of the economic emergence of China, India, and Iran on structural conflicts in those regions and the world. Those regions in 1800 were among the world's wealthiest, but underwent nearly two centuries of decline with untold consequences on global development. The world religions that had time sufficient for autonomous development—two of the most important being Christianity and Islam—must be used in explanations of world conflicts. Islam displaced Christianity in the seventh century in the Middle East and parts of Africa. Christianity only marginally challenged Islam in the crusades beginning in the 11th century. Islam was much more threatened by rapidly expanding and modernizing European states of the 19th century. A global perspective requires having macro "theoretical frameworks", enriched with the contexts of world history of cultural relations to assess that what appears to be local is indeed local and not merely a local manifestation of the global.

The key question for comparing systems in a global world is what constitutes the world as an integrated human system. The answer at this time is that the world is a system for some things, but not for others, but that too is changing. What is global today may become "local" tomorrow. The rise of levels of system and shifts in their relative importance is a result of global dynamics. Housing markets were local in the U.S. but became national at the end of the 20th century, perhaps again to become local. National stock exchanges were nationally controlled, but they appear in the 21st century to be global. Wars that became global (world wars) in the 20th century seem to have scaled down to regions. Globalization is a necessary component for justifying writing world rather than national or local histories. That probably happened sometime after 1500, coming into focus in 1970s. Many initial, late 20th century world histories were biological "ecological histories" about the global impact of microbes, weeds, and transportation.[8]

The three main attempts at world modelling in the 1970s, the decade that can be marked as the beginning of the emergence of consciousness about the global system of this era were: World Dynamics by Jay Forrester and others later in Boston; Project Link, of the United Nations, initiated by Lawrence Klein

---

[8] After 1945, world histories with social science were extended beyond Western Europe and its affairs. Simon Kuznets did a pioneering theory/history of world economic development in his Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966). World history is an established historical field although national and regional histories dominate. For a biological based world history, see Alred W. Crosby, Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900 (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2nd Ed., 2004).

and his colleagues in Philadelphia; and Globus, inspired and overseen by Karl Deutsch and several of his students in Berlin.[9]

The failures of these early massive efforts at modelling global change are matters of speculation, although progress is still underway on constructing global econometric models. Three possibilities for these failures are suggested. The first is that theoretical models that can predict, not just statistically project, global futures is a complex undertaking of many variables and changing relationships. Here lessons from econometrics with a history before the 1970s may be instructive. General models of the U.S. economy that found their way into introductory economics textbooks after 1945 were constructed from very few and simple components, such as, savings, investments, consumption, governmental expenditures, and one or two others. These paper and pencil models moved to many variables and hundreds of equations, requiring large public expenditures for measuring the variables through complex index numbers of the GNP, consumption, and the like. That became possible with increasing computational capacities as econometric models of the U.S. increased their number of variables. The experiences of modelling national economies demonstrated that substantial collective effort is required. Today, only a few countries are without some version of a national model of its economy to predict economic change.

Second, the world was not integrated sufficiently in the 1970s for the models to work. The early world dynamic models had very few variables: population growth, economic output, pollution, and resources. The predictions were Malthusian glum and the models were unstable. Their immediate political impact was enormous, especially in aspiring Marxist countries with their article of faith of never ending abundance that the models smashed. But after the stagflation of the 1970s and the resumption of good growth and pollution controls in the wealthier counties, the intellectual impact of these models proved short lived. In the case of the Globus model, the number of sectors and variables was enormous, and, like the first complicated economic models, it was difficult to tell what was going on in the interactions among them. There were also suspicions about the objectivity of the models during a decade when the world's economy was performing badly, a condition that turned around in

....

[9] There are many versions of these models. The spirit of Forrester's models as studies of environmental constraints lives on in activities at MIT in Boston. The results of these analyses were well noted in public discussions in the 1970s. Jay Forrester, World Dynamics (Cambridge: Wright-Allen Press, 1973). Also, Donella Meadows et al, The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome on the Predicament of Mankind (New York: Potomac Associates, 1972). The alternative at that time was Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome (New York: Dutton, 1974). One of the early statements on a world econometric model is Gary Fromm and Lawrence R. Klein (ed.), (1975). The Brookings Model: Perspectives and Recent Developments (New York: North-Holland, 1975). The Brookings Model is re- named Project Link and is a project of UNESCO. It started in the middle of the 1970s and continues. For Globus, see Stuart Bremmer (ed.), The Globus Model: Computer Simulation of Worldwide Political and Economic Developments (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987).

the late 1980s.

Third, the "right" variables were not considered, in particular the revolutions in technologies of information and control. That proved fatal to the supporters of the World Dynamics Model. Without a societal developmental theory it is difficult to have any confidence in straight line projections that characterized most of these models, especially those based on "Dynamo", a computer program used by the World Dynamics group at MIT. By the end of the 1970s, it was clear that industrialized societies were moving to "information" and control societies and that concepts based on production with measures of steel, coal, etc. related to air and other pollutions were no longer easily applicable to those world regions with improved production controls. More than that, many of the new "service economies" were beginning to be transformed into innovation driven economies.

Global modelling efforts underway in the 21st century are less pretentious, excepting world econometric models and the new environmental models dealing with pollution and climate change. Many of those are tied to physical-human relationships based on resources and the re-discovered threats of weather change, resource depletion, and other environmental factors related to economic development.[10] Most of these reveal the problems of global, theoretically based modelling. Surely, global relationships can be expected to have increasing importance in explaining what goes on in the local systems around the world. Surely, the emergence in the 21st century of great political economy regions in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America become integral to the processes of globalization as their future tied to developments in the World Trade Organization, the G-20, and other global institutions.

Global histories are gaining intellectual standing but remain problematic in their objectivity, especially because of their European perspectives. Three dimensions of world history are suggested as particularly relevant today for globalization and the behaviour of local, regional, and national systems: transportation; clash of cultures, previously mentioned; and demography. The first of these must address the rise of global electronic communications and the nodes of airports that have re-configured the old ecological patterns of interaction, exchange, and conflict. In recent years the costs of moving ideas, people, and goods have decreased exponentially. But the old trade and shipping routes continue to impact global dispersions and will determine new patterns of world centres and second order centres as well as regions of fast and slow economic growth. The second historical force concerns the interfaces of cultures. Going into the

....

[10] See UNESCO-EO at www.eloss.net for a list of global models and their references of "sustainable development". A general discussion of the development of these models is Richard W. Chadwick, "Global Modelling: Origins, Assessment, and Alternative Futures," Simulation & Gaming, 3l, 1 (2000), 50–73.

21st century, the major one is between Christianity and Islam along the cultural dividing lines in the Middle East and Africa. There are other fault lines in Europe between East and West, ranging from the Baltic to the Adriatic seas as well as between the North and South, the latter now defined as extending into Northern Africa; The fault lines in Eurasia between North and South show indications about likely conflicts.[11] The issue is whether conflicts around the lines of social division, that are also historically areas of creativity, can be locally contained by global action, including dealing with genocidal impulses through international military intervention. The third historical force is the growth and decline of local populations. The likely historic shifts from the relatively continuous growth in world population nearly everywhere since 1750 and the beginnings of incipient population declines in most world regions from 2030-50 will significantly impact global development and local systems everywhere, reducing some conflictive pressures as local birth rates converge around the world.

5 Concluding comments

Comparative research is the empirical foundation of theories of macro social, economic, and political change. The logic of globalization as a developmental process is the integration of diversity into a system of the most inclusive scale—a world system. Globalization is a major challenge to what we know and how we learned that. In the 1970s, excitement in comparative research came from the mathematics of non-linear change and transformations as catastrophe theory and in the 1980s from the promise of fuzzy sets and logics. Both promised to deal better with the realties of social change than the linear, binary languages used in most empirically based macro theories and in their supporting comparative research. The legs of both of these ideas proved too weak to carry our knowledge forward except in minor ways.

The realities of our global system are not clear in part because it is unstable as reflected in the volatilities in markets and hostile threats against the world's centres from the peripheries. We have to rethink about what we are doing in comparative research to address these global realities, in much the way that Sir Francis Galton did after learning about a world of great biological and societal variety. His responses were to create languages of research with numbers and probabilities. That was part of his legacy. We have to evaluate that legacy. Numbers and probabilities were the great ideas of the 19th century. In the

....

[11] For a discussion of issues of world history "methodology", see Marshall G.S. Hodgson, Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). The chapters of special relevance are on objectivity of large-scale historical inquiry and the conditions of historical comparisons among ages and regions. Immanuel Wallerstein combines the structure of models with history, without enough precision for modellers or history for historians, but pointing in an important way to what can be done. See his World-system Analysis: An Introduction (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). For a broad historical view, including demography, see Robert B. Marks, The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative (Landham: Rowman & Littlefied, 2002).

20th century the concept of systems and their development came to the fore and were used to build information societies. The purpose of this paper is to open the question of how to use the idea of systems and rapidly expanding knowledge about world history to understand and predict change in a globalized world with its myriads of local systems, of which countries are but one kind.

REFERENCES

Boulding, E. Kenneth. *The World as a Total System*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985.

Bremmer, Stuart (ed.). *The Globus Model: computer simulation of worldwide political and economic development*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.

Chadwick, W. Richard. "*Global modelling: origins, assessment and alternative futures.*" *Simulation and Gaming,* 31, 1 (2000): 50–73.

Crosby, H. Alred. *Ecological Imperialism: the biological expansion of Europe, 900–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Eff, E. Anton, "*Does Mr. Galton still have a problem? Autocorrelation in the standard cross-cultural problem.*" Paper presented to the Southern Anthropological Meeting, Nashville, April 2001.

Forrester, Jay. *World Dynamics.* Cambridge: Wright-Allen Press, 1973.

Fromm, Gary and Lawrence R. Klein (ed.). *The Brookings Model: perspectives and recent developments*. New York: North-Holland, 1975.

Hodgson, G. S. Marshall. *Rethinking World History: essays on Europe, Islam, and world history*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Kuznets, Simon. *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

Marks, B. Robert. *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative.* Landham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

Meadows, Donella et al. *The Limits to Growth: a report for the Club of Rome on the predicament of mankind.* New York: Potomac Associates, 1972.

Mesarovic, Mihajlo and Edward Pestel. *Mankind at the Turning Point: a second report to the Club of Rome.* New York: Dutton, 1974.

Naroll, Raoul. "*Two solutions to Galton's problem.*" Philosophy of Science, 28, 1 (1961): 15–39.

Ostrowski, Krzyszrtof and Henry Teune. "*Local, National, and Meso Regional Patterns of Democratic Governance: development vs. culture.*" Paper presented to the XVIII World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Quebec City, July 2000.

Teune, Henry. "*Theories of Ecological Change.*" Paper presented to the IX World Congress of the International Sociological Association, Uppsala, July 1978.

Teune, Henry and Zdravko Mlinar. *The Developmental Logic of Social Systems.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978.

Teune, Henry and Zdravko Mlinar. "The Developmental Logic of Globalization."

In The Art of the Feud: reconceptualizing international relations, ed. Jose V. Ciprut. New York: Praeger, 2000.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *World-system Dynamics: an introduction.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

THE AGRARIAN BASIS OF ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

Gary AGUIAR[1]

This paper presents an argument for the agrarian basis of Athenian democracy. Simply stated, self-reliant soldier-farmers founded democracy. These men, who owned and worked small farms, were self-equipped warriors who served as a ready militia. Democratic citizenship evolved from these farmers who served as heavy infantry to defend or extend the polis' territorial borders. The Greeks phalanx, a shield wall of heavy infantry, brought the officer into the fold. Aristocratic leaders had to get off their "high horses" and join the ranks. Since these hoplites did most of the fighting, aristocrats ceded them some citizenship rights, especially a vote on foreign policy resulting from public deliberation. Thus, farmer-warriors— who outfitted themselves with the accoutrements of heavy infantry (hoplites)—could not be forced to fight by a king or group of aristocrats. These ancient Athenians developed a democratic political culture that included isonomia or equality before the law, iregosia or equal opportunity to speak in governing councils, and eleutheria or liberty. The Archaic period was dominated by rural interests, especially large landowners. However, the landless urban poor became the majority of voters and more influential in the Classical period.

1 Introduction

The early invention of democracy in ancient Athens is widely acknowledged, however, the development and causes of this first experiment in democracy remains only partially understood. In particular, the relative weight assigned to various factors in democratic development is largely unresolved. This paper presents an argument and evidence that one particular root cause, agrarianism, in the creation of that first democracy two and a half millennia ago deserves

[1] Gary Aguiar is an associate professor of political science at South Dakota State University, where he has taught classes on U.S. politics since 1999. His research interests focus on the development of democracy in local, especially rural, communities. His recent book, Government in the Countryside: Politics and Policies in Rural America (2007, Kendall Hunt), is the first text on rural politics in a quarter-century. He is part of a research team exploring rural persistence in the Great Plains, which has led to several publications.

greater weight than heretofore recognized.

This investigation has relevance to our understanding of modern democracies' political culture. Democracy, broadly conceived as "rule by the many," is associated with a certain set of political values which reflect the early development of democracy in ancient times. That is, democratic culture includes political equality, political efficacy and participation, and working together to solve community problems. Further, the deliberation of public policies by non-aristocrats illuminates Athens' development of the concept of farmer-warriors as citizens. These efforts to balance individualism and community relied on an understanding of rights and responsibilities that may be transferable.

This paper addresses the development of democracy in early Athens with an eye to understanding why democracy developed in ancient Greece. It is widely held that more than 80% of ancient Greeks were rural farmers during the pre-polis period. The general agreement is that the existence of many self-reliant farmers created a heavy infantry to defend their borders in brief battles. These men possessed sufficient landholdings to outfit themselves with the accoutrements of warfare, but could not be easily forced to fight. Hence, they seized the right to vote directly on policy.

This democratic response derived partially from natural conditions generally found in the Aegean basin. Indeed, throughout the Mediterranean, marginal environments with limited arable soils and frequent summer droughts force farmers to manage high risks situations.[2] The particularly topography of the region encouraged small farms with significant investment in capital assets. Hence, farmer-soldiers grew ideas like equality along with their olive trees and grape vines.

However, "the deployment of technical ingenuity is secondary to the social relations between human participants".[3] The germ of early democracy was sown by early leaders. In pre-polis Athens, an important debate arose among aristocrats about how much power to cede to this middle class of farmer-warriors. Some supported laws that protected individual citizens and fostered a law-based decision making process (e.g., Draco, Solon, Cleisthenes, Pericles, and Demosthenes) while oligarchic proponents argued for the retention of aristocratic power (e.g., Plato, Cimon, Xenophon and the numerous tyrants exemplified by the Peisistratus family).

....

[2] See Thomas W. Gallant, Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1991) and Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

[3] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 231.

So, the central question remains why was democracy invented in ancient Greece? Restated, what factors led to the development of "rule by the many"? This paper explores the argument that agrarianism, specifically a unique mix of rural lifestyle, culture, and economics fostered democracy in ancient Athens. Alternate explanations include topography, the assembled army, elite conflict, shared religious experiences, and urban identity. This paper acknowledges each of these factors played a significant role, but middle-class freeholders remain under-recognized in the literature. Indeed, the confluence of all these factors explains the development of democracy in the early classical period.

The paper proceeds in three sections. The next section elaborates the basic argument that Athenian democracy is properly understood as a product of agrarian influences. After a brief methodological note, the second section introduces important elements of Athenian politics. Then, the heart of the paper examines rural influences on the creation of Athenian democracy, including structural elements, political culture, and political participation.

2 The argument

On its face, it may seem strange to discuss rural politics in terms of the Greek polis, or city-state, but a modern understanding of city governments warps our perspective. While ancient city-states were often centred on a central marketplace, the vast majority resided in the countryside. Hence, Athens—at its peak—comprised probably about 120,000 to 150,000 residents, but only 10,000 to 12,000 resided within the city's walls. Rather, Attike—the territory ruled by the city-state of Athens—contained countless farmsteads, small estates, and tiny villages.[4]

Classical historians widely agree that 80 to 90% of Greeks were rural farmers during Archaic times (c. 800 to 500, all dates B.C.). For example, Stockton[5] bases his calculation on representation in the Boule, the Executive Council, from which the nine urban demes (townships) contributed less than 10% of the delegates. My argument is that the basis of Athenian democracy was farmers who reconciled individualism and community. Democratic citizenship evolved from these self-reliant farmers who served as heavy infantry to defend or extend the polis' territorial borders in set-piece brief battles.[6]

In ancient times, war was a constant threat and a frequent reality. Nearly every

---

[4] Moses Finley, Politics in the Ancient World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[5] David Stockton, The Classical Athenian Democracy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[6] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

year a polis was either at war or contemplating a decision to go to war; the most important decision an ancient state could make is whether and with whom to go to war. Thus, farmer-soldiers—who outfitted themselves with the accoutrements of heavy infantry (i.e., the spear, short sword, large shield, and body armour)—could not be easily forced to fight by a king or group of aristocrats. Since these hoplites, essentially middle-class freeholders, did most of the fighting, aristocrats ceded them some citizenship rights, especially a vote on foreign policy resulting from public deliberation.

As discussed above, the primary question is why democracy in Greece? A narrower question that is more interesting is "why Athens and not other poleis in the Aegean basin?" That is, why democracy in Athens as compared to other poleis in the Archaic period. If we compare Sparta (a closed autocratic society with hereditary dual monarchy) and Athens, they appear only broadly similar in a few ways in Archaic times.

So, among these several hundred city-states with modest similarities, why did some polis develop elements of democracy and others remain firmly autocratic? Certainly, settlement patterns in Attike encouraged small, marginal farms with a significant investment in capital assets which led to individualistic tendencies. More fertile plains with annual small grains on larger farms would require a large serf or slave workforce. In the northern Aegean, open space and an indentured workforce allow aristocrats to employ horses more frequently in warfare.[7] Cavalry are particularly effective against light infantry and hence discourage equality among the troops. Organized as a fighting unit, these freeholders were the primary defenders of the community and developed democratic values.[8]

Thus, I advance an argument for an agrarian basis for democracy. Self-reliant family farmers founded democracy. Of course, all of this occurred within a specific Greek cultural and social context, which I will discuss below. Rural men as farmer-soldier-citizen were the important constituency that engaged elite rulers in the struggle for power in Athens over foreign policy decisions.

From a world historian's perspective, democracies are fragile entities. From our view in the 21st Century, this may be difficult to perceive, but, before the last century, democracies are a rare species that occupied exotic niches. Autocratic or oligarchic regimes are the norm throughout human history. Indeed, peasant revolts in aristocratic systems are rare and are rarely successful, even up to modern times. Peasants are typically willing to accept "things as they are,"

....

[7] Timothy Howe, Pastoral Politics: Animals, Agriculture, and Society in Ancient Greece, (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2008).

[8] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

because for most of human history, change was glacial. Outside of a few inspired individuals, ancient peoples had difficulty imagining how their world might be different. Few people travelled more than a few miles from where they were born. In non-Greek communities, monarchs and other autocrats held tight control over both the production and ownership of weapons, and the training and payment of soldiers.[9]

Cities benefited from agricultural surplus, which supplied the leisure time that gave rise to the centralized governmental apparatus comprised of nobles, priests, clerks and soldiers. Or so traditional theory holds. However, Jacobs[10] offers a radical reversal of this theory by suggesting that cities grew first and induced rural development later. Villages and towns that served as resting and watering points along trade routes became sanctuaries from war, climate, and fatigue. She argues these proto-cities directed and managed agricultural pursuits, primarily through the stewardship and cultivation of edible seeds. Unfortunately, the only evidence is the excavation at Catal Huyuk in the Anatolian plateau of Turkey, where the city ruins produced artefacts demonstrably older than the surrounding rural areas.[11] However, we might expect selective survival plays a role here, urban artefacts are more numerous and hence more likely to survive than rural ones.

This Jacobean "cities first, farming later" theory reflects the palace-kingdoms economies, which existed prior to the Grecian "Dark Ages" (c. 1100 to 800). Throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and extending into the Near East, hereditary monarchs and their nobles directed economic activities, including agricultural production, through centralized controls.[12] One example of these palace-kingdoms is the Mycenaean civilization, close to the Aegean, which collapsed around 1150. Following its demise, which remains inexplicable, archaeological evidence indicates the Greek peninsula was only thinly populated during the Dark Ages that followed.[13]

Of course, these palace-centred kingdoms discouraged concepts like equality, which is essential to democracy. Palace-kingdoms with their attendant centralized economic control did not empower rural farmers, but engendered

....

[9] John H. Kautsky, The Politics of Aristocratic Empires (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

[10] Jane Jacobs, The Economy of Cities, (New York: Vintage Books, 1969).

[11] Ibid.

[12] See Thomas R. Martin, Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996) and Sarah B. Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity, (New York: Shocken Books, 1975).

[13] See Tjeerd H. Van Andel and Curtis Runnels, Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987) and Michael H. Jameson et al, A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

hierarchical political statuses. Agriculture, defined as the science, art, and business of cultivating the soil, tends towards larger operations that are closely interconnected with the city. Agrarianism, but not agriculture, propagated democratic ideas in a few poleis in ancient Greece. In the Aegean basin, autarkic (i.e., self-sufficient) family farms avoided city life and fostered independence essential to democracy. By agrarian, I mean uncontaminated by urban life, autonomous, and independent. These agrarian values arose from the mix of work, risk, and goods produced from the soil through one's own effort for one's own sustenance. These ruralites were not dependent on others for anything, except protection from armed invaders.

3 METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

This explanation of self-sufficient farmer-warriors who fought to become citizens is dependent on evidence quite unlike political science research on modern political phenomena. Before turning to an examination of the evidence, we briefly ponder the use of ancient data, which is very difficult to find and must be interpreted cautiously. Often, we will be disappointed in our search and our questions will be unanswerable. For modern political scientists, the classical world is a dark and strange place. While a large volume of ancient evidence exists, an even larger volume did not survive. It is a frustrating experience to reach conclusions when the existing data represents less than one percent of the total produced. In this analysis, we are constantly wary about the selective survival of evidence.

For our purposes, the ancient data fall into four categories: epigraphs, contemporary studies, artistic writings, and archaeological finds. Epigraphs (i.e., inscriptions carved on stone) constitute a great deal of the surviving information, which present a host of problems. Epigraphs include both steles (i.e., upright stone slabs or pillars) and horoi (i.e., boundary markers, sometimes with a mortgage announcement). Both of these were often removed from their original placement site without proper documentation, making them somewhat less useful.

Decrees, laws, and other "official" writings were preserved not only on stone, but also on bronze, wood, and papyrus, in descending order of survivability. "Decisions where public display was considered important tended to be inscribed on stone"[14]. So, these inscribed stone survivors are unique by definition. The epigraphs that reach us may be an unrepresentative sample of all decrees. Moreover many survivors are fragmentary, which may lead to

....

[14] Robert K. Sinclair, Democracy and Participation in Athens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 86.

errors in emends (i.e., corrections) by trained scholars.[15]

Second, we possess a large number of contemporary works, including speeches and descriptions written by the ancients. These include the histories by Thucydides and Herodotus, the first steps toward modern historical standards of objectivity. A much later history by Plutarch is also valuable, because he had access to many documents which are now lost. Also, many speeches to the Assembly and in the courts survive. The contemporary works include Aristotelian sources like "The Politics" by Aristotle himself, which surely reflects his understanding of Athenian politics. Also, a large part of the "Athenian Constitution" has been preserved.

Third, an astonishingly large collection of artistic writings is available, including some very early poetry and oral stories, especially the lengthy and informative Homeric epics. One early work by Hesiod, "The Works and Days," is particularly useful to understand rural life during the Dark Ages. Moreover, many theatrical plays, both tragic and comedic, have been preserved. Finally, archaeological finds, including artwork (especially pottery vases), buildings, gravesites, disposed items, and other ephemera sometimes prove helpful to classicists.

This paper draws primarily on secondary sources, which summarize the evidence discussed above. My rules for evaluating this literature are common to meta-analysis techniques. When the studies are in general agreement, with no dissenting voices, I accept the judgment of the community of scholars. Where controversy exists, I highlight it and base my conclusions on that evidence tentatively.

4 An Introduction to Ancient Greek Politics

Before proceeding to the main part of our analysis, this section provides a general introduction to ancient Athenian politics, including a brief discussion of citizenship and social class. As mentioned above, the Grecian Dark Ages (c. 1100-800) followed the collapse of the Mycenaean palace-kingdom economies. Archaeological work about the Dark Ages, about which little is known (obviously), reveal some reversion to late Stone Age Neolithic culture. Almost certainly, herding was a prevalent occupation with a few nascent agriculturalists working the fields. The consensus is that whatever caused the failure of the well-developed Mycenaean civilization was widespread throughout the region with a concomitant loss of population.

This study will focus on two periods in the five centuries that followed these

....

[15] Ibid.

Dark Ages; the Archaic and the Classical. The main argument of this paper is that the development of farmer-soldiers into citizens occurred in the earlier Archaic period. These freeholders met property requirements that qualified them into the third-class of citizens. These hoplites, who were able to serve as minor officials, were crucial agents in the development of democratic ideals during the Archaic period. The fourth-class of citizens, the thetes, who had little or no property, only became influential in the later Classical period with the development of Athens' powerful navy since they served as sailor-rowers.

The Archaic period (i.e., the 8th through 6th centuries) saw re-population of the entire region. Greek mythology claims the first settlers came from Doria in the northern reaches of the Aegean. Some scholars suggest it is likely that the earliest settlers did pass through Doria, but they probably originated farther north near the Black Sea.[16] As expected, early settlers during this period claimed the best lands (i.e., those with fertile soil, good water, and defensible perimeters). Sometime during the early Archaic period, out-migration began, perhaps because of overpopulation in the best lands. These colonists settled throughout the northern Mediterranean coast.

Perhaps because native populations resisted these invasions, returning colonists and other dispossessed Greeks resettled on marginal lands on the Grecian mainland. These eschatia, or marginal lands, were generally undesirable property and had probably been left unclaimed by the original settlers. They included rocky, craggy plots in higher elevations, with little moisture and less fertile soils. Annual cereal grains would not grow in these lands. Unlike larger estates on the plains, these areas were not amenable to horses or other draught animals.[17]

In the later Archaic period, Draco, an early Athenian leader, presided over the first codification of laws, which began the tradition that laws not the whims of aristocrats guided policymaking. In the early sixth century, Solon, a shadowy figure, served as archon of Athens (i.e., chief administrator elected by the nobles for an annual term). In later periods, the ancient Athenians made many wild claims about Solon's legendary accomplishments, especially about the creation of an "ancestral constitution." Most of these assertions are viewed with suspicion by current scholars.

As archon, Solon either codified or established a class-based system that

....

[16] Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[17] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

replaced the aristocratic right to make decisions.[18] In effect, he replaced a system based entirely on hereditary (i.e., noble birth) with a new system based on wealth. It appears he also abolished a nascent peasantry system. Further, he resisted efforts to redistribute land and even required each citizen to take an oath to oppose land redistribution. The original sources are unclear, but somehow he restricted indenture and made the sale of land very difficult. Traditional scholarship maintained that land in Athens was completely inalienable. However, more modern interpretations suggest that land could be transferred under some conditions, but evidently this rarely occurred.[19] For our purposes, this is an important consideration, because it led to a population of many rural freeholders that did not have fealty ties to nobility, unlike in other parts of the ancient world.

The Classical period (i.e., c. 507 to 321) corresponds to the full flowering of Greek civilization, including the development of democracy, the arts, architecture, and engineering for which they are well-recognized.[20] This period begins with a major reformation of democracy by Cleisthenes, who served as archon in 508. Prior to this period, the nobles elected one of their own to serve as leader and the citizenry was able to "express" their opinion in the Ekklesia, or national Assembly of all citizens.

Cleisthenes fundamentally re-arranged the foundation of the Athenian political system by dismantling the four existing tribes, which provided men with their citizenship rights. A substantial majority of the population (including women, foreigners, and slaves) had no citizenship rights and were excluded from nearly all political activities.[21] Cleisthenes created 139 demes (townships or counties), which became the basic local unit of government in Classical Athens. Every citizen was ascribed to a deme and hitherto male residents could only claim citizenship by being presented to their father's deme assembly, which voted on each young man's citizenship credentials (i.e., a man had to vouch for his son's birthright at attainment of adulthood).

Beyond this, Cleisthenes severely curtailed the power of Council of Areopagus, which was the primary decision maker in earlier times. The Council comprised the ex-archons, the annual leaders who were elected from and by the noble families. Much of their power was transferred to the Ekklesia, which was required to meet frequently; forty times a year at regularly-scheduled intervals.

....

