



Labour, Education & Society

31

Litsa Nicolaou-Smokoviti
Heinz Sünker
Julia Rozanova
Victoria Pekka Economou
(eds.)

Citizenship and Social Development

Citizen Participation
and Community Involvement
in Social Welfare and Social Policy

Citizenship and Social Development

Labour, Education & Society

Edited by György Széll,
Heinz Sünker, Anne Inga Hilsen
and Francesco Garibaldo

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Preface

The genesis of this volume goes back to May 2009, when an international conference took place in Athens/Piraeus organized by RC10 of ISA, in collaboration with University of Piraeus, University of Osnabrueck, University of Wuppertal (Center for International Studies in Social Policy and Social Services), and University Paul-Cezanne d'Aix-Marseille UPCA/CNRS under the topic "*Citizen Participation in Social Welfare, Social Policy and Community Involvement: Shaping trends and attitudes of social responsibility*". This academic meeting contributed to the exchange of distinguished international scholars and practitioners in the social field, especially in citizen participation and the changing status of local community.

The present collective volume is published by Peter Lang, under the editorship of L. Nicolaou-Smokoviti (University of Piraeus, Vice President RC10/ISA, Board member of Hatzikiriakio Institution), H. Sünker (University of Wuppertal, President RC10/ISA), J. Rozanova (Brown University, Secretary RC10/ISA) and V. Economou (University of Piraeus).

The initiative for organizing such a big academic event in Athens/Piraeus was that of Hatzikiriakio Child Care Institution, a historical NGO, dating back in the middle of the 19th century, established by the benevolent and socially responsive initiative of a wealthy Greek couple right after the war of independence of Greece in 1821, to house and upbringing orphans of the war. During its long history, the Institution developed along the new ideas and ideals of a modern socializing institution, following social, cultural and pedagogical conceptions of upbringing healthy, educated and responsible young people.

The conference was designed to address issues of reducing alienation and meeting social needs by responsible citizens and community action, increasing social integration and strengthening of the social canvas. Participants of the conference shaped their papers within the key dimension of "citizen participation and community involvement in social welfare", as sustained thesis and an analytic framework within a broad social framework of contemporary developments. The editors had a very difficult task to exclude some important papers presented in the conference, purely for the reason of thematic unity, for which they warmly apologize.

The editors wish to thank the participants of the conference (academics, practitioners, researchers, public servants) for their active involvement and insightful contributions which enriched the understanding of some important and crucial human problems and social issues pertaining in the area of social welfare and child caring. From this point of view, the present volume should be considered as a significant collective contribution.

The volume represents the contributions of 51 authors about citizen participation and community involvement in the area of social welfare. It is a comparative examination in nearly 20 countries, including Greece, much of Europe plus Israel, Australia, South Africa and the United States. The purpose of the conference, supported mainly by Hatzikiriakio Child Care Institution, was to appraise the utility of existing social measures for child caring and for a broader understanding of new trends in the field of social welfare. Experiences and views expressed in fruitful academic discussions have hopefully planted the seeds for further scholarly thought and social action with the initiative of socially sensitive and responsible citizen and social action, as presented in the pages of this volume.

The three years prior to the publication of this collective volume, there have been unprecedented changes in the international economic and political landscape, since various laws, regulations, judicial decisions have helped determine issues important to various segments of society and social groups. The magnitude and pace of these changes have been dramatic due to inefficiencies of governments and the search for freedom to shape one's destiny and the effort to meet the problems of the people of the world, pose special challenges and efforts for experimentation within social systems.

The editors are particularly indebted to the Greek Ministry of Health and Social Solidarity for placing this international academic event under its auspices, the International and the Greek Organization Committees, the Board of Hatzikiarkio Child Care Institution and its Administrative staff for financially supporting and hosting it, the Evgenidion Institution for making available its facilities, the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung Germany for its financial support. Thanks go also to the participants of the conference, who enriched our comprehension and knowledge by their very active involvement.

Things have been changing rapidly in our days. The traditional list of human rights (mainly political) are now complemented with economic and social rights. On the other hand, countries are experimenting with various institutions. This volume compares different countries in the context of superpowers which maintain strong economies in the world, while smaller, relatively undeveloped countries continue to face very important social issues and human problems that deemed solution.

The idea of citizen participation in dealing with social issues increases the role of communal institutions, while local autonomy gains greater importance in shaping new social measures and policies to social development as a means for reducing human alienation and increase social integration. In some countries, citizen and community spontaneous, sporadic developments designated as “social economy” and social development (creative application of human resources to economic affairs) lead to social development as a means for reducing and solving human problems while promoting creative application of human resources to economic and social affairs.

The countries represented in this volume are different in terms of size, politics, and culture that it would seem impossible to compare these cases. And yet, vastly different nations, characterized by many differences and conflicts, represent the range of key issues in the social development of modern societies. Participants in the conference shaped their papers to be on key dimensions of citizen participation and community involvement in the social sphere (human needs, problems of alienation, child socialization, assimilation of social groups, social legislation, policy measures),

Many researchers such as Durkheim, Weber and other social scientists are concerned with human problems and the degree to which the dignity of life is retained. They are concerned with growing number of densely packed cities, dehumanizing, impersonal anonymous institutions that distance people from one another, as well as heterogeneity, increased segmentation and anomie that go with the enormous changes in the social structures and life-styles, loosening of family bonds, high horizontal and vertical mobility, vast changes in social life that constitute factors contributing to the breakdown of the traditional community and the loss of community life in an impersonal, bureaucratic structure are associated with several social problems. The lack of community power constitutes a major sociological problem in our days.

Greece and other countries, clearly dissimilar in size, ethnic composition, population, economic standards of living, and other factors, they are also similar in ways that make this collective volume relevant to international issues in social economy.

The Athens/Piraeus conference was designed to address the issues of reducing alienation and strengthening community life. It is expected that this volume will be kept abreast with the dynamic nature of citizen participation and community involvement in the social sector, contributing thus to the social welfare, the shaping of social policies and measures against human alienation and increased community integration.

The years ahead pose special challenges to sensitive and socially responsive citizens and social leaders. There is still much to learn, and our purpose in editing

this volume has been to assist sensitive and responsible citizens and social leaders in undertaking initiatives that upgrade their social nature and express their social responsibility and concern.

Hopefully, this volume will bring to our international colleagues a message that scholarly cooperation in comparative cross national research can prove fruitful, leading to new social policies for supporting the dignity of human life.

Litsa Nicolaou-Smokoviti

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Abstracts

Gabriel Amitsis
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**“Activation as a Challenge for Fragmented Welfare States:
The Balance between Law and Policies in the European Welfare Regime”**

Abstract

This paper focuses on the regulatory paradigms to promote activation trajectories within the EU Social Inclusion Strategy, developed in line with the European Employment Strategy as a means to strengthen social cohesion and justice in Europe. These paradigms set the legal and operational trajectories of a European *social activation discourse*, strongly influenced by the subsidiarity principle / model of social protection within the *European welfare regime*. The paper will deal with the institutional status of the European social activation discourse (*a fundamental challenge of national Welfare states*), discussing the performance of existing instruments in both primary and secondary European law (i.e. Treaties, Council legislation and Commission Communications) as well as new non-binding governance methods developed under the Lisbon process (i.e. Open Method of Coordination). It will also address issues about the ‘judicial empowerment’ of the discourse, presenting scenarios on the future development of hard and soft law paradigms within the revised EU Social Protection and Social Inclusion Agenda (i.e. activation rights and responsibilities for individuals, activation principles, objectives and Standards for national social policy makers).

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**“Contradictory Trends related to Citizen Participation/Responsibility
and Community Involvement – In Shaping Individual and Community
Involvement in Social Policy and Praxis”**

Abstract

Based on my own empirical attitudinal research concerning the Attitudes and Behavior of Social Workers towards their Poor Clients, I analyze and reflect on

the inherent contradictions in the welfare establishment, from a perspective inspired by Warren Hagström on “Self-Organizing by the Poor.” Furthermore, I share some initial reflections on the positive impetus provided to Citizen Participation and Responsibility, Community Involvement and Participatory Democracy provided by the WSF process since the year 2001. I discuss the social-welfare institution and organization, along with other “middle-class” professionals in the occupational structure, as reflecting both ideologically and structurally, contradictory values, interests and conducts, inherent to their intermediate position between the power structure in society at large and also within the social welfare organization (bureaucracy), as reflected in their actual occupational praxis: “service-oriented” – vs – “career-oriented” social workers. Factor analysis revealed a positive significant correlation between (negative) attitudes of (predominantly middle-class) social workers and their “career-oriented” and “custodial” (controlling) behavior towards their poor clients.

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“Trade Unions and Social Networks”

Abstract

This chapter makes reference to the many aspects of trade union crisis in order to discuss how civic movements and new forms of interest representation could contribute to union revitalization. The paper discusses information, service supply but also social rights representation. On one hand it focuses on information as to traditional forms of communication used by trade unions are incapable of reaching young generations and mobilize people. On the other hand, it discusses the increasing number of social needs which are not represented in our contemporary society. The experience of social movements in defending and advocating social rights and the role played by charity institutions in supporting the social exclusion in UK, bear witness to the many and new forms of interest representation in our contemporary societies. On ground of the new pluralism in interest representation, this chapter intends to debate the complementary role of unions and new forms of interest organization in building a new concept of solidarity and shaping a new platform for interest representation.

