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EDITORIAL

Nearly all the texts included in this issue of *Sociological Review* relate to civil society and participative democracy. The articles present various approaches to these phenomena and their aspects, and are based on empirical data.

The large article by F. Schütze is focused on the results of research previously presented in *Sociological Review* (vol. 60–2011/1 and vol. 57–2008/4). This international research project is devoted to European identity and civil society, as a result of which, the author proposes the design of a learning program for civil society activists and common citizens. The next article by A. Krzewińska describes the method of study of deliberative democracy developed by James Fishkin. J. Stempień proposes the economic concept of Principal-agent to investigate representative democracy systems. M. Legris Revel analyses research results in France concerning the process of institutionalisation and proceduralisation of the participation of citizens. C. Penna proposes the actor-network approach to investigate the relationships between social movements and the state during the land reform in Brazil. The last article by M. Wiczorkowska is devoted to a different topic – the cultural and social aspects of the female body in the context of medicalisation.

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POLICY SUGGESTIONS REGARDING SUPPORT OF THE WORK OF EUROPEAN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Abstract

The paper is based on the research “The Evolution of European Identity: Using biographical methods to study the development of European identity” which dealt with various types of *practitioners of Europe*. Part of the research was closely focussed on civil society activists and professionals (CSO) who are especially sensitized by European frames of reference, but who also work under the humble conditions of local circumstances. They have to consider the *local conditions* and *local affairs* that support or hinder their life and their work projects. In terms of not having to do with abstract-procedural and general policy decisions, they stand in analytical contrast to the social category of Eurocrats, which is closely linked to the category of the elite European Union policy makers. The paper discusses the basic idea for policy suggestions regarding the support of CSO work e.g. intensified learning processes of intercultural communication, of transnational cooperation work and of transnational work for the protection of the natural environment.

Key words: civil society organizations, European mental space, learning programmes.

* and the German team of the Euridentities research project (Lena Inowlocki, Ulrike Nagel, Gerhard Riemann, Anja Schröder-Wildhagen and Bärbel Treichel).

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A) INTRODUCTION: THE GENERAL EMPIRICAL RESULT OF OUR RESEARCH REGARDING CSO WORKERS

Our research on the topic of “The Evolution of European Identity: Using biographical methods to study the development of European identity”¹ dealt with various types of *mundane, but well informed practitioners of Europe*, who have much to do with European regulations and who are sensitized to European issues: e.g., activists and professionals of civil society organizations; transnational workers; educationally mobile school students, apprentices, university students and academicians; cultural contactors; and farmers. We call them “mundane”² or even “humble”, since they are spread out over the regional and, partially,

¹ Funded by the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP 7 / 2007 to 2011) under Grant Agreement No. 213998. General Publications: Robert Miller, Graham Day et. al. (eds.): *The Evolution of European Identity: Biographical Approaches*. London: Palgrave 2012; Kaja Kazmierska (ed.): *Przegląd Sociologiczny / Sociological Review. Special Issue. Vol. 60, No. 1, 2011* (Lodzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe). – We would like to thank Martin Kohli, Adam Mrozowicki and Jeffrey Turk for magnificent commentaries. Due to lack of space and time, we could not follow up all the invitations of Martin Kohli, Adam Mrozowiecki and Jeffrey Turk for further thinking; but we will surely do this in further writing.

² “Mundane, but well informed practitioner” is coined after the model of Alfred Schütz’ concepts of the mundane attitude towards the world of everyday affairs (Schütz 1962: 7, 208) and of the “well informed citizen” in it (Schütz 1964: 122f, 131–134). The concept of the mundane, but well informed practitioners of Europe means that these persons work in contexts of a focused attention towards Europe, but they do this in *mundane* contexts of society. They don’t do it in the “finite meaning provinces” of special contexts separated from the shared everyday life of national societies and their mundane conditions for action with all its inertia, retardation and consumption of energy. Mundane, but well informed practitioners are not assisted by special organizational means that help to free these practitioners from the nuisances of organizing their daily chores. However, such special contexts of getting alleviated from the daily chores are typical of national and regional politicians, who must deal with Europe, although most of them have to manage a strenuous daily life. These “non-mundane” contexts are also typical for all sorts of “Eurocrates” (a term that is not meant as a pejorative concept): i.e. for the administrators and executives in the European Commission, for the members of the European parliament and their helpers, for the other decision makers and co-workers in European institutions, for the co-workers in European think tanks and in European counseling institutions and for all types of Brussels lobbyists. One additional big difference between the mundane practitioners of Europe and the Eurocrates is that the former are involved in European issues on the level of everyday work and mundane affairs with their typical “in work”-perspective and not in the mode of a counselor or decision maker dealing with issues for European citizens in a generalizing meta-perspective. Mundane practitioners of Europe must build, for example, a programme for historical reconciliation *themselves*; they do not just decide on the formal rules for funding of those types of programmes in a generalizing way. (Schütz, Alfred: *Collected Papers, Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague 1962: Martinus Nijhoff. And: Schütz, Alfred: *The Well-Informed Citizen: An Essay on the Social Distribution of Knowledge*. In:

even peripheral areas of Europe and do not live and work in the main assembly places of Europe, i.e. in Brussels, Strasbourg, Luxembourg and Frankfurt, nor in the national capital cities of Europe. Instead, they have to consider the *local conditions* and *local affairs* that support or hinder their life and their work projects. In terms of not having to do with abstract-procedural and general policy decisions, they stand in analytical contrast to the social category of Eurocrates, which is closely linked to the category of elite Brussels and Strasbourg policy makers who attempt to shape the affairs of the European Union from the centres of Brussels, Strasbourg and Frankfurt as well as to the category of the elite policy makers in national and regional capitals. They must also be analytically differentiated from the “everyday citizens of Europe”. In the life and work of the latter Europe doesn’t play a topically focussed role although even *they* are comprehensively affected by European provisions and affairs. In crisis situations the everyday citizens of Europe even get some topical interest in Europe as an alleged trouble maker or, to the contrary, as a rescue possibility, but they are normally not well informed citizens³ of European matters.

Schütz, Alfred: Collected Papers, Vol. II: Studies in Social Theory. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1964, pp. 120–134.)

³ The well-informed citizen in the sense of Alfred Schütz (1964) knows quite a lot about complex topics and issues of her or his society and its social worlds. He is not an expert of (most of) these world(s), but she or he knows where to get the necessary special knowledge about their topics, issues and means to handle them. In this sense the well-informed practitioner of Europe is sensitized where to get the necessary knowledge of Europe from. Although she or he doesn’t know the details about many of the special areas of European institutional realms, affairs and programmes, she or he understands the general logic of European procedures and where to search for special knowledge, if it becomes necessary. In addition, in her own or his own special work field of European engagement, she or he might even become a professional expert of Europe. This professional knowledge also introduces her or him into the general logic of European proceedings. – Instead, for the “everyday citizens” (Schütz 1962: 208f; 1964: 92f) of Europe, Europe normally remains in the non-focused, non-reflected background of their everyday life. European phenomena, regulations and procedures are normally “of course” provisions and expectations, not to be thought about and not to be mistrusted (like the liberal border regulations, the use of the Euro, the European exchanges schemes for students and apprentices, the assistance programmes for “target one” regions, etc.). Such an “of course” attitude might change in times of crisis like the present crisis of national budgets. Part of the attention of the everyday citizen can then become a general criticism of Europe as enticed by “maledictic” speeches of national politicians who would like to avert the attention of the everyday European citizens from their own serious mistakes, for example those ones of balancing the national budget. In an easily manageable form of window bashing, the national politicians then direct the criticism of the European everyday citizens towards the “Brussels people” as the scapegoats for all of their own mistakes. (Schütz, Alfred: Collected Papers, Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality. The Hague 1962: Martinus Nijhoff. Schütz, Alfred: The Well-Informed Citizen:

Part of our research was closely focussed on civil society activists and professionals (CSO) who are *especially* sensitized by European frames of reference, but who also work under the humble conditions of local circumstances: NGO activists in historical memory work, reconciliation work and cross-border work as well as NGO activists in all types of environmental work. The second generation (born in the Fifties and Sixties of the 20th century) and especially the third generation of these activists (born in the Seventies and Eighties of the 20th century) underwent the intensive experience of being supported by European education and funding programmes like Leonardo, Grundtvig, Youth in Action, Peace III. As institutionally supported learners, they had the privilege to find out about in a guided way as well as to be circumspectly taught to act in “life situations” in concrete European project contexts that had been institutionally ordered and organized already, when they started their work as voluntary activists or as half-time or full-time professionals. Contrary to the first generation of the CSO activists (born in the Thirties and Forties of the 20th century) and partly to the second generation (born in the Fifties and Sixties of the 20th century), too, European support programmes und project frameworks played an important role in shaping the live histories of the younger of our CSO informants we collected by means of autobiographical narrative interviewing⁴.

In a former EU research project of Ursula Apitzsch, Lena Inowlocki and Maria Kontos on the “Self Employment Activities of Women from Minority Groups” it was said:

*The instrument of the autobiographical narrative interview takes into account the agency of the self-employed and their expertise in the field, as well as the constraints they encounter and have to deal with. We can reconstruct their experience of the effects of relevant policies and their implementation [I, F. S., add here: through the analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews]. Thus, the cumulative impact of policies as well as their effects over a longer period of time can be understood through what we have termed biographical policy evaluation.*⁵

An Essay on the Social Distribution of Knowledge. In: Schütz, Alfred: Collected Papers, Vol. II: Studies in Social Theory. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1964, pp. 120–134.)

⁴ Schütze, Fritz (2008): Biography Analysis on the Empirical Base of Autobiographical Narratives: How to Analyze Autobiographical Narrative Interviews – Part one and two, In: European Studies on Inequalities and Social Cohesion, Nr. 1/2, S. 153–242 and Nr. 3/4., s. 5–77

⁵ Apitzsch, Ursula, Lena Inowlocki and Maria Kontos (2008): The Method of Biographical Policy Evaluation. In: Apitzsch, Ursula and Maria Kontos (eds.) Self-Employment Activities of Women and Minorities. Their Success or Failure in Relation to Social Citizenship Policies, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, p. 12–19; here: p. 13

Instead of the term „self-employed (women)” we can just substitute “activists in civil society organisations”. Taking this general methodological idea of Ursula Apitzsch, Lena Inowlocki and Maria Kontos into regard, we can similarly claim that the analysis of our autobiographical narrative interviews with *CSO activists* in the fields of cross-national reconciliation and protection of the environment can be seen as a “biographical policy evaluation” of the respective support and educational programmes of the European Union.

Our biographical policy evaluation on the work of CSO activists done by means of the collection and analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews came to an astonishingly positive assessment regarding European international-mindedness. We will just quote two paragraphs of one of our official research papers:

7. Although involved in strenuous cooperative work projects with all their red tape (especially writing the pivotally necessary applications and reports to the Brussels administration), one does not witness, as might be expected at first glance, that the unfolding professional identity of the CSO workers is more and more shaped – or distorted - by a bureaucratic or even cynical mentality, not interested in the content of the inter-cultural work of enhancing understanding and cooperation between nations, minority and majority groups or ethnic-religious groups in Europe. The persistence and strengthening of their inner biographical identification with Europe as a mental space for inter-cultural communication, transnational cooperation and joint project work is the best empirical proof for the enormous pedagogical impact of European programmes of cross-border and intercultural understanding.

8. Although they continuously have to fulfil the tasks of application and reporting to European and national agencies as mediators of the European administration, in the main CSO workers neither experience nor envision Europe as set of bureaucratic institutions. Instead, they understand it as a structural frame for offering possibilities: as an opener of new ways to overcome the narrow restrictions of national bureaucracies and as a provider of new work and life chances in dead-end situations of work and life.⁶

⁶ Schütze, Fritz; Schröder-Wildhagen, Anja; Nagel, Ulrike; and Treichel, Bärbel (2012): Discoverers in European Mental Space: The Biographical Experiences of Participants in European Civil Society Organisations. Will be published in: Robert Miller, Graham Day et. al. (eds.): The Evolution of European Identity: Biographical Approaches. London: Palgrave

B) VOLUNTARY ACTIVISTS AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN THE FIELDS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND EUROCRATES, ON THE OTHER

First we would like to give an assessment of the very positive general results of our research project regarding the international-mindedness and European-mindedness *especially of CSO practitioners* compared to the orientations of the other Europe-sensitized groups that we had looked at in our Euroidentities project. For this assessment we must take into account that most of the members of civil society organisations are *even more* involved in explicit transnational work projects than most of the incumbents of the *other* Europe-sensitized groups. Generally speaking, compared to migrant workers, educationally mobile persons and farmers, CSO workers are much more experienced in, and sensitized towards, transnational work projects in Europe, and they much more take the chances provided through the organisational and supportive programme structures of the European Union. (Only one other Europe-sensitized group of our sample has a similar intensive international-mindedness and European orientation as CSO workers have: the cultural contactors, and they do similarly intensive practical work as CSO workers do.) In addition, the CSO workers are much more *outspoken regarding the European topics* within their work field and regarding the interactive trust base of their specific work projects and support programmes than most of the members of the other Europe-sensitized groups are. They formulate their European orientation quite explicitly, although, at the same time, they are critical towards certain power and control aspects of the European conditions of their work and life. This criticism is especially focussed on the “fortress character” of the outer borders of the European Union, on the restrictive laws and ordinances of how to treat refugees and immigrants coming from the outside of the European Union and on the absence of a systematic and effective European instrument for social politics and social policies in Europe. But in many regards – including the latter critical stances, which appeal to deeper and more universal European values – the CSO workers are the avant-garde of Europe-minded citizens within the territorial confines of the European Union.

Motivated and even forced by the very nature of the work topics of searching for and presenting the historical truth and accepting its responsibilities, of caring for the victims of the Nazi crimes and their children, of transnational reconciliation, of bridging the borders and reducing border conflicts as well as of protecting the natural environment belonging to all European citizens, CSO workers permanently have to deal with tasks of trust-inducement and cooperation

for the establishment and development of the specific cooperative and at the same time essentially *transnational* character of their work. In addition, as a necessary condition of all of these types of transnational cooperative work, CSO workers always have to consider the European institutional frames of enabling and supporting their work. And – last, but not least – they must take into account the specific European horizons and sources of sense making of their work. By necessity, the practical involvement of the CSO workers within the substantive tasks and problems of their joint transnational work creates a cooperative, Europe minded mood of relating to their cross-national interaction partners; it establishes elementary schemes of social relating and cooperative orientation within the orientation framework of a European mental space. In starting and evolving social relations with transnational others, these elementary schemes of orientation within a specific European mental space become an interaction base of mutual trust and mutual taking the perspective of the interaction partner (“role taking” within the understanding of George Herbert Mead⁷). The interactive trust relationship also applies to the task of a circumspect handling of difficult cross-national conflict topics. Such a very intricate relationship between the level of *content* in social interaction (e.g., dealing with content questions of cross-border cooperation), on the one hand, and the level of social *relating* to each other in terms of mood, emotion and style (if we would like to use the concepts of Watzlawick et al.⁸ for a moment) in dealing with transnational and trans-cultural questions in Europe, on the other, produces the cooperative “personality type” of the CSO worker (comparable with the “liaison”, “mediation” or “intersection of social worlds” worker type in the understanding of Everett Hughes⁹ and Symbolic Interactionism¹⁰ in general). In the future this “personality type” of the CSO worker could possibly become a role model for everyday citizens of the European Union in dealing with cross-cultural and cross-national and even more: with *trans-cultural* and *trans-national* questions of their work and life.

⁷ Mead, George Herbert (1934): *Mind, Self and Society*. From the standpoint of a social behaviorist. Chicago: Chicago University Press, chapters 19 and 33

⁸ Watzlawick, Paul, Janet H. Beavin and Don D. Jackson (1969): *The Pragmatics of Human Communication*. New York: Norton

⁹ Hughes, Everett C. (1972): *The Linguistic Division of Labor in Industrial and Urban Societies*. In: Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, Vol. II: *Selected Studies and Applications*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton 1972, pp. 296–309, especially 303f and 306–309.

¹⁰ Strauss, Anselm L. (1993): *Continual Permutations of Action* New York: Aldine – de Gruyter, especially pp. 215–219.

The Brussels Eurocrates might be seen as another avant-garde group and as another role model for a Europe-minded life and work style, but they live and work under extraordinary conditions in terms of networking, in terms of nearness to the centres of European decision making processes, in terms of being expected to explicitly declare their European allegiances and in terms of living on a comparably affluent economic platform provided through salaries and remunerations of the European institutions. In addition, Eurocrates work on a higher – and sometimes even “meta” – level of communicating and social relating that is concentrated in the European assembly centres. Their communications with each other tend to have only indirectly to do with the work problems of locally based CSO workers who are intricately embedded within the local and mundane situations of work and life “out there” in the European regions – although, in the last regard, the work of the Eurocrates might be extremely important for CSO workers living and working in distance to the centres of European decision making. On top of that, after a few years of the Eurocrate’s working in Brussels, the general problem might emerge that reference groups and social arenas in the Brussels perimeter of the European institutions become much more relevant for the work and life orientation of the Eurocrate, than her or his local reference groups and social arenas “at home” still are for her or him. But exactly for these groups and arenas at home the Eurocrate is expected to work in the last instance, and by them she or he might even have originally been sent to Brussels. Last, but not least: compared to the socialisation and career history of the classical CSO worker, who normally is socialized and influenced in her or his orientation by the values, work styles and interactive procedures of topically focussed and locally situated social initiatives and social movements, the socialisation and career history of the Eurocrate might be much more influenced by central, that means national and Brussels, political and administrative power hierarchies: Compared with typical CSO work, their logic of general orientation is much more characterized by *exerting power* while shaping and controlling fields of politics and in terms of defining the situation, of preparing their personal turf of activities and of taking decisions. Instead, a classical CSO worker sent to Brussels for a shorter while in order to rise the voice of her or his voluntary association normally remains to be obliged to her or his voluntary civil society organization or NGO. She or he normally stays related to the substantive and locally situated value orientations that she or he acquired on her or his socialisation path and during her or his biographical identity development; she or he doesn’t easily change to the value orientations and work styles of Eurocrates.

Taking all these differences between the Eurocrates and the CSO workers into account, we can state that, although the everyday European citizen can easily relate to the typical CSO worker, who is locally based and works under locally situated conditions, she or he has lots of difficulties to relate in the same way towards the Brussels based Eurocrates, and that this is the reason, that the Eurocrates can never provide a role model for the everyday citizens of the European Union in order to orient oneself towards the “entity” or “entities” and institutions of the European Union. Therefore, although in important respects the work of the Eurocrates can be quite productive and important for the citizenry of the European Union, they cannot become the European avant-garde activists and motivating role models of Europe-mindedness for the everyday European citizenry. But, instead, the CSO activists can get into such an imagining and orienting position.

**C) THE BASIC IDEA FOR POLICY SUGGESTIONS REGARDING
THE SUPPORT OF CSO WORK: INTENSIFIED LEARNING
PROCESSES OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION,
OF TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION WORK
AND OF TRANSNATIONAL WORK FOR THE PROTECTION
OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT**

The basic orientation of our upcoming remarks is as follows: Although CSO workers are involved in lots of work difficulties and although, in addition, they make not only situationally conditioned, but also systematically caused mistakes, they basically do intriguing work and, in addition, in the near future, they may serve, and partially they do serve already, as European role models for the everyday citizens of the European Union. Out of this reason the work of the CSO workers should be supported, reflected and even improved by specific measures and programmes of the European Union in order to overcome their work difficulties and to circumvent systematic tendencies towards mistakes at work¹¹.

In addition, most of the two first generations of CSO workers had been encountered, and had been involved in, extremely intensive and biographically pivotal event constellations of their life histories that were totally intertwined with a disastrous collective history. These personal experiences, both biographical and collective-historical, induced them to transnational and trans-cultural

¹¹ Hughes, Everett C. (1971): Mistakes at Work. In: E. Hughes: The Sociological Eye. Vol. II: Selected Papers on Work, Self and the Study of Society. Chicago and New York: Aldine – Atherton, pp. 316–325.

learning and to the adoption of European horizons of orientation throughout the future phases of their life courses still to unfold. In the course of these learning processes they were motivated and basically enabled to enter and develop their own CSO work. Taking into regard this basic fact, it is sensible to formulate the additional suggestion that the institutions of the European Union should entice and enable NGO organizations and educational institutions to collect the life histories of experienced CSO workers of the first and second generation and present them to interested citizens – children, adolescents and even adults – of the European Union and let them be studied by them. In addition, connected to these studies of biographies of European CSO protagonists, one should also involve interested citizens within experiences of work processes and of types of biographical learning that all three generations of CSO workers had been “lived through” already. Supported by institutions of the European Union, these study and learning processes should establish and also broaden a solid base for the motivation of, and socialisation towards, engagement of future cooperation-minded and Europe-minded CSO workers as well as for their acquisition and unfolding of specific CSO-work competence.

We will outline our policy suggestions within two general steps of presentation: The first step will just state some procedural ideas regarding the practicality and the possible improvement of EU institutional programmes for education and learning towards a European transnational orientation as well as for strengthening cooperative European work projects, especially activities of civil society. The second general step of presentation will offer more concrete suggestions how to encourage and support specific activities of inquiry and learning towards transnational European cooperation of those persons who are, or at least could, become CSO activist.

D) PROCEDURAL IDEAS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EUROPEAN PROGRAMMES OF RELEVANCE FOR CSO WORKERS

Here are some procedural suggestions coming out of our autobiographical narrative interviews regarding the practicality and the possible improvement of programmes of education and of the system of funding and counselling support for transnational cooperative work projects within the European Union. Some of the suggestions were explicitly stated by our informants, whereas others came out of our analysis of the interviews as dim ideas, while the informants were not

able to formulate them in an explicit way, although they indirectly expressed the features of their helpfulness, the conditions for their functioning and their specific preferability through their narrative and descriptive rendering in the course of ongoing interview communication. – Here are six of these suggestions for improvement:

(1) EU programmes should strengthen the European public awareness regarding problems and possibilities of transnational reconciliation work and environmental protection work. This can be accomplished through the establishment, support and improvement of *social arenas* for the discourse, mutual informing about, and critical assessment of CSO activities. However, support should be done in a non-exclusive way: humble initiatives (e.g., regarding the transnational work for assisting the mutual intercultural understanding, project cooperation and societal integration of adolescents with disabilities) should get a fair chance, too, and the programmes should be accessible as much as possible for activists from countries of the “near outside” of the European Union, e.g., from countries of the former Soviet Union, from the Balkan states and from Turkey. And the programmes should abstain from strong claims towards “world power” competitiveness of Europe seen as a political “grand power” on the same level with other grand powers, for example, the U.S., China, India or Russia.

(2) EU programmes should bridge the gap between the Eastern sphere of the Union and its Western sphere with their totally different historical experiences and essentially different levels of life standard. The same holds true for the gap between the South and the North of the Union territory and for the gap between member states that are severely affected by the debt crisis of European economy and those that are not. EU programmes should bridge all these gaps.

(3) The support should not mainly go to fancy “lighthouse” projects (as, e.g., simulation trainings of the Strasbourg-Brussels decision processes for highly educated people, which in itself is, of course, highly worthwhile), but in a considerable degree also to humble initiatives (like cross-national exchanges of young persons with learning disabilities or cross-national exchanges of apprentices of the trades and of industrial production and like the support of transnational programmes of vocational education).

(4) The general applicability, intensity and duration of support for the establishment and keeping of a plain and humble stable organizational infrastructure (for example, the office facilities and office services) of small NGO outfits – as in contrast to the short-lived “organizational knots” of single European work projects, which those NGOs would apply for and carry through – should be enhanced. In addition, in favour of the protection of small NGO groups, support

measures for the sustainability of their precious networks of cooperation with their voluntary supporters, with arenas of civil society, with other NGO groups and with national and EU-political bodies should be established; these networks have been developed in the course of actually ongoing single work projects that are always short-lived because of typical harsh time limitations of their EU-financed support.

(5) As far as possible, CSO activists should have *direct* – and not just administratively mediated; especially not just mediated through national bureaucracies – access to the application procedures of the European programmes. Their access to the European programmes – specifically their “eligibility”, but also the information they get and the procedures of application they have to undergo – should not be obscurely filtered by the representatives of local, regional and/or state authorities.

(6) The European education and support programmes and their application and assessment procedures should take into account, that there is always a tendency towards the advantage and even preferability of business-like skills over soft skills (like educational sensitivity) in the application and assessment procedures and that this could lead to the danger of neglecting the intrinsic content orientation of the project activities.

E) GENERAL SUGGESTION TO ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT SPECIFIC LEARNING ACTIVITIES OF PERSONS WHO ARE OR COULD BECOME CSO ACTIVIST

An outstanding feature of the “modal personality type” of CSO workers is their permanent, their “life-long” (to put it into the words of Bishop Grundtvig) intensive learning, which very much shapes their unfolding of biographical identity. CSO workers always must overcome the limits of and demarcation national administrative procedures as well as the cleavages between various socio-structural lines between different national, ethnic and local cultures and the confines of milieus. They always have to “take the roles or perspectives of the others”, i.e., their cross-national, cross-cultural and cross-milieu interaction partners, and to triangulate the contrastive standpoints of interaction partners of different national and/or cultural backgrounds – of course, including one’s own – from the third perspective of the neutral observer (or generalized other in the

understanding of George Herbert Mead¹²) or from the third perspective of the liaison worker (Everett Hughes¹³). CSO workers always have to be aware of, and have to remember, the abysses of the atrocious European history, which for a long time had basically been a history of contending nation states and especially of the wars between them. This history finally enticed and enabled – or at least did not hinder – one of them to perpetrate the most atrocious crimes against humanity by attacking the other nation states with its military machinery causing sixty million deaths and by killing more than six or seven million individuals in quasi-industrial compounds in order to exterminate the “others”, who allegedly did not belong to one’s own national “we-community”, i.e., “other” religious groups, “other” ethnicities, groups with “other” life styles, persons with (“other”) physical or mental disabilities and political groups with “other” political world-views. And in addition, CSO workers always must be aware of the trans-border continuity and cross-border connections between natural environments on both sides of the demarcation line of national borders, since the natural environments to be protected transgress the typically narrow confines of the small territories of European nation states. Therefore, they must be aware of the shared trans-border issues of protecting nature and environment in Europe. Particularly, they must focus and fulfil the task to establish, form, conduct, build up, shape, and support special European social worlds and social arenas (in the understanding of the “symbolic interactionists” Anselm Strauss and Adele Clarke¹⁴) of nature protection in order to effectively and successfully tackle the border-transgressing environmental problems in Europe.

The life-long learning of the CSO worker is very creative and precious: It clearly brings out features of trans-cultural cooperation, social concern and awareness of responsibility for collective historical memory as well as a shared feeling of obligation for the protection of the natural environment. The learning mentally takes place within a European frame of orientation and ethical consideration which, in its integrated gestalt, has not yet been addressed by others

¹² Mead, George Herbert (1934): *Mind, Self and Society*. From the standpoint of a social behaviorist. Edited and Introduced by Charles Morris. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. Chapters 20, 33, 49–42.

¹³ See footnote 9.

¹⁴ Strauss, Anselm (1991): *Creating Sociological Awareness. Collective Images and Symbolic Representations*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, pp. 233–268; Strauss, Anselm L. (1993): *Continual Permutations of Action* New York: Aldine – de Gruyter, pp. 209–243. Clarke, Adele (2005): *Situational Analysis. Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

– partly even including the social scientists. Actually, the life-long learning of the CSO worker even *educates and refines* the conceptual orientations of social scientists who are analytically working on the features of possible productive orientations towards the “entity” or “identities” of Europe. And, therefore, the values and principles of life-long learning of the CSO worker and its implication for mutual transnational cooperation will probably become the core of the value orientations and of the principles of cooperative work within the emerging European civil society.