[18] Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[19] Moses Finley, Politics in the Ancient World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[20] Charles Freeman, The Greek Achievement: The Foundation of the Western World, (New York, Viking Press, 1999).

[21] For more on the status of women in the ancient world, see Sarah B. Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity, (New York: Shocken Books, 1975).

Moreover, Cleisthenes created or strengthened a range of additional tribal, regional, and national government institutions, a few of which we examine below.

Later democratic reforms opened up participation even more during the middle of the fifth century. During the 460s, Ephialtes further restricted the power of the Council of Areopagus in court proceedings only to murder trials. Ephialtes was something of a mentor and certainly an ally of Pericles, the famed general and democratic leader. By the 440s, Pericles is credited with instituting pay for public service (e.g., on juries and the Ekklesia) and a long list of public works, especially re-development on the Acropolis (including the Parthenon), construction of the Long Wall to protect Athens' access to the sea, and a substantial naval expansion.[22] In 321, Athenian democracy was abolished by the Macedonians after the Greek defeat at Crannon.

Citizenship and Social Class

As discussed above, Solon is associated with the Athenian refounding via a class-based political system which curtailed the near-absolute power of aristocrats. The Solonian Constitution rested on four categories of citizens based on how much income their lands produced. The two upper classes were entitled to all of the perquisites of citizenship, including service as archon and other high-ranking officials. The third class was the hoplite-farmers, who I have highlighted and discussed above; their power expanded significantly during the early Archaic Period. The lowest class of citizens was the thetes, "mostly landless poor or impoverished subsistence farmers … [who were] excluded from most formal political representation",[23] until the Classical period.

During much of its history, the Athenian democracy did not directly tax most of its citizens. The "machinery of government in a polis was quite limited, a council representing the upper classes, the basileus [i.e., "king"] disappeared, [and] executive power parcel out among several officials".[24] This tiny governmental operation was funded by roughly 1,200 of the wealthiest Athenian citizens through a system of "liturgies" or public service, which included both civic-religious and military contributions. Essentially, the wealthy took turns sponsoring annual religious and cult ceremonies—including animal sacrifices—

....

[22] Donald Kagan, Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy, (New York: Free Press, 1991).

[23] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995), 112.

[24] Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 31.

that shared their largesse with the general public.[25] Jones[26] argues that the resultant provision of resources is a form of "patronage" where the "Big Man" eases farmers' plight during crisis. This form of crisis insurance is pervasive throughout ancient times,[27] and continues even into recent hunter-gatherer societies.[28]

Thus, Athens had an explicit system of wealth-based forms of participation. Upper classes were able to serve in the highest offices, the middle class of hoplites could serve in the remaining offices, and poor citizens could vote and participate in the Ekklesia. This system has been explained as hoplite democracy, where small freeholders, had significant political equality with the upper class. Alternatively, it can be envisioned as an oligarchy, that is, rule by those with property where the majority of residents did not have citizen status. After the much later reforms associated with Pericles, the thetes, who were unable to equip themselves as hoplite-warriors, served primarily as sailor-rowers in the greatly expanded navy. Pay for this military service and a per diem for attending the Ekklesia greatly expanded their opportunities to participate in decision making.

Scholars often stress the chasmic differences between the centrality of economic rationality in modern times and the minor role of economics in ancient times.[29] In ancient Athens, citizenship was predominantly a political right, but it also stressed certain social values, including aręte (excellence) and moderation in all things. The greatest aspiration of any man was to be a "good citizen," that is, one who is active in politics by attending the Ekklesia, serving as a soldier, and taking one's turn as a government official.

The primacy of good citizenship juxtaposed with class-based categories of citizenship is difficult to reconcile. Finley[30] offers the most enlightening interpretation by arguing that elites combined a form of grassroots organizing via oratory to build majorities in the Ekklesia. These elite-politicians were wealthy citizens who sought to shape public policy. They were eager to control outcomes but the limited opportunities for decision-making meant they had to build coalitions among erratic and shifting attendance at the nearly-weekly

....

[25] Rodney Bell 2006, personal communication.

[26] Nicholas F. Jones, Rural Athens Under the Democracy, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[27] Moses Finley, Politics in the Ancient World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[28] Christopher Boehm, Hierarchy in the Forest: The Evolution of Egalitarian Behavior, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[29] See Moses Finley, The Ancient Economy, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973) and Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[30] Moses Finley, Politics in the Ancient World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Ekklesia.[31]

5 Rural Influences on Athenian Politics

Now, we can finally turn to a more thorough examination of rural life that led to the development of democracy in ancient Greece. Following this discussion, I summarize the democratic values that emanated from the unique existence of small freeholders-warriors. Then, we take a brief excursion to explore rural political participation in Classical Athens.

The central thesis of this article is that a primary factor in the development of Athenian democracy was the existence of small farms owned and worked by individual families, whose men served as a ready militia. These warrior-farmers originally occupied their marginal land essentially as homesteaders. Since the land could not grow annual cereal grains, they planted capital assets, particularly olive trees and grape vines (for those two essentials of Mediterranean life: olive oil and wine, of course!). In all likelihood, water had to be hand-carried uphill to nourish tiny seedlings in their first year or two. This long-term investment required extensive nurturing in the early years and constant protection from marauding enemies.[32]

These self-sufficient farms were small by modern standards, perhaps seven to 11 acres[33], but possibly as miniscule as four acres.[34] In an extensive review of archaeological evidence, Boyd and Jameson[35] show that rectangular plots of agricultural land throughout ancient Greece were typically between nine and 14 acres. In short, freeholders owned enough arable land to sustain a small family, but not much more. So, the risk of crisis was an ever-present threat.

While the advantages of fallowing were well-understood by the ancients, the tiniest farms probably planted their entire acreage annually for maximum production. Given the vagaries of weather, natural disaster, and foreign invasion, subsistence farmers would hedge their bets by planting extensively to provide for the needs of their family during the worst of times. The ancients were fearful of change and so most scholars conclude there was limited agricultural

[31] David Stockton, The Classical Athenian Democracy, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[32] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

[33] Ibid.

[34] Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[35] Thomas D. Boyd and Michael H. Jameson, "Urban and Rural Land Division in Ancient Greece," Hesperia, 50 (1981), 327–342.

innovation.[36] Farmers grew what worked for their forefathers and prayed the gods would provide them with adequate moisture (but not too much water). Some annual cereal grains were interplanted with the perennials. Given the arid climates, barley—not the more highly-valued, but thirsty wheat—was probably the annual choice, because barley can feed both humans and draught animals.[37]

Almost certainly, these lands had been denuded of native woody plants for use as charcoal, where numerous charcoal-burners eked out a livelihood. Like freeholders, these other rural occupations stressed the value of self-sufficiency.[38] Older scholarship concludes that rural Greeks lived in small villages and walked to their farms. However, Hanson[39] provides convincing evidence that at least some ancients lived on their farms. Indeed, the only archaeological remains in nearly all rural villages in the region are a small arena, a rudimentary marketplace, and—on occasion—a cultic temple usually with a priestly residence, but no other domiciles. An extensive archaeological project finds little evidence for rural villages during the Archaic period, hence it was likely that most farmers lived on their farms.[40] Moreover, presumably many small farmers owned two or more plots within walkable distance from their main abode.

Scholarship offers widespread agreement that military service—a militia of heavy infantry—was essential to the development of democracy. The Greeks invented the phalanx, a shield wall of heavy infantry, which instilled equality. In the phalanx, the entire platoon was comprised of similarly armoured soldiers, where each literally protects their neighbour to the left with a large shield. The phalanx operated as a single unit to stab and push the enemy; discipline and communal action were essential to success. Since these units were organized at the demes level, one's compatriots were one's father, uncle, brother and close neighbours. One would not easily break ranks to abandon family and friends.[41]

Light infantry, which typically fight as individual warriors directed by a mounted officer, are highly vulnerable to enemy sword cuts and attacks. In contrast, a line

[36] Yet, Athenians are widely recognized as innovators in a range of activities, notably, for our purposes, the invention of democracy. See Charles Freeman, The Greek Achievement: The Foundation of the Western World, (New York, Viking Press, 1999).

[37] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

[38] John G. Landels, Engineering the Ancient World, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).

[39] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

[40] See Tjeerd H. Van Andel and Curtis Runnels, Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987) and Michael H. Jameson et al, A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[41] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

of heavy infantry brought the officer into the phalanx. Aristocratic leaders had to get off their "high horses" and join the ranks. Thus, veterans, who experienced equality in battle, demanded an opportunity to deliberate on war decisions. Men of equal rank on the battlefield made public policy collegially.[42]

Ritual oaths also created political identity as a "powerful public expression of collective approval and disapproval. ... Public performance of oath ritual was directly related to the expansion of the electorate and the expansion of political responsibility".[43] Relevant to our interests, these oaths included curses that directly harmed one's household economy. These oaths had a clear agrarian basis:

Promissory oaths bound the citizen to the city and identified areas of duty and obligation. The self-directed conditional curse represented the risks of breaking an oath to the community ...and the curses used by males shows us what citizens especially valued: their land, their agricultural produce, their animals, their children. Children are not listed as objects of affection, but as physical products. ... Wives are symbols of production.[44]

The evidence strongly supports the argument that Athenian democracy is founded on small freeholders who served as hoplites. The twin roles of self-sufficient farmers and self-armoured militia lead to shared decision making.

Urban and Religious Influences?

Urban centres and religion also laid the foundation for democracy in ancient Athens. But even these social institutions were grounded in farm life. Some scholars stress the importance of "urban development" or at least stationary markets in the economic and political differences in the Greek world. Caution is warranted in understanding the relationship between a central congregation point and the nature of the community. In ancient times, "only Hellas had stationary markets in which enterprising individuals played important economic roles".[45] In other parts of the ancient world, central palace-kingdoms dominated; a central authority made and implemented economic decisions. In the Homeric tales, the polis was a walled hill and an open space for assembly. However, by Classical times, this area was usually called the asty or town and the idea of a polis was transformed. This transformation during the Classical period is

....

[42] Ibid.

[43] Susan Guettel Cole, "Oath Ritual and the Male Community at Athens," in Dēmokratia: A Conversation of Democracies, Ancient and Modern, ed. Josiah Ober and Charles Hedrick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 227.

[44] Ibid., 241.

[45] Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 22.

explained clearly by Starr.[46]

The focal point [of the polis] was not a city ... the presence or absence of an urban center was incidental; what was vital to a polis was a certain attitude of its inhabitants which was embodied in their political and social organization, a union of human beings not on a basis of personal loyalty to a leader but as a firm community entity. Citizens felt that the state theoretically embodied or safeguarded justice (dike).

While the essential spirit of the polis encouraged in many ways the free activity of its citizens, nonetheless it imposed communal solidarity. … Greek poleis emerged in an era when almost all their inhabitants were farmers; political rights were often directly tied to ownership of land, and not infrequently remained so even after non-agricultural economic sectors had developed. ... The ideal of the polis, in fourth-century political theory, was in the end one of autarkeia or local self-sufficiency.[47]

Thus, scholarship suggests that it was not the "urban" that fostered community identity and democratic development, but the union of similarly-placed freeholders who saw mutual advantages in defence. Moreover, we cannot ignore the religious foundation of the community for which Connor[48] suggests,

[While] Cleisthenes brought together the habits of equality and shared decision-making … [Dionysiac worship was the] first imaginings of a new type of community. [It] did not spring from Athenian leadership, but they recognized and used it. … Dion is a democratic god; he is accessible to all ... directly in his gift of wine. Original appeal was mainly to people who had no citizen rights in the aristocratic 'gentile state' and were excluded from older cults associated with great families. [The] transference of religious practices into public space further fostered political concepts like public deliberation and equality of speech as appropriate and expected behaviours for every member of the political community.

Thus, Dionysiac worship created an imagined community which grew from established mythological origins. The Greek belief in a common ancestry that arrived in an "empty land" as original settlers furthered the notion of equality. Ancient Greeks thought of themselves as brothers—or at least close cousins— with the same familial roots. These urban and religious foundations are

....

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., 31–34. Italics my emphasis

[48] Robert W. Connor, "Civil Society, Dionysiac Festival, and the Athenian Democracy," In Dēmokratia: A Conversation of Democracies, Ancient and Modern, ed. Josiah Ober and Charles Hedrick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 222–223.

important, but not stronger explanations than the rural basis discussed above. Rather, they contributed to the development of a democratic culture, which relied extensively on the workings of politics I have described so far.

Political Culture

This distinctive Athenian political culture, built on the triad of roles as farmer-militia-citizen, produced a unique set of beliefs about democratic governance.[49] First, the concept of demos is puzzling; sometimes it is translated as "the sovereign people" and other times as "the resident population." In modern times, we tend to read it more often as citizens, but the translation depends on linguistic usage and context. In a similar vein, Jones[50] indicates the demes (townships) were really two organizations: (a) the official citizen assembly and (b) a separate resident population that could include meotikoi (foreigners), women, and slaves as political participants.

Moreover, the term demokratia is inappropriate to understand Athenian political language. The term was used by oligarchs (or anti-democrats) to denigrate the classical Athenian political system as "mob rule." Democratic supporters never used the term "democracy," but would employ "equality" to describe their preferred political system. Indeed, Aristotle struggles to locate an appropriate term for his "mixed constitution" and relies on the entirely unsatisfactory "polity." Some contemporary scholars, particularly feminists, argue Athens was not truly a "democracy," because so many people, and every woman, were excluded from participation. Nonetheless, Athens during the classical period was closer to a "polyarchy" than any other ancient model of governance.

Athenians had a much more nuanced view of equality than we have today. As discussed above, they incorporated social inequality into their political system. They also recognized "equality before the law," or isonomia. The ancient historian, Herodotus, claims that isonomia included the selection of officials by lot, the accountability of officials, and decision-making by the Assembly.[51] Sortition, or the selection of officials by lottery, was a common feature of Athenian democracy. It was believed that all citizens were qualified to serve. Rather than take the risk that someone might bribe their way into office, the Athenians were willing to let the gods decide the outcome by the roll of the die. Two other features of isonomia were the evolution of the dicasts[52] and state pay

....

[49] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

[50] Nicholas F. Jones, The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[51] Robert K. Sinclair, Democracy and Participation in Athens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 17.

[52] Committees discussed below.

for public service.[53]

Moreover, a separate—now extinct—word: iregosia or equal opportunity to speak in governing councils, especially the Ekkleisa, was essential to Athenian political life.[54] Of course, although very few citizens availed themselves of the opportunity, the idea that any man who so desired could speak before the demos was highly valued. Another significant value developed by the hoplite-farmers was eleutheria (or liberty); many today would label this idea as "freedom." For ancient Athenians, it meant the right to participate in the democratic institutions and to live as one pleased.[55]

Finally, Athenians had a nuanced view of manual labour, which in general was held in low regard. Those who worked with their hands were disgusting, except for those who worked on their own farms to produce goods for their own family's use. In particular, Herodotus claims that "traders and artisans had little repute".[56] Indeed, Aristotle argued that those employed as a labourer cannot pursue excellence and therefore could not qualify as a citizen.[57] Hanson[58] shows that rural folk were regularly denigrated in comedic plays, which were performed before largely urban audiences. Rural people were often portrayed as country bumpkins wearing deerskin coats and using rough language in their unwashed state with uncouth ways.

To sum, Athenian democratic culture developed in an obviously rural environment. However, this agrarian economy was neither an early palace-kingdom nor a later feudal system. Rather, small freeholders equipped with arms were able to win a share of power from the aristocrats. They negotiated these political victories by developing democratic values, especially a belief in political equality, with specific meanings and structures.

Who Participated?

We are left with one remaining puzzle to address: rural political participation, primarily in the Classical period which is better attested. Unfortunately, the

....

[53] Robert K. Sinclair, Democracy and Participation in Athens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 19–20.

[54] Arlene W. Saxonhouse, Athenian Democracy: Modern Mythmakers and Ancient Theorists, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

[55] Robert K. Sinclair, Democracy and Participation in Athens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[56] Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[57] See Chester G. Starr, The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977) and Julie K. Ward. Two Conceptions of Physis in Aristotle's Ethics and Politics. Asia International Forum. Available at http://www.siue.edu/EASTASIA/Ward_022503.htm (4 June 2010).

[58] Victor Davis Hanson, The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

evidence regarding urban-rural differences is very thin, so I offer some general conclusions based on tenuous assumptions. This section briefly explores the level of participation by rural residents in four governmental institutions: the demes, the Ekklesia, the Boule, and the dicasts.

Demes

Not much is known about these local units of government with Jones[59] offering the most thorough examination. The central problem here and throughout the discussion of political participation is the fact that citizens registered with their ancestral deme, regardless of where they actually resided. So, we cannot clearly classify men as rural or urban residents. It is likely that the very wealthy maintained two or more residences, at least one of which was in the asty (i.e., town or Athens proper). Jones[60] provides substantial evidence that the rural demes were more active than the urban ones. He suggests that participation in the rural demes was a replacement or substitute among rural citizens for fuller participation in the national institutions, because the asty was too distant and roads were very poor. While some of these rural organizations were active in raising large sums of money, most met infrequently, probably only several times a year, to fulfil national government obligations.

Ekklesia

The Assembly was clearly the central decision maker in Athens and it jealously guarded its power and rarely shared decisions with other institutions. Whenever it delegated power, it created rigorous mechanisms to check abuse. In general, the literature indicates that rural residents were less likely to attend as frequently as urbanites. In the early Classical period, when the thetes probably had less interest in politics, it is often presumed that the hoplites were present in significant numbers.[61] However, given the distance and poor roads, it is generally presumed that citizens who lived in or close to Athens were more likely to attend than those who lived more than a few miles away.[62] The heavy investment of time probably limited on-going rural participation to large landowners who had a second residence in town. Thus, throughout the Classical period, the Ekklesia were probably dominated by aristocrats. In

---

[59] Nicholas F. Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[60] Ibid.

[61] See Victor Davis Hanson, *The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization*, (New York: Free Press, 1995); Nicholas F. Jones, The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Robert K. Sinclair, Democracy and Participation in Athens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[62] Nicholas F. Jones, *Rural Athens Under the Democracy*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

particular, Sinclair[63] suggests that almost certainly the taxpayers (i.e., the 1,200 wealthiest citizens who sponsored the liturgies) and the 2,000 to 3,000 large property owners who paid the eisphora, the occasional property tax, attended regularly.

The Pynx, the open-space arena where the Ekklesia usually met, could only hold about 6,000 people. It is likely that less than 5,000 men attended an ordinary session.[64] While "all adult male citizens (most of whom lived fewer than a dozen miles from the city centre, and none much more than twenty-five) were entitled to attend and address and vote in the ecclesia," probably less than one-fifth of eligible citizens attended any particular Ekklesia.[65] Near the end of the Classical period, the thetes probably constituted a majority of participants. State pay for both their military service as sailor-rowers as well as state pay for attendance at the meetings probably encouraged these otherwise-unemployed poor urban men to participate. The urban population probably grew in the later Classical period as a result of higher public resources accumulated from state-owned silver mines and the exploitation of overseas allies. Moreover, the number of thetes increased over generations, because at a father's death, two (or more sons) divided his property equally, which often left neither offspring able to be self-sufficient on the resulting smaller and smaller plots.

Boule

The Council of 500 served as the "Executive Committee" which staffed or "programmed" the Ekklesia meetings. They set the agenda and often wrote proposals for the meeting. One-tenth of the Boule served as the prytaneis (or Council of Presidents) each month. This group met daily to receive messages and conduct essential business. One of the prytaneis was chosen by lot each day as chair. The Boule met most days in the year whenever there was not a religious festival or an Ekklesia meeting. They would likely attend both of these kinds of events and hence be required in the asty nearly every day of their year of Boule service. Thus, service on the Boule required a huge investment of time. Since any Bouletai (individual delegate) could only serve for one year and could not serve more than twice during his lifetime, this duty had to be rotated among members of the deme from which they were chosen. This could present a significant hardship for any farmer, especially from a smaller deme. "The demands made by membership of the Boule must have borne more heavily on citizens from rural demes."[66]

[63] Robert K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[64] Ibid., 114–119.

[65] David Stockton, The Classical Athenian Democracy, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 121.

[66] Robert K. Sinclair, Democracy and Participation in Athens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 107.

Dicasts

Sometimes misleadingly translated as "jurors," the dicasts comprised 6,000 citizens, over the age of 30, who volunteered to be empanelled for the year, which made them eligible to serve on several committees. One set of these committees constituted the court system. Dicasts were randomly selected to serve as judge-jurors on committees of 201, 501, or 1,001 members to decide criminal and civil cases. In later years, another form of committee—the nomothetai (or lawmakers)—received ideas from the Ekklesia to develop or alter a permanent law. After the introduction of pay for these tasks, it is highly likely that the urban poor—especially the aged—would be eager to serve as a dicast. Likely candidates were widowers who had given over management of the oikos (farm homestead) to their sons.[67] They would need to earn some kind of living and would have the free time. Daily stipends for service as a dicasts and attending the Assembly probably offered sufficient funds to sustain an individual, but certainly not a family.

In sum, most rural residents probably participated in national politics less often than urban residents. Given the time demands on the farm and the lengthy walk to the central meeting place, ordinary rural citizens faced severe hurdles.[68] However, wealthier ruralites and "retired" ones had more opportunities to get involved politically. Nonetheless, the expectation of political participation probably encouraged rural residents to get involved in their local deme organization at higher rates than urbanites. The latter, of course, possessed numerous opportunities to participate in the central governing institutions.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Like modern democracies, ancient Athens grew in a particular social, economic and political context. The invention of the first democracy required ingenuity, imagination and innovation. In the Archaic period, Athenians' conception of citizenship was tied to a minimum level of economic self-sufficiency, which allowed a man to serve as a valued defender. This combination of economic sustainability and martial values reflected the balance between individualism and community essential to the creation and maintenance of democracy. While Athenians recognized social inequality, the capacity to defend society led to political rights and responsibilities. Foremost among these rights were political equality and a voice in public deliberations, but they were supported by substantial political obligations beyond soldiering. Citizens were expected to stay informed on current issues, engage in politics by attending and voting at meetings and serve as a government official sometime in one's life. These set

....

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Robert Flaceliere, *Daily Life in Greece at the Time of Pericles*, (London: Phoenix Press, 1965).

of democratic values developed from self-sufficient farmers, who understood the value of community effort.

An important lesson for contemporary democracies is inculcating these obligations in citizens, especially the young. Rights and responsibilities flow from independence and individualism, which is difficult to achieve in our age of organizations. Today, citizens must imagine themselves as self-sufficient entrepreneurs who have a stake, a voice, and an obligation to become engaged in the political process. This process developed in ancient Athens as a result of rural lifestyles that have largely disappeared today. It is essential for the maintenance of democracies to re-imagine our world where individuals perceive that community success depends on their individual participation. Like ancient Athenians, we must innovate bold, new ideas that encourage citizens to re-conceptualize their individual identity with strong connections to their community.

REFERENCES

Boehm, Christopher. *Hierarchy in the Forest: The Evolution of Egalitarian Behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Boyd, Thomas D. and Michael H. Jameson. *"Urban and Rural Land Division in Ancient Greece."* Hesperia. 50 (1981): 327–342.

Cole, Susan Guettel. "Oath Ritual and the Male Community at Athens." *In Dēmokratia: A Conversation of Democracies, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Josiah Ober and Charles Hedrick. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Connor, W. Robert. "Civil Society, Dionysiac Festival, and the Athenian Democracy." *In Dēmokratia: A Conversation of Democracies, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Josiah Ober and Charles Hedrick. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Finley, Moses. *The Ancient Economy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973.

Finley, Moses. *Politics in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Flaceliere, Robert. *Daily Life in Greece at the Time of Pericles*. London: Phoenix Press, 1965.

Freeman, Charles. *The Greek Achievement: The Foundation of the Western World*. New York, Viking Press, 1999.

Gallant, W. Thomas. *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1991.

Hanson, Victor Davis. *The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization*. New York: Free Press, 1995.

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of*

Mediterranean History. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Howe, Timothy. *Pastoral Politics: Animals, Agriculture, and Society in Ancient Greece*. Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2008.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Economy of Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

Jameson, Michael H., Curtis N. Runnels and Tjeerd H. van Andel. *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Jones, F. Nicholas. *The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Jones, F. Nicholas. *Rural Athens Under the Democracy.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Kagan, Donald. *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*. New York: Free Press, 1991.

Kautsky, John H. *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Landels, G. John. *Engineering the Ancient World.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.

Martin, R. Thomas. *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

Pomeroy, B. Sarah. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Shocken Books, 1975.

Pomeroy, B. Sarah, Stanley M. Burstein, Walter Donlan, and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts. *A Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, Society, and Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Saxonhouse, W. Arlene. *Athenian Democracy: Modern Mythmakers and Ancient Theorists.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.

Sinclair, K. Robert. *Democracy and Participation in Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Starr, G. Chester. *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800-500 B.C.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Stockton, David. *The Classical Athenian Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Van Andel, H. Tjeerd and Curtis Runnels. *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Ward, K. Julie. *Two Conceptions of Physis in Aristotle's Ethics and Politics.* Asia International Forum. Available at http://www.siue.edu/EASTASIA/ Ward_022503.htm (4 June 2010).

CANCELLING DAVOS, BOARDING FOR PORTO ALEGRE:

ON "GLOBALIZATION FROM BELOW" AND ITS POLITICAL VISIONS

Žiga VODOVNIK[1]

Despite the vast amounts of media coverage and plethora of books and articles on the alter-globalization movement (AGM), the movement's innovative solutions and proposals have still not been addressed properly within the discipline of comparative politics. The aim of this article is, therefore, twofold: on one hand, the author examines the AGM's genuinely new political alternative, one founded on municipalized – yet global – democracy, horizontalism, and decentralization while, on the other, it addresses the epistemological transformation of comparative politics since many of the concepts and solutions the AGM offers are too elusive for traditional disciplines, classical theories, and Western epistemologies. The article starts from the supposition that for a long time the most important political innovations have not come from the traditional centers of political power, but have rather been invented by the "newest social movements". In the last part, the article considers topical debates on global, world and cosmopolitan citizenship in the light of a conceptualization of translocal citizenship that, in the long run, may prove to be the single most subversive thing the AGM has recuperated.

[1] Žiga Vodovnik, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, and a research fellow at Harvard University – FAS, History of American Civilization. His teaching and research focuses on social movements in the Americas, contemporary political theories and praxes, and the history of political ideas. He is the author of *Anarchy of Everyday Life – Notes on Anarchism and its Forgotten Confluences* (Založba Sophia 2010; PM Press 2011). Contact: ziga.vodovnik@fdv.uni-lj.si.

1 Introduction

> "Brothers and sisters, there is dissent over the projects
> of globalization all over the world. Those above,
> who globalise conformism, cynicism, stupidity, war,
> destruction and death. And those below who globalise
> rebellion, hope, creativity, intelligence, imagination,
> life, memory and the construction of a world that we
> can all fit in. A world with democracy, liberty and
> justice."
>
> – Subcomandante Marcos

Thomas L. Friedman, a famous *New York Times* columnist, concluded his analysis of the effects of (economic) globalization with the daring statement that people should be grateful to be living in a world in which a historical question has been resolved, and the answer is free-market capitalism. In a world in which the invisible hand of the market cannot function without a hidden fist, and McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of fighter jets.[2]

The neoliberal conception of globalization, says Friedman, forces nation states to finally put on the Golden Straitjacket of liberalization, privatization and fiscal discipline which fosters economic growth, although on the political front the Golden Straitjacket narrows the political and economic policy choices to relatively narrow parameters. "Once your country puts it on, its political choices get reduced to Pepsi or Coke – to slight nuances of taste, slight nuances of policy, slight alterations in design to account for local traditions, some loosening here or there, but never any major deviation from the core golden rules".[3] Friedman admits that its "*one-size-fits-all*" ideology does not suit the specifics of various societies and therefore the only way to enlarge it is to wear it ever tighter.

To fit into the Golden Straitjacket a country must either adopt, or be seen as moving toward, the following golden rules: making the private sector the primary engine of its economic growth, maintaining a low rate of inflation and price stability, shrinking the size of its state bureaucracy, maintaining as close to a balanced budget as possible, if not a surplus, eliminating and lowering tariffs on imported goods, removing restrictions on foreign investment, getting rid of quotas and domestic monopolies, increasing exports, privatizing state-owned industries and utilities, deregulating capital markets, making its currency convertible, opening its industries, stock and bond markets to direct foreign

....

[2]   Thomas L. Friedman, The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding the Globalization (New York, NY: Anchor Books), 443–445.