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**“ICT Communication Network and Social Cohesion
to the Web Immigration Portal”****Abstract**

This paper focuses on the opportunities provided by ICT to the process of social integration. We focus on immigrant population and on the complicated rules of regularization which can contribute to increase the degree of social exclusion or, at least, to complicate the path of social inclusion. The case under analysis is a policy specifically designed for increasing the information flow and quality at disposal of the immigrant population, the electronic booking procedure. In order to implement this procedure a number of the public actors involved in the process of immigrant regularization were obliged to improve their mutual exchange and intensify their cooperation. The final result of this cooperative approach was a decrease of the weight of bureaucracy and an improvement of the quality of the service supplied to immigrant in search of regularization. The case is evaluated under different perspectives: a) the cooperative process within the different levels of bureaucracy and the role of local policy makers; b) the provision of a public service tailored towards a particular social group; c) the improvement of social cohesion by increasing tolerance locally.

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**“Decentralized Planning and Poverty Reduction –
The Case of Kerala (India)”****Abstract**

Kerala has used decentralized governance as a tool to deliver basic services to the poor and for reducing poverty. The focus laid on Grama Sabhas (Village councils) and devolution of 1/3 of State's plan fund to the local bodies has enhanced the voices and expanded the choices of the poor. As a result, the Kerala

model of decentralization has widely been acclaimed in regional, national and international platforms. Within a period of fifteen years decentralization has triggered sweeping social changes in Kerala transferred people's lives, empowered local bodies and rewritten the rules of democratic decentralization. There have been astounding achievements in the creation of basic amenities, livelihood promotion, employment generation and grass roots level empowerment. With the creation of effective targeting mechanisms, local bodies deliver goods and services with grass roots touch for reducing poverty.

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**“Crafting New Democratic Spaces:
Participatory Policy Making in South Africa”**

Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to explore the notion of deliberative policy-making within the context of provincial executive governance in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The paper considers literature on different forms of democracy, and assesses challenges faced in engaging with citizens and drawing them into processes of governance. It draws on field-based research into existing mechanisms to facilitate public participation in policy processes, and the experiences of civil society organisations in attempting to engage with these. It examines access to and representation of civil society organisations in participatory initiatives, and the nature and design of participatory spaces themselves, building on literature in this regard, and issues raised in action-research processes.

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**“The Voice of the Community: Socio-Economic Inequalities
and User Involvement in Public Services”****Abstract**

Following Hirschman, two key methods can be identified for ensuring that users of public services shape the content and delivery of those services: The first consists of quasi-market mechanisms that enable users to choose which services they access (‘exit’). The second comprises consultation mechanisms that enable users to state what services they would like (‘voice’). The UK government has increasingly adopted the former strategy in developing policy on public services for England. However, the devolved administrations in Scotland and Wales have been reluctant to introduce quasi-market mechanisms and instead have been inclined to rely on ‘voice’ for acquiring user input. They have argued that to choose effectively in a quasi-market users require access to resources (time, education, mobility) that are unequally distributed across the population. Consequently, the information about user preferences conveyed by the “exit” mechanisms is likely to be biased and unrepresentative. However, ‘voice’ might be thought vulnerable to the same criticisms. This chapter uses survey data collected in the UK in 2007 to demonstrate that willingness to be involved in ‘voice’ does indeed vary across the population but that the views of those who are willing to get involved may still be representative.

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**“Aspects of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Childhood –
Theoretical Analysis and Experiences from Athens Area”****Abstract**

The social and economic developments have historically formulated various and different aspects of childhood in space and time. Since the perception of child is

affected by social and economic factors, poverty has a direct impact on the construction of childhood. Due to the fact that today in Greece significant percentage of children population faces social deprivation, using original data from empirical research in poor households of the Athens area that have at least one child and by research on “street children”, we attempt to study the social and cultural dimensions of poverty in childhood. Concerning poverty and social exclusion in childhood in the Athens area, the present research study examines: Firstly, special groups such as immigrants, gypsies or “street children” as well as the special areas where the phenomenon is located. Secondly, in order to analyze the phenomenon at the level of the general population, two directions are of high importance: a) to examine children that live in households having an income under the “poverty line” and b) to examine children that live in households “relatively poor”, i.e. households and persons having an income above the “poverty line”, however suffering important deprivations that render them poor in qualitative human terms.

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**“The Commercialised Child:
The Case of TV Advertising Aimed at Children
and the EU’s Regulatory Protective Measures Offered by the
“Audiovisual Media Services Directive””**

Abstract

Although marketers have targeted children for decades, a number of recent trends have exponentially increased their interest in child consumers and, consequently, advertising aimed at them. However, the techniques marketers use to attract children (e.g. product placement and other forms of surreptitious advertising, advertorials, celebrity endorsement, promotional offers, sponsorship etc) raise some fundamental questions about the fairness of advertising to children. Accordingly, problems like: parent-child conflicts, materialistic attitudes but also obesity (as many advertisements are for high calories foods) occur and create a need for strict relevant legislation. At the EU level, the protection of children against tv programmes and advertisements harmful to their development has been a long standing concern and formed part of the “Television Without Fron-

tiers Directive” since 1989. However, significant changes for the regulation of audiovisual media content and the protection of minors have been brought about with the new Directive, i.e. the Audiovisual Media Services Directive 2007/65/EC.

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“New Employee Participation Approaches and its Socioeconomic Influences in the New Economic Era: The Case of Team Work as a Corporate Social Initiative”

Abstract

This paper refers to the way that employee participation and teamwork within the firms and organizations may add value and improve business success and moreover help modern businesses to gain a sustainable competitive advantage. Firstly, the emphasis is placed on employee participation approach, its characteristics and its contribution to the continuous improvement and business success. The concept of teamwork as a corporate social initiative is also analyzed, in the context of its involvement to break down hierarchal barriers, to build company and social relationships and to enable creative and effective discussions that may finally improve cohesive society, through the spirit of interdependence and mutual accountability.

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“Lay and Professional Knowledge in Self-Help Groups”

Abstract

This paper explores the two processes of professionalization and politicization in the self-help field in Norway. On the other hand, it looks into the processes of how self-help activities are defined and redefined by its participants, professionals and policymakers in Norway. It also shows that different modes of knowledge

often express themselves in mixed forms in self-help groups – or in what I refer to as the “hybridization” of skills. On the other hand, the paper follows the processes for the institutionalization of self-help in becoming part of a welfare service for all citizens. It concludes that the self-help field in Norway is based on the hybridization of knowledge and organizational diversity of networks comprised of civil agents as well as professional and bureaucratic agencies at the state, regional and local levels. This research is based on a project funded by the Norwegian Directorate of Health; it started in March 2009 and will last for four years. Methodologically speaking, it is a case study in which documentary research, interviews and observation are the main methods used.

Francesco Garibaldo
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**“European Policies and Citizenship:
The Responsibility of the Main Stakeholders and of the Policy Makers”**

Abstract

In the last decades the supposed positive relationship between labour market demands and qualified labour supply has not been fully verified. The global crisis is adding new threads to this relationship because of a new awareness that traditional jobs in traditional sectors of economic activities are very critical for social stability in advanced countries, too. It is more and more evident that the supposed virtuous circle between education and higher chance to be employed in a qualified job and to earn better wages is under threat if not already jeopardised. This depends, among other causes, upon the ongoing transformation of labour in a commodity and upon the transformation of the organizational model in the private and public sector. One of the possible consequences of these trends is the hollowing of the concept of citizenship for a growing quantity of youngsters in Europe. They run the risk to experience, for the first time in generations, a social and economic coming back and to be largely excluded from a decent life. To prevent these dire consequences a new mix of European policies is needed and the global economic crisis can be a chance to attain this goal. The paper will illustrate the basic principles and objectives of such a change.

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**“Social and Cultural Value Orientations of Russian Youth:
The Theoretical and Empirical Researches”**

Abstract

The study on value orientations in Russia has been conducted from the middle of the 1960s when the theoretical works by the psychologist B.G. Anan'ev, sociologists A.G. Zdravomyslov, V.A. Ladov and others appeared, as well as empirical studies. During the last 15 years value orientations of the Russian youth have been investigated by a considerable number of individual scholars and scientific groups. The situation of social order change and “re-comprehension of values” on the national scale has encouraged the scientists to interpret the transformation of value orientations of the Russians. The extensive study on dynamics of the value orientations of the Russians that was conducted under the direction of N.I. Lapin is of a great scientific significance. In this paper we consider the trends of changes in value orientations of the Russian student youth, which are stated on the empirical level. However, in the beginning we define what the theoretical meaning of the study on the Russian youth value orientations is. Also, we specify what the essence of the value aspect of the youth studies is.

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University of Piraeus

**“Knowledge Management as a Strategic Enabler for Improved Social
and Economic Cohesion through a Sustainable Learning Society”**

Abstract

Knowledge society can be characterized as the society that essentially based on knowledge acquisition; sharing and application in order to improve prosperity and well being of its people. Through knowledge, traditional organizations and activities may dissolve their boundaries, enhance national and local development and also create employment possibilities. Innovative policies and practices may

empower and support learning society, may succeed in reaching improved business competitiveness and social cohesion. Furthermore, carefully designed strategic initiatives could organize, develop and deliver education and training, improve the quality of jobs and could also introduce innovative work practices. This paper aims at analyzing the way education and learning may be one of the most important components for creating more and better jobs, for supporting equal opportunities and gender equality and for promoting social inclusion in a more cohesive society.