In addition, the life-long learning principles of CSO workers with their focus on transnational cooperation have the “spiritual” power to educate the Europe-related orientations of the everyday citizen of the European Union: The orientation principles and the knowledge-generating social-epistemic mechanisms of the life-long learning of the CSO workers might become the role model for “learning Europe” – at least amongst children and adolescents in Europe.

But we have to take into account, that the interviews with the CSO workers also made clear that conditions for finding life paths and ways to vocational learning in order to become a CSO worker are highly prerequisite-rich, very improbable and extremely contingent. The future CSO worker must undergo specific *peripheral*, i.e. non-institutional and professionally non-focussed, learning processes¹⁵ in childhood and in later adolescent socialisation regarding trans-cultural and transnational interaction of reconciliation and protection of the natural environment. In addition, they also must undergo formal learning processes with the double focus just mentioned in nursery school, in elementary and secondary school as well as in university, in order to get into European trans-cultural and transnational cooperation and environmental protection. These complex basic learning processes of trans-cultural and transnational cooperation and environmental protection are early personality-shaping prerequisites for the more specific motivation and learning processes occurring biographically much later to become a CSO worker and to creatively develop and shape one’s CSO work. This especially holds true for the first and second generation of CSO workers: In the first generation the motivation for CSO work is very much shaped by the atrocious experiences of World War II, the German war crimes and the German crimes against humanity. In the second generation the motivation is shaped by the experience of having been entrapped within the confines of state socialist societies and their control system of secret service as well as within the

¹⁵ Lave, Jean, and Wenger, Etienne: *Situated Learning. Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press

“closed mind”¹⁶ connected with the life in it. Or the second generation is shaped by the experience of civil wars provoked by the resurgence, new focussing and re-formulation of ethnic-national or ethnic-religious cleavages and issues after the demise of the universalistic meaning canopy of the British empire or of the supra-national realm of the union of states and the socialist party power of former Yugoslavia. (The same holds true for the demise of the meaning canopy of the homo sovieticus in the former Soviet Union; “outcomes” of it are the civil war in Chechnya and, too, the intermittent conflict between Russia and Ukraine.) The experience and suffering of having been personally involved within these mighty collective-historical situations of mass crimes or mass conflicts have triggered and supported clumsy, but extremely intensive and deep-reaching learning processes. In effect, these learning processes constituted the basic layer of orientation of the later CSO workers for becoming sensitized and circumspect regarding the future historical memory and remembrance work, regarding the future atonement and reconciliation work, regarding the future border-transgressing cooperation work as well as regarding the future work of protecting the natural environment. The deep interest for environmental work at least partially stems – as some of our interviews show – from experiences of mass killing of human beings and of mass destruction of natural environments in World War I and II, especially from the experience of the impact of vast conventional shelling and bombing and the connected mass destruction of nature, from the experience of killing power of the nuclear bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, from the experience of being separated “from the others” through outstretched border fence constructions and of being entrapped within the confines of these encircling border fences, i.e. by being prohibited to transgress them, and from the experience of the real or at least *assumed* danger of the looming impact of nuclear plants on the health of the population and on the integrity of the natural environment and from the experience of the real impact of the nuclear waste and pollution resulting from their production activity, from their break-down and from their dismantling.

Expectedly or at least hopefully the third generation of CSO workers will not personally encounter most of these devastating experiences anymore, but the very nature of the humanistically spirited reaction to these experiences and the concomitant learning principles are pivotal for shaping the basic outlook on transnational reconciliation and cooperation work as well as on environmental protection work and for being aware of the danger that perpetrations of cruel, inhuman and nature-neglecting deeds can basically happen again. Therefore it

¹⁶ Rokeach, Milton (1960): *The Open and the Closed Mind*. New York: Basic Books

suggests itself that the third and following generations of CSO workers should be socialized into the learning principles derived from the atrocious historical and biographical experiences of the first and second generation of CSO workers and their humanistic reactions to them.

In addition, caused by the vanishing of the gloomy historical and biographical memories of the first and second generations of CSO activists, for the future we have to expect that the motivation base for entering the vocational socialisation processes of transnational reconciliation and cooperation work as well as, in addition, perhaps even of protection of the environment will shrink. Due to the vanishing of historic-biographical experiences, we have to expect for the future that the number of young persons interested in CSO work will become smaller and smaller. In addition, we have to take into account that the CSO work is dramatically badly paid, since it doesn't belong to the activities of the inner economic sphere of society. Not having been confronted with personal historical experiences of suffering in the two world wars and in the 44 years of post-war times of divided Europe that became the rock-bottom of European solidarity orientation and protection of the European environment, young people to the millions will tend to enter the – at least seemingly – easy-going venues of making money in the fields of economically oriented management and financing. Therefore it is even more a quite plausible expectation that in the future there will be a dangerous lack of CSO workers in Europe, who's activities are so extremely important for the coming together of the citizens of the European Union and for the growing together of institutions of the European Union and especially for the establishment of a lively transnational European civil society. And, therefore, the conclusion seems to be even more cogent that the teaching to children, young people and adults of the life-long learning principles of transnational cooperation and environmental work, which the first and second generation of CSO workers had explored and created, will be a basic means for fighting the upcoming danger of dramatic lack of CSO workers in the near future and/or of an increasing shallowness of their orientation. (The mentioned adults to be taught should especially be parents and grandparents of motivated children and adolescents as initiates for future CSO work in order to support their learning and vocational career.) – The teaching of the learning principles of transnational cooperation and environmental work will entice at least *some* young persons to enter CSO work proper and to get a thoroughgoing orientation towards it.

Of course, the very proposal that the CSO workers *themselves* should be included within the learning programmes could understandably cause their anger. They could be irritated and could (wrongly) feel that they should be

forcefully subjected to learning programmes which they themselves not only have learned to a full-fledged extent, but, on top of that, that they themselves or the members of a former generation of them, which memory they cherish, have even invented, explored and developed for the first time. In order to calm down such a possible anger, it should be clearly stated, that the suggested initiative for learning programmes is *mainly* meant for children and adolescents, who *still could become* CSO workers in the future to come. It is also meant for their parents and grandparents in order to accept and support the first hesitant or euphoric, but in any case insecure steps of their children and grandchildren to cross the cultural and national borders and to start types of solidarity and nature-protection work that brakes with traditional assumptions and ordinary work routines and that, moreover, is disrespectfully looked upon, since it doesn't belong to the social realms of post-modern easy-going money making procedures.

But, nevertheless, we have to admit, that our initiative for learning programmes also aims at *inexperienced initiates* of the third or even fourth generation of *young CSO workers themselves* in order that they would get enriched by the narratively recollected intensive experiences of the first and second generation of CSO workers (and even of the more informed and emotionally more compassionate members of the third generation of the CSO workers). Instead, the more informed and more compassionate members of the third generation of CSO workers grew up with the experiences and narratives of their parents and grandparents who told them about the atrocities of war and about crimes against humanity, on the one hand, and about the wonders of mental strength to fight and overcome these atrocities and crimes to be found in systematic attempts of trans-cultural understanding and transnational project cooperation, on the other. They do not need additional teaching, but they may help as co-teachers. – We got most of the ideas leading to our concrete suggestions for learning programmes to be spelled out below from the autobiographical narratives of our experienced CSO interview informants – partially even from informants of the third generation of CSO workers. Therefore an eventual intention to teach these experienced activists *something new* about the suggested learning programmes would be absurd.

Here is a final caveat against the misunderstanding that we would like to unduly instruct the so knowledgeable CSO activists themselves: Our insight might be agreeable for them, that all of the CSO workers can learn from analytical investigations and reflective supervision-type consultations how to deal with the

systematic difficulties of their professional work¹⁷. These difficulties especially become visible in the course of handling obstinate problems of organizing their cooperative work projects (including the spheres of financing, application, reporting and accounting), in being irritated and reflecting about systematic paradoxes of their work (e.g. serving as organisational representatives of their CSOs in international business meetings and in Brussels negotiations and, in this role, being forced to temporally ignore the requirement of having one's own personal voice of authenticity) and in considering, and working on, the intricacies of building suitable social networks, social worlds and social arenas for their own content-oriented CSO work, whereas there aren't any of these social elements or social building blocks in the beginning. – In looking at our autobiographical-narrative interviews, we have learnt a lot of these systematic difficulties from stories of problematic developments of project actions as arcs of work with a lack of articulation and from stories of the unfolding of problematic situations of work projects; some of them were expressed in a remarkably reflected way, others were just narratively expressed as a matter “seen but unnoticed¹⁸” without any reflective consideration. Still others were even partially faded out of the awareness of the narrator and had to be reconstructed through our text analysis. It seems to be sensible to suggest to the inexperienced younger CSO workers to participate in reflective supervision type or Balint group type of social arrangements¹⁹ for focussing and working through these work difficulties.

¹⁷ For systematic difficulties of professional work see: Schütze, Fritz, (2000): Schwierigkeiten bei der Arbeit und Paradoxien des professionellen Handelns. Ein grundlagentheoretischer Aufriss. In: ZBBS (Zeitschrift für qualitative Bildungs-, Beratungs- und Sozialforschung), Jg. 1, H 1, S. 49–96.

¹⁸ Garfinkel, H. (1967): *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, p. 36.

¹⁹ Balint, Michael (1968): Die Struktur der „Training-cum-Research“-Gruppen und deren Auswirkungen auf die Medizin. In: *Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse*, Vol. V/1968, pp. 125–146. Schütze, Fritz (2002): Supervision als ethischer Diskurs. In: Margret Kraul, Winfried Marotzki, Cornelia Schweppe (Hrsg.): *Biographie und Profession*. Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, Bad Heilbrunn, pp. 135–165.

**F) LEARNING PRINCIPLES THAT REPRESENT
THE ORIENTATION ESSENTIALS OF SOCIALISATION
FOR CSO WORK AND THAT, IN ADDITION, PROVIDE THE BASIC
RULES FOR ORIENTATION OF ACTUAL CSO WORK**

Having formulated all these caveats, we would like to state that in terms of content, the gist of our policy proposal is to encourage and support several kinds of *learning activities and learning arrangements among European professionals, activists and common citizens*: types of learning to cooperatively move within a “European mental space” and to become and identify oneself as a cooperative “European”.

Here an explanation of the concept of mental space is required²⁰. In order to transgress the demarcation lines – or the “borders” – between the very different national cultures and institutional realms of Europe, a quite fuzzy, but – at least in times of a “smooth flow” – productive and helpful phenomenon of epistemic procedures and knowledge for European integration work has emerged: the European mental space. It is an overarching stock of knowledge and shared mindset that enables European citizens to transgress all types of borders between the national realms. In addition it is an assortment of social arrangements and social organisations. The European “mental space” provides horizons of competitive or emulative comparison between achievements in terms of the standards of living or excellence of education in different European nations and in terms of chances for biographical plans and undertakings. It opens up a developmental space of new possibilities and opportunities, and it shapes the socialisation towards the acquisition of an open mind for seeing the space of new possibilities and for daring to enter it. The European “mental space” offers ideas, standards and procedures for cooperative projects of civil society organizations and professional work in and with various European nations. It provides for cross-national European arenas of professional discourse and the pertinent criteria of authenticity and critique. It asks for and strengthens cross-national moral orientations and quasi-transcendental beliefs in Europe (e.g. “No more war in Europe.”). It stresses the value of basic solidarity between the economically weak and the economically strong countries, and it underlines the importance of fairness and equity of transnational redistribution mechanisms (for example, the

²⁰ For a more detailed discussion see: Fritz Schütze and Anja Schröder-Wildhagen: European Mental Space and its Biographical Relevance. Erscheint in: Robert Miller, Graham Day et. al. (eds.) The Evolution of European Identity: Biographical Approaches. London: Palgrave 2012

principle that “paying countries” can sell their goods in “receiving countries” without restriction, but vice versa they have to help financially in times of severe crisis), and in this context it also supports the trust in a liminal reconciliation between the logic of moral responsibilities and the logic of economic markets. The European “mental space” asks for common ordering procedures in certain fields of public and private life in order to make transnational occupational mobility and transnational family life possible, e.g. in terms of excluding double tax payment and to provide for transnationally integrated social security and health insurance. Critical assessment of shortcomings of the democratic achievements in Europe notwithstanding, the European mental space nurtures basic trust in the politicians’ obeying to central democratic principles within the processes of cooperation between the political processes of the national and the European levels, for example regarding the division of powers and the subsidiary principle²¹. It also backs trust in the cooperative outcomes of the proceedings and the negotiations of the European Parliament, the Brussels Commission and the European Council of national government representatives in the specific sense that various actors of different nations with their very different perspectives can accomplish better analysis and decisions than just mono-national actors with their nationally confined perspectives can do. On the other hand, the European mental space entices critical assessment of the democratic shortcomings of these political processes.

These kinds of mental activities and social arrangements for them can be fostered in different ways: by legal regulations and administrative ordinances, by constructing organizational platforms and rules, by establishing and financing European support programmes and educational projects, by creating transnational social worlds and social arenas of the professions (the “humble” ones as, for example, elementary and primary education and social work might especially profit from such arena building), by constructing training and educational programmes, by establishing procedures and social arenas of comparison and critique, including stating substantive and procedural criteria for critique, as well as by the counselling and reflective supervision of professionals and activists. Two principles are central for the European mental space: taking the perspective of the national other and mutually believing in the cooperative attitude and habitus of the national other. In normal times the orientation towards these

²¹ Matthes, Joachim (1964): *Gesellschaftspolitische Konzeptionen im Sozialhilferecht*. Stuttgart: Enke, pp. 31-45

two principles and their social arrangement provide a basic trust relationship²² towards European spheres of activities, but it is a trust mechanism not stemming from the assumption of a strong unified collective identity, but from the mutual trust decisions and projections of separate interaction partners who deal with each other, accommodate to each other and partially understand each other in a sufficient degree.

Everyday citizens of the European Union are mentally affected by the orientations and social mechanisms of European mental space and partially move within it (in fact, in times of absence of inner-European severe cross-national conflicts they provide biographically relevant orientations), but the everyday citizens are not used to reflectively state its categories and principles. On the other hand, such achievements of reflective thought can be observed among activists of European integration like, for example, reconciliation workers and the members of transnational schoolbook commissions, and among the activists and professionals working in European programmes like Comenius, Leonardo, Erasmus, and Grundtvig. For them the European mental space becomes a focussing device for new, creative biographical developments. And vice versa, these activists of European integration additionally nurture the European mental space of orientation with some definite categories and networking procedures. – However, the European mental space is much less than an integrated set of values and beliefs of a defined European culture and collective identity. Nevertheless, exactly this feature of “loose binding” makes it sufficiently flexible, so it can be used in many difficult situations of new cooperative beginnings. (On the other hand, the question is, if this “soft power” of “loose binding” will also function in very critical situations and states of crisis. But there are some hopeful signs that it will do.)

Just to give an example for one of the learning programmes within the orientation framework of the European mental space, which we got informed about by (pseudonym:) Zofia Pajak, a middle-aged Polish CSO worker of the second generation, whose father as an adolescent had been forced by the occupying Nazi Germans to work as a slave labourer on a farm. This CSO worker developed a training course for simulating the proceedings of an international court of criminal justice in order to let the alleged perpetrators of hate crimes (for example the mass killings of Tutsis by Hutus in Rwanda), the alleged perpetrators of war crimes (like the killing of children and women in My Lai by American troops in the Vietnam War) and the alleged perpetrators of crimes against humanity

²² Endreß, Martin (2002): Vertrauen. Bielefeld: Transcript

(like the German ones against Jews and Sinti and Roma or the mass killings in Kampuchea) be legally accused, treated, convicted and sentenced. The Polish CSO worker used to especially concentrate on the role of *individuals* perpetrating those hate crimes, war crimes and crimes against humanity or being responsible for them in terms of planning them and/or giving order for conducting them, and she would also give special attention to *intellectuals* who triggered the violence through the writing of articles or books and through the production of audio and visual mass media broadcastings oriented by hate, anger, contempt and ideology.

Her aim behind developing this learning and training course and organizing and supervising it for several years was to raise the level of awareness of young people towards the *personal responsibility* of collective mass murder crimes and towards the *special individual responsibility of intellectuals* for laying the mental grounds of such crimes (and fighting against the assumption that they are just naturally triggered from a potential of ready-made “cruel” or “bad” human nature for violence and atrocities). Specifically for *German* adolescents the learning programme for the simulation of an international criminal court proofed to be educationally important. They were enticed to develop the ability to *differentiate* between the *collective* and *individual* responsibility for, and connectedness with, the hate crimes, war crimes and crimes against humanity of the Germans in Nazi times. Instead of having the experience of being automatically ascribed and fixed as individual members of a criminal collectivity and passively accepting this ascription, the young Germans could learn to actively find out about the individual and personal guilt of many Germans of the Nazi generation perpetrating these collective crimes and about the ways to hinder new individual and collective beginnings of similar crimes that mostly start with intellectual sins. – Here is the excerpt from the interview transcription²³:

N: Eh, the the problem of of of the masterminds behind the scenes of the, of a crime. For instance, with journalists who call up to murder. To what extent is someone like that responsible and burdened eh eh with guilt, to what extent can you convict him? And then also the level, to what extent can the judge really punish? To what extent are processes, inter- like international criminal proceedings able to punish genocide? Because, of course, this is a question which exists since the First World War. Since then there have been the

²³ The interview with Zofia Pajak was conducted in German by Anja Schröder-Wildhagen. The German transcription of the interview was translated into the English language by Erika E. Gericke. As far as possible, the translator attempted to reproduce the exact equivalent of the transcribed spoken German interview text in her English translation with all its self-interruptions, self-corrections, fashions of speaking, etc. Of course, every hint to the identity of the informant and her organization was eliminated.

first attempts to create an international penal jurisdiction. And eh this this simulation is part of the event. - These informations and deliberations are always done in the mornings. And in the afternoons there is, there is the phase of personal reflection of the participants. There is so-to-speak human rights training. Then there are discussion groups.

I: And these are always also experts who then differentiate it a bit, well this/for instance, the judicial background?

N: Yes. Yes. They always have the work// Well, there is a preparation phase first, and then there is the simulation phase and reflection phase.

I: Hm.

N: And there is, well there are two formats. One for university students; an abstract case will be done there. But which has to do with true cases. It is more judicial-focused. And one for school pupils // Well there is the former group of sixteen- to eighteen-year olds and the university students; there are true cases. Where there are also the names and so forth. Which you know from the newspaper or which you recognize, right.

I: Mhm. Mhm.

N: Well, also to spark interest in such things. Hm, and I mean, by the end of the day it's not about the fixation [of young individual members of later generations of a nation that had perpetrated collective crimes against humanity in former days]. But surely it's not about, for instance, to remember present day German teenagers on what bad things Germans have done. Because it is simply so far away from them.

I: Yes. That's right.

N: And it is not about to always affix the guilt somewhere and someone to.

I: Right.

N: But it is about that you develop sensitivity, right. That you#

(Zofia Pajak: Page 36, lines 1-26)

In our empirical interview materials we already discovered quite a lot of varieties of such “European” learning activities and learning arrangements that were invented, introduced, developed and practiced by CSO workers. And in fact, even social scientists can learn from them; by those imports from the social world of CSO work they are enabled to enrich the body of theoretical scientific knowledge on cooperative behaviour, on taking the perspectives of the others as well as on encountering, interpreting and handling the culturally strange and approaching the cultural stranger. They can also learn how in adjudicating contexts young people deal with the contrasting behaviours of hate, criminal violence and crimes against humanity. – But nevertheless, such varieties of already

existing practices amongst CSO professionals and activists can *additionally* be strengthened and supported by focussed meta-learning programmes and additional educational considerations of social science and by accompanying material, organizational and social measures of special political support that enhance the learning opportunity and intensity of young people, including initiates to CSO work, within such learning arrangements of the European mental space and its universal moral principles.

The following general kinds of learning dimensions are important for European mental spacing and identity work:

- learning how to deal with collective over-abstractions, resulting in prejudices, regarding the social categorization of members of other nations²⁴ (e.g., as seen from, for example, a British perspective: “most German are without any humour”). – One of the learning mechanism regarding social categorization is ironical playing with those over-abstractions and letting them become absurd as it is the case with the novels of the Scottish author Alexander McCall Smith about German scientists and their lack of humour (“Portugese Irregular Verbs”, etc.) or with the Austrian joke about the tube of Tauern tunnel as the most favourite picnic place of Dutch caravan-vehicle tourists visiting the Austrian Alps;

- learning how to deal with aggression and violence in cross-national and cross-cultural relationships as seen as relationships between collective we-communities (collective identities) with all their potentials for collective abstraction and conflict-escalation mechanisms. - The task is here to see the very personal responsibility of individual actors, including oneself, for aggression and violence, although it seems to be mentally exerted just on the level of relationships between collective identities (and not on the level of generalized relationships between individual actors) and their abstraction mechanisms;

- learning to search for, to recognize and to use the European opportunity space. – This includes all its regulations (like the mutual acceptance of university certificates by virtue of the Bologna process), deregulations (for example, the quitting of border controls), exchange programmes (like those about the exchange of apprentices within the Leonardo educational scheme), ways of financially supporting (for example, giving seed money for the development of an international initiative of collaborative environmental work) and application procedures for material assistance (e.g., for the yearly EU remuneration of farmers), etc.;

²⁴ Waniek, Katarzyna (2006): The Biographies and Identities of the Young Polish Immigrants in Germany after 1989. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg

- learning to compare (for example, the level of agrarian techniques and technology in Eastern and Western countries) and to think within the comparative European mental frame of benchmarking and assessing. – This implies: to search for criteria (e.g., for the standards of national and transnational nature parks), to use criteria of European excellence in a sophisticated, circumspect way (in order to understand which criteria are applicable, and which are not, under certain given circumstances), to engage in criticism and self-criticism regarding one's individual and collective national routines and mistakes, to circumspectly use fair adjudication procedures for individual and national achievements as well as to search for promising ways of one's own individual or national improvement of work achievement in certain social arenas (e.g. as an ecological farmer or as a country with excellent ecological agrarian products);
- learning to communicate cross-culturally and to take the perspectives of the nationally and culturally other. – This includes to do social relating to cultural others and to find the culturally other, or even the many culturally others, in oneself and in ourselves, too; to learn cross-cultural and cross-national understanding and how to overcome its difficulties; as well as to learn to establish social arrangements for trans-cultural and transnational cooperation and for dealing with its specific misunderstandings;
- learning to do work projects together in transnational²⁵ collaboration. – This covers: to find and establish features and provisions for demarcation and for tying in order to establish a fruitful division of labour and a productive articulation of work lines, work sorts and work steps between the members of various types of occupations and professions and to establish a dependable mutual trust relationship

²⁵ For the concept of transnational relationships, transnational networks, transnational space and transnational cooperation see: Smith, Michael Peter, and Guarnizo, Luis Eduardo (eds., 2003): *Transnationalism from Below*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction. Faist, Thomas, and Özveren, Eyüp (2004): *The Border-Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics*, Aldershot/England: Ashgate. Souti, Irini (2011): *Vom Gastarbeiterkind zur Transmigrantin. Eine biographieanalytische Untersuchung über Transmigrationsprozesse bei der Nachfolgegeneration griechischer ArbeitsmigrantInnen*. PhD. Dissertation of Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt (will be published in Bielefeld: Transcript). – In regard to the analysis of migratory processes on the two American continents and on the European continent, the concepts of transnational space and of transnational networks are normally applied to the relationships of influence and cooperation between the activities of migrant populations in their countries of destinations, on the one hand, and the activities of their families, relatives, friends, communities and local politicians – and, quite often, their own activities, too – in their "home" countries of origin, on the other. But the basic idea of cooperative trans-border relationships can also be applied to the analysis of concrete collaborations of citizens of different European nations in general without a clear-cut migration history.

between the cross-national or cross-cultural project members. The latter can be accomplished through one's believing in the willingness of the other party to cooperate and through the other party's believing in the willingness of oneself to cooperate. Both sides of the interaction relationship must authentically present oneself as really assuming that the other party would and will cooperate and moreover that the other party would and will believe in the trust and cooperation orientation of the first party (what is called "social idealisations" or "interaction postulates of cooperativity"²⁶);

- learning how in national (or even transnational) conflict constellations between two parties (especially in the relationship between the national government and the electorate or in the relationship between two opponents in national politics) it is manageable to hinder the overwhelming tendency that a "third party" factually uninvolved in the conflict situation - in our case: Europe - is the convenient object to blame, and that means: has to serve as the collective scapegoat (for national politicians, for the common citizen, etc.). - This tendency to blame the scapegoat Europe ironically comes up especially within situations, where European laws, procedures and ordinances are not involved at all;

- learning to do cross-national networking and to communicate in transnational social worlds and social arenas (like transnational arenas for claims of labour unions). - It seems to be especially important to construct and establish new transnational professional social worlds and to develop international quality criteria and international educational standards of professional work within these social worlds. The latter can be, for example, standards for nursery school education or for social case work or standards for the work of running national environmental parks (e.g., would it be o.k. that private farms are allowed to operate in such a park; would it be o.k. that artificial lakes and water power plants are allowed to be established in such a park?). The discussion of such standards can lay the grounds for the professionalization of substantive (content-focussed) work in a certain social world and for the related arena ("meta") work. (Arena work basically consists of the definition of the central concepts and of the general

²⁶ Schütz, Alfred (1962): *Collected Papers, Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality*. Edited and introduced by Maurice Natanson, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 10–14. Mead, George Herbert (1934): *Mind, Self and Society. From the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Edited and Introduced by Charles Morris. Chicago. University of Chicago Press, part IV. Grice, H. P. (1989). *Studies in the Ways of Words*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press. Schütze, Fritz (1980): *Interaktionspostulate - am Beispiel literarischer Texte (Dostojewski, Kafka, Handke u.a.)*. In: Hess-Lüttich, E.W.B (Hrsg.): *Literatur und Konversation. Sprachsoziologie und Pragmatik in der Literaturwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden (Athenaion), S. 72–94.

nature and overall limits of topics and contents of the specific higher-symbolic stock of knowledge of the professional social world and its relationship towards single cases. It also contains the definition of criteria for the differentiation between authentic activities within the professional social world and inauthentic quack activities beyond it, of setting the standards for assessing the quality of the required work within the professional social world, as well as of providing procedures and criteria for the critique of these work activities and their products. It finally establishes institutions and procedures for the enactment of formal education regarding the acquisition of the specific competences of professional work within the social world.²⁷); as well as

- learning to take into regard the physiognomy of European space (that means: the territorial, natural, mental and social dimensions of it) for the protection of the natural environment. This concern for the physiognomy of European space can be witnessed in the establishment of the international green-belt park within the “no-where lands” of the former Iron Curtain border areas crossing the European continent. It can also be seen in the provisions for a European cooperation structure of national or bi- and tri-national nature parks with their problems of acceptance or non-acceptance of farming and operating water power stations, on the one hand, and of setting the standards for recreating, reconstructing and/or protecting “untouched nature”, on the other. The concern for the physiognomy of European space can also be watched in the improvement of the conditions of several Northern European estuaries flowing into the North Sea regarding the protection of their embankments and their surrounding natural environments. Focussed on the question of the further economic and technical development of the estuary regions in terms of harbour, dockyard and shipbuilding industries, the emergence of comparable national and regional social arenas can be observed for discussing an acceptable *modus-vivendi* relationship between big ship movement, on the one hand, and protection of the river bed and its banks as well as of keeping alive the fishing businesses, on the other, under the economic pressures of mutual and world-wide competition; etc.).