[3]   Ibid., 103.

ownership and investment, deregulating its economy to promote as much domestic competition as possible, eliminating government corruption, subsidies and kickbacks as much as possible, opening its banking and telecommunications systems to private ownership and competition and allowing its citizens to choose from an array of competing pension options and foreign-run pension and mutual funds. When you stitch all of these pieces together you have the Golden Straitjacket.[4]

Although Friedman sums up his apotheosis of the Golden Straightjacket, ergo the neoliberal conception of globalization with the conclusion that "the tighter you wear it, the more gold it produces and the more padding you can then put into it for your society," we can observe nowadays that its stitches have finally broken.[5] Two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in the middle of a global financial and economic crisis, we are discovering that praise for the hegemonic economic model described above has been too hasty, as was Margaret Thatcher with her statement that there is no alternative to neoliberalism. Moreover, the current financial meltdown and economic crisis is also revealing a crisis of politics per se, where the crisis is not understood as the incompetence of politics to mitigate the contradictions inherent to the current economic model, but as its incompetence to transcend the very same economic model. Following Nicos Paulantzas and his warning that, with the overuse of the word crisis, the word is also losing is content and clarity; we should at the very beginning theoretically elaborate the concept of crisis and our own understanding of it.[6]

In the past a crisis – economic and political – has been perceived merely as an anomaly or rupture within the harmonious working of a self-regulatory system, as a dysfunctional moment that will be overcome when the balance of the system is restored. This conception of crisis results in myopia that:

1.   overlooks many crises that are present, but are not perceived as such, because of their positive role in consolidating and reproducing the status quo, despite their undemocratic and even anti-democratic inclinations; and

2.   equates with a crisis various ruptures that are inherent to the hegemonic economic paradigm and do not represent a threat to its functioning since they are a permanent part of its consolidation and reproduction.[7]

....

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 104.

[6] Nicos Paulantzas, "La crise politique, et la crise de l'etat", in The Paulantzas Reader: Marxism, Law and the State, edited by James Martin (New York, NY: Verso, 2008), 294–322.

[7] Ibid.

The current crisis is therefore an economic and political crisis in the proper meaning of the word, a "crisis of crisis", since we face such a concentration of contradictions inherent to the system that they now represent a threat to its stability and very survival. Hence, the proper question we should ask is not how to redesign the basic contours of the Golden Straightjacket, but how to get rid of it in the first place. A myriad of innovative solutions, on the level of theoretical paradigms as well as political practices, can be found within the alter-globalization movement (AGM) or a "movement of movements". Mexican writer and activist, Gustavo Esteva, once described it as "one no and many yeses" since many different collectives and movements, in many different places, are united in their critique of neoliberal globalization, whereas their aspirations, goals and visions are diverse.[8] When the first World Social Forum was convened in 2001 under the event's official slogan "Another World is Possible", Naomi Klein remarked that the various groups and collectives gathered in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre were not cheering for a specific other world, just the possibility of one: "We were cheering for the idea that another world could, in theory, exist."[9]

After protests against the World Trade Organization summit in Seattle in the late fall of 1999, mainstream media tried to dismiss the protesters and their demands with distorted reports that depicted them as "global village idiots" (*The Wall Street Journal*), "a guerrilla army of anti-trade activists" (The Washington Post), or even as "a Noah's ark of flat-earth advocates, protectionist trade unions, and yuppies looking for their 1960s fix" (*The New York Times*).[10] Despite the vast amounts of media coverage and plethora of books and articles on the AGM, the movement's innovative solutions and proposals have still not been addressed properly within the discipline of comparative politics. Therefore, the aim of this article is to re-examine the solutions and proposals the AGM offers as an alternative to the anomalies of the neoliberal (neoconservative?) project.

The article starts from the supposition that for a long time the most important political innovations have not come from the summits of the World Economic Forum, held each year in Davos, a Swiss ski resort, but have instead been invented by the "newest social movements" (Day) that in recent years have strengthened their counter-hegemonic position, including with the initiation of the World Social Forum.[11] After a short genealogy of the AGM, an analysis of

....

[8] Gustavo Esteva in One No, Many Yeses, Paul Kingsnorth (London: Free Press, 2003), 44.

[9] Naomi Klein, Fences and Windows, Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate (London: Flamingo, 2002), 193.

[10] For more about the media representation of the AGM, see David McNally, Another World is Possible: Globalization & Anti-Capitalism (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2006).

[11] For a detailed conceptualization of the "newest social movements", see Richard J. F. Day, Gramsci is Dead, Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements (London: Pluto Press, 2005); Giorel Curran, 21st Century Dissent: Anarchism, Anti-Globalization and Environmentalism (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2006), 53–56.

prefigurative politics as a new post-ideology of the AGM will follow. In the last and main part of the article we will examine the epistemological transformation that is needed for a proper understanding of the AGM's inspirations and aspirations. In topical debates on global, world and cosmopolitan citizenship we will examine the concept of translocal citizenship, namely one of the AGM's main theoretical and political innovations and representing an important part of its attempt to delegitimize the status quo and build its alternative from the bottom-up. To sum up, our goal is twofold: on one hand, we will reflect on the AGM's ideas and practices that have not yet received proper attention while, on the other, we will address the epistemological transformation of the discipline of comparative politics.

2 MAPPING THE "MOVEMENT OF MOVEMENTS"

Writing about the AGM can be a demanding and also perilous endeavour, particularly if we bear in mind that, *per analogiam* with Subcomandante Marcos' definition of *zapatismo*, we are not dealing with a "doctrine, but an intuition. Something so open and flexible that it really occurs in all places. It poses the question: 'What is that has excluded me?' 'What is that has isolated me?' In each place the response is different. It simply poses that question and stipulates that the response is plural, that the response is inclusive."[12]

The AGM is consequently a colourful coalition of ecologists, indigenous activists, farmers, feminists, trade unionists, NGOs and other initiatives that, according to Esteva, offer "one no, and many yeses". According to Zadnikar, we can also find pieces of the AGM in the everyday resistance of life against the imperatives of the system, the joy of life and the gallows of the ordinary people, the dance of the neglected, the migration of nomads, the settling of migrants, farmers' fight for land, the love of gays, punk piercings and not least the smile of an overworked saleswoman. We should also not forget squatters, people without official documents (the "Erased" in Slovenia or the *Sans papiers* in France) and the "illegals" in the global Babylon, *adbusters* and *culturejammers*, workers in maquiladoras, the unemployed and the precarious, *piqueteros* and *cacerolazos*, activists in centri sociali, anti-war activists, feminist groups, antifascist organizations, *Reclaim the Streets, Food Not Bombs, the No Border network,* the *Save Narmada Movement (Narmada Bachao Andolan)*, the *Animal Liberation Front*, the *Earth Liberation Front*, *Earth First!*, guerrilla gardeners, anti-war and No-NATO activists, members of the *Black Cross* collectives, graffiti artists and hackers or *hacktivists* on the Internet, *Indymedia* activists, open code and copyleft advocates, organic growers, and researchers of spiritual

---

[12] Subcomandante Marcos, "The Seven Loose Pieces of the Global Jigsaw Puzzle," in Ya Basta! – Ten Years of the Zapatista Uprising, ed. Žiga Vodovnik (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004), 45.

dimensions.[13]

Many studies conclude that the AGM was born amid the tear gas and rain that accompanied the anti-WTO protests in Seattle in 1999, but its broader understanding – as the umbrella term under which we can place many different political inspirations and aspirations – opens a new dilemma of where to start with its genealogy. Zahara Heckscher, for instance, traces antecedents of the AGM already back to the late 18th century, more precisely, in the Tupac Amaru II uprising between 1780–1781. Heckscher believes the uprising represents "a bridge between local anti-colonial rebellion and transnational social movements against exploitive economic integration".[14] The movement was one of the first to overcome ethnic, religious and even gender differences, and was also able to connect European Enlightenment ideas with indigenous cultures. In his seminal history of Latin America entitled *Open Veins of Latin America*, Eduardo Galeano also detects many regional and global networks of anti-colonial resistance that set the beginnings of the AGM many decades, if not centuries before the famous "battle in Seattle".[15] On the other hand, Benedict Anderson concludes in *Under the Three Flags* that the global anarchist movement at the end of the 19th century is not only the main ideological inspiration of the AGM, but also its very beginning.[16]

If, however, we focus solely on the second half of the "short 20th century", then we can trace the beginnings of the AGM in Liberation Theology in the global South, and the autonomist movements in the North (e.g., *Autonomia* in Italy, *Autonomen* in Germany). Experiences from the 1960s namely only strengthened the distrust of trade unions and political parties, resulting in a new form of political organizing that connected radical workers, students, urban youth, unemployed, indigenous and other marginalized social groups or declassé elements of modern societies that Marx famously dismissed as the *lumpenproletariat*. It was about this time that the first infoshops, social centres and squats were founded, while the first protests against the growing power of supranational financial institutions were organized. These developments, particularly the protests against the International Monetary Fund, often also called "riots for bread", were forecasting the birth of a new global justice

....

[13] Epitomized from Darij Zadnikar, "Que se vayan todos!", Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo XXXI, 212 (2003): 5–8; Darij Zadnikar, "Kronika radostnega uporništva", in Spreminjamo svet brez boja za oblast: pomen revolucije danes, John Holloway (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2004).

[14] Zahara Heckscher, "Long before Seattle: Historical Resistance to Economic Globalization", in Global Backlash: Citizen Initiatives for a Just World Economy, ed. Robin Broad (Manham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 86–91.

[15] Eduardo Galeano, Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1973).

[16] Benedict Anderson, Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination (New York, NY: Verso, 2007).

movement.

The AGM was born, or at least came to world attention, on the day of "the end of history", when the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) came into force. On that morning, the indigenous people of Chiapas, Mexico, chose to start war against oblivion, as the NAFTA – it enabled buying communal land and on the other hand banned subsidies to indigenous farm cooperatives – would bring the "summary execution" of all indigenous people in Mexico. Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tojolabal, Ch'ol, Zoque, and Mam Indians, dressed in handmade blankets, rough sandals, woollen ski-masks, and many of them armed only with wooden facsimiles of guns, disrupted the festive mood with a declaration of war against neoliberal globalization. The uprising was dangerous to its opponents, and attractive to its supporters, because of its "modest" demand – to build another world, a world with many worlds in it (*un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos*). As Esteva explains, this immodest goal of the Zapatista uprising is not a residue of some romantic dreams or illusions, but in a world of cynicism and hypocrisy it is a completely pragmatic attitude.[17]

The Zapatista uprising and the later encuentro against neoliberalism and for humanity (*Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo*) mark the birth of the AGM or the "movement of movements". The encuentro, organized in the Lacandon jungle in 1996 by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (*Ejercito Zapatista Liberation National,* EZLN), resulted in an appeal for intercontinental network of resistance, recognizing differences and acknowledging similarities, [that] will strive to find itself in other resistances around the world. This intercontinental network of resistance will be the medium in which distant resistances may support one another. This intercontinental network if resistance is not on organizing structure; it has no central head or decision maker; it has no central command or hierarchies. We are the network, all of us who resist.[18]

An important outcome of the Zapatista *encuentro*, one still often overlooked, was the global network the *People's Global Action* (PGA), which "unites anarchist collectives in Europe and elsewhere with groups ranging from Maori activists in New Zealand, fisherfolk in Indonesia, or the Canadian postal workers' union", and that would become one of the main organizers of the counter-summits from Seattle and Prague, to Quebec and Genoa.[19] The network includes many

....

[17] Gustavo Esteva, "The Other Campaign, APPO and the Left: Reclaiming an Alternative", in Teaching Rebellion, Stories from the Grassroots Mobilization in Oaxaca, ed. Diana Denham and C.A.S.A. Collective (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2008), 336.

[18] Subcomandante Marcos in Our Word is Our Weapon: Selected Writings of Subcomandante Marcos, ed. Juana Ponce de León (New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2001), 125.

[19] See David Graeber and Andrej Grubačić. Anarchism, Or The Revolutionary Movement of The Twenty-first Century. Available at: http://www.zcommunications.org/znet/viewArticle/9258 (June 10, 2010).

movements and collectives that cannot be reduced to a single ideological platform but, as can be seen from its *Hallmarks*, the organizational principles of the PGA are identical to the main anarchist ideas:

1.   A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalization.
2.   We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings.
3.   A confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organizations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker;
4.   A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism.
5.   An organizational philosophy based on decentralization and autonomy.[20]

The story of the AGM then continues with the growing (international) recognition of the Brazilian landless farmers' movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*) and the Indian Karnataka State Farmers' Association (*Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha*); the strengthening of the global coalition of small farmers Vía Campesina; the restoration of the international network for the democratic supervision of financial markets and institutions ATTAC (*Association pour la Taxation des Transactions por l'Aide aux Citoyens*); revolts against privatization of the water system (and rainwater) in Bolivia, privatization of the energy system in South Africa, the "Washington Consensus" policies, and neoliberalism in Argentina; the creation of the international research and education institution *The International Forum on Globalization*; the organization of the first World Social Forum (*Fórum Social Mundial*) in Porto Alegre, that was followed by regional social forums in Europe, Africa, and Asia; leading to the biggest protests in the history of mankind when on February 15, 2003 over 20 million people all over the world protested against the war in Iraq.

Although the AGM is a diverse "coalition of coalitions", as Klein once described it, and unites various collectives and movements that were often oppositional in the past, the AGM has still managed to develop its own collective identity. However, the AGM's diversity can be viewed as both a fundamental strength and a fundamental weakness. Diversity can come at a high cost, especially "[i]n a political culture that values unity, the AGM's diversity provides opportunities

....
[20] See People's Global Action (PGA). *Hallmarks*. Available at: http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/ (June 10, 2010).

for its critics to disparage it and security forces to undermine it."[21] What we should address next, therefore, is the AGM's (post-ideological) connective tissue, which manages to preserve its unity in diversity.

3 Anarchism and the alter-globalization movement: prefiguration as the post-ideology of the movement?

While we can clearly not define the AGM as an anarchist movement only, we can without any hesitation add that the majority of its creative energy is nowadays coming exactly from anarchist groups. On the other hand, anarchist principles are so widespread throughout the AGM that we could mark it as anarchist in places where it is without this identity.

According to Giorel Curran, "post-ideological anarchism" represents the main ideological current within the AGM, and at the same time also its best response to the reconfigured ideological landscape that renders doctrinal purity obsolete.[22] "Post-ideological anarchism" adopts ideas and principles from classical anarchism very flexibly and non-doctrinally, and simultaneously rejects its traditional forms to construct genuinely new autonomous politics. So, is it possible to talk about a new anarchism within the AGM?

In Dave Neal's essay *Anarchism: Ideology or Methodology?* We find two basic positions within anarchism – *capital-A* and *small-a* anarchism. If *capital-A* anarchism puts an emphasis on achieving ideological uniformity, and can be understood as "a set of rules and conventions to which you must abide", then *small-a* anarchism is understood as a methodology or "a way of acting, or a historical tendency against illegitimate authority".[23]

Duality within anarchism can also be found in Jeffs' conceptualization of *latent* and *manifest* anarchism. *Manifest* anarchism represents "a deliberate take over of ideology and practices, and with this self-identification of the subject as an anarchist", while latent anarchism bears the same characteristics as Neal's conceptualization of anarchism as a methodology. Latent anarchism therefore "represents various practices that have been throughout history conceived past relations of power and submission. For these, neither interpellation nor constitution of an individual into a subject of some self-reflected anarchism isn't

....

[21] Giorel Curran, 21st Century Dissent: Anarchism, Anti-Globalization and Environmentalism (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2006), 64.

[22] *Ibid.*, 2.

[23] See Neal, Dave. *Anarchism: Ideology or Methodology?* Available at: http://www.infoshop.org/library/Dave_Neal:Anarchism:_ideology_or_methodology (June 10, 2010).

crucial."[24]

In an essay written before the boom of the AGM, Neal estimated that within the movement we could still find "a plethora of Anarchists – ideologues – who focus endlessly on their dogma instead of organizing solidarity among workers". A decade later, David Graeber contemplates that what we might call *capital-A* anarchism still exists within the AGM, but it is the small-a anarchism that represents the real locus of creativity within the AGM.[25] In his reflection on new anarchism, he stresses that it still has an ideology but for the first time it is an entirely new one – *i.e.*, a post-ideology that is immanent in the anti-authoritarian principles underlying its political practice.

A constant complaint about the globalization movement in the progressive press is that, while tactically brilliant, it lacks any central theme or coherent ideology. . . . [T]his is a movement about reinventing democracy. It is not opposed to organization. It is about creating new forms of organization. It is not lacking in ideology. Those new forms of organization are its ideology. It is about creating and enacting horizontal networks instead of top-down structures like states, parties or corporations; networks based on principles of decentralized, non-hierarchical consensus democracy. Ultimately, it aspires to be much more than that, because ultimately it aspires to reinvent daily life as whole.[26]

In her article *Anarchism* and the *Anti-Globalization Movement*, Barbara Epstein also ascertains that anarchism in the AGM represents the main inspiration for a new generation of activists. Their understanding of anarchism surpasses its narrow interpretation that reduces it to a set of prefabricated solutions or even to an eternal truth that can only be interpreted, commented upon, or confirmed anew. We could state that the opening of political space within the AGM is leading to final acceptance of an upgraded version of Marx's eleventh thesis on Feuerbach which, according to Maurice Brinton states: "The activists have hitherto only interpreted Marx and Bakunin in various ways; the point is to change them."[27]

Epstein states that we can distinguish anarchism per se, thus "capital-A" anarchism or anarchism as an ideological tradition, and anarchist *sensibilities* that overlap with the fluid, flexible and eclectic position of "small-a" anarchism. For contemporary young activists anarchism does not represent some abstract

....

[24] Nikolai Jeffs, "All you need is love (nasilje, emancipacija, pa tudi nekaj uvodnih besed…)," *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo* XXVI, 188 (1998): 23.

[25] David Graeber, "The New Anarchists", in *A Movement of Movements, Is Another World Really Possible?*, edited by Tom Mertes (New York, NY: Verso, 2004), 214.

[26] *Ibid.*, 212.

[27] David Goodway (ed.), *For Worker's Power: The Selected Writings of Maurice Brinton* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004), 3.

radical ideology, but instead means a decentralized organizational structure, based on affinity groups that work together on an ad hoc basis, and decision-making by consensus. It also means egalitarianism; opposition to all hierarchies; suspicion of authority, especially that of the state; and commitment to living according to one's values. . . . Many envision a stateless society based on small, egalitarian communities. For some, however, the society of the future remains an open question. For them, anarchism is important mainly as an organizational structure and as a commitment to egalitarianism. It is a form of politics that revolves around the exposure of the truth rather than strategy. It is a politics decidedly in the moment.[28]

As can already be seen, the AGM contributes to the "actionization of political theory", above all, through recuperation of the concept of prefigurative politics or prefiguration that claims that we should create the future in the present with political and economic organizing alone, or at least foresee social changes and solutions for which we aspire. It is an attempt to overcome current limitations with the construction of alternatives from the bottom-up, and rejects total construction of the future as a new phantasm that paralyzes human creativity and freedom, but rather simply demands a search for new political solutions that are open to modification.

4 Epistemological transformation of comparative politics

If we try to answer the question of which political and economic alternatives the AGM offers, we soon realize that to frame an adequate answer and form a proper discourse the discipline of comparative politics would have to undergo a preliminary epistemological transformation to enable it to detect and truly understand the political ideas and praxis of the AGM. Many concepts and solutions offered by the AGM are, namely, too elusive for traditional disciplines, classical theories, and Western epistemologies, therefore the analysis must be founded on new, more flexible epistemology. As Arjun Appadurai already ascertained, research in the era of globalization is a peculiar optical challenge.[29]

In the past many disciplines went through radical epistemological turbulence and these examples can offer us some guiding principles for how to reframe the discipline of comparative politics, which is still overburdened with concepts and research foci from the Cold War. Within historiography, for instance, a new generation of young scholars of the New Left enabled the discipline no earlier than the 1960s and 1970s to overcome inner limitations, best summed up by

---

[28] Barbara Epstein, "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement", *Monthly Review* 53, 4 (2001): 1–14.

[29] Arjun Appadurai, "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination", in *The Anthropology of Politics: A Reader in Ethnography, Theory, and a Critique*, ed. Joan Vincent (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 271–284.

Henry Kissinger's thesis that history is the memory of states, everything else is of minor importance. Radical historians such as, inter alia, E. P. Thompson, Howard Zinn, Staughton Lynd and Jesse Lemisch initiated history from the bottom-up or people's history which, figuratively speaking, moved its focus from those in the White House to those picketing the White House. With this shift alone, the discipline was able to detect new questions and offer new answers.

For our aims, perhaps more interesting are the current transformations of disciplines within the social sciences and humanities. Particularly beneficial directions for the development of comparative politics and political science per se can be found in the works of Portuguese sociologist Boavanture de Sousa Santosa. De Sousa Santos reasonably warns that there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice.[30] We are witnessing epistemological ignorance that strengthens the status quo and at the same time dismisses, discredits and trivializes arguments and solutions not in accordance with the hegemonic epistemological position – a hegemonic notion of truth, objectivity and rationality. What is therefore needed is an epistemological transformation that will broaden the spectrum of (relevant) political solutions and innovations. According to de Sousa Santos, the solution is "the comparative politics of absences", which transforms impossible into possible objects, absent into present objects, irrelevant into relevant objects.

If the production of the non-existence, *ergo* the hegemonic conception of comparative politics, is founded on:

1. *a monoculture of science* that turns modern science and high culture into the sole criteria of truth and aesthetic quality, respectively;
2. *a monoculture of linear time* that dismisses as "backward" whatever is asymmetrical and contrary to whatever is declared "forward";
3. *a monoculture* of classification that attempts to naturalize social differences and hierarchies;
4. *a monoculture of the universal and the global* that trivializes all particular and local practices and ideas, and renders them incapable of being credible alternatives to what exists globally and universally; and
5. *a monoculture of capitalist production and efficiency* that privileges growth through market forces and dismisses other systems of production as non-productive;[31]

then "the comparative politics of absences" should be founded on the following epistemological assumptions:

....

[30] Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "The World Social Forum: Toward a Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation (Part I)", in *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*, ed. Jai Sen et al. (New Delhi: The Viveka Foundation, 2004), 238.

[31] *Ibid.*, 238–239.

1. *an ecology of knowledges* that recognizes other knowledge and criteria of rigor that operate credibly in social practices;

2. *an ecology of temporalities* that understands linear time as only one of many conceptions of time and that is not even the most commonly adopted one. The rejection of linear time places other and different political and social practices on the same level as political and social practices of the West since now they become another form of contemporaneity;

3. *an ecology of recognition* that rejects the colonial ideas of race and sexuality, and tries to articulate a new nexus between the principles of equality and of difference, thus allowing for the possibility of equal differences;

4. *an ecology of trans-scale* that rejects the logic of the global scale and recuperates particular and local practices and ideas as relevant alternatives;

5. *an ecology of productiveness* that refutes the hegemonic paradigm of development and infinite economic growth. It recuperates and validates alternative systems of production, popular economic organizations, workers' co-operatives, self-managed enterprises etc., which have been trivialized by the capitalist orthodoxy of productivity.[32]

"The comparative politics of absences" thus rescues and reveals the diversity and multitude of political practices and ideas that may inform a credible new counter-hegemonic conception of the discipline suitable for the postmodern, globalized world. A relevant example of the epistemological transformation of the discipline can also be found in recent breakthroughs within contemporary anthropology. With their conceptualization of "other anthropologies/anthropology otherwise", Eduardo Restrepo and Arturo Escobar call for a critical awareness of both the larger epistemic and political field in which disciplines emerged and continue to function, and of the micro-practices and relations of power within and across different locations and traditions of individual disciplines.[33] "Other comparative politics/comparative politics otherwise" would consequently have to analyze other, subalternized forms of knowledge, modalities of writing, political and intellectual practices etc. The solution is once again an epistemological and methodological transformation that will overcome the "asymmetrical ignorance" and "parochial mentality" that still characterizes the discipline of

....

[32] *Ibid.*, 239–240. For a further elaboration of the sociology of absences, see Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "The World Social Forum: Toward a Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation (Part I)," in World Social Forum: Challenging Empires, ed. Jai Sen et al. (New Delhi: The Viveka Foundation, 2004), 235–245; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond (London: Zed Books, 2006); Boaventura de Sousa Santos (ed.), Cognitive Justice in a Global World: Prudent Knowledges for a Decent Life (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); Boaventura de Sousa Santos (ed.), Another Knowledge Is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies (New York, NY: Verso, 2008).

[33] Eduardo Restrepo and Arturo Escobar, "Other Anthropologies and Anthropology Otherwise: Steps to a World Anthropologies Framework," *Critique of Anthropology* 25, 2 (2005): 99–129.

comparative politics. How then should we reveal the subalternized?

1. *By accepting an un-disciplinary and anti-disciplinary approach* that offers a radical critique of the canon of authority and authorization crucial for the reproduction of the dominant political science. Un-disciplinarity and anti-disciplinarity at the same time reject the idea of inter- and trans-disciplinarity that implicitly strengthens the separation of individual disciplines and fields of research.

2. *By moving beyond the academic and non-academic divide.* Within political theory the most important theoretical contribution and insight has for a long time come from the ranks of academics and activists who are involved in a critical and reflective practice of social movement through "co-research", "militant investigation" or "action research". The participation of scholars-activists in contemporary social struggles results in "collective theorization" of all topical and also sensitive issues, as well as the search for realistic and, above all, credible analysis that are all later offered to movements as a contribution to the success of their common struggles.

As already noted, a similar epistemological and methodological transformation within the discipline of comparative politics would, *inter alia*, result in new forms of knowledge, modalities of writing etc. We should add that the shift would also result in the acceptation of new methodologies, research foci and research ambitions, which would be a first step towards the pluralization and decentralization of political science. According to de Sousa Santos, even this would also mark the first step towards cognitive justice as a prerequisite for global social justice.

5 The municipalization of political membership and translocal citizenship

In the past practically every single progressive intellectual current subsumed *politics* under *statecraft*. Consequently, their anti-statist position resulted in theoretical purism and anti-intellectualism that rejected every in-depth reflection of key concepts such as political power or even citizenship. According to Murray Bookchin, politics and statecraft are not only significantly different, but are in opposition to each other. Historically, politics has not been and could not be developed within the state since it has always been closer to a philosophical concept of praxis as a free and creative activity of individuals within fluid polities.[34] The modern state, on the other hand, was born as a reactionary response to Renaissance humanism, and has always been an obstacle to

---

[34] Murray Bookchin, *Social Ecology and Communalism* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007), 93–94.

global democracy.[35] Moreover, for Richard Day, the struggle for dismantlement of community through demutilization that is being waged between community on one hand, and state and corporate forms on the other, is indeed the struggle of the (post)modern condition.[36]

David Graber also acknowledges that politics and statecraft are in mutual conflict. Graeber contends that majoritarian democracy, in all its forms, has been a rarity in the history of political communities, because it builds on two factors that only rarely co-exist:

1.   belief that people should have an equal say in the decision-making;
2.   a coercive apparatus capable of enforcing those decisions.[37]

Graeber claims that throughout human history it has been extremely unusual to have both ideas at the same time. In egalitarian societies it has usually been considered wrong to impose develop systematic coercion, whereas in polities where a system of coercion did develop it did not even occur to those wielding it that they were enforcing any sort of popular will.[38]

In the end, the common denominator of the various movements and collectives that comprise the AGM and also its most interesting contribution on the political and theoretical level can be found in their new understanding of political community and political membership.[39] In current debates on citizenship they intervene with communalism and libertarian municipalism that, *inter alia*, offer a new conceptualization of nomadic citizenship – we might call it translocal citizenship. Translocal citizenship is yet another outcome of the AGM's focus on prefigurative politics as an attempt to create the future in the present with political and economic organizing alone, or at least foresee social changes for which we aspire. It is indeed an attempt to overcome current limitations with a construction of alternatives from the bottom-up since it foresees a renewal of the political power of local communities, and their federation into a global non-statist network as an anti-power to nation-states and corporate power.

Communalism and libertarian municipalism resonate the theory of the German anarchist writer Gustav Landauer who, already at the beginning of the 20th century, revealed that for political emancipation we should overcome the negative fetishization of the state. According to Landauer, an author not well

....

[35] *Cf.* Tom Mertes, "Grass-roots Globalism," in *A Movement of Movements, Is Another World Really Possible?*, ed. Tom Mertes (New York, NY: Verso, 2004), 238.

[36] Richard J. F. Day, *Gramsci is Dead, Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 38.