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“Vocabularies of Community Involvement in Urban Romania”

Abstract

Many researchers consider that involvement in collective action can be hardly explained without some appeal to cultural or psychological factors. The article follows the results of a qualitative inquiry into the narratives of three types of small urban community members – leaders of community organizations, participants in collective actions and the by-standers and finds systematic differences in the stories provided by representatives of the three roles, in terms of self-description and motivation for action. Therefore, a significant effect of personality features or of attitudinal structure on availability for collective action can be taken into consideration.

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“Trends and Specifications of the Socio-Policy Pluralism in Greece and Germany. The Cultural and Mentality Effect which Acts as a Factor of a Different Thought and Action over the Practice of Socio-Political Pluralistic Model”

Abstract

Social policy, today, cannot be defined anymore as a single-dimensional process which is practiced exclusively by the state policy intervention. It is a bilateral

relationship where each country's citizens are actively involved. This is accomplished through the interaction of the state mechanism and the citizens, both as recipients of services and assessors of their efficiency, but much more in shaping – to a certain degree – the political decisions. Based on the active participation of citizens in the socio-political pluralistic model of social policy practice, various facets are expected to be presented upon its implementation, depending on each country's particularities. The influence of mentality and culture are the most fundamental factors that shape the social pluralism model. The comparative presentation of these factors contributes to an improved comprehension of the way in which pluralistic socio-political models of each country function.

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**“Closing the Gap: Transforming Public Participation Exercises
in Northern Ireland”**

Abstract

Citizen participation is a ubiquitous concept in contemporary society. It is usually viewed as the most effective way to improve the lives and livelihoods of those people who live in communities and in *many parts of the world ordinary citizens are demanding to be involved in the planning and management of the environment*. Using the case study of Northern Ireland this paper argues that building a truly inclusive participative process may be impeded by existing sectarian tension, an immature polity and existing disillusionment of historical “non-participation”. The paper suggests that failing to address and ameliorate these concerns may have implications for Northern Ireland's largest participative exercise of community planning which is due to be implemented in the near future. It further argues that even though conflict may exist it can give way to consensus to produce successful community planning outcomes in a region where participative democracy has been long suppressed.

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**“Political Efficacy – Understanding Low Levels of Political Participation
in Post-Soviet Countries”**

Abstract

How society reacts in case of low institutional trust and dissatisfaction with performance of the government varies from country to country. In some countries even small dissatisfaction can provoke sharp reactions – strikes, demonstrations, forming of new parties, workers joining unions, switching votes etc., while in others corrupt and unjust behaviour of public officials results in seemingly no reaction at all. In Post-soviet countries trust in political institutions is very low, yet civil engagement – both conventional and unconventional – stays surprisingly low too. One of the reasons, as indicated in this paper, is low, external and, especially, internal efficacy – the fact that people have little understanding and interest in politics, as well as little trust in the responsiveness of the system. Using Structural Equation Model (SEM) on the data of *The International Social Survey Program* (ISSP 2006) for Latvia, it is shown that low efficacy results from poor perceived performance of the previous governments, which alienated citizens from the state and politics. Also, the model indicates that the role of voluntary associations in facilitating social capital and developing civic attitudes is overstated, at least in the case of Latvia. Participation in voluntary associations does not increase generalized trust or political efficacy.

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“Social Sensitivity and Social Involvement”

Abstract

The paper presents the results of a study on the sociological dimensions of “social sensitivity” and “social involvement”. The study refers to various social groupings constituting “followers” of the so-called “spontaneous-direct democracy”, i.e. atavistic movements without leaders, names or manifesto. The research attempts to

specify those social characteristics which relate to the main atavistic movements of the last two decades, their international web of political contests and social claims. General classification of groups, as defined by G.Gurvich, is used as the basis for comparing classic forms of social groupings with various collectivities (movements without formal constitution). Those collectivities constitute formations able to extend social involvement and participation of citizens at the international level they are characterized by differences, looseness of mutual ties and common objectives, individual members without important common characteristics who pursue some ends forbidden by the prevailing society. The degree of coercion exercised upon the members is determined by various inconstant factors (such as spontaneity, openness), one of them being the meaning of social sensitivity under study.

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**“Women’s Participation in Development:
The Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)”**

Abstract

Nepal’s development industry suffered from multiple ideas with little or no implementation. This was not only due to political instability but also to planners, policy makers and donors’ inadequate knowledge about people and community needs and priorities. The top-down mentality of bureaucrats and technocrats’ gendered development participation in Nepal, whereby women were characterized as a passive recipient of development and their significant contributions to household, community and public life were not examined or measured. Development is supposed to be a process of social transformation for disadvantaged and marginalized groups of people including women, but despite Nepal being open to outside influences for the last fifty years, women’s lives have remained the same, with no participation, no transformation and being socially, politically, and economically disadvantaged. In Nepal, women’s social status is that of a second class citizen; they suffer from structural violence, being oppressed politically and socio-economically. They are marginalised in terms of their participation in development even in those programmes where the focus is on disadvantaged groups. Without women’s participation in mainstreaming, it is impossible to challenge the development programmes of I/NGOs and CBOs. They have to be accountable to the people for whom they were formed.

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**“Institutional Participation and Responsibility
towards Education Sri Sharadamatha Balavedika –
A Part of Ramakrishna Math – A Case Study”**

Abstract

“Educate the educated ones” is the famous quote of Swami Vivekananda. In the present days of advancements in all fields, benefits reaching the beneficiaries among the poorest is still an unsolved puzzle with more so “NO” as an answer. Hyderabad being recognized as IT hub, with tremendous developments, involvements of NGOs, Government Organizations with various kinds of social and educational policies for the uplifting of downtrodden, the under privileged, and the state’s overall development and its uncared, unreached, unexplored areas. An empirical study undertaken at Sri Sharadamatha Balavedika – A part of Ramakrishna Math, Domalguda, Hyderabad, intends to examine the institutional efforts and “social responsibility” for the education of children belonging to socio-economically weaker section groups. The study focuses on various awareness programmes, policies and media, changing socio-economic status among the poor, uneducated, illiterate, and on “*education*” as an essential tool to enhance and to redefine their socio-economic status. In order to equip the children of socio-economically weaker sections with good quality education, this centre runs an evening school giving training in “english, mathematics and science” as main subjects along with moral and character building and teaching values for success, for no cost.

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**“Social Participation of Older Rural Women in Canada in the Context
of Social Services Restructuring: A Critical Feminist Perspective”**

Abstract

Social participation in later life has come to the forefront of research and policy agenda as both a resource for community development and a pathway to aging

well. Yet in the context of gendered restructuring and downsizing of service provision, constraints to older women's choices of social participation need to be explored from a feminist political economy perspective. This paper critically examines reasons for involvement in volunteering and providing support to others among older women who live in rural Canada. The constant comparative analysis of the data from 30 in-depth qualitative interviews conducted in 2004-2005 uncovers five constraints to choices of social participation for rural older women. Two of these constraints (profound participation in care work and compulsory altruism) manifest in older women's participation in helping others and volunteering to a greater extent than they would like, potentially crowding out other meaningful activities. The other three (limited economic resources, blind spots in seeing opportunities, and barriers around desired activities) exclude older women from participating in meaningful social, political, and economic activities they value.

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**“Sustainable Development through Community Participation:
Working of Self-Help Groups in India”**

Abstract

This paper focuses on the social protection made available to the poor through the community groups so as to enhance their capacity for selling their labor more fairly in the new market that have resulted from the emerging economic realities. It identifies and discusses some key social interventions as aspects of this framework. The formulations have been based on the data collected from secondary as well as primary sources including interviews of the concerned community groups. The paper focuses on the factors that are prerequisites for the success of this model of development. It argues that community groups in Indian context should be involved in ensuring effective working of the government schemes of social protection through various ways, of the self-employed workforce which delivers its services to the product market. It is further argued that the community-support model of social protection can be replicated in other locales including developing countries if community groups have the state support, focus themselves on the need fulfillment of their members, are headed by sagacious leadership, and are allowed to be managed democratically so as to make the poor feel a sense of ownership.

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**“Collaboration in Children’s Social Services:
Towards the Generation of a Different Organizational Approach”****Abstract**

Children’s social care services are increasingly being encouraged to collaborate in order to support a more comprehensive and integrated service delivery model. This chapter describes the particular obstacles and opportunities emerged from a thematic analysis of interviews with staff from key agencies in child protection. It examines their perspectives on the following issues: interagency communication, working together, information sharing, training, supervision and knowledge development, transfer and utilization. The interviews were analyzed under three major dimensions: Structures, Processes and Boundaries. The findings suggest that an organizational structure with participatory management culture is beneficial for both staff and agencies regarding risk taking, collaboration, and developing an anticipatory thinking and cross-system planning. The chapter concludes with an argument that for policies to be implemented more efficiently and to achieve their potential, both the organizations and professionals have to seek for knowledge, to learn from tacit and explicit experience and to implement it across the field. The generation of that knowledge would probably enable the setting up of networks and adapting their practice by making the service users’ needs central to the process.