- At the very end of this list of stating basic learning principles for European mental spacing and identity work, we would like to quote just one additional piece of transcript from our autobiographical narrative interviews – a piece of transcript that expresses several of these learning principles in combination. Again it is from the already quoted interview with Zofia Pajak, the Polish CSO worker of the second generation of CSO workers. (For the advantage of simplicity of

²⁷ See footnote 14.

presentation, throughout this article we will stay with excerpts and examples from this very impressive interview for further quotes and discussions of empirical examples.) The middle-aged informant with a Ph.D. in history is working in a Polish-German reconciliation organization of civil society that does a lot of work in conducting European programmes of mutual understanding, transnational cooperation and historical memory work. She is personally working very hard in filling these programmes with substance. Her NGO is especially focused on detecting and fighting harmless looking beginnings of bi- or multi-national or bi- or multi-ethnic conflicts that later turn out to become dangerous and difficult to control. These conflicts are always stirred up by the individual manipulation and intensification of processes of mutual abstract categorization of collective, especially national and ethnic, identities that escalate and end up in stereotypes and prejudices. The Polish-German NGO fights any beginnings of hate crimes and crimes against humanity which are always started and carried through by individual criminal deeds and individual involvements and which by personal manipulation and personal reaction to it can escalate into atrocious conflicts).

First of all, the transcript excerpt deals with the problem of how to transmit and mediate the historical and biographical experiences of former infelicitous generations, who were subdued by, partially even succumbed to, and generally had to suffer under the impact of collective trajectories of mass crimes and mass destruction (e.g., of the Nazi era and of the Stalinist era), to the following generations living under much more felicitous historical circumstances. The informant knows that special learning and training programmes using the authentic autobiographical voices of individual members of the experiential generation(s) can become very supportive for fulfilling the task to transmit and mediate the historical and biographical experiences of mass crimes and mass suffering and of the personal fights against it.

Via the medium of training courses and learning programmes the historical teaching of the Polish-German NGO also conveys the understanding that socio-historical event constellations which develop into deathly wars and into the escalation of mass hate crimes can again and again arise from tiny instances of writings of nationalistically or ethnically minded intellectuals and of stereotyping articles of journalists who are focussed on their own we-communities (nations or ethnicities). They are always interested in emotionally inflaming news about escalating conflict issues between one's own and other we-communities (especially national and ethnic ones) as well as in drawing unfair comparisons between the virtues and achievements of one's own and the vices and shortcomings of other, (nationally and ethnically) different we-communities. (E.g., during the

emergence of the Greek debt crisis the German “Bild-Zeitung” had started an unfair comparison between the allegedly easy-going and lazy Greeks and the allegedly hard-working Germans – fading out of awareness the still vigorously existing Greek recollections of the German war crimes in Greece seventy years ago.). An important additional favourite condition for these dangerous escalation processes is the absolute we-centeredness (within a contrast-set to “them”, the other nations or ethnicities) of national politicians stressing the allegedly legitimate national interests or sacred claims of “our” nation and its history and disclaiming any legitimizing references to a larger all-encompassing European we-community including the other European nations and ethnicities.

But the transcript also deals with the power of cooperation work, of taking the perspectives of the others and of triangulating third and more standpoints of view in order to reach at a fair and “objective” perspective of the “generalized other” (in the understanding of George Herbert Mead²⁸). Through this triangulation of perspectives one can arrive at a fair assessment of mutual claims. Then it even becomes possible that the interests and requests of contending we-communities (especially nations and ethnicities) can unanimously be weighed against each other. In our transcript, the two aspects – that one of the potential for cross-national or cross-ethnic conflict, collective violence and collective hate crimes, on the one hand, and that one of mutual transnational and trans-ethnic understanding and cooperation, on the other – are sensitively brought together by virtue of the metaphorical picture of the “difficulties in a marriage relationship” and of the ways for overcoming them by means of understanding, cooperation and working them through.

N: Well, these are all things where you really have to approach very – from different sides. And and and it really does work, I find the past being very valuable, how much we can reclaim for the future, right.

I: Great, yes. Yes.

N: And I mean, that's why I tell you: I am worried about what will be, if it isn't anymore// Because these older people they can still talk in a matchless emotional way about their biographies. And that is authentic. And the teenagers notice that, right.

I: Yes, right. Hm.

N: And it is simply about that they see this can be the case.

I: Hm.

²⁸ See footnote 12.

N: And we are not immune of that once and for all. But it is always an effort; we have to see how we get on with each other. That already is so difficult in a marriage. How shall this be among the nations? How shall this be if// You have noticed what has happened between Germany and Poland, Poland and Europe by both Kaczinskys at the moment. [The interview was conducted just after the peak of conflict between the Polish and German government regarding the voting power of the two nations in the European Parliament and regarding the representational weight of the two nations in the other governing institutions of Europe; the interview was done after the Lisbon decisions and after voting Jaroslaw Kaczinsky out of his office as prime minister of Poland. It was done before the tragic death of President Lew Kaczinsky]

I: #Yes, how the relationship has changed.

N: how, how this is dependent of so many// There are always people who who who who will insist on that you only push through your own interests. We have had the experience again and again. With England, with France, also with Germany. – And to find a compromise there, and not to forget the little ones there. But not to give the big ones only the feeling that they only give [Pajak is referring to the contributions of smaller and larger national states of the European Unions to the overall budget of the EU; she is also dealing with the “problem” of large and affluent nation states to become overall “net payers” or “Nettozahler” as it is coined in German].

I: Yes.

N: That is a highly difficult thing. And the youth has to exercise that. The things don't come by themselves.

I: Yes.

N: Right? And to give a place there where they can exercise this, that is great. And that will be// You know, this is done by many trusts, many organisations, meeting places on many levels with different projects. And that is the hope, right. – That is really the hope.

(Zofia Pajak, p. 47, lines 14-41)

The just quoted transcript excerpt combines some of the above listed elementary learning principles, i.e. those of dealing with cross-cultural aggression, of dealing with collective over-abstractions, of taking the perspective of the culturally (or nationally) other, of winning the cooperative mood through joint trans-cultural work projects as well as of taking third positions and doing fair comparisons and assessments.

Basically we can say that the CSO activists and professionals who are mentally and socially moving through the European mental space, somewhat know about the learning dimensions listed above, they have acquired a general

attitude and stance towards the European mental space, and they also practice the principles and mechanisms of it to a certain degree. But most of their orientation and activities just are of the quality of “seen but unnoticed”²⁹, i.e. adopted and done in a routine way and without much reflection during the ongoing work. CSO practitioners somehow know what to do, but they are not prone to think about it all the time in a way that explicitly triangulates the perspectives of all the interactants involved and gives systematic reasons for what one is used to do. – But this also means: contrastively, by intentionally and consciously focussing and reflecting on these “seen but unnoticed” practices they could be done much more circumspectly and much more “socially arranged” than it is possible before such a reflective focussing has been done. – This is quite pivotal since not only everyday citizens but even some of the (younger) activists and professionals working on European CSO topics are still quite far away from a systematized general attitude and stance towards a European mental space as well as from circumspectly practicing and from reflectively rethinking at least some of the learning dimensions listed above.

Now, of course, taking the basic learning principles and procedural mechanisms of the European mental space into account, the question is: what could be offered as more concrete policy suggestions for the several areas of European CSO work? At first glance, we see six types of policies:

(1) developing general formats of training courses in European understanding and trans-national cooperation and supporting these courses by financial means and professional counselling,

(2) developing general formats of programmes for the short exploration of European history and supporting these courses by financial means and professional counselling,

(3) developing general formats of programmes for exploring the European natural space in favour of the protection of nature and supporting these courses by financial means and professional counselling,

(4) developing training programmes for the improvement of handling the practical circumstances of the work of CSO workers and for the accomplishment of the accompanying organizational and logistic tasks,

(5) developing support programmes for the supervision-type self-reflective and self-critical focussing and reflecting on European problems and paradoxes and on the difficulties connected with them, and finally:

²⁹ See footnote 18.

(6) developing support programmes for social world training and social arena training.

**G) FIRST SUGGESTION FOR LEARNING PROGRAMMES
IN FAVOUR OF CSO WORK: *TRAINING COURSES IN EUROPEAN
UNDERSTANDING AND TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION***

Training courses in European understanding and transnational cooperation for younger and even older everyday citizens of Europe should be proliferated and strengthened. In addition, they should serve not only as exploration and exercise in transnational understanding for the general populace, but also as a specific biographical orientation background and competence base for later CSO workers. The following programmes are conceivable:

(1) Programmes of ethnographic excursions

Ethnographic excursions serve the task for exploring different national cultures and for learning to do transnational comparisons on the empirical base of newly and personally collected empirical data (e.g. reports of the observation of intriguing situations, autobiographical narrative interviews, collected pieces of cherished national literature, etc.). This should always be done with students from at least two nations travelling around within the country of a third nation and doing an ethnographic excursion together, where they meet their host interaction partners from the third nation. Under the guidance, witness and interpretative and critical reaction of the latter the visitors from (at least two) different nations will mutually focus, describe, wonder about, interpret, discuss, and criticise features of the national culture under study. – The triangulation of at least three perspectives of looking at the country of ethnographic interest – two perspectives coming from outside cultural circles and one coming from the interior culture and its general worldview – is permanently necessary, and through the process of permanent trans-cultural triangulation the universalizing perspective of assessment from a “third position” of standpoints is established and becomes effective.

Ethnographic excursions have additional general features as for example:

(a) When looking at a whole gamut of unknown socio-historically specific phenomena of a foreign national culture that should be newly approached, one should firstly focus on the strangest ones (as seen from the distant and different cultural background brought-in by the visiting participants of the excursion).

(b) One should then look at phenomena collectively focussed by the host national society and its discourse arenas – that means: at central problem areas, at places

of intensive collective self-presentation and at difficulties in relating to traditional cultural traits and their historical legacy. (c) One should also look at features of everyday culture (like the interior outfit and the routine proceedings of a nationally typical local pub or like culturally specific sports). And (d) finally one should look at work situations of “best practice” and their socialisation mechanisms (as, e.g., master craftsmen’s presentations and the dual vocational education in Germany). The collected empirical material has to be analyzed and worked through in the above mentioned triangulating epistemic mood and ethnographic style using the social arrangement of an “exploration adventure” or even of a tri-national research workshop.

(2) Programmes of short-term excursions of school children to other countries connected with visiting a school there.

On the one hand, they should be enacted quite early within the school career of school children, in order that the flexibility and energy (or “malleability”) in young children regarding their encounter with, and productive relating to, culturally strange peer children could be harnessed. On the other hand, there are two sorts of problems involved. (a) Because of the early age of the school children, in which the excursions should take place, it should be considered that it is difficult for younger school children to stay away from home for a longer time. Therefore the excursions should be of really short duration (e.g., three to five days), or there should be social arrangements that parents or grandparents would accompany the school children and would have their own programme of transnational education, but would stay most part of the day apart from their children or grandchildren (in the course of their own agenda of education and on the base of their accommodation in a hotel nearby). (b) And it has to be taken into account, that such a short-term exchange visit could also strengthen non-circumspect trans-cultural social categorization or even misleading trans-cultural stereotypes of the visiting school children towards the members of the host national culture that they have inherited from their own parents and/or grandparents or that were handed over by peer school children of their own nation and then being enforced by their own misleading circumstantial experiences.

Special social arrangements and procedures for the “liquefaction” or “fluidisation” of such possible simplifying social categories or misleading stereotypes should be invented and developed. One simple arrangement would be the foreign school child’s participation within the everyday family life of her or his foster family. But even this measure could cause new misunderstandings. E.g., younger school children quite often don’t like unfamiliar food, and this could entice crude stereotypes in them about strange food habits of the host

culture. Or the visiting school child would like to participate in the cooking or in other daily chores of the host family, and the host mother is not used to this habit and misunderstands it as “mistrust” or “flattery” of the visiting child. Therefore, a supervising counsellor should collectively teach the school children and the involved adults about the occurrences and the handling of trans-cultural misunderstandings and, in addition, should individually counsel in cases of special difficulties. It might even be sensible to conduct a research project regarding the typical problems, paradoxes and misunderstandings involved. (Some of them already came out of the autobiographical narrative interviews with high school and university students having been abroad with one or the other of the well-known exchange services.)

Generally speaking, in dealing with the proposed short-term excursions of school children, it seems to be necessary to go beyond the normal type of “school-class travel” by means of formats of quasi-ethnographic intercultural adventure trips and to make sure that for the involved school children those excursions do not become just another institutionally requested awkward routine. – In addition, as a very first step, there should be border-transgressing internationally shared work projects of children from different nations *without* full-grown exchange visits or even without a border-transgressing travel of involved children at all; that could even be transnational work projects of nursery school children as reported in the “Ewa” interview of the Lodz team of our “Euroidentities” research project).

(3) Programmes of learning to take the perspectives of national others and of accomplishing cross-national mutual understanding.

All types of historical stories of national conflicts, which look utterly different from the various standpoints of national cultures involved should be retold, interpreted and commented by at least discussants from three different nations including the nations involved in the conflict story. The perspective of a third or even fourth national standpoint is always pivotal, since it can turn out to be a neutral one in its general tendency, or it can *at least hint* to the detached point of view of a generalized other, or it could be even lively embodied by a very circumspect co-discussant from the third or fourth nation not having been involved in the historical conflict story. Such a mutual mirroring of standpoints would also include the self-experience and self-reflection of detecting the otherness in ourselves and in one’s personal self and of dealing with it in a self-critical and, at the same time, self-encouraging way.

Stories to be analyzed or discussed can be actual or recent political conflicts like the Polish-German conflict about the right and fair procedure of weighing the national numbers of votes for the European Parliament during the time period of

public discussion before the Lisbon conference. In methodical terms, the training of taking the perspective of the cultural or national other and doing a triangulation of the national points of view could be done by looking at and analyzing newspaper articles from the involved nations reporting or commenting about the conflict of the involved two nations. The empirical material for taking the perspective of the other can also be historical stories of bi-national conflicts stemming from the cherished national literature of a country like that one of Konrad Wallenrod by Adam Mickiewicz. (Wallenrod was a displaced Lithuanian child living in the Marienburg of the Teutonic Order of Knights, became the grand master of the order and led the army of the Teutonic order in a war theatre, where it could only lose the campaign).

In addition, all stories of persons *behaving differently as expected* by the dominant trans-national categorization could be suitable for the exploration and training of taking the perspective of the national other and doing a triangulation of the involved national standpoints. A good example would be the life and conduct of the German officer Wilm Hosenfeld, who protected the Jewish-Polish pianist Wladislaw Szpielman in the Warsaw Rising. Empirical materials are the personal documents of Szpielman and Hosenfeld and also the famous film “The Pianist” by Roman Polanski. – Further on, the empirical material could be all types of bi- and tri-national encounter stories dealing with dramatic misunderstandings and misinterpretations – some of them experienced by the participants of the learning programme themselves.

Finally, the task of taking the perspective of the nationally and/or culturally other and of handling the systematic communicative misunderstandings involved could also be explored, trained and demonstrated on the empirical base of problems of coming to terms with cross- national and/or cross-cultural misunderstandings and conflicts of how to protect a cross- or even trans-nationally shared national environment. (Such a conflict can happen in transnational environmental parks, and it can be focussed on endangered locations and on endangered species, etc.). The basic national concepts of treating and protecting of the natural environments can be totally different. (As an example one should consider the very different national and cultural concepts of how to exert one’s property right of and on one’s own soil and territory.)

(4) Programmes of learning reconciliation work in connection with historical remembrance work.

Joint programmes of learning reconciliation work in connection with historical remembrance work are not only connected with historical places of outstanding atrocities and collective crimes against humanity, but also with tragico-ironical

war events between nations. (On example for the latter might be the battle of Langensouzbach between French national and German coalition forces in August 1870, where 20.000 young men died on a beautiful summer day and in a beautiful summer night on a lush meadow underneath trees abundantly carrying apples and plums in a delightful countryside).

(5) Programmes of integrating ethnic minorities.

Programmes of integrating ethnic minorities should be focussed not only on gaining the acceptance of members of the majority group in order to make them willing to accept the cooperation with members of minority groups. They should also be addressed to the task that members of the majority group gain the acceptance of the members of *ethnic minority* groups, who might tend to hate visitors from the outside wider society as members of the subduing majority group.

(6) Programmes of integrating members of third parties

Integrating programmes are focussed on and include as the majority of participants persons with disabilities or on ethnic or religious minorities, etc. These integration programmes must be conducted by members of at least three different national work parties cooperating and competing with each other in order to realize how the differences in capacities or in ethnic or religious features look different from different perspectives and how transgressing the barriers of differences reveals the underlying communality of a shared interactive work logic.

(7) Programmes of learning to do networking as well as of conducting intercultural project management and transnational cooperative arcs of work.

Such networking programmes could include quite mundane work projects in schools of general education, in occupational schools and in universities with tasks like: to mutually work together and to prepare a paper on an interesting phenomenon in the country of the cooperation partner or to do a comparative exploration on such a phenomenon in both countries or to conduct a small joint construction project via using skype and e-mail and perhaps via additionally embarking on short reciprocal visits. The problem is that in most cases only quite a small amount of willingness and energy potential is locally available to support those mundane projects. It is difficult to find enough locally situated support at local schools or to get it from local parents as well as from local professionals and local voluntary activists in civil society associations. For most of the local potential for willingness to support and for investing energy is already absorbed by large international exchange organisations in favour of longer lasting “real exchanges”. In the attempt to tackle this problem, special European competition programmes that announce small prizes to be won could become quite helpful.

For now, there are seven types of learning and training programmes for *European understanding and transnational cooperation*. – It should be considered that most of the existing learning programmes for encouraging the European mental space are focussed on adolescents, late adolescents and young adults. Of course, the rationale behind this is that the financial spending should create long term results, which is to be expected from young learners with an assumingly long life in the future. But, on the other hand, the influence of mothers and grandmothers (or parents and grandparents in general) on how it will be possible to apply, to contextualize and to re-specify to one's own local reality what the homecoming child or grandchild has learnt abroad in another European country might be pivotal. That means: not only the children, but also the parents and grandparents should be involved within the proposed learning process. This fits very well with the live-long learning perspective of the overall Grundtvig programme scheme of the European Union.

The Grundtvig-inspired educational programmes as applied to the fields of CSO work should enable trans-generational learning processes and focus on their special procedures. European learning programmes can be speeded up or, just to the contrary, retarded or even hindered by parents, especially by mothers, as transmitters and guardians of family culture and – through the medium of family transmission– of local and national culture. Parents, especially mothers, can stylize family, local and national culture as endangered by other-national, cross-national and European experiences. – A special focus should also be on the home comer her- or himself, i.e. on her or his after-programme re-working of what she or he has experienced and learnt abroad and how she or he can apply it to “home stuff” (being in the situation of an enthusiastic, euphoric or irritated or even depressed home comer).

H) SECOND SUGGESTION FOR LEARNING PROGRAMMES IN FAVOUR OF CSO WORK: *PROGRAMMES OF SHORT EXPLORATION OF EUROPEAN HISTORY*

Programmes of short exploration of European history for younger and even older everyday European citizens should be developed and locally offered. The first type of topics for history courses must be topics of the recent infelicitous, atrocious, crime-laden European history, especially:

(a) inter-nation violent conflicts as that one having resulted in the extinction of the Polish-Lithuanian statehood caused by the Prussian kingdom, the Russian

Empire and the Austrian Empire at the end of the 18th century, the three wars between France and Germany between 1870 and 1945 and similar war conflicts in Europe; as well as

(b) the Fascist and Nazi movements and the atrocious deeds effected by these movements: The crimes of holocaust, other crimes against humanity, war crimes and the mass destruction of World War II have been final results of these movements; as well as

(c) the rise and fall of the Stalinist dictatorships and state-socialist party oligarchies: This led to the cutting-off and seclusion of individual citizens and political resistance groups in the countries of the Warsaw Pact from the liberties and the cultural movements of the “Free World” of Western democracies, as it could be watched from distance as taking place especially in the nearby Western European countries; as well as

(d) the ethno-religious conflicts after the demise of the “sacred canopies” of the Homo Sovieticus, the Homo Yugoslavicus, the Homo Britannicus.

The second type of topics for short explorations of European history should be synergetic cross- and transnational processes within European history (like medieval scientific exchange; like the development of European music; like the development of transnational social arenas of art; like former supra-national umbrella and unification processes, which could be partially envisioned as non-colonial (e.g., the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland or the later history of the Austrian Empire); like the pre-history and the history of the European unification process and its conflict-laden pre-processes (especially the invention of the nation, the quasi-divination of it and the resulting atrocious conflicts between the European nations); like the productivity of bi-national mutual cultural enrichments and the absurdity of the question paradoxically related to it of the “true” *national* identification or of the adequate *national* categorization and ascription of titans of European science and culture (for example: Was Copernicus Polish or German? Was Chopin Polish or French? Was Beethoven Austrian or German? Was Handel (or Händel!) English or German? etc.); like the especially fruitful and at the same time conflict-laden histories of certain bi-national relationships as the French-German, the Polish-German, the Czech-Austrian, the Hungarian-Austrian, the Finish-Swedish, the Scottish-English, etc..

In rounding this list of topics of the creativity of European history one can finally state: Especially intriguing would also be the historical and sociological exploration of earlier European collective migration movements of the lower social strata, e.g. the migration of Italian workers to Mannheim and Cologne in

the second half of the Ninetieth Century or the migration of Polish workers to the Ruhr area in the second half of the Ninetieth Century and in the first decade of the Twentieth Century. Here the question would be: What are the cultural remnants of these migratory waves in the areas of housing, cuisine, sports, language, work styles, recollection of cultural features helped by symbolic traces, etc.

In order to generalize regarding the adequate features of programmes of short explorative travels into the territories of the enigmatic creativity of European history one can state: In terms of the pick of topics and in terms of the story grammar of historical narration, such educational programmes of historical exploration should not be conventional national-history teaching courses with their focus on “we, the nation”), but non-conventional relational bi- or even multinational history teaching courses focussing on synergy and conflict in terms of trans-cultural and cross-national relationships and its implications for realizing a common European ground (see, for example, as scientific publications: J.H. Elliott: *Richelieu and Olivares*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984; Norman Davies: *Europe. A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996). The conventional national history teaching harnesses the “collective-egological” logic of a historical narration that is based on the deictic pointing to “we, the nation” as the basic story carrier. Instead, the unconventional history teaching of bi-national relationships harnesses the “collectively interactive” logic of a historical narration that is grounded on the interactive relationship between two or even more historically intertwined nations as the basic story carrier. In terms of method, it should not be conventional history teaching, but bi- or tri-national ethnographic journeying to historical places in two or three countries, bi- or tri-national exhibitions, bi- or tri-national TV- programmes, bi- or tri-national working groups cooperating together in locations of felicitous or tragic historical events and using the symbolic historical materials specifically linked to these locations, which have the capacity of sending out and radiating symbolisms that trigger collective recollections, etc.. In terms of epistemology, there should always be the representation of the third perspective, i.e. the involvement of cultural strangers to the field under study in order to start comparison and triangulation.

Pilot productions of general blueprints for such kinds of activities of historical exploration should be specifically asked for and supported by the European institutions. The handling of the proposed courses of ethnographic history encounters focussed on highly symbolic locations should be done by history and social science teachers in schools, in community colleges and in universities. Upcoming young professionals and activists starting to work in

European programmes should be involved in the teaching process as trainees and co-teachers.

Here is just one example for the deep insight of our CSO practitioners of the first and second generation dealing with the utmost importance and, at the same time, dangerous precariousness of historical memory work³⁰. It is again a quote of an interview passage from the autobiographical narrative interview with Zofia Pajak, our Polish practitioner of CSO work which was quoted two times already. The beginning and the end of the following transcript cut-out deals with the issues of the automatic loss of collective memory in the first non-experiential generation (i.e. the grandchildren generation) as it takes place at least in the lower, less educated strata of society. The transcript excerpt asks, what, in terms of the tasks of intergenerational transmission and of historic-ethical working-through, can be done against the loss of collective memory naturally caused by the dying away of the persons of the experiential generations. How could one arrive at an at least *partial* substitution or “replacement” of these impressively authentic and audacious protagonists? They are extremely important in terms of collective memory work, since they fought against a criminal dictatorial state system, against its war crimes and crimes against humanity and who later started campaigns of recollection and reconciliation.

Of course, as the interview excerpt conveys, we can collect and tape narrative interviews and then electronically replay the voices in these interview narrations and finally analytically work on their narratives with children and adolescents in historical learning programmes. On the one hand, we can learn from those voices, what the small beginnings of later giant steps towards dictatorship and extinction of political freedom, towards systematic discrimination against minorities and towards setting the sceneries for atrocious wars are. We can especially get insight from them regarding the specific hidden mechanisms of infelicitous learning: (a) succumbing to the powerful mechanisms of we-collective and cross-national collective abstraction, (b) succumbing to the related mechanisms of we-collective (positive or favourable) self-stereotyping and (negative or unfavourable) cross-national hetero-stereotyping and (c) succumbing to the related escalation mechanism on both sides of the national cleavage fuelling naïve competitions

³⁰ Halbwachs, Maurice (1980): *The collective memory*, New York: Harper & Row Colophon (French original: *La mémoire collective*, Paris 1950). Halbwachs, Maurice (1992): *On collective memory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (French original: *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris 1950). Connerton, Paul (1989): *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Assmann, Jan (1999): *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: Beck

based on non-reflected “we-enthusiasm” with its naïve “sheer fun” and high spirits and on the non-reflected contemptuous devaluation of other-national collectivities and their individual members. On the other hand, the transcript excerpt is also stressing the positive experiences of cooperation in Europe: finding out about the common interest of the European nations and its citizens in the absence of war and ascribing to it utmost – even quasi-sacred – importance, as well as finding out about the common and shared predicament of the European citizens neatly tied to one another and working together through various kinds of division and articulation of transnational work lines.

But at the same time the interview excerpt from the interview with Zofia Pajak also reminds us, that even these positive experiences of Europe are very much connected with the recollection of the recent and older European history of fighting against each other and mutually causing atrocities against each other. The transcript cut-out conveys that the positive European experiences of the present can be properly appreciated only then, if and when they are “gauged” against the experiences of the so different, the gloomy, former history of Europe. (Again this especially refers to the devastating impact of the European wars.) Finally the transcript excerpt also addresses the upcoming danger of a secluded fortress or even “empire” of Europe. On the one hand, Europe should have its own “consistency of itself” (although not in form of a nation state). On the other hand, it should not lose a communicative and cooperative relationship with other realms of the globe, which easily allows the world-wide bodily and cultural transgression of borders and, at the same time, the mutual cultural and political influence on each other.

Here is the interview excerpt on the topic of the utmost importance of learning how to keep historical memory and deal with it:

N: And however, I have this experience how it is, if you live in a country which isn't a democracy.

I: Mhm.

N: The young people with whom I deal with in X [Polish local community as one of the work locations of the reconciliation NGO, which the informant is working for; this Polish local community also is the place, where the German addressees of the organization's programmes would normally come to], they, they don't have#

I: #this experience at all, right#

N: #this experience. They don't know anything. What they know, they know maybe from „Sonnenallee“ [the informant is talking about a recent German film on the present impact and legacy of the former GDR and on the recollection of GDR history]. Although these

teenagers don't go to „Sonnenallee“. Or to “Good bye Lenin” and so forth. [Another film on this topic: The informant is re-considering the fact that many of her young clients would come from education-distant milieus and/or would be affected by learning disabilities] That means, that they are young people who have maybe learnt something a bit somewhere at school. But for them#

I: #no idea#

N: #is the GDR or People's Republic of Poland, the Third Reich, that is history, the ancient world, right? Because they don't have a direct relation to it anymore. If I had children, - I couldn't give them that anymore what my parents have communicated to us,

I: Yes.

N: also often through non-verbal gestures and attitudes, what had been their experiences, if people simply, if nations eh – are at war with each other. And for me it is simply – for me this experience of the parents is a very important thing, because it gives you the feeling that you have to do something.

I: Hm.

N: I ask myself, how this will be in the future. The generation, which grows up now. And the next generation where this isn't known at all. Whether they might start to be eh at war with one another again out of sheer fun, high spirits. Or, on the other hand, whether you so-to-speak succeed, to tie the Europeans to one another, so that they, so that they simply see, it is our common interest that we live in peace. And that we get on well with each other. And that we solve certain eh animosities through dialogues.