[37] David Graeber, *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion, and Desire* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007), 342.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] For a short introduction to communalism and libertarian municipalism, see Murray Bookchin, *Social Ecology and Communalism* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007).

known outside anarchist circles, the state is rather "a condition, a certain relationship among human beings, a mode of behaviour" that must be theoretically addressed and not rejected merely due to our theoretical purity or ontological principles. Therefore, a state is not something that can be destroyed by means of a revolution, which is why it is necessary to build libertine enclaves next to it, or to postulate a revolution as a "peaceful and gradual creation of counterculture" opposite to the idea of "a revolution as a violent mass rebellion". It is not possible to attain a free society merely by replacing an old order with a new one since it can only be attained by spreading the spheres of liberty to such an extent that they finally prevail over the entire social life. If the state is in all of us, then we can abolish it only by revising our behaviour.

One can overturn a table and smash a windowpane; but they are puffed-up word-spewers [*Wortemacher*] and gullible word-adorers [*Wortanbeter*], who hold the state for such a thing – akin to a fetish – that one can smash in order to destroy. The state is a relationship between human beings, a way by which people relate to each other; and one destroys it by entering into other relationships, but behaving differently to each other. . . . [W]e must recognize the truth: we are the state – and are it as long as we are not otherwise, as long as we have not created the institutions that constitute a genuine community and society of human beings.[40]

In her reflection on the AGM, Cindy Milstein acknowledges that it is time for the movement to transcend from protest to politics, from shutting streets down to opening public space up, from supplication to those few in power to taking over political power.[41] The trend we can detect within the AGM is therefore a prefigurative adventure into new political practices and structures that – in the here and now – draw contours of the democratic changes that the movement aspires to. Within the AGM, the prefiguring of alternatives is also accepted through Hakim Bey's popular conceptualization of spontaneous and subversive tactics of *Temporary Autonomous Zones* (TAZ) "which liberates a part (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, *before* the State can crush it."[42]

According to Jeffs' elaboration of Bey's theory of TAZ, the political change should be "deterritorialized, decentralized, and delinearized on all political, economic, social, libidinal, and, last but not least, narrative levels, and small and nomadic forms of resistance introduced, also because there is not a single place in the

....

[40] Gustav Landauer, "Schwache Staatsmänner, schwächeres Volk!," in *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE to 1939)*, ed. Robert Graham (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 2005), 165.

[41] Cindy Milstein, *Anarchism and Its Aspirations* (Oakland, CA: AK Press), 122.

[42] Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2003), 99.

world, which has not been delineated by the nation state. . . . [TAZ] is invisible to the state and flexible enough to vanish, when determined, defined, and fixated."[43] Such emancipation does not have to postpone its mission for the fulfilment of the necessary precondition – the maturity of objective historic circumstances, or the formation of some coherent subject or class – since it builds on the supposition that every individual is capable of co-creating the world with their, even if very small, gestures.[44] Going back to Landauer, the necessary change "concerns every aspect of a human life, not only the state, class structure, industry and trade, art, education. . . . The path to a new, better social order runs along a dark and fatal road of our instincts and terra abscondita of our souls. The world can only be formed from the inside out."[45]

The concept of translocal citizenship within the *municipalized* international community represents a significant departure from classical theories of citizenship because rather on *identity* it builds on *inclusion* and *participation*, rather than *equality* it accentuates differences, or "equal differences" (de Sousa Santos). Yet translocal citizenship should also not be understood as another postmodern conception of political membership characterized by relativism and particularism. It represents a critique of the universalistic assumptions within the liberal tradition, or their upgrade with differentiated universalism that draws close to Habermas' idea of "constitutional patriotism".[46]

Considering that translocal citizenship offers a different understanding of political community and stresses its constant reinvention, we should rather conclude that translocal citizenship represents a form of "unconstitutional patriotism" that in its replacement of ethnos with demosom follows a significantly more radical definition of democracy than Habermas. It does not equate democracy with a particular constitutional system only, nor with a particular constellation of centres of power within a society, but instead understands democracy in Westian terms – as a verb, and never as a noun.[47] Hence, translocal citizenship is not limited to the sphere of politics only (an achievement of the 18th eighteenth century), but logically includes all social and economic life. At the same time, the altered nexus between the local – regional – global makes it possible to finally separate political membership from the national and its constitution according to entirely new criteria. Translocal citizenship therefore does not represent the

....

[43] Nikolai Jeffs, "Intelektualci, novi razredi, anarhizmi", in *Somrak demokracije*, ed. Noam Chomsky (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1997), 368–369.

[44] See Nikolai Jeffs, "All you need is love (nasilje, emancipacija, pa tudi nekaj uvodnih besed…)," *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*, XXVI, 188 (1998), 22–23.

[45] See Gustav Landauer in Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 411–412.

[46] See Lister in Gerard Delanty, *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics* (New York, NY: Open University Press, 2006) 45–47.

[47] Cornel West, *Democracy Matters* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2005), 68.

depolitization of political membership, but rather a substantive understanding of the concept that in past decades has been reduced to a legal status without substance. In the long run, the concept, with its vision of communitarian nomadism, may prove to be the single most subversive thing the AGM has recuperated.

6 CLOSING REMARKS: ON MOVING BEYOND MODERNITY THAT MOVES FORWARD BY GOING BACKWARD

In his communiqué *Siete piezas sueltas del rompecabezas mundial*, Subcomandante Marcos, the voice and strategist of the EZLN, ascertains that with the current processes of economic globalization the nation-state is being forced to redefine its position and purpose.[48] Namely, the end of the Cold War brought with it a new framework of international relations in which the new struggle for new markets and territories produced a new world war, the Fourth World War and, as do all wars, a redefinition of the nation-state. The structure of the global economy, which has up till now been leaning against the system of sovereign nation-states, is today namely in an irreversible crisis. In the "cabaret of economic globalization" with the construction of a de-territorialized Empire, the nation-state is being reduced to the indispensable minimum.

[It] shows itself as a table dancer that strips of everything until it is left with only the minimum indispensable garments: the repressive force. With its material base destroyed, its possibilities of sovereignty annulled, its political classes blurred, the nation-states become nothing more a security apparatus of the megacorporations.[49]

Politics as the organizer of nation-states in this "new world order" ceases to exist. Now politics is nothing more than the economic organizer and politicians are administrators of companies, while "national" governments are only responsible for the administration of business in different regions of the Empire.

Nations are department stores with CEOs dressed as governments, and the new regional alliances, economic and political, come closer to being a modern commercial "mall" than a political federation. The "unification" produced by neoliberalism is economic, it is the unification of markets to facilitate the circulation of money and merchandise. In the gigantic global Hypermarket merchandise circulates freely, not people.[50]

....

[48] For an English translation of the communiqué, see Subcomandante Marcos, "The Seven Loose Pieces of the Global Jigsaw Puzzle," in *Ya Basta! – Ten Years of the Zapatista Uprising,* ed. Žiga Vodovnik (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004), 257–278.

[49] *Ibid.,* 271.

[50] *Ibid.,* 261.

This type of political architecture is not a *novum*, but merely a continuation and perfection of the hegemonic logic which, in a changed environment, consequently took on a new form. According to Marcos, this is indeed a strange modernity that moves forward by going backward.[51]

From Marcos' description of contemporary political and economic architecture it can already be seen that nowadays, when within the top 100 economies we find more multinational corporations than national economies, the nation-state ceases to exist as the only centre of sovereignty and arena where crucial political decisions are made. On these grounds, April Carter is calling for a new concept of citizenship that moves away from the idea of nationality, but at the same time surpasses the parochial forms of political community that make global connectedness impossible.[52]

The idea of translocal citizenship certainly represents interesting dialectics between the Scylla of the particular and Charybdis of the universal. We should, nevertheless, again stress that this conceptualization of citizenship and political community is not a sheer novelty, as Harold Barclay concludes in his anthropological study of non-statist polities, it "is by no means unusual; . . . it is a perfectly common form of polity or political organization. Not only is it common, but it is probably the oldest type . . . and one which has characterized most of human history."[53]

To sum up, the political vision of the AGM is an antithesis to the hegemonic economic and political paradigm. It stresses that democracy can be and needs to be worked out first on a more manageable scale, ergo within local communities. Moreover, it prefigures a different political vision that is based on municipalized (yet global) democracy, horizontalism and decentralization. There is an open space in the political landscape for a new economic and political paradigm. The panacea for "a strange modernity that moves forward by going backward" may not be found in Swiss ski resorts and other centres of political power anymore, but we might find it on the margins of the current political map where various "subterranean" collectives and movements are developing a genuinely new political alternative.

....

[51] *Ibid.*, 258.

[52] April Carter, *The Political Theory of Global Citizenship* (London: Routledge, 2001), 8.

[53] Harold Barclay, *People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1996), 12.

References

Anderson, Benedict. *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*. New York, NY: Verso, 2007.

Appadurai, Arjun. "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination." In *The Anthropology of Politics: A Reader in Ethnography, Theory, and a Critique*, ed. Joan Vincent. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004.

Barclay, Harold. *People Without Government, An Anthropology of Anarchy*. London: Kahn & Averill, 1996.

Bey, Hakim. *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2003.

Bookchin, Murray. *Social Ecology and Communalism*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007.

Carter, April. *The Political Theory of Global Citizenship*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Curran, Giorel. *21st Century Dissent: Anarchism, Anti-Globalization and Environmentalism*. New York, NY: Palgrave, 2006.

Day, Richard J. F. *Gramsci is Dead, Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*. London: Pluto Press, 2005.

Delanty, Gerard. *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics*. New York, NY: Open University Press, 2006.

Epstein, Barbara. "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement." *Monthly Review*, 53, 4 (2001): 1–14.

Esteva, Gustavo. "The Other Campaign, APPO and the Left: Reclaiming an Alternative." In *Teaching Rebellion, Stories from the Grassroots Mobilization in Oaxaca*, ed. Diana Denham and C.A.S.A. Collective. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2008.

Friedman, Thomas L. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding the Globalization*. New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2000.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Goodway, David (ed.). *For Worker's Power: The Selected Writings of Maurice Brinton*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004.

Graeber, David and Andrej Grubačić. *Anarchism, Or The Revolutionary Movement Of The Twenty-first Century*. Available at: http://www.zcommunications.org/znet/viewArticle/9258 (June 10, 2010).

Graeber, David. „The New Anarchists." In *A Movement of Movements, Is Another World Really Possible?*, ed. Tom Mertes. New York, NY: Verso, 2004.

Graeber, David. *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion, and Desire*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007.

Graham, Robert (ed.). *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE to 1939)*. Montréal: Black Rose Books, 2005.

Heckscher, Zahara. "Long before Seattle: Historical Resistance to Economic

Globalization." In *Global Backlach: Citizen Initiatives for a Just World Economy*, ed. Robin Broad. Manham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002.

Holloway, John. *Spreminjamo svet brez boja za oblast: pomen revolucije danes*. Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo. Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2004.

Jeffs, Nikolai. "Intelektualci, novi razredi, anarhizmi." In *Somrak demokracije*, ed. Noam Chomsky. Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1997.

Jeffs, Nikolai. "All you need is love (nasilje, emancipacija, pa tudi nekaj uvodnih besed…)." *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*, XXVI, 188 (1998): 9–42.

Kingsnorth, Paul. *One No, Many Yeses*. London: Free Press, 2003.

Klein, Naomi. *Fences and Windows, Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate*. London: Flamingo, 2002.

de León, Juana Ponce (ed.). *Our Word is Our Weapon: Selected Writings of Subcomandante Marcos*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2001.

Marshall, Peter. *Demanding the Impossible, History of Anarchism*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993.

Martin, James (ed.). *The Paulantzas Reader: Marxism, Law and the State*. New York, NY: Verso, 2008.

McNally, David. *Another World is Possible: Globalization & Anti-Capitalism*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2006.

Milstein, Cindy. *Anarchism and Its Aspirations*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2010.

Neal, Dave. *Anarchism: Ideology or Methodology?*. Available at: http://www.infoshop.org/library/Dave_Neal:Anarchism:_ideology_or_methodology (June 10, 2010).

People's Global Action (PGA). *Hallmarks*. Available at: http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/ (June 10, 2010).

Restrepo, Eduardo and Arturo Escobar. "Other Anthropologies and Anthropology Otherwise: Steps to a World Anthropologies Framework." *Critique of Anthropology*, 25, 2 (2005): 99–129.

Sheehan, Sean M. *Anarchism*. London: Reaktion Books, 2003.

de Sousa Santos, Boaventura. "The World Social Forum: Toward a Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation (Part I)." In *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*, ed. Jai Sen *et al*. New Delhi: The Viveka Foundation, 2004.

de Sousa Santos, Boaventura. *The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond*. London: Zed Books, 2006.

de Sousa Santos, Boaventura (ed.). *Cognitive Justice in a Global World: Prudent Knowledges for a Decent Life*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.

de Sousa Santos, Boaventura (ed.). *Another Knowledge Is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies*. New York, NY: Verso, 2008.

Subcomandante Marcos. "The Seven Loose Pieces of the Global Jigsaw Puzzle." In *Ya Basta! – Ten Years of the Zapatista Uprising*, ed. Žiga Vodovnik. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004.

Turner, Bryan and Peter Hamilton (ed.). *Citizenship: Critical Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2002.

West, Cornel. *Democracy Matters*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2005.

Zadnikar, Darij. "Le vkup, le vkup, uboga gmajna!" *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*, XXVI, 188 (1998): 5–6.

Zadnikar, Darij. "Que se vayan todos!" *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*, XXXI, 212 (2003): 5–8.

Zadnikar, Darij. "Kronika radostnega uporništva." In *Spreminjamo svet brez boja za oblast: pomen revolucije danes*, John Holloway. Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2004.

IMPLEMENTING EU LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY THROUGH OPEN METHOD OF COORDINATION IN NEW MEMBER STATES:

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, SLOVAKIA AND SLOVENIA

Urška ŠTREMFEL and Damjan LAJH[1]

The open method of coordination ('OMC') as new mode of European governance holds great potential to change and improve different aspects of education policies in individual EU member states. Due to its soft/non-obligatory way of influencing, it is particularly interesting to investigate how different member states have adopted to it and how they change their own education policies with final aim of achieving EU goals (benchmarks) in this field. From that perspective the article focuses on exploring the processes of translating objectives defined at the European level in the field of education and training into particular national and regional education policies in three new member states (the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia). The article aim is through comparative analysis investigate various national structures and procedures of putting the EU education policy objectives into practice at national level. In this way, the analysis endeavours to detect various factors that have an impact on the implementation process and reaching EU objectives in the field of education and training in new member states. The article concludes that despite some differences between investigated countries relatively good results are possible to reach without exploiting all the potentials of OMC, especially these one related to good governance.

[1] Urška Štremfel is Research Fellow at Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana and at the Centre for Political Science Research at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Her research interests include European aspects of policy analysis, especially new modes of EU governance and cooperation in the field of education policy. Damjan Lajh is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, and a researcher at the Centre for Political Science Research at the same faculty. His research interests include EU policy-making processes, especially implementation of EU cohesion policy, Europeanization processes in Slovenia, and processes of democratic transition, especially in post-Yugoslav region. As author or co-author has published five books and many articles in scientific journals such as West European Politics, Perspectives: The Central European Review of International Affairs, Mezinárodní vztahy, Politologický časopis, Politička misao, and Politics in Central Europe.

1 Introduction

During the 1950s and 1960s, education did not represent a "natural dimension" of the development of the European integration.[2] Until the early 1970s, the Council of Europe was the main intergovernmental forum for cooperation. In the framework of the European Community, the first meeting of ministers of education in the Council took place in November 1971, while the first Community action program on education was established in February 1976. In 1992, education finally gained recognition in the Treaty as this sector was incorporated into the Maastricht Treaty (Article 126). Today, education and training has finally been given a policy framework and an integrated action program, both of them devoted to the major ambition of achieving a European area of lifelong learning. Simultaneously, education and training are at the heart of the economic and social development of the European Union (hereinafter: EU). Nonetheless, at this point it is necessary to emphasize that education and training are policy fields where harmonization of the national laws and regulations with the EU legislation is not required. In this respect, the aim of the EU is primarily to contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between member states and by supporting and complementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the member states for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity. However, on the other hand, at the EU level we are able to find many decisions, resolutions and declarations referring to education, including, for example, equal opportunities for all, efficiency at school, mobility in higher education, foreign language education, safety at school, policy of non-discrimination, educational technologies and distance learning, lifelong learning, academic and vocational certification, quality of education, educational statistics, development of general and vocational training, education and possibilities of employment etc. All these activities in the EU context have common nomination – (voluntary-based) cooperation among member states.[3]

In this respect, taking into account the EU context, in the field of education and training has been introduced the so-called open method of cooperation (hereinafter: OMC). The OMC is a relatively new method of European cooperation based on voluntary cooperation between EU member states and EU institutions

....

[2] See Jones, D. Peter. *Space, Place and Scale: Reframing the Open Method of Co-ordination for »Education and Training 2010«,* at the Panel on Shaping European Education Agenda European Union Studies Association Conference Brussels and Leuven, Belgium, 2007. Available at http://www.bris.ac.uk/education/research/centres/ges/gesresearchstudents/peterjones/publications/pdj1 (3 May 2008).

[3] See European Commission. *The History of European cooperation in education and training. Europe in the making – an example.* Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006; Hingel, J. Anders. Education Policies and European Governance Contribution to the Interservice Groups on European Governance, 2001. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/governance/areas/group12/contribution_education_en.pdf (28 May 2008); Walkenhorst, Heiko. The Changing Role of EU Education Policy: a Critical Assessment, 2005. Available at http://aei.pitt.edu/3177/01/Walkenhorst_EUSA_2005_final.pdf (3 May 2008).

on those policy fields where treaties establishing European Communities give small or even zero competencies for direct decision-making in the framework of EU institutions.[4] Although already in 1990s the EU policy process contained many elements of the OMC, the method was formally introduced with the Lisbon Strategy.[5] Hence, the Lisbon Strategy is perceived as a starting point of the OMC. Due to the nature of education as a policy field in which EU member states desire to maintain national sovereignty and the simultaneous awareness of the meaning of education for achieving the EU's strategic goals which cannot be achieved through 27 inconsistent national education systems, by introducing the OMC the Lisbon Strategy established a common European education space in which (hitherto completely heterogeneous) education systems could connect to create a uniform core of lifelong learning.[6] The Lisbon process and introduction of the method formed the basis for installing the sector in the broader EU context and for legitimising its position in European integration.[7] In this respect, the OMC represents a milestone in European education policy since it is believed to increase and strengthen the education sector at the EU level, while opening it up to influences from other fields (economic and social policy).[8] The core of the OMC process in the field of education represents the Working Program Education & Training 2010.[9]

The article focuses on exploring the processes of translating objectives defined at the European level in the field of education and training into particular national and regional education policies. The article aims to investigate various national structures and procedures of putting the EU education policy objectives into practice at national level.[10] In this way, the analysis endeavours to detect various factors that have an impact on the implementation process and reaching EU objectives in the field of education and training. In relation to main

....

[4] See Dehousse, Renaud. *The Open Method of Coordination: A New Policy Paradigm?*, 2002. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMK/Papers/Dehousse.pdf (4 May 2008).

[5] See Laffan, Brigid and Colin Shaw. *Classifying and Mapping OMC in different policy areas*, 2005. Available at http://www.eu-newgov.org/database/DELIV/D02D09_Classifying_and_Mapping_OMC.pdf (4 May 2008)

[6] See Gornitzka, Ĺse. *Coordinating policies for a »Europe of knowledge«, Emerging practices of the »Open Method of Coordination« in education and research«*, 2005. Available at http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/working-papers2005/papers/wp05_16.pdf (3 May 2008).

[7] Ĺse Gornitzka, *The Open Method of Coordination as practice – A watershed in European education policy?*, Working Paper No. 16 (Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, 2006).

[8] Ibid., 10.

[9] Lange, Bettina and Nafsika Alexidou. *Governing through learning about policy: just all words? An introduction to policy learning in the context of open methods of co-ordinating education in the European Union (EU)*, 2009.

[10] One of the most visible tools of OMC in implementing the EU objectives in the national education system is the revised approach in achieving the goals of Lisbon Strategy and EU Work Programme Education and Training 2010 (benchmarks). We should take into consideration that EU goals are also defined as particular outputs of the Education, Youth and Culture Council (e.g. in form of conclusions, recommendations, etc.), by best practices of member states presented in the work of clusters, by particular proposals resulting from various expert studies and analysis published by the European Commission or other EU bodies (e.g. Eurydice, Cedefop, etc.)

four elements (stages)[11] in OMC and emphasis from the White Paper of the European Commission on European Governance, we focused our comparative research on these points: 1) National structures (division of national/regional/local level, organisation of EU and Lisbon matters, involvement of different actors - stakeholders, social partners etc.); 2) National Reform Programmes within the Lisbon Agenda (documents); 3) Participation of national countries at EU level; 4) Achieving EU benchmarks.

PICTURE 1: THE PROCESS OF TRANSLATING OBJECTIVES DEFINED AT THE EU LEVEL IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING INTO EDUCATION POLICIES OF EU MEMBER STATES
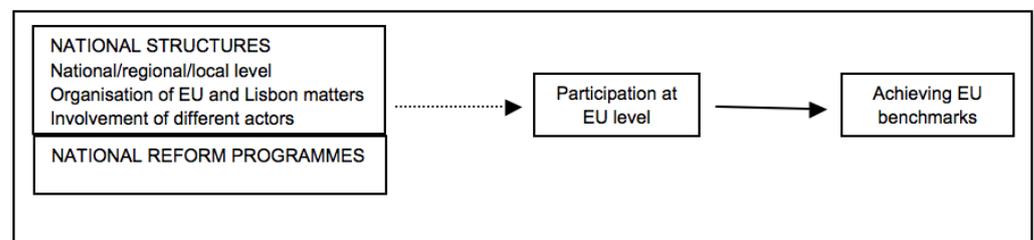
We compare these aspects in three new member states: the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia, which became members of the EU in 2004. All of them are also involved in the project of Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning (hereinafter: CECE). We conducted the comparative research on the basis of analysing National Progress Reports (2005, 2007, 2009) and National Strategies for Lifelong Learning.[12] In addition, we balanced these (possibly) subjective data[13] with analysis of countries participation in clusters and peer learning activities, and with analysis of achieving EU benchmarks. In this relation we analysed European Commission' Progress Reports[14] to see what they tell us about the performances of three analysed member states. The article proceeds as follows. First, reasons for different implementation of OMC in member states are observed. Second, the article exposes some peculiarities of implementing the OMC in new member states. Third, comparative analysis

------

[11] These elements are: fixing guidelines for the Union combined with specific timetables for achieving the goals which have been set in the short, medium and long terms; establishing, where appropriate, quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world and tailored to the needs of different member states and sectors as a means of comparing best practices; translating these European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting specific targets and adopting measures, taking national and regional differences into account; periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes.

[12] We do not go into detail with the content of the different strategies. We use them as points of reference in relation to be able to identify attitudes towards cooperation within OMC among member states.

[13] Some authors warn that member states in their qualitative National Progress Reports can only express their symbolic compliance with EU education policy and goals. From that perspective relevance and neutrality of presented data in National Progress Reports can be doubtful.

[14] Progress Towards the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training – Indicators and Benchmarks.

of implementation of EU lifelong learning policy through OMC in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia is conducted. Finally, conclusion presents the syntheses of main findings.

2 Reasons for different implementation of OMC in member states

The OMC as a form of cooperation between member states in the field of education was launched with the Lisbon Strategy in 2000. Before that, national education systems in EU in accordance with Maastricht treaty[15] had been developing autonomously without (almost) any EU impact, while education had traditionally been a policy area anchored nationally. From this perspective, national education systems nowadays could differentiate because of different historical experiences, traditions, institutional infrastructure, size, dependency (on the EU), political culture, different stage of economic, cultural and political growth and powerful societal groups. In given circumstances member states could - depends on their needs, priorities, capabilities - sovereign decide, with which institutional frameworks and national strategies they would adopt to reach Lisbon goals. The willingness to change may also relate to member states' expectations towards EU cooperation within education policy.[16] Member states are not passive receivers of EU policies. Instead, they are included in the complex process of selectively adopting policy instruments.[17] Namely, EU member states select by themselves the means they perceive as useful (either upon recommendation or their own selection) in the context of their individual capabilities.[18]

The political institutional capacities in terms of structures in education policy are very different from member state to member state. According to different

---

[15] "The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity."

[16] Louise Munkholm and Ulrik Kjřlsen Olsen, *Open Method of Coordination within EU Education policy An Analysis of the Potential for Europeanisation* (Roskilde: Roskilde University, 2009), 35.

[17] See Alexiadou, Nafsika. *The Europeanisation of education policy – changing governance and »new modes of coordination, Defining the European Education Agenda*. Available at https://camtools.caret.cam.ac.uk/access/content/group/41d114c3-04b1-4898-8047-9c413ab94fab/Cambridge%20Meeting/Cambridge%20Working%20PApers/Nafsika%20Alexiadou%20paper.pdf (29 May 2008).

[18] See Kohl, Jürgen and Tobias Vahlpahl. *The »Open method of coordination« as an Instrument for Implementing the Principle of Subsidiarity?* 2005, 6. Available at http://aei.pitt.edu/6104/01/n62_kohl-vahlpahl.pdf (29 May 2008).

authors[19] this difference in structures creates a basis for domestic change, in order to become more alike and thereby be able to compete with the other member states. We should take into consideration that the specific nature of OMC education makes it hard to document whether domestic changes within education policy are a result of an EU process within the framework of the OMC, or initiated from home.[20]

3 OMC in new member states

When we are talking about implementation of OMC, it is also important to look at the time of EU accession of particular member state. We hypothesise that new member states have similar starting points for cooperation within the OMC framework given their level of experience with EU cooperation. Because of OMC softness, non-obligatory nature and rules, it is possible that different member states have developed different frameworks of its implementation. We hypothesise that different framework of OMC implementation at national level result in different levels of activity at the EU level and different achieving of EU goals (benchmarks in the field of education). It is in accordance with De la Rosa suggestion[21] that since OMC legal basis is poorly identified—and insufficiently clarified by the draft constitutional treaty—the application of the OMC in its entirety to the new member states runs the risk of generating a sense of disorder, which might obfuscate the priorities themselves.

The effective implementation of the OMC in an enlarged Europe presupposes, in the light of the considerations made during the preparations for the new member states, the adaptation of its objectives and its indicators, whilst at the same time ensuring a great degree of appropriation of its method.[22] The principal challenges need to be faced by each new member state as regards education and the principal measures should be adopted to transpose the joint objectives

....

[19] See Büchs, Milena. *Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Researching the Open Method of Coordination,* 2003. Available at http://www.xnat.org.uk/PDFs/SeventhSeries/Seminar%201%20Researching%20 the%20European%20Social%20Model%20from%20a%20Comparative%20Perspective.pdf (6 August 2008); Dehousse, Renaud. The Open Method of Coordination: A New Policy Paradigm?, 2002. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMK/Papers/Dehousse.pdf (4 May 2008); Heidenreich, Martin in Gabriele Bischoff. The Open Method of Coordination: A way to the Europeanization of social and employment policies?, 2006. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/New%20OMC%20links/Heidenreich-Bischoff%20jcms_796.pdf (6 August 2008); Radaelli, M. Claudio. The Open Method of Coordination: A new governance architecture for the European Union? Preliminary report, 2003; Sacchi, Stefano. The open method of coordination and national institutional capabilities The Italian Experience as a Heuristic Case Study, 2004. Available at http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/5/9/8/3/pages59836/p59836-1.php (4 August 2008).

[20] Ĺse Gornitzka, *The Open Method of Coordination as practice – A watershed in European education policy? Working Paper No. 16* (Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, 2006), 48.

[21] Stéphane de la Rosa, "The Open Method of Coordination in the New Member States – the Perspectives for its Use as a Tool of Soft Law," *European Law Journal*, 11, 5 (2005), 623.

[22] Stéphane de la Rosa, "The Open Method of Coordination in the New Member States – the Perspectives for its Use as a Tool of Soft Law," *European Law Journal*, 11, 5 (2005), 634.

of the EU on education into national policies. Administrative bodies in the new member states need to acquire knowledge of the structure of the education OMC, especially the different types of indicators involved.[23] The new member states have yet a lot to learn when it comes to being part of EU cooperation as such. Moreover, one could argue that new member states' expectations are different than the ones of old member states, as the latter would suggest further development from a level that the new member states have yet to reach[24]. These new member states that were accustomed for decades to live in a system of "democratic centralism", may have difficulties to familiarize with the new mechanisms of "democratic experimentalism" represented by OMC.[25] Nevertheless, the preparation of the new member states for the procedures of the OMC is a slow but quite clear process that tends to distort the institutional equilibrium underlying this method.[26]

The question of applying OMC in the education sector could be seen, therefore, not only as a question of how far we go with Europeanization of our educational policies, but also as one that can help us renew our national ways of governing our own education system.[27] This view is in accordance with Hodson and Maher[28] thinking that "OMC is designed not only to deliver new policy outcomes but also to act as a process for improving policy formation".