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**“Community Involvement and Economic Status, Institutional Trust
and Social Network in Polish Depressed Rural
and Rural-Urban Municipalities”****Abstract**

The main purpose of this presentation is to demonstrate associations between the level as well as patterns of local participation in public life and economic status,

trust towards public institutions and extent of social network. In other words, the dependent variable is the community involvement, while the independent variables are: socio-economic status, trust toward institutions and the size of social informal network. Community involvement is understood and described as rural and rural-urban municipality citizens' participation in three spheres of local activity: 1) participation in local political events 2) participation in local associations 3) participation in local spontaneous group activities targeted at solving local problems. The author's main assumption is that trust towards public institutions differentiates the level and patterns of community involvement most of all factors. The empirical background for this presentation is the data collected from survey studies conducted in 10 rural and rural-urban communities in Polish depressed areas. The studies covered in total 1000 respondents. In each municipality 100 respondents were randomly surveyed. The surveys were conducted in 2007.

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**“Promoting User Participation through the Third Sector:
A Controversial Aspect of Greek Psychiatric Reform”**

Abstract

User participation is gaining momentum in present day Greece, especially in third sector organizations which provide social services for vulnerable people. The content, extent and character of user participation varies across sectors and socio-cultural environments, within the broader context of the prevailing welfare mix and an underdeveloped culture of user involvement. Mental health reform in Greece since 2000 presents an appropriate case for inquiry, due to the central role of NGOs and social cooperatives in the provision of mental health services and the promotion of user participation as an integral part of this reform. Issues of gender and informal care recognition, as well as power relations between users and providers, within a wider social climate of stigma and exclusion, cut across the public-private divide and raise key questions about social economy institutions, with special reference to the promotion of social cooperatives, their gains and losses and lessons learned in their struggle for user involvement and recognition.

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“Participation, Democracy and Social Development”**Abstract**

Given the catastrophic history of the “short 20th century” (E. Hobsbawm), the decisive question facing the 21st century – particularly, but not only for Europe – is that of future social as well as political paths of development. At the center of my engagement with this question lie reflections on participatory forms of democratization in as many as possible societies around the globe. This makes globalization more than just an economic theme. Such reflections have to examine possible ways in which social relations might be constituted within political socialization, participation and education (in the German semantics as ‘Bildung’). These concepts enable us to engage with the problems of democracy and processes of democratization both theoretically as well as practically in the interest of human emancipation.

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“Towards a Global Civil Society?”**Abstract**

In the seventies a broad process for the development of new forms of citizens’ participation developed, mainly around ecological questions and human rights. These movements were characterised as “new social movements” in contrast to the old social movements, constituted by the labour movement. The following questions are posed in this context, which are treated in the paper:

- Is this movement in the sense – as André Gorz put it in his famous book “Good-bye to the proletariat” in 1980 – the non-class of the post-proletarians?
- Are therefore the social classes really disappearing or reproducing them on a global level?

- What is the role of workers parties in the future?
- Was the creation of the World Social Forum linked to specific conditions in the State of Rio Grande?
- Is Herbert Marcuse's hope as expressed in his "The One-dimensional man" from 1967 confirmed that the Third World as the proletariat in global perspective will take the lead confirmed by the World Social Forum taking place in Brazil and the next one in India?
- Is the anti-globalisation movement part of a global civil society?

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**“Organizational Framework of the Public Care System in Greece –
Does it Promote Child Protection?”**

Abstract

In recent years, in Greece, there has been an increased awareness of the problem of child abuse by health, welfare and education professionals and by society at large. The speed and the extent of recognition of child abuse as well as the willingness to accept it as a significant social problem has been varying between the different regions of the country. The organizational framework of the public child care and protection system in Greece faces a complex array of challenges that may place it in the position of exacerbating an already difficult situation for children it is meant to help and protect. Although its aim is to follow a multi-agency approach, in practice, it neither promotes nor encourages inter-agency coordination and co-operation (“working together”) aiming to ensure the children’s welfare. Each agency in the social administration operates within its own procedures, terminology, priorities and resources. This results in difficulties in the mainstreaming of services, in weak training capacity and ineffective practices which remain fragmented and lack continuity of care, particularly in cases where child protection, from abuse and neglect, is the issue.

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**“Economic, Social and Political Scenarios of México
in the Next Two Decades”****Abstract**

This research proposal is aimed to analyze the economic, social and political foreseeable scenarios and identify the factors that will be most important in shaping them for México by the year 2030. Starting from the analyzes recent economic, social and political developments, it continuous searching the trends in specific economic issues such as international commerce, energy, employment, environmental constraints, etc.; social trends such as demographic transition, fertility, population growth, aging, migration, education, health, housing, human development, etc. and political trends such as democratization processes, social upheaval, human rights, etc.; Finally, the research will conclude describing and discussing the scenarios at three levels: pessimistic, more realistic and optimistic. The methodology to be used are time series analysis for historical data, correlation analysis for data series of the different variables, the Delphi technique, panel of experts, interviews to some clue economic, social and political actors. The paper will examine how the Mexican society will cope with the broad range of challenges and will assess what conditions may be key to transforming economic, social and political trends into security and social welfare issues.

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**“Networking for Local Social Policy Development:
The Municipal or District Social Policy Council”****Abstract**

The described model is the outcome of a resourceful exchange of experience among European partners, on how to upgrade the *Local Social Services Network*

among all actors and stakeholders, without losing focus of one's own socio-political and cultural environment. *The Municipal or District Social Policy Council (M/DSPC)* constitutes a comprehensive, locally bound social policy coordination mechanism, with all sectors as partners and Local Authority in the leading role. It is revealing the new role for the local government (*coordination*) in a relatively new domain (*Social Policy Development*) and the democratization practice of Networking (*pluralistic collaboration – active participation*). To justify the model, we comment briefly on the European Union social policy developments; consider difficulties of the Social Sector and the Local Authority at national and EU level; pinpoint on the anticipated changes by the NGOs, and desired outcomes from an *All Sectors Network*. Any innovative practice related to networking and coordinating local social policy development, has to be correlated with: (a) EU social policy trends, in particular toward the role of social NGOs. (b) Expectations and dilemmas of the voluntary sector at European and national level. (c) Acknowledgement, that national good practices are not transferable, unless they fit each country's idiosyncrasy.

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**“Participatory or Authoritarian Democracy:
Alternatives of Society's Organization in the Crisis of Capitalism”**

Abstract

Since the 1960s, authoritarian patterns of social and political organization are challenged not only by new social movements advocating participatory democracy as outlined, e.g., by the Port Huron Statement of 1962. Also, accelerated by global competition, rising economic productivity is connected with ever rising standards of professional and social competences enlarging human capacities for autonomy, emancipation and mutual solidarity. Societies governed by want, repression and authoritarian discipline, are no more necessary for economic reasons. The present economic crisis is also a crisis of the hegemony of the authoritarian management of capitalism established since the end seventies. This gives modernized forms of participatory democracy and of an economy oriented towards human needs another historical chance – although the potentials and

forces of emancipatory politics are still disorganized. Nevertheless, the popular mobilization which brought President Obama's Administration to power reminds of the Roosevelt and Kennedy eras which encouraged both forceful participatory movements and organizations (and also provoked authoritarian counter-movements) not only in the United States but also internationally.

I.
(RE)DEFINING THEORETICAL
APPROACHES TO ANALYSIS OF
PARTICIPATION

Paths of Citizen Participation and Responsibility – In Shaping Individual and Community Involvement with Matters of Social Policy and Praxis. Searching for a “Planetarium Commons”

Azril Bacal

Introduction

The attempt is made in this work, to critically appraise the main paths of citizen participation, within the socio-political landscape of our times, ranging from extreme rightist to all existing shades of the environmental and left political movements and parties.

During the recent “Roma” Gala, last Sunday in Stockholm, Hans Caldaras, writer, singer and emblematic fighter for the human rights of “gypsies” in Sweden and Europe, and also a dear friend, provocatively raised the question of “how impoverished would Europe be today – were not for the valuable cultural, artistic and musical presence and contribution of the Roma”? A question that could equally be raised about jews, arabs and all other immigrant, national and ethnic minorities in our midst. Moreover, while marching with light candles last night in Uppsala, in commemoration of the infamous 9th of November 1933 “Kristallnacht” in Germany, an image emerged in my mind, a photo proudly exhibited in his cell phone by the most important celebrity-show, working for Berlusconi’s media empire, that of Mussolini.¹

An Emerging Threat to Democracy and the Welfare System – arising from European Political Rightist Movements and Parties

The above reminds us of the continuing presence and threat posed by extreme rightist political parties and movements in many countries of contemporary Europe and, along with it, its persisting appeal to xenophobic and anti-immigrant and racist ideologies, nowadays reflected in their impact on popular political culture and in their recent electoral advances, including violent incidents and the “criminalization” of “cultural otherness.”

1 In Erik Gandini’s prize-winning documentary film “Videocracy,” at the Venice Documentary Film Festival, 2009.

Taken into account in multi-cultural Uppsala,² there coexist 99 different ethno-linguistic, cultural and religious minorities in the public records, the repeated violent episodes that have recently erupted, although circumscribed to highly segregated neighborhoods, point to the blatant failure of the so-called “integration” politics, whatever their good intentions and publicized policy aims and efforts. This failure of conventional politics to address the latter continues to be used by extreme rightist groups in our midst, to win popular support and to gain corresponding advances in the Swedish local and national electorate, a political development also noticeable in several countries throughout Europe.³

Cleverly done, from the perspective of political linguistics, given that the term “socialism” became unfashionable with and after the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Nazis of today in Sweden have properly adapted their political denomination to fit with the new conservative (intolerant) political winds. The so-called Swedish-Democrats (“Sveriges Demokrater”) with their motto (“We dare say, what you think”) constitute the more “elegant” cover face of the extreme political right, and are currently represented in over 50% of all Swedish local municipal governments, also with some minimal representation in the Swedish and European Parliaments. These “nicer fascists” maintain close links and coordinate joint activities with the so-called “National Democrats,” who correspond to the traditional line of the more violent-prone neo-nazi hardliners,⁴ also at the European and international levels.

