

Bringing both sides together...



Democracy within the EuroMed context: Illusion or reality?

EuroMed Youth Educational Report





Democracy and citizenship

« We believe we can show that existing cities would be completely transformed with just one change. While it is true that this change is neither unimportant nor easy, it is possible. »

Those are Plato's words, from his work entitled "The Republic", written many years ago.

Like Glaucon, we can also wonder what such a change might be, a transformation with almost miraculous powers, able to change lead into gold. For Plato, it was philosophy: he believed that if politicians possessed such knowledge, anything would become possible, since philosophy was truth. Nothing could be stronger than truth, making it the ideal means of bringing about such a metamorphosis.

This close link between ethics and politics in the Greek world is central to Plato's philosophical approach: he believed that "A fair city breeds a fair man".

At that time, a citizen was a person who enjoyed the right of citizenship, which in turn was inseparable from democracy. Despite the fact that the term of citizenship suffers from a myriad of definitions, it would appear to be an integral element of the concept of democracy. For the thinkers who contributed to the promotion of the democratic movement, democracy was a synonym for Good: not merely a form of political organisation but also a value that represented the inalienable right of mankind to take charge of its destiny, both individually and collectively.

Today, everywhere in the world, we can witness attempts to reinvent the citizen as not only a sovereign being, but also and more specifically as a new political challenge.

Modern official structures linked to the right to vote tend to ask people WHO they want, rather than WHAT they want. This has helped bring about a form of membership democracy where the power of the people is restricted to choosing who will decide on their behalf.

As G. Burdeau wrote: "The freedom of people is limited to the power they hold to appoint and dismiss their masters, no longer implying any responsibility to influence based on the requirements of an ethical form of community life".

This is reflected in the far-reaching mistrust and pessimism expressed by many toward a world they often feel they no longer control, which has led them to accept being governed by the outward forms of democracy.

The democratic process as it is lived by many can thus be summarized as either "being in the city or being outside": in other words, being an active and intelligent cell in a body or merely being an appendix delegated to other vital functions.

How can we give a new impetus to democracy and citizenship? How can we ensure that it allows for "the free and full development of personality", as set out in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man (s.29)? What does being a citizen mean today?

If we start from the premise that democracy is also a form of teaching (in the etymological sense of "bringing about"), then we must accept that the components of democracy are more diverse than usually stated. Such an acceptance facilitates the logical involvement of young people, from birth to their coming of age, alongside adults: the existence of an area of dialogue with young people and the invention of democracy at local level.

Adults still play a predominant role. The impetus to reinvent local democracy can only come from adults and if the objective is to improve voting numbers (the most visible expression of democracy), make local institutions more efficient and boost the participation and expression of citizens, then adopting an educational approach would seem the obvious path to follow. Non-formal education projects are a particularly rich and privileged source of resources to do so.

To ensure that space is truly set aside for our youngest citizens in the modern city, decision-makers such as politicians and associations must be prepared to move beyond the trap of mere "showcasing" and instead become vehicles for the expression of representative democracy, preparing the ground for a move to a real participatory democracy further down the road. Youth workers have a role to play in the process as the interface between institutions and individuals.

By choosing Venice and its "Republic", which provided us with a Brechtian "Abyss" and by using "role play" activities, the Italian National Agency and the Salto Euromed Resource Centre wanted to provide a special dimension to the debate on Democracy within the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean region. "Illusion or Reality?" directly challenges socio-political relations between the two sides of "Mare Nostrum".

There is little left to add, except that "politicians" by showing willingness and "youth leaders" via their actions need to pay special attention to the methods they employ to prepare young people for governing the City. Every learning process is long and difficult and that leading to freedom is no exception.

Bernard Abrignani

Coordinator of SALTO-YOUTH EuroMed Resource Centre

Contents

The Team	p.4
Introduction	p.5
Course description	p.5
Venue	p.6
Democracy and group building	p.8
Definition of democracy	p.10
Definition(s) of Democracy	p.10
The Serenissima: an example of “democratic” structure?	p.13
“Democracy”: a few quotations to spark reflection	p.15
Democracy in the past	p.16
Overview on past Democratic Systems	p.16
Greece	p.16
Venice	p.17
France	p.17
United States of America	p.18
Democracy today	p.20
Democracy within the EuroMed context: Countries’ situations	p.20
Contribution of Loiy Khatib: Political Life in Jordan	p.20
Contribution of Nina STANKOVIC: Political life in Slovenia	p.21
Contribution of Ana Cebula: Political life in Poland	p.21
Contribution of Meltem Yilmaz: Political life in Turkey	p.23
Democracy: a universal value?	p.25
Democracy and Youth Work	p.30
Other inputs for discussion	p.32
Democracy tomorrow	p.35
Pedagogy	p.36
Possibilities for EuroMed activities	p.41
Beneficiaries: Youth in EuroMed	p.41
Youth Pass	p.42
Conclusion	p.43
Annexes	p.43
A. Tools	p.43
B. Measuring the level of “democracy”	p.44
C. Bibliography	p.45
D. Web Links	p.47

The Team



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Italian National Agency for the Youth in Action programm

Introduction

Welcome • Bienvenus • Willkommen • أهلاً • Hoş Geldeniz ... to Venice!

We are happy that you found your way to San Servolo and we are looking forward to meet you in the training! We will start with a common dinner tonight at 7 p.m. at the cafeteria (please, look at the map of San Servolo provided by the receptionists). Take your time to get accommodated and maybe look around a bit through the island.

For all the questions you might have, the reception will be able to assist you. We look forward to meeting you later!

This is the message participants found at their arrival in San Servolo, a beautiful island situated in the lagoon of Venice, in front of San Marco Square, where a significant trip through the concept of Democracy in EuroMed context started and where the present educational report was born, in order to offer a pedagogical tool to tackle such an important issue as DEMOCRACY!

Enjoy your trip!

Course description

Organizational Framework

The training session was co-organised by the SALTO-YOUTH EuroMed Resource Centre in conjunction with the Youth National Agency of Italy from 20th to 27th April 2008. The working languages were English and French.

Background

Democracy (literally “rule by the people”, from the Greek demos, “people,” and kratos, “rule”) is a form of government.

A demos - a group which makes political decisions by some form of collective procedure - must exist. Non-members of the demos do not participate. In modern democracies the demos is the adult portion of the nation, and adult citizenship is usually equivalent to membership¹.

Democracy is therefore a large and controversial concept: not only it is a form of government, but it also represents a way to conceive the political and social life inside the community.

The concept of Democracy is not the same for all the countries: for example, there are many democratic systems with different level of participation. The idea of democracy is not identical, not only between the two sides of Mediterranean sea, but also among countries of the same geographical area.

The purpose of the training “Democracy within the EuroMed context: illusion or reality?” is to share and reflect on the concept of Democracy, in particular within the EuroMed context, and on the qualitative impact of “Youth in Action” and “EuroMed Youth” Programmes on such a relevant theme: active participation of young people is one of the main characteristic of democratic processes that both Programmes can support.

Aim and Objectives

The course is aimed at analyzing the scenery of Democracy within the EuroMed context and at promoting a better understanding of the roots of democratic processes through the

history and their links with the implementation of Euro-Mediterranean projects.

The following concrete objectives were set based on the afore-mentioned goal:

- to reflect on the concept of Democracy and its different understandings (from the political and social points of view in the different European and Mediterranean countries);
- to become acquainted with the different sceneries of Democracy in the EuroMed context and the historical interdependences they had upon each other;
- to acquire competencies to devise and implement youth projects in the EuroMed context, taking in account the frame of the democracy and youth.

Participant Profile

The course was designed as a complementary training session for youth workers and leaders who:

- already have some experience of the (EuroMed) YOUTH Programme;
- did the upstream preparatory research required and any additional research

requested by the team once accepted on the course;

- had the backing of their organizations and the green light for a EuroMed YOUTH project;
- were motivated by the training course and free to attend the entire session;
- could communicate and work in at least one of the two working languages (English and French);
- were resident in a European Union Member State or in a Mediterranean country that had signed the Declaration of Barcelona.

Methodology

The course was based on non-formal educational principles and practices, using a learner-based approach and active and interactive methods. Participants were responsible for managing some of the activities with a view to making them personally responsible for their learning process. They needed to be open to an experimental learning method.

Programme

Programme of the TC “Democracy within the EuroMed context: illusion or reality?”
Venice, Italy, 20/04/2008-27/04/2008

	20/04	21/04	22/04	23/04	24/04	25/04	26/04	27/04
		9.00 Official Opening (Energize . . . Presentation, Objectives, Programme . . . Learning Contract Hopes and Fears)	9.00 Energizer “Serenissima and Democracy” Role play in Venice.	9.00 Energizer Debriefing about “Serenissima and Democracy”	9.00 Energizer Israel and Egypt (workshops promoted by trainers)	9.00 Energizer Open Space for workshops (workshops promoted by participants)	9.00 Energizer Future plans.. Multiplying	Departure
Arrival WELCOME	14.30 Our Parliament . . .	14.30 “Serenissima and Democracy” Continues 16.00 . Free Time	14.30 The political system in my country: meanings, perceptions and experiences of democracy. (workshops promoted by participants)	14.30 Europe and Democracy: policies and strategies	14.30 Project Sessions	14.30 Follow up and Evaluation	Departure	
	Intercultural Night	Dinner out in the restaurant	Open Space		Youth in Action and Euromed	Farewell Party		

Timetable:
Morning we start at 9.00, we have lunch at 13.00. The afternoon we start at 14.30 and we have dinner at 19.00.
In according with the programme, the timetable could be change.

(1) www.wikipedia.org

Venue

The venue chosen for ruling the TC about "Democracy" has been Venice-

The venue is very important in residence training, since it is the frame in which the activities take place during 6 or 7 days.

The surroundings are the condition to create the learning setting needed for working not only at the cognitive level, but also at the emotional one.

The right setting is the base in Non Formal Learning for allowing participants' learning.

Venice had experimented a peculiar political system during the time of Serenissima.

The political organization of Serenissima, based on certain form of participation of a large part of population and based on the voting system, was a pertinent example to be explored and discussed.

The model of Serenissima seemed the right one for discussing about the Democracy's definition, the perceptions of participants regarding their own experiences and understanding.

Discovering Venice: brief introduction in the form of a historical summary

During the tenth and the eleventh century AC there was a period of economic growth in Europe which led to the revitalizing of trades and of the urban centres'. The marine cities were the great protagonists of this restarting by exploiting their privileged geographic situation and the increased demand of goods in order to re-establish commercial relations with the East both with the Byzantine Empire and with the Islam world.

Venice was the first marine city which developed and affirmed itself as an autonomous political entity.

Its very origins plunge in the sixth century, when the inhabitants of the terra firma, escaping from the barbaric invasions found shelter in the little islands of the Laguna and set up the first settlements there. They lived in a very simple way by selling fishes and salt to the terra firma and to the Istrian coasts.

These Laguna centres were under the rule of the Byzantine Empire which kept the control of those territories through a magistrate appointed by the Emperor, which was called dux (the term doge actually derives from dux).

Following the progressive weakening of the Byzantine authority, the office of dux became elective and began to more and more represent the interests of the richest families of the city. During the Carolingian Age the confederation gathering all the settlements of the Veneto Laguna conquered the commercial hegemony on the Adriatic Sea, by becoming

the principal provider of luxury goods coming from the East.

Even salt and grain became very important sources of richness: Venetians actually obtained the monopoly on salt trades on the export of grain to Constantinople, Syria and Egypt.

In the meanwhile, Venetians set up the doge headquarters on a neighbourhood called Rivo Rialto, which is located at the centre of the Laguna, and started to connect the little surrounding islands through bridges. Thus the first nucleus of the nowadays Venice was established.

At that time Venice also chose its Protector Saint, Saint Marco, whose relinquishes came from Alessandria d'Egitto.

At the end of the tenth century the doge Pietro Orseolo assumed the title of Dux Veneticorum and Dalmaticorum, but Venice was evidently not interested in creating a territorial dominium, being rather concentrated in its commercial predominance and privileging trades between Byzantium and the Western Europe. In 1082 they even obtained the protection of the Byzantine Emperor, which, in the attempt to stop the Turkish and Norman advance, allowed Venetians to trade free from taxes, to set up little shops and to have reserved landings in the Constantinople harbour, thus ensuring a solid alliance with them.

It was thanks to these many privileges that Venice became the principal inter-mediator between West and East: it exported from the West copper, iron, wood, fishes salt and slaves and it imported from the East silk, cotton, linen, purple, wines of high quality, oil, but first of all perfumes, colorant products, spices (used in cooking, in pharmacy, and in conserving food).

All this allowed Venice to accumulate a lot of profits thus becoming the city which was the most plenty of golden in the West.

The political structure of the city inevitably changed by reflecting the modifications occurred at the economic level. The powers of doge were slowly limited by the Consiglio dei Savi (Council of Wises), which reflected the interests of the trade aristocracy. The Council became the effective decision making organ of the city, by diminishing the importance of the doge role.

In the thirteenth century Venice had to resist both to the attempts of Normans, Svevs and Angioins to set up in the Albanian coasts, and on the other hand decided to become ally of the Lombard League in order to avoid the excess of Imperial power.

With the fourth crusade (1202-1204) Venice was able to set up a huge colonial empire in the Balkan area and in the Aegean, which resisted to the Byzantine Empire (1261). However the competition with Genoa became more and

more harsh thus resulting in alternative defeats and victories for Venice.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century there were some attempts to transform the oligarchic Government into a Signoria, by having the support of fishermen, and sailors but they all turned into failure.

As regards the territorial expansion, in that age Venice began to expand towards the hinterland, and within few years it was able to dominate all the Veneto Region, the FVG Region, Brescia and Bergamo, thus starting various wars with Milan, and subsequently even with Florence and Ferrara.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Venice was attacked by all the major European powers supported by the Pope Giulio II (Cambrai Legau) and definitely defeated by the French army.

In the same period the eastern part of the dominium fell under the Turkish assault. The discovery of America was thus just the last straw, and the traffics were deviated from the Adriatic Sea to the Atlantic Ocean.

It was only the beginning of a slow even though glorious decay of Venice, which was still able to resist to the Turks in Cyprus and in Candia.

Other enemies of Venice were the Hapsburg Empire which wanted to unify the Tyrol with the Milan area, but they were able to reach their objective only through the help of Napoleon Bonaparte. With the Campoformio Treaty (1797), he surrendered Venice to Austria by obtaining in return the Milan Ducato.

Venice was reunified to the Napoli Reign in 1805, but fell again under the Austrian rule in 1813, and with the Vienna Treaty became, alongside Milan, capital of a theoretical Veneto-Lombard Reign.

There was a revolt against the Austrians in 1848 and an autonomous Republic by Daniele Manin and Niccolo Tommasei was proclaimed, but then it became part of the Sabaudian Monarchy right in the eve of the Salasco cease fire.

With the third independence war (1866) Venice was finally reunified to the Italian Reign.



From theory to practice: focus on reality!

How was the training programme according to participants' points of view? What were their feelings about it?

At the beginning of the course, a session on expectations was promoted in order to offer to participants the opportunity to share and debate their "hopes" and their "fears" related to the training course. The expectations were raised through an interactive game which helped participants to express their feelings in the group.

Methodology

Different activities have been used to open a debate about the programme, focusing on its structure and its content.

Part A

Title: Hand game

Time: 15 minutes

Description: divide participants into couples; each participant has to draw his partner's hand and write the name of the person the hand belongs to. Then, they interview each another, changing the roles of interviewer and interviewed every 3 minutes, about:

- name
- country

- job/profession
- experience in EuroMed
- experience in democratic education

Part B

Title: Hopes & fears

Time: 60 minutes

Objectives (5 minutes)

- To define participants' hopes, fears and expectations
- To share participants' thoughts about the training
- To write down (and commit participants) to a learning contract

Materials: A4 papers, post-its, envelopes, flipchart papers, scissors, hand paints, writing instruments

Description: when we are about to have a new experience and we are about to meet new people, we usually develop (consciously or unconsciously) hopes, fears and expectations. In order to make the "good" things happen and avoid the bad, sharing those thoughts represents a good start.

Individual task (10 minutes): each participant receives 6 post-its in 2 colours (3 for hopes 3 for fears) and writes his/her hopes & fears

regarding the training course, the group, her/himself.

Group task (25 minutes): divided in small groups, participants will discuss and write down what kind of rules/code of behaviour they can create in order to make hopes come true and avoid fears. The groups will try to identify which are the "ground rules" needed to agree upon in order to have the best learning experience. A flipchart for each group will be hanged on the wall and divided into 2 parts (how to make hopes come true and how to avoid fears).

Plenary session (20 minutes): the groups will present their work. The parliament receives the responsibility of writing down an agreement/contract/code of behaviour of the group

Conclusion (10 minutes): debate and debriefing on the exercise, assignment of the group to prepare the contract.

Outcomes

This is a collection of the most relevant outcomes of the group in relation to the hopes and fears about the training, about participants and about "my-self":

	About the training	About participants	About my-self
Hopes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To learn more and share knowledge about democracy in different countries • To share knowledge about EuroMed • To get to know other cultures • I hope to develop democracy in my country • I hope to respect all the opinions of all the participants, to get new knowledge and experience • New experience, better knowledge about the way to promote democracy • Getting many insights into the understandings of democracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To make/create new partnerships • To try together to promote democracy • To be accepted • I hope to have an effective sharing experience • To meet friends and new partners • To take advantage from the experiences of the others • Respect each other and be tolerant with different opinions • Making contact for future co-operations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving my social skills • To see different cities • I hope to provide sufficient information about my country and my experiences • To talk to everybody at least one sentence in a day • To talk slowly because there are some people who have English problems • To be clear about relationships
Fears	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems with understanding • Not to gain anything useful • To go back in the same way I came as regards democracy • Not enough time to talk about all the interesting facts related to Democracy • Not enough time for discussions • Sitting too much with 30 people... I prefer smaller groups • I think too many workshops will be boring for the trainees • No time to visit Venice • Participants should have more free time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not to go out with a strong network • Not to respect each other • To misunderstand each other • Lack of "really young" people • I won't be able to talk to each other and see their interesting sides • Some might feel excluded because English is the only dominant language • Passive participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To get bored • Not to be able to express what I want • Insufficient language skills to explain very complex opinions • No to be fit for the group • Not satisfied • Not to understand everything clearly • Difficulty of acting in a role play in my second language

The most significant solutions identified by participants in order to make hopes come true and make fears disappear are the following:

- to share dialogues among all the participants and to encourage everyone to participate with a bottom-up approach

- in order to overcome some learning difficulties some participants may face;
- to split the group into smaller working groups for some activities in order to avoid the risk of low participation and facilitate the full involvement of all participants;

- to shorten the breaks in order to have more time to visit cultural heritage of the city;
- to use "peer translators" and language facilitators to mutually help each other to better understand.

Democracy and group building

At the beginning of each seminar or training session it is important to work on the group as a whole, trying to build a good friendly atmosphere where all participants are facilitated to express their feelings and opinions, granted by a safe, secure and protected environment.

This step is even more important when talking about democracy, where the group is asked to be – in concrete terms - the real protagonist of the action, taking his decisions about important factors such as the structure of the community they want to live in, the level of responsibilities of the different bodies of the society, the community rules, the functioning of the decision making processes...

Focus on group building¹

A group is composed of two or more individuals who interact and influence each other. Group members may belong to one or more groups. Various studies have revealed that the behaviour of individuals changes when the concerned individual becomes part of a team or group. A group experiences a re-enforcement of ideas and beliefs and the successful achievement of goals. In 1965, Tuckman identified four stages of group development. These stages were later modified and an additional fifth stage was added. The group behaves in a cyclical manner, and any imbalance (internal or external) may cause a team to fall back to an earlier position.

The five stages of forming, storming, norming, performing and adjourning are illustrated below.

The duration of a stage varies according to different variables. Sometimes, the fourth stage of performing is achieved during the first or

second meeting. In other situations, it may take months to reach this stage. A youth leader who develops a clear understanding of the different stages can prevent unnecessary disruption during normal development of each stage.

Stage 1: Forming

Forming is the first stage of group formation. Throughout this stage, members keep a low profile and hesitate to express themselves openly and assertively. During this stage, there is a transition from individual to member status. When members in a group come together, some members may know other members and some may not. Each member should be encouraged to come forward to interact with the others. In this stage, rules concerning how the group will function are formulated so that objectives agreed upon by the group may be achieved. The group should encourage all members to contribute suggestions on how they will work together. The duration of this stage is not fixed and depends a great deal on the members' progress. During the forming stage, the team leader's guidance is tested formally and informally. The team leader acts as an observer and monitors the progress of individual members.

Stage 2: Storming

Storming is the second stage of group formation and often the most difficult. In this stage, group members begin to express themselves. This may bring to the surface conflicting ideas and opinions. Individual goals and agendas emerge, and members may express unhappiness about their respective roles in the team/workplace. Team members begin to realize how much work lies ahead, and

some may become nervous. Storming may produce a period that tests the group. While not much work is achieved during this stage, team members begin to understand each other. In order to cope with the situation at this stage, the team leader must be firm, yet flexible. The first attempts to diffuse hostility and encourage positive attitudes and behaviours towards one another should be made at this juncture.

Stage 3: Norming

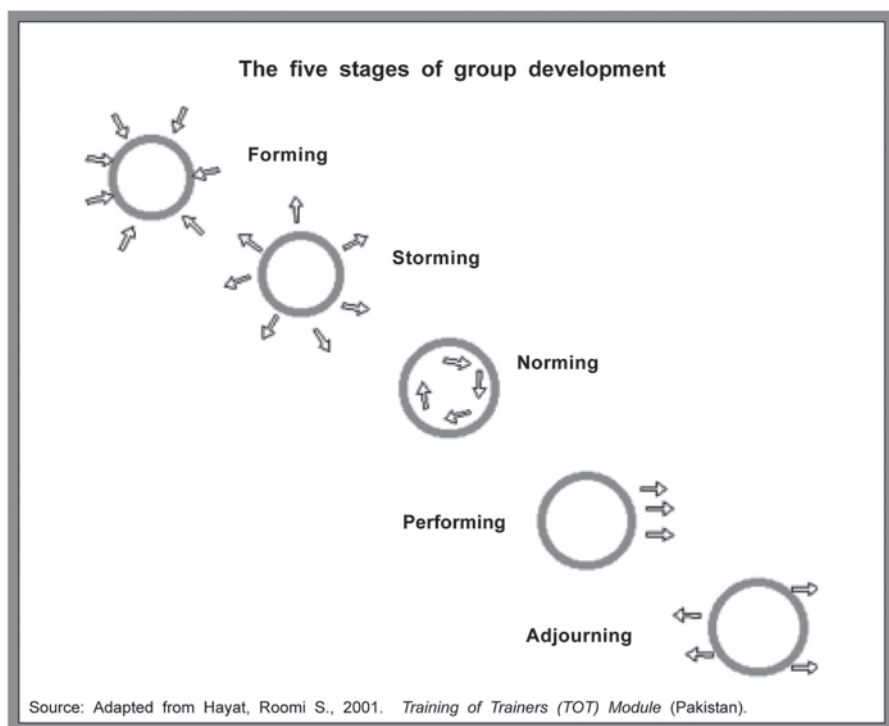
During this stage, team members accept the team and team ground rules (norms), their role in the team and the roles of other team members. Team members become accustomed to working together, and their initial resistance fades. They begin to collaborate rather than compete with one another. In the norming stage, team members express criticisms constructively and ground rules are confirmed. There is a feeling of team cohesion, and sense of common spirit. The team leader now sets a tone that allows for constructive criticism and the development of a plan of activities. Members start to spend time working on the activity plan.

Stage 4: Performing

At this stage, the team has developed its dynamic and defined its expectations. It can now begin performing. Team members have accepted each other's strengths and weaknesses and can start moving forward together. The team leader is now leading an effective and cohesive team. The achievement of this stage can be identified by the significant amount of work being produced.

Stage 5: Adjourning

The adjourning stage occurs when a team ceases to exist. Ideally, a task has been completed, and the function of the team is no longer required.



(1) Source: Hayat, Roomi S., 2001, *Training of Trainers (TOT) Module*



From theory to practice: focus on reality!

Since the course was based in Venice, the exercise related to “group building” was also located in the lagoon of Venice!