4 COMPARING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EU LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY THROUGH OPEN METHOD OF COORDINATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, SLOVAKIA AND SLOVENIA

In this part we investigate the processes of translating objectives defined at the EU level in the field of education and training into education policies in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia. We focus on various national structures and procedures of putting the EU education policy objectives into practice at national level. In this respect, we focus on the following four dimensions: 1) the role of different (sub)national structures (division of national/regional/local level, organisation of EU and Lisbon matters, involvement of different actors -

....

[23] Ibid., 626.

[24] Louise Munkholm and Ulrik Kjrlsen Olsen, *Open Method of Coordination within EU Education policy An Analysis of the Potential for Europeanisation* (Roskilde: Roskilde University, 2009), 36.

[25] Gábor Halász, *European co-ordination of national education policies from the perspective of the new member countries* (Sint-Katelijne-Waver: Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe, 2003), 12.

[26] Stéphane de la Rosa, "The Open Method of Coordination in the New Member States – the Perspectives for its Use as a Tool of Soft Law," *European Law Journal*, 11, 5 (2005), 627.

[27] Gábor Halász, *European co-ordination of national education policies from the perspective of the new member countries* (Sint-Katelijne-Waver: Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe, 2003), 5.

[28] Daniel Hodson and Imelda Maher, "The Open Method as a New Mode of Governance," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39, 4 (2001), 719–746.

stakeholders, social partners etc.), 2) the National Reform Programmes within the Lisbon Agenda (documents) as core documents of lifelong learning; 3) participation of representatives of member states in activities at the EU level, and 4) achieving EU benchmarks.

The role of different (sub)national structures

In order to better understand the national contexts with regard to the mechanisms of implementing EU objectives in the field of education and training into national education systems of the three examined countries the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia, first, we need to have a closer look on the organisation of their education systems with special view to EU matters. In three examined countries there are differences in organisation of education systems, while Slovenia as well does not have formally established regions. Administration responsibilities are distributed among the national authorities, local authorities, and schools.[29] In the Czech Republic the responsibility is distributed among the central government, regions (which are 14) and communities. Regions are given a high degree of autonomy.[30] Regions are responsible for education on their territory and also formulate long-term objectives for their territory in compliance with national objectives every four years. On the regional level also training activities and Human Resource Development Regional Councils have been established.[31] The communities are responsible for compulsory schooling. They establish and administer basic schools and also nursery schools which are not compulsory.[32] In Slovakia, the Ministry of Education is a central body of the execution of state administration in education and checks up this execution. Above all it determines the network of education establishments, principles of pedagogical management of schools. General administration at regional level is represented with the regional school offices (eight offices). Their seats and territorial area of competence are identical with the seats and territorial area of competence of the self-governing regions and by self-governing region. General administration at the local level is in competence of municipalities.[33]

From the viewpoint of OMC, the White Paper of the European Commission on European Governance and in accordance with principle of subsidiarity,

....

[29] See Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in Slovenia 2008/09,* 2009c.

[30] See Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in the Czech Republic 2008/09*, 2009a.

[31] See European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries,* (2003), 5.

[32] See Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in the Czech Republic 2008/09*, 2009a.

[33] See Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in Slovakia 2008/09* (2009b), 2.

the decisions should be taken at the lowest (local, regional) level. Radaelli[34] and Zeitlin[35] argue that OMC should exploit knowledge from local level and in that way foster bottom-up learning which enables good EU governance. We have to mention that even if there are regions not formally established in Slovenia, in the field of lifelong learning (hereinafter: LLL) Slovenia set up eleven specialised centres including Regional Training Centres able to act as providers and/or catalysts for LLL schemes Guidance and Counselling Centres for Adult Education.[36] Every centre plays the role of coordinator between relevant players in the local environment (social partners, learning providers on all levels, local authorities, employment services) and therefore enables process of mutual learning and cooperation at lowest level without formally established institutions.

When we compare Organisation of Ministries of education from the viewpoint of organisation of EU matters we see that all three countries have got only one Department (Unit) for EU Affairs in the entire ministry. There are slight differences but such a department, which does not have its variation in any other sections of the ministry, is obliged to communicate with particular experts from other departments of other sections, who do not deal with EU matters on daily basis and who in many cases see the tasks connected to EU agenda rather as an uneasy burden. As a result, such a perception of the EU-related tasks in other departments has its influence on the particular expert outcomes that are produced at the request of the EU Department to be presented at the EU level.[37]

Beside the (re)organisation of Ministries structures examined countries also established special bodies for implementing Lisbon strategy. Usually these are *ad hoc* inter-ministerial committees or working groups set up when appropriate.[38] All the examined countries reports that Coordinating Units or rather the Lifelong Learning Section of the Ministry, which coordinates "the national Lisbon processes", does not have direct powers over the activities of other Sections, Departments, or Units of the ministry which were given the tasks to fulfil. As a result the extent of the real participation at the implementation of the EU

....

[34] See Radaelli, M. Claudio. *The Open Method of Coordination: A new governance architecture for the European Union?* Preliminary report, 2003; Radaelli, M. Claudio. Who learns what? Policy learning and the open method of coordination, Paper presented at Conference: Implementing the Lisbon strategy »policy learning inside and outside the open method«, European Research Institute – University of Birmingham, 2004.

[35] See Zeitlin, Jonathan. *Introduction: The Open Method of Coordination in Question*, 2005. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMK/Papers/EUC/JZPP/introduction.pdf (4 May 2008).

[36] See European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries* (2003), 7–8.

[37] See Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

[38] See European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries* (2003), 6.

objectives into the national educational system depends primarily on the extent of individual initiative of the respective ministerial body.[39]

With regard to the involvement of the Permanent Representation of the three countries to the EU in Brussels in the EU coordination process in the field of education and training, obviously it varies among the countries. At all levels and especially at the Education Committee level the strongest involvement of the Permanent Representation is evident in case of Slovakia. As for the Czech Republic and Slovenia, their Permanent Representations work more as a "translator" of the capital's position to the EU's context, hence, the position of the national ministries is stronger than in case of Slovakia.[40]

From the viewpoint of OMC it is important that responsibilities are clearly defined. From the organisation of EU matters in the field of education in three examined countries we see very complex system of relations (between many ad-hoc established intra- and inter- ministerial bodies). The countries have quite similar organised systems but the question is how the real communication between them really works, taking in consideration the soft nature of OMC and lack of control which can mean that actual (in)formal processes are different or almost absent as they are defined. This is in accordance with perceiving of some authors[41] that flexibility and non-obligatory nature of OMC can simply lead to non-appliance in member states.

As obstacles in implementing OMC in national education policy, the examined countries highlights the lack of culture in thinking beyond the limited national (or institutional) scope of action, in taking into consideration other alternative views, interpreting things in a broader perspective and the domestic developments (e.g. implemented from the European Structural Funds) and the representation/ coordination of EU affairs takes place separated from each other. The communication between the department responsible for the development and the department responsible for EU relations is in most countries occasional, and this has not been fully remedied by establishing a forum on ministerial or governmental level. There should be established better communication channels between different actors, especially the Department/Unit of EU Affairs and the department responsible for development and planning, especially the

[39] See Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

[40] Ibid.

[41] See Alexiadou, Nafsika. *The Europeanisation of education policy – changing governance and »new modes of coordination, Defining the European Education Agenda,* 2007. Available at https://camtools.caret.cam.ac.uk/ access/content/group/41d114c3-04b1-4898-8047-9c413ab94fab/Cambridge%20Meeting/Cambridge%20 Working%20PApers/Nafsika%20Alexiadou%20paper.pdf (29 May 2008).

ones administering European Social Fund.[42]

Halász[43] agree with importance of connection between Departments/Units of EU Affairs and the ones administering European Social Fund and argue that important fractions of education policy may come under Community control even within the framework set by the Treaty. Since in these countries, education and training reforms were realised in the framework of European development (structural) policy with resources coming from the taxpayers of other countries, it is natural that the community have to take a strong responsibility on how these resources were used and therefore have important impact on national education policies. All the examined countries report that they actually broadly use European Social Fund for implementing their national education reforms.

Finally, in three examined countries not only governmental actors play role in the field of making and implementing lifelong learning policy. There are evident some examples of involving stakeholders and social partners. In the Czech Republic several representatives of social partners are members of the Intra-ministerial Coordination group, besides the expert officials from the Ministry, experts from cooperating public institutions and officials from other relevant ministries. European Commission expose Czech Republic also as good example by establishing Councils for human resources development at the regional level, which should be an instrument for coordination and creation of a consensus on the priorities of a specific policy amongst a large number of independent entities active in the particular area (organizations of employers and employees, enterprises, educational institutions, civic and special-interest associations, etc.).[44] On the other hand there are weaknesses and deficiencies in involving the stakeholders into the debate on the EU matters that would be initiated from the Ministry. None of the Council documents are consulted with wider scope of stakeholders. As threat of successful implementation of Lifelong Learning Strategy in Czech Republic they also mention lack of interconnection of policies in the areas of education, industry, health, social services and culture.[45]

Within the agenda connected to the formulation and monitoring implementation of the National Reform Programmes, in the respective Lisbon working groups

....

[42] See Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

[43] Gábor Halász, *European co-ordination of national education policies from the perspective of the new member countries* (Sint-Katelijne-Waver: Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe, 2003), 2.

[44] See European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries* (2003), 7.

[45] See Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of Czech Republic. *The Strategy of Lifelong Learning in the Czech Republic* (2007a), 49.

in Slovakia there are involved various representatives of employers, labour unions, academic community, non-governmental organisations, regional self-governments, etc. Social partners can also have their representation in 17 expert groups.[46] They are involved at national, regional and local level. Also the idea of learning regions, which are supporting the networks of stakeholders at local level is being actively fostered.[47] If even there are various ways of involving stakeholders and social partners, Slovakia highlights that strategically based communication with the stakeholders is rather minimal or non-existent.

In the Progress Report from 2007[48] it is written that strategy for lifelong learning in Slovenia was created within the framework of the Ministry of Education and Sport, so the main stress is on solutions and measures which are directly connected with the field of education and training. Other fields, e.g., the economy, are mainly responding to the proposal. It is still hard for the idea to be accepted that the question of lifelong learning is not a 'problem' only of education and training. Slovenia also complains of the lack of 'effective engagement of trade unions' and also reports that 'LLL, as a subject of social dialogue, is not sufficiently developed at the top, as well as at sectional or enterprise level'.[49]

Although each of the three surveyed ministries can offer some examples of good practice, the involvement of stakeholders is generally insufficient. The reasons for that are usually the personnel shortage of the relevant departments to deal with communicating and coordinating with the stakeholders and the lack of initiative of the stakeholders themselves.[50] Copsey and Haughton[51] explain that the legacy from the former communist regimes plays a key role. This is among other aspects reflected in a "lack of highly developed mechanisms of accountability" and an absence of institutionalised forums for open and transparent interaction among government and key interest groups. From the viewpoint of OMC it is important that institutions work in an open manner and actively communicate about what the EU does and the decision it takes with

....

[46] See Ministry of education of the Slovak Republic. *Slovakia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme* (2005), 5.

[47] See Ministry of education of the Slovak Republic. *Slovakia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme* (2005), 12.

[48] See Ministry of education and sport of Slovenia. *Slovenia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme*, 2007b.

[49] See European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries* (2003), 9.

[50] See Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

[51] Nathaniel Copsey and Tim Haughton, "The Choices for Europe? National Preference Formation in Old and New Member States," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47, 2 (2009), 282.

various stakeholders.[52] In the process of implementing the EU objectives into the national level, crucial role plays the involvement of all relevant stakeholders.[53] Support for various mechanisms and forms of cooperation between the sphere of education and social partners at all levels is also important for harmonizing education and the requirements of the labour market. At a national level, policies should primarily be coordinated in the areas of education, employment, qualifications and support for enterprises, where it would be useful to reconsider the need for a coordination body extending over the sectors.

National Reform Programmes within the Lisbon Agenda: core documents in the field of lifelong learning

Like for many other EU member states it is also hard to distinguish between influence stemming from the EU level and from other international organisations such as OECD, UNESCO and the Council of Europe in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia. For example, debates around the concept of lifelong learning have been going on for years within the OECD before they were taken over by the EU.[54] Anyway, clear overlapping with the goals, agreed on the European level, can be identified in all key areas of reform of the education system in examined three countries. Taking into account the accession process, it was necessary to respond to initiatives on the EU level to draw the particular member state closer to the trends of the EU and to link some of the key aspects of the national education system with the European education area.[55] Most countries strive to implement lifelong learning principles in different components of the education and training systems through new legislation or, most often, appropriate amendments to the existing legislation. Thus, many acts have been revised or are in the process of revision with the view to integrating lifelong learning priorities and principles.[56] From the standpoint of lifelong learning, strategic documents of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia are either placed in a specific context, i.e. they are concerned with more general aspects of social and economic development, the labour market and human resources, or they are

....

[52] See European Commission. *European Governance – A White Paper.* Brussels: European Commission (2001), 10.

[53] In the field of education policy they usually are: teachers, school leaders, universities, parent's associations, non-governmental organisations, civil society etc…

[54] See Eurydice. *Lifelong Learning: the contribution of education systems in the Member States of the European Union. Results of Eurydice Survey* (2000), 8.

[55] See Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

[56] See European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries,* (2003), 5.

directly related to aspects of education.[57] The educational system is then seen in these documents as one of the basic pillars of the development of lifelong learning.[58] All of three countries use the term lifelong learning in accordance as it was defined in the Memorandum of the European Commission and have used Memorandum as a starting point for preparing their own Strategies of lifelong learning.

Comparing three core documents in the field of lifelong learning in three examined countries' Lifelong learning strategies, we see that they have quite different structure[59] and content related to specific national context (tradition, current situation, national goals in the field of education and training). All of them were prepared on the basis of preliminary analyses of others already accepted Lifelong learning strategies and analyses of national current situation. For example Slovakia evidence basis for identifying strategy's content was SWOT analyses of the educational sector pointing out the fact that Slovak educational and guidance system has been reacting insufficiently to labour market needs over last decades.[60] In the Czech Republic Lifelong strategy SWOT analyses of concept of lifelong learning is also presented. Only Slovenian Lifelong strategy is not translated in English and therefore cannot be accepted for other interested actors.

As we see the measures supporting lifelong learning are an integral part of several concept documents and action plans, which were prepared and adopted in accordance with the European trends. Number of national strategies in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia under the umbrella of Lisbon Strategy many authors explain by the historical background of being part of a communist regime which explains the high motivation and willingness of reforming and

....

[57] For example such documents in the Czech Republic are: The National Strategic Reference Framework of the CR 2007 – 2013 (2006), The National Lisbon Program 2005 – 2008 (National Program of Reforms in the CR) (2005), The Strategy of Economic Growth (2005), The Convergence Program of the Czech Republic for 2006-2008 (2005), The Strategy of the Human Resources Development (2003), Long-term plan for education and development of the educational system in the Czech Republic (2005, 2007), The National Strategy of Education for Sustainable Development (2007). Documents evident in Slovakia are: The Competitiveness Strategy of Slovakia until 2010 (2005), National strategic reference framework of the Slovak Republic for years 2007 – 2013, Millennium – the National program of education and training in the Slovak Republic (2001). In Slovenia some of the documents are: Slovenian Development Strategy (2005), Reform Programme for Achieving the Lisbon Strategy Goals (2005), National Strategic Reference Framework and Operational Programme for Human Resources Development, Resolution on the Adult Education Master Plan (2004), National Programme of education for democratic citizenship and education for human rights (2004), Guidelines for Education for Sustainable Development from Pre-school to Pre-University Education (2007).

[58] See Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of Czech Republic. *The Strategy of Lifelong Learning in the Czech Republic* (2007a), 19.

[59] Lifelong learning strategies in examined countries are also different length: the Czech Republic 92 pages, Slovakia 31 pages, Slovenia 52 pages.

[60] See Ministry of education of the Slovak Republic. *Slovakia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme* (2007b), 2-3.

experimenting seen in the new member states after 50 years of inertia.[61]

Participation of representatives of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia in clusters and peer-learning activities

In the field of participation in clusters and peer-learning activities (hereinafter: PLA) there are many similarities between analysed countries. Analysis of participation in existed clusters[62] of the Working programme Education & Training 2010 shows that examined countries shows similar range of activities. The Czech Republic and Slovakia are formally participating in six of ten existing clusters, Slovenia formally take part in five of them. Slovakia and Slovenia hosted one PLA, while the Czech Republic hosted two of them. Countries explain that their representation might fluctuate due to personnel shortage or personnel changes in the ministry or relevant expert institutions.

Cluster members are delegated to the individual clusters by the ministerial area which is in charge of the given topic. In all the three countries the cluster member is given a great autonomy in his/her performance by the Coordinating body. However, in the Czech Republic and Slovenia the aspect of coordination is rather minimal of existent at all. The cluster members are given "total" independence in which way and to what extent they utilise the knowledge and experiences gained in clusters in their work at the national level. They largely use the information gained at the EU level in their own work, but they are not obliged to distribute it in any established way to the relevant experts or policy makers. The extent, how they disseminate findings and insights and inform relevant colleges overly depends on personal involvement of the cluster member.[63] From that point of view the background of cluster members, if rather of an expert nature or policy and decision making, is very crucial with regard to the cluster's actual impact on the national level. The cluster member is often just an expert without any decision-making competences or without a direct influence on determining national policy.[64]

The outputs of the cluster might be very influential in determining and realising national policies. However due to the lack of institutional support and limited power in the following process, the European Commission looses track completely, when the national experts go home. Because of the lack of

....

[61] Louise Munkholm and Ulrik Kjřlsen Olsen. *Open Method of Coordination within EU Education policy. An Analysis of the Potential for Europeanisation* (Roskilde: Roskilde University, 2009), 45-46.

[62] Modernisation of higher education, Working group on adult education, Information and Communication Technology, Key Competences, Making best use of resources, Math, Science and Technology, Recognition of Learning outcomes, Teachers and trainers, Teachers and trainers in VET, Access and Social Inclusion.

[63] See Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

[64] Ibid.

institutional support results of clusters work often don't reach the policy makers in national countries. From that propose European Commission have started with meetings of Directors General at the EU level where the results of clusters are directly presented to them (not only with meetings but also with publishing Policy handbooks). Another view is that participation in cluster is not absolutely necessary for national reforms in particular area. For example in National Report from 2009 Slovenia explained: "We are not actively participating in the key competences cluster, but we do take into consideration the available results of the cluster's work in policy formulation and make use of them in the implementation of measures.[65] If even participation in activities at EU level (in clusters and peer learning activities) is not crucial for gaining information for national reforms, it is very important from the standpoint of participative nature of OMC and bottom-up policy learning where sharing experiences and finding solutions for common problems should take place between wide range of actors from the lowest (local/regional/national level).

Achieving EU benchmarks in the field of lifelong learning and translating them into national context

When we compare the achieving of EU benchmarks – significant differences can be seen between examined three countries. The Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia[66] are significantly beyond average in two of five benchmarks of the EU; the number of early school leavers is traditionally low and for a long time under 10% and over 90% of 22-year old with completed upper secondary education puts the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia high above the average of both the EU and the EU benchmark (85%). The main difference between countries is evident at benchmarks "low achievers in reading" and "adult learning participation", where Slovenia is above the average and where the Czech Republic and Slovakia do not reach not only EU benchmark but also not EU average. Different situation is at benchmark "MST graduates". It is interesting to compare achieving benchmarks with participation in clusters and organising PLA. For example both Czech Republic and Slovakia hosted PLA in the field of adult education, if even they are beyond the EU average. That shows that the aim of PLA activities at EU level is not only sharing best practices, but practices as such. Slovakia in its National report from 2005 explains that even though Slovakia is at present behind the 12,5% benchmark in lifelong learning of adults, the implementation of the planned fiscal stimulation of lifelong learning together with effective utilisation of sources of the European Social Fund makes the achievement of this benchmark feasible and are able to present

....

[65] See Ministry of education and sport of Slovenia. *Slovenia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme* (2009), 2.

[66] We have to mention that Slovenia does not formally measure the percentage of "early school leavers" and that value is only estimation of Slovenian Statistical Office.

its experience to other member states.[67]

Picture 2: Achieving benchmarks in the field of lifelong learning in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia

BENCHMARK / COUNTRY	Early school leavers;		Low achievers in reading		Upper secondary school		MST Graduates		Adult learning participation	
EU benchmark 2010	<10%		<20%		85%		15% growth		12,5%	
	2000	2008	2000	2006	2000	2008	2000	2008	2000	2008
The highest country	5,5	5,0	7,0	4,8	94,8	92,3		164	20,5	32,4
The lowest country	54,2	39,0	41,3	53,5	40,9	53,0		-3,6	0,9	1,4
Average EU	17,6	14,9	21,3	24,1	76,6	78,5		33,6	7,1	9,5
Czech Republic	5,5	5,6	17,5	24,8	91,2	91,6		96	*	7,8
Slovakia	5,6	6,0	*	27,8	94,8	92,3		129,9	*	3,3
Slovenia	7,5	5,1	*	16,5	88,0	90,2		8,3	*	13,9

∗ Data not available. Source: European Commission (2009): Progress Towards the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training – Indicators and Benchmarks.

The Lisbon strategy make high demands of the national education policy, thus making a broad information campaign necessary. Many of those involved find the process to be too complex and feel that it required a clearer structure. Examined countries agree that public reflection if the country's achievements within the Education & Training 2010 does not usually draw any substantial media attention (contrary to the OECD PISA study). The process of "naming and shaming" thus works only at the level of EU meetings. In that manner attempts must be made to separate the co-ordination and reform processes from the pure expert level and to win broader public for the implementation of the European objectives. Overall, the above-mentioned performances show that the member states have different strengths and weaknesses in the five-benchmark areas, and that no country is falling behind in all areas. The examined new member states are comparable with other member states and are in some cases even behind EU average.

5 Conclusion

In the article we analyzed the processes of translating objectives defined at the EU level in the field of education and training into national education policies in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia. The main aim of the article was to investigate various national structures and procedures of putting the EU education policy objectives into practice at the national level. In this way, the analysis made an effort to detect various factors that have an impact on the implementation process and reaching EU objectives in the field of education and training. While observing results of national education systems, the conducted study showed that all analyzed factors matter: the role of (pre-established) national structures, the National Reform Programmes within the Lisbon Agenda

---

[67] See Ministry of education of the Slovak Republic. Slovakia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme (2005), 4.

and participation of representatives of member states in activities at the EU level. However, despite there are some differences between them, all of them are in general able to achieve EU benchmarks in the field of Education and training. They all have different strengths and weaknesses in the benchmark areas, but they are in general comparable with other member states, while in some cases they are even above the EU average. In our opinion, especially two factors are of special importance: 1) different institutional structures, dealing with EU matters; and 2) different approaches of implementing lifelong learning strategies. Differences in these two factors between analyzed member states are rather significant. The first reason for this is the soft nature of OMC. While the second reason, and at the same time a common nomination in all three investigated member states, represents the problem that OMC's potentials in the field of education and training are not being fully exploited. Our analysis showed that the procedural processes that characterise the OMC are gradually being disseminated in the new member states at the administrative level, but the question of the participation of various (especially non-governmental) stakeholders and social partners still remains open. It seems this question is very sensitive issue in all three analyzed countries and the solution to it will have to be found in the long term.

References

Alexiadou, Nafsika. *The Europeanisation of education policy – changing governance and »new modes of coordination, Defining the European Education Agenda, 2007*. Available at https://camtools.caret.cam. ac.uk/access/content/group/41d114c3-04b1-4898-8047-9c413ab94fab/ Cambridge%20Meeting/Cambridge%20Working%20PApers/Nafsika%20 Alexiadou%20paper.pdf (29 May 2008).

Büchs, Milena. *Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Researching the Open Method of Coordination, 2003*. Available at http://www.xnat.org.uk/PDFs/ SeventhSeries/Seminar%201%20Researching%20the%20European%20 Social%20Model%20from%20a%20Comparative%20Perspective.pdf (6 August 2008).

Central European Cooperation in Education in Lifelong Learning. *The Evaluation Analysis of Applying the Open Method of Coordination in the Field of Education and Training in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia,* 2008.

Copsey, Nathaniel and Tim Haughton. "The Choices for Europe? National Preference Formation in Old and New Member States." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47, 2 (2009): 263–286.

Council of European Union. *Council Conclusions on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ("ET 2010"),* accepted 14 June 2002.

Council of European Union. »*Education and Training 2010« The success of*

the Lisbon strategy hinges on urgent reforms. Joint interim report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe, accepted 3 March 2004.

Council of European Union. *Council Resolution of 15 November 2007 on education and training as a key driver of the Lisbon Strategy,* accepted 15 November 2007.

Dehousse, Renaud. *The Open Method of Coordination: A New Policy Paradigm?,* 2002. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMK/Papers/Dehousse.pdf (4 May 2008).

European Commission. *Memorandum on lifelong learning,* 2000.

European Commission. *European Governance – A White Paper.* Brussels: European Commission, 2001.

European Commission. *Implementing lifelong learning strategies in Europe: Commission Progress report on the follow-up to the Council resolution of 2002. EU and EFTA/EEA countries,* 2003.

European Commission. *The History of European cooperation in education and training. Europe in the making – an example.* Brussels: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006.

European Commission. *The open method of coordination in education and training,* 2007.

European Council. Lisbon European Council: Presidency Conclusions, 23 and 24 March 2000.

Eurydice. *Lifelong Learning: the contribution of education systems in the Member States of the European Union. Results of Eurydice Survey,* 2000.

Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in the Czech Republic 2008/09,* 2009a.

Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in Slovakia 2008/09,* 2009b.

Eurydice. *Organisation of the education system in Slovenia 2008/09,* 2009c.

Gornitzka, Ĺse. *Coordinating policies for a »Europe of knowledge«, Emerging practices of the »Open Method of Coordination« in education and research«,* 2005. Available at http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/working-papers2005/papers/wp05_16.pdf (3 May 2008).

Gornitzka, Ĺse. *The Open Method of Coordination as practice – A watershed in European education policy?, Working Paper No. 16.* Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, 2006.

Halász, Gábor. *European co-ordination of national education policies from the perspective of the new member countries.* Sint-Katelijne-Waver: Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe, 2003.

Heidenreich, Martin in Gabriele Bischoff. *The Open Method of Coordination: A way to the Europeanization of social and employment policies?,* 2006. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/New%20OMC%20links/Heidenreich-Bischoff%20jcms_796.pdf (6 August 2008).

Hingel, J. Anders. *Education Policies and European Governance Contribution to the Interservice Groups on European Governance,* 2001. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/governance/areas/group12/contribution_education_en.pdf (28 May 2008).

Hodson, Daniel and Imelda Maher. "The Open Method as a New Mode of Governance." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 39, 4 (2001): 719–746.

Jones, D. Peter. *Space, Place and Scale: Reframing the Open Method of Co-ordination for »Education and Training 2010«* Panel on Shaping European Education Agenda European Union Studies Association Conference Brussels and Leuven, Belgium, 2007. Available at http://www.bris.ac.uk/education/research/centres/ges/gesresearchstudents/peterjones/publications/pdj1 (3 May 2008).

Kohl, Jürgen and Tobias Vahlpahl. *The »Open method of coordination« as an Instrument for Implementing the Principle of Subsidiarity?,* 2005. Available at http://aei.pitt.edu/6104/01/n62_kohl-vahlpahl.pdf (29 May 2008).

Laffan, Brigid and Colin Shaw. *Classifying and Mapping OMC in different policy areas,* 2005. Available at http://www.eu-newgov.org/database/DELIV/D02D09_Classifying_and_Mapping_OMC.pdf (4 May 2008).

Lange, Bettina and Nafsika Alexidou. *Governing through learning about policy: just all words? An introduction to policy learning in the context of open methods of co-ordinating education in the European Union (EU),* 2009.

Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of Czech Republic. *The Strategy of Lifelong Learning in the Czech Republic,* 2007a.

Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of Czech Republic. *Czech Republic National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme*, 2005, 2007b, 2009.

Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic. *Strategy of Lifelong Learning and Lifelong Guidance*, 2007a.