Diverse paths of civic behavior are related, to a significant degree of cognitive, emotional and attitudinal coherence, to diverse personal life styles and careers, socio-cultural reference groups (“social worlds,” in Shibutani’s terms), economic interest and class affiliations and, in the end, to corresponding socio-political projects.

2 The city of my residence since 1986/1987.

3 Last Wednesday 4 November, I attended the largest and most dramatic public meeting during my over 20 years in Uppsala. It was the third “crisis meeting” to collectively reflect and propose concrete measures to address this problematic situation. Time will say whether and how we manage (or not) to solve this complex, problematic and conflictual ethnic socio-political and structural situation. The former situation has developed during the last three decades, without having been properly handled and corrected by conventional party politics and corresponding administrative practices.

4 I was first personally exposed to this unpleasant facts of Swedish political life by Stieg Larsson, the famous writer and founder of the anti-racist think-tank and magazine EXPO, who unfortunately died 50 years-too young.

“Apolitical” styles of social participation – and its appeal to Authoritarianism in the Consumer’s Paradise

Given the growing disenchantment with established political parties and national governments, many persons claim today to be “apolitical.” Which rather amounts to a passive political stance of “apathy and alienation,” a path of participation which surrenders the realm of “politics” to the segment of the population comprised by professional politicians, lobbyists, activists and, also, by the repressive forces of the state, constructed to legitimate the use of public violence against the perceived security threats to the *status-quo*, in the name of “law and order.” At times, the latter, as properly documented, implies the intervention of “*agents provocateurs*,” in order to facilitate the use of “legitimate violence” even against proven instances of non-violent civil disobedience.⁵

A newly emerging “Pirate” Party – and youthful Anti-Authoritarianism

Nevertheless, aside from extreme individualistic and narcissistic privatized lives, most personal/social paths are carried by the banners of conventional political parties and insurgent social movements, which constitute the socio-political agencies of social reproduction and/or transformation, In so doing, they markedly differ in their alternative political scope, aims, agendas and ways to deal with nature (environment), people (community, welfare, “the Commons”) and in their policies of social inclusion/exclusion. Illustratively, to everybody’s surprise in Sweden, including to themselves, the new “Pirate Party,” mostly comprised by a youthful constituency, emerged as the largest political winner in the latest national elections to the European Parliament. The single most important political issue for the “Pirate Party” is free access to the products of the cultural and recreational industries, thereby defying conventional property rights (patents) of individual authors and the commercial media.

5 For instance, during the last European Social Forum in Malmö/Sweden, September 2008, the Swedish police (mostly under the influence and command of the Gothenburg police, who had learned the lesson from their brutal behavior in the so-called Gothenburg riots, a few years ago, during a meeting of the G-8, were able to detect and expel back home a number of undercover Danish policemen. Incidents of “police brutality” against young and non-violent bystanders have been reported and denounced in various local networks and channels in Uppsala, concerning the “Gottsunda” and “Stenhagen” recent riots.

Conventional European Politics: An Overview

In the conventional political scene, one still expects that most reactionary, conservative parties and movements advocate to repressive and intolerant policies of “law and order,” militarism and exclusionary social policies and, obversely, the sorts of policies promoted by contemporary leftist parties and movements tend to emphasize “open democratic ways,” providing more attention to a variety of justice and, increasingly, also to environmental grievances and related issues of equality, human rights, peace, and inclusionary social policies, at least in their discourse. While both extremes of the Swedish political spectrum have significantly moved to the “middle-ground,” both confusing and alienating the Swedish electorate, the Center Party in Sweden, once regarded as the “agrarian and environmental party,” and, for decades, the main political partner of the Social Democrats in building the historical “swedish model,” has today become an advocate of an extreme form of neoliberal and market-fundamentalist, even more extreme than the “moderate” (conservative) party.

Two alternative contemporary social projects and paths of participation

For the sake of my argument, the two main alternative social projects of the 21st century typified here to be: (1) the hegemonic neo-liberal/conservative project of global capitalism, and (2) an emerging socio-political utopian project, vaguely formulated in terms of “other possible worlds,” being constructed by a wide range of social movements and glocal networks, who are engaged in a multiplicity of sustainable environmental/social inclusive projects and struggles, based in values of justice, peace and solidarity, observable in all corners of the world. Many of them are inspired, convergent and/or gather under the “open space” umbrella of the World Social Forum process, symbolically launched last week of January 2001 in Porto Alegre, RGS, Brazil, meant and designed as a planetarian challenge to the Davos World Economic Forum and its global neo-liberal policies.

The above explains why engaged researchers are eager to study questions such as: how these antagonistic social projects compete with each other in our times, trying to shape alternative attitudes and patterns of individual and collective behavior, life styles, consumption patterns and preferred paths of personal and community involvement (or lack thereof) in the public realm of social policy and praxis?

In short, the neoliberal ideological/political project basically promotes value and policies impregnated of social Darwinism, marketism, short-term profit-maximization/cost-minimization, egoistic individualism and competition, privatization,

social fragmentation and, in the end, a kind of popular culture and homogenized “global identity” (made by impersonal buyers), patterns of elitism, devoid of environmental and social concern, socio-culturally intolerance reflected in growing structural signs of ethnic discrimination (racism)/segregation, political apathy and alienation, global militarization, also found reflected in its reductionist “educational project.” In contrast, the emerging social utopian project of the 21st century advocates policies characterized by environmental and social sustainability, demanding a kind of consciousness-raising, transformative and quality educational project for All!

My own research and political interest and praxis ultimately lies in the schizogenesis of conditions behind the modal patterns of conformity, resistance, self-determination and social responsibility, as earlier formulated by Richard Flacks.⁶ Moreover, this particular work focus on the main types of personal/collective (more or less participatory) paths in response to the contemporary crisis of globalized capitalism. The latter is approached and treated from a value standpoint, which pervades as a common thread and binds together all of my engaged academic work. As a trans-disciplinary perspective in the social sciences, my own approach remains concerned with the collective tasks of democratization, justice and peace, by means of social and educational/cultural transformation, articulating various modalities of quantitative and qualitative participatory action/experiential research, geared towards a sustainable and inclusionary, egalitarian, compassionate and diversified world social order.

In addition to the above views, the attempt is made to briefly respond to some of the views presented by Michael Vester on “Participatory or Authoritarian Democracy: Alternatives of Society’s Organization in the Crisis of Capitalism,” during his outstanding key speech at our conference, which significantly in Athens/Piraeus, on 22-24 May 2009.

The organizers of this important international conference deserve praise for their strategic choice of the thematic focus for this event, one of the most burning issues of the contemporary political and social agenda: to better understand the conditions that subdue and/or enhance citizen participation and community involvement in matters of social policy-making process. The above accounts for the continuing appeal of this unique community of scholars, practitioners and researchers, making-up the constituency of RC-10/ISA, in all regions of the world, whose members are engaged in the academic task of heightening and deepening scientific knowledge and, simultaneously, while actively exploring social practices and ways

6 Professor Emeritus Richard Flacks, one of the founders of SDS, wrote his classical social-psychological work on “Conformity, Resistance and Self-Determination (1973),” to explore the main patterns of response of individuals to their conditions of authority.

to enhance the democratic process, the quality of social welfare and communitarian human life, in the midst of Europe and in the world at large.⁷

The European Political Conjuncture: A Contextual approach to the Problem and Challenge of Citizen Participation

In the introductory remarks of his key note speech, Michael Vester summarized his views on available paths of participation, under the current conditions defined by the systemic crisis of the global capitalism, in terms of “the two classical alternatives”: (1) “Participatory Democracy,” as originally formulated by Arnold Kaufman at the University of Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1960, based on “the initiative and co-operation of citizens” in other words, letting “the People Decide” and (2) “Authoritarian ways of organizing society, along elitist ways (“Let the Elites decide”). The approach of this author is reminiscent of the old chinese interpretation of “crisis,” views regarding the current “economic crisis and depression” as a “political crossroad,” as a particular socio-structural juncture and opportunity for (progressive) social transformation.

The question remains dialectically open for us, on how best to address and treat this particular “political crossroad,” both as a scientific problem and, at the same time, on how to best socially intervene via participatory action-research (PAR), as aware, concerned, and responsible scholars/citizens, in actively trying to understand and reshape the direction of this impending social change?

We are painfully informed of the kind of “participatory” paths, collective behavior and even alternative “welfare projects” which were adopted by several european countries, along fascist, nazi and soviet totalitarian and authoritarian lines, in response to the largest previous structural crisis of modern capitalism in the 1930s, whose consequences lasted until the end of the second world war (1945) and, even more recently, with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, scarcely 20 years ago.

From tribal communalism to modern welfare?