I: Hm.

N: Or that we can simply pass them over in silence, defocus them, fade them out of our awareness or turn a blind eye on them. To prejudices which exist. And simply not to take this too seriously. And be able to laugh about it. And that at the same time don't cut off ourselves, don't seclude ourselves, like behind a wall opposite to the rest of the world. Right? Not the Empire of Europe. But so-to-speak a Europe which has eh – a consistency in itself. But at the same time isn't completely cut off or secluded like behind a wall.

I: Hm.

N: That is very difficult. And I ask myself how will this be, if, if people who have experienced the war personally and directly, like a (???)

I: Yes. Yes. Y [name of the forerunner of historical memory work and reconciliation work, who founded the organization where the informant is working for] has said this too.

N: How, how eh how these, how these, how all these people who got so much involved in it like Y [same name]], if she doesn't live anymore, right?

(Zofia Pajak, page 28, line 39, up to page 29, line 26)

Training courses for the exploration of history can quite often gain from the intersection with training courses for European understanding and cooperation, since the latter demonstrate the necessary leap from systematic conflict to systematic cooperation within the most recent European history – or even the necessary leap of emancipation from the old conflict-laden European history. In this sense the just quoted interview excerpt combines aspects of training courses in European understanding and of transnational cooperation with aspects of training courses for the short exploration of European history.

**I) THIRD SUGGESTION FOR LEARNING PROGRAMMES
IN FAVOUR OF CSO WORK: *EXPLORING THE EUROPEAN SPACE
FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATURE***

Exploration programmes of taking into regard the European mental space for the protection of nature should be created and offered in an impressive way in terms of social and natural situations of observing and learning. Such impressive natural situations and social settings could be: the learning arrangements for lay participants in watching the professional's and activist's work in bi-national border-transgressing nature parks, for looking at their work in conventions and discussion forums of the European national parks or for observing their work on the protection of nature regarding the quite comparable several North sea estuaries (Maas/Schelde, Rhine/Waal, Ems, Weser, Elbe, Thames as well as Humber). The special impressiveness of such exploration programmes for the learning of lay participants stems basically from the geographical "instruction power" of the scenery, as it reveals itself to circumspect tourists, and from the cooperative mood of the environmentalists working together in joint projects of nature protection.

The suggested exploration programmes might also deal with the integrating and, at the same time, separating *territorial* aspect of the European space for the protection of the natural environment. One should attempt to bring the two aspects together as a tension-rich and ambivalent phenomenon to be worked on, since some of the national parks transgress the national borders like the North Sea mud-flats park (Wattenmeer-Park) of Denmark, Germany and Holland or the natural park of the Oder river (shared by Poland and Germany). The environmental exploration programmes also deal with the integrating and separating *mental* aspect of the European space for the protection of nature and its tension-rich and ambivalent features, since during the conferences and meetings of the professionals and activists of national parks the quality standards of European

national parks for the protection of nature tend to be discussed in a more or less fundamental or ferocious way. And the suggested environmental exploration programmes finally deal with the integrating and (sometimes, perhaps, on the brink of even more) separating *social and socio-economical* aspects of the European mental space for the protection of the natural environment and its tension-rich and ambivalent features, since the various attempts to reach at an equilibrium between the *economy* of the water street of the estuary, on the one hand, and the *ecology* of the natural habitats of the estuary, on the other, are taken into account. The latter calculus-like assessment has to be done under the condition of harsh international competition between ports and shipyards situated at the banks of the various estuaries in the different countries.

The bundle of central questions of the exploration programme for lay persons on the work of professionals and activists in bi-or tri-national *parks* could be: What are the ways and styles of cooperation and what are the misunderstanding and the difficulties of communication? What are the conditions for project cooperation and what are the social arrangements and measures to deal with their specific trans-cultural difficulties?

The agenda of the exploration programmes for lay persons on the work of professionals and activists which the latter do in *conventions and transnational arenas of national nature parks* in general would be: What are the nature-protecting standards of national nature parks: for example, would it be acceptable to have private farms (as in the Snowden park) and water power stations (as in Northern Swedish parks) in a nature-protection park or should all of this be strictly forbidden (as for example in the nature-protection park of the Bavarian Forest)? What are the basic understandings of the property rights of farmers (those rights can be very strictly and as very powerful defined as in the U.K. or very liberally and as less powerful formulated as in Sweden: for example, regarding public footpaths and settings for touristic picnics) and of the public accessibility of park areas (which can be very restricted as in some German parks or very open as in Swedish parks)? And what is the communicative style of proposing, promoting and discussing these standards and understandings among national activists as categorized by the activists from other nations and how do the national activists deal with such ascribed categorizations as originating from the other nationalities? (The communicative style could be categorized by the other-nationals as quite dogmatic and bellicose as it might be the case concerning the communicative style of German naturalists or as quite friendly and consent-oriented as it might be the case concerning the communicative style of Swedish naturalists or as

quite witty-ironical as it might be the case concerning the communicative style of activists from the U.K.; etc..)

The focus of a possible exploration programme for lay persons on the work of professionals and activists for the *protection of the estuaries* and their environment could be (a) the national and cross-national competition between the ports and ship-building yards positioned up-river of these estuaries and the different numbers of job offers provided by them, (b) the different natural conditions of the estuaries and the requirements for enhancing the depth and width of the river in order to make the passage of big ships possible, (c) the various tendencies of the estuary water streets to endanger the surrounding natural environment and to distort or even devastate the river banks and the river bed as well as (d) the attempts to find out about and to establish a precarious, but still manageable equilibrium between the necessary environmental, economical and technical considerations. These considerations and comparisons must be done in view of the socio-economical competition between the ports and shipyards situated at the various estuaries in the different countries. And such deliberations should also take into regard the control and management of the danger of pollution by ship travel for the river environment and for the respective sectors of the mud-flats of the North Sea stemming from traffic accidents on the various estuary water streets.

**J) FOURTH SUGGESTION FOR LEARNING PROGRAMMES
IN FAVOUR OF CSO WORK: THE IMPROVEMENT
OF HANDLING THE PRACTICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE
WORK OF CSO PRACTITIONERS AND HOW TO ACCOMPLISH
THE ACCOMPANYING ORGANIZATIONAL AND LOGISTIC TASKS**

There should be, and there could be, *second-order* or “*meta*”-teaching programmes on European topics for CSO voluntary activists and for CSO professionals, i.e. programmes of teaching the teachers of reconciliation work and environmental work how to implement their practical work on European topics and how to deal with the systematic problems connected with it. It is reasonable to differentiate between meta-teaching programmes related to the handling of the *practical circumstances* of the work of CSO activists and professionals including those related to the accomplishment of accompanying organizational and logistic tasks, on the one hand, and meta-teaching programmes related to the reflective analysis of systematic paradoxes and “mistakes at work” involved in the substantive work *as such* of CSO activists and professionals, on the other.

One is able to recognize these latter paradoxes and mistakes in a systematic way only if and when being tuned into a self-critical reflective mood that presupposes the socially-arranged enactment of specific situations of looking reflectively and critically upon the activities of oneself from an outer point of view.

Firstly, we will just provide a short list of activities in the realm of meta-teaching programmes dealing with the practical organizational and logistic tasks of CSO work. – A first round of programmes for the practical support of handling CSO work could deal with:

- providing an overview over the whole gamut of European programmes, their philosophies and their leeway of interpretations;
- the procedures of application for European programmes and practical hind sights how to handle them;
- legal and ordinance regulations of the European Union and of the national member states of the EU in terms of procedural and administrative law, in terms of conditions of business negotiations and in terms of formulating contracts (e.g., in the field of environmental questions);
- the management and business administration of cross-national and transnational projects and other European projects as applied to a specific single country as well as to the national content and the national modus operandi of handling the European training and teaching courses including measures of circumvention, delay, obstruction, misinterpretation, favouring just the big players and even corruption and grafting ;
- the difficulties of connecting and coordinating the different occupational careers and life streams of working and living in two countries simultaneously, intermittently or sequentially. - This includes logistic and organizational topics like the mutual transnational acceptance or the notorious devaluation of educational certificates and professional work licences of oneself and one's children; like double providing for retirement and health insurance payments in the two frameworks of separate national work-pension plans and/or health-insurance plans or, to the contrary, single, integrated providing for those payments in a single, unified bi- or trans-nationally integrated work-pension plan and/or health-insurance plan; like being concerned about the integration of the educational careers of one's children in two countries; like providing for two houses and two "heimats" (including the peer networks of one's children), etc.

**K) FIFTH SUGGESTION FOR LEARNING PROGRAMMES
IN FAVOUR OF CSO WORK: SUPERVISION-TYPE SELF-
-REFLECTIVE AND SELF-CRITICAL FOCUSING AND
REFLECTING ON EUROPEAN PROBLEMS AND PARADOXES
AND ON THE DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THEM**

The other general sort of “meta-teaching programmes” for European activists and professionals is the *supervision-type self-reflective and self-critical focussing and reflecting on European problems and paradoxes and on the difficulties* that the transnational professionals and activists experience while handling them. Especially the questioning parts of the autobiographical narrative interviews that we conducted with CSO activists and CSO professionals revealed problems like empty ritualizations of unrealistic idealizing stances regarding cooperation and solidarity in cross-national project work. On the other hand – under the impact of the experience of option-reducing and fatiguing necessities of cross-national working together with all its conflicts of interest and all its trans-cultural misunderstandings – our autobiographical narrative interviews, especially their questioning parts, also revealed the cumbersome requirements of the necessary realistic analysis of the often discouraging problem matters of work, of the paradoxes involved, of the potentials and systematic tendencies for making mistakes and of the factual results of mistakes.

Here is a preliminary list of these problems, difficulties, paradoxes and mistakes of the CSO work:

- taking recourse to a artificial and misleading construction of an alleged common base, that is not really existing underneath the level of different national interests of the project partners and of their different background orientations regarding the “power parallelogram” of national interest groups;
- being overwhelmed by systematic misunderstandings stemming from different cultural stances and attitudes; realising how time-consuming, cumbersome and even futile it can be to find a rock-bottom ground of understanding, of calibrating the features and criteria for understanding and of translating the different cultural principles into each other. - Instead of embarking on such an enormous endeavour one is seduced to fade the misunderstandings out of awareness;
- the trap of acting just as a national representative without being sufficiently informed by the sending national organization about the subject matters to be worked on, on the one hand, and without listening to one’s own inner voice and

without feeling the inner duty to scrutinize the substantive issues entailed in the subject matters through personal exploration work, on the other;

- being too much oriented just to *the style and manner of elegant presenting* and wide diversification and topical range of one's trans-cultural education up to the point of tending to lose the scope of one's educational agenda, on the one hand, and, on the other, being so much focussed on, and involved in, the content of one's national-culturally tinged gospel that one tends to lose the sight of how to make it interesting and understandable for the learning clients coming from other national cultures involved;

- being sucked into all the potentials for networking, communication and relating to other actors in similar projects and to the representatives of EU support programmes and losing the scope of one's own substantive topics and interests, on the one hand, and being requested to extremely focus on the work content of one's own project up to the point of losing the capability to collect suitable information from the outside of one's own work project, of losing the capacity to compare one's own project issues with work issues of comparable projects and of losing the willingness for starting and carrying through self-reflection from an outer point of view;

- being induced by the existing European support programmes to apply for a certain project without having an intrinsic motivation as well as making easygoing use of ready-made educational training course offers that are proposed, organized and/or financed by European programmes, without putting any preparation and learning effort into them. – The same problem might be the case with teaching professionals who use ready-made European teaching programmes in a superficial way without any substantive interest and deeper conviction;

- the attempt of constructing and carrying through very intensive teaching and learning courses which can only involve small numbers of students, on the one hand, and at the same time being requested to educationally reach larger numbers of everyday citizens of the European Union by means of dissemination, on the other;

- feeling the need of searching for some common base “with a consistency in itself” (Zofia Pajak) within the realm of phenomena, or within “the entity”, of Europe and, at the same time, being appalled by the crystallization of a secluded European fortress or even an “Empire of Europe” (Zofia Pajak), which is constructed after the model and in terms of the primitive logic of establishing and harmonizing the culture of a “one-nation” state. (That nation-type model of Europe is rejected not only by outspoken leftist CSO workers.) – The paradox of searching for the common base of Europe, that is, then, envisioned as an

appallingly mighty and closed fortress disgusted by all non-right-wing citizens of Europe, is caused by the simplifying logic of collective abstraction mechanisms developed for the nation-type of collectivities;

- feeling the contradiction between the harsh and partially really atrocious measures connected with the “protection of the *outer* borders” of the European Union and the orientation towards peace and work cooperation *within* the confines of the territory of the European Union;
- treating Europe as the common scapegoat by national politicians or treating certain European nations, which must be economically supported by the EU, or treating even the European “common good” as such as specific scapegoats by national politicians (of affluent European nations), although everybody knows that the provisions of European institutions and regulations and the support of economically weak countries by them are inevitable;
- the restrictions regarding the trans-nationalization of the European labour market, on the one hand, and the orientation towards the value of free access and geographical work mobility, on the other; as well as
- being in the abyss of non-harmonized national standards - firstly regarding questions of economic behaviour and work behaviour like, for example, the very different national fiscal goals of handling the national debts and the very different national performances of public saving and spending, and secondly regarding collective regulations on weekly work hours, the amount of vacation days and the age of regular retirement, etc.

Most of the problems and the paradoxes just listed cannot be eradicated ones and for all by simple repair work focussed on the classical solution of eliminating the causes of the problems involved. If the problems are real paradoxes of the CSO work of professionals and of voluntary activists, they belong to the very nature of the CSO work, and therefore they cannot be simply eliminated. We will give two examples for this:

(1) Any recourse to some sort of “European entity” in one’s own action orientation towards transnational project work in order to overcome the restrictions of national thinking and national regulations must deal with the question whether or not Europe as an “entity with a consistency of and in itself” would become a collective we-community behaving similar to a national we-community, and this would again imply all the “closed mind” features of the centripetal orientation of the nation state, which the individual promoters of transnational cooperation in Europe just have vigorously attempted to overcome. Grosso modo speaking, such a quasi-national centripetal orientation towards Europe has not become dominant so far. But the central question always remains virulent whether or not Europe

should behave similar to a nation state. The latter question is permanently forced upon any attempt to orient towards Europe, since up to today the specific mental procedure how to deal with collective entities is shaped by the logic of collective abstractions mechanisms that are specific and typical for orienting towards one's own nation as imagined we-community. And the question how to construct the relationship of one's individual biographical entity towards the collective entity of Europe is wrongly moulded after the prototypical model of national-type personal obligations towards collective identities. The collective-identity model of the nation as imagined we-community and of its assertive obligation character for individual identities as well as its "monological moral" value for biographical development is always vibrant in everyday collective discourses and in one's own individual biographical work.

(2) In addition, the conflict between the intensity and complexity of a training programme that can only be applied to small numbers of students, on the one hand, and the urge to reach high numbers of participants who, for dissemination reasons, should get involved in such a programme, which, then, requires the simplification of the content and style of teaching, is a typical professional paradox of teaching. – As we already said, paradoxes cannot be solved, but only consciously recognized and worked-through in order to handle and treat them in a circumspect way: for example, firstly to train a smaller number of very devoted students most intensely in order to spread the complex information of the training programme and secondly to let them themselves start and carry through smaller training courses with other students not having been able to come to the training centre for the educational master programme; of course, the training by students is not of the same density as the training by mature educationalists is.

The fading out of the work-involved paradoxes from one's awareness will cause serious work problems and "mistakes at work" (Everett Hughes³¹) and accompanying personality problems of the professionals and activists who are involved or even entrapped in such a work situation. And, of course, these mistakes at work will, again, have a devastating effect on the clients. Ignoring the work paradoxes will finally lead to serious forms of work traps for the professionals with intensive psychosocial features of burn-out.

Here is a transcript excerpt serving as an example that alludes to a combination of several of the systematic paradoxes and problems at work, which the CSO workers always have to deal with. Again the excerpt stems from the autobiographical narrative interview with Zofia Pajak, the Polish CSO worker

³¹ See footnotes 11 and 17.

of the second generation working in an important Polish-German reconciliation NGO. It is just the second part of the very first transcript quote above dealing with a training course that simulates and stages an international court of criminal justice, which processes war crimes, crimes against humanity and hate crimes.

Firstly, the interview excerpt addresses the usual ignorance and unpreparedness, in terms of the upcoming proceedings, of school teachers and professors, who as co-educationalists accompany their educational clients, i.e. their school students or university students, to the training course of simulating an international court of criminal justice. Alas, these teachers and professors as co-educationalists of the simulation proceedings usually did not prepare themselves in terms of the substantive programme, i.e. they usually did not work on the historical and legal content of the educational training course for themselves. Instead, they usually conveyed to their students the understanding, that the content matter of the training course would just be an unspecific measure for getting together in a vacation-like ambience, for having fun with each other and for exercising some sort of theatrical presentation.

Secondly the interview cut-out let us know that, after so many years since having stepped out of the formal learning position of school student and university student, these co-educationalists don't like to undergo cumbersome learning experiences themselves again. They don't like to reveal this new learning requirement to their students, since for a very long time they have been on the other side, the teaching side, of the demarcation line and social relationship between teaching and learning personnel. During this long biographical time span as teachers they have become afraid to admit to their students that they would have to learn themselves, too, and they might have even forgotten that good teaching is always grounded on deep learning at the same time.

Thirdly, the interview excerpt implies that there is always the danger, that – enticed by their content-ignorant or, at least, content-uninterested teachers – the (school and university) student participants of the training course are so much concerned with the strategies of self-representation and with the elegant, but quite often just shallow use of rhetoric, that they lose the understanding and perspective that exactly the ethical, judicial and historical problem content mainly matters and not the elegant court presentation. Nevertheless, at the same time, the rhetoric-argumentative social arrangement of a court of criminal justice draws the students deeply into the substantive matter and emotionally involves them very much. This, again, results in raising the level of interest in the subject matter, of level of authenticity of personal backing and of the level of trustworthiness of the arguments.

Fourthly, the transcript cut-out discusses the unavoidable constraint, that only considerably small numbers of students can be involved in such an intensive simulation training course, on the one hand, whereas, on the other, there is the urgency of a wide dissemination of the teaching content. The dissemination is necessary, since the subject matter of the teaching is so important for learning, securing, strengthening and taking into account the legal base of international cooperation. It raises the question, how to lawfully decide on crimes against humanity, war crimes and hate crimes, what are the ethical issues and personal responsibilities involved, and how to punish individuals in an appropriate and circumspect way who have perpetrated such types of outstandingly atrocious crimes.

Here is the excerpt from the interview transcription:

N: But it is about that you develop sensitivity, right. That you#

I: #for the violation of human rights.

N: Yes. Yes.

I: For the punishments. For the structures. Where does it start?

N: Yes, exactly. It's like that. And if you can communicate a bit of that, then then it is really worth the effort and the money and and and the time, right.

I: Great.

N: Well. How many teenagers can take part in such a programme and how to do this well? - The the the colleague does it with pupils twice a year. Ninety pupils a year. Now it runs the fourth year. Well, they are three-hundred-sixty pupils. Those aren't unbelievable many. Well, they try to motivate that they report of it in the schools. Eh, that one, partly the teachers, too, get a human rights training, so that they integrate certain things in their school lessons, integrate in their lessons after coming home.

I: Of course, that is important.

N: Well, we we invite them, people get invited. - I still say "us", although for a long time I am not the main actor anymore, well I still am the supervisor in this project. Because it has been my project. And my organisation, our foundation wanted that I still do this eh for a while. Eh it is simply, the teachers haven't got a clue themselves; they do not anything about the content and the method of the simulation project. When they come with their pupils and it isn't a fantastically involved teacher, he hasn't read the documents. And the teachers sit there and find it great which rhetorical abilities their pupils develop because, of course, they get training in rhetoric. They also get judicial training and so forth. It has to be a mix of all of this where they are simply emotionally hooked. And for seventeen-year olds it is a highly emotional thing to perform in front of an audience.

(Zofia Pajak, page 36, line 27-47)

It is imaginable, how CSO workers grappling with the problems that Zofia Pajak reported in her interview rendering would come together and freely express and analyze these work problems in a Balint-group or group-supervision type of protected social setting. Sheltered social arrangements for transnational voicing of problems at work, which the CSO workers always must deal with, and of the personal difficulties involved in them and of their alleged reasons, for mental struggling with arguments pro and con assumed causes of the work problems and aiming at deeper explanations, for focussed reflection of work paradoxes and of tendencies towards mistakes at work should be established. In addition to these protected and more intimate social settings, there should be professionally specialized, and at the same time *public*, social arenas of debate and critique on systematic paradoxes and problems of CSO work. Within these two types of reflective social arrangements, the focussing and reflection of, on the one hand, systematic work problems, paradoxes at work, systematic tendencies for mistakes at work and biographical difficulties connected with them, and the finding out, on the other hand, how to deal with them in a sober, circumspect, creative way, would become a focused and, at the same time, *normal* type of reflective social endeavour. We can find out that those typically obstinate problems, difficulties, paradoxes and tendencies for mistakes at work, which occur quite often *together* (sometimes even to the extent of a “cumulative mess” – in the sense of Anselm Strauss³² – through the interplay of the unfolding of separate trajectories³³ of several work problems and, on top of this, to the extent of the crystallization of totalized, all-encompassing work traps) and their circumspect handling are alluded to in the transcript excerpt just quoted above. The informant Zofia Pajak is a very circumspect and reflected professional who has very individually and very intensely learnt from her own biographical history and from the collective histories of Poland and Germany in the 20th century. And, of course, she also has

³² Glaser, Barney G., and Strauss, Anselm L. (1968): *Time for Dying*. Chicago. Aldine, chapter VII, especially p. 129–136. Fagerhaugh, Shizuko Y., and Strauss, Anselm (1977): *Politics of Pain Management: Staff-Patient Interaction*, Menlo Park, CA, and other locations: Addison-Wesley, chapter 17. Strauss, Anselm, et al. (1985): *Social Organization of Medical Work*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 160–190.

³³ For the concept of trajectory see Strauss, Anselm, et al. (1985): *Social Organization of Medical Work*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 8-39. Corbin, Juliet M., and Strauss, Anselm: *Unending Work and Care. Managing Chronic Illness at Home*. San Francisco and London: Jossey-Bass, pp. 33-88. Riemann, Gerhard, and Schütze, Fritz (1991): “Trajectory” as a Basic Theoretical Concept for Analyzing Suffering and Disorderly Social Processes. In: Maines, David R. (ed): *Social Organization and Social Process: Essays in Honor of Anselm Strauss*. New York: Aldine - de Gruyter, pp. 333–357.

learnt from her communications with colleagues and clients in her CSO that is characterized by an interactive and self-reflective communicative culture.

But, in addition, we know the special, problem-focussed arrangements of Balint groups, of group supervisions of professionals from different, but in work terms comparable social units, organisations and work milieus as well as of supervisions of single practitioners in the professions of medicine and social work³⁴. In such sheltered communicative arrangements it is easily possible to deal with one's personal work difficulties and mistakes at work and their impact on one's own biographical identity. And in those professional social arrangements for systematic reflection no personal danger of losing one's reputation lures, because social provisions for absolute discretion are inbuilt into them. We don't think that up to now those benign social arrangements of reflections and getting clearance on professional work problems are very much utilized already in Europe-sensitized CSO work settings. The social culture of those epistemic procedures aiming at the generation of reflective meta-knowledge still has to be developed within the work settings of European CSO work of reconciliation, of historical recollection and reflection, of border-transgressing cooperation and of protecting the natural environment.

L) SIXTH SUGGESTION FOR LEARNING PROGRAMMES IN FAVOUR OF CSO WORK: SOCIAL WORLD TRAINING AND SOCIAL ARENA TRAINING

All types of cross-national, transnational and European *social worlds* and *social arenas*³⁵ as special social arrangements dealing with the above mentioned dimensions of learning that is focussed on European topics and on systematic problems connected with them should be supported and strengthened. These special social arrangements for learning activities are in full fledge in the fields of reconciliation, historical recollection and reflection, trans-cultural cooperation and protection of the natural environment and in the fields of all other types of endeavours and movements towards building up a European civil society (e.g. in the fields of feminism, of all types of social politics dealing with the excluded, underprivileged and discriminated, of client-centred professions, of

³⁴ See footnote 19.

³⁵ Schütze, Fritz (2002): Das Konzept der sozialen Welt im symbolischen Interaktionismus und die Wissensorganisation in modernen Komplexgesellschaften. In: Keim, Inken, and Schütze, Wilfried, (eds.): Soziale Welten und kommunikative Stile. Tübingen: Narr, pp. 57-83

social sciences and of arts and literature). We can differentiate between arrays of *professional* social worlds and arenas (like those addressed by historians and writers of history books for schools and those of NGO professionals working for reconciliation, historical recollection or environmental protection agendas), those addressed by *voluntary activists* working for all types of CSOs in a voluntary, unpaid social arrangement as well as those addressed by the *mass media*. European and transnational social worlds and social arenas can become a new field of opportunities exactly for those groups of professionals and voluntary activists, who have been underprivileged up to now. These humble professions (like nursery school education, social work, vocational counselling, occupational therapy, etc.) and humble social movements and comparable fields of voluntary activities (e.g. working for assistance platforms for children with severe disabilities, working for the protection of legally and socially excluded migrants and ethnic groups or supporting minority languages and cultures like the Welsh Language Society and the Welsh Nursery School Movement) get new strength through European cross-national and transnational voicing, networking, comparison, encouragement, critique and support which is done in social arenas of social worlds.

“Arena structure” of social world means: Actors in social worlds have a centripetal orientation to their core work and to discussion forums, i.e. arenas, where the quality of this core work can be assessed and criticised. This implies to direct the point of view towards authenticity and excellence criteria for the assessment of social-world core activities to be realized or followed up (i.e., focussing on central and “highest” values). In arenas of social worlds a social and epistemic differentiation of at least seven essentially different perspectives of participants takes place: those of minimally two competing arena actors, those of minimally two coaches having educated and trained the actors, that of the referee, who is checking the competing actors’ observation of the rules of the game and who is deciding on the scores and listing them, and that of the critical assessor (or expert commentator), who is evaluating the authenticity, excellence, effectiveness and style of performances as well as that of the general audience. And last but not least the figuration of the difference between centre and periphery of the social world is always effective and powerful. The latter also means that social worlds and arenas have fuzzy margins and that they are not fixed to, and secluded within, singular locations. Instead they are geographically movable and spreadable; therefore they represent a very flexible organization principle of complex modern knowledge-based societies. And this is very fitting for the emerging complex European society with its quality of a totally new, and

in this sense odd, cross-referring and integrating institutional entity above the constitutional level of the member states.

The construction of new social worlds and arenas on this meta-national level will start with exploration activities in terms of finding locations, objects, features and criteria for cross-national comparison, and it will go on with critique and self-critique of the present national situation of professional work and voluntary activities and with the emulation for higher levels of development as to be seen in other countries. Transnational meetings, conventions, assemblies, competitions and adjudications will be seminal building-blocks for the further establishment of transnational social worlds and arenas. Money spent on these social arrangements will prove to be well-spent. In addition, the provision of measures for the European standardization of qualifications and for the acceptance of certificates, which is partially still lacking even on the top level of transnational mutual acknowledgement, i.e. on the level of the procedures for mutual acceptance of university certificates from the respective other European countries, will prove to be important in order to fulfil the task to discern, whether or not a transnational professional worker has reached the level of necessary qualification for learned professional participating and engagement in a certain occupational field and its social world. Activists of transnational and European social worlds and social arenas can serve as counsellors, pathfinders, advocates and adjudicators in cases, where the fighting against national restrictions regarding the acceptance of qualification certificates will prove to be urgent. This support is necessary, since the state-egotistic, ethnocentric, nationally centred procedures for protecting one's own national breed of graduates from schools, vocational schools, academies, and universities still are in full strength in the European Union, notwithstanding the Bologna process and the official lip services of the various national administrations for the acknowledgement of European foreign certificates.