Ministry of education of the Slovak Republic. *Slovakia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme*, 2005, 2007b, 2009.

Ministry of education and sport of Slovenia. *Strategy on lifelong learning*, 2007a.

Ministry of education and sport of Slovenia. *Slovenia National Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme*, 2005, 2007b, 2009.

Munkholm, Louise and Ulrik Kjřlsen Olsen. *Open Method of Coordination within EU Education policy An Analysis of the Potential for Europeanisation.* Roskilde: Roskilde University, 2009.

Radaelli, M. Claudio. *The Open Method of Coordination: A new governance architecture for the European Union? Preliminary report,* 2003.

Radaelli, M. Claudio. *Who learns what? Policy learning and the open method of coordination,* Paper presented at Conference: Implementing the Lisbon strategy »policy learning inside and outside the open method«, European

Research Institute – University of Birmingham, 2004.

Rosa, de la Stéphane. "The Open Method of Coordination in the New Member States – the Perspectives for its Use as a Tool of Soft Law." *European Law Journal*, 11, 5 (2005): 618–640.

Sacchi, Stefano. *The open method of coordination and national institutional capabilities, The Italian Experience as a Heuristic Case Study*, 2004. Available at http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/5/9/8/3/pages59836/p59836-1.php (4 August 2008).

Zeitlin, Jonathan. *Introduction: The Open Method of Coordination in Question*, 2005. Available at http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMK/Papers/EUC/JZPP/introduction.pdf (4 May 2008).

Walkenhorst, Heiko. The Changing Role of EU Education Policy: a Critical Assessment, 2005. Available at http://aei.pitt.edu/3177/01/Walkenhorst_EUSA_2005_final.pdf (3 May 2008).

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE EU:
A SOLUTION FOR DEMOCRATIC GAP?

Andrej A. LUKŠIČ and Maja BAHOR[1]

Authors in the first place reveal when and how participatory democracy entered the field of the European political debate. After that, they aim at conceptualizing its evolution and forms in the European political arena. More precisely, they focus on the period, when participatory democracy gained its attention in several papers and documents published by the main European institutions. On the basis of published documents and papers on the democratic gap between the rulers and the ruled by The Commission, the European economic and social committee, the European parliament and the Committee of the Regions, authors researched which main European institutions introduced the concept of participatory democracy as a source of their legitimacy. Because of the coincidence of several different aspects, the tendency towards participatory democracy became stronger at the time of The European Convention. During the work of The European Convention, when a new political and normative document was in an establishing phase, the participatory democracy gained its expression in the title »Democratic life of the Union«. Through the establishment of article 47 in the Constitutional Treaty and later 8b in the Lisbon Treaty, where participatory democracy gained its normative expression, authors show which forms of participatory democracy came to normative institutional design. At the end of the article authors speculate if the theory of participatory democracy could contribute to bridging the gap between the rulers and the ruled.

[1] Andrej A. Lukšič, PhD, is the Associate Professor at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. At the Faculty of Social Sciences he teaches several subjects relating to political theory and the theory of democracy. His core field of research represents the relationships between various types of technologies, environment and the theory of democracy focusing especially on participatory forms of democracy. In 2009 he published scientific paper Ending of Democracy?, at the Slovenian Political Science Conference in May 2010 he presents paper entitled Crisis of the hegemony of political discourse or just a crisis of politics? Maja Bahor, MSc, is a doctor student candidate at Faculty of Social sciences, University of Ljubljana. She researches concepts of participatory democracy within environmentally protected areas and theory of political ecology. She works as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Department of theoretical political science. Authors contact information: andrej.luksic@fdv.uni-lj.si and maja.bahor1@guest.arnes.si.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades there has been a lively political debate on democratic deficit in the EU. This politically initiated debate revolves not only around how to resolve "democratic deficit" but it has also directed attention to the (un) democratic nature of the European polity *in se*. Along with the political debate there have also been numerous academic considerations about how to bridge the gap between the rulers and the ruled and how the EU might one day transform itself into a more democratic polity.

The article begins by explaining the evolution of participatory democracy and is after that directed to the constitutional debate in the EU through the work in the Convention. During this process it reveals how the participatory democracy has entered the European constitutional debate, which European institutions have been its advocate and lights up their capacity to include non-elected actors into the European policy-making process. In the last section of the article some speculations on future of the participatory democracy in bridging the gap between the rulers and the ruled are indicated.

2 THE EVOLUTION OF (PARTICIPATORY) DEMOCRACY IN THE EU

When the integration process began in the late 1950s no one gave much thought to its democratic credentials[2]. The legitimacy of the EC certainly did not come from its aspirations to become a democracy. The Rome Treaty did not mention the principle of democracy. It was first mentioned in the Preamble to the Single European Act in light of the enlargement to Spain, Portugal, and Greece. Consequently, the concept entered the constitutional debate as a condition of European Union membership rather than as a requirement for the Union polity[3].

In the light of increased transfer of decision-making power to the European level, combined with the process of constitutionalisation pushed by the European Court of Justice, functionalist and legalistic approach appear to be unsatisfying for addressing the legitimacy of the European construction. But when political and legal discourses were contemplating the legitimacy and democracy, the idea was the representative democracy. Thus the initial concern about the "democratic deficit" of the EC focused on the need for popular involvement via the European Parliament.

....

[2] Dimitris N. Chryssochoou, "Democracy and the European Polity," in European Union Politics, ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), 360.

[3] Stijn Smismans, "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy", in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Lynn Dobson and Andreas Follesdal (London/New York, Routledge, 2004), 122.

Smismans[4] pointed that since the end of 1980s normative discourses on the legitimacy of the European construction have stressed the need to include regional and local autonomy and to involve these actors in European policy-making and therefore the Maastricht Treaty established the Committee of Regions. Again, representative democracy and the accountability via territorially elected representatives emerged as a central normative framework. Similar concerns about representative democracy in a multi-level context emerged also concerning the role of national parliaments in European decision-making. At that time emerged the idea of giving national parliaments a direct stake in the European institutional set-up.

The debate on subsidiarity is also coloured by the framework of representative democracy. The concept emerged in the European debate on the one hand from certain regions (in particular German Länder) and on the other hand from certain member states (in particular the United Kingdom). In both cases, said Smismans[5], subsidiarity is linked to a conceptualization of democracy in terms of electoral representation at the lowest possible territorial level.

Until the mid 1990s the discourse on participatory democracy did not enter the European institutional debate. The idea of participatory democracy has not been recognized as a potential tool for bridging the gap between the rulers and the ruled.

3 The European institutions on participatory democracy

The European Commission

The Commission has a wide range of functions within the EU system: policy initiation, the monitoring of policy implementation, and the management of European programmes, an important external relations role and other functions which involve it as a mediator amongst the 27 member states and between the EU Council and the European Parliament, as well as asserting its own European identity. The Commission is therefore clearly involved in almost all stages of the European policy process.

The Commission has been often portrayed as a unique organization because of its mix of political and administrative functions. As an actor without the electoral mandate, the Commission has been trying to find its source of legitimacy outside the structure of the representative democracy. Thus mainly because of its position in European institutional set-up it has always linked transparency to

....

[4] Ibid., 125.

[5] Ibid., 125.

participation in the decision-making process *ex ante*.

Its first communications on transparency were adopted in 1992. It is from this focus on interest group participation that the concept of "participatory democracy"[6] emerges at the European level, thus did not originate in the bottom-up process but was initiated by those in power.

The Commission provided an important impetus by framing the debate with the publication of the White paper on European Governance[7] – a key document around which the administrative reform of the Commission was structured. In this document the Commission was propagating a wider involvement of civil society for the sake of efficient and democratic governance. The Commission already adhered to the principle of participatory democracy when preparing and launching the White Paper: in preparatory phase it engaged in extensive consultations with representatives of organized interests and the academic community[8].

The fact, that the Commission actually functions according to the principle of participation through civil society organizations holds an important place which was also recognized in the White Paper, where participation is identified as one of the five principles underpinning `good governance' (together with openness, accountability, effectiveness and coherence), but it is defined in the following way: *»The quality, relevance and effectiveness of EU policies depend on ensuring wide participation throughout the policy chain – from conception to implementation. Improved participation is likely to create more confidence in the end result and in the Institutions which deliver policies. Participation crucially depends on central governments following an inclusive approach when developing and implementing EU policies«*[9].

It can be concluded that in the White Paper the participation through civil society organizations held an important place to ensure good governance, but

....

[6] In 1996 the concept of civil dialogue was coined by the Commission's DG responsible for social policy to stress the need to encourage interaction with social NGOs, in addition to the already existing "social dialogue" with the social partners. Later on the discourse on civil society involvement has broadened to include other policy sectors. It has also become part of the Commission's promises on administrative reform as a replay to the legitimacy crisis which injured the Santer Commission. See Stijn Smismans, "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy", in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Lynn Dobson and Andreas Follesdal (London/New York, Routledge, 2004), 127.

[7] See Commission of the European Communities. "White paper on European Governance", 25 July 2001.

[8] Beate Kohler-Koch, "The organization of interests and Democracy," in *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union the European Uni*on, ed. Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 255.

[9] Stijn Smismans, "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy", in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Lynn Dobson and Andreas Follesdal (London/New York, Routledge, 2004), 127.

the concept of civil society organizations no longer merely refers to NGOs but is interpreted ever more broadly. This vague definition leaves on the one hand a lot of room for a wide range of (re) interpretations, on the other hand it refrains from developing explicit considerations on what participatory democracy might mean in the EU. Consecutively the Commission's good governance debate seems an efficiency-driven process and an attempt to provide a legitimating discourse for its own institutional position, without including profound reforms. As Smismans[10] puts it: *"The Commission does not resist the temptation to use the discourse on civil society involvement and participation to legitimate the variety of (existing) structures of interaction with all sorts of actors, including private lobbyists".*

The European Economic and Social Committee

The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) has been established by the Treaties of Rome in 1957 as a consultative assembly whose members represent the interests of various economic and social groups in society. Fifteen years later at the Paris Summit it obtained the right to issue self-initiative opinions, the competence that recognized the usefulness and legitimacy of the EESC. Progressively it also acquired greater autonomy with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 but at the same time it felt itself marginalized due to the gradual increase of alternative consultative fora, the creation of the Committee of the Regions and the development of the social dialogue outside the EESC.

In reply to this marginalization and according to its auto-recognition as a bridge between Europe and organized civil society, the EESC argued in the Opinion titled "The role and contribution of civil society organizations in the building of Europe" that "strengthening non-parliamentary democratic structures is a way of giving substance and meaning to the concept of Citizens' Europe"[11] and defined its own role as guaranteeing "the implementation of the participatory model of civil society (enabling) civil society to participate in the decision-making process; and (helping) reduce a certain "democratic deficit" and so (underpinning) the legitimacy of democratic decision-making processes"[12]. The EESC also argued that `the democratic process at European level must provide a range of participatory structures in which all citizens, with their different identities and in accordance with their different identity criteria, can be represented, and which reflect the heterogeneous nature of the European

....

[10] European economic and social committee (1999) (CES 851/99 D/GW) "Opinion on the role and contribution of civil society organizations in the building of Europe", 22 September 1999, OJ C 329, 17/11/99, pp. 9.

[11] Ibid., 11.

[12] Ibid., 11.

identity'[13]. The EESC concluded that as body composed of representatives of intermediary organizations, it could act as a representation of the people's way of identifying with civil society organizations, and complement the legitimacy offered by the European Parliament as the representative of citizens' national (territorial) identity. But it also stressed that "a basic precondition and legitimising basis for participation is adequate representativeness of those speaking for organized civil society"[14].

It can be argued that there is considerable conceptual difference between understanding the participatory democracy between the Commission and the EESC. The Commission's good governance debate seems an efficiency-driven process for its own institutional position and functioning, without including profound reforms. Vague rhetoric on participation fits with such a legitimating discourse, but the Commission refrains from developing explicit considerations on what `participatory democracy' might mean in the EU. Further example of this vague rhetoric is also the term civil society which carries different connotations in the Commission's documents. Sometimes it is used to express the idea of active citizenship and the notion of organized civil society refers to associations networking to the benefit of the general interests. When the term is defined explicitly, a broader concept applies and civil society is considered to embrace voluntary associations of all kinds and not just public interest groups.[15]

The EESC on the other hand more explicitly claims a role for participatory democracy complementary to representative democracy. Moreover, it proposes a more horizontal and participatory interpretation of subsidiarity which `not only concerns the distribution of powers between the various territorial levels, but is also the expression of a participatory conception of relations between public authorities and society and of the freedoms and responsibilities of citizens. When deciding who is to be involved in the preparation of decisions, account should thus be taken not only of territorial (vertical) subsidiarity but also functional (horizontal) subsidiarity, which is a major factor in "good governance"[16].

The European Parliament

The European Parliament (EP) originated as an unelected, part-time institution

....

[13] Stijn Smismans, "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy", in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Lynn Dobson and Andreas Follesdal (London/New York, Routledge, 2004), 128.

[14] Beate Kohler-Koch, "The organization of interests and Democracy," in *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union the European Uni*on, ed. Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 256.

[15] European economic and social committee, "Resolution Addressed to the European Convention", 19 September 2002, paragraph 3.5.

[16] European parliament, "Resolution on the Commission White Paper on European Governance (COM(2001) 428 - C5-0454/2001 - 2001/2181(COS)), A5-0933/2001, paragraph K.

with limited powers that were originally restricted to the supervision and scrutiny of other institutions, apart from the ability to remove the High Authority (Commission) in exceptional circumstances. Over time, the chamber has changed its name (to the European Parliament), grown substantially in size, and become an elected institution. Over the last three decades the EP gained significant powers: over the European budget (in the 1970s), an enriched role in the appointment and supervision of the Commission (1990s), over EU legislation through new legislative procedures introduced in several treaties (in the 1980s and 1990s). Now EP as an elected institution ought to link the people and the EU, and thus build legitimacy for itself via the representative democracy.

Because of its position and functioning the EP is quite reluctant about the discourse of participatory democracy - interpreted as a civil society involvement. In its resolution on the White Paper it argued that "on the one hand, elements of participatory democracy in the political system of the Union must be introduced cautiously with a constant eye to the recognized principles and structural elements of representative democracy and the rule of law and, on the other, citizens of the Union rightly expect transparent decision-making processes and, at the same time, clear political accountability for decisions[17]. And furthermore in the section on principles it clearly stated that: democratic legitimacy presupposes that the political will underpinning decisions is arrived at through parliamentary deliberation; this is a substantive and not merely a formal requirement[18] and »confirms that the 'parliamentarisation' of the Union's decision-making system presupposes increased transparency of the work of the Council and that the involvement of both the European and national parliaments constitutes the basis for a European system with democratic legitimacy and that only regional, national and European institutions which possess democratic legitimacy can take accountable legislative decisions[19] and points out, on the basis of these considerations, with regard to participation and consultation that …'organized civil society' as 'the sum of all organisational structures whose members have objectives and responsibilities that are of general interest and who also act as mediators between the public authorities and citizens' whilst important, are inevitably sectoral and cannot be regarded as having its own democratic legitimacy, given that representatives are not elected by the people…« [20].

....

[17] Ibid., paragraph 10b.

[18] Ibid., paragraph 8.

[19] Committee of the Regions (Cdr 103/2001 final), "Opinion on the White Paper on European Governance and the Communication on a new framework for cooperation on activities concerning the information and communication policy of the European Union", 13 March 2002, paragraph 3.2.

[20] Mareike Kleine, "Leadership in the European Convention," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14, 8 (2007), 1231.

The Committee of the Regions

The Committee of the Regions (CoR), a consultative forum has been established in 1994 by the Maastricht Treaty, to address local and regional representatives to have a say in the development of new EU normative acts. The Treaties oblige the Commission and the Council to consult the CoR whenever new proposals are made in areas that have consequences at regional or local level.

As stated in the introduction website of the CoR, there are three main principles at the heart of the Committee's work: subsidiarity, a principle, defined in the Treaties at the same time as the creation of the CoR, means that decisions within the European Union should be taken at the closest practical level to the citizen; proximity, this principle means that all levels of government should aim to be 'close to the citizens', in particular by organizing their work in a transparent fashion, so people know who is in charge of what and how to make their views heard and partnership, which means that European, national, regional and local government work together - throughout the decision making process. Because of its structure and electoral mandate it is obvious that all of the mentioned principles are derived from representative democracy.

In this way the Committee of the Regions, rather than talking about participatory democracy (or involvement of civil society) prefers a normative discourse on subsidiarity, proximity, partnership and closeness to the people and argues that "the democratic legitimacy of representatives elected by direct universal suffrage must not be confused with the greater involvement of NGOs and other arrangements for the representation of individual interests within society"[21].

It can be concluded that political actors with an electoral mandate claim the importance of representative democracy, whereas non-elected political actors like the Commission and the EESC may search for alternative or complementary sources of legitimacy in civil society involvement. The Commission and the EESC have emphasized the importance of civil society/ public interest groups' consultations for enhancing the legitimacy of EU policies and have also taken measures to institutionalize political participation. But despite these measures, the EU institutions do not regulate interest group activity in any comprehensive way. Owing to their different role and position the EP and the CoR take a different stance on interest group participation from that of the Commission and the EESC.

....

[21] The Convention has been composed of representatives of the member states' governments, the Commission, the European Parliament and the national parliaments, The Committee of Regions and the EESC, the Convention comprised 105 Conventioneers (and their alternates) - a group that was highly heterogeneous, both in preferences and expertise.

4 THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION: PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY GAINED ITS NORMATIVE EXPRESSION

After the disappointing negotiation of the Nice Treaty in December 2000, the Heads of State and Government agreed that a different approach was needed and a year later, after the pragmatic compromise between sceptics and proponents at the Laeken summit the Heads of the state and government set-up a Constitutional Convention on the future of Europe. This sui generis body has got the task to propose consensual answers to 60 broadly formulated questions about European integration, among them also: How can the Union's democratic legitimacy be strengthened?

Although, as argued Kleine[22], the Conventioneers[23] were left in the dark about the ultimate form that their collaboration would take, was the work in the Convention in contrast to IGCs transparent, it was supposed to meet in public and its documents were fully accessible on the internet.

To put forward how participatory democracy emerged in the final version of the Constitutional Treaty and nevertheless in the Lisbon Treaty, it is useful to understand how the work in the Convention untwined. Before the Convention could start work on the joint proposal, it was supposed to go through a lengthy period of attentive listening (Phase d'Écoute), which was expected to contribute to a thorough examination of all visions of the purpose of the EU. Only then would the Laeken questions and the various prescriptions of European integration be considered in a study stage (Phase de Étude), before the final text was drafted in the proposal stage (Phase de Réflexion) .

In this context it was more or less surprising that in the contrary to the current Treaties, the preliminary draft, draft and the final version of the Constitutional Treaty included a separate title on "The democratic life of the Union". Even more surprisingly, the first preliminary draft of the Constitution proposed by the Presidium to the Convention on 28 October 2002 suggested an article (Article 34) that would set out the principle of participatory democracy stating that "the Institutions are to ensure a high level of openness, permitting citizens' organizations of all kinds to play a full part in the Union's affairs".

According to the way the Convention work was going on the draft of 2 April 2003[24] has been presented to its members and public. The article on participatory democracy has considerably changed over the preliminary draft to the following

....

[22] Mareike Kleine, "Leadership in the European Convention," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14, 8 (2007), 1234.

[23] European Convention (CONV 369/02), "Preliminary Draft Constitutional Treaty", Brussels, 28 October 2002.

[24] European Convention (CONV 650/03), "Title VI: The democratic life of the Union", Brussels, 2 April 2003.

formulation[25]:

> *Article 34: The principle of participatory democracy*
> *1 Every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union.*
> *2 The Union institutions shall, by appropriate means, give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange their opinions on all areas of Union action.*
> *3 The Union institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society.*

The presentation of the first 16 articles in February 2003 heralded the beginning of the proposal stage. The plenary sessions were still important and well attended, but the emphasis was clearly put on issuing articles and proposing amendments. Nonetheless, several thousand amendments were issued from February to mid May, ranging from federalist to strongly Eurosceptic ideas. Decision-making in this phase followed the following sequence: the chairman and his two vice-presidents presented draft articles, which were then discussed by and consensually passed through the Presidium. The Conventioneers could then propose amendments and changes to this text, while Secretariat suggested how the amendments should be selected and integrated into the "skeleton" of a rising document. Those modifications were again passed through the Presidium, and the new texts were then circulated for further criticism. The Conventioneers were free to criticize the drafts, but they had to take them as a working basis, and form strong coalitions if they wanted to signal their significance and amend the proposals put on the table[26]. Sixty-three amendments altogether were proposed to the article on participatory democracy; 39 amendments were proposed by only one Conventioneer, and 24 amendments were proposed by two or more Conventioneers (see Table 1). In less than 10 proposed amendments to the participatory democracy strong coalitions among the Conventioneers were formed.

....

[25] European Convention (CONV 650/03), "Title VI: The democratic life of the Union", Brussels, 2 April 2003.

[26] George Tsebelis and Sven-Oliver Proksch, "The art of political manipulation in the European Convention," *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 45, 1 (2007), 171–177.

Table 1: Number of subscribers on amendment on participatory democracy

Number of subscribers on the proposed amendment to article on participatory democracy	Number of proposed amendments to article on participatory democracy
1	39
2	7
3	3
4	1
5	3
7	2
11	2
12	3
23	1
34	1
69	1

Source: Data from *Proposed amendments to the text of the articles of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*, available at http://europeanconvention.eu.int/amendments. asp?content=600&lang=en.

According to the described work in the Convention the draft of 2 April 2003[27] still did not mention the principle of representative democracy. As Smismans[28] argued the assumption seemed to be that representative democracy did not need an explicit mention since it would result automatically from constitutional provisions on the European Parliament or the voting rights recognized under the title of citizenship. Nevertheless, a considerable number of proposed amendments asked for references to representative democracy, either in Article 34 or as a separate article under the title *The democratic life of the Union*.

According to the preliminary draft of October 2002, Article 34 had to provide a "framework for dialogue with citizens' organizations", and thus confirmed the Commission's and EESC's tendency to see participatory democracy mainly in terms of functional representation. The proposed formulation seemed to follow the participatory democracy theory addressing the individual citizen (paragraph 1 and 2), where it stated that "every citizen shall have the right to participate" and shall have (like associations) the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange his/her opinions on all areas of Union action. However, these general statements were not accompanied by direct-participatory procedures. Therefore, three proposed amendments asked for the introduction of such participatory democracy tools as European referendum and the right of petition and legislative initiative (under various forms). Four proposed amendments suggested that the article on participatory democracy should require a more proactive approach by the Union to promote and encourage the participation of its citizens.

....

[27] European Convention (CONV 650/03), "Title VI: The democratic life of the Union", Brussels, 2 April 2003.

[28] Stijn Smismans, "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy", in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Lynn Dobson and Andreas Follesdal (London/New York, Routledge, 2004), 133.

In addition the terminology used to indicate the intermediary organizations is confusing. Many amendments criticized the terminology, for instance asking for deletion of the term "representativity" for associations, and for explicit inclusion of the social partners into the concept of civil society and/or participatory democracy.

The final version of the draft Constitution presented by the Convention on 18 July to the European Council of Rome included among eight articles under the title The democratic life of the Union, Article 1-47: the principle of representative democracy and Article I-47: the principle of participatory democracy.

> *Article I-47: The principle of participatory democracy*[29]
> *1. The institutions shall, by appropriate means, give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union action.*
> *2. The institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society.*
> *3. The Commission shall carry out broad consultations with parties concerned in order to ensure that the Union's actions are coherent and transparent.*
> *4. Not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of Member States may take the initiative of inviting the Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Constitution. European laws shall determine the provisions for the procedures and conditions required for such a citizens' initiative, including the minimum number of Member States from which such citizens must come.*

This final version differs from the previous ones in several interesting characteristics. The principle of representative democracy has been introduced in the title Democratic life of the Union. It clearly states that the working of the Union shall be founded on the principle of representative democracy, but no comparable statement is made regarding participatory democracy. Smismans[30] suggested that combined with the priority given to the article on representative

....

[29] See European Convention (CONV 850/03), "Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, adopted by consensus by the European Convention on 13 June and 10 July 2003, submitted to the President of the European Council in Rome 18 July 2003", Brussels, 18 July 2003. Available at http://european-convention. eu.int/docs/Treaty/cv00850.en03.pdf.

[30] Stijn Smismans, "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy", in *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Lynn Dobson and Andreas Follesdal (London/New York, Routledge, 2004), 135.

democracy, it seems that participatory democracy is only a complementary form of democracy. But the precise interrelation between the two principles of democracy remains unclear.

Moreover the formulation that "every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union" has moved from the principle of participatory democracy to that of representative democracy. This confirms the dominant tendency to confine the direct involvement of the citizen to voting in elections, leaving participatory democracy mainly for civil society organizations. Also, the phrase that "decisions shall be taken as openly as possible and as closely as possible to the citizen" is placed under the heading of representative democracy. It should therefore be seen as a request to respect subsidiarity in territorial terms, ensuring accountability through parliamentary assemblies at the lowest possible level, rather than as a request for decentralized direct citizen participation – in which case it should have been placed under the heading of participatory democracy.

While the right of every citizen to participate has been moved to representative democracy, the principle of participatory democracy is further defined in line with the dominant interpretation it had acquired in EU official discourse, namely linked to the Commission's efficiency driven consultation practices. The new third paragraph requires the Commission to carry out "broad consultations with parties concerned". The concept of "parties concerned" leaves further place for interpretation, adding to the confusion created by the wording of "representative association and civil society".

But the fourth paragraph of Article I-47 introduces a surprising exception to the tendency to conceptualize participatory democracy as consultation with civil society organizations. New instrument permits "direct citizen participation through a `citizens' initiative". Citizens, no fewer than one million, may invite the Commission to take a legislative initiative on a particular issue. This provision deviates from the dominant tendency to define participation in terms of representation through associations[31].

It should also be noted that 286 amendments altogether have been proposed to the title Democratic life of the Union, and most of them to the article on participatory democracy (see table 2) which leads to the conclusion that participatory democracy was the most contesting issue under title The

....

[31] Participatory democracy in its broadest interpretation is used for "the direct involvement in decision-making of those that are most affected by it". The point is not that everybody needs to co-decide on everything, but that all should be able to be involved in the decision-making by which they are most affected. In theory, such a conception could imply the decentralization of decision-making to ensure direct citizen participation as well as participation of civil society organizations. See Koen Lenaerts, "Regulating the Regulatory Process: Delegation of Powers in the European Community," *European Law Review,* 18 (1993), 23.

democratic life of the Union.

TABLE 2: THE AMENDMENTS ON ARTICLES RELATED TO "DEMOCRATIC LIFE OF THE UNION"

Number and article name	Nr. of amendments proposed to a given article
45 – The principle of democratic equality	36
46 – The principle of representative democracy	29
47 – The principle of participatory democracy	**63**
48 – The social partners and autonomous social dialogue	3
49 – The European Ombudsman	34
50 – Transparency	52
51 – The protection of personal data	25
52 – The status of churches and non-confessional organizations	44
Sum	**286**

Source: Data from *Proposed amendments to the text of the articles of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*, available at http://europeanconvention.eu.int/amendments.asp?content=600&lang=en.

The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was signed in Rome on 29 October 2004 by the representatives of the 27 member states of the Union and was subjected to ratification by all member states. Most of them did so, by parliamentary ratification or by referendum. In 2005 the French (29 May) and the Dutch (1 June) voters rejected the treaty by referendum. The failure of the treaty to win popular support in these two countries caused some other countries to postpone or halt their ratification procedures, and consequently the European Council called for a "period of reflection". The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty caused the failure of the "constitutional adventure". During the period of reflection all the European institutions expressed their views and opinions in various documents, where they addressed their views on the future of the European integration, reflected their own role and position and legitimacy for their own functioning. Following that period, the European Council meeting in June 2007 called for an intergovernmental conference to draft a new treaty that would amend the existing treaties. It was agreed that the new reform treaty should avoid constitutional references. The European Council also agreed that the democratic challenge of the supranational polity could not be avoided. Consequently, the reform Treaty (The Treaty of Lisbon) had to replicate the provisions of the Constitutional Treaty on democratic equality, representative democracy, participatory democracy, and the citizens' initiative.

The article on participatory democracy in the Lisbon Treaty came under the title II Provisions on democratic principles in article 8b. The three firs paragraphs and the first subparagraph of paragraph 4 of Article 8b have the same formulation as in the Constitutional Treaty. Article 8b(4) in the Lisbon Treaty differs from article 47(4) in the Constitutional Treaty.