While we mostly feel at home with the “the welfare system” formulated in terms of the kinds of Keynesian reforms made to the capitalist system, in order to politically counteract the systemic economic-financial crisis of the 1930s, one may in fact appreciate the operation of various kinds and traces of welfare experiments, loosely defined, discernible throughout Human History.

7 In our short organizational history, political pluralism and democratic practice, we have dialogically learned that, at times, some forms of academicism may clash with some perceived forms of activism.

We find traces of public care for the “Common Good” already in the early rudimentary forms of tribal cooperation and agricultural communitarism, in the Inka theocratic (“Ayllu”) system, in the national City-States of Antique, in the first wave of globalization constructed by the Roman Empire in Europe, in the “protected” social organization of feudal societies, as well as the early urban centers of the Middle-Ages and, lastly, in the commercial merchant cities of Venice, Florence and Genova, during the Renaissance.

Welfare politics of sorts are found in the Modern Period, in the pamphlets of the French Revolution, later institutionalized by the Napoleonic Imperial National-State, which promoted national egalitarian and fraternal values combined with a “militaristic” kind of welfare state, which influenced the latter part of the 18th and early 19th Europe. Moreover, this social construction, impregnated of the positivist creed in progress for the “Common Good”, through secular education, science and technology, was taken to colonial Mexico, during the unhappy and short-lived imperial venture of Maximilian, which in turn created the social conditions that anteceded the “Reform” – and the 30-years “Porfiriato” authoritarian period, and the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the first socio-political revolutionary path of the 20th Century, soon followed by the soviet, fascist and national-socialist totalitarian and authoritarian regimes leading to World War II.

Totalitarian and Authoritarian “National-Welfare” Societies?

One may certainly perceive forms of organized welfare systems constructed by the totalitarian/authoritarian projects of the 20th Century (“Real Socialist Welfarism”), preceding and/or parallel to “New Deal” and Post-War types of European Welfare policies, as far as education, health, housing and other social services are concerned. Public attention to the basic needs of the population helps us understand the widespread popular support provided to the “Nazi-Welfare Model” and to other fascist and non-democratic national socially exclusive projects of the pre-war and post-war eras. Suggesting the operation of a kind of welfare system meant to minimally benefit, socially control and to provide basic “security” to the “general” population, in terms of basic social services to the majority population, if only one belonged to the “right” racial/ethnic/national group.

Therefore, we might need to move beyond our conventional ways to perceive and discuss “welfare models” well beyond the emblematic and highly idealized popular Swedish welfare model,⁸ in order to include “soviet”, “fascist,” and

8 I was engaged in an applied research project on “The Quality of Working Life and Democratization in Latin America,” between 1989-1991 on issues related to the “Swedish Popular Model,” and related instances such as the Journal “Economic and Industrial Democracy” (EID), the Center

“nazi” national-state kinds of welfare models, which were up to now basically reduced to the Post-War Welfare Models of the North/Western countries, historically also linked to the military-industrial complex and production of weapons.

To end these reflections, one could also consider another type of “welfare” models in the nationalist and populist-clientelist projects and policies of “Travalhismo” (Getulio Vargas) in Brazil and “Peronismo” in Argentina, which had corporatist ideological links with European fascism and national-socialism, not completely absent in the welfare projects of western social democracies and even in “Ayatola” (Islamic) models of welfare-populism and corresponding clientelist policies, explaining its large appeal to the vast masses of the impoverished Muslim populations, under the rule of the wealthy and corrupt monarchies of the Middle-East, and/or to the economically and socially oppressed national and social minorities subdued by the Chinese and Russian ethnocratic rule

“Other Possible Worlds”: A Path towards a Planetarian Commons?

Along with some colleagues at the Global Political Economy Commission (GPEC) of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), we are currently engaged in an ongoing debate, related to the recent nobel prize in economics awarded to Elinor Ostrom due to her path-breaking research on the “Commons.” Ostrom, in the words of Ian Harris, against the odds of being both a female and a non-economist, managed to return “the Commons” into the spotlight it deserves, thereby exposing “how broken our current economic system is” and, moreover, “how commonly held resources are best managed collectively, not by the private market place.” (4 November 2009).

In the cautionary commentary of John Bunzl, “It’s a little concerning, however, when people say that Ostrom’s brilliant work “... directly contradicts the long-standing theory of the “Tragedy of the Commons,” in which property rights and privatization are seen to be the only means to preserving finite resources.” And he goes on, “That’s because Ostrom’s work doesn’t contradict the phenomenon of the Commons at all. All it does is show that there are more ways to solve it than were previously acknowledged.” “What it also shows, furthermore, is that Tragedy of the Commons-type problems are only solved if people take *responsibility* to do so – actively and consciously. And in terms of our present, worsening world situation, which is the Tragedy of the Commons *par excellence*, our failure as

for the Study of Working Life (“Arbetslivscentrum”) and SIDA, which resulted in various publications and an “accidental” field-trip to several Latinamerican Countries in 1991.

citizens to take responsibility is precisely the problem” (also in the ongoing debate within the Global Political Economy Commission of IPRA, 5 November 2009).

Bunzl points to the existence of alternative paths to “solve” the problem of the “Commons,” where we still find nowadays that the hegemonic theoretical/ideological path related to this question lies within the neoliberal paradigm in economics and in its reductionist and social-Darwinist doctrine. This approach is found, for instance, in the classical formulation of ecologist Garrett Hardin at the University of California, Santa Barbara (1974) and, also, nowadays, in the international master’s course on “The Tragedy of the Commons,” currently taught at the Department of Economics, Uppsala University.

On the “Problem” and “Promise” of Social Participation

While Bunzl identifies “our failure as citizens to take responsibility as precisely the problem,” my intention is attempt later to address the sociogenesis of this identified contemporary social problem of our times – and what to do about it? The intended approach for this quest is based in an trans-disciplinary perspective, building from the classical works of Marx on Alienation and its Transcendence (1843-1844), C.W. Mills (1959) on “Socio-Analysis,” Erika Sherover-Marcuse (1986) on “Emancipation and Consciousness,” also including Paulo Freire’s legacy of emancipatory Political-Pedagogics, among other authors. My aim here is to explore viable linkages between the potential of transformative education organically linked to the main contemporary social movements.

The Swedish Welfare System and its Political Conjuncture: A Red-Green Coalition or More of the Same?

Political analyst and columnist Göran Greider, chief editor of the magazine “Salandemokraten,” analyzed in a recent article the current state of swedish political affairs, including the welfare system (and its implied general social policy orientation) and environmental politics, in the face of incoming national elections (metro, 3 November 2009, page 06).

In this article, Greider attempts to appraise these topics by raising an overarching question: What are the most distinctive features in the development of (swedish) society in the latest 25 years? – which he proceeds to answer his own question in the following manner: Firstly, the growing (socio-economic) inequality, meaning that the existing wealth being increasingly concentrated in the few hands of the rich and affluent, while the poor became poorer, constitutes one of

the main causes behind the financial crisis. He argues, moreover, that the adopted economic policies prone to fail, which adopted and implemented during the last decades, culminated in “too much capital accumulated by funds, banks and speculators, instead of going to public investment and salaries.”

In the view of Greider, the colour of the remedy against this increasing problem of inequality is “red,” implying left politics.

The other distinctive feature of this problematic (socio-political) development is the “climate crisis” and its implied threatening consequences. While only a few have dared to think awarely about it during the past years, this problem is here to stay and the colour of its remedy is “green,” implying environmental politics. This concern is also related to the growing income gap between rich and poor, as reflected in over-consumption of luxurious products, which in turn triggered a chain reaction of consumerism throughout the whole system, including the less affluent groups who managed to consume well beyond their means, through borrowing money from the abundant supply of available financial lenders.

He concludes his comprehensive political analysis, within the realm of electoral politics, suggesting that “red” and “green” politics go hand-in-hand and, moreover, that a more equal or egalitarian society has it easier to abandon unsustainable consumption patterns. Clearly, he has no trust in the capacity of bourgeois parties to even begin to visualize and deal with these two interrelated problems. Contrarywise, Greider argues that conservative parties are bound to increase and worsen the inequality situation, thereby making it more difficult to properly handle the climate question.

Given my limitations of time, I am forced to conclude the present article, at this point in time, with the few following preliminary reflections, even though my intention is to further continue to elaborate and write on this line of thought.

Preliminary Conclusion and Reflections: From Anti-Globalism to Alter-Globalization

Interestingly enough, Greider writes that he does not longer believe that “the substantial in politics” is not longer to be expected within the realm of party politics, given its decreasing number of affiliates and party members. If not party politics, what political forces and agencies can we expect to decide the future political agenda, including the topics addressed at this conference?

One tentative answer to the above question lies in the rise of the first anti-globalization movements of the 21st Century, emblematically associated with the Zapatista Revolt in Chiapas, South East Mexico, on 1st January 1994 – which continues its struggle nowadays in terms of “La Nueva Campaña,” an ongoing

campaign of political popular education, being currently implemented throughout Mexico and even North of the Rio Grande.

Another massive collective contestation to neoliberal politics was manifested, during the failed meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle, in 1999.

The diverse protest anti-globalization movements since the early 1990s, yet continuing the experience and struggles of the past, some of them linked to the “1968 Movement,” soon politically matured and moved to search for alternative paths of alter-globalization. The collective search for viable and environmental and social sustainable paths of development led in turn to organize the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, in the last week of January 2001, as it was earlier alluded in this article.