Methodology

Title: Sailing in Venice

Time: 70 minutes

Aim: to foster group cooperation by asking participants to build a boat with different materials

Description; participants are split in different small groups (6/7 members each) and asked to build a boat with the materials provided. The groups have also the opportunity, during the game, to meet twice – through a delegate – to exchange materials. Each group should try to build a boat that is able to sail on the sea.

Instruction for facilitators: when you brief your group of participants about this activity make sure to mention the following points:

1. The game is a competition: therefore, the one to win is the one with the highest score.
2. The game is about co-operation: therefore, to win you need to fruitfully cooperate between teams.
3. The task of each group is to build a boat capable to sail on the sea: the boat will be tested and checked about its stability and strength.

Steps:

- a. Illustrate the team and explain the game (5 minutes)
- b. Illustrate the phases of the exercise
 1. Team Work + two meetings among groups (25 minutes)
 2. Assembling (10 minutes)
 3. Test (10 minutes)
- c. Debriefing (20 minutes)

Hints for debriefing:

Out of the metaphor – thinking to the teamwork/process:

- Difficulties/Positive points in working in group?
- How decisions have been made? (Decision making process)
- What about the leadership in your group? (Leadership)
- How conflicts have been overcome? (Conflicts)
- How did you manage the time? (Time management)
- Do you find yourself in the final product? (Personal contribution)
- How was the communication flow? (Communication)

Out of the metaphor – thinking to the inter-group process:

- How did you choose your delegate?
- How did you re-negotiate the project within your team after you had the meetings?

- How do you think the level of mutual understanding was?
- Are you satisfied with the timing of the meetings you chose?
- How do you evaluate the co-operation between the three groups?
- Which problems do you see in the co-operation?
- Which strengths do you see in the co-operation?

Outcomes

This exercise allowed participants to know each other better, strengthening their relations through making them work together.

The main outcomes of the activity may be represented by the following:

- increase of the sense of responsibility of participants, making them aware of the importance of cooperating and participating for each single individual, namely citizen;
- experience of a democratic process, where each participant has to share and discuss his own opinions and ideas in a group with other people who may think differently;
- increase of the awareness on communication issues;
- experience of the difficulties which may be faced in identifying a common goal in group.

Definition of democracy

Definition(s) of Democracy

There is no a universally accepted definition of democracy.

First of all we can say that democracy is a system of government by which political sovereignty is retained by the people and either exercised directly by citizens or through their elected representatives. It is derived from the Greek **δημοκρατία** (demokratia) “popular government”¹ which was coined from **δῆμος** (dēmos), “people” and **κράτος** (kratos), “rule, strength” in the middle of the 5th century BC to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens.

In the field of political theory, democracy describes a small number of related forms of government and also a political philosophy.

Even though there is no a universally accepted definition of “democracy”, there are two principles that any definition of democracy is required to have:

- all members of the society have equal access to power
- all members enjoy universally recognised freedoms and liberties

Robespierre, 5th February 1794, extract of «Sur les principes de morale politique qui doivent guider la convention nationale dans l'administration intérieure de la république» defined democracy as following:

«Democracy is a state where the people are sovereign and guided by laws of its own making, and where the people do by themselves everything it is possible to do, and through delegates, everything that is not.»

A definition was stated by the Inter-parliamentary Union - Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted without a vote by the Inter-parliamentary Council, in its 161st session (Cairo, 16th September 1997) is the following:

“Democracy is a universally recognised ideal as well as a goal, which is based on common values shared by peoples throughout the world community irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences. It is thus a basic right of citizenship to be exercised under conditions of freedom, equality, transparency and responsibility, with due respect for the plurality of views, and in the interest of the polity.”

An other definition has been elaborated within the “Forum pour la réforme arabe”, Alexandria Declaration March 2004, Finale declaration

on “Les Réformes dans le monde arabe: Perspectives et Mise en oeuvre”, 12th-14th March 2004, Bibliotheca Alexandrina:

“(…) Democracy refers to a system where freedom is paramount value that ensures actual sovereignty of the people and government by the people through political pluralism, leading to transfer of power. Democracy is based on respect of all rights for all the people, including freedom of thought and expression, and the right to organize under the umbrella of effective political institutions, with an elected legislature, an independent judiciary, a government that is subject to both constitutional and public accountability, and political parties of different intellectual and ideological orientations. This genuine democracy requires guaranteed freedom of expression in all its forms, topmost among which is freedom of the press, and audio-visual and electronic media. It calls for adopting free, regular, centralized and decentralized elections to guarantee transfer of power and the rule of the people. It also requires the highest possible level of decentralization that would allow greater self-expression by local communities, unleashing their creative potentials for culturally contributions to human development in all fields. (...)”

The “majority rule” is often described as a characteristic feature of democracy, but in the cases where there are no responsible government it is possible for the rights of a minority to be abused by the “tyranny of the majority”. In order to overcome this problem, the majority rule has to be accompanied by rules concerning minority protection.

An essential process in representative democracies are competitive elections, that are fair both substantively and procedurally. Furthermore, freedom of political expression, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are essential so that citizens are informed and able to vote in their personal interests.

Popular sovereignty is common but not a universal motivating philosophy for establishing a democracy. In some countries, democracy is based on the philosophical principle of equal rights. Many people use the term “democracy” as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include additional elements such as political pluralism,

equality before the law, the right to petition elected officials for redress of grievances, due process, civil liberties, human rights, and elements of civil society outside the government. In the United States, separation of powers is often cited as a supporting attribute, but in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, the dominant philosophy is parliamentary sovereignty (though in practice judicial independence is generally maintained). In other cases, “democracy” is used to mean direct democracy. Though the term “democracy” is typically used in the context of a political state, the principles are also applicable to private organizations and other groups.

The American philosopher of democracy, Mary Parker Follett, one of the first Management Scientists expressed some interesting concepts concerning democracy.

Her early 20th-century writings were lost in a time warp for more than six decades after her death in 1933, largely because she was a woman in a man’s world, but most significantly, perhaps, because her ideas were ahead of her own time.

According to her, there is a possibility to reconcile the will of the majority with the will of minority.

“Democracy is ... a genuine union of true individuals”.¹

Democracy means the will of the whole, but the will of the whole is not necessarily represented by the majority, nor by a two-thirds or three-quarters vote, nor even by a unanimous vote; majority rule is democratic when it is approaching not a unanimous but an integrated will ... All talk of majority and minority is futile. It is evident that we must not consider majority versus minority, but only the methods by which unity is attained.²

(D)emocracy transcends time and space, it can never be understood except as a spiritual force. Majority rule rests on numbers; democracy rests on the well-grounded assumption that society is neither a collection of units nor an organism but a network of human relations. Democracy is not worked out at the polling-booths; it is the bringing forth of a genuine collective will, one to which every single being must contribute the whole of his [or her] complex life, as one which every single being must express the whole of at one point. Thus the essence of democracy is creating. The technique of democracy is group organization.³

(1) Mary Parker Follett, *The New State* (1918) (republished by Penn State University, 1998), Introduction, at page 5.

(2) *Ibidem* Chapter XVII, *Democracy Not The Majority: Our Political Fallacy*, at page 142.

(3) *Ibidem*, Introduction, at page 7.

Representation is not the main fact of political life; the main concern of politics is modes of association. We do not want the rule of the many or the few; we must find that method of political procedure by which majority and minority ideas may be so closely interwoven that we are truly ruled by the will of the whole. We shall have democracy only when we learn to produce this will through group association -- when young men [and women] are no longer lectured to on democracy, but when they are made into the stuff of democracy.¹

Theory of democracy

Aristotle contrasted rule by the many (democracy/polity), with rule by the few (oligarchy/aristocracy), and with rule by a single person (tyranny/monarchy or today autocracy). He also thought that there was a good and a bad variant of each system (he considered democracy to be the degenerate counterpart to polity).

For Aristotle the underlying principle of democracy is freedom, since only in a democracy the citizens can have a share in freedom. In essence, he argues that this is what every democracy should make its aim. There are two main aspects of freedom: being ruled and ruling in turn, since everyone is equal according to number, not merit, and to be able to live as one pleases.

But one factor of liberty is to govern and be governed in turn; for the popular principle of justice is to have equality according to number, not worth, and if this is the principle of justice prevailing, the multitude must of necessity be sovereign and the decision of the majority must be final and must constitute justice, for they say that each of the citizens ought to have an equal share; so that it results that in democracies the poor are more powerful than the rich, because there are more of them and whatever is decided by the majority is sovereign. This then is one mark of liberty which all democrats set down as a principle of the constitution. And one is for a man to live as he likes; for they say that this is the function of liberty, inasmuch as to live not as one likes is the life of a man that is a slave. This is the second principle of democracy, and from it has come the claim not to be governed, preferably not by anybody, or failing that, to govern and be governed in turns; and this is the way in which the second principle contributes to equalitarian liberty (Aristotle, Politics.1317b).

There are many forms of democracy:

Representative

Representative democracy involves the selection of government officials by the people being represented. The most common mechanisms involve election of the

candidate with a majority or a plurality of the votes.

Representatives may be elected or become diplomatic representatives by a particular district (or constituency), or represent the entire electorate proportionally proportional systems, with some using a combination of the two. Some representative democracies also incorporate elements of direct democracy, such as referendums. A characteristic of representative democracy is that while the representatives are elected by the people to act in their interest, they retain the freedom to exercise their own judgment as how best to do so.

Parliamentary democracy

Parliamentary democracy where government is appointed by parliamentary representatives as opposed to a 'presidential rule' by decree dictatorship. Under a parliamentary democracy government is exercised by delegation to an executive ministry and subject to ongoing review, checks and balances by the legislative parliament elected by the people.

Liberal democracy

A Liberal democracy is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities (see civil liberties)

Direct Democracy

Direct democracy is a political system where the citizens participate in the decision-making personally, contrary to relying on intermediaries or representatives. The supporters of direct democracy argue that democracy is more than merely a procedural issue (i.e., voting). Most direct democracies to date have been weak forms, relatively small communities, usually city-states. However, some see the extensive use of referendums, as in California, as akin to direct democracy in a very large polity with more than 20 million in California, 1898-1998 (2000) (ISBN 0-8047-3821-1). In Switzerland, five million voters decide on national referendums and initiatives two to four times a year; direct democratic instruments are also well established at the cantonal and communal level. Vermont towns have been known for their yearly town meetings, held every March to decide on local issues.

Socialist Democracy

Socialist thought has several different views on democracy. Social democracy, democratic socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat (usually exercised through Soviet democracy) are some examples. Many democratic socialists and social

democrats believe in a form of participatory democracy and workplace democracy combined with a representative democracy.

Within Marxist orthodoxy there is a hostility to what is commonly called "liberal democracy", which they simply refer to as parliamentary democracy because of its often centralized nature. Because of their desire to eliminate the political elitism they see in capitalism, Marxists, Leninists and Trotskyists believe in direct democracy implemented through a system of communes (which are sometimes called soviets). This system ultimately manifests itself as council democracy and begins with workplace democracy.

Anarchist Democracy

The only form of democracy considered acceptable to many anarchists is direct democracy. Some anarchists oppose direct democracy while others favour it. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon argued that the only acceptable form of direct democracy is one in which it is recognized that majority decisions are not binding on the minority, even when unanimous. However, anarcho-communist Murray Bookchin criticized individualist anarchists for opposing democracy, and says "majority rule" is consistent with anarchism. Some anarcho-communists oppose the majoritarian nature of direct democracy, feeling that it can impede individual liberty and opt in favour of a non-majoritarian form of consensus democracy, similar to Proudhon's position on direct democracy.

Iroquois Democracy

Iroquois society had a form of participatory democracy and representative democracy. Iroquois government and law was discussed by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Because of this, some scholars regard it to have influenced the formation of American representative democracy. However scholars who reject multiculturalism disagree that the influence existed or was of any great importance.

Sortition

Sortition is the process of choosing decision makers via a random process, which is also called "democracy without elections". The intention is that those chosen will be representative of the opinions and interests of the people at large, and be more fair and impartial than an elected official. The technique was in widespread use in Athenian Democracy and is still used in modern jury selection. It is not universally agreed that sortition should be considered "democracy" due to the lack of actual elections.

Consensus democracy

Consensus democracy requires varying degrees of consensus rather than just a mere democratic majority. It typically attempts to protect minority rights from domination by majority rule.

(1) *Ibidem*, Chapter XVII, *Democracy Not The Majority: Our Political Fallacy*, at pages 142, 147.

Interactive Democracy

Interactive Democracy seeks to utilise information technology to involve voters in law making. It provides a system for proposing new laws, prioritising proposals, clarifying them through parliament and validating them through referendum.

E-democracy

Nowadays we can also talk about E-Democracy (Electronic Democracy) which foresees the use of Technologies, Information and Communication within democratic processes. Considering the

recent origin of the term, the definition is still not clear from the theoretical point of view.

Generally the category Electronic Democracy includes practices and the experiments of using informatic technologies from the side of the citizens in order to allow them to participate to the political choices of the democratic institutions at all the levels (local, national, sovra-national, international).

Even though this model is still somehow weak, many initiatives of e-democracy have been developed in the last fifteen years from E-Democracy.org (an association of citizens born in late nineties in Minesota and able to

create debates and put pressure on local elections and on the following administrative choices thus becoming an exportable method). Furthermore in Lithuania in March 2007 the first elections, with the possibility to vote on line, were carried out.

Conclusions

Democracy is definitely charming for the variety of the existing definitions, and it is certainly an evolving definition. The question “what is democracy about?” cannot thus be answered in few pages, and the question “is democracy the best of the possible world?” also remains open.

From theory to practice: focus on reality!

The training course, starting from the most common definitions of democracy, foresaw a session focused on “what democracy is for me”, analyzing participants’ perception and understanding.

Methodology

Part A

Title: Democracy for me

Time: 85 minutes

Objective: to debate and share “what democracy is for me”

Description: subdivision into 5 groups (5 minutes); in groups, participants are asked to share “what is Democracy for me”, facilitated by the questionnaire that they have to fill-in, and then find a creative way (i.e. singing, painting, playing, acting or whatever else) to present in plenary the main outcomes of the discussion, no matter in they agree or not (35 minutes).

Finally, groups are asked to show their presentations (25 minutes).

Hints for debriefing (minimum 20 minutes):

- Was there a common definition in the groups?
- What were the similarities and what were the differences?

Tools: this is the questionnaire employed to facilitate participants in the definition of what democracy is for them.

Outcomes

The working groups have highlight the following hints which may be considered as food for discussion:

- the “value” of majority: should we consider it as a “must” in each democratic situation?
- is it always possible to respect each point of view?
- what does tolerance mean?
- political parties and media, which role do - or should - they have in promoting democracy?

Other clues of the discussion:

- one of the most important aspect of democracy related to its decision making process: it is therefore of the utmost importance to share the different existing methods
- it is difficult to compare democracy in Europe and in the Middle East due to their specific characteristics
- usually. When democracy is in crisis, it means that it is not residing in citizens hands at that moment
- lack of awareness and understanding about the real sense of democracy
- democracy is not an objective term, it is a subjective one

- understanding of democracy may be a problem especially when people are not ready to take responsibilities
- is there an alternative to the democratic system based on voting and delegating power to the majority?
- differences in “theoretical” and “practical” democracy (perfect democracy on paper is not sufficient)
- the idea of democracy is not existing: maybe we need to invent it?

The main clues of the debate among participants may be considered as a sort of “guidelines” to stimulate and favour a debate on the addressed topics.

In a perfect democracy...	Yes	No
... everybody should have the same right to vote and to be voted for regardless of their gender	0	0
... everybody should have the same right to vote and to be voted for regardless of their religion	0	0
... everybody should have the same right to vote and to be voted for regardless of their ethnicity	0	0
... everybody should have the same right to vote and to be voted for regardless of their political opinion	0	0
... everybody should have the same rights	0	0
... torture should under no circumstances be performed	0	0
... religion should not be part of the political process	0	0
... the majority should have the right to make the decisions	0	0
... women should be represented in the decision making bodies equal to men	0	0
... minorities should be represented in the decision making bodies equal to the majority	0	0
... no decision should be allowed to be taken without the consent of the people	0	0
... no one should be excluded from a decision	0	0
... every decision should be taken by unanimous vote	0	0
... all conflicts should be solved by the law	0	0
... no one should be above the law	0	0
... no one should have the right to decide for others	0	0

The Serenissima: an example of “democratic” structure?



In the early years of the republic, the political system can be classified as an autocracy, with the Doge as the almost absolute ruler. In 1223, the aristocratic families of Rialto drastically diminished the powers of the Doge by the establishment of an advisory body that would later be called the Quarantia and a supreme tribunal which would later be called the Signoria. They also created two bodies called sapientes which later grew into six bodies. The combination of sapientes and certain other groups was called a collegio, a kind of ministry to carry out the functions of government. A senate, called the Consiglio dei Pregadi was organized in 1229 with sixty members elected by the Major Council.

During this period the Doge had little real power left, and actual authority was exercised by the Great Council, an extremely limited parliament-like body in which only members of the great aristocratic families of the republic were allowed to participate. Venice claimed that its government was a ‘classical republic’ because it was a fusion of the three basic forms present in a mixed government: with the regal power in the Doge, the aristocratic in the senate, and the democratic in the Great Council.

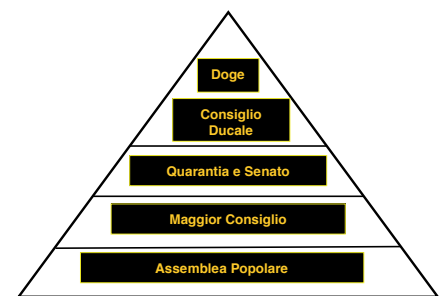
In 1335, a «Council of Ten» was established and became so powerful and secretive that by circa 1600 its powers had to be delimited] Its powers varied over time, from subordination to the Great Council to dominance over it.

A law of 1539 instituted the State Inquisitors, later known as the Supreme Tribunal. There were three Inquisitors, one known popularly as Il Rosso, «the red one», who was chosen from the Dogal Councillors, who wore scarlet robes, and two from the Council of Ten, known as I negri, «the black ones». They began as a security body at the difficult time when Venice felt herself encircled by the Habsburgs and gradually assumed some of

the powers of the Council of Ten. By means of espionage, counterespionage and internal surveillance, they made use of a network of informers and «confidants».

In 1556, the provveditori ai beni inculti were also created for the improvement of agriculture by increasing the acreage under cultivation and encouraging private investment in agricultural improvement. The consistent rise in the price of grain during the 16th century encouraged the transfer of capital from trade to the land.

Structure of the Venetian Government during the Serenissima



From theory to practice: focus on reality!

During the training course, a session on participants’ definition of their Parliament was foreseen, in order to make them experience a real decision making process based on a bottom-up approach.

Methodology

Part A

Title: Proposal for building our own Parliament – part I ((In TOOL BOX the full description of the activity))

Aim: to establish a common ground about what democracy is and how it is implemented in the training.

Objectives:

- to share participants’ perception of the concept of Democracy
- to choose their decision making process
- to define the democratic structure (Parliament) of the training course

Materials: A4 papers, flipchart papers, art-lines, paints, laptop and video-projector

Time: 3.5 hours

Description: as in any state, a structure of governing should be chosen. As the training deals with democracy, participants were proposed to adopt a democratic structure based on the principles of the Venetian structure:

- all the participants, divided in small committees composed of 5 or 6 members, represented the General Assembly;
- 1 representative for each committee forming the Great Assembly
- 3 members of the Great Assembly representing the Senate, playing the following roles:
 - Head of state
 - Vice Head of State
 - Book keeper

In ancient Venice, in order to avoid corruption, to maintain equal opportunities, and to keep everybody involved, the governing positions were rotated in a short period of time so that everyone had the chance to act in more than one position. The proposed structure of the Parliament of the training course, believing in the same principles, foresaw the rotation as well.

This is the structure proposed to participants, to whom the possibility to suggest a different structure was offered on the first day of the training course during the first meeting of the General Assembly.

Participants, split in different small groups, were thus asked:

- to decide on the methods and rules of the decision making process;
- to draft the constitution, including the chosen structure for implementing the democratic decisions and the tasks of

each body (i.e. committees, senate, the great assembly, etc.);

- to get everyone involved, since a democracy cannot exist without active participation of it’s demos (people, citizens): every participant should have at least one position to fulfil.
- Participants were given the following hints for guiding their discussion:
- how do you think the decision making process of the training course community should be?
 - who is the training course community?
 - what are the rules community members are expected/obliged to follow?
 - what are the responsibilities of each body (committee, senate, etc)?
 - please, add any other relevant issues to define and create the democratic society of the training course and its constitution.

Part B

Title: Proposal for building our own Parliament – part II

Time: 2 hours

(for aims, objectives and materials see Part A)

Setting: a room organized in a formal manner of sitting, like a real Parliamentary session

Description: starting from the consideration that non formal education approach promotes an experiential learning, participants are informed that

the they will function as in a democratic structure during the whole week of the training. All participants gather in plenary in order to decide, starting from the reflections of the working groups (see Part A), the structure of their Parliament and to elect the members of the different bodies.

Steps:

a. the decision making process (15 minutes): brain storming on the way to vote (secret or public? Others? Who counts the votes?). This session is facilitated by trainers.

- b. election/nomination of the facilitator (10 minutes): who will be facilitating the discussions and counting the votes? Short explanation of the role by trainers.
- c. the structure of the Democratic community (45 min): debate and vote of the structure to be adopted: what will be the responsibilities of the participants? Which parts of the programme (intercultural night, open space, project session, farewell party, free time, daily evaluations...) will be decide by the Parliament? Who is the person in charge to be in contact with the training team?

- d. defining responsibilities of positions/offices and the agenda of the meetings of the different bodies (10 minutes)
 - e. Approving (10 minutes): voting for the positions
- Conclusion (20 minutes): congratulations for the beginning of the journey as a democratic community

Outcomes

The different groups working on the most suitable democratic structure of the training course identified the following possibilities:

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President: 1 • Council: 4 persons (5 with president) • Parliament: 18 • Constitutional judges: 3 <p>President and council make suggestions, the Parliament votes, the Judges verify</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doge: 1 • Parliament: all the others <p>Bicameral system (Senate and Council with the same powers):</p> <p><u>Senate</u>: it is not an elective assembly but composed of 1 member for each country</p> <p><u>Council</u>: popular assembly (all involved): born and dead, just as starting point. It comes back in period of crisis.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President: 1 • Executive body: 3 • Council: from 7 to 10 • General Assembly: 26 <p><u>General Assembly</u>: legislative power</p>

Decision about the structure

There was a vote to decide which structure to adopt.

Results of the vote:

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
14 votes	0 votes	6 votes

* 4 votes were null

Agenda of the meeting and subdivision of the tasks

Council: 2 meetings per day

Tasks of the Council: prepares the proposals for the Parliament, holds the executive power, elects the President

Parliament: 1 meeting per day

Tasks of the Parliament: vote for the proposals of the Council, drafts the Constitution, elects the Council

Judges (elected by the Parliament): meeting when necessary

Tasks of the Judges: guarantees the observation of the Constitution

The Group Contract

Another relevant outcome which followed the building process of the democratic structure was the Group Contract (the Constitution), where rules about rights, duties and responsibilities are defined.

This is the contract (constitution) elaborated by the Parliament:

Foreword

We are participants from all over the world, gathered here in Venice to attend a EuroMed course. We submit us to the following rules to build up a good community and to learn from each other as much as possible.

Articles

1. We respect each member of the group with his or his or her personality, opinion religion and culture.
2. The group ensures that everybody is able to follow the discussion. This means especially to talk clearly and slowly and to ensure translation where necessary.
3. Everybody has the right to make his opinion be heard towards the others. No one will be interrupted while he is stating his point.
4. Every member of the group is responsible for a good working atmosphere. It is a question of politeness to be on time. If anybody is late, he or she should enter the room after the next break.

5. The head of parliament and the trainers are providing adequate methods to facilitate the discussions within the whole group and to help everybody to participate in the course.
6. The council makes sure that there are regular and long enough breaks. These breaks are free time, there should not be tasks to be done during this time. If the training sessions take more time than planned, the council has to agree with shifting the break.
7. The council ensures that there is a special time every day for creating networks and partnership between the group members. The council decides when this time will be.
8. The council will implement these rules. Everybody can call a judges' decision if he or she feels that the rules are violated.
9. Only the judges can change this contract.