Table 3: Comparison between Article 47(4) in the Constitutional Treaty and Article 8b(4) in the Lisbon Treaty

The Constitutional Treaty: Article 47(4)	The Lisbon Treaty: Article 8b(4)
Not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of Member States may take the initiative of inviting the Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Constitution. European laws shall determine the provisions for the procedures and conditions required for such a citizens' initiative, including the minimum number of Member States from which such citizens must come.	*Not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of Member States may take the initiative of inviting the European Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Treaties.* *The procedures and conditions required for such a citizens' initiative shall be determined in accordance with the first paragraph of Article 21 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.*

Source: *European Convention (CONV 850/03), "Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, adopted by consensus by the European Convention on 13 June and 10 July 2003, submitted to the President of the European Council in Rome 18 July 2003", Brussels, 18 July 2003. Available at http://european-convention.eu.int/docs/Treaty/cv00850.en03.pdf. The Lisbon Treaty. Accessible at http://www.predsedovanje.si/files/lizbonska_pogodba.pdf (May 1 2008).*

The citizens' initiative is one of the novelties of the Treaty of Lisbon, opening up a channel for participation. It has been hailed as an achievement in the context of participatory democracy at the EU level. Citizens' initiative could serve to encourage political debate beyond domestic affairs and to construct supranational discourses in an emerging European public space. As put Cuesta Lopez[32], in order to promote a particular proposal, organized civil society would search for transnational alliances that would contribute to the development of European networks. But on the other hand the European citizens' initiative is subjected to the political will of the institutions, because it represents just a preliminary step in the law-making process which is always formally launched by the European Commission that preserves the monopoly of the legislative initiative. In addition, the European legislature would always be free to reject a legislative draft proposed by European citizens.

5 The future of the participatory democracy in bridging the gap between the rulers and the ruled

It has become an accepted wisdom that the EU suffers from a democratic deficit. It suffers from deficiencies in representation, representativeness, participation, accountability and support. Although there is some level of agreement that the EU system is not (enough) democratic, there is no consensus on how the EU might become so. In theory there are often two quite different understandings of what the democratic deficit is. The first focuses on its institutional characteristics, arguing that the problem of EU democracy is tied to the inter-institutional relationships that characterize the EU. The second understanding

....

[32] Victor Cuesta Lopez, "The Lisbon Treaty's Provisions on Democratic Principles: A Legal Framework for Participatory Democracy", *European Public Law,* 16, 1 (2010), 136.

of the democratic deficit focuses on socio-psychological factors, arguing that it occurs because of the absence of a European demos[33]. From the institutional perspective there are arguments that the non-parliamentary EU institutions need to be more open and accountable – that the EC/EU has traditionally been a technocratic body, which has valued expertise much more than representation of different views.

Since 1990s the democracy debate within the EU has been extended, so that even where it remains institutionally orientated, it has become inextricably linked with the issue of public participation in the EU policy process. Thus, as Chryssouchoou[34] puts it: *"Democratizing the EU is not just about rejigging the institutional balance of the EU to give this or that institution more of the policy role. It is not solely reliant on the representative role of parliaments. It is also about bringing the EU closer to ordinary people, ensuring that the integration process is no longer simply an elite-driven process, distant or even irrelevant for the vast majority of European citizens".*

In this context the (theory of) participatory democracy undoubtedly has some capacity to bridge the gap between the rulers and the ruled.

First, it challenges the myth that there is one "classical" theory of democracy – representative democracy. The basis of participatory democracy is the importance of freedom and activism and a belief that that the existence of voting rights and alternation of government do not guarantee the existence of democracy.

Second, participatory democracy could open room and embrace civil society organizations and individuals in active participation in decision-making. Up to now the Commission and the EESC have highlighted the virtues of civil society participation in policy consultations. But the vague definition of participatory democracy in the EU does not turn its capacity to the best account and therefore leaves room for future conception development in theory as well as in praxis.

Third, as far as the socio-psychological perspective is concerned, the participatory democracy tries to answer the question: Who is governed? Ordinary people, European citizens, civil society organizations are active actors in communicative and decision-making process. They need to have channels of influence on the

....

[33] The socio-psychological perspective shifts the emphasis from the question of who governs and how? To the more demanding question who is governed? The starting point is that at the heart of the EU's democratic deficit lies the absence of European demos – that is, a sense of common identity amongst Europeans. The more the EU relies on democratic credentials, the more important it is for citizens to have feelings of belonging to an inclusive polity. See Dimitris N. Chryssochoou, "Democracy and the European Polity," in *European Union Politics,* ed. Michelle Cini (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), 363–364.

[34] Ibid.

work done in Brussels. If they recognize that their opinions, contributions, deliberations in all kinds of forums have influence on European decision-making, this would lead to encouragement of participation in European decision-making process not only on the basis of territorial representation.

Forth, up to now the EC/EU has evolved incrementally and mainly as a technocratic project where participation has not been given any serious considerations. But without greater public ownership of the democratic process, the gap between the rulers and the ruled remains unchanged or even widens; and doubtlessly raises another question: How little democracy can be enough for European citizens, if we put the meaning of democracy as Beetham[35] summarized it: *"A mode of decision making about collectively binding rules and policies over which the people exercise control, and the most democratic arrangements [is] that where all members of the collectivity enjoy effective equal rights to take part in such decision-making directly – one, that is to say, which realizes to the greatest conceivable degree the principles of popular control and equality in its exercise".*

6 Conclusion

At the end we can point out some aspects of participatory democracy within the EU. First, the article revealed the concept of participatory democracy and its evolution within the European polity-building, since the beginning of the European integration, when no one gave much attention to its democratic credentials, up to the Lisbon Treaty which labels EU democracy as both representative and participatory. Second, it shows how the "governance debate" has been initiated by Community institutional actors lacking electoral mandates. Addressing constitutional issues under the label of "governance", this debate has introduced the concept of participatory democracy. This has been defined mainly as the interaction between the Community institutions, in particular the Commission and the EESC, and civil society organizations. Third, it engages in research on how has the participatory democracy been shaped during the work of the Convention and how the Constitutional Treaty gave political participation constitutional status by including a new title VI on democratic life in the EU and under the title Provisions of democratic principles under article 8b in the Lisbon Treaty. Forth, it discussed in several aspects the capacity (of theory) of participatory democracy in bridging the gap between the rulers and the ruled underpinned by a belief that it is increasingly important for the EU to address issues of democratic governance.

Finally, is participatory democracy the solution for the democratic gap? Part of

....

[35] David Beetham, *The legitimation of power* (Atlantic Heights, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1991), 40.

the answer lies in participatory democracy that should be seen as a model of democracy to help democratize the EU. Because it is questionable whether the EP is able to effective represents large and extremely heterogeneous polity such as the EU. The benefits of citizens' participation at the EU level could increase the quality of EU policies, making public administration accountable to society as a whole, achieving mobilization of political interest and enhancement of direct participation of citizens, creating a trans-national democratic public sphere. Nevertheless, the implementation of participatory democracy opens the space between the rulers and the ruled. Therefore the establishment of participatory democracy is a potentially important step, because it makes clear that representation can not be the sole means to a legitimate regime in the EU.

REFERENCES

Beetham, David. *The legitimation of power*. Atlantic Heights, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1991.

Chryssochoou, Dimitris N. "Democracy and the European Polity." In *European Union Politics*, ed. Michelle Cini. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Commission of the European Communities. "White paper on European Governance", 25 July 2001.

Cuesta Lopez, Victor. "The Lisbon Treaty's Provisions on Democratic Principles: A Legal Framework for Participatory Democracy". *European Public Law,* 16, 1 (2010): 123–138.

European Convention (CONV 369/02). "Preliminary Draft Constitutional Treaty", Brussels, 28 October 2002.

European Convention (CONV 650/03). "Title VI: The democratic life of the Union", Brussels 2 April 2003.

European Convention (CONV 850/03). "Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, adopted by consensus by the European Convention on 13 June and 10 July 2003, submitted to the President of the European Council in Rome 18 July 2003", Brussels, 18. July 2003. Available at http://european-convention.eu.int/docs/Treaty/cv00850.en03.pdf (August 2004).

European economic and social committee (CES 851/99 D/GW). "Opinion on the role and contribution of civil society organizations in the building of Europe", 22 September 1999, OJ C 329, 17/11/99.

European economic and social committee (2002) "Resolution Addressed to the European Convention", 19 September.

European parliament. "Resolution on the Commission White Paper on European Governance (COM(2001) 428 - C5-0454/2001 - 2001/2181(COS)), A5-0933/2001.

Kleine, Mareike. "Leadership in the European Convention." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14, 8 (2007): 1227–1248.

Kohler-Koch, Beate. "The organization of interests and Democracy in the European Union." In *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union*, ed. Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Lenaerts, Koen. "Regulating the Regulatory Process: Delegation of Powers in the European Community." *European Law Review*, 18 (1993): 23–49.

Proposed amendments to the text of the articles of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. Available at http://europeanconvention.eu.int/amendments.asp?content=600&lang=en (June 5 2005).

Smismans, Stinj. "The constitutional labelling of "The democratic life of the EU": representative and participatory democracy." In *Political Theory and the European Constitution*, ed. Dobson, Lynn and Andreas Follesdal. London/New York: Routledge, 2004.

Tsebelis, George and Sven-Oliver Proksch. "The art of political manipulation in the European Convention." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 45, 1 (2007): 157–186.

DEFINING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM:
HISTORICAL REALITY AND THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Kwame Badu ANTWI-BOASIAKO[1]

Violence is terror and terror is violence. Liberators, freedom fighters, revolutionaries and terrorists have all become labels of convenience. Terrorism, historically, has been institutionalized by some governments to their advantage. Academicians and politicians fail to agree on the issues surrounding terrorism hence defining terrorism has become an academic puzzle. The ambiguity in its definition has also contributed to lack of any universal comprehensive acceptable theory. The literature on terrorism by and large accused weaker nations of supporting terrorism. This paper argues otherwise by using the African experience, slavery and colonization, to question the literature on terrorism. Nations throughout history have used terrorism as a pretext to expand their military atrocities when they cannot achieve their political goals diplomatically. This article concludes that the developed countries use terrorism as a tool for economic development as they occupy and control the resources of the less developed countries. In short, when it comes to terrorism all nations are guilty and the need for global solution must be paramount.

1 INTRODUCTION

When we talk about terrorism, what exactly are we talking about? Is politically motivated violence terrorism? Can governments also be terrorists?[2] Many define terrorism in ways suggesting that "state terrorism" is something that needs to be distinguished from terrorism proper[3]. Others disagree as to whether terrorism necessarily produces extreme fear or anxiety among some audience[4]. So, under what conditions, if any, may we ascribe legitimacy to terrorist acts?

---

[1]   Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Stephen F Austin State University, Department of Government, Nacogdoches, Texas 75962, USA. E-mail: antwibokb@sfasu.edu.

[2]   William F. Shughart II, "An analytical history of terrorism 1945–2000," Public Choice, 128 (2006): 7–39.

[3]   See Donald Black, „The geometry of terrorism," Sociological Theory 22 (2004), 14–25; also see Christopher L. Blakesley, "State support of international terrorism: Legal, political, and economic dimensions," *The American Journal of International Law*, 86, 2 (1992), 428–432.

[4]   Martha Crenshaw, "The politics of terrorism," *The American Political Science Review*, 73, 4 (1979), 1197–1198.

And of what might this legitimacy consist of?

Many political commentators, including scholars and politicians, seek to answer these questions through definitions. The use of "terrorism," they opine, should be restricted to non-state agents who violently threaten the civic order, most often by visiting carnage upon the innocent, by which is meant children and others who, on a day-to-day basis either give little thought to politics or have no significant individual impact on policy. To those of this persuasion, to suggest that states may be terrorists is to speak oxymoronically.

While academic freedom might offer the opportunity to freely discuss terrorism, politicians, states, and groups are not comfortable when any of the aforementioned is referred to as sponsors of terrorism or terrorist group. Caution must therefore be taken where and when honest discussions are held on who is a terrorist. This assertion is based on critical theory analysis of the subjective nature of social reality. As Abel and Sementelli noted, individuals have categorical distinctions among social and world issues. The authors posit that institutions, which are socially and historically constructed, are the result of "oppression and social injustices…of history."[5]. The authors' work suggests that terrorism, which is used in labelling others, is subjectively shared by humans. Though terrorism is not a new phenomenon, there is still ambiguity surrounding the term. For example, Shughart II[6],, summarizing the history of terrorism, argues that international terrorism elevated during the 1960s. This makes it difficult to know exactly the climax of international terrorism since different states, countries, groups or societies from one time or the other experience terrorism at different times. Probably an attempt to define the term is appropriate to start the argument that for centuries African and other third world nations under the mercy of developed nations have endured institutionalized terrorism.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines terrorism as "a policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; the employment of methods of intimidation; the fact of terrorizing or condition of being terrorized." Other dictionaries provide similar but diverging definitions. The academic literature has been crawling in formulating or providing a comprehensive and a globally agreed upon, and legally binding definition of terrorism. The resultant effect of this difficulty evolves from the fact that terrorism, as argued elsewhere, is politically and emotionally charged. It is, therefore, not surprising that the United Nations (UN) has no accepted definition for terrorism. According to Shughart II, Title 22 of the United States Code, 2656f (d) defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatants targets by

....

[5] Frederick Charles Abel and Arthur J. Sementelli, E*volutionary critical theory and its role in public affairs* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), 19.

[6] William F. Shughart II, "An analytical history of terrorism 1945–2000," Public Choice, 128 (2006), 7–39.

subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."[7] The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) of the USA sees terror as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives[8]"

But the reality is that one alternative definition that labels a nation that claims to fight terrorism, as a terrorist itself is likely to be rejected by politicians and, arguably, some academicians from that country. Though labelling Libya, Palestine, North Korea, Syria, Somalia, Iraq, and Iran as among countries that support terrorism is not uncommon in the literature, very little is said about strong nations including Israel, the United States, and Great Britain for committing the same crime based on the very definitions provided above. Kegley Jr., and Gibbs[9], ask several questions regarding the definition of terrorism. For example, Kegley Jr. states "when we talk about terrorism, what exactly are we talking about? Is politically motivated violence terrorism? …Can governments also be terrorists?"[10]. Do countries like the United States of America, Great Britain, Israel, France and others also support terrorism?

Any attempt to answer these questions prompts controversy for reasons other than conceptual issues and problems. Rubenstein argues that labelling actions as terrorism simply promotes condemnation of the actors, a position that may reflect one's ideological or political stance[11]. What are some of the root causes of Western civilization and economic development? It should be noted here that slavery and colonization were among the major precursors for Western civilization and economic development. As Niall Ferguson noted "the bottom line was, of course, the economy."[12] To develop the home states, they used "violence against individuals in its most extreme form,"[13], injected fear of terror, appropriated victim's lands, and shipped the stronger ones as slaves to the West.

....

[7] Ibid., 9.

[8] See FBI website or visit: http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/ss/DefineTerrorism_6.htm (June 6 2010).

[9] See David N. Gibbs, "Pretests and US foreign policy: The war on terrorism in historical perspective," New Political Science, 26, 3 (2004), 293–321; also see Charles W. Kegley Jr., *The new global terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

[10] Charles W. Kegley Jr., *The new global terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003), 6.

[11] Richard E. Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1987).

[12] Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The rise and demise of the British world order and the lessons for global power* (London: Basic Books, 2002), 325.

[13] Konrad Kellen, "Ideology and rebellion: Terrorism in West Germany," in *Origins of Terrorism, psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind,* ed. Walter Reich (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 43.

This paper attempts to lay the implication of terrorism by the developed nations for economic development. The article uses historical terrorism- slavery and colonization-and covert government actions by strong nations to argue that these acts of terrorism were institutionalized by the developed nations to economically develop their respective countries. This paper focuses specifically on slavery and colonization as terrorist activities sponsored by strong nations, which benefited them economically. Terrorism has always usurped the seat of law, and the fate of individuals and nations depends upon the power of superior armaments to impose their will upon defeated peoples, but not upon reason and justice. For example, as Shughart II admits any "unlawful use of violence" could make one a terrorist since "one man's terrorist will always be another man's freedom fighter."[14] But under whose terms does violence become lawful?

There are several documented historical events on slavery and colonization that are beyond the scope of this paper. However, a few are cited here to illustrate how diabolic strategic crimes (terrorism) are officially supported by a powerful nation.[15] Such covert plans by the governments, unfortunately, are not described as terrorist activities in the literature. In fact, the powerful governments do not publicly or officially accept their atrocities as acts of terrorism. As Brigitte Nacos puts it, "the ambiguity about what constitutes terrorism - and what does not - deserves attention because the choice of language determines, or at least influences, how politically motivated violence is perceived inside and outside a targeted society."[16] When weaker individuals, groups, societies, nations hold on to their tradition, ideological, and political beliefs they are describe as extremists but when such viewpoints are held by the strong is seen as conservatism.

2 Terrorism: The Ambiguity of Language Use

Extremism- political, ideological, religious, and cultural- by any definition prevents individuals or societies from been logical to reasoning with their opponents on issues that may benefit both camps. Regrettably, individuals, groups, societies, and nations tend to focus or pay more attention to what separates than unites them. This attribution is the result of manipulation of language and choice of words used to described the *other*. Language is a powerful tool, which is intentionally utilized by the strong to dehumanize the weak. This is the type of game (language manipulation) individuals, societies and nations play to justify their violence acts of barbarism on the *other*.

....

[14] William F. Shughart II, "An analytical history of terrorism 1945–2000," Public Choice, 128 (2006), 10.

[15] Brian M. Jenkins, "International terrorism: the other world war," in *The new global terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls,* ed. Charles W. Kegley, Jr. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003); and Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black cargoes: A history of the Atlantic slave trade 1500–1865* (New York: Viking, 1996).

[16] Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and counterterrorism: Understanding threats and responses in the post-9/11 World* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006), 16.

Unfortunately, in most cases, political leaders who manipulate language to depict the *evil* nature of their opponents "enemies" do not themselves face the 'enemy' on battlegrounds. In his book, *The language of oppression,* Bosmajian affirms that language is a tool for the strong to falsify the reality and atrocities. He argues that the strong "turn[ed] [*it-language*] upside down to say "light" where there [*is*] blackness and "victory" where there [*is*] disaster"[17] *emphasis added.* In the mist of the Vietnam War for example, where nearly 60,000 Americans and over one million Vietnamese were slaughtered, language was corruptly used as a tool of deception by the American government officials to "mask the cruelty and inhumanity" of their criminal atrocities in "attempt to justify the unjustifiable"[18]. Jacques Derrida also noted that written work can be manipulated to triumph one's ideological, cultural, political, and social beliefs. The author maintains that language, in a written form, can be used where "it supports ethico-political accusation: man's exploitation by man is the fact of writing cultures of the Western type."[19] Though it has been agued elsewhere that it is the victor that writes history, linguistically, the victor records history from the victor's perceptive leaving the looser as an entity without substance or culture.

Bosmajian in his introductory chapter discusses the effectiveness of names and labels that can be used to dehumanize the weak or opponents. In terrorism language, undeniably, has been utilized by strong groups, tribes, and nations to sadly justify their atrocities. A name can be used to curse or belittle individuals, groups, societies, and nations. There is power in a name or label as it is used in defining the *other*. Determining the authenticity of a group or a nation is greatly affected by the words use to label that society. To Bosmajian, "the names, labels, and phrases employed to identify a people [*society, group, or nation*] may in the end determine their survival."[20] If the strong adopts the original meaning of *definire* (Latin word meaning define), then it sets limitation or boundaries through which the defined should operate. For instance, during the Vietnam War students and those who protested against the war in the United States were labelled traitors, saboteurs or queers to separate them from real Americans. Blacks in America were seen as properties and as chattels and as slaves they were to be separated from the human beings (Whites). Using language to dehumanize the weak was seen, for example, in Apartheid South Africa and Nazi Germany as the Nazis redefined the Jews as parasites and demons. Oppressors are quick to redefine their enemies with such labels "so they will be looked upon as creatures warranting separation, suppression, and

....

[17] Haig A. Bosmajian, *The language of oppression* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 125.

[18] Ibid., 121.

[19] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 121.

[20] Haig A. Bosmajian, *The language of oppression* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 5.

even eradication."[21] The language of oppression should be understood as an instrument of subjugating groups and nations and therefore words must not be "used to justify the inhumanities and atrocities of the past and present, [*as is possible*] to consider appropriate remedies"[22] *emphasis added*.

Since terrorism studies are ideologically driven it has been argued elsewhere that it is a weapon of the weak therefore it's the weaker (smaller) groups and individuals that clinch to terrorism[23]. But stronger nations are quick to use terror to achieve their political and economic goals too. For example, since 9/11 NATO nations have used the threat of terrorism as a mechanism for promoting neo-colonialism, imperialism and occupation of other countries. Contrary to the realities of the number of people from weaker nations, the Coalition of the Nations of the Willing is more likely to admit that their assault constitute acts of terrorism.

In his study of Russia, Robert Saunder also concluded that President Vladimir Putin "has consistently used the threat of terrorism as a mechanism for promoting a neo-authoritarian public agenda."[24] Gofas, reviewing a number of terrorism books, noted that terrorism has become a political ball for politicians, academics, and publishers. He argues that there are mushroom "experts" and proper experts studying terrorism but they both fail to identify which group is providing solution to terrorism. Critical theory asserts that nations "do not always abjure acts of terror whether to advance their foreign policy objectives… or to buttress order at home."[25] Booth is confused here as he questions both Zulaika and Douglass, and Burke's assertion of terrorism. He inquires that "if terror can be part of the menu of choice for the relatively strong, it is hardly surprising it [*has*] now become a weapon of the relatively weak."[26]. This confirms the pragmatic reality that both strong and weak states small groups, and individuals engage in terrorism. In fact, state terrorism is more harmful, destructive, dangerous, and prolong than non-state terrorism for example, slavery and colonization went on for centuries and these crimes have created an inerasable scare on the continent of Africa and arguably have contributed to the underdevelopment of Africa.

The striking difference between the oppressed and oppressor is that the two evaluate similar activity from one prism with different interpretations. Each

....

[21] Ibid., 6.

[22] Ibid., 133.

[23] Joseba Zulaika and Douglass A. William, "The terrorist subject: Terrorism studies and the absent subjectivity," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008), xx.

[24] Andreas Gofas, "Book reviews," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008), 125–144.

[25] Anthony Burke, "The end of terrorism studies," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008), 73.

[26] Ken Booth, "The human faces of terror: Reflections in a cracked looking-glass," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008), 73.

is glued to its own colours where those colours become the only authentic variables through which their opposing world views are defined. Such a constructionist ideological world view by each camp has, in part, resulted in perennial barbarism of the human race. Terrorism has become an instrument of choice for the oppressor to trumpet the barbarism of the oppressed. The oppressed who sees itself as defenceless and militarily weak with no acceptable voice in world politics,[27] out of frustration fights back violently through any means possible to either attain its freedom or react to the oppressor in its own currency of violence. So terrorism wears different faces depending on who the interpreter of an act of violence is. To the oppressor the oppressed violent reactions are considered acts of terrorism, while the latter also sees the consistent authoritative brutalities of the former as acts of terrorism.[28]

Other terrorist activities on the part of the strong nations, which could be described as terrorist acts, include slavery, colonization, and covert activities, (financing military coups) on the continent of Africa. States have different ways of sponsoring terrorism. For instance, the Belgian-US joint assassination of Patrice Lumumba of the Republic of Congo and the removal of Osagyefo dr. Kwame Nkrumah as president of Ghana on February 24, 1966, through a military coup are among the numerous barbaric covert terrorist acts strong nations carried out in Africa. On the other side of state sponsored terrorism, these strong nations through their territorial expansion, forcefully colonized the African continent and enslaved its people, which contributed, in part, to the economic development of Europe and America. These historical events are not chronicled in the literature as acts of terrorists.

The fear that gripped weaker countries makes one wonder if these nations really have sovereignty, since the powerful nations can covertly or openly attack less powerful nations without any legal consequences. For example, in the 1780s, Europeans and the US had a fleet of ships that forcefully exported Africans to the Caribbean, the Americas, and Europe, but no African country had the power to question those terrorist acts. So what is terrorism? To answer this question lets first make an attempt to develop a theoretical base, which might help us to

....

[27] See Charles W. Kegley Jr., *The new global terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

[28] The British soldiers brutally slaughtered the Mau Mau's who resisted the British occupation and the indirect rule from Britain. Unfortunately, official historical documents from the British colonial achieve show that the Kenyans were put in concentrations camps to be taught civilization and "incidents of brutality against the detainees…were isolated occurrences" (x). The problem with official documentation on historical events is that it is only the strong that had the capabilities and resources in documenting events while the weak relied on oral tradition. Official documentation of historical events present only one face of a story hence the exact atrocities of the strong is solemnly known in their entirety as depicted in Britain's gulag: The brutal end of British domination on the continent is the story of the oppressed not the oppressor. See Caroline Elkins, *Imperial reckoning: The untold story of Britain's gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), 31–61.

understand terrorism from different perspectives. Babbie argues that a theory may help to explain an action but it is not an end in itself. He states "theories are systematic sets of interrelated statements intended to explain some aspect of social life."[29] It is therefore a chronological explanation for the observations, which relate to a particular aspect of life.

3 Terrorism: Searching for A Theoretical Framework

According to Schmid and Jongman many studies have dealt with the etiology theories of terrorism. However, different thinking and interpretations have superseded formal propositions. They argue that there is not enough data to rewrite a theory of terrorism; and question "why there has been so little progress in (*terrorism*) theory formulation?"[30] The fact is those who commit terrorism do not accept their actions as such hence one finds capitalists and anti-communists writing about communist regimes whiles "leftist authors write on terrorism in capitalist societies."[31] Oxymoronically, this approach provides distortions in data collection, interpretation, analysis, and theory formulation. There is a need for collaborative effort on the part of those interested in the subject to find common variables, which might help "to begin on theory constructions"[32] but researchers do not agree on the exact definition of terrorism hence the problem with formulation of theory and what must be used. For example, while "pro- and anti-Western terrorism *data* might be useful for operational purpose[d]"[33] the amalgamation of the two is so contradictory that it blurs a possible unified theory formulation for terrorism.

Lawrence Hamilton made a rare effort to test models he labelled as theories A, B, C, D, and E of terrorism[34]. In models A, B, and C, Hamilton theorizes that terrorism is the resultant effect of misery and oppression. Theories D and E contemplate that terrorism is the work of idles elites and frustration in combinations with utilitarian justification for violence respectively. This paper shares the frustration of other authors' inability to identify a universal theory for terrorism because of the controversy over the word-terrorism. For example, some studies have used psychological foundations to develop a theory but Ted Gurr[35] argues that the premise for theorizing terrorism is a relative deprivation.

....

[29] Earl Babbie, *The practice of social research (9th ed.)* (Wadsworth: Thomson Learning Inc., 2001), 51.

[30] Axel P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political terrorism* (New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, 2006), 61.

[31] Ibid., 75.

[32] Ibid., 129.

[33] Ibid., 39.

[34] Lawrence C. Hamilton, *Ecology of Terrorism: A Historical and Statistical Study (unpublished Ph.D dissertation)* (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1978), 65–91.

[35] Ted Robert Gurr, *Why men rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

His model, based on Freudian psychoanalysis, is derived from a conceptual framework developed in the 1930s. The conceptualized theoretical deduction made from Hamilton's five models by this study could be interpreted as violence is a means to achieve a goal. This paper specifically rejects Hamilton's first three theories; using slavery and colonization to argue that rich and developed societies like France, Great Britain and the United States of America used terrorism to achieve their intended goal though they were neither oppressed nor politically idle prior to the colonial and slavery eras. While, I do not claim any superiority in the search for a theory for terrorism, I share the frustrations of others since this crime of terrorism is unfortunately becoming a norm for radicals, groups, societies, and nations as such it has lost its meaning. The theory here is that societies use violence to accomplish their objectives where diplomacy is likely to fail. Now we go back to the question posed earlier: What is terrorism?

4 Defining Terrorism and Prior Studies

This paper defines terrorism as any forceful act, physical or latent, clandestine or open, where the victim is hurt and is forced to obey the rules of the oppressor. It is a strategic political, religious, and social manoeuvre to ensure supremacy as it relates to slavery and colonization. Other studies have, admittedly, vaguely discussed the difficulty involved in defining terrorism.[36] Academics have very little agreement on it, hence no explanation on causes and processes can be universally acceptable. It could therefore be argued that all states, especially the strong ones, are guilty of what they claim to be fighting against: Terrorism[37].