M) SUMMARY: THE LOGIC OF ARGUMENTATION OF THE ABOVE POLICY SUGGESTIONS REGARDING SUPPORT OF CIVIL SOCIETY WORK

(1) The research project on the topic of “The Evolution of European Identity: Using biographical methods to study the development of European identity” analyzed – amongst other groups of Europe-sensitized activists – the professional and voluntary work of individual actors from civil society organizations in the fields of reconciliation, of historical recollection and reflection, of trans-cultural

cooperation and of protection of the environment. With their lifelong learning and engagement regarding these subjects and matters, the CSO workers are the avant-garde of Europe-minded citizens within the territorial confines of the European Union. But basically the results of the research project also apply to all the other types of endeavours and movements for building up a European civil society. The life-long learning of the CSO worker is very creative and precious: it clearly brings out features of trans-cultural cooperation, social concern, and awareness of responsibility for historical memory and a shared feeling of obligation for the protection of the natural environment. The learning mentally takes place within a European frame of orientation and of ethical consideration which, in its integrated gestalt, has not yet been addressed by others – partly even including the social scientists. Actually, the life-long learning and engagement of the CSO worker even *educates and refines* the conceptual orientations of social scientists who are analytically working on the features of possible productive orientations towards the “entity” or “entities” of Europe. And, therefore, the values and principles of life-long learning and engagement of the CSO worker and its implication for mutual transnational cooperation will probably become the core of the value orientation and of the principles of cooperative work within the emerging European civil society.

(2) Open and very detailed autobiographical narrative interviews with the mentioned activists and professionals allowed to find out that the CSO workers developed creative principles of biographical learning and biographical work in a specific European mindset. Especially the first and second generation of CSO workers encountered biographical situations, in which they had to experience, work on and to overcome specific European problem constellations. The first group of problems was conditioned by the limits of, and demarcation lines between, different national, ethnic and/or local cultures and by the confines of national administrative procedures in protecting the “we-cultures”. Quite often, in addition, it was also conditioned by the cleavages between various socio-structural milieus. The CSO workers always had to “take the roles or perspectives of the others”, i.e., of their cross-cultural and cross-milieu interaction partners, and to triangulate the contrastive standpoints of interaction partners of different national and/or cultural backgrounds from the third perspective of, in tendency, the *neutral* observer or from the third perspective of the liaison worker. As a second group of problems CSO workers had to become aware of, and to remember, the abysses of the atrocious European history, which for a long time basically was a history of contending nation states and especially of the numerous wars between them ending up in the atrocious crimes of Nazi-German against humanity. And as a third

group of problems CSO workers had to become aware of the trans- and cross-border connections and interrelationships between natural environments on both sides of the demarcation lines of national borders, since the natural environments to be protected transgressed the typically narrow confines of the small territories of European nation states, and, therefore, they had to become aware of the shared trans-border issues of protecting nature and environment in Europe.

The working through of these three groups of biographical experiences conditioned the acquisition of three types of learning principles: (a) Getting sensitive and circumspect about cultural otherness and how to find a bridge of understanding towards cultural otherness in order to establish and manage transnational cooperation work; and at the same time learning about the dangers of primitive classifications and hetero-stereotypes of cultural otherness; (b) getting conscious and critically reflective regarding infelicitous developments in the course of one's national history that have unfolded on the tracks of thinking laid out and shaped by the collective abstraction mechanism of the nation; and being concerned and circumspect regarding the possibility of being personally misled by national abstraction mechanisms as well as by national and international historical ideologies; as well as (c) getting sensitive about, and focussed on, the devastation of nature within the confines of the narrow and densely populated territories of the European Union; there is still remembrance that the distorted and/or endangered beauty of natural environment was a sense-making resource in midst of the overwhelming devastation of World War II and in midst the crass exploitation of the natural resources by the capitalist economy and even more by the state-socialist economy in the decades after the war.

(3) Especially the analysis of the question part of the autobiographical-narrative interview dealing with the personal experiences of transnational cooperative work processes, in which the CSO activists and professionals were involved, reveals basic attitudes and learning principles of cooperative work processes. Induced by the nature of their work that is deeply biographically motivated, CSO workers permanently have to deal with cooperation topics of transnational historical memory work, transnational reconciliation work and/or border-land cooperation work and/or with questions of cooperative, border-transgressing measures of the protection and improvement of the natural environment. In addition, as necessary condition of all of these types of cooperative work they must grapple with the European institutional frames of enabling and supporting the CSO work and with the European horizons and sources of sense making of the work.

By necessity, the practical involvement of the CSO workers within the substantive tasks and problems of their joint work creates a cooperative, Europe

minded mood of relating to their cross-national interaction partners. It establishes elementary schemes of social relating and cooperative orientation under the horizon of a European mental space. (a) These elementary schemes of orientation within a specific European mental space become an interaction base of mutual trust and mutual taking the perspective of the interaction partner (“role taking” within the understanding of George Herbert Mead) in carrying through European and/or transnational cooperation projects. (b) The elementary schemes of orientation also help to gain sensitivity, to acquire the capacity for an analytically differentiating observation, for detecting and working through mutual misunderstandings as well as for circumspect interpretation of cultural otherness and for handling the competing interests of the cultural others. This bundle of schemes of orientation dealing with otherness also applies to the circumspect handling of difficult transnational conflict topics. (c) The case-analytical process orientation within the European institutional framework of application and processing of arcs of project work applies to and enforces the circumspect interpretation and handling of national institutional regulations. It also encourages the creative transgression of national barriers of transnational cooperation projects.

(4) Our research project focussed on, and made explicate, the basic learning and orientation principles and routine practices of the CSO practitioners – be they voluntary workers or professionals. – These basic learning and orientation principles and routine practices of the CSO activists and professionals are “seen but unnoticed” (Garfinkel³⁶) by themselves, although they are really creative and their own personal accomplishment; they are not an artificial category concoction of social scientists. The research helps to state the basic learning and orientation principles and routine practices of the CSO activists and professionals as an analytical and explicitly categorizing “mirroring service”. Through this mirroring service of social research, the basic learning and orientation principles of the CSO workers as well as their routine practices can be reflectively addressed by them and further refined and developed. But this mirroring loop should not take into oblivion that it was the CSO activists themselves, who originally taught the social scientists the precious learning principles and work routines of European transnational cooperation. The gain of knowledge goes to both sides: to the CSO practitioners, on the one hand, and to the social scientists, on the other, who are analyzing the biography and work sections of the autobiographical-narrative interviews of the former and who are finding out about the European mental space and its basic cooperative mood.

³⁶ See footnote 18.

(5) As we have said already, the CSO practitioners that we focussed on in our research project are the avant-garde social aggregate of learning and developing the cooperative European mental space. They embody farsighted orientations, outstanding competencies and deep wisdom regarding European cooperation, and therefore the general populace of the European Union can learn from them. The life-long learning principles of CSO workers with their focus on the historical dangers of harsh competitive conflicts and wars between the European nations, on the one hand, and with their additional focus on transnational cooperation, on the other, entail the “spiritual” power to educate the Europe-related orientations of the everyday citizen of the European Union. The orientation principles and the knowledge-generating social-epistemic mechanisms of the life-long learning of the CSO workers might become the role model for “learning Europe” – at least amongst the children and adolescents in Europe. – Again, qualitative social research analyzing the autobiographical narrative interviews with the CSO activists – including the additional narratives sections regarding the histories of their work involvement – can help to make the principles of orientation, biographical learning, work learning and competencies to handle the complex work mechanisms and work routines of this overall societal teaching project explicit, focusable and discussable.

(6) Many of the features of biographical learning and of learning trans-cultural work attitudes of the CSO workers are new and creative. But one has to take into account that the development of the exploration and research field of the historical and biographical finding out about and of creating the new features of European understanding and cooperation are generationally stratified. Out of the analysis of the interview materials the insight into a generational gap between the intensity of learning of the two first experiential generations of CSO workers and the following non-experiential generations emerged. The first two generations had been confronted with all the atrocities of the Nazi area and of World War II and/or with the more or less strict seclusion of the state socialist world area and/or with the dangers of civil wars and poverty, and they attempted to overcome all these difficulties by inventive exploration and learning. Instead, the following generations of CSO workers must take into account that the institutional regulations for trans-cultural cooperation have been developed already and form an exteriorised factitious reality with all its institutional obligation and restriction, on the one hand, and with all the enabling resources and opportunity structures, on the other.

Therefore the danger exists, that the third and following generations of CSO workers lose the momentum of biographical energy of the first and second

experiential generations. A tendency towards the emergence of an organizational or even bureaucratic rationality might become dominant in the mindset of the CSO workers of the third and of later generations, and then the danger could turn up that the cooperative trans-cultural orientation as a quasi-transcendental ethical outlook to the world would get lost. Our research can help to specify the basic principles of biographical learning and work learning of the first and the second experiential generation, “keep their memory” and let the third and following generations of CSO workers be indirectly socialized through the life and work experiences of the first and second, i. e. the experiential, generations of them. For this endeavour the training programmes of (a) European understanding and transnational cooperation, of (b) short explorations of European history as well as of (c) exploring the European space for the protection of nature should also utilize autobiographical text material and work descriptions of CSO activists of the two first, the experiential, generations.

(7) The analysis of the interviews with the CSO workers reveal a European mental space of orientation and learning that is institutionally fostered and financially supported by the overarching collective entity of the European Union and its institutions. It is remarkable that this institutional “caring for” is not just a formal frame of legal and procedural regulations and financial support, but basically and in nuce a general process and environment of educational fostering through principles of social relating. One simple and obvious example is the rule of requesting the application of at least three nationally – and therefore culturally – different parties for one project. By means of this, the applicants are enticed and even enforced to mutually get in interaction with each other and to use the two epistemic mechanisms of triangulating the perspectives of the participating interactants and, on the base of this, to find out about a neutral “third or additional distant” perspective of a generalized other in the understanding of George Herbert Mead. There are quite a lot of these hidden epistemic and cooperative learning principles inbuilt into the support regulations of the European Union. Their development and harnessing were motivated by the impossibility to utilize nation-state institutional regulations with their centralized non-interactive logic of organization.

The “elective affinity” (“Wahlverwandtschaft” in the understanding of Max Weber³⁷) between the European mental space of orientation and learning, on the one hand, and the institutional regulations of the European Union for the

³⁷ Weber, Max (1920): Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus. In: Weber, Max: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, Vol. I, pp. 17–206, especially p. 83.

fostering and support of transnational work projects of all kinds, on the other, enhances the chance that direct policy suggestions will be effective how to enable and support the CSO workers in order to develop their transnational cooperation projects. In addition, a hidden, but intensive mutually interactive learning process of Eurocratic decision makers and the CSO activists regarding the enactment, corroboration and enlargement of the European mental space permanently takes places. – Of course it is sensible to offer special training programmes that inform about the overarching philosophies of the European learning and support programmes and that teach the technicalities of the application procedures and the logistics of carrying through the programmed projects.

(8) As avant-garde social aggregate of dealing with European cooperation, the orientations, attitudes, self-reflections, self-evaluations as well as life and work experiences of CSO activists and professionals can be scrutinized regarding their management of paradoxes and mistakes at work³⁸. Generally speaking, we can say that there is open awareness and reflection of the CSO practitioners regarding their difficulties of work and their own personal involvement in the conditioning of these difficulties. The biographical experience of the CSO workers of the two experiential generations confronted them with, then, harsh historical problems, fervent problems of cultural diversity and seclusion behind the Iron Curtain and within the confines of a politically closed mind. This confrontation and, in addition, the CSO workers' action-oriented experience of the proceedings of arcs of transnational and European project work and the urgent problems involved in those projects induced them to adopt the work attitude to be circumspect and self-critical regarding the personal proneness to all types of mistakes. The mistakes can be entailed within the illusions of national and transnational historical ideologies and within the logic of collective abstraction mechanism of the nation-type provenience³⁹ that generates stereotypes and prejudices towards national, ethnic, cultural and religious others. The mistakes can also be entailed within one's own symbolic powerful, but shallow role of being the representative of collective concerns, since, at the same time, this role enforces the neglect of the substantive issues that are involved in these collective concerns or within one's position in paradoxical, ambivalent or contradictory work constellations. Finally, the mistakes can be entailed within a too easygoing and uncritical belief in, and handling of, economic promises regarding the maximization of material gains in and for one's own project endeavour. – The sketched culture of critique and

³⁸ See footnotes 11 and 17.

³⁹ See footnote 24.

self-critique that is dominant in the social worlds of CSO practitioners induces their analysis of mistakes at work and of the systematic conditions for their occurrence, and it provokes and allows the revision of one's own standpoints and preferences. The culture of critique and self-critique is a necessary condition for personal learning and project improvement in terms of acknowledgement and self-reflective analysis of one's own mistakes at work, in terms of personal openness to different cultural impulses, in terms of taking the perspective and the role of the other and in terms of cooperative involvement in transnational and European work projects. The culture of critique and self-critique of CSO workers can be symbolically shaped and put into obvious and attractive social arrangements in order to disseminate it to the general European populace, especially in terms of attitudes to cultural others. It can also be extended to the Eurocratic decision makers and administrators of the overarching European umbrella institutions.

An important policy suggestion for the support of CSO work is the designing, promoting, enabling and financial support of social arrangements for the production of case-analytical meta-knowledge in its capacity to analyze, to assess, to criticise and to work through systematic substantive work problems and the substantive biographical problems involved. Those social arrangements for the production of critical meta-knowledge are case-discussion-type, supervision-type and Balint-group-type social formats⁴⁰ of analysing and reflecting work difficulties and the implications of these work difficulties for biographical identity unfolding. The latter can be scrutinized in terms of, for example, biographical trajectories of suffering and of creative metamorphosis processes of change of biographical identity.

(9) Our research project revealed a European mental space of orientation. This European "mental space" provides horizons of competitive or emulative comparison between achievements in terms of the standard of living in different European nations, criteria for cooperative projects of civil society organizations and professional work in and with various European nations, cross-national European arenas of professional discourse, cross-national moral orientations and quasi-transcendental beliefs in Europe (e.g.: "no more war in Europe."), references to common procedures in certain fields of public and private life like social security, the division of powers, etc.. Two principles are central for the European mental space: taking the perspective of the national other and the mutual belief in the cooperative attitude and habitus of the national other. The European mental space is much less than an integrated set of values and beliefs of a finally

⁴⁰ See footnote 19.

or even essentially defined European culture and collective identity. Nevertheless, exactly this feature of “loose binding” makes it sufficiently flexible, and so it can be used in many difficult situations of new cooperative beginnings. Everyday citizens of the European Union are mentally affected by the principles of the European mental space, and partially they mentally and socially move within it already. But they are not used to a general and systematic habit of mental space orientation as well as to a principled stance to state its categories and principles. On the other hand, this achievement of the acquisition of a general attitude and stance towards a European mental space can be explicitly observed among promoters of European integration like the CSO workers.

A central policy suggestion for the support of CSO work is to refrain from the common tendency to devaluate the European mental space as compared to conceptions, definitions and confessions of a collective cultural *identity* of Europe. Identity conceptions of Europe are only sound insofar they are biographically connected with the personal identities of individual citizens as intentional identifications. In our interviews we can factually find those biographical identifications (in the understanding of Antonina Kloskowska⁴¹) with the fuzzy collective entity of Europe, but they are always conditioned by certain biographical circumstances and intensive social situations (e.g., conventions of reconciliation groups or youth exchange groups; intensive feelings of working together in a transnational cooperation project; etc.) and by the basically framing European mental space.

Therefore it is sensible to support the protagonists of European transnational cooperation, who enact the European mental space and its relational logic. Their “international-mindedness” in the understanding of George Herbert Mead⁴² is the gist of European integration.

(10) Our research project also revealed specific social arrangements for the enactment of the European mental space. Especially important are the transnational social worlds and the involved social arenas of the protagonists of a European civil society and of other types of European integration work⁴³. The arena structure of social worlds entails a centripetal orientation that directs the point of view of the

⁴¹ Kloskowska, Antonina (1996/2001): *National Cultures at the Grass-Root Level*. Budapest: Central European University Press; original Polish language edition: Warszawa 1996, see in particular chapter 6, p. 100f.

⁴² Mead, George Herbert (1964/1929): *National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness*. In: Reck, Andrew J. (ed.): *George Herbert Mead, Selected Writings*. Indianapolis, New York, Kansas City: Bobbs-Merrill, pp. 355–370.

⁴³ For the concepts of social world and social arena see footnotes 14 and 35.

practitioners towards authenticity and excellence criteria for the assessment of core arena activities to be realized or followed up. In addition, the epistemic and social differentiation and triangulation of the essentially different perspectives of participants and adjudicators, including generalized others, takes place, and that socially enforces the epistemic achievements of taking the perspectives of the others, the fellow interactants, as well as of triangulating the points of view of all the other actors involved. The arena structure of social world easily spreads around over the geographical space, and their organizational kernel structure, including all types of conventions, is geographically movable. Therefore the flexible social arrangement of social world is especially fitting to the European mental space and the complex institutional entity of Europe. In its features of centripetal value orientation, its epistemic arrangement of triangulation and its geographical flexibility, social worlds and their arena structure are the basic mechanisms of the enactment and the dissemination of the specific transnational cooperation principles as well as of the sustainably arranged and yet flexible work capacities and routines of the CSO activists and professionals as well as of other protagonists of European integration.

(11) In addition to the arena structure of social world and closely linked to it, another social arrangement and social mechanism is pivotal for the enactment of the European mental space: the resonance and mirroring mechanism that puts into parallel and lets mutually enforce the ordering features of the *content and the form* of work projects and convention proceedings of social worlds. The orientation towards cooperative content of the work projects must be resembled in the cooperative style of interaction and social relating of the co-workers. The social forms of cooperation on the level of content and on the level of form mutually motivate and strengthen each other. Especially perspicuous is the Pentecost-type of elated spirit of arena-arranged social world conventions of CSO activists and other protagonists of transnational encounter and European integration. The interactive form of understanding and cooperative relating to each other in the mode of an “anti-structure communitas” (Victor Turner⁴⁴) intensifies the focus on the orientation content of the proceedings and vice versa and conditions creative moments of biography, e.g. epiphany experiences of devoting one’s biographical development to the causes of European cultural exploration work, of transnational cooperation work and of enactment of the European mental space. – European

⁴⁴ Turner, Victor (1969): *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine. Chapters 3 and 4. Turner, Victor (1974): *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, especially chapters 1 and 6.

learning and support programmes should foster the social arrangements of social worlds, social arenas, arena discourses, conventions and competitive contests as well as resonance and mirroring mechanisms through institutional regulations and financial support for application, social relating, work proceedings and arena conventions. The energy and money for such a fostering and support is well spent, since the said social arrangements are automatically and permanently functioning mechanisms of disseminating and intensifying the European mental space.

(12) At the very end we would like to allude to the general logic of our policy suggestions towards the support of CSO work. The sequence of the epistemic steps of generating these policy suggestions are as follows:

- Studying the biographical involvement and work of CSO practitioners and analytically extracting the creative and knowledge-generating basic principles of their work and biographical involvement that are seen, but – at least partially - unnoticed by them;

- Making the basic knowledge-generating principles explicit by social science formal categorization and addressing them as the focus of reflection, systematization, recollection and directed teaching;

- Analytically explicating the biographical involvement and creative power of the two experiential generations of CSO workers and disseminate and use these experiences as topics for circumspect reflection, booster of motivation and empirical examples for the teaching of non-experiential generations of CSO workers and the general populace;

- Formal analytical scrutinizing the basic biographical learning principles, the basic biographical work procedures and the basic work orientations and work principles of the CSO activists again, rethinking them and finding the basic logic of their functioning and systematic interplay, i.e. the European mental space;

- Using the general social-science insights into the European mental space and the specific insights into the various work fields of the CSO activists in order to formulate policy suggestions regarding the reconstruction and epistemic ordering of the general forms of content of the topical fields of CSO work as well as regarding the style and method of educational programmes; this should be done firstly for CSO workers and then secondly for the general populace, both including circumspect regulations of application and financial support;

- Developing and suggesting meta-teaching programmes for the CSO activists and professionals regarding the organization and logistics of the work projects including the application mechanism for them and regarding the difficulties, paradoxes and tendencies of the occurrence of systematic mistakes at work in the transnational cooperative work projects;

- Fostering the European mental space by supporting the work of their protagonists; and finally:
 - Letting take place the mutual learning of protagonists, social scientists, Eurocrates and policy makers from each other, since the European entity with its collective mental space of orientation is a complex, multi-stratified learning community.

The proposed policy suggestions have been made possible by qualitative social research that is able to focus the personal biographical involvement and the concrete singular case work of CSO professionals and activists moving within the European mental space. That type of qualitative research commands the capacity of unveiling the hidden knowledge of, and insights into, *historically singular and practically concrete case work* and historically singular and concrete biographical involvements of the professionals and activists and, at the same time, of finding out the *general forms and categories* of their work, of their biographical involvement and of their understanding of it. The generalized principles and categories that are entailed in the hidden or “seen but unnoticed” knowledge and insights of professionals and activists, are made explicit through qualitative social research, and they can, then, be utilized as imaginative generalized forms of case work praxis in order to suggest strategies for further education, for work development as well as for handling and working through paradoxes and tendencies of systematic mistakes in the field of case work under study. Therefore, our methodological approach to develop policy suggestions is based on the mutual “elective attraction” or “Wahlverwandtschaft”⁴⁵ of process oriented qualitative research and the logic and epistemic (“teaching and learning”) power of historically singular case work of professionals and activists. Our approach to formulating policy suggestions is focussed on unveiling the epistemic potential and creativity of the practical case work of practitioners and on using it as starting point for the formulation of general forms of professional praxis. Having done the latter, these general forms of professional praxis are used further as knowledge-generating devices of theoretical imagination for suggesting new programmes and new types of praxis and improving the already existing ones. They are also utilized to imagine and formulate suggestions for better organizational, logistic and institutional conditions in order to improve and carry through the case-analytical professional praxis within the emerging European mental space.

⁴⁵ See footnote 37.

Fritz Schütze

PROPOZYCJE POLITYKI WSPIERANIA DZIAŁAŃ EUROPEJSKICH ORGANIZACJI POZARZĄDOWYCH

(Streszczenie)

Artykuł oparty jest na projekcie badawczym „Tożsamości Europejskie: Wykorzystanie metod badań biograficznych w rozwoju tożsamości europejskiej”, w którym m.in. analizowano różne przypadki *praktyków* zajmujących się Europą. Część badań była szczególnie zogniskowana na aktywności przedstawicieli organizacji pozarządowych i stowarzyszeń, dla których podstawową ramą odniesienia dla podejmowanych działań jest zarówno Europa jak i, niewiele znaczące poza ich kontekstem, lokalne kwestie i warunki wyznaczające możliwości i cele działań. W tym znaczeniu członkowie takich organizacji, choć działają *na rzecz* Europy, mają niewiele wspólnego ze społeczną kategorią eurokratów ściśle związaną z elitą unijnych twórców polityki działania w różnych obszarach Unii Europejskiej. W tej perspektywie artykuł przedstawia podstawowe idee związane z propozycjami polityki wspierania działań europejskich organizacji pozarządowych np. intensywnego procesu edukacji w zakresie komunikacji międzykulturowej, pracy nad współpracą międzynarodową czy międzynarodowej współpracy, której celem jest ochrona środowiska.

Słowa kluczowe: organizacje pozarządowe, europejska przestrzeń mentalna, uczenie się/edukacja.

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***TOMORROW'S EUROPE DELIBERATIVE POLL®* AS A PROPOSAL TO RESEARCH EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION**

Abstract

This article discusses a project known as *Tomorrow's Europe* deliberative poll®, whose participants consisted of inhabitants of the 27 Member State countries of the European Union. The first section of the article presents the stages of that interesting study and briefly describes its most important results. The second section discusses essential issues to potential organizers of such polls, and more importantly to interpreters of the research data. It focuses on issues such as: problems related to conducting deliberations in a multi-lingual environment; the acculturation of the research method itself; the possibilities for researching Europea public opinion; and benefits resulting from this type of study.

Key words: deliberative poll®, deliberation, public opinion

The deliberative poll®, which is the subject of this article, is a public opinion research¹ tool conceived, presented, and copyrighted by James Fishkin, which

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¹ The aim of conducting deliberative polls®, which from the point of view of James Fishkin, was supposed to counteract weaknesses of survey researches, is strictly related to the concept of deliberative democracy, which for the needs of this paper is defined after J. Bohman, as a way of reaching agreement on public issues which is based on “[...] thinking among free and equal citizens.” [Bohman 1998: 401]. This kind of reasoning, namely deliberation, enables to raise the quality of discussion, avoid realizing personal particular interests and counteract rational ignorance of respondents/voters. Applying rules of deliberative debate requires of researchers of social phenomena an implementation of appropriate methods and research procedures, and deliberative polls® are one of such novel proposals. It should be noted that there is not one consistent concept

was applied for the first time in 1994 in Great Britain. Deliberative polls® can be conducted at the local, national as well as international levels. Over twenty such deliberative opinion polls have been conducted so far on topics such as crime (Great Britain 1994), the future of monarchy (Australia 1996), the adoption of the Euro currency (Denmark 2000), reconciliation with the Aborigines (Australia 2001), policies towards the Roma community (Hungary 2001, Bulgaria 2002), the healthcare system (Italy 2006), an employment and job creation policy (Hungary 2008), local budgeting (China 2008), and the management and use of a municipal stadium (Poland 2010).

The deliberative poll® is a registered trademark and its application requires the prior consent of Fishkin and participation of his collaborators in the intended research program. They monitor and ensure the poll is conducted in accordance with the model originated by its creators. The technique, which will be thoroughly discussed in this article, is multi-stage and time-consuming, and in addition requires substantial funding. Organizers interested in conducting the poll need to obtain sponsors on their own and gain the necessary funds not only for conducting the research program, but also for remunerating participants as well as covering the appearance fees for Fishkin's collaborators, who monitor the poll proceedings. In order to conduct the program numerous conditions and various operations must be met and executed, which include in the first instance organizational activities related to assembling a research team. This involves identification of the subject matter and organization, obtaining funds, ensuring close collaboration with the media, securing the collaboration of experts on the subject under deliberation, selecting a company to conduct public opinion surveys, and securing a venue where the deliberation will be held, which may entail providing the participants with board and accommodation. Subsequently, a representative sample of inhabitants of the relevant area needs to be elaborated (e.g. a town, country, region, etc.) according to the topic of deliberation, and an opinion survey needs to be prepared on the basis of a previously prepared survey questionnaire designed by members of the research team. This poll is first conducted on uninformed respondents; this is sometimes referred to as an initial interview ('zero interview') [Bukowski 2011: 135]. Next a subgroup of potential deliberation participants is drawn from the initial sample group, who need to be persuaded to take part in further research and deliver previously prepared

of deliberative democracy, and the most well-known proponents of this approach include: Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls, as well as Joseph M. Bessette, James Bohman, Joshua Cohen, John S. Dryzek, Jon Elaster, John Gastil and others.

materials on the subject of deliberation. The respondents who are invited to enter the deliberation are notified about the venue, date of meeting and how many days the procedure will take to complete. Briefing materials should be of a 'balanced information' character (which James Fishkin regards as diverse and neutral in content), which means they should offer various perspectives on the subject and present all issues related to the subject under deliberation comprehensively, impartially, and accessibly. For this reason experts in the field must be engaged in the research project. It is expected that the respondents who are sent the briefing materials will study them carefully. Deliberative polls engage participants to discuss topics in small groups, which are drawn from a random sample of respondents recruited for further stages of research. At the same time as recruiting respondents, the organizers should secure and appropriately train people who will moderate discussions, known as 'facilitators'. A skilled facilitator "is substantively neutral, while not a member of any group works for its good" [Schwarz 2002: 8]. This is approximately the point at which the preparatory stage is completed and the debate proceeds, which might last up to two days, depending on the subject of deliberation as well as on the funds of organizers. Deliberations are comprised of small group discussions and plenary sessions. Experts representing interested parties and outside specialists take part in both the small group discussions and plenary sessions. In the course of a plenary session each member of a group may ask the experts questions, which are formulated during the small group discussions [Kubiak, Krzewińska 2012: 15]. However, experts are not allowed to suggest any definitive conclusions, but can only present factual data. The discussions are attended by representatives of media, non-governmental organizations, and parties potentially interested in the results of deliberations. The outcome of the deliberation is to formulate (preferably) a common opinion on the debate subject, aimed at reaching a consensus or, if a consensus is not achievable, delineating those issues and areas where agreement has and has not been reached. The event is concluded with a polling of the sub-group participants again. The research tool in this measurement consists mainly of original questions from the initial interview questionnaire and several additional evaluation questions aiming at assessing the entire research program. It is assumed that the results of the final poll should be taken into account when deciding on the deliberation subject. Both the final outcomes and the course of the deliberation should be covered in the media. As a consequence, the changes in the attitudes and opinions of citizens after people have been provided with more balanced and complete information can be observed and discussed.