The World Social Forum⁹ both as an event and as a process, planetarian in scope, continues nowadays, as a necessarily slow and painful process of learning, with its own quota of inner contradiction and tensions, that could be summarized as taking place between “movement-activists” and “open-space strategists,” and yet moving forward towards its next edition in Dakar, Senegal, during the last week of January 2011.

In my view, the WSF process, while problematic, constitutes nowadays the most promising emerging alternative path in response to the destructive and unsustainable pattern of global capitalism, through its extraordinary appeal for citizens, local communities and social movements, all over the world, to engage in the democratic construction of “Other Possible Worlds,” an appeal which is interpreted by increasing numbers of the world population as a planetarian project of global welfare.

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9 For a thorough review and discussion of the WSF process, the reader is suggest to read a recent paper by Heikki Patomaki, published at the Globalism Research Center, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia, on “The Lack of Transformative Agency in the World Social Forum: Towards Global Political Parties?” (2009). Professor Patomaki may be reached at the following e-mail address: heikki.patomaki@rmit.edu.au

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The Rise and Decline of Citizenship in Europe

Francesco Garibaldi

The rise of full citizenship

Citizenship doesn't exist in itself, but according to a rule and a measure. In the European sociological tradition, starting from Marshall (1950) seminal work on Citizenship and Social Class, modern citizenship can be characterised by three dimension of rights: civil, political and social. The concept of social Europe has been developed from this definition.

In Marshall's concept the social rights are the evolutionary fruit of the collective exercising of civil and political rights by the working class and they consist in the existence of a sphere, bigger or smaller depending on the countries, of vital needs that cannot depend on the market, having as their only limit the social wealth available.

The power of coalition, founded upon the collective exercise of a civil right – the right to strike –, thus achieves, with the essential contribution of the extension of political rights, two different objectives:

- Reducing the inequality of power between Capital and Labour in the contract, thus creating a new branch of law;
- Reducing the social inequality by subtracting from the functioning of the market a part of social life of a smaller or larger size; obviously it is important to evaluate how big that part is; from this standpoint Europe pretend to stand out for the positive peculiarities of its so called social model.

In England there was a blending of Socialist thinking and Liberal thinking critical to liberalism, that is the modern democracy; a blending that was made politically possible with a radical shifting of the equality problem, by means of the mediation of the Webbs¹ and the Fabian society², on the level of distribution

1 Webb, Sidney James, founder of the London School of Economics (1895), and his wife Beatrice Potter .

2 The society, founded in 1884 in London, favoured gradual incremental change rather than revolutionary change, was named in honour of the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus (nicknamed “Cunctator”, meaning “the Delayer”). His strategy advocated tactics of harassment and attrition rather than head-on battles against the Carthaginian army under the renowned general Hannibal Barca. The society backed the formation of the Labour Party in 1900 in UK and supported important social reform such as the minimum wage (1906), the socialised healthcare system (1911). It still affiliated to the Labour Party.

leaving in the background the production relationship, or shifting, in the production relationship, all the attention upon the working conditions.

This is what has historically been called ‘reformism’ and that has nothing to do with the current caricature, seeing that it was a question of correcting in favour of the working class the natural trends of capitalism excluding from the market all the fundamental elements of the process that Marx called the ‘reproduction of the working class’, which was translated into setting a top-down constraint, a social constraint on the fluctuation of the wages and not in bringing everything back to the market.

The diffusion of full citizenship

On the other side it must be added that Continental Europe got rid of this compromise in between the two world wars with the rise of different kind of fascisms. As Otto Bauer (1937) commented, democracy comes from the class struggle of the XIX century in Europe and when class struggle is suppressed also democracy fades away. Harold Laski dubbed the democracy in between the two world wars as *capitalistic democracy* (1933).

After the II world war and the defeat of fascism in Europe and Asia a new phase of Capitalism (1945-1975) developed that Reich (2007) dubbed as *democratic capitalism* and historians nicknamed as the *Golden Age* or the *Keynesian social compromise*, that is the Capitalistic alternative to the Soviet Union challenge. There was a new egalitarian trend both in income and in social opportunities and, namely in Europe, the development of a strong welfare state. This capitalism was based on mass production that was profitable because a large part of society had enough money to purchase what could be mass-produced. The new trend was based also on a new equilibrium between Labour and Capital, in USA too after the Wagner Act on 1935, because of militant unionism and Government support to social legislation. As Reich stress it was not a golden age for all because still many people within each developed countries and many countries were trapped in poverty or deprived of basic rights.

So, according to Marshall’s concept, more and more people became citizens.

It should be noted that both in Marshall’s view and in the Fabian tradition citizenship comes from the possibility of the haves-not, namely the working class, to participate to the public discussion and to the democratic process of decision making because their lives are no more depending on the fluctuation of the market due to a set of social entitlements to goods and services delivered out of the market – for instance the national health system and universal education – and of income re-distributive mechanism based on laws and labour contracts. In

this perspective the foundation of the system is a growing productivity and a never-ending economic development. How to create a positive productivity path is a matter of people managing capitalistic institutions. It should not be forgotten that starting from the beginning of the XX century up to the end of the so called golden age the mass production system was built on Taylor and Ford paradigm, that is not a paradigm to stimulate autonomy and creativity of the working class at the working place. The compromise of the democratic capitalism was built on the idea and the implementation of an affluent society for a large part of the population. It was believed that a new magic formula – the end of the business cycle – has been created: mass production – high productivity – high and stable returns – high wages and social provisions – a stable society of pluralistic powers balancing each other – a stable and mature democracy.

The actual trend in Europe

Youngsters are living in today Europe in a very grim situation. In the labour market they represent the majority of people in a precarious situation and notwithstanding it, in many countries there is a high level of unemployment of young people; for instance in UK the rate of unemployment among young people aged 18-24 jumped from 11,9% to 17,3% over the past year because of the crisis, but since 1993 the gap between that age group and the labour market as a whole is high and stable. Among them women are in the worst situation in a much higher proportion. As a matter of fact the European labour market has been built as the other side of the coin of the restructuring of the economic activities.

The restructuring process was based on two main drivers. The first affecting the single firm or organisation and the second the relations between firms and organisations. The single firm and organisation has been progressively organised as an onion made up of many layers (Atkinson, 1988). The inner layers represent the people with a stable position, the outer layers the people with a decreasing stability. In the organisations with a more formal structure and a more clear-cut division of labour the inner layers enjoy a better working condition. As to the firms/organisations as a system they are mainly structured in value chains organised as integrated or quasi-integrated systems of production originating from or built around some “original equipment manufacturing” (OEM), in the industrial sector, or the equivalent role in the other economic sectors. These chains are strongly segmented along a value ladder of steps with weaker and weaker value position. These chains can be built according to two different criteria: the former aiming at a more efficient division of labour, the latter at saving costs, namely wage costs. Actually there are many mixed situations.

The labour market is mirroring this productive segmentation creating specific and close labour markets with very different level of wages, employment conditions, etc. In the boom phase all these segments were increasing, creating a lot of precarious jobs but the economic crisis is deleveraging the system starting from the weaker positions in the labour market. A new *industrial reserve army of labour*³ has been built along the last thirty years, mainly made of youngsters, women and immigrants and they are now fired. When fired, their destiny is very dependent upon which part of Europe they are living; there are two divides, one along the axis North – South and the second West – East. In the North they are in the welfare system; in the South generally not and they should rely on their families, the same happens along the axis West – East.

So a question can be raised: are these people European citizens?

When so a conspicuous number of people is de facto debarred from social rights they are no more citizens in the full meaning of the word. It is also well known that there is for people a tipping point when social deprivation leads to a situation in which the haves-not become politically apathetic and / or open to populist messages. Mierina (2009), in a research on the Latvia situation in the middle of the today economic crisis, describes the vicious circle of a helpless society:

In case of Latvia, unsatisfactory performance of institutions has led to alienation of people from politics and loss of both internal and external political efficacy, thus hindering the participation in all kinds of groups and actions – both conventional and unconventional. A ‘helpless society’ has been created – not able to trust each other or their ability to change anything in the political realm, ready to accept whichever comes without having their say.

Social deprivation can take two different forms, sometimes intertwined; the former is the total or partial lack of welfare provisions (growing south- and eastward), the latter is the situation of people subsidised with public money to do nothing (growing in the opposite direction) (Sennet, 2003). Both lead to adaptation but the kind of passive and forced process of adaptation, masterfully described, for instance, in *The Great Transformation* (Polanyi, 1944). There are no alternatives to this evolution but the two main pillars of the policies developed in the Western World in the golden years 1947-1974: full employment and welfare provisions. As the USA specific solution of corporate welfare makes evident today, at the time of GM bankruptcy, the two pillars have been reciprocally instrumental: full employment made possible to finance welfare provisions and welfare provisions made possible to tame the social conflict. In Europe the universalistic form of the

3 Marx, K. – *The Capital* – vol. I, part 7, chapter 25.

welfare provisions disguised this close connection as long as a virtuous circle of growth was running.

How it happened that Europe fell in a so grim situation?

The roots of the “disaster” were deeply built in the system. The affluent society of the post-war period was possible because of a unique and special situation starting from the USA and involving Europe and Japan. The exceptional circumstances in USA were: a very high productivity of firms with very high liquidity coming from WWII’s massive budget deficits, a new generation with stable, good and increasing salaries, due to the agreement between big unions and big business, fuelling a strong demand of products. Meanwhile America Capitalism was in such a control of the world trade to stimulate analogue situation in Europe and Japan.