“Democracy”: a few quotations to spark reflection

Democracy has always been a vivid concept over the centuries, and many famous persons didn't lose the opportunity to tell, to write, to sing – and even to shout - their understanding and their definition of democracy. These quotations may help us to widen our horizons about this concept...

“Democracy forever teases us with the contrast between its ideals and its realities, between its heroic possibilities and its sorry achievements.”

Agnes Repplier

“If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost.”

Aristotele

“The price of the democratic way of life is a growing appreciation of people's differences, not merely as tolerable, but as the essence of a rich and rewarding human experience.”

Jerome Nathanson

“We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts, foreign ideas, alien philosophies, and competitive values. For a nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation that is afraid of its people.”

John F. Kennedy

“The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.”

Mohandas K. Gandhi

“There are no magic answers, no miraculous methods to overcome the problems we face, just the familiar ones: honest search for understanding, education, organization, action that raises the cost of state violence for its perpetrators or that lays the basis for institutional change -- and the kind of commitment that will persist despite the temptations of disillusionment, despite many failures and only limited successes, inspired by the hope of a brighter future.”

Noam Chomsky

“Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element.”

Rosa Luxemburg

“So long as the people do not care to exercise their freedom, those who wish to tyrannize will do so; for tyrants are active and ardent, and will devote themselves in the name of any number of gods, religious and otherwise, to put shackles upon sleeping men.”

Voltaire

“Did you, too, O friend, suppose democracy was only for elections, for politics, and for a party name? I say democracy is only of use there that it may pass on and come to its flower and fruit in manners, in the highest forms of interaction between [people], and their beliefs -- in religion, literature, colleges and schools -- democracy in all public and private life....”

Walt Whitman

10. Democracy in the past

Overview on past Democratic Systems

Democracy has been implemented over the centuries in many different ways, adopting numerous different structures and methods: this may lead us to the conclusion that democracy is not a univocal concept but it presents several different faces.

In the present paragraph we wish to briefly present a historical overview on four "famous" democracies: they may have something to add to our reflection on this tremendously complex and fascinating concept.

Greece

Ancient Greece¹: probably where democracy started!

The type of democracy practiced in Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries may not have been perfect. However, it was the best government up to that time and superior to what most of the ancient world was living under. Much of the credit goes to Cleisthenes whose reforms turned Athens from an oligarchy (government by the few) to a democracy (government of the people).

The key to Athenian democracy was Cleisthenes redrawing of the social-political landscape of Athens and Attica. The four existing tribes were replaced by ten new tribes (phylae) each split into thirds (trittyes). Each of these thirds was located in one of the three areas of Attica which had been the way the city had been split up in the past. These were the center of the city, the coast and the area beyond the hills. Then these trittyes were broken up in 140 demes (municipalities) of varying sizes.

These sub-divisions were aimed at avoiding a concentration of power in their hands.

The Assembly or ecclesia was open to all male citizens and met four times a month which with ten months in the Athenian calendar came out to forty times a year.

Important decisions on foreign policy and legislative issues were debated and the final decision or proclamation was carved in stone and erected in prominent places in the city like the agora (marketplace), which represented the centre of the public life of the city.

Even though anyone could address it, only the best speakers had the courage (or the vocal ability) to do so. Once a year they would vote on whether to hold what was called an ostracism. If it was agreed, members of the assembly wrote the name of the person they wanted to be banished from the city on a piece of pottery.

The person with the most votes was exiled from Athens for ten years. He did not lose his property or his rights as a citizen and after ten years he was

welcome back. The first to be ostracised were the friends and relatives of the tyrant Pisistratus.

Despite it being one of the most talked about practices in Athenian democracy there were only a dozen people who were ostracised though among them are Aristides, Kimon, Themistokles, Thucydides, Alcibiades and Hyperbolus, who was the last person to be ostracised. But it achieved its purpose since fear of banishment kept those with lofty aspirations from being too aggressive.

The Boule was a Council of 500 comprised of fifty men from each of the ten tribes and they were the ones who decided on what the assembly would discuss.

The members of the council were chosen by their demes (municipalities) and after having accomplished their mandate, they were not permitted to serve again for the following ten years. The parliament in contemporary Athens is still called the Bouli.

The chief magistrate of the city was called the Archon eponymous or ruler. (The word anarchy means without an archon.) His responsibilities included conducting investigations of legal cases, in particular those that involved the state. He was responsible for protecting the orphans and heiresses with no family and to appoint the choregos who was in charge of organizing the religious festivals. The office of Archon eponymous was held for one single year, and that year was dedicated to him.

Archons were chosen by the Areopagus, the council of elders of the city, composed by individuals which had previously been archons.

The Polemarch was in charge of military matters such as protecting the borders of Athens and was considered commander-in-chief of the military though real power was with the ten strategoi (generals) who were elected, one from each tribe. The polemarch had some judicial responsibilities and was also in charge of overseeing the foreign labourers in Athens known as metics.

Other official positions were chosen by lot and included among others, tax collectors, and market inspectors who patrolled the agora and made sure merchants were being honest.

There were also courts with six judges known as the Thesmothetae who had little power since the Athenians believed that trials should involve mass participation. So in cases that were private suits of one individual against another there was a jury of 501 citizens.

Suits which involved officials of the state were tried by a jury of 1001 and the most serious charges like treason were tried by a jury of 1501. The more important was the trial, the more jurors

were involved. The juries voted by secret ballot and were paid for their service, receiving roughly as much as a laborer per-day.

The military in Athens was set up the same way as the Boule, corresponding to the tribes. Those who sat together on the juries did the same in the theatre too so you were part of a social-political *parea* (group or clique). In Athens where politics was all encompassing this was important.

When viewed in the context of its time the Athenian democracy was an amazing achievement which introduced the concept of equal rights and the notion of accountability by routinely investigating officials and creating a system where no person or group could become too powerful.

The function of the government was to guarantee justice to the people of Athens, a revolutionary idea at the time. The annual rotation of power, the sharing of power and the fact that the people took part in the decision-making achieved the purpose of breaking the hold that the aristocrats had on Athenian society. It created a model of government which has been improved upon (for example in contemporary democracy women can vote) and twisted (the electoral college and gerrymandering come to mind).

One thing must be said about Athenian democracy: it was a full time job.

Only people with a lot of leisure time on their hands could devote the energy to this system, which brings us to the issue of slavery. Without slaves there would not have been an Athenian democracy, or at least not as we know it. The fact that even a relatively poor Athenian citizen could still afford one slave to plow his fields or work in his shop while he was debating laws in the assembly is what made a democracy of the people (if you define people as free-Athenian-male-citizens).

A concept which is definitely far away from the nowadays concept of democracy, where each individual has the right to participate in public life, even though, in most of the cases, not in a direct way but rather through elected representatives.

Venice

The Serenissima Republic of Venice, was it a real democracy?

The sovereignty in the Republic of Venice officially belonged to the Arengo (people of Venice), which exercised it in the occasion of the Doge approval.

The Doge was elected with a very complicated system, elaborated in order to avoid frauds.

In the early years of the republic, the Doge ruled Venice in an autocratic fashion, but later his powers were limited by the promissione, a pledge he had to take when elected. As a result powers

(1) Source: www.ahistoryofgreece.com

were shared with the (Major) Council, composed of 480 members taken from certain families, so that «He could do nothing without the Major Council and the Major Council could do nothing without him».

The sovereignty was exercised by the Major Council, the fundamental organ of the State, composed by the male members of the greater Patrician families, around one thousand individuals.

The Major Council at its turn could exercise its democratic powers through Minor organs such as the College (or Government of the Republic) and the Senate (or Council of Pregades) which was responsible for foreign affairs, and the Council of ten, in charge of the State security and the tribunals of the Quarantia.

The council of ten gained more and more powers becoming almost omni-powerful with the passing of the time.

The Doge formally represented the sovereignty and the majesty of the Republic but he owned very few powers (basically he only had the rights to drive the army in war periods).

In the 12th century, the aristocratic families of Rialto further diminished the Doge's powers by establishing the Minor Council (1175), composed of six advisors of the Doge, and the Quarantia (1179) as a supreme tribunal.

In 1223, these institutions were combined into the Signoria, which consisted of the Doge, the Minor Council and the three leaders of the Quarantia.

The Signoria was the central body of government, representing the continuity of the republic as shown in the expression: «si è morto il Doge, no la Signoria» («Though the Doge is dead, not the Signoria»).

The Venetian aristocracy was a social category relatively open: it was possible to have access in it through big merits and services offered to the Republic. In some exceptional cases, in order to increase the State funds during war times, the Republic allowed to buy the inscription at the "Golden book" of the Aristocracy.

Aristocracy was not only a class of privileged persons, it was also composed by professional civil servants which studied at the Padova University. In fact the Venetian nobles worked in the public administration even as office secretaries, accountants, harbour commanders and judges.

A noteworthy element was that in order to avoid the concentration of power in few hands, and to guarantee a turnover at least to some extent, and allow all the aristocratic people to have a job, the charges lasted a brief period of time, often just one year. Furthermore the salaries were low, so that many nobles could survive only thanks to the public assistance guaranteed to the poor aristocratic people.

The administration of justice in Venice is another issue which deserves to be addressed. Actually, the Republic of Venice gained the qualification

of Serenissima right for its balanced way to deal with justice.

The role of the lawyers was reduced, judges were not professional but rather appointed every one or two years. The most relevant element was the fact that the laws were applied at the concrete cases by taking into account of the previous decisions, and by denying to apply a provision in case it was against superior principles of justice, common good sense, faith and the natural balance of things.

The Venetian justice system was thus quite similar to the Common Law System (nowadays used in Great Britain and other anglo-saxon countries) which originally was based on Equity rules.

The main virtue of the Venetian system was definitely the progressive reduction of the powers of the doge from the side of the rising trade aristocracy, which ended only in the eighteenth century, when the republic was already in the decaying process. The doge became a formal sovereign already in the thirteenth century, and the various attempts to transform the doge charge into a inheritable one, or the figure of doge into a prince above the nobles always failed. He was on the contrary obliged to behave as the first magistrate and first servant of the Republic, thus anticipating the role nowadays covered by the figure of the President of the Republic.¹

All the mentioned features contribute to confirm the presence of a democratic system in the Republic of Venice, which for that time was undoubtedly sophisticated and balanced and had the capacity to survive to the risk of turning into an authoritarian system.

France

The French Third Republic (1870-10 July 1940) was the political regime of France between the Second French Empire and the Vichy Regime, which was only interrupted in 1871 by the two months experience of the Paris Commune.

On 4 September 1870, following the collapse of the Empire of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War, a parliamentary republic was set up in France.

It survived until the invasion of France by the German Third Reich in 1940, thus constituting the first long democratic experience in the French history.

The organic structure of the third Republic was established in February 1875, through a series of parliamentary Acts.

Its maximum exponent was the President of the Republic.

The system foresaw a two-chamber parliament, as well as a ministry under the «President of the Council», who was nominally answerable to both the President of the Republic and the Parliament.

Throughout the 1870s, the issue of monarchy versus republic dominated public debate and in 1877 there were even attempts to re-establish a monarchic system, which nonetheless turned into a failure.

Following that critical moment, the Republic was finally governed by republicans, called Opportunist Republicans since they were in favour of moderate changes in order to firmly establish the new regime without facing a strong opposition.

One of the first important laws (Jules Ferry laws) enacted concerned the establishment of a free, mandatory and secular public education, voted in 1881 and 1882.

From that moment the public education was not anymore in the exclusive control of the Catholic congregations.

Furthermore, in 1905 the government introduced the law on the separation of Church and State, heavily supported by Emile Combes, who had been strictly enforcing the 1901 voluntary association law and the 1904 law on religious congregations' freedom of teaching (more than 2,500 private teaching establishments were by then closed by the state, causing bitter opposition from the Catholic and conservative population).

The clear cut separation between religious and political powers marked a turning point in the French constitutional system and continues to characterize the French democratic system nowadays, by considering religion a mere private issue.

In 1889 the Republic was rocked by the sudden but short-timed Boulanger crisis, then there was the Panama scandal and finally the Dreyfus Affair. These events put into danger the stability of the third Republic but did not undermine the will of its political leaders to affirm the democratic values.

Governments during the Third Republic collapsed with regularity, rarely lasting more than a couple of months, as radicals, socialists, liberals, conservatives, republicans and monarchists all fought for control.

However others argue that the collapse of governments were a minor side effect of the Republic lacking strong political parties, resulting in coalitions of many parties that routinely lost and gained a few allies.

Consequently the change of governments could be seen as little more than a series of ministerial reshuffles, with many individuals carrying forward from one government to the next, often in the same posts.

Thus, the changes had no major impacts on the overall stability of the third Republic. Throughout its seventy-year history, the Third Republic stumbled from crisis to crisis, from dissolved parliaments to the appointment of a mentally ill president.

It struggled through World War I against the German Empire and the inter-war years saw much political strife with a growing rift between the right and the left.

The Third Republic officially ended on July 10, 1940 when the parliament gave full powers to Philippe Pétain, who proclaimed the following days the regime of Vichy ("the French state"), which replaced the Republic.

(1) Source: www.ahistoryofgreece.com

When France was finally liberated after the D-Day invasion of June 1944, few called for a restoration of the Third Republic, and a Constituent Assembly was established in 1946 to draft a constitution for a successor, established as the Fourth Republic that December.

The Fourth Republic would last only twelve years as 1958 saw the drafting of a Fifth French Constitution and thus the beginning of the French Fifth Republic, which has subsequently survived to this day.

Adolphe Thiers, first president of the Third Republic, called republicanism in the 1870s "the form of government that divides France least". France might have agreed about being a republic, but it never fully agreed with the Third Republic. France's longest lasting régime since before the 1789 Revolution, the Third Republic was consigned to the history books as being unloved and unwanted in the end.

And yet its longevity showed that it was capable of going through many storms

One of the most surprising aspects of the Third Republic was that it constituted the first stable republican government in French history, and the first to win the support of the majority of the population, yet it was intended as an interim, temporary government.

The Third Republic failed, but it did not fail as a result of its liberal democratic institutions.

The failure was due to the fact that it was that the democratic system was not mature enough for having the capacity to fight the Nazi war machine.

United States of America

The origins of the USA democracy lay in the Philadelphia Convention¹ (now also known as the Constitutional Convention, the Federal Convention, or the "Grand Convention at Philadelphia"), which took place from May 25 to September 17, 1787, to address problems in the United States of America following independence from Great Britain.

Actually, Seymour Martin Lipset points out that "The United States was the first major colony successfully to revolt against colonial rule. In this sense, it was the first 'new nation'".

Although the Convention's official purpose was only to revise the Articles of Confederation, the intention of many of the Convention's proponents, chief among them James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, was from the outset to create a new government rather than "fix" the existing one.

The delegates elected George Washington to preside over the convention.

The result of the Convention was the United States Constitution.

The Convention is definitely one of the central events in the history of the United States.

Before the Constitution was drafted, the thirteen colonies operated under the Articles of Confederation, created by the Second Continental Congress which eventually caused

deep divides between the states that the national government could not resolve.

On January 21, 1786, the Virginia Legislature, following James Madison's recommendation, invited all the states to discuss ways to reduce interstate conflicts in Annapolis, Maryland. At what came to be known as the Annapolis Convention, the few state delegates in attendance endorsed a motion that called for all states to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787 to discuss ways to improve the Articles of Confederation in a "Grand Convention."

The new government reflected a radical break from the normative governmental structures of the time, favoring representative, elective government with a weak executive, rather than the existing monarchical structures common within the western traditions of the time.

The system of republicanism borrowed heavily from Enlightenment Age ideas and classical western philosophy where a primacy was placed upon individual liberty and upon constraining the power of government through division of powers and a system of checks and balances. Additionally, the Bill of Rights was ratified on December 15, 1791 to guarantee individual liberties such as freedom of speech and religious practice and consisted of the first ten amendments of the Constitution.

The most important influence from the European continent was clearly from Montesquieu, who emphasized the need to have balanced forces pushing against each other to prevent tyranny. (This in itself reflects the influence of Polybius' 2nd century BC treatise on the checks and balances of the constitution of the Roman Republic.) John Locke is known to have been a major influence, and the due process clause of the United States Constitution was partly based on common law stretching back to the Magna Carta of 1215.

The English Bill of Rights (1689) was an inspiration for the American Bill of Rights. For example, both require jury trials, contain a right to keep and bear arms, and prohibit excessive bail as well as "cruel and unusual punishments." Many liberties protected by state constitutions and the Virginia Declaration of Rights were incorporated into the United States Bill of Rights.

Besides providing for the organization of these branches, the Constitution carefully outlines which powers each branch may exercise.

It also reserves numerous rights for the individual states, thereby establishing the United States' Federal system of government.

The membership to the Supreme Court was established by the Judiciary Act of 1789 and the first Supreme Court session was held in New York City on February 1, 1790.

In 1803, the Court case Marbury v. Madison made it clear that the Court would be the sole arbiter of constitutionality of federal law.

Many questions remained unresolved, such as the controversial issues surrounding slavery. Slaves accounted for about one-fifth of the population in the American colonies.

Most of them lived in the Southern colonies, where slaves made up 40 percent of the population. Whether slavery was to be permitted and continued under the new Constitution was a matter of conflict between the North and South, with several Southern states refusing to join the Union if slavery were not allowed.

One of the most contentious slavery-related issue was the question of whether slaves would be counted as part of the population in determining representation in Congress or considered property not entitled to representation. Delegates from states with a large population of slaves argued that slaves should be considered persons in determining representation but as property if the new government were to levy taxes on the states on the basis of population. Delegates from states where slavery had disappeared or almost disappeared argued that slaves should be included in taxation but not in determining representation.

Finally, delegate James Wilson proposed the Three-Fifths Compromise.

As a result, the original Constitution contained four provisions tacitly allowing slavery to continue for the next 20 years. Section 9 of Article I allowed the continued "importation" of such persons, Section 2 of Article IV prohibited the provision of assistance to escaping persons and required their return if successful and Section 2 of Article I defined other persons as "three-fifths" of a person for calculations of each state's official population.

Article V prohibited any amendments or legislation changing the provision regarding slave importation until 1808, thereby giving the States then existing 20 years to resolve this issue. The failure to do so led to the Civil War.

Another issue at the Convention was what should be done about the slave trade. Ten states had already outlawed it. Many delegates heatedly denounced it, but the three states, Georgia and the two Carolinas, that allowed it threatened to leave the convention if the trade were banned. In effect they postponed the decision on the slave trade because of its contentious nature. The delegates to the Convention did not want its ratification to fail because of the conflict over slavery. Therefore, a special committee worked out another compromise: Congress would have the power to ban the slave trade, but not until at least 20 years had passed, in 1808.

In September the Convention was finally signed.

Many delegates did not agree with the whole Constitution text.

Benjamin Franklin said:

"There are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them..."

I doubt to whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution..."

It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies..."

(1) Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_United_States



From theory to practice: focus on reality!

Participants had the opportunity to directly experience how the Serenissima democracy was functioning: a role-play entitled "The conspiracy of Venice" was organized in Palazzo Ducale, the building which has been the major witness of how the Serenissima was born, grown-up, developed, reached the top of its success and finally collapsed.

Methodology

The Role Play: activity and reflection. (In the TOOL BOX the full description of the activity: www.salto-youth.net/Toolbox/)

Objectives

- Participants have reflected on their own democratic or undemocratic behavior and are aware that democracy is not only realized by the legal regulations and institutions in a state but in the stance of every citizen.
- Participants have a rough understanding of the elements of the historical Venetian political system and how it was similar to a democracy and how not.

General rules

The goal of the players in the role play is to elect a new Doge at the end of the game in the senate (if the senate still holds the power then). However each player also follows individual goals.

Most of the players have a loyalty card. A loyalty card presents symbolically the vote that each player holds in the game. Each card is marked with the name of the player's character. The assassins have two cards each but only one of them may be used in a vote. The Doge has one card that counts two voices. The Archbishop has one card that counts two voices. The Jews do not have a card at the start of the game but can gain one later in the game by popular vote. Players can lose their cards when the Council of Ten decides so.

A vote is made by putting the cards in a yes or no ballot box. Whichever holds more cards wins the vote. In case of both boxes holding the same amount of cards, the decision means that no change will be made to the situation prior to the vote.

In general the card holder may give his card to whomever he or she wants and receives it

back after a vote if she asks for it. The person who receives the card may use this vote however he/she wishes and is not necessarily bound to honor prior agreements.

Players may decide to add more rules or even change the way of voting by adding more complex aspects than just yes or no. However they will have to set up the system to do so and Game Masters will not interfere in this process.

Votes in general are possible whenever the players wish for. However in the beginning of the game not every player has the right to suggest a vote. This may change by public decision during the game. In the beginning only the heads of the houses have the right to suggest a vote. The Doge is never able to suggest a vote but needs a head of a house to suggest for him. The Bishop is never able to suggest a vote but can do so by proxy.

Mains Roles

The Doge: Goal: to survive the game and to extend his power so his family has absolute power in Venice.

The Church: Goal (one of them aligned to Da Ponte): to extend the church's power, have religion take a greater role in politics, have Jews removed from political offices. One of them is the bishop who has the power to reject decisions taken by the Doge, if at least 2/3 of the family heads are loyal to him.

Da Ponte: Goals of the church plus placing the family member as archbishop of Venice. **Alternatively:** winning the doges office

The Doge Family – Agadi – Goal: keeping the power and extending it in the way that the da Ponte family does not play a major role in politics anymore.

Royalist/Secular Family – Nadal - Goal: Placing at least two people in the council ducale and one in the council of ten. Preventing the da Ponte family from taking the Doges post

Molin Family - Goal: Reducing the executive power of the Doge to a minimum

Di Marco Family - Goal: Reducing the power of the bishop to a minimum (no decision making powers nor the power to reject the duce's decisions).

Jewish Community of Venice - Goal: Extending their power/citizen's rights (having at least one member in the Doge's council, receiving loyalty cards, which they do not have at the start of the game). Preventing the Da Ponte to take the duce's throne.

Assassin I – can be hired by whoever wants to. Goal is to collect as many loyalty cards as possible till the end of the game to escape punishment. His role is not disclosed to public unless he wishes to do so.

Assassin II - can be hired by whoever wants to, but has the stable mission to eliminate the doge (Mission is given to him at the night prior to the game by a Byzantine agent game master). The doge can only be murdered while being alone. Or if the people surrounding the doge have pledged loyalty to the party of the murderer (done by holding the same loyalty card). Sub-goal is to collect as many loyalty cards as possible to avoid punishment if caught. His role is not disclosed to the public unless he wishes to do so.