Defining terrorism is "not insuperable, but it must be handled with causation in order for subsequent use of the term to have meaning."[38] Terrorism is not something committed by individuals and groups but a political term "derived from state terror. So analysis of ways in which states use terrorism as an instrument of foreign and domestic policy offers interesting insights."[39] There is no one study that can cover all aspects of terrorism; in fact, the definition is constantly undergoing changes as states and individuals have used the term for convenience. In their book, *Political Terrorism*, Schmid and Jongman provided thirty-five different definitions and each seems to contradict the other definitions. As Nacos also noted, "this latest shift in the definitional evolvement worked in favour of governments in that officials were quite successful in rejecting the

....

[36] Joseph N. Weatherby et al, *The other world: Issues and politics of the developing world. (6 ed.)* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005).

[37] Ken Booth, "The human faces of terror: Reflections in a cracked looking-glass," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008), 65–79.

[38] Cindy Combs, *Terrorism in the twenty-first century (3rd ed.)* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003), 3.

[39] Ibid., 9.

terrorist label for their government's or friendly countries violent actions."[40] The term has become a useful tool for some nations to justify their state-sponsored acts of terrorism.

For example, D'Souz[41] and Walton do not even define terrorism but condemn anyone who criticizes developed nations for sponsoring terrorism. They see every act of terrorism by strong nations, the West in particular, as holy, legal, and righteous, which must be accepted by the weak. Walton writes:

Collaboration with non-free governments admittedly is in conflict with Western ideals, but the United States, for example, might reasonably act in concert with tyrannical governments when such cooperation is a practical necessity. In keeping with the notion of citizenship, Washington's primary duty is to ensure the well-being of its citizens, and this requires vigorous protection of their lives, property, prosperity, homeland, and constiwell beings, in turn, requires that the United States government strive to craft an international system in which American interest-and, ultimately, Western ideals-can thrive. Cooperation with, or even support of, tyrannical governments is acceptable so long as it serves American interests.[42]

Walton's argument provides that American or European interest should be held superior to any other country's interests and values. His prescription may not be considered as an extremist position in the literature. Terrorism is a vague word used for political, religious and ideological convenience; therefore all nations are part of the axis of evil or guilty of terrorism.

The definition of terrorism varies from study to study. Laqueur struggled to come up with any definitive definition. Accordingly, he concluded that no comprehensive definition of terrorism exists. He went on to admit that the definition "will [*not*] be found in the foreseeable future [*neither*]." Laqueur abandoned his search for a definition, being unable to conceptualize any universally acceptable definition that included disparate political ideologies, cultures and/or religious beliefs.[43]

Gibbs[44] provides a more precise definition that derives a basis in legalities. To

....

[40] Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and counterterrorism: Understanding threats and responses in the post-9/11 World* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006).

[41] D'Souz argues that Africans should rather thank Europeans for colonization for it brought God closer the indigenous Africans. See Dines D'Souza, "Two cheers for colonialism," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 10 2002.

[42] Dale C. Walton, "The West and its antagonists: culture, globalization, and the war on terrorism," *Comparative Strategy*, 23 (2004), 308.

[43] Walter Laqueur, *The age of terrorism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).

[44] Jack P. Gibbs, "Conceptualization of terrorism," *American Sociological Review,* 54 (1989), 329–340.

him, terrorism is illegal violence or threatened violence directed against humans or non-human objects. His definition is condensed into five broad conditions, which must be part of defining terrorism; the word *illegal* presents not only a controversy but provides an interesting interpretation: Who decides what is legal and illegal? If violence is terror and a crime, at what point does it become legal and by whose definition? For example, Article 1 Section 2 Clause 3 of the US Constitution confirms the legalities of slavery[45] for only Americans (Whites) and not Africans (slaves) or the nations the enslaved people were kidnapped. Matthews and Combs in a historical analysis of domestic terrorism, illustrated that the US was conceived and born in violence but it does not consider its violent activities as acts of terrorism. Combs maintain that terrorism certainly occurred during the early years of colonial settlement in North America.[46] The efforts of the British, and then the young American leaders, to eliminate the threat from the indigenous populations certainly became, by definitions, genocide, because it evolved into efforts to reduce in size (to facilitate control of) or to destroy ethnic groups.

Weatherby et al. present two views-traditional and new- in their attempt to define terrorism. In the traditional view the authors admit that terrorism is a confusing term as they pose questions like: Were the French, Dutch, Danish, and Norwegian resistance fighters who sought to end the World War II Nazi occupation of their countries terrorists? Were the Russian, Yugoslav, and Greek partisan movements also terrorists? What about the members of the Irish Republican Army and their opponents, the various protestant paramilitaries: Are they also terrorists?

Using the above questions as a premise to formulate acceptable definition Weatherby et al. view terrorism as a strategy and not a movement. To them "Terrorism involves the use or threat of violence against innocent people to influence political behaviour. It is a strategy of conflict that involves a low risk to the perpetrators… *which* rely on the intimidating effects of assassinations, *and* random bombings." [47]Their definitions, like others, present characteristics that the strong nations used to either enslave or colonize African countries. The Africans taken as slaves were innocent people. The nations that were colonized by Europeans did not offend the colonizers but the slave masters and colonizers

....

[45] Slavery is mentioned in two places in the Constitution; see Article 1, Section 2 Clause 3 and the 13 Amendment, which was proposed on 1/31/1865 and ratified on 12/6/1865. This amendment officially prohibited slavery in the United States but the practice of owning slaves continued for a period of time after the 13th Amendment.

[46] See Cindy Combs, *Terrorism in the twenty-first century (3rd ed.)* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003); also Gerald E. Matthews, *E pluribus Unum: justice, liberty, and terror: an analysis of western terrorism on people of African decent in the Diaspora* (Mason, Ohio: Thomson Custom Publishing, 2002).

[47] Joseph N. Weatherby et al, *The other world: Issues and politics of the developing world. (6 ed.)* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 41.

terrorized the Africans by all account.

According to Weatherby et al. traditional terrorism should not be compared to unconventional, counterinsurgency or clandestine warfare but he did admit, however, that terrorism is used by non-Western states. They argue that the West has every reason to fear the use of terrorism since "on many occasions fierce warriors have ridden out of Asia to crush kingdoms, sack cities, and take slaves."[48] By this submission from Weatherby et al., the writers are more likely to argue that the West never crushed kingdoms and took slaves. Here, the importance of Mile's Law regarding how researchers attempt to define terrorism comes to play. The Mile's law simply interprets that what one says depends on where ones stands. For example, in 1939, the Italian military slaughtered thousands of Ethiopians who resisted the Italian oppressive rule but this is also not discussed in the literature as acts of terrorism sponsored by the Italian government.

In their new definition of terrorism- a strategy that involves the use of violence against innocent people to influence political behaviour. Ira Reed describes the atrocities of European nations toward Africa but failed to admit that those acts were forms of terrorism. He, however, acknowledged that the colonization and enslavements of Africans were for the economic benefit of Europeans. He noted, "Africa was artificially divided to suit the objectives of the colonial governments."[49]. Owen did not specifically discuss terrorism but he argues that colonization of Africa by the West was for the economic development of Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, the United States and others.[50]

The literature is silent on whether or not colonization and slavery fits the definition of terrorism even though there is no universal acceptability of what constitutes terrorism. Citing Timothy Garton Ash, Nacos argues that we need to look beyond the nature of violence to identify good and bad terrorist actions. She maintains that there is a paradigm shift in the definition of terrorism as the ambiguity about what constitutes terrorism *is a* choice of language. The West therefore does not see its actions as acts of terrorism based on what it may perceive as bringing peace to the world but accuses those who resist Western oppression as terrorists.

....

[48] Joshua Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International relations (7th ed.)* (Boston: Longman, 2003), 196.

[49] Ira Reed, "Sub-Saharan Africa," in *The other world: Issues and politics of the developing world (6th ed.)*, Joseph N. Weatherby et al. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 163.

[50] Roger Owen, "Settler colonization in the Middle East and North Africa: Its economic rationale," in *Settler Colonialism in the twentieth century*, ed. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen (New York: T&Finforma, 2005).

5 Philosophical Disagreements of Terrorism

Utilitarians like Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) would argue "every action is to be evaluated solely by its consequences, as compared with the consequences of alternative possible courses of action."[51]. Specifically, Bentham may argue that an action is right if it conforms to a principle in the interest of greater number of society. But I reject "the greatest good for the greatest number" philosophical concept, which is abusive and leads to the tyranny of the powerful or majority. For example, should we accept Nazi Germany's mistreatment of the Jews, the US mistreatment of African Americans during the slavery era, the partition of the African continent by Europeans, and slavery under the concept of greater good?

Again, such assertion begs the question of the righteousness of a group, societal or national principle. However, Utilitarians such as James Mill (1773–1836) and others are more likely to argue that an action should seek to maximize the welfare or the happiness of all individuals.[52] If actions should seek the happiness all individual can the Utilitarians argue that slavery and colonization maximize the welfare and happiness of Africans? Kantians may argue that terrorism is violence (wrong), which tends to only favour a segment of the whole, but Utilitarians will maintain that once such an action benefits a greater good it should be considered right.

Political philosophy is an ambiguous enterprise connected with the changing nature of historical actuality. The relationship between terrorism and slavery/colonization in political philosophy is a matter of individual interpretation. For instance, religious thinking about political philosophy occurs within an eschatological view of history in which concrete actions can be judged in terms of the end of time. In fact, its interpretation depends on the interest of an individual's belief.

While Kantian and Utilitarian schools may explain a little of what constitutes terrorism, Rawls is likely to admit that hybrids of these schools are both realistic and utopian. Rawls says that we "connect such a conception with a view of our relation to the world...by reference to which the value and significance of our ends and attachments are understood"[53] Such a philosophy of historical analysis is a metaphysical supplement to the ideals for the politically and economically powerful nations, which threaten to disrupt the possibility of overlapping consensus. Slavery and colonization, I argue, are forms of institutionalized

....

[51] AlasDair MacIntyre, *After virtue (2nd ed.)* (South Bend, Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 1984), 15.

[52] See Utilitarianism, available at http://www.utilitarianism.com/jsmill.htm (31 July 2010).

[53] See "Justice by Rawls under Utilitarianism," available at http://oak.cats.ohiou.edu/~piccard/entropy/rawls.html (July 31 2010).

terrorism sponsored by the strong nations for their economic prosperity. Berman never minced words when he posits that "European domination established largely by force"[54] in Africa and other parts of the world involved specific interest: improving European economy at home.

6 Slavery/Colonization for Economic Gains

The effects of slavery and colonization on people of African descent are minimized in modern Western literature. In fact, it does not relate these European crimes to terrorism. However, as the Durban Declaration of the World Conference against Racism, Racial discrimination, Xenophobia and related Intolerance declared in 2001 slavery and "colonialism led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and …Africans and people of African descent and *other* indigenous peoples were victims of colonialism and continue to be victims of its consequences."

Ancient Rome is known to have been more dependent upon its slave labour than any society in history. Some studies place the slave population in Rome in the 1st century to be about a third of its population. Other studies indicate the existence of slavery for thousands of years before it became a prominent part of American history, where this crime against humanity was later conspicuously perfected as an institution. Owusu-Ansah and McFarland date African slave trade to the 15th century Portuguese. To craftily justify the institutionalization of the trade by people of European descent, some studies have argued that slavery among Africans was common. Using empirical evidence including the French massacre of the Algerians in North Africa, and the British assault on the Ugandans-Mau Mau- as basis for historical analysis, one could reject the argument that slave trade was a common practice among the African nations. For example, Mannix and Cowley insist, "many of the Negroes transported to America had been slaves in Africa, born to captivity. Slavery in Africa was an ancient and widespread institution…"[55] But Foster admits that the argument that Africans been enslaved before sent to the Americas is more controversial than is discussed in the literature. To Foster, "the argument that Africans practiced slavery, and that the institution was widespread among them, is refutable on quantitative and definitional grounds." The confusion is a matter of individuals' perspective. To Europeans, the captured Africans were chattel used for agricultural purpose whereas Africans saw the captive Africans as cherished individuals and not as "an agricultural or industrial labourer but a personal servant who…enjoyed great advantages and social status." These two diverging views

[54] Bruce J. Berman, "The ordeal of modernity in an age of terror," *African Studies Review*, 49, 1 (2006), 8.

[55] Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black cargoes: A history of the Atlantic slave trade 1500-1865* (New York: Viking, 1996), 43.

persist despite contemporary accounts.[56] Why? The answer could be deduced from how Americans who violently killed the Native Americans and took their land did not see their actions as consisting acts of terrorism, Europeans also did not consider their brutalities of slavery as crimes against humanity. However, slavery and colonization by all accounts constitute acts of terrorism that was institutionalized by Europeans and Americans for centuries. Yes, the Africans were sold into slavery but that could have happened as a result of fear,[57] therefore the argument that Africans practiced slavery, as a justification for the slave trade is refutable. The enslaved Africans worked on plantations in the West Indies, the Americas, and Europe though the Arabs also engaged in the slave trade. The labour of the slaves benefited their masters economically. While those shipped from the continent of Africa toiled for the welfare of their masters, the Europeans also controlled the natural resources in the colonized countries in Africa.

As Flynn and Bamfo noted,[58] it took the Europeans over two decades after the Berlin Conference of 1844- a scramble for Africa- to occupy West Africa because of the fearless resistance[59] of some of the Africans. This feat, Bamfo argues, was due to the careful and successful planning to resist the occupiers (Europeans) who terrorized the Africans. But, to the Europeans, the resisters were considered terrorists. Similar accounts are credited to the Mau Maus of Kenya, Zulus, and Boers in Southern Africa. For example, the chiefs of the Ashantis in West Africa were even more defiant to foreign oppression as "the Ashantis defiantly stood up to the British in a confrontation…King Prempeh was treacherously arrested in 1896 after years of being so UNCOOPERATIVE."[60] Adu Boahen also states that other chiefs and Ashanti ministers who were uncooperative were captured and taken away to foreign lands (Seychelles).[61]

....

[56] See Ending the Slavery Blame-Game by Henry Louis Ghates Jr. in NY Times (April 22, 2010).

[57] Consider what happened to the Algerian homes that the French saw as a safe heaven for the Algerian resisters (terrorists). This argument is also true for the raiding of homes by US-led coalitions in Afghanistan and Iraq during the invasion of this two countries by the Coalition of the Willing. In an event a where a house is considered to be a hiding place for "suspected terrorists"- those resisting US occupation in that house are either killed or captured and sent to foreign lands: Guantanamo Bay, Cuba or US secret camps around the world to be tortured. This practice is similar to what the Europeans did to the Africans during colonization and slavery.

[58] See J.K. Flynn, "Ghana-Asante," in *West Africa resistance*, ed. Michael Crowder (New York: Africana, 1971): 9–52; and Napoleon Bamfo, "The hidden elements of democracy among Akyem chieftaincy: Enstoolment, Destoolment, and other limitations of power," *Journal of Black Studies,* 31, 2 (2000), 149–173.

[59] Those Africans who resisted were considered enemies by the Europeans for example, Queen Mother Yaa Asantewaah and Asantehene Nana Agyemang Prempeh were captured and sent to a foreign land: Seychelles. It today's term they could be referred to as pockets of terrorists fighting a superior power.

[60] Napoleon Bamfo, "The hidden elements of democracy among Akyem chieftaincy: Enstoolment, Destoolment, and other limitations of power," *Journal of Black Studies*, 31, 2 (2000), 155.

[61] Adu A. Boahen, *African perspective on colonialism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987).

7 The Kenyan Experience of British Terrorism

The Kikuyus of Kenya who resisted the British occupation faced similar atrocities from the British military. In fact, the Mau Mau, who openly confronted the British, were identified as a terrorist group and its leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arab Moi, were imprisoned in Lodwar in the late 1950s. The two would later become presidents of Kenya. Based on these historical and current events on how occupiers treat natives who resist oppression, I reject the premise that African chiefs willingly sold their own people to Europeans and Americans who invaded the African continent for their own economic benefit. The evidence of colonial brutalities to benefit colonizers is well documented in the literature. Britain, Spain and other European nations benefited from the people they captured. Randall also noted that the Africans "slaves" sent to the US were used as properties who worked on cotton plantations to benefit the slave masters who never up till this day see their terrorist activities as crimes against humanity.

Owusu-Ansah and McFarland[62] chronologically present the European struggle for a greater economic share in the colonization of African countries and how the British and the US later outlawed all dealings and trading in slaves in Africa and their transportation after 1808 for economic purposes. Fortunately or unfortunately, Western supporters of slavery have used religious beliefs to justify the terrorist acts of Europe and America. Their argument uses the Bible as a source for justification. For example, the Puritans saw slavery as something authorized by the Bible (God), and a natural part of society.

8 State Sponsored Agencies[63] and Africa[64]

For centuries the West, through colonization, has terrorized nations, but any individual or ethnicity that attempts to resist those barbaric, inhumane, and systematic state sponsored terror is crushed by the West's military power, accusing the helpless natives as terrorists. Mario Marcel Salas argues that historical Western acts of terrorism still haunt its societies. He noted that numerous examples exist throughout modern history, as Anglo-Saxon European has forcefully dominated other cultures. In countries and cultures that it has terrorized, the West forced its will and style of Christianity on the natives. Using the US as an example of Western atrocities, Salas wrote "This so-called Christian country was founded on the genocide of the Native American population and the slavery of Africans." He also looked at the French, British,

....

[62] David Owusu-Ansah and Daniel Miles McFarland, *Historical dictionary of Ghana (2nded)* (Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Scarecrow Press, 1995).

[63] See CIA on Campus, available at http://www.cia-on-campus.org (July 31 2010).

[64] See CIA on Campus, available at http://www.cia-on-campus.org/internat/sinews.html (August 1 2010).

Portuguese, and other historical activities of these countries and concluded, "the history of domination by one country over another has always had an economic component."[65]

Robert Edgerton[66] and Caroline Elkins[67] documented the terrorist acts of the British government in Kenya and for years after World War II, the colonizer suppressed and even destroyed evidence of its atrocities. Colonialism, like terrorism, has different meaning to different people and nations. The British described those who resisted its strategy of oppression as evil, but studies have shown that it was rather the British who were the evil doers. It is not uncommon for the West to isolate anyone who openly disagrees with its oppressive acts as a terrorist. For example, Nelson Mandela of South Africa was imprisoned for over two decades for leading a resistance group, the African National Congress (ANC), to confront the oppressive white supremacists of the defunct apartheid system. He was considered a terrorist by the oppressors not only in his home country of South Africa but the conservative members of the British parliamentarians voted to keep him behind bars for the rest of his life because they also labelled Mandela as a dangerous terrorist[68]. To former Prime Minister of Britain, anyone who thought the ANC was a credible movement capable of forming a government was "living in cloud-cuckoo land."[69] Some lawmakers in the United States, including former Republican Vice President, Dick Cheney, echoing the British parliamentarians view in 1986, also saw Nelson Mandela and the ANC as a terrorist organization, which must be crushed[70]. Similarly, the Kikuyu's of Kenya had their spokesman, Jomo Kenyatta, jailed in 1952 because the British considered him as the "evil behind the Mau Mau insurgency"[71] that were fighting the well-equipped British to regain control over their African homeland.

Elkins has a more gruesome description of state sponsored terrorism by the British. The British used its well-established and equipped institutions like the military and other government agencies as channels to commit terrorist acts during colonial period. For example, when the Kenyans confronted the occupiers, the British military acted decisively to crush the Mau Mau. According to Elkins, a special operation called Jack Scott was "directed at *Jomo* Kenyatta and 180

....

[65] Mario Marcel Salas, "A system that still hunts us," *News and Issues: African –American,* 25 (2006), 2.

[66] Robert B. Edgerton, *Mau Mau: An African crucible* (New York: The Free Press, 1989).

[67] Caroline Elkins, *Imperial reckoning: The untold story of Britain's gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005).

[68] Anthony Sampson, *Mandela: The authorized biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

[69] Ibid., xxi.

[70] See "Cheney and Mandela: Reconciling The Truth about Cheney's Vote," available at http://www.commondreams.org/views/080300-102.htm (July 30 2010).

[71] Caroline Elkins, *Imperial reckoning: The untold story of Britain's gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), 176.

others identified leaders [sic] *and* zealously carried out their arrest orders, rousing suspected protagonists."[72] The operation did not achieve its primary goal but rather turned more violent as the movement's leadership passed into the hands of younger men. Anderson[73] noted that the British monitored the activities of the Mau Mau throughout Kenya, but to the locals the so-called terrorist group (Mau Mau) was just fighting back to reclaim its sovereignty from the oppressors and occupiers.

9 CONCLUSION

Stronger nations judge others on their actions but judge themselves based on their intentions. As a result of colonization and slavery the West succeeded in forcing fear in African governments nevertheless the West cannot escape its violent historical, social, and racial injustices meted out to the developing world. The West has terrorized African countries for both economical and political gains but does not see itself as a sponsor of terrorism.

Slavery and colonization, these terrorist acts, have brought a life sentence of poverty and misery to the developing world, Africa in particular. The colonizers and those that engaged in commercial slavery are still in denial that their actions constituted acts of terrorism. Both academicians and philosophers are at a crossroads when it comes to what constitutes terrorism. Lack of a precise definition of terrorism has affected the dynamics of international politics and relations. Several attempts to formulate a theory to explain terrorism have also failed because there are conflicting opinions on the composition of data for terrorism analysis. Developed societies do not accept their atrocities as acts of terrorism.

By every definition of the word, terrorism, the African continent has been the unfortunate recipient of centuries of the West's barbaric and inhumane terrorist activities, which has benefited it, in part, for its economic growth. Terrorism, whether state sponsored or not, has numerous channels of operating. However, a collective effort to curb terrorism by all nations legally respecting each other's territorial sovereignty must be reemphasized. Any effort by some countries to manipulate others through religious, ideological motives, and the use of military force as threat to establish peace in itself stands to disrupt global peace by promoting or brewing terrorists.

....

[72] Ibid., 35.

[73] David Anderson, *Histories of the hanged: The dirty war in Kenya and the end of empire* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005).

References

Abel, Frederick Charles and Arthur J. Sementelli. *Evolutionary critical theory and its role in public affairs*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

Anderson, David. *Histories of the hanged: The dirty war in Kenya and the end of empire*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005.

Babbie, Earl. *The practice of social research (9ᵗʰ ed.)*. Wadsworth: Thomson Learning Inc., 2001.

Bamfo, Napoleon. "The hidden elements of democracy among Akyem chieftaincy: Enstoolment, Destoolment, and other limitations of power." *Journal of Black Studies,* 31, 2 (2000): 149–173.

Berman, J. Bruce. "The ordeal of modernity in an age of terror." *African Studies Review,* 49, 1 (2006): 1–14.

Black, Donald. "The geometry of terrorism." *Sociological Theory,* 22 (2004): 14–25.

Blakesley, L. Christopher. "State support of international terrorism: Legal, political, and economic dimensions." *The American Journal of International Law,* 86, 2 (1992): 428–432.

Boahen, A. Adu. *African perspective on colonialism*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Booth, Ken. "The human faces of terror: Reflections in a cracked looking-glass." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008): 65–79.

Bosmajian, Haig A. *The language of oppression*. New York: University Press of America, 1983.

Burke, Anthony. "The end of terrorism studies." *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* 1, 1 (2008): 37–49.

Combs, Cindy. *Terrorism in the twenty-first century (3ʳᵈ ed.)* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Crenshaw, Martha. "The politics of terrorism." *The American Political Science Review*, 73, 4 (1979): 1197–1198.

Derrida, Jacques. *Of Grammatology*. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

D'Souza, Dines. "Two cheers for colonialism." *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* May 10 2002.

Edgerton, B. Robert. *Mau Mau: An African crucible*. New York: The Free Press, 1989.

Elkins, Caroline. *Imperial reckoning: The untold story of Britain's gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005.

Ferguson, Niall. *Empire: The rise and demise of the British world order and the lessons for global power*. London: Basic Books, 2002.

Flynn, J. K. "Ghana-Asante." In *West Africa resistance: The Military Response to Colonial Occupation,* ed. Michael Crowder. New York: Africana, 1971.

Gofas, Andreas. "Book reviews." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 1 (2008): 125–

144.

Gibbs, N. David. "Pretests and US foreign policy: The war on terrorism in historical perspective." *New Political Science,* 26, 3 (2004): 293–321.

Gibbs, P. Jack. "Conceptualization of terrorism." *American Sociological Review*, 54 (1989): 329–340.

Goldstein, Joshua and Jon C. Pevehouse. *International relations. (7th ed.).* Boston: Longman, 2003.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why men rebel.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Hamilton, C. Lawrence. *Ecology of Terrorism: A Historical and Statistical Study (unpublished Ph.D dissertation).* Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1978.

Jenkins, M. Brian. "International terrorism: the other world war." In *The new global terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls,* ed. Charles W. Kegley. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Kegley Jr., W. Charles (ed.). *The new global terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Kellen, Konrad. "Ideology and rebellion: Terrorism in West Germany." In *Origins of Terrorism, psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind*, ed. Walter Reich. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998.

Laqueur, Walter. *The age of terrorism.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.

Mannix, P. Daniel and Malcolm Cowley. *Black cargoes: A history of the Atlantic slave trade 1500–1865.* New York: Viking, 1996.

Matthews, E. Gerald. *E pluribus Unum: justice, liberty, and terror: an analysis of western terrorism on people of African decent in the Diaspora.* Mason, Ohio: Thomson Custom Publishing, 2002.

MacIntyre, AlasDair. *After virtue (2nd ed.).* South Bend, IN: Notre Dame Press, 1984.

Nacos, L. Brigitte. *Terrorism and counterterrorism: Understanding threats and responses in the post-9/11 World.* New York: Pearson Longman, 2006.

Owen, Roger. "Settler colonization in the Middle East and North Africa: Its economic rationale." In *Settler Colonialism in the twentieth century,* ed. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen. New York: T&Finforma, 2005.

Owusu-Ansah, David and Daniel Miles McFarland. *Historical dictionary of Ghana (2nd ed).* Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Scarecrow Press, 1995.

Reed, Ira. "Sub-Saharan Africa." In *The other world: Issues and politics of the developing world (6th ed.),* ed. Joseph N. Weatherby et al. New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.

Rubenstein, E. Richard. *Alchemists of Revolution.* London: I. B. Tauris, 1987.

Salas, Mario Marcel. "A system that still hunts us." *News and Issues: African –American,* 25 (2006): 2.

Schmid, P. Alex and Albert J. Jongman. *Political terrorism.* New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, 2006.

Shughart II, F. William. "An analytical history of terrorism, 1945–2000." *Public Choice,* 128 (2006): 7–39.

Walton, C. Dale. "The West and its antagonists: culture, globalization, and the war on terrorism." *Comparative Strategy,* 23 (2004): 303–312.

Weatherby, Joseph N. et al. *The other world: Issues and politics of the developing world (6ᵗʰ ed.).* New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.

Zulaika, Joseba and William A. Douglass. "The terrorist subject: Terrorism studies and the absent subjectivity." *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* 1, 1 (2008): 27–36.

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Journal of comparative politics invites all scholars and researchers of the Central and Eastern European area and beyond to submit papers for consideration. All topics of comparative social and political import within the spectrum of the social sciences and humanities, interdisciplinary or not, are welcome.

Please send your submissions in WORD format (.doc) to either of general editors (miro.hacek@fdv.uni-lj.si or peter.csanyi@uninova.sk) with the words "JCP Article Submission" in the subject line.

- Maximum word length: 7000 words though exceptional papers which go beyond this limit will also be considered.
- All manuscripts must be accompanied by an abstract of up to 200 words stating precisely the analytical problem under consideration, the method of argument addressed to the problem and the conclusions reached by the author(s).
- Since manuscripts are sent out anonymously for editorial evaluation, the author's name and affiliation should appear only on a separate covering page.
- Up to 100 words of biographical paragraph describing each author's current affiliation, research interests, and recent publications related to his or her article, and address should accompany the manuscript.
- Formatting standard: *Chicago Manual of Style* 15th edition.
- All submission copies should contain current author/s contact information.
- Once selected, the author/s will be contacted by a member of the editorial team.

Note on Editorial Policy

The *Journal of comparative politics* staff reserves the right to edit any and all submissions as necessary for publication. Authors will retain full future copyright over their submissions. Previously published works without restricted copyright are welcome for submission. All submissions must follow the Chicago Manual of Style, 15th edition, concerning punctuation, citation and bibliography format, etc. While the staff will cooperate with authors in reviewing edits prior to publication, *Journal of comparative politics* will determine all final editing decisions.

For further information about submissions, please consult: www.jofcp.org