When all these circumstances changed and the structural instability of Capitalism came back to the fore, starting from the end of the sixties, a period of uncertainty started. After the unilaterally terminated convertibility of the dollars to gold by the USA government (1971) and the 1973 “oil price shock”, along with the 1973-1974 stock market crash, a new capitalistic phase started heading to what Reich (2007) dubbed as *super capitalism* and the today international crisis. The stress was no more on full employment and a social compromise but on the *animal spirits* of capitalism.

Since mid seventies, because of the fall of the mass production model, the system started to creek and the win-win solution was no more an actual solution. A brand new capitalistic accumulation mechanism was set in motion from a very aggressive intra capitalistic (Arrighi, 2007) competition; a competition completely unleashed after the fall of the Berlin wall. Besides the problem of ecological sustainability of the actual economic model became more and more an urgent topic also in the political agenda.

To support a so aggressive competition a huge shift of wealth and power from the labour side to the capitalistic side was considered urgent and critical.

After an attempt on the labour and social democratic movement to resist the rolling back process, there was a total strategic shift based on the third way of Tony Blair and Giddiness that became the political mantra of all the social democratic movement in Europe (Berta, 2009).

The third way is based on the idea that social rights can be achieved, as individual accomplishment and that also individuals are responsible of the final results; instead of Big Government the government as enabler; instead of collective regulation of labour individual bargaining in the framework of loose regulation;

instead of Big Business a system of businesses organised in a network. The system paramount concept is a new idea of education.

Education, education, education!

The burden of matching the job demand has been completely shifted on the individual and the tool to achieve it has been education, namely a system of education aiming at moulding a new mind set suitable for a knowledge society.

This is the idea of a Knowledge society defined at the end of 2001 by an Irish commission of experts for the Irish government:

The emergence of the knowledge society, building on the pervasive influence of modern information and communication technologies, is bringing about a fundamental reshaping of the global economy. Its significance goes well beyond the hyping of the Internet or the dramatic declines in the dot.com sector. What is underway is a transformation of our economy and society. Knowledge has always been a factor of production, and a driver of economic and social development. (..) As much as 70 to 80 percent of economic growth is now said to be due to new and better knowledge. Information and communication technologies (ICTs) are also facilitating a rapid globalisation of economic activity. In an increasingly global economy, where knowledge about how to excel competitively and information about who excels are both more readily available, the effective creation, use and dissemination of knowledge is increasingly the key to success, and thus to sustainable economic and social development that benefits us all. (..) Innovation fundamentally means coming up with new ideas about how to do things better or faster. It is about making a product or offering a service that no one had thought of before. And it is about putting new ideas to work in enterprise and having a skilled work force that can use those new ideas. (..)The success of enterprises, and of national economies, becomes increasingly dependent on the information infrastructure that is necessary for the gathering and utilisation of knowledge. (..) Knowledge has become the key resource. Knowledge has value, but so too does knowledge about knowledge. Creating value is about creating new knowledge and capturing its value. The most important property is now intellectual property, not physical property. And it is the hearts and minds of people, rather than traditional labour, that are essential to growth and prosperity. Workers at all levels in the 21st century knowledge society will need to be life-long learners, adapting continuously to changed opportunities, work practices, business models and forms of economic and social organisation.⁴

4 Building the Knowledge Society Information Society Commission – ww.isc.ie/downloads/know.pdf.

The development model of this *super capitalism* is based on these characteristics: high investments, high return (Musky, 2008:156):

Thus a high-profit, high-investment economy has been created in which tax and government-spending policies are evaluated on the basis of their impact upon private investment rather than on the basis of their impact upon private consumption or equity with respect to income distribution. Full-employment policy has taken on a conservative coloration; what has been achieved might properly be called socialism for the rich.

The concept of knowledge society and of education as the personal key to knowledge is the translation of this economic strategy in the supply side of the labour market.

A high-profit, high-investment economy requires on the demand side of the labour market a *skilled work force that can use those new ideas*. It is quite evident that that kind of labour demand doesn't exist in such quantitative dimension to cover the actual supply of labour. It doesn't exist both at the upper and the bottom extremes of the labour market; the outcome, thus, is both an inflation of supply of over educated people, a shortage of traditional qualified worker and at the bottom a new industrial reserve army of youngsters and women.

The new virtuous circle so has been identified as: high investment, high return economic development model – a more and more high tech and non manufacturing production system in Europe – a growing demand of high skilled and high flexible work force – a shift toward a new craftsmanship model of independent, skilled worker able to re-configure their competencies according to the economic demand. The social institutions to support this model should be permanent education and some kind of flex-security. The cost of both is also partially up to the individual; public policies will support the have-nots; taxation will cover the rest.

The retreat of social rights is a threat to democracy?

The system of social rights has been jeopardised along 30 years and now we are in the final stage. After twenty years and the worst economic and social crisis after the Second World War this new concept of a *super capitalism*, free of the business cycles, can be considered totally flawed. People, in the main, and in different proportion depending on each country, are again at the mercy of the economic cycle and of the structural instability of capitalism; the most affected, because of the new precarious employment relationship, are youngsters and women. Unemployment and low wages are affecting people more hardly because

of a reduction in the supply of public goods and services, due to the privatisation tide of the eighties and the nineties.

So the system of rights is going back to only two dimensions – the liberal freedoms – for most of the European population; alongside this trend there is the growing crisis of democracy (Huntington, 1993, Crouch, 2004, and Salvador, 2009).

The two trends are clearly intertwined. The retreat of democracy means that the new financial and economic powers built in the last thirty years are out of control for ordinary citizens and without *countervailing powers*, in the Galbraith (1952) meaning of the word, coming from collective actions and organisations.

If all these arguments are reliable the evident divorce between economic institutions and society at large, that is a lack of legitimatisation and of democratic control on their lives by people as a rule, is a phenomenon ascribable to a real social crisis.

The specific form of this crisis is a de-legitimatisation of western democratic institutions. Western democracies no longer succeed in supporting the material foundations that transformed democracy from a condition for the “haves” to a condition for all; people feel their lives driven from the decisions of an elite that can strongly influence the political agenda irrespective of the specific ruling coalition; it has been the business community consensus, what journalists, with a demure word, call the “market’s opinion”; the evident crisis of the reputation of the business community run the risk to accelerate instead of slowing down the legitimacy crisis. People have experienced the jobless growth and growing inequalities “in the midst of plenty” and now the pain of the crisis; people experience the arrogance of an unbounded capitalism willing to transform everything into a good to be sold on the market. Some capitalist and some intellectuals argue that China shows how democracy and capitalism can successfully divorce; on the other side, sections of the labour class become supporters of populist movement and sometimes of anti-migrant political movements, such as in Italy, France and Poland; sectarian conflicts are widespread all over the world, etc.

As a matter of fact:

1. in the new phase of capitalism there is a decoupling between growth, employment and social equality; the new social phenomenon of the working poor is a clear consequence of this, such as the growing social inequality within all countries, rich and poor; it becomes true again the 19th century belief that capitalism necessarily generates “poverty in the midst of plenty” as the booming economies of India and China show. This is strongly related to the new kind of global competition with a strong export oriented national economies.
2. the argument that to push for a better employability of the bottom layers of the labour market, by expanding educational and training opportunities for

them, will augment the employment level is fallacious. There are two different reasons for this. The first is that there is a growing mismatch between the labour demand and the labour supply because of the disarticulation of the medium and big firms through the internal system of different layers of employees with diminishing labour status from the “core” to the “periphery” (Atkinson, 1988) and because of the new system of suppliers; only a fraction of the labour force can actually be employed because of high level of skills, for the vast majority the level of potential skills are underutilised. The second is that a high competitive labour market generates new process of social marginalisation for those who cannot participate to the competition (school drop-outs, people with poor linguistic competence; etc.). It implies that specific policies to create job opportunities tailored for people as they are and not *vice versa* must be part of public concern and public policies.

The crisis of the material foundations of Western democracies *vis-à-vis* the radical process of change that is occurring, break up the very idea of a *de facto* “social pact” to reduce social inequality, at least in the medium run and as a shared societal ideal as it was in the golden age of the 20th century. In this new cultural environment, citizenship risks becoming a meaningless concept for a large number of people, in the Western democracies as it is all over the rest of the world. A dramatic gap between the economic elites (and that part of our societies that can directly benefit from this change) and a large part of people is growing; the old political scheme based on clear claims of social representation of the main political parties is being swept away by blurring borders between the competing political alliances on the main social and economic issues, clearly controlled by the economic capitalistic elites; in the meantime social inequality and clear class barriers are becoming more and more relevant. We are also witnessing the return of a very classic concept of democracy, the one in use in Athens and Sparta where few people enjoyed democracy because of the availability of a large group of slaves without citizenship; it is not this the situation of a large part of immigrants in Europe?

A new approach to and egalitarian society?

The Fabians tradition is in modern wording a liberal-socialist approach and because of the achievement of the kind of welfare state achieved, mainly in Europe, it was posited as a successful way to a democratic capitalism. The critique of this perspective to the neo-liberalism of the last 30 years can be tracked back to Dewey criticism of the *laissez faire* liberalism of the beginning of the XX century.

The following statement of Dewey (1935:81) takes into account the conclusions of a liberal thinker on the crisis of the *laissez faire liberalism*, the one that