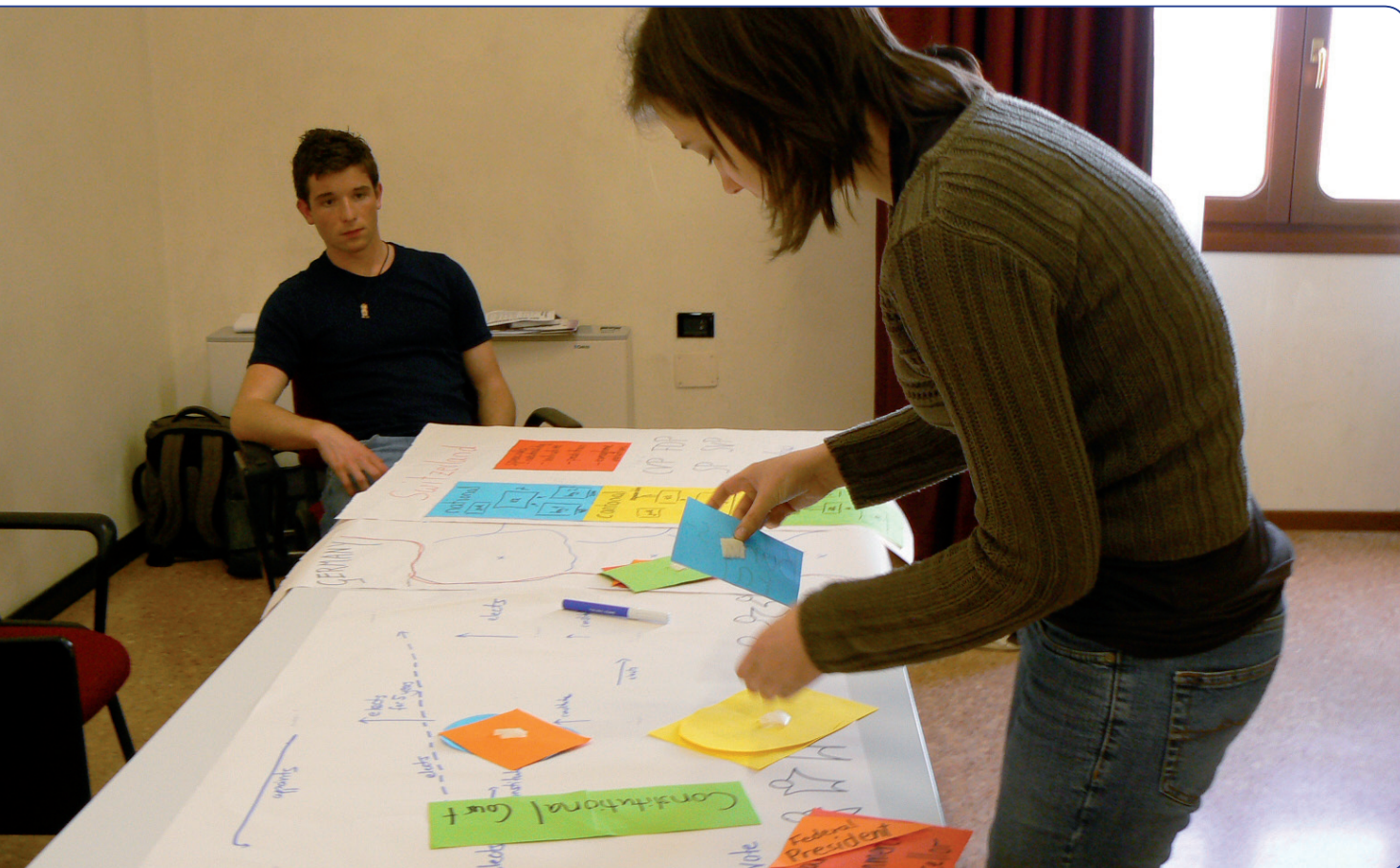
A democracy?

Main thoughts of the debriefing phase: more food for discussion...

- Cultural backgrounds affect the behaviour and the democratic process
- Some people don't participate and the ones who really participate are successful at the end
- Some decisions are imposed by the group
- We experienced the gaps between theory and practice about democracy
- What are the aspects that didn't allow us to reach our democratic system?
 - language barriers
 - indifferent people avoiding or skipping their responsibilities
 - quite voices were not heard
 - not having a real secret election
- There's always a need for political strategies
- How to be more democratic in groups: more responsibility, inclusion, encouragement
- Information: can democracy exist without information?
- Equal opportunities and democracy: relevant issue to be tackled

Democracy today

Democracy within the EuroMed context: Countries' situations



Democracy has not the same meaning as word, but also is a complex concept for understand countries in their own cultural and historical background. During the training course, participants shared their vision of democracy linked to their social and national situation. Some examples are here presented as thought for discussion.

Contribution of Loiy Khatib: Political Life in Jordan

History

Jordan, a Kingdom in the northwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, is bounded by Syria in the north, Saudi Arabia on the south, Iraq and Saudi Arabia on the east, and the Occupied West Bank and Israel in the west.

The Nabateans, were among the first to settle in Jordan, with their base in Petra . The southern city was situated on one of the main trade routes between eastern and western Asia. Caravans carrying gums, spices, and silks brought by sea to the Gulf of Aqaba went through Petra on their way to the lands of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Nabatean Kingdom lasted until 106 A.D., when it was conquered by the Romans. After

the division of the Roman Empire in the late 4th century A.D., all of what is now Jordan came under the rule of the Byzantine, or eastern Roman, empire. In later centuries, the region was overrun by tribes from central Asia, including Seljuk Turks, Mongols, and Tatars. In 1516 it was made part of the Ottoman Empire and incorporated into the Turkish province of Syria.

The late King Hussein's great-grandfather, Al-Hussein bin Ali, Sharif of Mecca and King of the Arabs (later he also became known as King of the Hijaz), led the liberation of Arab lands from their domination by the Ottoman Turks in the Great Arab Revolt of 1916.

After freeing the lands of Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Syria and the Hijaz, Sharif Hussein's son Abdullah assumed the throne of Transjordan. The Emirate of Transjordan was founded on April 11, 1921, and became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan upon formal independence on May 25, 1946.

The name Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is derived from Hashem, which was the name of the great grandfather of the Prophet Mohammad. The Royal Family of Jordan is called Hashemite, which means descended from Hashem.

King Abdullah successfully defended Arab East Jerusalem and the « West Bank» during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War when the Israeli state was created. The Jordanian Arab Legion, fighting alongside other Arab armies succeeded in holding on to those Palestinian territories, which later became known as the West Bank.

On July 20, 1951, King Abdullah I was assassinated by a lone gunman while attending Friday prayers at al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem with his grandson Hussein, who was saved from a bullet by a medal his grandfather had recently awarded him.

After King Abdullah's martyrdom, King Talal, his eldest son, ruled for a brief period. Due to King Talal's illness, his eldest son, Hussein, was proclaimed King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on August 11, 1952. He assumed his constitutional powers on May 2, 1953, after reaching the age of eighteen according to the Muslim calendar.

His Majesty King Hussein's reign continued until February 7, 1999 when he lost his long battle with cancer at the age of 63, marking the end of an era in Jordan 's history. The late king Hussein will be remembered for many achievements, most of

all as a «king of peace» due to his vigorous efforts in bringing about peace in the Middle East.

Shortly before his demise, King Hussein appointed his eldest son, Prince Abdullah as crown prince who was sworn in as regent and proclaimed king of Jordan .

Jordanians look with optimism and pride to a future under the reign of King Abdullah II, current bearer of the Hashemite torch.

The Government

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a constitutional monarchy with representative government. His Majesty King Abdullah II, is the Head of State, the Chief Executive and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces. The king exercises his executive authority through the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers, or Cabinet. The cabinet is responsible before the elected House of Deputies which, along with the House of Notables (Senate), constitutes the legislative branch of the government. The judicial branch is an independent branch of the government. Since 1989, all elements of the Jordanian political spectrum have embarked together on a road to greater democracy, liberalization and consensus building. These reforms, which were guided by the late King Hussein, have placed Jordan on an irreversible road to democratization. The result has been greater empowerment and involvement of everyday citizens in Jordan's civic life, contributing to increased stability and institutionalization which will benefit the country far into the future.

Area

Total: 89,213 sq. km (34, 445 sq. miles)

Land: 88,884 sq. km (34, 318 sq. miles)

Water: 329 sq. km (127 sq. miles)

Language: Arabic is the official language, but English is widely spoken.

Contribution of Nina STANKOVIC: Political life in Slovenia

The foundation programme of Zares- New politics

We are linking ourselves into a new political party because we want and are able to do more than is being done today. We believe that Slovenia deserves better politics and policies: more transparent managing of public affairs, better respect of human rights; better use of human resources, talents and knowledge at creating prosperity for all; more frankness and freedom. We believe that we have to take care of our environment and of everything that makes life possible and long-lasting

Today, Slovenia as a state and as a societal community is confronted with significantly different problems and challenges than in the period of the initial Slovenian independent state-building and fundamental social, economic and political transformation. Today the fundamental challenge for our politics is how to assure a

suitable place for Slovenia in what is becoming an increasingly globalized world. We are also faced with what kind of country and what kind of politics can enable the citizens to conquer the new challenges.

The political values we draw upon are the values of the liberal politics as it has been developed in European political tradition. Yet we acknowledge that the values of traditional liberal politics should be broadened and upgraded with regard to the new questions that have appeared on political agenda such as environmental issues, sustainable development, climate change, biotechnology and issues of global terrorism and security. We are convinced that human rights and liberties should not be traded off for more security. In broader sense we stand for the open society in all its manifestations from the right of everyone to choose his/her lifestyle to the openness in economy, culture and other policy fields. Time has come for the new politics.

By establishing the new party we want:

- To open the political space for political activity, for discussion on current topics and political questions that would be less burdened by existing political and party relations. With public debates, that we have held in the union Zares, interactive web-sites, on which we express our opinions and open wide range discussion on important topics, we are already walking down that road.
- Despite the risk, that is inevitable in politics, we want to find new answers to existing social and political problems and set the topics that are yet to be shaped as fatally important for our future on the agenda of political debates, such topics being question of the climate changes, treating water as an important natural resource, possibility of active old age, social extent of biotechnological development, etc.
- We will aspire for the principle of »active citizenship«, so that every single voice counts – in our organization as well as in public political space. Today many people give up saying: »it isn't worth to raise my voice! « It has to be worth it! That is why we advocate the voice and choice: when we make a stand, we still have to hear other voices and set our choices so, that we do not eliminate chances of diverse thinking.
- We are convinced that a question of political equality before law, regardless of political, social, racial, sexual or any personal circumstance, should be upgraded with the principle of social inclusion and ethics of participation that should allow anyone to take an active part in social life. We believe that in future, the politics will be less and less engaged with questions connected with the societal diversity that we knew in the industrial society. New questions will have to face problems of social exclusion/inclusion and how to remove the obstacles, which make it impossible for both groups and individuals to be active in their relations with the surroundings in which they live and want to fulfil their needs and aspirations.

Contribution of Ana Cebula: Political life in Poland

Political system and the situation of democracy in Poland

The last few years have been a period of development and many changes: Poland becoming a country governed by a modern legislature. After 1989, the people of Poland had to learn the democratic procedures they had no opportunity to experience in the previous 50 years. New parties formed, split, combined and split up again. This was an understandable reaction to half of a century without political freedom. The collapse of the existing political system happened fast: the PZPR was dissolved in January 1990. A multi-party system was introduced, with a full spectrum of political freedoms. In the years that followed, rival parties emerged out of the Solidarity group. The office of President as head of state was restored in 1989. In December 1990 **Lech Wałęsa** won the presidential general election. This office was later held by **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, who was elected for his second term in 2000. From December 23, 2005 the President of Poland is **Lech Kaczyński**.

In domestic affairs, the past 12 years can be regarded as a success. Poland has a modern constitution (passed in 1997) which reorganized not only the political scene, but above all various aspects of public life. Poland is a democratic country: a multi-party republic with a two-chamber Parliament. The basics of the system reflect values typical of European countries characterized by respect for the law: sovereignty of the People, sovereignty and independence of the State, a system of law, political pluralism and freedom of political parties, separation of the three branches of power, respect for human dignity, the upholding of the system of law and personal freedom. Relations with ethnic minorities, churches and religious associations were regulated. A number of institutions whose aim is to facilitate the exercise of civil rights were created or had their powers broadened. Constitutional rights and freedoms follow the pattern adopted by Western democracies and included in the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Non-governmental organizations are developing quickly, having become a permanent aspect of public life. The reform of the health, pension, and educational systems has begun.

In the autumn of 2005 Poles voted in both parliamentary and presidential elections. September's parliamentary poll was expected to produce a coalition of two centre-right parties, Law and Justice (**Prawo i Sprawiedliwość**, PiS) and Civic Platform (**Platforma Obywatelska**, PO). PiS eventually gained 27% of votes cast and became the largest party in the sejm ahead of PO on 24%. The out-going ruling party, the left-wing Democratic Left Alliance (**Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej**, SLD), achieved just 11%.

Presidential elections in October followed a similar script. The early favourite, Donald Tusk,

leader of the PO, saw his opinion poll lead slip away and was beaten 54% to 46% in the second round by the PiS candidate Lech Kaczyński (one of the twins, founders of the party).

Both elections were blighted by low turn-outs -- only 51% in the second and deciding round of the presidential election, and just over 40% in the parliamentary election. The suggested cause of the low turnout is popular disillusionment with politicians.

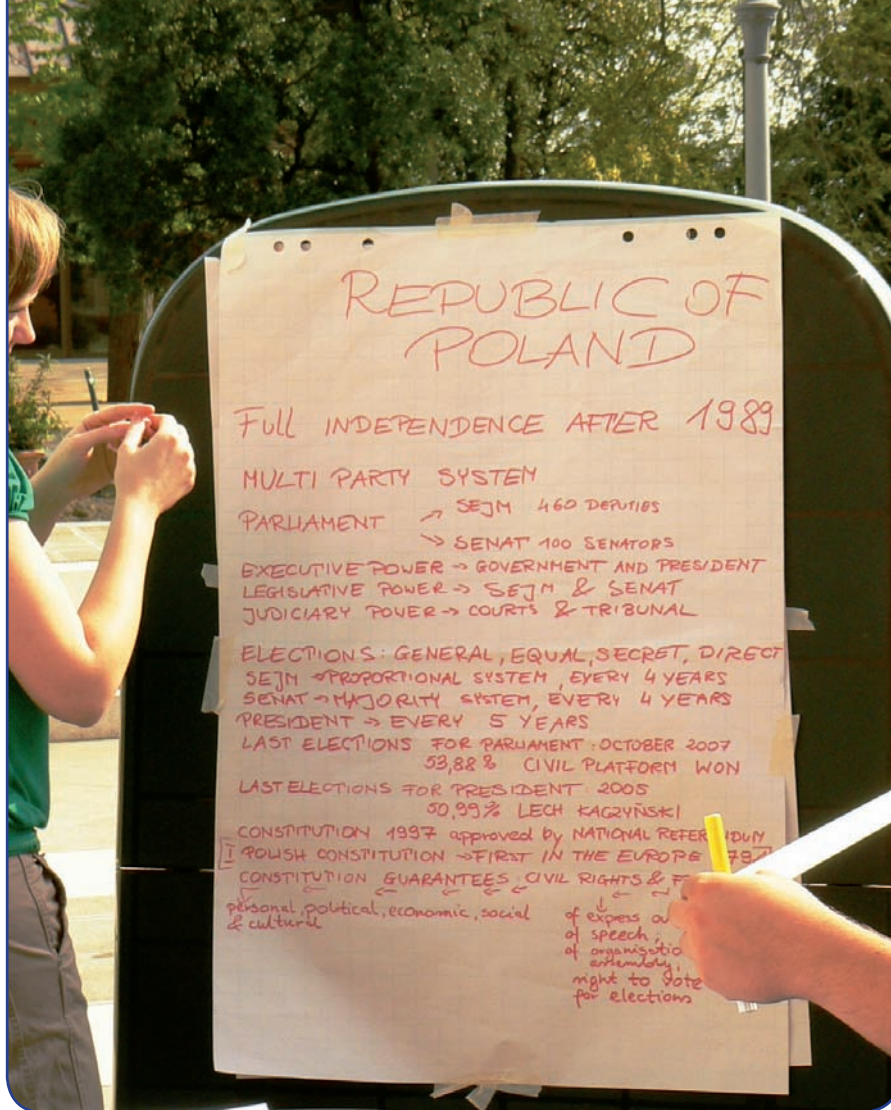
Coalition talks ensued simultaneously with the presidential elections. However, the severity of the campaign attacks and the willingness of PiS to court the populist vote had soured the relationship between the two largest parties and made the creation of a stable coalition impossible. The ostensible stumbling blocks were the insistence of PiS that it control all aspects of law enforcement: the Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs, and the special forces; as well as the forcing through of a PiS candidate for the head of the Sejm with help of several smaller populist parties. The PO decided to go into opposition.

PiS then formed a minority government with the previously little-known Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz as Prime Minister instead of party leader, Jarosław Kaczyński who remained influential in the background. This government relied on the tacit and rather stable support of smaller populist and agrarian parties (PSL, Samoobrona, LPR) to govern.

The new government enjoyed quite strong public support (as is, in fact, generally common in the first few months after an election), while the popularity of the populist parties giving it support has significantly waned. With this background, a parliamentary crisis appeared to loom in January 2006, with these small populist parties fearing that PiS was about to force new elections (on which they would lose out) by using the pretext of failing to pass the budget within the constitutional timeframe. However, this crisis appears to have abated.

In July 2006, following a rift with his party leader, Jarosław Kaczyński, Marcinkiewicz tendered his resignation as Prime Minister and was replaced by Kaczyński, who formed a new government. This government lasted until October 2007, when Donald Tusk's PO gained the lead again, and Kaczyński announced to go into opposition.

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland is the supreme Polish legal document and the basis of the political system of the Polish State. It guarantees civil rights and freedoms, determines the relationships between the legislative, executive and judiciary powers, decides about the structure and method of appointing the highest state institutions such as the Sejm and Senate (the lower and upper chamber of the Polish parliament), the President, and the Council of Ministers (Cabinet); and it directly influences the structure of the judiciary, territorial, and administrative bodies, and the supervisory agencies which exercise control on behalf of the State. It also regulates issues related to the



organization of government and administration, public finance, and extreme situations (states of emergency).

We should remember that Poland is a pioneer of European constitutionalism. In 1791 the King and Parliament of the Republic of Poland and Lithuania passed the first constitution in the Old World (Europe), later called the 3rd of May Constitution. The current Constitution of the Republic of Poland, passed by the National Assembly (viz. the Sejm and Senate sitting in a joint session) on April 2nd, 1997, was approved by the Nation in the Constitutional Referendum of May 25th of the same year. It was signed by the President of Poland, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, on July 16th, 1997, and came into effect as of October 17th, 1997. Prior to that there was a Small Constitution in effect, which amended the main articles of the Stalinist constitution of 1952 and formed the legal basis of the Polish State between 1990 and 1997.

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland guarantees respect for all the civil rights - the personal, political, economic, social and cultural rights and freedoms - regarded as standard for a democratic country. The Constitution guarantees all Polish citizens and persons in Poland equality in the eyes of the law (irrespective of sex, race, religion, profession, origin, or education), personal freedom and inviolability, inviolability of the home, freedom of conscience and religion, the right to a fair trial (with presumption of innocence

until proved guilty), and legal protection of life. The Constitution also protects the right to the inviolability of correspondence; the individual's freedom to express his/her views; his/her freedom of speech, organisation and peaceful assembly; to contribute to the public services; the individual citizen's right to vote and stand for election to the government of the Republic; and to receive full information about the operations of public authorities. The Polish Constitution also protects the rights of ownership and inheritance, freedom of choice of profession, the right to appropriate safety conditions in the workplace; it guarantees minimum wages, protection of health and social benefits, as well as the right to education (education is mandatory until the age of 18). The Constitution also grants freedom of artistic expression, scientific and scholarly research, freedom to teach, and to enjoy cultural heritage. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland affords special protection for the welfare of families and the rights of children. The Polish Constitution imposes certain obligations that Polish citizens bear towards the state. The primary obligation is loyalty to the Republic and concern for the common good. All the organs of the Polish State are charged with the upholding of and compliance with the Constitution. This is the special duty of the Constitutional Tribunal, a court appointed to supervise the constitutionality of laws. Every Polish citizen has the right to bring a complaint to the Constitutional Tribunal against any breach of the Constitution.

In Polish Constitution we can also find information about political system and principals of the polish legislature.

The politics of Poland take place in the framework of a parliamentary respective democratic republic, whereby the Prime Minister is the head of government and of a pluriform multi-party system. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the two chambers of parliament, the Sejm and the Senate. The Judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature.

Executive power is exercised by the government, which consists of a council of ministers led by the Prime Minister. Its members are typically chosen from a majority coalition in the lower house of parliament (the Sejm), although exceptions to this rule are not uncommon. The government is formally announced by the president, and must pass a motion of confidence in the Sejm within two weeks.

Legislative power is vested in both the government and the two chambers of parliament, Sejm and Senat . Members of parliament are elected by proportional representation, with the proviso that non-ethnic-minority parties must gain at least 5% of the national vote to enter the lower house. Currently four parties are represented. Parliamentary elections occur at least every four years.

The President, as the head of state, has the power to veto legislation passed by parliament, but otherwise has a mostly representative role. Presidential elections occur every 5 years.

The judicial branch plays a minor role in politics, apart from the Constitutional Tribunal, which can annul laws that violate the freedoms guaranteed in the constitution.

Democratic approaches in decision making policies and the ways of electing the stakeholders within Civil Initiative Development Centre CRIS

Our association have around 30 members, if someone wants to join to CRIS he needs to have recommendation of 2 members of our association and the General Meeting is taking a vote about that case.

All most important decisions are made during the General Meeting with majority of votes, including conscript the Board.

The Board of our Association has 5 members including the President of the Board. Usually the Board decides about the activity of our association during the Board Meetings with majority of votes. Legal representation of CRIS is 2 Members of the Board.

The decisions about current affairs are taken by Management Director and Financial Director who are also Members of the Board.

Different activities and programs that CRIS pursues to spread democracy and democracy education.

Civil Initiatives Development Centre CRIS is the non – governmental organization founded in 2002. Our objective aim is increasing awareness

of civil responsibility for own community and its development. We are the association of the local leaders, who want to develop the civil society, people's activity, help the other organizations and informal groups to be more professional to act better in their local communities. Our mission is supporting non-governmental organizations and groups operating in the third sector as well as promoting a partnership between such organizations, businesses and local government. CRIS is one of the most active NGO in our region; we offer a lot of workshops, advices, consultations, trainings, information.

Our present projects connected with promoting democracy and civil society, are:

“Alians – we are building civil society. Local Animation is Inspiring Activity of our Community.” We are encouraging local leader to by more active, we are helping them to build partnerships and show them how to use human potential and ideas.

“Symmetry – Reflection of local government policy in subsidies for NGO” - this is a research project in partnership with Jagiellonian University form Cracow.

“Social Diagnosis: Rybnik 2008. Identification and analysis of local problems” this is also research project but through those studies we want to stimulate activity of local citizens.

Contribution of Meltem Yilmaz: Political life in Turkey

In line with the concept of nationalism and the reforms and principles introduced by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk, the immortal leader and the unrivalled hero, this Constitution, which affirms the eternal existence of the Turkish nation and motherland and the indivisible unity of the Turkish state, embodies;

The determination to safeguard the everlasting existence, prosperity and material and spiritual well-being of the Republic of Turkey, and to attain the standards of contemporary civilization as an honourable member with equal rights of the family of world nations;

The understanding of the absolute supremacy of the will of the nation and of the fact that

sovereignty is vested fully and unconditionally in the Turkish nation and that no individual or body empowered to exercise this sovereignty in the name of the nation shall deviate from liberal democracy and the legal system instituted according to its requirements;

The principle of the separation of powers, which does not imply an order of precedence among the organs of state, but refers solely to the exercising of certain state powers and discharging of duties which are limited to cooperation and division of functions, and which accepts the supremacy of the Constitution and the law;

The recognition that no protection shall be accorded to an activity contrary to Turkish national interests, the principle of the indivisibility of the existence of Turkey with its state and territory, Turkish historical and moral values or the nationalism, principles, reforms and modernism of Atatürk and that, as required by the principle of secularism, there shall be no interference whatsoever by sacred religious feelings in state affairs and politics; the acknowledgment that it is the birthright of every Turkish citizen to lead an honourable life and to develop his or her material and spiritual assets under the aegis of national culture, civilization and the rule of law, through the exercise of the fundamental rights and freedoms set forth in this Constitution in conformity with the requirements of equality and social justice;

The recognition that all Turkish citizens are united in national honour and pride, in national joy and grief, in their rights and duties regarding national existence, in blessings and in burdens, and in every manifestation of national life, and that they have the right to demand a peaceful life based on absolute respect for one another's rights and freedoms, mutual love and fellowship and the desire for and belief in “Peace at home, peace in the world”.

This Constitution, which is to be embraced with the ideas, beliefs, and resolutions it embodies below should be interpreted and implemented accordingly, thus commanding respect for, and absolute loyalty to, its letter and spirit.

Is entrusted by the Turkish nation to the patriotism and nationalism of its democracy-loving sons and daughters.



From theory to practice: focus on reality!

Participants of the training course "Democracy within EuroMed Context: illusion or reality?" held in Venice in April 2008 were asked to prepare a presentation of their own country to be sent to the staff in order to be uploaded in the Electronic Learning Community (ELC) set-up for the course.

Here it is the information letter sent to all the participants:

Dear all,
herein you will find some homework which is very important in order to achieve the learning aims of the training course.

This training course will focus on the democratic process in the Mediterranean and European Countries and on how develop this issue in Youth Activities.

For realizing this process, we need your active contribution in order to share knowledge, experiences and thoughts.

Please, read this document carefully and prepare your written results by the 16th of April.

Please send them to us by e-mail by the 16th of April and we will upload all your contributions to the e-learning community.