Organizing a deliberative poll® is not a simple task, particularly if organized on an international scale. Collaboration needs to be established with various public opinion research companies; opinion poll questionnaires and briefing materials need to be translated; a venue where an event will be held needs to be secured and board and accommodation for the participants need to be arranged; and multiple media need to be invited in order to cover the course of the event and the results of the deliberations.

TOMORROW'S EUROPE DELIBERATIVE POLL® – A CASE STUDY

This research deserves particular attention because it was conducted under the personal supervision of James Fishkin and Robert Luskin, it was conducted on a supranational scale, and was the first of two² research programs conducted so far involving citizens of the European Union as such. The research was carried out between August 20th and October 14th, 2007. During the first stage a random sample of citizens from the 27 Member States of the European Union (3550 persons in all, including 200 from Poland) was researched by means of a questionnaire interview technique.³ The survey was coordinated by the TNS Sofres Company (TNS OBOP in Poland), which is present in 25 countries. The questionnaire consisted of 119 close-ended questions, nine of which tested respondents' knowledge about the European Union (those questions concerned e.g. its territory, major institutions and their range of competence, decision-making procedures etc.) and questions on their preferences regarding solving problems which affect areas such as economic and social care and the role of the EU in the world. From the sample group participating in the baseline poll a sub-group of approximately 500 people was drawn up and mailed identical briefing materials, written in their national languages, to help acquaint them with the project. These materials were compiled by experts with utmost care to achieve a substantive balance of information and neutrality. Prior to sending out

² The second deliberative poll® with inhabitants of the EU was conducted in the first half of 2009 at Dolce-Lupe Hostels and Resorts in Brussels. In the baseline survey 4300 respondents were surveyed, of which 400 deliberation participants were drawn. In the debate, there were 348 participants from 27 countries. Information on this research is available at the website of the Center for Deliberative Democracy at Stanford.

³ In many countries the survey was conducted by the phone.

the briefing materials four EU parliament members representing different political parties were consulted in terms of their substantive content.⁴

The booklet of materials was also very carefully prepared in terms of graphic design and contained the following thematic sections:

1) *The European Union today* (with subsections: Map of the EU; What the EU does and does not do; The EU budget; How the EU works – Main institutions and decision making processes).

2) *Economic and Social Welfare in a World of Global Competition* (with subsections: Challenges and opportunities – Jobs; Different approaches – Jobs; Challenges and opportunities – Pensions; Different approaches – Pensions; Level of action – Jobs and Pensions).

3) *Our Role in the World* (with subsections: Challenges and opportunities – Global peace and security; Different approaches – Global peace and security; Level of action – Global Peace and Security).

Ad. 1): *The European Union today* section covered information such as: history of the European Union, its territory, population, major institutions and their competences, decision-making procedures, budget structure, socio-economic indicators for particular countries (unemployment rate, HDI – a synthetic composite index of a particular country's developments in three fundamental areas: healthcare, education, and standard of living of the population).

Ad. 2) The second section, *Economic and Social Welfare in a World of Global Competition*, discusses opportunities and threats in the labor market and social welfare system (i.e. pensions), along with potential solutions to particular issues and arguments 'for' and 'against' in relation to each option. For example, as regards pensions four options were proposed: 1) a demographic option, which encourages birth rate growth, migration and mobility within EU; 2) increasing and improving conditions for the employment of older people through activities such as: more effective positioning of older people on the labor market and raising pensions for those who work longer; 3) changing the state pension system (potential increase in the retirement age, raising pension premiums in order to make the system efficient; 4) encouraging higher interest in private pension schemes among citizens.

⁴ The EU MPs – Andrew Duff, United Kingdom, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe; Jens-Peter Bonde, Denmark, Group for Independence and Democracy, Pierre Jonckheer, Belgium, Greens/European Free Alliance; Pervenche Bérès, France, Party of European Socialists – all acknowledged that the briefing materials were well-balanced.

Ad. 3) The third section, *Our Role in the World*, considers two issues: global development and safety as well as relations with the ‘near neighbors’ of the EU. Regarding the first issue the following options were proposed (among others):

- isolationism,
- resigning itself to the leadership of the USA,
- regional initiatives to increase the significance of the European Union in the world
- diplomatic and non-military actions,
- military interventions under a UN mandate; and
- military interventions of particular countries.

As far as the second issue - relations with the neighbors of EU - is concerned four different variants defining those relations were presented: 1) focusing on EU internal affairs while ignoring neighbors and resigning from EU enlargement; 2) maintaining good relations with the neighbors but without enlarging the EU; 3) adopting strict criteria for the potential enlargement of the EU; 4) unlimited further enlargement. Arguments were presented ‘for’ and ‘against’ each of these options with respect to global development and safety as well as relations between the EU and its ‘near neighbors’.

Additionally, on the subject of global safety four different approaches were described with respect to how much the EU and particular member countries should engage themselves in solving problems related to the issue of safety. The following approaches were proposed:

- collective decision-making (by all countries) at the level of the EU;
- a multi-speed approach, i.e. each EU member state is left to decide for itself;
- the currently-realized variant, i.e. support, cooperation, and complementary actions
- Member States should decide for themselves, taking actions according to their interests.

Once again arguments ‘for’ and ‘against’ each approach were offered.

The booklet also included telephone numbers and internet websites for people who wished to obtain additional information about the issues covered in it. The readers of the booklet could also learn which state or private institutions and European companies offered their scientific, logistic and financial assistance to prepare and realize the deliberative poll®.

People from the sub-group (500 people) were invited to take part in a deliberative poll® which took place in the facilities of the European Parliament in Brussels between 12th and 14th October 2007. At this stage of the project

362 persons took part— including 26 Poles. This group might be regarded as a representative sub-group, and even though men and better educated individuals were somewhat overrepresented in it, the differences were not statistically significant. Shortly upon their arrival the participants were asked to fill out questionnaires comprising predominantly the same questions as the survey in the initial interview. This second measurement was aimed at pointing out the potential influence of the initial research⁵ on the participant's views of a given subject. As the authors of the research relate: "There may well be some learning and some attitude change from T1 to T2, a period during which the prospective participants tend to start paying heightened attention to media stories concerning the topics they knew they would be talking about in Brussels, to talk more about those topics with family, friends, and co-workers, and even, in some cases, to research them, in the library or on the web." [Luskin, Fishkin, Boucher, Monceau⁶ 2008].

The small groups in which the deliberations were to take place were randomly formed by drawing. A facilitator assisted each group work and the discussions were simultaneously interpreted into the various languages of the participants – however, owing to organizational conditions related to interpretation capabilities each group was limited to persons speaking no more than three different languages.

After completing the work in groups, in accordance with the typical procedures employed in this technique a plenary session with the presence of experts took place, during which the participants were able to ask previously prepared questions. A final, third measurement of knowledge and opinion was conducted on the last day of the meetings. When the results were compiled a short report was sent to the media, and the distribution of answers to all questions from the survey was posted on the websites *Tomorrow's Europe*⁷ and the Center for Deliberative Democracy. While it is not the intention of this article to present detailed results of the measurements obtained with respect to the issues involved in this project,

⁵ The effect of the influence of the first measurement on the results obtained in the second measurement is well known and documented in panel research, and is called the 'panel effect' [Koseła, Sulek 2005: 42] In experimental studies it is postulated that the pre-test (that is the first measurement of the independent variable, which is made before introducing the stimulus) might be a contamination factor and might affect the post-test result [Sulek 1979: 75].

⁶ Available at: <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/papers/2008/EU-enlargement.pdf> (accessed on 30 October 2012).

⁷ The website stopped working after changes to its graphic format had been introduced and the only information currently available is that the materials will be posted there shortly (<http://www.tomorrowseurope.eu/> (accessed on 30 October 2012)).

it is worthwhile to examine some conclusions which might be drawn based on the gathered material. It turned out that:

1. The third (final) measurement showed an increase in knowledge about the European Union both in the group of “old” and “new” citizens. The number of correct answers to factual questions grew in both cases by almost 16% (in the sub-group of “new” citizens from 39% to 54%; in the “old” group from 40% to 56%).
2. The “new” members of EU more frequently changed their opinions than the “old” members. For example, in answer to the question whether it is good for a country to be a member of the European Union 73% of the respondents from the ‘new’ Member States answered *yes* in the first measurement, while 89% answered in the affirmative in the second (a difference of 16%). In the group of the ‘old’ EU citizens, 82% answered *yes* in the first measurement and 91% in the second (a difference of 9%).

It is also worth noting that the receipt of information and discussions thereof brought about a significant concurrence of views between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ EU citizens. For example, in the first measurement only 72% of the ‘new’ EU citizens felt that investing in new technologies favors growth of competitiveness on global markets, while 88% of the ‘old’ citizens gave positive answers to the question posed. In the second measurement no differences were noted between the two above groups (93% positive answers from both groups).

Besides presenting quantitative data in frequency tables and cross tabulations and calculating proper measures for defining the dependencies between variables, an analysis was undertaken of the transcript the discussions in order to isolate the arguments used by members during deliberations. The statements were coded by means of specially prepared categories.⁸

TOMORROW’S EUROPE – ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS

The research itself was carried out in a wide-ranging fashion as far as both the organizational and promotional sides are concerned. Suffice it to say that the whole project cost € 1.4 million, which at first glance is a quite high amount for

⁸ An example of this kind of analysis with regard to discussion concerning the access of Turkey to the European Union was presented in *Considered Opinions on Further EU Enlargement: Evidence from an EU-Wide Deliberative Poll* [Luskin, Fishkin, Boucher, Monceau 2008] posted on the following website: <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/papers/2008/EU-enlargement.pdf> (accessed on 30 October 2012).

realizing a social research study on the opinions of the European Union citizens. However, if we concern ourselves not only with the strictly research aspect (related to developing a concept of the project, including questionnaires, conducting three opinion surveys, preparing and moderating small group and plenary discussions and compiling research results), but also take into account the organizational issues regarding transportation, board and accommodation of the project participants, and the work of simultaneous interpreters, then the cost does not appear to be so high, even though it is clearly impossible to be borne by a small research team having limited funds at their disposal. It was possible to realize the project only under the sponsorship and protection of a large institute such as *Notre Europe*⁹, which initiated and coordinated the *Tomorrow's Europe* research, as well as the receipt of financial support from several international corporations, e.g. Allianz. Although these issues are related to the organizational side of the research, they demonstrate rather clearly that European-wide deliberative polls®¹⁰ cannot be conducted too frequently.

Is there a 'place effect' in deliberative polls®?

The respondents who decided to participate in the deliberation went on what can only be called a 'sponsored' trip to Brussels, and did not have to spend any money during their stay there. Thus it is legitimate to ask whether there was a sponsorship influence, which might also involve a 'place effect', i.e. the impact of where the research took place. While this is only a hypothesis the actual participation rate of 90% of those invited to take part in the project seems like a very high response rate, which might have been affected by the venue where the deliberation took place and the related prospect of an attractive journey. Is it then legitimate to ask if we are dealing with a new behaviour of respondents, which manifests itself in practicing what might be labeled 'deliberative tourism'?¹¹ When analyzing the issues that were discussed in debates it might be assumed

⁹ The major aim of the Institute, established by Jacques Delors, is organizing seminars, public symposiums, initiating researches and publishing their results. The areas of interest include issues concerning the European Union, democracy in action, European identity, European budgeting etc. More information can be found on the Institute website: www.notre-europe.eu.

¹⁰ The presented list of doubts, limitations of the deliberative poll® does not include those which result from criticizing the idea of conducting public surveys, philosophical and methodological criticism of their assumptions. Therefore, considerations concerning only the characteristics of international deliberative polls® and their problems were deliberately restricted in this paper.

¹¹ When focus group interviews started to be realized in Poland there appeared 'professional participants' of FGIs, who treated their remuneration for their participation in the research as a way of earning a living [Lisek-Michalska 2007: 61]

with a rather high degree of certainty that these are issues which EU citizens do not speak about on a daily basis. Another factor, one that might have somewhat discouraged potential participants, was the use of methodological jargon in the briefing materials. J Clive Matthews argues: “A system of gauging public opinion that involves a “scientific” selection, “balanced” briefing materials and a “moderated” debate? All three words in inverted commas are instantly going to raise suspicions – “scientific” sounds too much like the obfuscation of a shampoo advert, “balanced” sounds too much like the utterly misleading slogan of the utterly biased Fox News, and “moderated” sounds too much like censored.” [Matthews 2007].

Apart from methodological terms, briefing materials also included economic and/or political science terms which, although used in moderation, might pose some difficulty for respondents, as well as reading and absorbing information from a 26-page booklet. In spite of these ‘discouraging’ elements of the research however, the participants decided to commit a free October weekend to it, which in part gives rise to the hypothesis that participants were strongly attracted to the venue of the research.

Can the deliberative poll® research European public opinion?

Now let’s examine another aspect of the research, namely the purpose that the survey results are supposed to serve. As James Fishkin, an originator of this method, claims, in the course of the *Tomorrow’s Europe* debate researchers and observers were able to ‘see’ European public opinion by following the movements and thoughts of the participants, who created a European ‘microcosm’ of sorts. “Thousands and thousands of words have been written about Europe’s public sphere, and there have been speculations and academic debates [...] but no one has ever actually observed or listened to European public opinion. [...] This European microcosm [...] brought the old and the new Europe together in the same room.” [Buonocore 2007]. Here one needs to pose a question – what is European public opinion and in what sense might we speak about a discrete ‘European public opinion’? Referring to two most popular ways of understanding the term ‘public

opinion'¹² – as aggregate and collectivist,¹³ - it might be concluded that in the case of the former European public opinion certainly exists as the public opinion is “[...] a collection of answers given in representative surveys” [Zeller 1998: 217]; while according to the latter definition European public opinion is rather an entity without a designatum in reality. “The first view [*aggregate* A.K.] denotes an aggregate of individual opinions held by community members on a certain problem, which could be described by means of a statistical distribution of opinions on the subject, or a modal opinion (most frequently expressed)” [Nowotny 2000: 16]. If we assume that European public opinion is nothing else but a sum of opinions of inhabitants from EU member countries, then it may be fair to assume that such an ‘opinion’ might have been noted during the *Tomorrow’s Europe* project. The issue is viewed differently however if we opt for the collectivist approach to public opinion, where “[p]ublic opinion is no mere aggregate of separate individual judgments, but an organization, a cooperative product of communication and reciprocal influence.” [Cooley 1929: 121]. In this view public opinion is formed when there are socially important, interesting issues which constitute subjects of spirited debate. In addition, there must be a more or less definable public which has an opinion and is willing to share it. As far as the European deliberative poll® is concerned, it may be argued that the ‘public’ was created for the purpose of the project itself. As Ian O’Flynn comments: “Deliberative polls create a public that has never existed and probably never will exist. Political groups are not comprised of random samples, information is rarely balanced, safe deliberating spaces are generally hard to find, and so forth.” [O’Flynn 2007]. It is only the interactions among people interested in a particular subject that legitimize the existence of

¹² I do not discuss here the term ‘operational definition,’ according to which public opinion would be an entity measured by a public opinion study. Definitions related to an attitude called ‘operationalism’, which states that „[...] scientific notions are the same as collections of measurement and calculation operations. The mentioned operations denote the meaning (in the empirical sense) of scientific terms” [Grobler 2006: 151]. Following this way of reasoning it may be said that intelligence is what an intelligence test measures, while an attitude is what we measure by means of a scale measuring an attitude, etc. However, creating operational definitions contains certain drawbacks because a variety of research procedures used to study a phenomenon would produce different categorizations of the same phenomenon. Accordingly we could speak about WAIS-R intelligence or intelligence of Raven’s Progressive Matrices, as they are the most popular tests to measure intelligence. Similarly, regarding attitudes we would have a Likert’s attitude (measured on one scale) and/or a Thurstone’s attitude (measured on another scale)

¹³ In this paper only two ways are presented, although as Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann notes in her book “The Spiral of Silence”, in 1965 American scholar Harwood Childs collected about 50 definitions of public opinion [Noelle-Neumann 2004: 77], and since then other definitions have probably been created as well.

the public opinion in the collectivist sense. Accordingly, if certain issues are not discussed in a country it may be concluded that there is no public opinion on them. Consequently one might pose the question whether, before the European deliberative poll®, there were any public debates on the role of EU in the world, EU enlargement, or social welfare in the world of global competition in the given countries surveyed. The answer is probably yes, but equally probably in rather narrow environments of people keenly interested in these problems. Apparently Timothy Garton Ash concurs, as he claims in *The Guardian* of 18 October 2007 that, besides debates in the European Parliament which are ignored by most citizens, there are neither deliberative environments nor European issues which are widely discussed (perhaps except for football and the Madeleine case).¹⁴ If there are any discussions which engage inhabitants from different European Union countries they epitomize ‘elite conversations’ [Ash 2007]. In the same article the author presents a basic reason which, in his view, hinders or prevents such discussions: “And the biggest single reason for this is quite simply that we speak and think in so many different languages. The heart of Europe’s democracy problem is not Brussels, it’s Babel.” [Ash 2007]. Obviously, certain social groups, such as politicians, economists, social activists or even ordinary citizens, might have an opinion on a subject, however two things must be remembered: firstly, even “a substantial number of people might have similar opinions, but as long as each of them is unaware of other people’s opinions, their private views do not combine into a public opinion” [Sułek 2001: 23]; and secondly, the deliberative poll® described in this paper attracted a representative sample of inhabitants of EU countries, not a group of particularly interested, socially active citizens. The existence of a European public opinion in the collectivist sense might be confirmed only if the *Tomorrow’s Europe* participants had, on their return to their home countries, started a public discussion which initiated the crystallization of public opinion on these issues. Public opinion would have to affect lives of the public and hold and function on a public level [Nowotny 2000: 17].

The role of initiating public discussion could also be played by the various media which were invited to take part in the deliberative poll®; but this would require that they comprehensively cover the whole project and support in some fashion the formation of a public opinion on the matter. Few links to newspaper articles or official blog posts which describe the research are available on the

¹⁴ The case of Madeleine Beth McCann, a daughter of a British couple who disappeared from a hotel room in Portugal, occupied the front pages of newspapers not only in Great Britain, but also most European states.

website of The Center of Deliberative Democracy. Even if at the time the research was conducted the media covered it more intensively, none of the addresses refers to websites in all countries represented in the research project.¹⁵

What tasks does the deliberative poll® pose for facilitators?

Let's now consider another issue, which was raised by Francesco Marchi, who was a facilitator of a discussion group at a table occupied by citizens of Italy, France, Belgium and Luxemburg. These were people with most diverse socio-demographic characteristics, different views and life experiences, speaking different languages; who discussed issues which were somewhat imposed on them, and following rules established prior to the discussion [Marchi 2007].

A major task of the facilitator is to moderate the debate in such a way so that none of the participants dominates the discussion or forces his or her opinion on others, and so that each participant has an equal opportunity to express his or her views on a subject and in addition can utilize a comparable amount of time. Moreover, the facilitator ensured that members of the poll stuck to the main subject so that the discussion did not wander off course. It should be emphasized that special care needed to be taken that people who use different languages and live in different countries with diverse rules for public discussions were able to suspend their own private rules and adhere to the rules externally imposed on them. It seems that this is possible only if there is a 'guardian' to ensure a properly led deliberation, ideally if he or she is prepared earlier or is selected by the participants.¹⁶ The facilitator performs three roles in the deliberation: normative, technological and leadership. The first one (normative) involves defining the purposes and rules of the debate. The second role (technological) comprises supporting communication, ensuring that ideas are expressed clearly, and asking auxiliary questions. The third role (leadership) depends on the performance of executive functions characteristic for people who organize a debate – setting time limits, ensuring that the rules are adhered to, and keeping the debate members task-focused. The facilitator "[...] intervened in the case of lengthy digressions of participants, assisted in forming the debate conclusions, reminded about prior established arrangements whenever necessary, and performed all activities supporting task execution". [Rycielski, Żylicz 2007: 83]

¹⁵ In Poland the information may be found in the annual report of the Institute of Public Affairs, which supervised the research in Poland.

¹⁶ Not all techniques employing deliberation rely on discussions moderated by trained, professional facilitators. There are techniques where a group leader is chosen from among the participants – e.g. Open Space Technology.

The facilitators' task in the *Tomorrow's Europe* deliberative poll® was made more difficult inasmuch as not only did the moderated discussion participants not know one another (which is the same for deliberative polls® taking place in one country, or focus group interviews), but they also spoke different languages. The performance of facilitators in such cases requires, in my view, excellent preparation as regards both substantive and interpersonal aspects.

The provision of simultaneous interpreting to the discussions at the tables had its advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, the discussion dynamics were decelerated, as the participants received 'filtered' versions of the discussion through earphones at the same time the speakers were talking, which produced some confusion in the flow of the discussion. Therefore the rapid and instantaneous exchange of arguments was hampered and the group dynamics, which is usually a pertinent indicator of the quality of a discussion,¹⁷ was necessarily lowered.

However, an advantage of such an unnatural deceleration of the discussion might be noted as well. During the discussion participants used the interpreting time to better comprehend other members' statements and to prepare their own. Perhaps thanks to such forced pauses the participants were able to formulate more relevant arguments to include in their statements. In their article, Espen D.H. Olsen and H.-J. Trenz emphasize the issue related to multi-lingual discussions and argue the following: "Discussions in pluri-lingual settings tend to run slowly. Slow debates might be less conclusive but are also more balanced and single speech acts are more reflected. Participants know that their statements need to be understandable and grounded to be properly translated and understood by the others." [Olsen, Trenz 2010: 12].¹⁸

Do deliberative polls® realize their theoretical assumptions?

James Fishkin has pointed out on numerous occasions the superiority of deliberative polls® over ordinary one-dimensional surveys. He claims deliberative polls® allow us to find out "[...] what the entire mass public would think about some policy issues or some candidates if it could be given an opportunity for extensive reflection and access to information." [Fishkin 1991: 81]. It's also worth

¹⁷ The issues related to the dynamics in group discussions were discussed by H. Malinowski in the article *Communication in focus group interviews*. [Malinowski 2007: 67–1004].

¹⁸ Although the article deals with the second of the European deliberative polls®, *Europolis*, it differed only slightly from *Tomorrow's Europe* with respect to the organizational side (it also concerned a European question, participants represented a variety of countries, and was held in Brussels), accordingly, the majority of general comments regarding one of those studies may be applied to the other.

considering another portion from this quotation which describes the benefits participants receive from taking part in the discussion when they are truly given an opportunity for an extensive reflection, which is supposed to be realized in the course of small group discussions. It seems the statement may be slightly overdone, as in fact the discussions are time-limited, which induces the facilitator to closely monitor the discussed topics and cut digressions short in order to realize the task assigned to the group. How long would conversations in small groups have to last to enable all members (at times as many as twenty at a table) to voice their opinions and speak long enough¹⁹ to fully cover the subject? This does not mean that this type of research would need to last many days in order to provide participants with enough time to explore a subject in-depth, although it should be noted that there are such deliberations – known as a ‘citizen’s jury’ – where participants spend 4-5 days together, dividing their time between group discussions and questioning expert witnesses.

Another matter concerns supplying respondents with information, which, as was mentioned earlier, is supposed to be ‘balanced’. Such information neutrality might appear only after selecting and describing certain aspects. How should we understand this? Initially some information²⁰ is chosen; however it is not possible to include a great deal of data on a specific affair in a non-comprehensive booklet, thus at this stage briefing materials need to be selected, which results in decidedly less balanced information. Consequently the authors of the booklet for respondents attempt to ensure the neutrality of previously chosen information, hence in essence we are discussing the neutrality of selected information. However the question arises: if respondents are supposed to be provided with all aspects of a problem, e.g. in the case of *Global peace and security* four approaches were presented²¹ –

¹⁹ In the article of James Fishkin and Cynthia Farrar *Deliberative polling. From experiment to Community Resource*, the authors wrote about setting no time-limits to the statements of deliberation participants; yet the tasks realized in its course determine that a moderator should both observe time-limits and ensure equal opportunities of expression for all participants [Fishkin, Farrar 2005: 74–75]

²⁰ Obviously I do not mean the choice of subjects for deliberative polls® because this process occurs in a distinct earlier phase than designing the booklet.

²¹ By the way, it should be noted that it is quite debatable to differentiate the second approach *Multi-speed with Arguments for* „1. Each country has specific needs and should be able to decide how much or how little they want to cooperate with other member states. 2. This approach allows member states to experiment without violating coordination or regulation from Brussels.” and the 4th Approach *No EU role with Arguments for* “1. National governments are best placed to decide. 2. This approach allows different countries or regions to experiment with different solutions, leading

what is the situation if a participant comes up with another, different, proposed solution to the problem? Is this to be discussed?

It should be also considered whether, besides verifying ‘balanced’ briefing materials, an examination into their level of comprehension among ordinary citizens of the EU was made, and if so, whether such comprehension was checked in relation to the booklet prepared in every language. This procedure would be reminiscent of a pilot research tool in survey studies, but would refer to information tools. And there is one more aspect related to balancing information, namely the choice of people who assess the balance. Does the choice of some and not other experts not affect the final assessment? Would other members of the European Parliament have made the same assessment as the four members who were chosen?

What is the level of acculturation in international deliberative polls®?

While I do not wish to repeat all the points contained in the critical analysis of the deliberative poll® included in the article *Deliberative poll® -an inventory of problems*,²² I think that one of them deserves particular attention, because what seemed arguable in the case of an ordinary deliberative poll® held within a single society seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle in the *Tomorrow's Europe* project. This significant issue concerns the acculturation of this way of proceeding, or in other words, making it a natural, safe, scientific and commonly used way of gaining information [Kubiak 2007: 63]. As J. Clive Matthes, previously cited in this article, aptly observed: “Fishkin laid out three criteria for success: was it representative, was it deliberative, and will decision-makers listen? But these criteria leave off the single most important – will the people accept the method?” [Matthes 2007]. An attempt to describe the levels of acculturation in the various countries where citizens took part in the *Tomorrow's Europe* project would require conducting in-depth methodological analyses concerning the entire method, not just public discussions on significant social matters. As far as I am aware this kind of reflection was absent in the two European deliberative polls®.

The question of acculturation of the method does not seem to bother J. Fishkin, for whom it seems more important that the deliberative poll® approach solves problems which pose difficulties for researchers conducting ordinary public opinion surveys; namely it prevents irrational ignorance, the collection of artifacts

to innovation and a healthy competition.” [Tomorrow's Europe... 2007: 17]. They appear to be very similar and in their entry definitions they convey virtually identical ideas.