The "materials" to be prepared and sent by e-mail within 16 April 2008 are the following:

- 1 or 2 pages describing the political system and the situation of democracy in your country; you are requested to present the official facts or numbers about:
 - the political structure
 - the electoral system

- If, how and when the constitution was drafted and approved
 - how laws are formed in your country
 - democracy education in your schools and in youth work
 - democracy and social rights
- Your contribution is very important as inputs for our training, since it represents the way to share and better understand your opinions.

2. 1 or 2 pages about describing the democratic approaches in decision making policies and the electoral methods within your organization.

3. 1 or 2 pages about the different activities and programs that your organization pursues to spread democracy and democracy education.

4. to fill in the project leaflet attached with potential ideas for developing EuroMed partnerships in the project making phases.

The information provided will very important for the "NGO market" and over the duration of the whole training. [...]

Methodology

Part A

Title: Country presentations on the state of democracy in the different countries

Key-words: democracy, elections, involvement in decision making, formation of laws and rules

Participants: all, divided in small groups

Time: 90 minutes

Aims: reflection on the current situation of the state of democracy in our countries not to evaluate the regime or compare who is better in practice

Materials: flip chart, Markers, data show, power point

Description: the group will be asked to divide into small groups of 5-6 participants, where they can have the chance to present and discuss the home prepared material about the state of democracy in their country.

Each participant will be given a questionnaire to be filled about one of the presented countries in his group to state what he understood about the state of democracy in this country. Guidelines will be given to participants to facilitate their discussions

Hints for debriefing:

How do you feel?

Try to link the activity with the situation of democracy promotion in your home country.

Focus on the process as a way of thinking in democracy.

Discuss this concept according to "what does it mean for me?"

Discovering together different types of democracy raised by the group.

What does it mean "duties and rights" in a democratic community?

Outcomes

These are the results of the debate in small groups about the situation in the different countries. The groups were split like that:

Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D
Egypt Tunisia Slovenia France	Israel Jordan Poland Italy	Palestine Syria Germany Switzerland	Algeria Turkey Spain
Common strengths and weaknesses in our political system			
Strengths			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil rights • Education for all • Amendable constitution • The president has to be elected 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation of people to act by the government • Constitutions good on paper 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People with the right to vote for the prime minister 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President elected by popular vote • Separation of the powers • Women have a say in politics in all countries to some extent
Weaknesses			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excessive presidential power • Judicial immunity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence of money on politics • Lack of civil awareness about politics • Deficiency in rights of minorities • Implementation of constitutions not functioning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to find common shares • Concentration of power on one person 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict politics/religion • Lack of respect for minorities in some countries

Part B

Title: NGO market and exhibition tour

Time: 90 minutes

Aim: getting to know countries situations and profile of the organizations participants belong to

Description: participants are asked to create a stand to present their countries and their organizations; afterwards, a guided tour of the market is foreseen.

Democracy: a universal value?¹

The debate on Democracy as a universal value - and what we mean with Democracy if we think that it is a universal value - can be considered an "ever-lasting" process which may lead us to completely different "solutions", if there are any.

In order to reflect on this vivid and delicate issue, the following article of Amartya Sen can provide high-level and relevant hints for discussion.

Democracy as a Universal Value Amartya Sen

In the summer of 1997, I was asked by a leading Japanese newspaper what I thought was the most important thing that had happened in the twentieth century. I found this to be an unusually thought-provoking question, since so many things of gravity have happened over the last hundred years. The European empires, especially the British and French ones that had so dominated the nineteenth century, came to an end. We witnessed two world wars. We saw the rise and fall of fascism and Nazism. The century witnessed the rise of communism, and its fall (as in the former Soviet bloc) or radical transformation (as in China). We also saw a shift from the economic dominance of the West to a new economic balance much more dominated by Japan and East and Southeast Asia. Even though that region is going through some financial and economic problems right now, this is not going to nullify the shift in the balance of the world economy that has occurred over many decades (in the case of Japan, through nearly the entire century). The past hundred years are not lacking in important events.

Nevertheless, among the great variety of developments that have occurred in the twentieth century, I did not, ultimately, have any difficulty in choosing one as the pre-eminent development of the period: the rise of democracy. This is not to deny that other occurrences have also been important, but I would argue that in the distant future, when people look back at what happened in this century, they will find it difficult not to accord primacy to the emergence of democracy as the pre-eminently acceptable form of governance.

The idea of democracy originated, of course, in ancient Greece, more than two millennia

ago. Piecemeal efforts at democratization were attempted elsewhere as well, including in India. But it is really in ancient Greece that the idea of democracy took shape and was seriously put into practice (albeit on a limited scale), before it collapsed and was replaced by more authoritarian and asymmetric forms of government. There were no other kinds anywhere else.

Thereafter, democracy as we know it took a long time to emerge. Its gradual--and ultimately triumphant--emergence as a working system of governance was bolstered by many developments, from the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215, to the French and the American Revolutions in the eighteenth century, to the widening of the franchise in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century. It was in the twentieth century, however, that the idea of democracy became established as the «normal» form of government to which any nation is entitled--whether in Europe, America, Asia, or Africa.

The idea of democracy as a universal commitment is quite new, and it is quintessentially a product of the twentieth century. The rebels who forced restraint on the king of England through the Magna Carta saw the need as an entirely local one. In contrast, the American fighters for independence and the revolutionaries in France contributed greatly to an understanding of the need for democracy as a general system. Yet the focus of their practical demands remained quite local--confined, in effect, to the two sides of the North Atlantic, and founded on the special economic, social, and political history of the region.

Throughout the nineteenth century, theorists of democracy found it quite natural to discuss whether one country or another was «fit for democracy.» This thinking changed only in the twentieth century, with the recognition that the question itself was wrong: A country does not have to be deemed fit for democracy; rather, it has to become fit through democracy. This is indeed a momentous change, extending the potential reach of democracy to cover billions of people, with their varying histories and cultures and disparate levels of affluence.

It was also in this century that people finally accepted that «franchise for all adults» must mean all--not just men but also women. When in January of this year I had the opportunity to meet Ruth Dreyfuss, the president of

Switzerland and a woman of remarkable distinction, it gave me occasion to recollect that only a quarter century ago Swiss women could not even vote. We have at last reached the point of recognizing that the coverage of universality, like the quality of mercy, is not strained.

I do not deny that there are challenges to democracy's claim to universality. These challenges come in many shapes and forms--and from different directions. Indeed, that is part of the subject of this essay. I have to examine the claim of democracy as a universal value and the disputes that surround that claim. Before I begin that exercise, however, it is necessary to grasp clearly the sense in which democracy has become a dominant belief in the contemporary world.

In any age and social climate, there are some sweeping beliefs that seem to command respect as a kind of general rule--like a «default» setting in a computer program; they are considered right unless their claim is somehow precisely negated. While democracy is not yet universally practiced, nor indeed uniformly accepted, in the general climate of world opinion, democratic governance has now achieved the status of being taken to be generally right. The ball is very much in the court of those who want to rubbish democracy to provide justification for that rejection.

This is a historic change from not very long ago, when the advocates of democracy for Asia or Africa had to argue for democracy with their backs to the wall. While we still have reason enough to dispute those who, implicitly or explicitly, reject the need for democracy, we must also note clearly how the general climate of opinion has shifted from what it was in previous centuries. We do not have to establish afresh, each time, whether such and such a country (South Africa, or Cambodia, or Chile) is «fit for democracy» (a question that was prominent in the discourse of the nineteenth century); we now take that for granted. This recognition of democracy as a universally relevant system, which moves in the direction of its acceptance as a universal value, is a major revolution in thinking, and one of the main contributions of the twentieth century. It is in this context that we have to examine the question of democracy as a universal value.

(1) Amartya Sen, *Democracy as a Universal Value*

Amartya Kumar Sen CH (Hon) (Bengali: Ômorto Kumar Shen) (born 3 November 1933), is a Bengali Indian economist, philosopher, and a winner of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1998, "for his contributions to welfare economics" for his work on famine, human development theory, welfare economics, the underlying mechanisms of poverty, and political liberalism.

From 1998 to 2004 he was Master of Trinity College at Cambridge University, becoming the first Asian academic to head an Oxbridge college. Amartya Sen is interested in the debate over globalization. He has given lectures to senior executives of the World Bank and is a former honorary president of Oxfam.

Among his many contributions to development economics, Sen has produced work on gender inequality. He is currently the Lamont University Professor at Harvard University. Amartya Sen's books have been translated into more than thirty languages. He is a trustee of Economists for Peace and Security.

Fonte: <http://en.wikipedia.org>

The Indian Experience

How well has democracy worked? While no one really questions the role of democracy in, say, the United States or Britain or France, it is still a matter of dispute for many of the poorer countries in the world. This is not the occasion for a detailed examination of the historical record, but I would argue that democracy has worked well enough.

India, of course, was one of the major battlegrounds of this debate. In denying Indians independence, the British expressed anxiety over the Indians' ability to govern themselves. India was indeed in some disarray in 1947, the year it became independent. It had an untried government, an undigested partition, and unclear political alignments, combined with widespread communal violence and social disorder. It was hard to have faith in the future of a united and democratic India. And yet, half a century later, we find a democracy that has, taking the rough with the smooth, worked remarkably well. Political differences have been largely tackled within the constitutional guidelines, and governments have risen and fallen according to electoral and parliamentary rules. An ungainly, unlikely, inelegant combination of differences, India nonetheless survives and functions remarkably well as a political unit with a democratic system. Indeed, it is held together by its working democracy.

India has also survived the tremendous challenge of dealing with a variety of major languages and a spectrum of religions. Religious and communal differences are, of course, vulnerable to exploitation by sectarian politicians, and have indeed been so used on several occasions (including in recent months), causing massive consternation in the country. Yet the fact that consternation greets sectarian violence and that condemnation of such violence comes from all sections of the country ultimately provides the main democratic guarantee against the narrowly factional exploitation of sectarianism. This is, of course, essential for the survival and prosperity of a country as remarkably varied as India, which is home not only to a Hindu majority, but to the world's third largest Muslim population, to millions of Christians and Buddhists, and to most of the world's Sikhs, Parsees, and Jains.

Democracy and Economic Development

It is often claimed that non-democratic systems are better at bringing about economic development. This belief sometimes goes by the name of «the Lee hypothesis,» due to its advocacy by Lee Kuan Yew, the leader and former president of Singapore. He is certainly right that some disciplinarian states (such as South Korea, his own Singapore, and post reform China) have had faster rates of

economic growth than many less authoritarian ones (including India, Jamaica, and Costa Rica). The «Lee hypothesis,» however, is based on sporadic empiricism, drawing on very selective and limited information, rather than on any general statistical testing over the wide-ranging data that are available. A general relation of this kind cannot be established on the basis of very selective evidence. For example, we cannot really take the high economic growth of Singapore or China as «definitive proof» that authoritarianism does better in promoting economic growth, any more than we can draw the opposite conclusion from the fact that Botswana, the country with the best record of economic growth in Africa, indeed with one of the finest records of economic growth in the whole world, has been an oasis of democracy on that continent over the decades. We need more systematic empirical studies to sort out the claims and counterclaims.

There is, in fact, no convincing general evidence that authoritarian governance and the suppression of political and civil rights are really beneficial to economic development. Indeed, the general statistical picture does not permit any such induction. Systematic empirical studies (for example, by Robert Barro or by Adam Przeworski) give no real support to the claim that there is a general conflict between political rights and economic performance¹. The directional linkage seems to depend on many other circumstances, and while some statistical investigations note a weakly negative relation, others find a strongly positive one. If all the comparative studies are viewed together, the hypothesis that there is no clear relation between economic growth and democracy in either direction remains extremely plausible. Since democracy and political liberty have importance in themselves, the case for them therefore remains untarnished.

The question also involves a fundamental issue of methods of economic research. We must not only look at statistical connections, but also examine and scrutinize the causal processes that are involved in economic growth and development. The economic policies and circumstances that led to the economic success of countries in East Asia are by now reasonably well understood. While different empirical studies have varied in emphasis, there is by now broad consensus on a list of «helpful policies» that includes openness to competition, the use of international markets, public provision of incentives for investment and export, a high level of literacy and schooling, successful land reforms, and other social opportunities that widen participation in the process of economic expansion. There is no reason at all to assume that any of these policies is inconsistent with greater democracy and had to be forcibly sustained by the elements of

authoritarianism that happened to be present in South Korea or Singapore or China. Indeed, there is overwhelming evidence to show that what is needed for generating faster economic growth is a friendlier economic climate rather than a harsher political system.

To complete this examination, we must go beyond the narrow confines of economic growth and scrutinize the broader demands of economic development, including the need for economic and social security. In that context, we have to look at the connection between political and civil rights, on the one hand, and the prevention of major economic disasters, on the other. Political and civil rights give people the opportunity to draw attention forcefully to general needs and to demand appropriate public action. The response of a government to the acute suffering of its people often depends on the pressure that is put on it. The exercise of political rights (such as voting, criticizing, protesting, and the like) can make a real difference to the political incentives that operate on a government.

I have discussed elsewhere the remarkable fact that, in the terrible history of famines in the world, no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent and democratic country with a relatively free press. We cannot find exceptions to this rule, no matter where we look: the recent famines of Ethiopia, Somalia, or other dictatorial regimes; famines in the Soviet Union in the 1930s; China's 1958-61 famine with the failure of the Great Leap Forward; or earlier still, the famines in Ireland or India under alien rule. China, although it was in many ways doing much better economically than India, still managed (unlike India) to have a famine, indeed the largest recorded famine in world history: Nearly 30 million people died in the famine of 1958-61, while faulty governmental policies remained uncorrected for three full years. The policies went un-criticized because there were no opposition parties in parliament, no free press, and no multiparty elections. Indeed, it is precisely this lack of challenge that allowed the deeply defective policies to continue even though they were killing millions each year. The same can be said about the world's two contemporary famines, occurring right now in North Korea and Sudan.

Famines are often associated with what look like natural disasters, and commentators often settle for the simplicity of explaining famines by pointing to these events: the floods in China during the failed Great Leap Forward, the droughts in Ethiopia, or crop failures in North Korea. Nevertheless, many countries with similar natural problems, or even worse ones, manage perfectly well, because a responsive government intervenes to help alleviate hunger. Since the primary victims of a famine are the indigent, deaths can be prevented by recreating incomes (for example, through employment programs),

(1) Adam Przeworski et al., *Sustainable Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Robert J. Barro, *Getting It Right: Markets and Choices in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996).

which makes food accessible to potential famine victims. Even the poorest democratic countries that have faced terrible droughts or floods or other natural disasters (such as India in 1973, or Zimbabwe and Botswana in the early 1980s) have been able to feed their people without experiencing a famine.

Famines are easy to prevent if there is a serious effort to do so, and a democratic government, facing elections and criticisms from opposition parties and independent newspapers, cannot help but make such an effort. Not surprisingly, while India continued to have famines under British rule right up to independence (the last famine, which I witnessed as a child, was in 1943, four years before independence), they disappeared suddenly with the establishment of a multiparty democracy and a free press.

I have discussed these issues elsewhere, particularly in my joint work with Jean Dr'èze, so I will not dwell further on them here. Indeed, the issue of famine is only one example of the reach of democracy, though it is, in many ways, the easiest case to analyze. The positive role of political and civil rights applies to the prevention of economic and social disasters in general. When things go fine and everything is routinely good, this instrumental role of democracy may not be particularly missed. It is when things get fouled up, for one reason or another, that the political incentives provided by democratic governance acquire great practical value.

There is, I believe, an important lesson here. Many economic technocrats recommend the use of economic incentives (which the market system provides) while ignoring political incentives (which democratic systems could guarantee). This is to opt for a deeply unbalanced set of ground rules. The protective power of democracy may not be missed much when a country is lucky enough to be facing no serious calamity, when everything is going quite smoothly. Yet the danger of insecurity, arising from changed economic or other circumstances, or from uncorrected mistakes of policy, can lurk behind what looks like a healthy state.

The recent problems of East and Southeast Asia bring out, among other things, the penalties of undemocratic governance. This is so in two striking respects. First, the development of the financial crisis in some of these economies (including South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia) has been closely linked to the lack of transparency in business, in particular the lack of public participation in reviewing financial arrangements. The absence of an effective democratic forum has been central to this failing. Second, once the financial crisis led to a general economic recession, the protective power of democracy--not unlike that which prevents famines in democratic countries--was badly missed in a country like Indonesia. The newly dispossessed did not have the hearing they needed.

A fall in total gross national product of, say, 10 percent may not look like much if it follows in the wake of a growth rate of 5 or 10 percent every year over the past few decades, and yet that decline can decimate lives and create misery for millions if the burden of contraction is not widely shared but allowed to be heaped on those--the unemployed or the economically redundant--who can least bear it. The vulnerable in Indonesia may not have missed democracy when things went up and up, but that lacuna kept their voice low and muffled as the unequally shared crisis developed. The protective role of democracy is strongly missed when it is most needed.

The Functions of Democracy

I have so far allowed the agenda of this essay to be determined by the critics of democracy, especially the economic critics. I shall return to criticisms again, taking up the arguments of the cultural critics in particular, but the time has come for me to pursue further the positive analysis of what democracy does and what may lie at the base of its claim to be a universal value.

What exactly is democracy? We must not identify democracy with majority rule. Democracy has complex demands, which certainly include voting and respect for election results, but it also requires the protection of liberties and freedoms, respect for legal entitlements, and the guaranteeing of free discussion and uncensored distribution of news and fair comment. Even elections can be deeply defective if they occur without the different sides getting an adequate opportunity to present their respective cases, or without the electorate enjoying the freedom to obtain news and to consider the views of the competing protagonists. Democracy is a demanding system, and not just a mechanical condition (like majority rule) taken in isolation.

Viewed in this light, the merits of democracy and its claim as a universal value can be related to certain distinct virtues that go with its unfettered practice. Indeed, we can distinguish three different ways in which democracy enriches the lives of the citizens.

First, political freedom is a part of human freedom in general, and exercising civil and political rights is a crucial part of good lives of individuals as social beings. Political and social participation has intrinsic value for human life and well-being. To be prevented from participation in the political life of the community is a major deprivation.

Second, as I have just discussed (in disputing the claim that democracy is in tension with economic development), democracy has an important instrumental value in enhancing the hearing that people get in expressing and supporting their claims to political attention (including claims of economic needs).

Third--and this is a point to be explored further--the practice of democracy gives citizens an

opportunity to learn from one another, and helps society to form its values and priorities. Even the idea of "needs," including the understanding of "economic needs," requires public discussion and exchange of information, views, and analyses.

In this sense, democracy has constructive importance, in addition to its intrinsic value for the lives of the citizens and its instrumental importance in political decisions. The claims of democracy as a universal value have to take note of this diversity of considerations.

The conceptualization--even comprehension--of what are to count as "needs," including "economic needs," may itself require the exercise of political and civil rights. A proper understanding of what economic needs are--their content and their force--may require discussion and exchange. Political and civil rights, especially those related to the guaranteeing of open discussion, debate, criticism, and dissent, are central to the process of generating informed and considered choices. These processes are crucial to the formation of values and priorities, and we cannot, in general, take preferences as given independently of public discussion, that is, irrespective of whether open interchange and debate are permitted or not.

In fact, the reach and effectiveness of open dialogue are often underestimated in assessing social and political problems. For example, public discussion has an important role to play in reducing the high rates of fertility that characterize many developing countries. There is substantial evidence that the sharp decline in fertility rates in India's more literate states has been much influenced by public discussion of the bad effects of high fertility rates on the community at large, and especially on the lives of young women. If the view has emerged in, say, the Indian state of Kerala or of Tamil Nadu that a happy family in the modern age is a small family, much discussion and debate have gone into the formation of these perspectives. Kerala now has a fertility rate of 1.7 (similar to that of Britain and France, and well below China's 1.9), and this has been achieved with no coercion, but mainly through the emergence of new values--a process in which political and social dialogue has played a major part. Kerala's high literacy rate (it ranks higher in literacy than any province in China), especially among women, has greatly contributed to making such social and political dialogue possible.

Miseries and deprivations can be of various kinds, some more amenable to social remedies than others. The totality of the human predicament would be a gross basis for identifying our "needs." For example, there are many things that we might have good reason to value and thus could be taken as "needs" if they were feasible. We could even want immortality, as Maitreyee, that remarkable inquiring mind in the Upanishads, famously did in her 3000-year old conversation with Yajñvalkyā. But we do not see immortality

as a "need" because it is clearly unfeasible. Our conception of needs relates to our ideas of the preventable nature of some deprivations and to our understanding of what can be done about them. In the formation of understandings and beliefs about feasibility (particularly, social feasibility), public discussions play a crucial role. Political rights, including freedom of expression and discussion, are not only pivotal in inducing social responses to economic needs, they are also central to the conceptualization of economic needs themselves.

Universality of Values

If the above analysis is correct, then democracy's claim to be valuable does not rest on just one particular merit. There is a plurality of virtues here, including, first, the intrinsic importance of political participation and freedom in human life; second, the instrumental importance of political incentives in keeping governments responsible and accountable; and third, the constructive role of democracy in the formation of values and in the understanding of needs, rights, and duties. In the light of this diagnosis, we may now address the motivating question of this essay, namely the case for seeing democracy as a universal value.

In disputing this claim, it is sometimes argued that not everyone agrees on the decisive importance of democracy, particularly when

it competes with other desirable things for our attention and loyalty. This is indeed so, and there is no unanimity here. This lack of unanimity is seen by some as sufficient evidence that democracy is not a universal value.

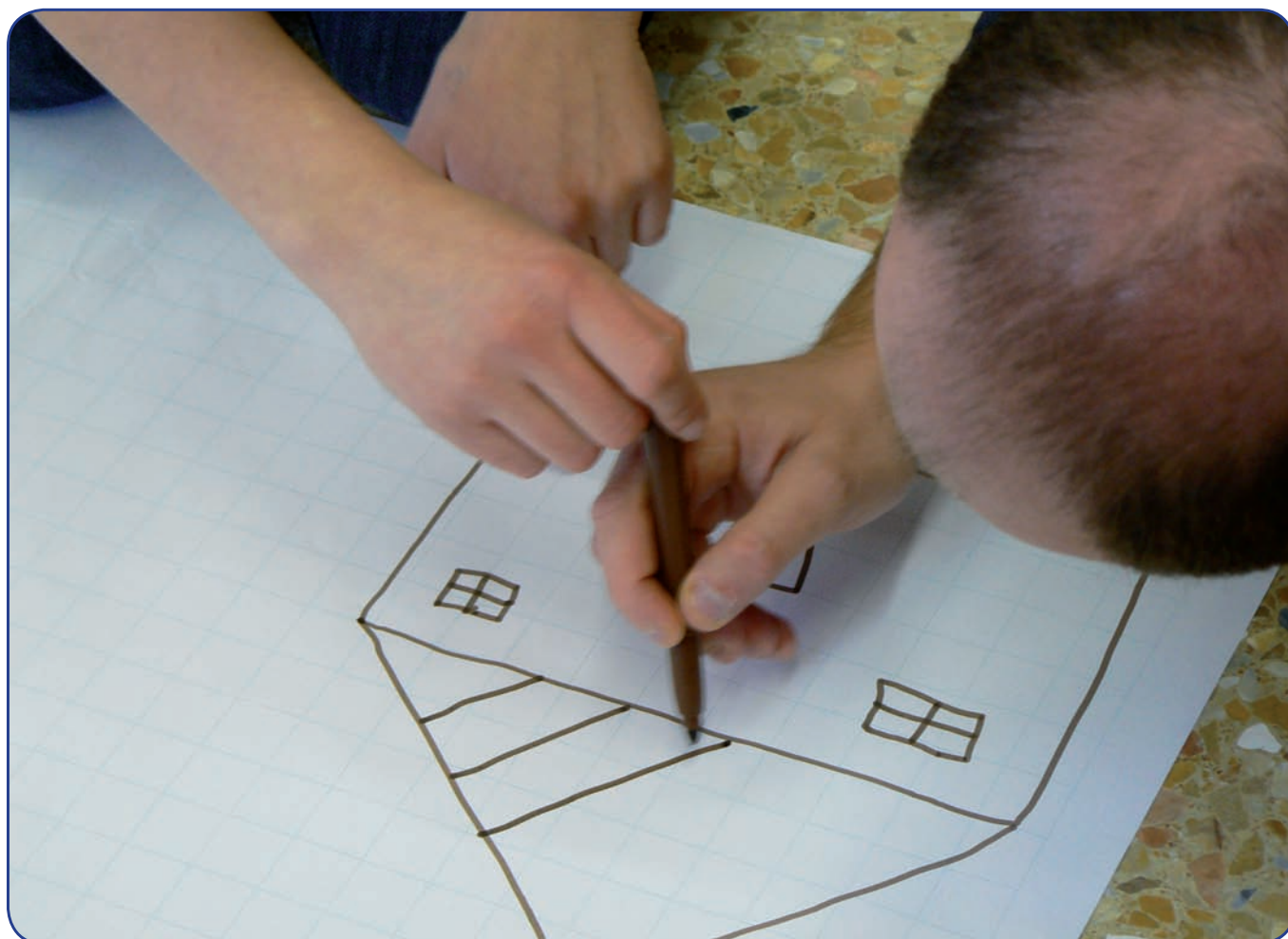
Clearly, we must begin by dealing with a methodological question: What is a universal value? For a value to be considered universal, must it have the consent of everyone? If that were indeed necessary, then the category of universal values might well be empty. I know of no value--not even motherhood (I think of *Mommie Dearest*)--to which no one has ever objected. I would argue that universal consent is not required for something to be a universal value. Rather, the claim of a universal value is that people anywhere may have reason to see it as valuable.

When Mahatma Gandhi argued for the universal value of non-violence, he was not arguing that people everywhere already acted according to this value, but rather that they had good reason to see it as valuable. Similarly, when Rabindranath Tagore argued for "the freedom of the mind" as a universal value, he was not saying that this claim is accepted by all, but that all do have reason enough to accept it--a reason that he did much to explore, present, and propagate¹. Understood in this way, any claim that something is a universal value involves some counterfactual

analysis--in particular, whether people might see some value in a claim that they have not yet considered adequately. All claims to universal value--not just that of democracy--have this implicit presumption.

I would argue that it is with regard to this often implicit presumption that the biggest attitudinal shift toward democracy has occurred in the twentieth century. In considering democracy for a country that does not have it and where many people may not yet have had the opportunity to consider it for actual practice, it is now presumed that the people involved would approve of it once it becomes a reality in their lives. In the nineteenth century this assumption typically would have not been made, but the presumption that is taken to be natural (what I earlier called the "default" position) has changed radically during the twentieth century.

It must also be noted that this change is, to a great extent, based on observing the history of the twentieth century. As democracy has spread, its adherents have grown, not shrunk. Starting off from Europe and America, democracy as a system has reached very many distant shores, where it has been met with willing participation and acceptance. Moreover, when an existing democracy has been overthrown, there have been widespread protests, even though these protests have often been brutally suppressed. Many people



(1) See my "Tagore and His India," *New York Review of Books*, 26 June 1997.

have been willing to risk their lives in the fight to bring back democracy.

Some who dispute the status of democracy as a universal value base their argument not on the absence of unanimity, but on the presence of regional contrasts. These alleged contrasts are sometimes related to the poverty of some nations. According to this argument, poor people are interested, and have reason to be interested, in bread, not in democracy. This oft-repeated argument is fallacious at two different levels.

First, as discussed above, the protective role of democracy may be particularly important for the poor. This obviously applies to potential famine victims who face starvation. It also applies to the destitute thrown off the economic ladder in a financial crisis. People in economic need also need a political voice. Democracy is not a luxury that can await the arrival of general prosperity.

Second, there is very little evidence that poor people, given the choice, prefer to reject democracy. It is thus of some interest to note that when an erstwhile Indian government in the mid-1970s tried out a similar argument to justify the alleged "emergency" (and the suppression of various political and civil rights) that it had declared, an election was called that divided the voters precisely on this issue. In that fateful election, fought largely on this one overriding theme, the suppression of basic political and civil rights was firmly rejected, and the Indian electorate--one of the poorest in the world--showed itself to be no less keen on protesting against the denial of basic liberties and rights than on complaining about economic deprivation.

To the extent that there has been any testing of the proposition that the poor do not care about civil and political rights, the evidence is entirely against that claim. Similar points can be made by observing the struggle for democratic freedoms in South Korea, Thailand, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, and elsewhere in Asia. Similarly, while political freedom is widely denied in Africa, there have been movements and protests against such repression whenever circumstances have permitted them.

The Argument from Cultural Differences

There is also another argument in defence of an allegedly fundamental regional contrast, one related not to economic circumstances but to cultural differences. Perhaps the most famous of these claims relates to what have been called "Asian values." It has been claimed that Asians traditionally value discipline, not political freedom, and thus the attitude to democracy must inevitably be much more sceptical in these countries. I have discussed this thesis in some detail in my Morgenthau Memorial Lecture at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs.

It is very hard to find any real basis for this intellectual claim in the history of Asian cultures, especially if we look at the classical traditions of India, the Middle East, Iran, and other parts of Asia. For example, one of the earliest and most emphatic statements advocating the tolerance of pluralism and the duty of the state to protect minorities can be found in the inscriptions of the Indian emperor Ashoka in the third century B.C.

Asia is, of course, a very large area, containing 60 percent of the world's population, and generalizations about such a vast set of peoples are not easy. Sometimes the advocates of "Asian values" have tended to look primarily at East Asia as the region of particular applicability. The general thesis of a contrast between the West and Asia often concentrates on the lands to the east of Thailand, even though there is also a more ambitious claim that the rest of Asia is rather "similar." Lee Kuan Yew, to whom we must be grateful for being such a clear expositor (and for articulating fully what is often stated vaguely in this tangled literature), outlines "the fundamental difference between Western concepts of society and government and East Asian concepts" by explaining, "when I say East Asians, I mean Korea, Japan, China, Vietnam, as distinct from Southeast Asia, which is a mix between the Sinic and the Indian, though Indian culture itself emphasizes similar values."

Even East Asia itself, however, is remarkably diverse, with many variations to be found not only among Japan, China, Korea, and other countries of the region, but also within each country. Confucius is the standard author quoted in interpreting Asian values, but he is not the only intellectual influence in these countries (in Japan, China, and Korea for example, there are very old and very widespread Buddhist traditions, powerful for over a millennium and a half, and there are also other influences, including a considerable Christian presence). There is no homogeneous worship of order over freedom in any of these cultures.

Furthermore, Confucius himself did not recommend blind allegiance to the state. When Zilu asks him "how to serve a prince," Confucius replies (in a statement that the censors of authoritarian regimes may want to ponder), "Tell him the truth even if it offends him." Confucius is not averse to practical caution and tact, but does not forgo the recommendation to oppose a bad government (tactfully, if necessary): "When the [good] way prevails in the state, speak boldly and act boldly. When the state has lost the way, act boldly and speak softly."

Indeed, Confucius provides a clear pointer to the fact that the two pillars of the imagined edifice of Asian values, loyalty to family and obedience to the state, can be in severe conflict with each other. Many advocates of the power of "Asian values" see the role of the

state as an extension of the role of the family, but as Confucius noted, there can be tension between the two. The Governor of She told Confucius, "Among my people, there is a man of unbending integrity: when his father stole a sheep, he denounced him." To this Confucius replied, "Among my people, men of integrity do things differently: a father covers up for his son, a son covers up for his father--and there is integrity in what they do."

The monolithic interpretation of Asian values as hostile to democracy and political rights does not bear critical scrutiny. I should not, I suppose, be too critical of the lack of scholarship supporting these beliefs, since those who have made these claims are not scholars but political leaders, often official or unofficial spokesmen for authoritarian governments. It is, however, interesting to see that while we academics can be impractical about practical politics, practical politicians can, in turn, be rather impractical about scholarship.

It is not hard, of course, to find authoritarian writings within the Asian traditions. But neither is it hard to find them in Western classics: One has only to reflect on the writings of Plato or Aquinas to see that devotion to discipline is not a special Asian taste. To dismiss the plausibility of democracy as a universal value because of the presence of some Asian writings on discipline and order would be similar to rejecting the plausibility of democracy as a natural form of government in Europe or America today on the basis of the writings of Plato or Aquinas (not to mention the substantial medieval literature in support of the Inquisitions).

Due to the experience of contemporary political battles, especially in the Middle East, Islam is often portrayed as fundamentally intolerant of and hostile to individual freedom. But the presence of diversity and variety within a tradition applies very much to Islam as well. In India, Akbar and most of the other Moghul emperors (with the notable exception of Aurangzeb) provide good examples of both the theory and practice of political and religious tolerance. The Turkish emperors were often more tolerant than their European contemporaries. Abundant examples can also be found among rulers in Cairo and Baghdad. Indeed, in the twelfth century, the great Jewish scholar Maimonides had to run away from an intolerant Europe (where he was born), and from its persecution of Jews, to the security of a tolerant and urbane Cairo and the patronage of Sultan Saladin.

Diversity is a feature of most cultures in the world. Western civilization is no exception. The practice of democracy that has won out in the modern West is largely a result of a consensus that has emerged since the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, and particularly in the last century or so. To read in this a historical commitment of the West--over the millennia--to democracy, and then to contrast

it with non-Western traditions (treating each as monolithic) would be a great mistake. This tendency toward oversimplification can be seen not only in the writings of some governmental spokesmen in Asia, but also in the theories of some of the finest Western scholars themselves.

As an example from the writings of a major scholar whose works, in many other ways, have been totally impressive, let me cite Samuel Huntington's thesis on the clash of civilizations, where the heterogeneities within each culture get quite inadequate recognition. His study comes to the clear conclusion that "a sense of individualism and a tradition of rights and liberties" can be found in the West that are "unique among civilized societies." Huntington also argues that "the central characteristics of the West, those which distinguish it from other civilizations, antedate the modernization of the West." In his view, "The West was West long before it was modern." It is this thesis that - I have argued - does not survive historical scrutiny.

For every attempt by an Asian government spokesman to contrast alleged "Asian values"

with alleged Western ones, there is, it seems, an attempt by a Western intellectual to make a similar contrast from the other side. But even though every Asian pull may be matched by a Western push, the two together do not really manage to dent democracy's claim to be a universal value.

Where the Debate Belongs

I have tried to cover a number of issues related to the claim that democracy is a universal value. The value of democracy includes its intrinsic importance in human life, its instrumental role in generating political incentives, and its constructive function in the formation of values (and in understanding the force and feasibility of claims of needs, rights, and duties). These merits are not regional in character. Nor is the advocacy of discipline or order. Heterogeneity of values seems to characterize most, perhaps all, major cultures. The cultural argument does not foreclose, nor indeed deeply constrain, the choices we can make today.

Those choices have to be made here and now, taking note of the functional roles of

democracy, on which the case for democracy in the contemporary world depends. I have argued that this case is indeed strong and not regionally contingent. The force of the claim that democracy is a universal value lies, ultimately, in that strength. That is where the debate belongs. It cannot be disposed of by imagined cultural taboos or assumed civilizational predispositions imposed by our various pasts.

Amartya Sen, winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize for Economics, is Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lamont University Professor Emeritus at Harvard University. The following essay is based on a keynote address that he delivered at a February 1999 conference in New Delhi on "Building a Worldwide Movement for Democracy," cosponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy, the Confederation of Indian Industry, and the Centre for Policy Research (New Delhi). This essay draws on work more fully presented in his book *Development as Freedom*, to be published by Alfred Knopf later this year.

Democracy and Youth Work

Non Formal Learning – which is the base for the youth work - is focused not only on the cognitive learning, but also emotional one. In this approach, the "complete" learning is the one that develop both.

In the background of this training course, so, the idea was to provide participants the space and situations not only for discussing about

Democracy, but also for experiment what can be or cannot be a democratic process in order to help them in testing the efforts needed to be "democratic": comprehension and acceptance of the other's ideas and behaviors, negotiation of personal attitudes and point of view toward an issue...

The training course tries to work on these two dimensions of Democracy:

- the political system: concept, definition and historical background;
- the personal and professional skills: behaviors, aptitudes and tools.



From theory to practice: focus on reality!

Democracy and youth work are often linked and it is important to fully understand their connections to elaborate qualitative project proposals,

Methodology

Part A

Title: drawing democracy

Time: 45 minutes

Description: in pairs, participants are asked to draw a house, a tree and a dog holding both the same marker; reflection in pairs; meeting in 2 groups to discuss the outcomes of the reflection in couple.

Hints for debriefing: debate on the connection between the drawing just made and to be a democratic leader in the youth work

Outcomes

Main characteristics, skills and attitudes of a youth democratic leader

Group 1	Group 2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be capable to listen to the others • To be trusted / to give credibility to the whole group • To be supportive, in order to promote participation in the process, and try to integrate everyone (i.e. minorities) • To be able to share responsibility / to be supported from the group • To be able to take initiative according with the group needs • To be capable to recognise the ability of the others • To be attentive to others' opinion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good communicator • Good listener • Charismatic • Being supportive and integrative • Know the rights and respect the rights • Believe and act in team work • Support the management programme • Mediate to open the conflicts (not avoiding them) • Flexible • Analytic

Part B

Title: What I have, what I need

Time: 60 minutes

Description: individual work to assess which characteristics and attitudes I already have which ones I need to act as a multiplier in the field of youth.

Debate in plenary.

Outcomes

These are some clues of the analysis of participants:

What I have/ I am	What I need
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charisma • Communication skills • Supportive • Good listener • Trusted from others • Flexible, open minded • Creative • Mediator to solve problems • I know the rights and I respect them • I believe in active participation • Responsibility • Practical • Believe and act in team work • Take into consideration the needs of the working group • Ability of sharing • To recognize others' abilities • To mediate conflicts • To be trusted and credible • Helpful • Calm • Vision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More charisma • Be more analytic • Be a better listener • Believe in actions for team • Be more open minded • Be more Responsible • Be more Flexible • More organized • To know the rights • Be more supportive • Be a good communicator in foreign languages • Be more patient • To trust more the others • To recognize the abilities of the others • To share responsibilities

Other inputs for discussion

Workshops promoted by trainers:

1. Democratic communication skills
2. Active participation for democracy
3. Democracy in EuroMed Youth exchanges
4. Citizenship
5. Democracy and human rights education
6. Tools

Communication for Democracy



What we will do

- Why communication for democracy?
- What is the problem with communication?
- Models to overcome the gap

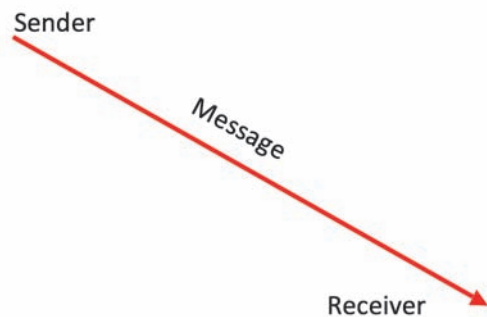
What we say...

...is not necessarily what our opposite hears.

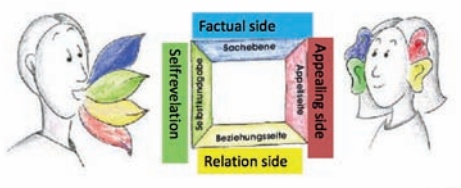
"Israel must accept the UNSC-resolutions"

"...they want to destroy the Israeli state."

Loss of information



We have more than one ear & More than one mouth



von Thun

Golden Rules

- Speak about you („I“ not „we“)
- Make sure everybody is able to understand the conversation (cognitively, language-wise etc.) → Language is power!
- Be specific, do not generalize

Workshop promoted by participants within the open space

1. Islamic political regime
2. Palestinian and Israel issue
3. developing youth projects in the europmed context, developing partnerships
4. America's impact on EuroMed countries
5. alternatives to majority
6. how to increase youth participation in different countries

Golden Rules

- Reflect, if you are saying something to bring forward the group or because you have another agenda (showing of, dominance etc.)
- Respecting the rights of others means not only to respect the way you are talking but also to respect way others do (language inabilities, disabilities, slowness, showing respect to the others)

Golden Rules

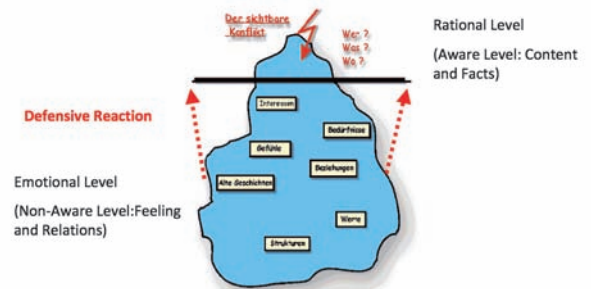
- Always first ask yourself not: why is he/her not agreeing with my point but: isn't there something true in the thing that he is saying?
- Ask yourself: Is my respect for the other real or just fake?
- Mirroring/Active Listening

Perspective of the other

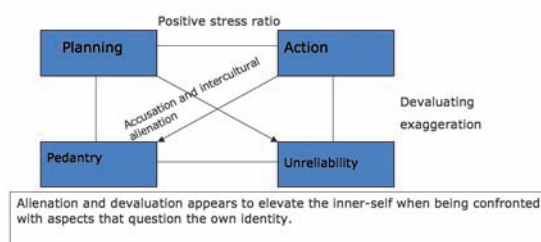
- Close positions will appear closer than they are
- Other positions will appear even more alien than they are
- Positions of group have a stronger effect than individual position/ values

↳ Results in: **Hardening of one's own position and denial of the other's.**

There is more beneath



Conflicting and complementing values



Several different techniques were used during the workshops aiming at providing participants further inputs on democracy, seen from different point of views.

Here we present an overview of the methodologies employed:

Methodology

a) Title: Communication and democracy

Time: 75 minutes

Objectives:

- To make participants understood that communication is a manifold process
- To make participants gain basic communication skill
- To make participants understand how communication is connected to democracy

Method:

Group reflection: why is communication connected to democracy?

A few hints:

- because communication is how we express our needs (everybody should have the right to be heard)
- democracy is essentially a system (state or interpersonal) made to realize the highest amounts of the needs of the humans living in it
- as those needs are often contradicting each other, conflict is the result
- conflict here is a positive aspect of human life as it helps us to realize the different needs together
- the task of a youth leader in a democracy is to give a voice to everybody, even to those who have none (this can mean sometimes shutting up even while you feel you know how to do it)

b) Title: active participation and democracy

Time: 75 minutes

Aim: the participants will be aware of the differences between active participation and participation.

Objectives:

- To share participants' perception about Active participation
- To promote a debate on the meaning of active participation and about its link to democracy

Materials: papers, pens, flip chart

Description:

Each participant (5 minutes) writes on a paper a sentence describing his/her own definition of what is Active Participation.

Each participant (55 minutes) reads what he/she wrote: whoever agrees with the sentence has to sit on 1 side of the room, those who do not have to sit on the other side while those who want to say something sit on the line. During the discussion, important points emphasizing the difference between participation and active participation and its link to the concept of democracy are written on a flip chart.

An open discussion will then follow.

Conclusion: introducing a model to increase participation: Recruitment

- Involvement
- Responsibility
- Implementation
- Evaluation
- New Challenge

c) Title: building a civil society

Time: 90 minutes

Objectives:

- To make participants explore the necessary components for a civil society
- To make participants think about obstacles to creating a civil society
- To highlight the duties and the rights of every citizen

Description: participants are divided into groups of 4 to 6 people. In the first phase of the activity, each group is given 20 minutes to create their ideal community, based upon what the group thinks a "civil society" is composed of. Afterwards, the group discuss what they want in their community.

Note: the group should discuss aspects such as: environment, population criteria, system of government and structure of the community, services...

Then we move to the second phase of the exercise where participants are asked to list down the duties and rights to achieve that ideal community that they designed (10 minutes). Following this exercise each group presents their "community" to the whole group.

Debriefing:

The next stage allows for a more in-depth exploration and discussion of what the groups have begun uncovering. The facilitator(s) should work with the whole group in considering issues such as those below.

On the process of the activity:

How was it to do this activity? What was the process of designing the community like? Was it democratic? Why or why not? Were there any conflicts or disagreements on how the society should be structured? How where they solved? Did anyone take on a leadership role?

On the nature of the communities created: Who will be responsible for maintaining order, fairness, and equality in the community? Who does the decision-making? Did the communities have anything in common?

On the relationship with the participants' personal experiences: Is this community similar to or different from your community? If so, how? If not, why not?

On a more conceptual level: What prevents a civil society from developing? What are the components? What ingredients are necessary for civil society?

For the facilitator

Again, in the words of the facilitator: "I find it useful as an introduction to start thinking about young people's role in civil society and civil sector development. We use this exercise:

- when dealing with young people who do not see any space for their active role in society because they take youth marginalisation as fact;
- when we want to confront young people with their passive role in society;
- when we want to raise self-awareness about their potential for making changes;
- When we want to motivate and empower them to start acting and planning social actions."

d) Title: Tools

Objective: to present the most relevant web-tools in the youth work (tools: what? What for? Why? How? Where?)

Description: active presentation of the following web-tools:

- www.euromedinfo.eu
- www.euromesco.net
- www.youth-partnership.net
- www.salto-youth.net
- www.euromedp.org
- www.euromedyouth.net

Democracy tomorrow

Project Development

Representative Office of the Federal Republic of Germany Ramallah

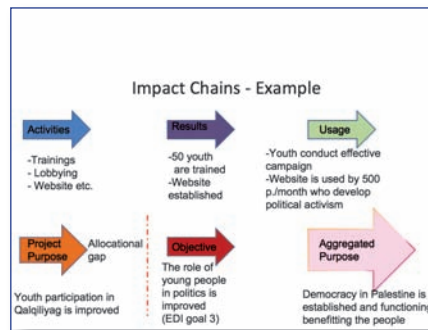
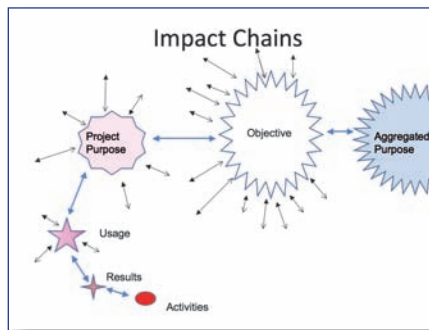
Workshop

Impact Orientation for Democracy Promotion Projects

Empowering Democracy

Why Impact Orientation

- Often problems are only described by the solutions available while not reaching the core problems itself (i.e. not all problems of the political system might be solvable by our means like seminars, studies, lobbying etc.).



Assumptions

An assumption is a condition :

- required for the project implementation;
- which is not under the control of the project management.

Risk analysis is based on the possibility to secure the assumptions!

From Problem to Solution?

- Projects need to tackle a REAL problem existing
- All stakeholders together identify the problem and the ways to solve it → These are democracy projects: i.e. it is not only important what you think but what your target group thinks!
- Not for every problem there is a project solution!



Setting Indicators

Indicators have to be

- Specific** in relation to quality & quantity
- Measurable** with adequate effort and acceptable cost
- Available** from an existing source
- Relevant** to what they are supposed to measure and in relation with the level of objectives of the intervention logic
- Timely** : produced in due time to be useful for the project management.

Defining Indicators - QQT

Objective: Youth participation in politics is strengthened

- Setting quality** : Percentage of youth elected into the city councils is enlarged
- Setting quantity**: Percentage of youth elected into the city council is enlarged from 10% to 20% in 3 of the 5 city councils
- Setting time and place**: Percentage of youth elected into the city council is enlarged from 10% to 20% in 3 of the 5 city councils of the Qalqilya district in the next local election in May 2009.

Activity schedule – An example

When	Objective (LGF)	What	Who	Milestone
March-April 08	Young people are better represented in the local councils.	3 training seminars on election campaigning	Kristian Brakel	30 April: 50 young people have completed training successfully: Feel able to run a campaign

From theory to practice: focus on reality!

Following the given inputs on project development, participants were asked to draft and share project proposals to be developed and implemented in the future within the EuroMed context, considering the EuroMed priorities (active citizenship, role of women, environment, racism and xenophobia, minorities).

Methodology

Title: Future plans within EuroMed

Time: 90 minutes

Description:

A) Introduction: presentation of the task, namely drafting concrete ideas for future projects following the scheme:

- Theme/subject/title of the project
- Type of activity (YE, EVS, support measures)

B) Individual work: writing the proposal on a paper

C) Project ideas exhibition and partnership building

Outcomes

This is an overview of the main topics at the basis of the projects drafted by participants

- active citizenship
- empowering of youth leaders
- local active citizenship for youth
- role of young women
- social and cultural animation
- EuroMed music and heritage
- Human rights
- Role of media in the EuroMed context
- Environmental issues
- Minority rights
- Media projects

Pedagogy

Some theoretical inputs

Pedagogy is the study of being a teacher. The term generally refers to strategies of instruction, or a style of instruction.