²² Those interested are referred to volume LXI of *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, where the above-mentioned article was published [Kubiak, Krzewińska 2012]

(non-attitudes or phantom opinions), and finally opens up to potential respondents information from many sources and does not restrict them to those who think like them [Fishkin 2007]. Although in the further part of our description we are unable to determine how the deliberative poll® solves these problems, nonetheless it is not difficult, knowing the procedure of the research, to find a remedy to the limitations of classic surveys. The deliberative poll® differs from an ordinary survey in two fundamental aspects: number of opinion surveys, and deliberation between these measurements. If the solution to the problem was to study the same respondents at least twice, the 'problems' which Fishkin discusses could be handled by, e.g., panel research. But deliberation is an element which prevents such limitations by providing respondents with information and an opportunity to speak about an issue, which in turn enables them to consider it more thoroughly and not merely resort to choosing the most readily available information, which might come in the form of answers to questions from a questionnaire. Moreover, the deliberation is an opportunity to meet and discuss with people who do not belong to a circle of personal acquaintances, to listen to them and their diverse views on a subject, and to try to reach consensus on a common opinion which would be the basis to formulate a question to experts. An additional value of deliberative polls® is that participants feel appreciated by virtue of the fact that they are asked about their views. They also have an opportunity to ask questions and listen to answers from specialists on a subject - specialists whom they could not otherwise meet.²³ The deliberative poll® allows participants to listen to other people's opinions, and to present their own points of view on the basis of information received and in the context of an ongoing discussion. The participants of the deliberative poll® were able to visit the European Parliament, learn about its operations, and experience the difficulties which EU parliament members face when trying to formulate a common opinion on important issues with politicians from other countries, who represent different viewpoints and speak other languages. The deliberative poll® may also influence participants' behavior, as respondents, often previously indifferent to political or economic questions, may develop an interest in them, and perhaps even act and engage at a local level. This was well illustrated by J. Fishkin's description of his experiences from the first deliberative poll®, which took place in Great Britain. He relates that

²³ Similarly to research which utilized sociological intervention, wherein the study participants – social activists – have an opportunity to meet with interlocutors, who are important persons to the development of the movement [see e.g.: A. Matuchniak-Krasuska, Sociological Intervention of A. Touraine. Participant's comment., *Studia Socjologiczne* 1995, no 3–4, 1995].

“[...] a woman came up to me and said she wanted to thank me. Her husband was in the sample... and in thirty years of marriage he had never read a newspaper. But she said that once he was invited to this event he had started to read every newspaper every day – and he was going to be much more interesting to live with in retirement...” [Fishkin 2007].

CONCLUSIONS

It should be kept in mind that although deliberative polls® have been defined by D. Held as institutions of deliberative democracy²⁴, they are not “[...] magical tools for resolving the democratic and legitimacy deficits associated with particular political settings.” [Fiket, Olsen, Trenz 2011: 25]. They benefit the poll participants far more than the citizens or whole populations from which they were chosen. This is because the high costs and complex organizational challenges of this type of research cause it to be conducted relatively rarely and such a study involves only a small percentage of a country’s inhabitants (in the three deliberative polls® where Polish citizens participated, a total of 204 people were polled). Participants of deliberative polls® acquire certain skills which are useful for effective functioning in democratic systems. In particular they improve their communication skills; their knowledge on the subject of deliberation; their degree of understanding of different opinions and attitudes on a given topic; learn group decision-making processes; and how to persuade other participants to their point of view, all of which facilitates the establishment of new social connections [Wesołowska 2010: 30–33]. To a decidedly lesser degree the deliberative poll® might constitute a tool for researching European public opinion, particularly because the cyclical and significantly cheaper *Eurobarometer*²⁵ studies might be utilized for this purpose.

In their conclusions to the preliminary report from the *Tomorrow’s Europe* project, James S. Fishkin, Robert C. Luskin, Stephen Boucher, and Henri Monceau defined deliberative polls® as “polls with human face” [Fishkin, Luskin, Boucher,

²⁴ David Held enumerates deliberative polls, alongside deliberative days and citizens’ juries, and treats them as value-adding procedures and supplementary tools which may be utilized in modern democracies. [Held 2010: 319–327]

²⁵ Eurobarometer is a cyclical public opinion study conducted at the request of the European Commission, in which representative samples of inhabitants of all EU countries and candidate countries take part. Measurements are made twice a year on samples of 1000 people on average from every county. For more information and results of particular studies, see: ec.europa.eu/public_opinion

Monceau 2008: 13], which is attenuated by the opportunity to observe how people divided into small groups “[...] think, learn, and talk about the issues under good conditions.” [Fishkin, Luskin, Boucher, Monceau 2008: 13]. Creating such ‘good conditions’ requires *only* or *as much as*: preparing appropriate materials, training facilitators, and engaging the right experts. The organizers of the research hoped it would become a good beginning for similar practices, which were supposed to turn the inhabitants of the European Union member countries into active citizens of the EU engaged in discussions on vital political, social and economic topics. It’s hard to assess to what extent this postulate was realized – from 2005 to 2009 eleven wide-ranging initiatives were conducted whose major aim was to involve EU citizens in decision-making processes at the international level [Boucher 2009], and both EU-wide Deliberative Polls® – *Tomorrow’s Europe* and *Europolis* were parts of those activities.

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**SONDAŻ DELIBERATYWNY® TOMORROW'S EUROPE JAKO PROPOZYCJA
BADANIA EUROPEJSKIEJ OPINII PUBLICZNEJ**

(Streszczenie)

W artykule prezentuję sondaż deliberatywny® *Tomorrow's Europe*, którego uczestnikami byli mieszkańcy 27 krajów-członków Unii Europejskiej. W pierwszej części artykułu przedstawiam etapy tego interesującego badania i pokrótce referuję jego najważniejsze rezultaty. Druga część poświęcona jest omówieniu kwestii istotnych dla potencjalnych organizatorów, a co ważniejsze interpretatorów otrzymanych rezultatów badań. Moja uwaga skupia się m.in. na: problemie związanym z prowadzeniem deliberacji w wielu językach, kwestii dotyczącej akulturacji samej metody badawczej, możliwościach zbadania europejskiej opinii publicznej oraz korzyściach wynikające z realizacji tego typu badań.

Słowa kluczowe: sondaż deliberatywny, deliberacja, opinia publiczna.

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USE OF THE “PRINCIPAL-AGENT” MODEL IN THE PROCESS OF INVESTIGATING AND ANALYZING REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

Abstract

This article presents the basic elements of the “Principal-Agent” model. Some of the reasons for applying this economic model to the process of investigating and analyzing contemporary systems of representative democracies are given. The main point of the analysis is the problem of cognitive/informational asymmetry among the Principal-Agent relation. Thompson’s strategies for diminishing the consequences of this asymmetry are scrutinized. From this point of view the currently growing demand for accountability and transparency of governments’ actions is discussed in the article. Four possible ways of holding central and local governments accountable are proposed and analyzed. The author’s own proposal is to use three criteria – effectiveness, scope, and civic status – to describe and deliberate on the various forms for holding government accountable. The criteria and the perspective offered by the “Principal-Agent” model are also used in order to describe and analyze the activities of watchdog NGOs. Finally, some proposals are suggested for implementing the “Principal-Agent” model into research practice (both methodologically and thematically).

Key words: Representative democracy, „Principal-Agent” model, central and local government, watchdog NGOs, accountability, transparency.

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INTRODUCTION

Within democratic systems society is perceived as a sovereign and its welfare should be the aim of all governmental actions. As Giovanni Sartori says, the exact idea of democracy – considered as a theory referring to the roots of political authority – indicates that people may expect that society should be more important than the state in democratic forms of political organization. Ergo, the *demos* should be more important than the *kratos*. The government/state should be the people's servant (not *vice versa*) [Sartori 1998: pp. 52–54].

Representative democracy is a remarkable kind of democracy. As Philippe Schmitter and Terry L. Karl state, representative democracy is a political system in which the people in charge are accountable to citizens in a public forum. Citizens take actions *via* their competing and cooperating representatives [1995: p. 29].

There are two fundamental assumptions that need to be underscored at this point. First, the main aim of democratic government actions should be the common weal (welfare of the society/sovereign). Secondly, in contemporary democratic systems this sovereign takes actions indirectly, *via* representatives. As a result of those two basic premises a third emerges: in representative democracies there is not only a division between political authority and all citizens (society as a whole), but there emerges also a Principal-Agent relationship. This explains why sociological and political analyses of contemporary democratic systems widely use the “Principal-Agent” model [Alvarez, Hall 2006; Markowski 2007; Lupia, McCubbins 2000; Burean 2007; Lane, Ersson 2007, Kiser, Drass, Brustein 1995; Baum 2005]. This model relies on agency theory.¹

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE “PRINCIPAL-AGENT” MODEL

The “Principal-Agent” model has been developed in microeconomics and enables theoreticians to describe, *inter alia*, the relation between corporate managers and the corporation's shareholders [Klimczak 2006: pp. 178–183]. This model is also used in management theory, analysis of relations between different kind of institutions, and in the theory of democracy as well.²

¹ In some cases the “Principal-Agent” relation may also be analyzed from the perspective of a buyer-seller relation [Waterman, Meier 1998: p. 174].

² For example the “Principal-Agent” model has been used in analysis of relationship between The Convention on the Future of Europe and the European Council [Jastrzębiec-Pyszyński 2005: p. 37]. In some cases it is reasonable to view relations between the European Union institutions and EU member states from the perspective of this model. [Grosse 2008: p. 19].

The main point is that the “Principal-Agent” model makes it possible to analyze the issue of delegation of authority. ‘Delegation’ appears when one entity – the Principal (not necessarily single and not always single) – is not able to conduct some indispensable tasks and decides to hire/employ an Agent [Alvarez, Hall 2006: p. 492; McCue, Prier 2008: p. 3; Klimczak 2006: p. 178]. The Agent receives an agreed-upon fee and takes his or her actions on behalf of the Principal, while Principal in theory controls these actions. If the tasks are not fulfilled properly, the Principal should be able to dismiss the Agent and look for another candidate for the job.

However, the Principal is not only unable to perform the task on his own, but he is also often unsure whether he has hired the proper person to do the job. The real quality of the conducted task may remain a mystery for the Principal. The problem is that there is a conflict of interest between the Principal and the Agent. Practically speaking, the Principal should not expect that the Agent would take his or her action aiming solely at the Principal’s benefit. Many authors agree that the interests of the Principal and Agent are dissimilar [Lupia, Mccubbins 2000; Wellisz 1997]. The Principal wants the task to be fulfilled as best as possible and at the lowest possible cost. However, the Agent looks for ways to minimize his or her efforts, while the problem of expenses is largely irrelevant to him or her. When realizing the task the Agent wants to provide a tolerable/acceptable quality of work, not necessarily to reach the level of a masterpiece.

It should be emphasized that uncertainty is the essential correlate of the “Principal-Agent” relation [McCue, Prier 2008: p. 4; Lupia, Mccubbins 2000]. This uncertainty refers to qualifications, skills and other characteristics of the Agent. It also refers to his or her actions. Do they lead to the desired results? The Principal may not know whether the Agent’s actions are oriented toward his benefit or not [McCue, Prier 2008: p. 4; Lupia, Mccubbins 2000]. The problem of cognitive/informational asymmetry occurs at this point, and it is obvious that the Agent gains advantage over the Principal. The essence of the Agent’s dominance is that (s)he knows (or at least should know):

- what actions have been performed;
- what alternative actions could have been conducted (was it possible to obtain better results or to reduce expenses?);
- what were the circumstances when conducting the task (favourable or not);
- what labour input was necessary to fulfil the task.

Cliff McCue and Eric Trier postulate conducting separate analyses of the Agent’s actions and the obtained results. They argue that it is practically impossible to become acquainted with conducted actions (efforts, circumstances). However,

the Principal is able in most situations to learn the results of those actions [McCue, Prier 2008: p. 4]. Sean Gailmard adds that efficiency of the Agent's actions is a mystery in almost every case [Gailmard 2002]. All presented assumptions of the "Principal-Agent" model and the cognitive/informational asymmetry are shown in Table 1:

TABLE 1. "Principal-Agent" model – theoretical findings.

Principal	Agent
He is unable to conduct the necessary task(s) on his own. He decides to hire an Agent.	He performs his tasks on behalf of the Principal. He receives an agreed-upon fee. The Principal controls his actions.
He wants the task to be fulfilled properly and from his point of view expenses should be as low as possible.	He wants to minimize his own efforts; the problem of expenses is irrelevant to him.
Cognitive/informational asymmetry factual qualifications of the Agent, circumstances, labour input, possible alternative actions.	
He has many doubts. He relies on the Agent's declarations.	He has an informational advantage.

Source: own elaboration

Fred Thompson has specified the following four complementary (i.e. not competitive) strategies that enable a Principal to minimize the problem of informational asymmetry:

- producing a clear, unambiguous, intelligible contract specifying the rights and duties of both the Principal and the Agent (this solution may not be easy to implement, as each party wants to achieve an advantageous position and makes efforts to leave some of his or her own duties less defined);
- very meticulous selection process of the best candidate for the position as Agent (however, this can be a time and money consuming strategy);
- regular monitoring of the Agent's actions (this is also a time and money consuming strategy, and the other disadvantage of this solution is the risk of collecting too much information to operate smoothly);
- institutional checks/preservations (in other words, limiting the ability of the Agent to act unilaterally. i.e. by requiring him to obtain approvals for certain actions).

Michael Alvarez and Thad Hall additionally emphasize the following four aspects of the "Principal-Agent" relationship [Alvarez, Hall 2006: pp. 493–494]:

- problems in this relationship may be resolved with certainty if the Principal refuses to delegate his authority;

- implementing methods for minimizing the dilemmas associated with the “Principal-Agent” relation requires time. The Agent needs time to perform his tasks and the Principal needs time as well to evaluate them;
- selection of the best candidate requires a large pool of potential agents from which to choose (obviously, this statement is true only to a certain extent – if the pool is too large a rational selection process may be more difficult or even impossible);
- the Principal needs to have resources at his disposal to efficiently negotiate the contract with the Agent. [Alvarez, Hall 2006: p. 494].

IMPLEMENTING THE “PRINCIPAL-AGENT” MODEL INTO THE ANALYSIS OF DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

As has been stated, today the “Principal-Agent” model is frequently implemented into the analysis of contemporary democratic systems. The basic assumption is that the ‘whole society’ may be considered as the Principal, while the government (both central and local) may be called the Agent. To be more specific, the role of the Agent is played by politicians (parliaments, the president, ministers etc.) and civil servants (who are recruited outside an election procedure). The common ground connecting these two collective, institutional entities is that they are both citizens’ representatives and perform actions on their behalf.

However, contemporary societies – unlike the small Greek *polis* – are not able to manage public affairs directly. In this situation it is necessary to hire/employ some specialized entity (politicians and civil servants – government) to represent the ‘Principal’ and to perform appropriate actions on its behalf. The “fee” due for the work done would be the sum of all privileges correlating with authority (money, prestige, and the essence of authority). Of course, this catalogue of “official” bonuses connected with exercising power is complemented with some “off the record” privileges. These unofficial bonuses – which play a vital role in stimulating the Agent to take up his or her duties – include, for instance: access to head positions in public institutions (including the opportunity to employ family members or friends); the possibility of meeting influential persons, career opportunities after public service, etc.

The “Principal-Agent” model enables sociologists and political scientists to analyze the election process from the perspective of choosing the best candidate to become the Agent. During this process society can learn about the qualifications and experiences of each of the candidates. The “candidate” may mean either:

one person (for example a candidate in presidential election), or a formal group of persons (for instance: a party in a parliamentary election). During the election process society has the opportunity to assess each of the prepared offers, which include the presentation of projects describing the necessary tasks that would be performed among the Agent's duties. The optimal result of this process would be to choose the offer that is most advantageous and realistic and stimulates the best hopes. An election also represents an opportunity to either dismiss the current Agent (if his or her work is evaluated poorly), or to prolong the existing contract (if the overall results of the Agent's work are deemed satisfactory).³

Moreover, the "Principal-Agent" model enables scientists to analyze the problems that the Principal has to face when trying to account for the Agent's performance. The most important issue is the question of being well informed. This involves the problem of whether there are factual possibilities for evaluating the actions performed by the 'Agent'. Were the results obtained good enough? Was it possible to gain better results? What influenced the quality of the results obtained: good qualifications and hard work by the Agent or favourable circumstances when conducting the task? The Principal needs to decide about these questions, which are not always easy to answer.

It should be emphasized once again that the interests of the Principal and the Agent are in conflict with each other. The Principal wants the Agent to make the right decisions with reference to public affairs, and these decisions should have a positive effect on the common weal over a long-term perspective. However, the Agent may be more interested in focusing on his or her own business interests and ambitions (political revenge, internal competition in the party etc.) than on the Principal's interest. Moreover, the Agent is keen to make decisions that would improve his or her electoral standing. The Agent thus operates in a shorter time perspective than the Principal.

In this situation the role of all Thompson's strategies for diminishing the cognitive/informational asymmetry among "Principal-Agent" relations becomes vital. The most important matter is the degree of civic control over government

³ The "Principal-Agent" model is particularly useful when analyzing the Westminster democracy model (authority is held by one party – only one offer is chosen by the Principal). However, this model may also be applied among consensus democracies (the establishment of wide coalitions, including almost all parties represented in the parliament) [Lijphart 2005b: pp. 135–152; Lijphart 2005a: pp. 153–167; Lijphart 1995: pp. 39–49]. If more than one offer is to be chosen, the Principal (society as a whole) decides about domination in the coalition (more seats in the parliament – more positions in the government). In addition, not every offer is to be accepted.

actions. This means control over both their legality as well as ensuring they make decisions which best serve the common weal.

As has been pointed out, use of the “Principal-Agent” model to analyze contemporary representative democracies is becoming more and more popular. However, some authors argue that there are serious reasons for abandoning the incorporation of this model into a sociology or political science analysis. Some of the postulates of Krzysztof Iszkowski should be cited here. Firstly, he states that among the analyses of representative democracies it is not clear what entity should be called “the Principal”. If the answer is the single voter (single citizen) – then what about those voters who vote for losing candidates? Are these voters Principals as well as the voters who voted for election winners? Or maybe the voters who vote for losers are Principals without an Agent? [Iszkowski 2007: p. 102]. If the Principal is not a single voter but a collective entity this – in Iszkowski’s opinion – raises some other problems. As he points out: *if indeed society as a whole is the Principal, where do the Agents come from?* [Iszkowski 2007: p. 102]. If they come from the society itself, then they should be deemed to be Principals and the Agents simultaneously, which does not seem sensible. Secondly, Iszkowski argues that when implementing a “Principal-Agent” model into an analysis of systems of contemporary representative democracies, there appears the problem of lack of a contract (agenda) specifying the rights and duties of each party [Iszkowski 2007: p. 102].

However, in the author’s opinion Iszkowski’s viewpoint may be challenged. Firstly, the Principal is a collective, not a single entity. This statement is confirmed by a long tradition of democratic theory. This theory assumes that the community (people, nation, society) is a sovereign [Sartori 1998: pp. 37–54]. The role of the Agent is played by politicians and civil servants – representatives of public administration institutions (on both the central and local levels). In essence, the relation of the Principal and the Agent is a relation between the Society and the Government, or in other words – between the Society and the State. The role of individuals (commissioning and performing particular tasks) is not the most vital issue in this perspective. This proposal should be considered as a rejection of the first of Iszkowski’s arguments.

Secondly, it is true that in contemporary democratic systems there is in fact no written, specific contract pointing out the rights and duties of each party. The situation of employing managers in a corporation is quite different. However, it should be pointed out that constitutional regulation is of critical importance. The Constitution of each state specifies what are the duties of the most important political actors (president, prime minister, parliamentary speaker, parliament as

a whole etc.). Iszkowski is wrong in assuming that the Agent performs his or her tasks without any guidance. What's more, the election offer (for example a party's platform) may be considered as a contract. When citizens decide to delegate the authority to a specific party (or parties), they accept at this point the platform (or platforms) offered. Therefore they are within their rights to expect that this document, or set of promises, will be implemented. They may also expect that their representatives (the Agent) will obey the constitutional rules.

However, some other doubts may be submitted. One may state that the "Principal-Agent" model ignores the role of parliamentary opposition and – what is more – the status of the political opposition cannot be reasonably described in the perspective of this model. The point of argue would be that the opposition is neither the Agent, nor the Principal, but still plays a vital role in controlling government's actions [Bożyk 2000: pp. 55–60]. Nevertheless, this allegation should be dismissed. Parliamentary opposition is a part of political class and should be considered as a representation (the Agent) of the society-sovereign (the Principal). Deputies ranked as parliamentary opposition are still deputies. They are obliged to take the oath as well as members of parties that won the election. Moreover, oppositional parties intend to win further elections and exercise political power [Wiatr 2002: p. 261]. In the perspective of "Principal-Agent" model it should be stressed that parliamentary opposition is one of key players in the field of controlling government's actions. The role of political opposition is a role of a special Agent hired to investigate the activity of the main (governmental) Agent. After election the position of each player may be changed (from controlling to managing and from managing to controlling). Nonetheless, parliamentary opposition should be perceived as the Agent in the perspective of discussed model.

The other doubt is quite similar to the first of Iszkowski's statements. Some could ask: how the sovereign may be conceptualised as one Principal, while interests of many social groups and individuals are not convergent? However, it should be noticed that deputies are representatives of society as a whole, not of particular groups of voters. It becomes clear when i.e. learning oaths of USA congressmen or members of Polish parliament. Moreover, presidents-elects often emphasize that they want to be representatives of community (people, nation, society), not only those who have voted for them.

Last two possible allegations are more general. Firstly, "Principal-Agent" model focuses on relation between two sectors: sector of public administration and civil sector. The third actor, the private (economic) sector is ignored, while there are important links between public sector and private sector (especially connections of corporations and government). Some may state that it is impossible

to analyse and describe those links in perspective of “Principal-Agent” model. Nevertheless, this opinion may be undermined. It is conceivable that the Agent has some other partners of interaction, apart from the Principal. For instance, the Agent may contact with some services supplier on Principal’s behalf. If contract terms are not easy (and Agent receives special, additional fee paid by the supplier), then the problem – widely known in the politics – of corruption arises. So that, the relation between private and public sectors may be analysed in perspective of “Principal-Agent” model (not immanently in the context of corruption).

The last reservation refers to the problem of lack of international and historical variation among the “Principal-Agent” model’s assumptions. Is it practicable to analyse all systems of representative democracies with use of this model? The author is convinced that it is possible as well as possible is operating some general definition of contemporary representative democracy, apart from different ways of implementing democracy systems in particular countries. Different solutions among presidential systems, parliamentary systems or cabinet systems may seem vital, but problems of accountability, transparency and delegation of authority are more universal and common to every representative democracy. Those problems are in the limelight of model scrutinized.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY

The described assumptions of the “Principal-Agent” model demonstrate that the election mechanism plays an important role in the process of recruiting and holding accountable the Agent (politicians) by the Principal (society). However, the visible present-day changes in the practice of governmental functioning show that the election mechanism may prove insufficient from the citizens’ perspective. This is a result of the activation of civil society, which has been stimulated and noticeable for several decades. Currently, emancipated and knowledgeable citizens look for a deeper influence over public affairs. In other words, citizens now want to exercise a more precise control over public affairs than was the case a couple of decades ago. The hitherto system of periodic elections (once every couple of years) is no longer a sufficient instrument for the ‘Principal’ to exercise control. What’s more, there exist a multitude of proofs confirming that citizens today do not wish to rely on their trust in politicians. Many of them also reject the political rhetoric, particularly that surrounding elections [Burean 2007: p. 21; Dunkerley, Fudge 2004: p. 240].

Moreover, the contemporary problems arise from the specific political, economic and social situations. High professional qualifications are more desirable today than they were, for instance, 50 years ago. Increasingly complicated decisions have to be made in a very short time [Kuehnelt-Leddihn 2008: pp. 53–54]. During a single term of holding political office there may appear many problems (i.e. wars, economic crises, natural disasters) that had not been expected even a couple of weeks earlier. A very good example of this problem is the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in 2001. Politicians are not able to put these problems into their election agendas and discuss them during an election campaign. This is one reason why politicians are not able to perform their tasks solely in reliance on party platforms and/or election agendas. They have to prove self-reliant in the decision-making process [Bureau 2007: pp. 20–21]. However, new techniques and new ways of exercising civil control over a government's actions do need to be implemented. This task is not an easy one, as the matters that have to be evaluated are complicated. Good qualifications are required not only to make the right political decisions, but also to evaluate decisions already made. Many political problems may be hard for the average citizen to understand and examine.

In this situation two matters seem most crucial: accountability and transparency. Accountability means the ability of social actors to settle accounts with politicians and political institutions (political actors) with reference to the actions they perform [Kamiński 2006: p. 63]. James Fearon's proposal is more general, but still in accord with Antoni Kamiński's perspective. Fearon states that: *we say that one person, A, is accountable to another, B, if two conditions are met. First, there is an understanding that A is obliged to act in some way on behalf of B. Second, B is empowered by some formal institutional or perhaps informal rules to sanction or reward A for her activities or performance in this capacity* [1999].

Holding an Agent accountable is possible only if the Principal is well informed. If the Principal wants to evaluate the tasks carried out, he needs to gain information about actual actions undertaken and possible alternatives. The assumptions of the "Principal-Agent" model, as outlined above, show that the Principal often finds it difficult to obtain accurate information. He is also often unsure whether the information obtained is true or not. This leads to the thesis that in contemporary democracies the roles of accountability and transparency become crucial. Transparency is a precondition of accountability. Implementing accountability without transparency seems impossible.

Kamiński emphasises that accountability may have either a vertical or horizontal perspective. In the horizontal perspective, accountability involves

the relations between different government institutions (for example: executive authority, legislative authority, and the judiciary).⁴ There are two kinds of accountability with a vertical perspective. In the first version accountability involves a relationship between public administration (considered as an instrument) and politics (considered as an entity). In the other version of a vertical perspective, accountability is the relationship between political representation and the electorate (society as a whole) [Kamiński 2006: pp. 62–63]. In this paper analysis is focused primarily on the latter proposal. However, it should be stressed that the analysis refers not only to political representation (chosen via elections), but also to public administration as a whole (on both the central and local levels). This approach captures the “Principal-Agent” model’s most vital thesis.⁵

In Kamiński’s proposal for the process of evaluating political systems, the efficiency of government is the other (apart from accountability) criterion. He says that efficiency should be considered as the ability to generate long-term policies and implement them into practice in public life [Kamiński 2006: p. 63]. Kamiński argues that accountability is closely connected with efficiency, as accountability refers to the control instruments and mechanisms that stimulate political actors to perform their tasks. These instruments and mechanisms should link a government’s efficiency with the common weal [Kamiński 2006: p. 63].

In the opinion of this author, Kamiński’s proposal should be supplemented by other considerations. Kamiński stresses the role played by accountability in stimulating political actors to perform actions aimed at the common weal (efficiency). He is undoubtedly right in this point. However, accountability should be also considered as a factor stimulating political actors to perform actions that are legal. The first element of civil control over the functioning of a government should be control over the legality of conducted political actions (keeping in mind, of course, that this is the domain of law courts – complaints against government actions need to be filed in courts). The other element is control of the relationship between the performed actions and the common weal. In some cases these two

⁴ For example a Norwegian research institute, CMI, conducts numerous studies on the role of law courts in providing accountability in new and fragile democratic systems (i.e. Latin America, Africa) [<http://www.cmi.no/research/project/?538=accountability-functions-of-courts> – accessed on 3.11.2012].

⁵ It should be emphasized that vertical accountability is contemporarily one of the conditions of the legitimacy of a whole political system. There are meaningful examples of countries (Iraq, Moluccan Islands) in which new democratic authorities were recognized as legally valid by citizens after establishing rules guaranteeing the government’s accountability [Brorsen 2008].

elements are connected – for instance, corruption is an action that is both illegal and contrary to the common weal.