Pedagogy is also sometimes referred to as the correct use of teaching strategies. For example, Paulo Freire referred to his method of teaching adults as «critical pedagogy». In correlation with those teaching strategies the instructor's own philosophical beliefs of teaching are harbored and governed by the pupil's background knowledge and experiences, personal situations, and environment, as well as learning goals set by the student and teacher. One example would be the Socratic schools of thought.

Critical pedagogy is a teaching approach which attempts to help students question and challenge domination, and the beliefs and practices that dominate. In other words, it is a theory and practice of helping students achieve critical consciousness. Critical pedagogue Ira Shor defines critical pedagogy as habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional cliches, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse. (Empowering Education, 129) In this tradition the teacher works to lead students to question ideologies and practices that the students themselves consider oppressive (including those at school), and encourage liberatory collective and individual responses to the actual conditions of their own lives. The student often begins as a member of the group or process (including religion, national identity, cultural norms, or expected roles) he or she is critically studying. After the student reaches the point of revelation (received wisdom) where he or she begins to view present society as deeply problematic, the next behavior encouraged is sharing this knowledge, paired with an attempt to change the oppressive nature of the society.

Non Formal Education

In the world of youth work it is essential to focus on non formal education to increase the educational value of the projects and activities implemented.

Therefore, it is important to clarify what “non formal education” is, and which can be its impact in the field of youth.

In the following paragraph you find an abstract on “non formal education” as it is conceived



in the youth work, taken out from the T-kit 6 «Training Essentials»¹, thematic publication written by experienced youth trainers within the Youth Partnership of the Council of Europe and the European Commission.

Non Formal Education

T-kit 6 «Training Essentials»

Putting the educational value of youth work on the political agenda has an influence on the aims and structure of training. In the current political debate, the term informal is increasingly replaced by non-formal when referring to the educational value of youth work. The terms are however not clearly defined, and often need to be understood in the context of usage.

Formal education is consistently used to refer to the education system that runs from primary to tertiary institutions, the main actors being schools and the range of institutes of higher education.

Non-formal and informal education, on a basic level, define themselves as something other than the formal sector, which all young people participate in to varying levels.

Non-formal education has emerged as a term since the 1970s with the aim of achieving a better recognition of education and learning taking place outside of schools, universities and evaluative systems. The adoption of the term stressed that new educational contexts needed to be recognised, and valued for their different contributions. This is the sense in which the term is used by the European Youth Forum, which defines non-formal education as organised and semi-organised educational

activities operating outside the structure and routines of the formal education system.

Informal education has been defined in many ways, generally as education that happens outside the formal education system. Clearly this can take many forms, and you may see the term applied to describe a variety of activities. Some see it as learning that goes on in daily life; the multiple ways we learn to function and interact in our societies. In this sense of the term informal education describes socialisation, as we can see in the European Youth Forum's definition of it as the non-organised and incidental learning that goes on in daily life. This is by no means the only common usage of the term, and other definitions employ it to denote more active and engaged forms of learning. Some use it in relation to the 'learning projects' that we take up ourselves in our free time, be it hobbies or new skills. In this context, it is often applied to the learning that comes as a result of being involved in youth and community work. Despite these divergent usages, informal education can be seen as a process where learning takes place and as activities which help people to learn. To avoid confusion, we will use non-formal education to describe the world of youth training, while acknowledging that there are still debates to be had on the terminology.

Non-formal education is usually defined against formal education, and this is an important connotation to consider. Many practitioners underline the potential of youth organisations or other institutions to provide alternative means of education, beyond the range and capabilities of

(1) The training kits are thematic publications written by experienced youth trainers. They are easy-to-use handbooks for use in training and study sessions. They can be downloaded from the following website: http://youth-partnership.coe.int/youth-partnership/publications/T-kits/T_kits

schools. However those who emphasise the potential value of a complementary approach between educational sectors contest this. A complementary approach can involve non-formal education developing and augmenting subjects dealt with in schools, or emphasising a participative approach to learning. It can also involve replicating some of the features of the formal sector in the non-formal, with the aim of accrediting training or similar work. The current approach of the European institutions and the European Youth Forum is to set up quality standards and means of certification for non-formal education at European level, in particular for training. Yet recognising the value of non-formal education is only one side of the debate, as some people involved in youth work fear that youth work and training might lose some of its inherent characteristics in this process. Openness to all young people, voluntary involvement without the fear of assessment of personal achievements, flexibility in structure and planning, learning based upon participants' needs and interests, and the possibility of working at different speeds and in different ways may be diluted by the demands of structures and curricula.

Selection of methods and tools to work on "democracy"

In the present paragraph a selection of "methodologies" employed in the development of the training course are presented, providing a theoretical focus and a brief historical overview.

Role-play

The role play: "breaking the fourth wall"

The fourth wall is the imaginary wall at the front of the stage in a proscenium theater, through which the audience sees the action in the world of the play.

Although the concept has been around since before the ancient Greeks and is used by Shakespeare, it was made explicit by Denis Diderot and spread in nineteenth century theatre with the advent of theatrical realism. Critic Vincent Canby described it in 1987 as an invisible screen that forever separates the audience from the stage.

The term "fourth wall" stems from the absence of a fourth wall on a three-walled set where the audience is viewing the production.

The audience is supposed to assume there is a "fourth wall" present, even though physically the wall is not physically there. This is widely noticeable on various television programs, such as situational comedies, but the term originated in theatre, where conventional three-walled stage sets provide a more obvious "fourth wall".

The meaning of the term "fourth wall" has been adapted to refer to the boundary between the fiction and the audience. "Fourth wall" is part of the suspension of disbelief between a fictional work and an audience. The audience will usually passively accept the presence of the fourth wall without giving it any direct thought, allowing them to enjoy the fiction as if they were observing real events. It is the invisible barrier between the two realities: the one of the actors and the one of the public.

A role-play model is basically similar to a theatrical performance which uses the technique of "breaking the fourth wall".

The term "breaking the fourth wall" in theatre generally means that a character is showing his/her awareness of the audience (this can also be called metatheatre). The term originated from Bertolt Brecht's theory of "epic theatre" that he developed from (and in contrast to) Konstantin Stanislavski's drama theory. But in practice, the technique has been used for millennia: it was standard practice in Greek comedy. For instance, in the Greek playwright Aristophanes' play *Peace*, the hero Trygaeus (who is being lifted up by a theatrical device) tells the crane-handler to be more careful. Most often, the fourth wall is broken through a character directly addressing the audience; an example is the Stage Manager in Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, who speaks to the audience.

In Greek comedy, parabases showing awareness of the audience were expected in every play. A similar effect can be achieved by breaking character, through dialogue, or by the characters interacting with objects outside the context of the work (e.g. a character is handed a prop by a stage hand). The reason why this is referred to as breaking a fourth wall is because it is implied that, in most theatre, any scenes that take place indoors are taking place in a room that of course has all four walls, with the one facing the audience being imaginary so the scene can be observed. The character who "breaks the fourth wall" ignores the imaginary wall and addresses the audiences instead.

Various artists have used this jarring effect to make a point, as it forces an audience to see the fiction in a new light and to watch it less passively.

Bertolt Brecht was known for deliberately breaking the fourth wall to encourage his audience to think more critically about what they were watching, referred to as *Verfremdungseffekt* ("alienation effect"). This technique had the aim to remind the spectator that the play is a representation of reality and not reality itself, which he called the *Verfremdungseffekt* (translated as distancing effect, estrangement effect, or alienation effect). Such techniques included the direct address by actors to the audience,

transposition of text to third person or past tense, speaking the stage direction out loud, exaggerated, unnatural stage lighting, the use of song, and explanatory placards. By highlighting the constructed nature of the theatrical event, Brecht hoped to communicate that the audience's reality was, in fact a construction and, as such, was changeable.

Epic theatre accentuates 'practical consequences' not only through detached acting and reflective interruptions to the story, but by refusing to offer a solution or closure. In management and organization texts, oftentimes, cases are presented to demonstrate one solution only, and a contingent fit to a managerialist concept, variable, or lesson. Having been brought into critical awareness of systemic forces, the practical consequence, for the spectator, is to initiate change in their own social, political, and economic milieu.

Brecht believes that this "process of alienation... is necessary to all understanding"

It is this process of alienating the spectator from a dramatic experience, which promotes a critical read. "The essential point of the epic theatre" writes Brecht² "is perhaps that it appeals less to the feelings than to the spectator's reason... Instead of sharing experience, the spectator must come to grips with things." Rather than empathy, the spectator in Epic is cast to be an intellectual and scientific observer. This is quite different than winning the audience to the spectacle, where the performance is an opportunity for spectators to experience new emotional sensations.

Brecht wants the spectators to be faced with moral decisions, not to take a sentimental ride; "Spectator and actor ought not to approach one another [in empathy or erotic] but to move apart"³. Brecht said in "Conversation with Bert Brecht"⁴ that "I'm not writing for the scum who want to have cockles of their hearts warmed." "Q: Who do you write for?" "A: For the sort of people who just come for fun and don't hesitate to keep their hats on in the theatre"⁴. Meaning he appeals to reason and to the intelligence of the spectators. "I give the incidents baldly so that the audience can think for itself. That's why I need a quick-witted audience that knows how to observe, and gets its enjoyment from setting its reason to work"⁴ He does not give a theatrical explanation along with setting down the performance of what happened. He leaves the interpretation up to the spectators. The actor does not play to the audience's hearts.

A pedagogy that does not present one authoritative reading to management and organization can appear chaotic.

Including multiple voices, demystifying hegemonic forces, and inviting spectators to

(1) Willett, John (1957). *Brecht on Theatre: The development of an aesthetic*. NY: Hill and Wang, p. 71

(2) *Ibidem*, p.71

(3) *Ibidem*, p. 26

(4) *Ibidem*, p. 14



be self-reflective and to become agents of change in their own life can also be seen as chaotic pedagogy. To this Brecht replied, "At any rate, I am not so discouragingly chaotic as people think" (p. 14 in Willett). It can be argued, that Epic theatre is a Marxist project, and as such, a critical and authoritative reading, when applied to management and organization studies. Yet, I think that Brecht's pedagogic devices, set up a counter-point to another authoritative, yet uncritical reading, that of managerialism.

Brecht said, for instance that "The bourgeois theatre's performances always aim at smoothing over contradictions, at creating false harmony, at idealization"¹

Brecht was very threatening to the American government.

The FBI files (1943-1956) say about Brecht, for example, "Subject is an author of revolutionary poetry and drama" writes the field agent on p. 21 of part 1. Brecht testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 30th 1947 Brecht testified that he is not now nor has he ever been a member of the communist party, in this or any other country. A field agent reports that Brecht's writings in 1939 advocated the overthrow of capitalism. Brecht testified (Oct 30, 1947) that his play Saint Joan of the Stockyards was banned in Germany in 1932, a play the FBI believed, "concerned the revolutionary overthrow of the American government"² (part 4, p. 8) .

This technique was indeed considered somehow revolutionary to the extent that it was aimed at increase awareness on the public.

However the sudden breaking of the fourth wall is often employed also with different

aims, for instance to create comical effect, as a sort of visual non-sequitur; the unexpected breaking from normal conventions of narrative fiction can surprise the audience and create humour.

A very early example of this occurs in Francis Beaumont's play *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, which contains three characters who are purportedly part of the audience. They interrupt the prologue and demand to be consulted on the plot, ordering a number of sudden (and usually extremely awkward) changes throughout the play, with comic results.

A common traditional theatrical production which makes frequent use of 'breaking the fourth wall' is the British pantomime.

Such exploitation of an audience's familiarity with the conventions of fiction is a key element in many works defined as post-modern, which dismantle established rules of fiction. Works which break or directly refer to the fourth wall often utilize other post-modern devices such as meta-reference or breaking character.

A compromise to the concept often occurs in improvisational theatre, in which the audience is asked to interact with the players to some extent, such as by voting on a resolution to a mystery. In that case, the audience members are treated as if they were witnesses to the action in the play, effectively becoming "actors" rather than being a true "fourth wall."

Augusto Boal believed that Brecht's theatre was an improvement with respect to audience awareness, but Boal went one step further than Brecht, and encouraged the audience not only to think for themselves but also to act/ take action, because Boal was of the opinion that only through action do we achieve true

insight . In Boal's Forum Theatre the audience is invited to oversee the fourth wall and participate in the fiction onstage to intervene and change the behavior of the oppressed protagonist, in order to find the most effective method of dealing with the oppression

It is arguable that this technique was first employed in the modern sense (i.e., not in which an actor merely makes a clarifying aside to the audience, or clever implied self-references are made, but rather when the fourth wall is demolished to the point that there no longer remains any significant division between performance and audience, with drama joining reality or the exact opposite depending on one's perspective) in the sensational 1921 premiere of Pirandello's play *Sei Personaggi in Cerca d'Autore* (*Six Characters in Search of an Author*), wherein six ordinary people come to the rehearsal of a play to demand that their stories be told as part of the performance.

The fourth wall is sometimes included as part of the narrative, when a character discovers that they are part of a fiction and 'breaks the fourth wall' to make contact with their audience, as seen in films like *Tom Jones*, which won the Academy Award for Best Picture in 1963, Woody Allen's *Annie Hall* (with Marshall McLuhan).

In these situations however, the 'fourth wall' that the character breaks remains part of the overall narrative and the wall between the real audience and the fiction remains intact. These sorts of stories do not actually break the fourth wall in the strictest sense, but are more properly referred to as metafiction, or fiction that refers to the conventions of fiction. The television series *Titus*, which ran from 2000-2002, employed a similar technique; lead character Christopher Titus directly addressed the audience in a black-and-white "neutral space", which he used for narrating the events in the show's "Live Story".

It can be intentional as well as some television series involve a character telling the audience important factors, such as gun violence in schools, help people with certain kinds of diseases, and death in immediate family, and to help people with other problems as well.

This technique is also used in comic strips.

Some webcomics frequently break the wall, and the online *Crossover Wars* collaborations between various webcomic artists contain an entire plot arc entitled "WCA Hunt," which involved webcomic awareness spreading throughout the internet, resulting in fourth walls breaking in normally self-contained comics.

The fourth wall is also often broken in both the traditional *Commedia dell'Arte* style or modern reincarnations of such kinds of plays, such as *Pippin*.

(1) *Ibidem* p. 277

(2) *FBI Files (1943-1956)*. Freedom of Information Act, FBI files released on surveillance on Brecht, (369 pages). <http://foia.fbi.gov/brecht.htm> part 4, p. 8.

The fourth wall is frequently broken in cartoons, often in very imaginative ways difficult or impossible with live actors. Perhaps one of the most humorous is to “fight the iris”, i.e. right before the picture ends and while the image gradually is diminished by a contracting circle, a character uses his hands or body to force the “eye” open in order to interject a wry comment or complaint. (Often the iris seems to stretch and go out of shape like pliant rubber during this stunt.) Often this technique is combined with physical comedy, e.g. having the iris snap back into shape and painfully pinch the person’s nose or finger for their trouble. Another variation is having them appear onscreen after the iris is closed, walking or running over a solid black background. Warner Bros. directors like Bob McKimson and Tex Avery used the gag to good effect in the forties and fifties, and many modern cartoon directors have adapted it.

Additionally in traditional British Pantomime the audience is encouraged and expected to interact with the cast in breaking the fourth wall by booing the villains, who will often respond, cheering the heroes, who will often thank the audience, and by providing hints to the characters as to what to do next. e.g. shouting ‘he’s behind you’ when the villain is sneaking up on the hero, or ‘She’s in the cellar’ when the Prince Charming is searching for Cinderella who has been locked in the basement by the Ugly Sisters.

Breaking the fourth wall can also be done by a narrator, by standing in the midst of the action while narrating.

This technique is also very commonly used in video games, where the technique is used to increase the player’s awareness of the game’s fictional nature.

Last but not least, many Japanese anime and manga titles are also notoriously famous for breaking the fourth wall.

Noteworthy is that this technique may represent an additional tool for new understanding of fiction based communication training.

Increased understanding of such a complex activity may help medical teachers/course organizers as well as organizers of training courses on different issues, in planning and evaluating communication training courses.

Open Space Technology

The Open Space Technology¹ is an extremely interesting training instrument which proposes an innovative approach to deal with working groups, by allowing managing workshop with a number of participants which can vary from 5 to 2000.

To organize an open space means to open a discussion space where the participants are able to move by choosing, in total autonomy, where and how to contribute to the works. It

is therefore the group itself with its motivations and interests which autonomously manage its work both from the point of view of the procedures and from the one of the contents.

The leader of the Open Space has a role which is indeed very different from the one of a traditional facilitator. He/She has to renounce to have control on the group, on the process and on the results of the different working sessions, by getting used to what the passion and the interests of the participants will produce.

The preparation of an OST consists of different elements:

- a discussion theme
- a group of people interested in the topic
- a place
- time limits

The theme

The choice of the theme is crucial because it should have the capacity to stimulate the participation of the group, that is why the theme does not have to be confused with a mere list of objectives to be reached.

It should rather encourage the participation by being sufficiently specific to identify a direction, but at the same time sufficiently open in order to allow participants to use their imagination.

The group

The participants have to be really interested in the topic and to be ready to discuss it together, otherwise the OST will not work properly. Freedom and Responsibility are the two main conditions in order to initiate a creative learning process. While Freedom allows to explore and to experiment new things, Responsibility ensures which the exploration will be done under certain rules.

Interest and commitment are essential elements to start an OST, but there is not a specific way to stimulate them. They are pre-requisites. However commitment and interest derive from the fact that the participation to the OST is totally free.

A method to stimulate interest in those who do not demonstrate particular passion towards these kind of working groups is to organize two sessions, so that if the first session was successful there might be more participants in the second one thanks to the spreading of positive comments.

The minimum number of participants is 20, because in a smaller groups there is the risk of not having different points of view on the issues to be discussed. The maximum number is 400.

The space

The space represents an other pivotal element. It does not have to be particularly structured or elegant. It has to be comfortable for the participants by being able to contain all the participants and the additional working

spaces which the persons could reach during the session.

Tables and desks would be an obstacle. It is on the other hand necessary to have the possibility of moving the chairs, which at the beginning should be put into a circle.

Furthermore there should be a big empty wall in the room, in order to allow participants to attach posters.

The centre of the circle has to remain empty, that is why this technique is called “Open Space”.

If the room is big enough, it is possible to renounce to additional rooms for the working groups, even though by rule, these additional rooms are always very useful.

The main important thing is that it is necessary to have many common spaces and the possibility to work without bothering the members of the other working groups.

Time limits

An Open Space doesn’t have to have time limits. It has to last accordingly to the expected results. The theme can be discussed in eight hours, or in three days.

However, the main important thing is to avoid interruptions of the working sessions, such as visits, or presentations.

The presentations can rather follow the Open Space in order to fix the main issues analysed and the results obtained.

Basic structure

Notwithstanding the fact that an Open Space never has a pre-defined programme, there is a basic structure to follow and a general procedures system, in order to allow participants to work autonomously and to organize their schedule.

There should therefore be: an introduction, the definition of the programme, the opening of the discussion space, and the conclusions.

If an event last more than one day, there should be a part dedicated to the morning announcements, to the evening news, and to a final party.

The conclusion should have a serious style where participants will be invited to summarize and present to the other members the results of the working sessions to which they were actively involved.

According to all the considerations above developed, the Open Space Technology could be particularly effective when there is the will to promote in a group of people mutual learning, innovation and the exit from the daily life. When it is clear the contribute and the support of all the people which will be involved in this process, OST will definitely constitute a very useful instrument.

(1) Harrison Owen, *Brief guide to the use of Open Space Technology, Quaderni di Facilitazione, Scuola Superiore di Facilitazione, January 2005*

Theatre of the Oppressed

As created by Brazilian visionary, Augusto Boal, Theatre of the Oppressed (T.O.)¹ is a form of popular community based education that uses theater as a tool for transformation. Originally developed out of Boal's work with peasant and worker populations in the seventies, it is now used all over the world for social and political activism, conflict resolution, community building, therapy, and government legislation.

Inspired by the vision of Paulo Freire and his landmark treatise on education, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, T.O. invites critical thinking. It is about analyzing rather than accepting, questioning rather than giving answers. It is also about "acting" rather than just talking. In T.O., the audience is not made of spectators but "spect-actors". Through the evocative language of theatre, everyone is invited to share their opinion on the issues at hand.

Boal's books have been translated into over 35 languages and the work radiates from his centers in Rio de Janeiro and Paris as well as Vancouver, Toronto, England, India, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Holland, Italy, Korea, Burkina Faso, Puerto Rico, and many others. In the U.S., active centers can be found in New York, Omaha, Los Angeles, and Port Townsend, WA. It is also practiced on a grassroots level by teachers, social workers, therapists, and activists all over the world.

The different techniques are unified by the objective of providing means of individual,

social and political change to all the people which are in a situation of oppression.

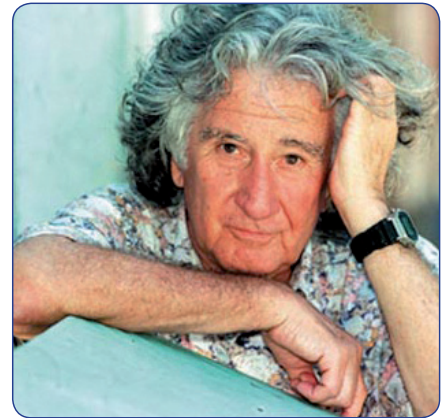
While in Brazil it was perceived as instrument to make people aware of the social conflicts, in Europe the circulation of this type of theatre was used to work on individual conflicts to help facing traumas and sufferings.

Some of the major techniques include:

- Image Theatre - A series of physical exercises and games designed to uncover essential truths about society, culture, self, etc. Using their own and others' bodies as "clay", participants "sculpt" statues -- still images representing their experiences, feelings, ideas, oppressions, and/or dreams.
- Forum Theatre - A problem solving technique in which an unresolved scene of oppression is presented. It is then replayed with the audience invited to stop the action, replace the character they feel is "lacking power", and improvise solutions. This structure can be used to explore past and current situations, or as a rehearsal for a future event.
- The Cop in the Head - Techniques that help individuals explore the internal voices, fears, oppressions that prevent him/her from living fully. Rather than focus on external oppressors ("cops"), these techniques bring to light the "cops" inside one's head.
- The Rainbow of Desire - A technique which deconstructs one person's story of tension in a relationship - parent/child, employer/

employee, lovers, friends, etc. Using Image Theatre, we then identify and bring to life the various conflicting emotions -- the fears and desires that are happening inside the characters. The process very quickly goes beyond the individual story into an exploration of the group experience and the "rainbow" of who we are.

- Invisible Theatre - Issue oriented scenes performed in public settings to stimulate a dialogue involving the public without them knowing it has been staged.
- Legislative Theatre - An approach, developed by Boal when he was elected Councilman in Rio, to propose laws by using the above techniques to collect opinions directly from the people².



Augusto Boal

Augusto Boal, Rio de Janeiro 2004

From theory to practice: focus on reality!

This is the piece performed in San Srevolo by Rui Frati and his Théâtre de l'Opprimé during the farewell party in Venice,

Dans l'ombre (In the shadow)

Théâtre de l'Opprimé (Theatre of the oppressed) of Paris: Delphine Dey, Antonia Hayword, Léo Frati, Maria Teresa Ferreira, Telma Savietto, Toninho do Carmo, Vincent Vidal

The show that Rui Frati and his theatre group presented in San Servolo was a selection of the major scenes of *Dans l'Ombre* (In the shadow).

In the shadow: the music where the words do not exist anymore....

The show focuses on different types of music, which sung in contexts of oppression, found a unique sense and strength: from Berlin to Lisbon, from Paris to the Latino-America, passing through Italy and Spain. Music and words talk about the historical moments of the twentieth century.

The show is built like a concert where each character develops with the music which he/she is interpreting. And when the action begins, the song supports the role of the character which through the music establishes a strict relationship with the other actors.

The show developed by passing from two different periods of fascisms and resistance:

the period of the thirties and the forties in Berlin, Paris, Italy and Spain, and the period of the 1968 in Latino-American and Portugal, by showing also Paris after '68. Paris thus represents a point of reference for both periods: in the first period Paris is a occupied land which resists, in the second period Paris is land of asylyThe virtue of this show is that it is able to involve the public without becoming pathetic.

Dans l'Ombre was also presented at the Teheran Festival and gathered about 1000 spectators each evening. The public very much appreciated this kind of theatre, interacted with the actors by raising many questions and demonstrated a particular affection towards the group.

(1) *Theatre of oppressed*: www.mandalaforchange.com/theatreopp.htm

(2) *A Selected Bibliography on the Theatre of the Oppressed*:

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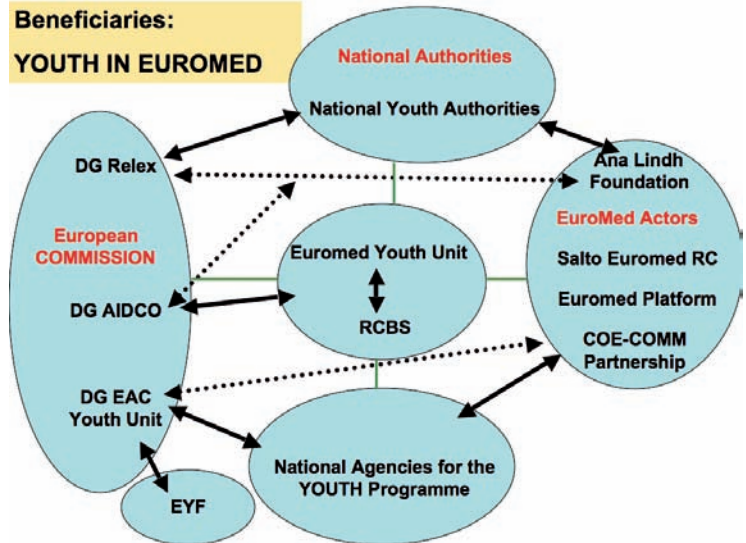
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Possibilities for EuroMed activities



From theory to practice: focus on reality

Questionnaire for participants

These are the questions posed by the participants about the EuroMed programme, in order to go deeper in the knowledge and understanding of this relevant instrument for cooperation in the field of youth within the EuroMed context.

1. What is the difference between EuroMed-Action 1-2-4.3 and 1-2-4.5?
2. In which way countries as Georgia or Azerbaijan are involved in the Youth in Action Programme?
3. What kind of projects are there after EVS (European Voluntary Service) to continue in the process? (Follow up etc...)
4. How a Meda-Youth can apply for a EVS in Italy?
5. The projects with Turkey (multi-lateral) are they an alternative solutions to the accession into the EU ?
6. Is that possible to be hosted in Tunisia for a multilateral exchange ? As regards the financial aspects who can support the project?
7. What are the raisons which allow the Meda countries to be hosting countries but not sending countries ?
8. Do you think that "EuroMed" is Symbol for the « bigger Middle East » for stabilizing the situation with Israel not for developing the Middle East.
9. Is that possible that one European Association submit a report of financings of a project through the National Agency and organize an activity in a Meda country?
10. Can you explain briefly how is it possible to become a trainer (maybe SALTO trainer)?
11. Do I need to have related master degree or does field experience would be enough? or any other pre-requisites?
12. How o you see the future of Euro-Med Region?
13. From your wide experience, did you see a real benefit out of these projects getting EU and MEDA countries together?
14. To what extent, the EU is taking into consideration of the youth projects in decision making process (if we consider the budget they are investing in youth projects?) If so, any specific examples?
15. How the youth projects carried out so far changed (or affected) any practice in the EU?
16. What do you think of the gap between the European Union policies ad European citizens ?
17. How much support do youth initiatives in MEDA countries receive through the programme?
18. Why do EU invest money into MEDA countries? Is that a form of Educational imperialism?
19. Is that a way to have a balance with the USA?
20. Do EU need young workers so they opened the borders to east EU countries?
21. Why should I pay as member of the EU for this course..is there really a need to do that?
22. Can MEDA countries participate in Y.I.A activities?
23. What are the deadlines of Y.I.A?
24. Do the MEDA countries receive funding from the same resources? If so, why?
25. Can the EU organize projects that helps directly in local development?
26. Why does the EU take part in the EuroMed while they have also Youth in Action?
27. How EU split the money for the projects?
28. EU signed the neighbourhood policy with the majority of MEDA countries but : why Israel comes before of the other MEDA countries in economic agreement?
29. Don't you think that people money are just wasted in a huge bureaucratic system and that at the end they don't really need all these projects?
30. Where does Europe bring the right to say that some countries(Switzerland..) do not have the right of imposing even little taxes for the Agencies even though their working system is better that that of the EU?
31. Doesn't the EU need a strong charismatic person for being heard? (not 25 phone numbers as Henry Kissinger said)
32. I would like to know if the EuroMed actions have a new name (Youth in action, EVS, supporting measures etc...)
33. Egypt now can't host any project. Does it mean that one day Egypt might not be part of the Barcelona process and the EuroMed co-operation?
34. What actions the MEDA countries can participate in
35. Why the EU doesn't want to include Turkey?
36. What is the position of Turkey in the EURO MEd Countries?
37. It is possible in Euro-MEd programme to apply for more than one Priority?

Youth Pass

Youthpass: Recognition of Non-formal Learning

From 2005, an additional aim of the SALTO Training and Co-operation RC has been the development and implementation of a special European level validation instrument for YOUTH/Youth in Action.

The aim of this instrument is the development and implementation of a special European level validation instrument for YOUTH/Youth in Action as a package of different instruments for the Actions 1.1 (1), 2, 1.2 (3), and 4.3 (5) (Youthpass) and with this fostering of the recognition of non-formal learning within the YOUTH/Youth in Action Programme in order to support:

- the employability of young people and youth workers;
- the reflection upon the personal non-formal learning process;
- the social recognition of youth work

Objectives:

- Development of qualified certificates for all Actions, which confirm the participation in an approved project and describe the learning outcome in general. The certificates include data of different actors and projects, aims and objectives of the YOUTH/Youth in Action Programme, and – if necessary – other detailed Action-related aims and objectives to be achieved by this project. This is planned to be used in short-term and long-term projects.
- Development of additional self-assessment instruments for approved long-term projects within relevant Actions as an annex to the certificate(s) mentioned above. The instruments should be developed from the user's perspective, should document the learning process, and should raise awareness that competencies and skills were strengthened during the project. Probably, the self-assessment instruments can be used later for short-term projects as well, depending on the experience made during the work plan period.

Perspectives

In the long run, Youthpass should be integrated in / linked with other European level initiatives, such as EURO-PASS and / or initiatives and programmes within other EU programmes within the context of Active Citizenship.

Starting point

Actions to achieve the aim and objectives of Youthpass should be based on the 'Common European principles regarding identification and validation of non-formal and informal learning', developed within 'Working Group H' and adopted by a Council conclusion.

Five elements should translate the aim and objectives into action

1. Certificate(s) and self-assessment instrument(s)

2. Training for NA staff to motivate and train national multipliers
3. Procedures for implementation within the YOUTH/Youth in Action Programme
4. Information material for a wider audience (User's Guide etc.)
5. Technical support (Youthlink, Symmetry, etc.)

Ten steps should guarantee a suitable work flow to implement the mentioned instruments within the different Actions. Due to existing resources and procedures, not all steps can be and need to be considered for all Actions and both instruments, nor will all of them start at the same time

1. Assessment of existing instruments and resources
2. Development of instruments
3. Test phases with 3 NAs per Action
4. Evaluation of the test phases
5. Re-design of the instrument
6. Final approval by the Commission
7. Implementation of the instruments in all NAs
8. Assessment and evaluation
9. Recommendations for Youth in Action
10. Implementation in the new programme

An Advisory group will be established and should

- support the development of the instruments and monitor their implementation and further adjustment,
- consist of 10-15 experts from different fields, being balanced in terms of region, gender, and size of country, where the members come from,
- have suitable resources to meet regularly and to set up smaller working groups to develop and adjust the needed instruments.

Role of the SALTO Training and Co-operation RC

The role of SALTO will be to encourage communication between the different actors in YOUTH/Youth in Action and to install, managing, and chairing the Advisory group.

Furthermore, SALTO will organise the development of validation instruments and administrative procedures together with experts and practitioners and will as well prepare test and pilot phases.

SALTO's aim is to develop and implement training models for the users. As regards the circulation, SALTO will publish tools and a user's guide

The Key Competences certified through the Youthpass are:

Learning to learn; interpersonal, intercultural and social competences; civic competence; entrepreneurship; cultural expression; communication in the mother tongue and in foreign languages; mathematical competence; scientific competence and digital competence.

Learning to learn

- To what extent did you set your own learning goals within this activity?
- Which methods have you used to evaluate what you have learned?
- How do you intend to use your learning within your work at local, regional, national or international level or in your organisation?

Interpersonal, intercultural and social competences

- To what extent have you explored your intercultural learning process during this activity?
- Which social competences have you developed during this event?
- What part did you play (if any) in helping to resolve or manage conflicts in the group?

Civic competence

- How much were you actively involved in the event?
- To what extent did you participate in decision-making within this activity?
- To what extent did your knowledge of national and/or European structures increase?

Entrepreneurship

- How well do you understand and practise the principles of project management?
- What chances were there for you to express your creativity in using new knowledge and skills you gained during this activity?
- How do the concepts of innovation and risk management find expression in your youth projects?

Cultural expression

- To what extent were you able to use different media to express yourself during the event?
- Which skills did you demonstrate?
- How do you intend to involve young people in such cultural expression?

Communication in the mother tongue and in foreign languages

- How well did you use other languages?
- What difficulties did you experience in communication? How did you overcome those difficulties?
- What are your future plans regarding learning another language?

Mathematical competence

- To what extent can you use maths in your projects?
- How can you use mathematical modes of thought to demonstrate results from youth projects?

Scientific competence

- To what extent do you contribute towards youth research?
- How do you integrate youth research results into your work and approaches?

Digital competence

- ICT: the use of computers to retrieve, assess, store, produce
- Present and exchange information, and to communicate and participate in collaborative networks via Internet

Conclusion

Some comments by the trainers' team

Some key words in the team's evaluation:

- 1. ONE DAY MORE:** for allowing a better and deeper analysis of the topic and to go further in putting in practice the theory.
- 2. GENDER ISSUE:** in this group and in this Tc was an issue! The relation between gender and the respect.
- 3. GROUP DYNAMIC:** not simple to adapt the method to a heterogenous group with very different learning styles and cultural background. May be was needed to adapt before and better some methods proposed to the "level and spirit" of the group.

- 4. TRAINER'S TEAM:** the process of working tighter and to mix and balance the styles and methods was not so easy and sometimes difficult, but for sure rich. The fact to have deep and long discussion had an effect on the level of energy. May be was needed more present facilitation. This was a new team and was a long process of construction of trust in the other.

Coordinator's point of view:

To me was a very intensive and great experience. I was not so happy when the TC finished because of level of tiredness.

Nowadays, taking the right distance, I think that this is a very important "topic" (in this historical moment for sure) and we have started to develop an interesting model that tries to combine historical point of view with the personal perception of democracy. I think that we have to better develop some tools (like to role play, the historical feedback and the parliament) but the logic is very adapt. I've learned a lot at personal and professional level: how this kind of topic can also have an influence on the group dynamic and on the trainer dynamic. I think that we need to develop stronger tools in order to put the participants deeper in the process and support the self reflection.

Federica Demicheli

Annexes

A. Tools

This is a collection of tools, techniques and instruments employed during the course in the session "getting to know each others".

a) Title: Get to know

Aim: Getting to know each other and breaking the ice

Objectives: The participants will get to know each other by name and more. The group will start working together and communicating.

Materials: post-its, writing instruments, A4 papers, A3 paper, tape, music, CD player

Time: 1 hour

Description:

- **Opening:** «Hello, hello and hello again» (5-10 min) – a reading segment read with music. The participants walk around in the room and say hello mainly with body language.
- **Body:** «Paper in the air» (10 min) - Participants stand in a circle. One of them stands in the middle, throws the paper in the air and shouts the name of another who has to catch it before it touches the floor, if it reached the floor; they need to cut a half, if the paper was caught the participant who caught it, throws it in the air and calls another participants name.

b) Title: «Two lines»

Time: 10 minutes

Description: in two lines participants are asked to organize themselves, without talking, by: personal name, name of the colours of the shoes, height, length of feet, etc.

c) Title: «Click-clack (carousel)»

Time: 25 minutes

Description: Two circles, one faces inside and one faces outside. Each time, one of the circles talks and the other writes down the info by categories: family and friends, studies, EuroMed projects, hobbies, free time, work, books, movies, special/weird thing. For each category 1 post-it and the participant name will be written on it. Every time that the subject changes - one of the circles rotates, so each time participants meet different people. Last thing, participants draw one another (these papers are later on attached to the wall in the plenary room, the draw of each participants and around it the different papers written about him).

Conclusion (5 - 10 min): all the participants post their post-its by the names. Trainers invite the participants to watch it later and during the training, and send to the break.

d) Title: informal get to know

Objectives: the participants will get to know each another, mainly on a first name basis.

Materials: papers, writing tools (paints/pens/pencils), ball

Time: Depends on the number of participants: 5 - 10 min start + 3 * num of participants

Description:

- **Activity 1:** each participant tries to describe his/her name without saying it. It can be by writing, talking, telling a story, painting, acting, singing and so on... the other participants need to guess the name in max 2 min. then the participant tells a bit about himself: where is he/she from, why he/she wanted to come etc..
- **Activity 2:** each participant says his name and throws the ball to another participant, after everyone received the ball they need to throw it back to the person who gave it to them and say his name. To complicate things, you can use 2 balls or more in the same time.
- **Activity 3:** someone is chosen to be in the centre and the others need to arrange themselves geographically in relation to him and then each participant describes the way he did in order to reach the training Venue. For example: Ahmed from Egypt (stands in Egypt) flew to Milan and then took a train to Venice (walking from where he was to where he came). In the end all participant are close together in the training course venue.

B. Measuring the level of “democracy”

As there is no universal definition of democracy, it is very difficult to draw a clear cut distinction among states characterized by a democratic regime and those which are not.

First of all it is necessary to focus on elements which can be easily compared. There are some principal indexes which can be analyzed and compared.

The Economist Democracy Index

The Economist, for instance, has examined in a study the state of democracy in 167 countries and attempted to quantify this with an Economist Intelligence Unit Index of Democracy which focused on five general categories; free and fair election process, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and political culture.

Sweden scored a total of 9.88 on a scale from zero to ten, which was the highest result, North Korea scored the lowest with 1.03. «Full democracies», «Flawed Democracies», and «Hybrid Regimes» are considered to be democracies and «Authoritarian Regimes» are considered to be dictatorial.

As described in the report, the democracy index is a kind of weighted average based on the answers of 60 questions, each one with either two or three permitted alternative answers. Most answers are «experts' assessments»; the report does not indicate what kinds of experts, nor their number, nor whether the experts are employees of The Economist or e.g. independent scholars, nor the nationalities of the experts. Some answers are provided by public opinion surveys from the respective countries. «In the case of countries for which survey results are missing, survey results for similar countries and expert assessments are used in order to fill in gaps.»

The questions are distributed into the five categories enumerated supra. Each answer is translated to a mark, either 0 or 1, or for the three answer alternative questions, 0.5. With the exceptions infra, seemingly, the sums are added within each category, multiplied by ten, and divided by the total number of questions within the category. There are a few modifying dependencies, which are explained much more precisely than the main rule procedures. In a few cases, an answer yielding zero for one question voids another question; e.g., if the elections for national legislation and head of government are not considered free (question 1), then the next question, «Are elections... fair?» is not considered, but automatically marked zero. Likewise, there are a few questions considered so important that a low score on them yields a penalty on the total score sum for their respective categories, namely:

1. «Whether national elections are free and fair»;
2. «The security of voters»;

3. «The influence of foreign powers on government»;
4. «The capability of the civil servants to implement policies».

The five category indices, which all are listed in the report, are then averaged to find the democracy index for a given country. Finally, the democracy index, rounded to one decimal, decides the classification of the country, as quoted:

1. Full democracies—scores of 8-10.
2. Flawed democracies—scores of 6 to 7.9.
3. Hybrid regimes—scores of 4 to 5.9.
4. Authoritarian regimes—scores below 4.

The report discusses other indices of democracy, as defined e.g. by Freedom House, and argues for some of the choices made by the team from The Economist. E.g., in this comparison, a higher emphasis has been put on the public opinion and attitudes, as measured by public surveys, but on the other hand, economic living standard has not been weighted as one criterion of democracy (as seemingly some other investigators have done).

There is no indication that this report has been presented or is planned to be presented in any academic context, or has been checked by or will be checked by a peer. Probably the best approach is to combine data and indexes coming from different research institutes in order to see which are the major factors which influence the assessment on the level of democratization.

Freedom House: freedom index

The Freedom in the World political rights and civil liberties ratings are determined through a multi-layered process of research and evaluation by a team of regional analysts and eminent scholars. The analysts used a broad range of sources of information, including foreign and domestic news reports, academic studies, nongovernmental organizations, think tanks, individual professional contacts, and visits to the region, in conducting their research.

The survey measures political rights and civil liberties, or the opportunity for individuals to act spontaneously in a variety of fields outside the control of the government and other centers of potential domination. As such, the survey is primarily concerned with freedom from restrictions or impositions on individuals' life pursuits.

While the survey considers restrictions on freedom imposed by governments, it does not measure government performance per se. Rather, it measures the wider state of freedom in a country or territory, reflecting both governmental and non-governmental constraints.

Similarly, the survey does not explicitly measure democracy or democratic performance. Rather, it measures rights and freedoms integral to democratic institutions.

The survey measures freedom according to two broad categories that are derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: political rights and civil liberties.

Each country and territory covered in the survey is assigned two numerical ratings-- one for political rights and one for civil liberties-- on a scale of 1 to 7; a rating of 1 indicates the highest degree of freedom and 7 the least amount of freedom. While these scales are logically distinct, in practice they are closely related: when one rating is low, the other tends to be as well, and vice versa.

These political rights and civil liberties ratings are combined and averaged to determine an overall “freedom status” for each country and territory. Countries and territories with a combined average rating of 1.0 to 2.5 are considered “Free”; 3.0 to 5.0, “Partly Free”; and 5.5 to 7.0 “Not Free”.

The ratings are determined by a checklist of 25 questions, 10 addressing political rights and 15 addressing civil liberties. Each country or territory is awarded a raw score for each of the questions on a 0 to 4 scale, where 0 points represents the smallest degree and 4 points the greatest degree of rights or liberties present.

The 10 political rights questions (a total of 40 points) are grouped into three sub-categories:

- Electoral Process: 3 questions (a total of 12 points)
- Political Pluralism and Participation: 4 questions (16 points)
- Functioning of Government: 3 questions (12 points)

The 15 civil liberties questions (60 points) are grouped into four sub-categories:

- Freedom of Expression and Belief: 4 questions (16 points)
- Associational and Organizational Rights: 3 questions (12 points)
- Rule of Law: 4 questions (16 points)
- Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights: 4 questions (16 points)

The sum of each country and territory's sub-category scores for political rights translates to a rating on the aforementioned 1 to 7 scale; the same process is used to determine the civil liberties rating.

Scores and ratings for each country and territory are proposed by an analyst (who also writes the narratives that accompany the ratings). These analysts are country or regional experts from the academic, media, think-tank, and human rights communities. Approximately one-third of these analysts are Freedom House staff members, while another two-thirds are outside consultants.

The proposed scores and ratings are vetted thoroughly--both individually and on a comparative basis--in a series of six regional meetings: Asia-Pacific, Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Western Europe. The relevant analysts, two to three senior-level academic advisors with regional expertise, and the Freedom in the World editorial team attend each daylong meeting.

The Human Development Index

Another Index elaborated was The Human Development Index (HDI), which combines normalized measures of life expectancy, literacy, educational attainment, and GDP per capita for countries worldwide.

It is claimed as a standard means of measuring human development, a concept that, according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) refers to the process of widening the options of persons, giving them greater opportunities for education, health care, income, employment, etc. The basic use of HDI is however to rank countries by level of "human development" which usually also implies to determine whether a country is a developed, developing, or underdeveloped country.

The index was developed in 1990 by Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and Sir Richard Jolly, with help from Gustav Ranis of Yale University and Lord Meghnad Desai of the London School of Economics. It has been used since then by the United Nations Development Programme in its annual Human Development Report.

It is claimed that ideas of Indian Nobel prize winner Amartya Sen were influential in the development of the HDI. Sen described it

however as a "vulgar measure", because of its limitations, though accepting that it nonetheless focuses attention on wider aspects of development than the per capita income measure it supplanted. Nowadays the HDI is a pathway for researchers into the wide variety of more detailed measures contained in the Human Development Reports.

The HDI combines three basic dimensions:

- Life expectancy at birth, as an index of population health and longevity.
- Knowledge and education, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weighting) and the combined primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrollment ratio (with one-third weighting).
- The standard of living, as measured by the natural logarithm of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita at purchasing power parity (PPP) in USD.

From the time it was created, the HDI has been criticized as a redundant measure that adds little to the value of the individual measures composing it; as a means to provide legitimacy to arbitrary weightings of a few aspects of social development; and as a number producing a relative ranking which is useless for inter-temporal comparisons, and difficult to interpret because the HDI for a country in a given year depends on the levels of, say, life expectancy or GDP per capita of other countries in that year. Each year, however, UN member states are listed and ranked according to the computed HDI. If high, the rank in the list can be easily used as a means of national aggrandizement; alternatively, if low, it can be used to highlight national insufficiencies. Using the HDI as an absolute index of social welfare, some authors have used panel HDI data to measure the

impact of economic policies on quality of life. [5]

An alternative measure, focusing on the amount of poverty in a country, is the Human Poverty Index

The report for 2007 was launched in Brasilia, Brazil, on November 27, 2007. Its focus was on "Fighting climate change: Human solidarity in a divided world." [1] Most of the data used for the report are derived largely from 2005 or earlier, thus indicating an HDI for 2005. Not all UN member states choose to or are able to provide the necessary statistics.

The report showed a small increase in world HDI in comparison with last year's report. This rise was fueled by a general improvement in the developing world, especially of the least developed countries group. This marked improvement at the bottom was offset with a decrease in HDI of high income countries.

A HDI below 0.5 is considered to represent "low development".

All 22 countries in that category are located in Africa. The highest-scoring Sub-Saharan countries, Gabon and South Africa, are ranked 119th and 121st, respectively. Nine countries departed from this category this year and joined the "medium development" group.

A HDI of 0.8 or more is considered to represent "high development". This includes all developed countries, such as those in North America, Western Europe, Oceania, and Eastern Asia, as well as some developing countries in Eastern Europe, Central and South America, Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, and the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula. Seven countries were promoted to this category this year, leaving the "medium development" group: Albania, Belarus, Brazil, Libya, Republic of Macedonia, Russia and Saudi Arabia.

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SALTO-YOUTH

stands for “Support and Advanced Learning & Training Opportunities within the YOUTH IN ACTION programme”. It is a network of eight Resource Centres to enhance the implementation of the YOUTH IN ACTION Programme by providing support, information and training to National Agencies and Euromed Youth Units. In particular SALTO-YOUTH EuroMed Resource Centre aims at enhancing cooperation in youth work between the two sides of the Mediterranean area. Accordingly we run specific international and national training courses, produce educational materials as well as disseminate good practices in youth work. We operate in close partnership with several European and Mediterranean institutions.

“Democracy within EuroMed context: illusion or reality?”

The notion of Democracy is not the same in the different countries, there are many democratic systems with different level of participation... the idea of democracy is not identical, not only between both side of Mediterranean Sea, but also among countries of the same geographical area.

Based on this observation, the Italian National Agency for the Youth in Action programme and Salto-Youth EuroMed Resource Centre organised a training seminar in 2008. The purpose was to share and reflect on the concept of Democracy, in particularly within the EuroMed context using as a starting point the city of Venice and its very specific political system: when Venice was a republic, la Serenissima.

Flowing from this deep reflection, this report offers an analysis of the background of Democracy within the EuroMed context and a better understanding of the roots of democratic process through the history in connection with the implementation of Euro-Mediterranean projects.

«Freedom begins when ignorance ends*,»
Victor Hugo - 1802-1885 – Océan



«*La liberté commence où l'ignorance finit.»

■ The views and opinions do not necessarily express the official view of the European Commission.

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