There is a controversy over what entities should be held accountable. Should accountability refer only to elected politicians, or should civil servants be held accountable as well? Jeeyang Baum rightly argues that countless important decisions and actions are made and performed by civil servants employed by ministries and other public institutions. They are not chosen via the election process. Citizens are not able to evaluate their actions in the same way as the actions of elected politicians (for example: members of parliament) [Baum 2005]. Should these civil servants' actions be considered as performed outside the jurisdiction of civic accountability? In the opinion of this author the answer to this question should be in the negative. As has already been mentioned, the “Principal-Agent” relation is a relationship between society as a whole and a government/state (i.e. all public institutions). The role of the Agent is played – seen from this perspective – by both politicians and professional civil servants. Moreover, the activities of civil servants should be an even greater concern for citizens in the exercise of their civil control function, as the activity of civil servants cannot be directly evaluated during the election process. It should also be noted that this accountability should refer to both central and local government actions.

The term ‘accountability’ can seem very abstract. However, research in this field – including quantitative research as well – may be and is being conducted. An international NGO – One World Trust – has focused on the accountability problem from the global perspective in four research projects in 2003, 2006, 2007 and 2008.⁶ The authors of these projects have specified four elements of accountability. Those elements (listed below) may be useful both in a theoretical-analytic approach as well as in an empiric approach:

- transparency (access to up-to-date and accurate information; transparency of organization structures);
- participation (incorporating citizens into the decision-making process);
- evaluation (implementing systems of inward monitoring of actions and results among organizations and institutions);
- mechanisms for handling complaints and providing responses (including safe and efficient channels for internal and external stakeholders to make com-

⁶ The aim of those research projects was to examine the accountability of not only intergovernmental organizations (i.e. World Health Organization, World Trade Organization, World Bank), but also international NGOs (i.e. WWF International) and transnational corporations (inter alia: Toyota, Wal Mart, Nestlé).

plaints and receive responses) [Kovach, Neligan, Burall 2003; Blagescu, Lloyd 2006; Lloyd, Oatham, Hammer 2007; Lloyd, Warren, Hammer 2008].

MONITORING GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONING BASED ON “PRINCIPAL-AGENT” ASSUMPTIONS

How can the Principal (society as a whole) control the Agent’s performances (the Agent here meaning all the machinery of the state)? This author suggests specifying four complementary (not competitive) ways for implementing Thompson’s strategy which referred to the monitoring of the Agent’s actions. Each of the solutions listed below has its own advantages and disadvantages, so there are both risks and opportunities when introducing each one:

- internal monitoring, carried out by specialized public institutions (for instance: in Poland – the Supreme Audit Office, Human Rights Ombudsman, The Central Anti-Corruption Bureau, and Regional Chambers of Audit; in the UE – The European Ombudsman and The Court of Auditors; in the United Kingdom – the National Audit Office; in Germany – Bundesrechnungshof – Federal Audit Office);

- monitoring by the mass media (investigative reporting);
- monitoring conducted by informal and spontaneous citizens’ actions;
- monitoring performed by professional, specialized NGOs, known as ‘watchdog NGOs’.⁷

When describing and analyzing each of the solutions listed above, the following criteria should be used to analyze monitoring/control: *scope*, *effectiveness* and *civic status*.

The *scope* of the monitoring refers to the incidences/spheres of possible actions which are monitored. The scope is determined by financial, technical, time, and organizational conditions.

⁷ One may ask, why activity of political opposition (especially parliamentary opposition) is not included in the agenda of ways of monitoring government’s actions. It is due to the fact that monitoring means a process of active investigating and collecting data. Watchdog NGOs and public audit institutions conduct such actions. The same refers to mass media and investigative reporting. Also some active citizens may hold an inquiry. However, political opposition tend to realize its control tasks by using available data (i.e. gained by mass media) in order to mobilize public opinion and to force government to abandon reprehensible practices or implement some advantageous programs.

The *effectiveness* of monitoring actions should be connected with the ability to eliminate blameworthy practices observed in public institutions (practices that are illegal or contrary to the common weal).

The *civic status* refers to the credibility of the monitoring (from the perspective of the common citizen). There is an important difference between control realized directly by citizens and control realized by entities that are (at least theoretically) the citizens' representatives. For this criterion the perspective offered by the "Principal-Agent" model is crucial. If the Principal indeed wishes to counteract the cognitive/informational dominance of the Agent, he has to implement effective monitoring actions, and it is crucial whether these monitoring tasks are conducted on his own, or whether he decides to employ (once again) a representative to handle the task. The question becomes: who controls the Agent's performance – another Agent (acting on the Principal's behalf), or the Principal (on his own)? If the answer is 'another Agent', it should be carefully noted that the monitoring is of an indirect nature. This makes it less credible than a monitoring done by citizens. In other words, monitoring tasks completed by specialized public institutions (for example an Audit office) are not as credible as monitoring realized by watchdog NGOs.

The above-specified means of monitoring (internal monitoring, mass media monitoring, monitoring by informal citizens' actions, and monitoring by watchdog NGOs) may be described in different ways in terms of their scope, effectiveness and civic status. The patterns of these differences make it impossible to present a concrete ranking of the usefulness of the four specified variants of monitoring. However, the author has prepared a catalogue of the strengths and weaknesses of each method (see Table 2 below).

It should be assumed that monitoring actions conducted by public audit institutions are highly effective due to the use of professional, well-trained, and numerous staff. The availability of resources (i.e. time, money) also enable these institutions to perform their tasks efficiently. These factors also enable the monitoring actions performed to have a broad scope. However, this form of controlling the functioning of public institutions also has its disadvantages. The major problem is the poor civic status of the monitoring agency [Stempień: in-print]. From the point of view of the "Principal-Agent" model, we have a situation whereby one Agent monitors the actions performed by another Agent, and this is a serious weakness inherent in this solution.

TABLE 2. Forms of monitoring government in terms of their scope, effectiveness and civic status.

	Scope	Effectiveness	Civic status
Internal monitoring	Wide	High	Low
Mass media monitoring	Wide	Medium	Low/rather low
Monitoring by informal citizens' actions	Narrow	Low	High
Monitoring of watchdog NGOs	Medium	Low or medium	High

Source: own elaboration

The situation with regard to monitoring performed by mass media is of a *sui generis* nature. The scope of such monitoring may be quite wide (although it may entail limited access to information), but the monitoring is more accidental and random (without a planned outcome, often less well-planned and less complex). The effectiveness of implementing its results is lower, as the powers of the press and TV to force the institutions monitored (comprised of politicians or civil servants) to improve their performance are less than the legal sanctions able to be imposed by public auditing institutions. Formal audits done by public auditing institutions result in legal requirements to implement necessary changes in the functioning of a controlled institution. Ignoring such requirements may entail much more serious and inevitable consequences than ignoring a newspaper article by an investigative reporter exposing improprieties.. Moreover, the civic status of the mass media is questionable. Reporters and editors declare themselves to be voluntary, self-appointed advocates of the common weal. However, their civic legitimacy may be doubtful, as editors, reporters and all branches of the mass media branch have their own agendas, which are not immanently connected with common weal [Stempień: in-print]. Many proofs exist which confirm that the functioning of newspapers, weekly magazines, TV and internet news etc. are the activities of an ordinary business company rather than an activity of disinterested, unselfish and objective entities wishing only to expose corruption and other improprieties within government in order to improve the quality of public administration [Stempień: in-print].

By definition, monitoring performed by informal citizens' actions is fully vested with civic status. However, the scope of the activities monitored may be narrow and the effectiveness of the monitoring may be low. This field encompasses actions like writing letters to editors and creating, often on the spur of the moment, interested groups of citizens wishing to exercise control over the process of performing certain public tasks. The era of social networking has created new and interesting possibilities in this regard, with yet to be seen consequences.

Another interesting form of this type of activity is whistle-blowing – actions of single citizens who try to eliminate (by publicizing) blameworthy practices in their social or institutional milieu [Wojciechowska-Nowak 2008].

Given all of the above, the situation with respect to watchdog NGOs is in many aspects the most interesting. The scope of NGO activities is usually a medium one (and in new democratic systems – probably a narrow one). Their effectiveness is also no higher than medium (similar to the effectiveness of mass media monitoring). Research conducted in Poland demonstrated that the effectiveness of NGO activities might be their weakest link in terms of civic monitoring by watchdog NGOs. Many organizations find it difficult to pressure or even incline public institutions to abandon faulty practices and implement needed improvements [Stempien 2012]. Nevertheless, it is vital that watchdog NGOs are strictly civic entities performing their tasks on behalf of citizens and the society (or local society). Watchdog NGOs are established and managed by citizens, and this fact determines their civic status.

The above-described four forms of monitoring government are complementary. Each form has its own disadvantages. It may however be possible to minimize the disadvantages and weak points by introducing other forms that are unhampered by such constraints. This would permit the strong points of each form to support each other and multiply (the synergy effect).

RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES INTO THE APPLICATION OF THE “PRINCIPAL-AGENT” MODEL

Acceptance of the assumptions underlying the “Principal-Agent” model has particular consequences for practices regarding research into the functioning of representative democratic systems. First of all, researcher’s attention should be focused on the questions connected with a government’s accountability. This author would suggest taking the “Principal-Agent” model’s assumptions into consideration in analyses related to the following issues:

- legal framework of monitoring activity (for example constitutional or statutory guaranties with respect to accessibility to information);
- the actual functioning of entities carrying out monitoring/watchdog actions (for example the obstacles they face, their professionalism, and their independence);

– the actual transparency (not only that formally guaranteed by law) of a given political system with respect to monitoring activities and resulting recommendations.

Research concerning the legal framework of monitoring activities may refer to those legal regulations which define the functioning of associations and other non-governmental organizations (i.e., those that would be interested in creating or supporting civil watchdog undertakings). Thus the legal regulation concerning the activities of mass media and public control organizations (in Poland – Human Rights Ombudsman, Supreme Audit Office, Regional Chambers of Auditors, Public Prosecutor’s Office etc.) should be the subject of analyses. The researcher can concentrate directly on the acts, as well as on the regulation emanating from constitutional provisions (the research technique used would thus be content analysis). He or she may also refer to legal interpretations of these acts by interviewing experts in a particular branch of law. Moreover, an attempt to present the *process* of establishing legal solutions in the analysed field could be an interesting research topic – what regulations have been accepted; which alternative solutions have been rejected; were these regulations’ preceded by public discussion; and how were they received by interested parties?

Another issue is research devoted to the actual activities of organizations monitoring the functioning of public administration. The subject of analysis could be all the entities listed in Table 2: non-formalized citizens’ groups, watchdog NGOs, mass media, and internal monitoring institutions (Human Rights Ombudsman, Supreme Audit Office etc.). Research may concern obstacles faced by such groups and institutions (financial, staff problems etc.), thematic fields of monitoring, the professionalism of the actions undertaken, and their effectiveness (related to the possibility of eliminating improprieties and pathologies discovered). Creating a prognosis (i.e. various scenarios) for the future development of such activities also would be quite interesting. The researcher can use methods such as content analysis (for instance on reports concerning an organization’s activity, information found on its websites, etc.), expert opinion surveys, observations (including participant’s observations).

The third and last of the research fields suggested in this paper (although others could certainly also be indicated) concerns the political system’s actual openness to monitoring activities and recommendations based on their results. Are the legal guarantees a reasonable assurance for carrying out monitoring activities? Are the effects of these actions taken into account in the practical functioning of public administration institutions? These questions are worth reflecting upon. However, this research field would seem to be the least accessible for a researcher. Neverthe-

less, an analysis of correspondence conducted between entities and monitoring institutions could be a valuable source of interesting information, for example.

What seems important in all of the research fields mentioned above is that studies conducted from the perspective of the “Principal-Agent” model may be both longitudinal or pseudo-longitudinal. In the case of pseudo-longitudinal research, they would consist of comparative studies devoted to different systems of representative democracy, assuming that some of them are more developed than others (i.e. “western democracies” versus the political systems in post-communist countries). However, comparative research ignoring these assumptions (and without the status of pseudo-longitudinal analysis) seems interesting too. Longitudinal research might, for example, deliver some interesting data concerning changes in political systems in given times and countries, from the viewpoint of the Principal holding the Agent accountable.

It should be emphasized that various researches and analyses might be conducted both at the level of social macrostructures and at the meso-level. Thus a researcher could refer to central as well as regional and local politics, analysing the accountability of local government or local representatives of central authorities (in Poland, the Voivodship Offices).

AN EXAMPLE OF UTILIZATION OF THE “PRINCIPAL-AGENT” MODEL IN RESEARCH PRACTICE

The project “Civil monitoring of central and local authorities by selected non-governmental organizations” (*Obywatelski monitoring władzy państwowej i samorządowej w działalności wybranych organizacji pozarządowych*) may be examined as an example of utilization of the “Principal-Agent” model in empiric research. This project was carried out by the author of this paper as a PhD project at the Faculty of Economics and Sociology of the University of Lodz (Poland) from 2005 to 2012, in cooperation with the Stefan Batory Foundation [Stempień 2012].

The project, undertaken in the form of a case study, was devoted above all to those organizations which received a Batory Foundation grant to participate in their programme “Watchdog activities” (*Działania strażnicze*), from 2004 to 2008. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the observations are applicable to the entire Polish watchdog sector. The project was divided into three parts. The first part was based on a content analysis of project documentation (2004–2008); the second part – on email questionnaires filled in by the organizations who were

beneficiaries of the programme (referring to their activity in 2009); and the third part – on the opinions of experts in the sector of non-governmental institutions.

The main purpose of the project was to create a comprehensive description of the organizations participating, from 2004 to 2008, in the consecutive editions of the Batory Foundation’s programme “Watchdog activities.” Defining the quality (professionalism) of the activities of Polish watchdogs was an important part of this report. The author prepared a summary index of the watchdog organizations’ professionalism. This proposed index would seem to be useful for further research devoted to the functioning of watchdog organizations in Poland, as well as in other countries. Determining the conditions and quality of the actions of Polish watchdogs, and outlining a prognosis for the future development of watchdog activities in Poland, were also very important aims of the project.

The following elements were combined to create a comprehensive description of the overall activities of selected watchdog organizations:

- basic characteristics of watchdog organizations included in the project (location, date of establishment, etc.);
- presentation of the activities of the selected organizations and of the projects realized as a part of the “Watchdog activities” program (referring to the fields of monitoring, the subjects of monitoring, territory taken into consideration, beneficiaries of watchdog actions, and methods used);
- determination of the watchdog organizations’ resources (financial, material, relationships, human resources);
- evaluation of the quality of watchdog organizations’ actions (referring to their public openness/transparency, independence, effectiveness, professionalism);
- identification of the most important obstacles faced by watchdog organizations in their activities in Poland.

The presented research was recapitulated in a SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) for that part of the non-governmental sector which consists of watchdog organizations.

Realization of aims of the research as presented above required the use of a wide range of research techniques and treatment of the research as a complex project of an ongoing character. In this project the author referred to quantitative and qualitative, and reactive and non-reactive techniques. The set of three research techniques described below was used during realization of the project:

- (standardized) content analysis (based on project documentation from the program “Watchdog activities”);
- email questionnaire (conducted among the organizations which were the program’s beneficiaries);

– expert opinion surveys *via* the Internet (conducted among activists, specialists, and well-informed observers of the non-governmental sector in Poland).

It should be emphasized that throughout the realization of the project the author consistently and consequently used the perspective of the “Principal-Agent” model. At least three points should be stressed. First of all, this perspective allowed for the establishment of a proper definition of the field of a watchdog organization’s activities that should be subject to research and analysis. Thus, the monitoring carried out by non-governmental organizations into entities in the private sector was eliminated from the field of interest of this project, as its research was limited to monitoring of the public sector. Secondly, the perspective of the “Principal-Agent” model enabled the researcher to enrich the hitherto overview of relation between public and non-governmental sectors in Poland. This relation is described often in terms of tasks’ delegations (from public administration to NGOs) and in terms of civic dialogue [Stempień 2009; Mandrysz 2007; Krzyszkowski 1997: pp. 15–19; Długosz 1997: pp. 25–26]. The project analysis of this relation was enlarged with the context of civic (non-governmental) control on public administration. Thirdly, some specific (and quite uncommon) perspective on assessing the control tasks of mass media and public audit institutions was implemented as well due to the “Principal-Agent” model. The poor civic status of those actions made it reasonable to conclude that some other ways of civic control on public administration should be initiated. Due to this, the role of watchdog NGOs seemed more vital and more interesting. Finally, “Principal-Agent” model was particularly useful, when interpreting information collected in the research project.

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MOŻLIWOŚCI I SKUTKI ZASTOSOWANIA MODELU “PRINCIPAL –AGENT” W BADANIU I ANALIZOWANIU SYSTEMU REPREZENTATYWNEJ DEMOKRACJI

(Streszczenie)

Artykuł przedstawia podstawy modelu “Principal-agent”. Sugeruje się niektóre przyczyny zastosowania tego ekonomicznego modelu do badania i analizowania współczesnych systemów reprezentatywnej demokracji. Głównym elementem analizy jest problem poznawczej / informacyjnej

asymetrii w relacji „Principal-agent”. Omawia się strategię Thompsona zmierzającą do zmniejszenia skutków tej asymetrii. Dyskutuje się rosnące żądanie rozliczenia i przejrzystości działania rządu. Proponuje się 4 możliwe sposoby rozliczenia centralnego i lokalnego rządu, stosując 3 kryteria opisu (efektywność, zakres, status obywatelski). Kryteria i perspektywa oferowana przez model „Principal-agent” jest użyta do opisu i analizy działalności NGO jako „watch dog’a”. Proponuje się kilka sposobów zastosowania modelu PA w praktyce badawczej, zarówno pod względem metody, jak też merytorycznym.

Słowa kluczowe: demokracja przedstawicielska, „Principal-agent model”, centralny i lokalny rząd, „watch dog”, NGO (organizacja pozarządowa), rozliczenie, przejrzystość

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PARTICIPATION AND LAND REFORM IN BRAZIL: TRACING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BUREAUCRATS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Abstract

There are different forms by which the state bureaucracy relates to social movements in the realm of agrarian reform policies in Brazil. A number of possible connections and very complex relations have been taking shape over the last 30 years. Possible connections include institutional spaces for discussion, but also a number of informal relations between bureaucrats and social movement mediators. I would argue that the literature on participatory democracy is not the best approach to analyze this wide-ranging scope of connections, inasmuch as it assumes the existence of two different and separate actors - the state and the civil society – and usually considers the state as a monolithic actor while focusing on civil society. In fact, the diversity of formats by which social movements relate to state bureaucracy can be apprehended more fully by the actor-network approach, as this gives the researcher tools to account for connections taking place in different sites and in a multiplicity of formats, as well as to analyze their effects on actors' agency during the political process. Data that supports this argument is drawn from ethnographical research within the Brazilian state institution in charge of implementing agrarian reform policies, INCRA (National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform). By focusing on how the bureaucracy understands and reacts to one of the most organized and mobilized beneficiary publics in the Brazilian political arena, this investigation presents some interesting findings regarding the complexity of networks in which bureaucrats are entangled and their effects on the negotiation and implementation

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of policies claimed by rural social movements. In what follows I discuss some of these findings in light of participatory democracy and theoretical actor-network contributions.

Keywords: INCRA; Bureaucracy; Actor-network theory; Participatory democracy; Brazil

OPENING THE BLACK BOX OF THE STATE

Brazilian rural social movements, and especially the Landless Rural Workers' Movement (MST), have been a very popular subject of social science research, both in Brazil and internationally (Ondetti, 2008; Carter, 2003; Carter, 2009; Fernandes, 2003; Medeiros, 2004; Sigaud, 2005; Rosa, 2011). Studies on this subject cover, *inter alia*, aspects such as the movements' political organization, its educational project, communication, religiosity, gender relations, leadership formation, repertoires of protest, and relations with the state. Likewise, Brazilian rural sociologists' research has developed a considerable body of knowledge regarding agrarian reform policies, their results and impacts on rural communities, and the participation of social movements' representatives in mediating the negotiation and implementation of such policies (Leite, 2004; Medeiros et al., 1994; Martins, 2003; Neves, 2008; Neves, 1999).

Notwithstanding this vast number of investigations into rural social movements and agrarian reform policies, little attention (Wolford, 2010) has been paid to the state branch responsible for agrarian reform, INCRA, as a subject of research and as an agent in the agrarian reform process. In other words, systematic knowledge about the personnel, organization, and internal functioning of the state institution that interacts most closely with rural social movements while implementing agrarian reform policies is locked inside a black box. In order to understand why policy implementation is sometimes inefficient, why certain programs never get out of the paper stage (or when they do they come out incomplete or biased), it's necessary to open the black-box of the state. Only then it will be possible to observe the interaction with the beneficiary public – organized in movements, trade unions and associations – from the privileged standpoint located inside a bureaucratic institution, where claims are translated into policies.

The box this work proposes to open is one of the most controversial institutions in the Brazilian state apparatus and is frequently targeted by media criticism. As it deals directly with a very polarizing topic in Brazil – the landless movement

– INCRA works under a great deal of pressure and constant media attention.¹ It is the second largest and one of the oldest *autarquias*² in Brazil. It was created in 1970 and currently has a staff of 5,783 employees spread all over Brazilian national territory. It is estimated that over 4 million people are affected by its agrarian reform policies³, which encompass more than just land acquisition and redistribution. After acquiring a piece of land, INCRA creates a settlement project that includes proper agronomical and geological analysis; demarcation of plots to each family unit; infrastructure construction, such as bridges and roads; and grants credits for the acquisition of tools, production inputs, and housing construction. Settled families are also given benefits in the form of special bank loans for small-scale agriculture, for which INCRA has to approve a production project. All of these activities have to be overseen and monitored by INCRA's employees. According to official data, today in Brazil there are 8,790 settlement projects with 921,225 families controlled by INCRA.⁴

In order to more effectively control all of these settlements, INCRA has a decentralized structure with regional and sub-regional offices in each Brazilian state. Each regional office (*Superintendência* or SR) is autonomous in terms of choosing its own local managers,⁵ but depends on the central office in terms of budget decentralization and general orientations on the National Plan of Agrarian

¹ Lately INCRA has been present in the media due to its deforestation denouncements inside territories it controls and because of a recent change of managers. Media treatment usually relates INCRA with inefficiency and corruption.

² *Autarquia* is a decentralized public administration institution. Besides INCRA, some of the most important Brazilian *autarquias* are: National Institute of Social Security (INSS) - the largest; National Institute of Environment and Natural Resources (IBAMA); and Indigenous National Foundation (FUNAI).

³ In addition to agrarian reform policies, INCRA is also responsible for land regularization and land cadastres.

⁴ <http://www.incra.gov.br/index.php/reforma-agraria-2/questao-agraria/numeros-da-reforma-agraria>

⁵ The designation of regional managers is a complex process involving party allegiance, the correlation of forces correlation in each state, and the endorsement or support of social movements. According to Brazilian legislation up to 30% of the positions in the Executive can be filled by non-public servants. Public servants are bureaucrats who joined the public service after being approved in a public competition for a lifelong position in the state. Non-public servants are bureaucrats who join the public service temporarily, usually via political nomination. Many of INCRA bureaucrats resist political designations of management positions, which has implications for the implementation of policies. (Penna, 2012)

Reform⁶. In states with a great number of settlements and land-related conflicts there are more than one regional office.

This is the case of the northern state of Pará, one of the largest states in Brazil and the most complicated in terms of land disputes. Pará has three INCRA regional offices and supervises 25% of the families settled by agrarian reform policies in Brazil. Much of the land-related conflicts in the region have to do with its disorganized and overlapping occupation process, fostered in part by the 1970's military governmental policy of colonization in northern Brazil, which offered incentives both to big enterprises and producers from the south as well as to poor landless workers from the northeast (Guerra, 2009; Assis, 2009; Almeida, 2006; Pereira, 2004).

When INCRA was created in 1970, the official colonization program was just starting and northern regional offices were given the mission of settling small-scale workers and great-scale producers in "empty" lands (INCRA, 2000). Many of INCRA's bureaucrats in Pará regional offices have worked on this colonization program. In 1985, following the democratic transition, the agrarian reform program replaced the colonization project, and the institution, along with its bureaucrats, had to learn how to work under a new logic and with a different public – now mobilized and armed with organized claims.

There are many reasons that make Pará an interesting site of observation when it comes to issues related to agrarian reform: the large amount of land disputes involving different actors, such as social movements, trade unions, mining companies, large-scale producers, and local, regional and national governments; the great number of settlements and of beneficiary families attended to by INCRA in Pará; the fact that many of the regional office bureaucrats worked in the colonization project during the military regime, when INCRA's tasks and proposals were different and the relationship with the beneficiary public had another tone.

The Marabá regional office (SR-27) in southeastern Pará was the site chosen for ethnographical observation. More so than in the area of the other two regional offices in this state – Santarém (SR-30) and Belém (SR-01) – the Marabá region has an organized and strong social movement network. The three largest and most important rural movements are present in the region: MST; the Agriculture Workers Federation (FETAGRI), and the Federation of Rural Workers and Family

⁶ The National Plan of Agrarian Reform is a comprehensive plan that contains guidelines for policies. In 1985, during the democratic transition, the first national plan was created, but its goals were not implemented (INCRA, 2000). The present national plan was created in 2003 when the Workers' Party assumed the Presidency.

Farmers (FETRAF). The following section will go into in more detail regarding these beneficiaries' organizations. Marabá's INCRA regional office is responsible for 495 settlement projects and for 69,657 families. There are also around 6,000 families in encampments, considered as clients and possible future beneficiaries.

The within research on the SR-27 commenced in October 2011 and is still being conducted. Drawing on the contributions that anthropology has made to the study of the state (Sharma and Gupta, 2003), the investigation focuses on every day practices of state bureaucrats and their clients. It has so far included following tasks and work of bureaucrats: firstly, as they receive beneficiaries inside the office and supply information, respond to requests, organize meetings, mediate conflicts, and receive and register documents; and secondly as they hold internal managerial meetings and read and respond to both internal and external paperwork. Bureaucrats' work trips to encampments, settlements and properties have also been followed and examined. During these trips it's possible to observe bureaucrats interactions with beneficiaries outside the office, which provides a very elucidating perspective insofar as deeper and more complex interactions take place in these contexts. I also had the opportunity to observe, from the inside, other situations, such as INCRA's occupation by the MST in March 2012; a number of meetings between the movement's leaders and INCRA's bureaucrats and managers; INCRA's workers' association meetings; meetings with local and national politicians; and meetings with other actors such as *VALE* mining company representatives, technical assistance companies, and other branches of the state (*Policia Federal, Ouvidoria Agrária Nacional, Ministério Público, CGU* and municipal governments). The strike activities of bureaucrats currently taking place nationally were also followed. On the national level, INCRA's five-day annual planning forum held in February 2012 in Brasília was also attended and is examined. In addition to all these 'official activities,' informal relations outside the workplace have been maintained with a number of bureaucrats throughout the entire research period.

By closely observing INCRA's bureaucracy it's possible to construct an interpretation of its interaction with social movements from the state perspective. This new perspective has so far yielded interesting and revealing results that cannot be fully apprehended and interpreted within the traditional framework categories of state and civil society. In effect actors' roles frequently overlap and fall outside such constraining classifications, as they interact and negotiate important political and practical issues, in a variety of places such as clubs, churches, party conventions, bars, and other sites and situations entangled in the ever-changing system of networks.

With the investigative lenses focused on the bureaucracy, it was also possible to get a closer look into the bureaucrat's rationale regarding beneficiaries and their representatives, i.e. rural social movements. The frameworks these bureaucrats use to interpret the beneficiaries' actions and wishes, making them legible so as to adequately incorporate them into and according to existing policies (Scott, 1998), together constitute a determinant of the format by which agrarian reform is executed. INCRA has a number of normative instructions that specify who is the ideal beneficiary and how to proceed when s/he deviates from this ideal model⁷. However, these normative instructions become tangible only through the actions of the bureaucrats who execute them. For these so-called street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980), discretion is one of the inherent prerequisites of their job – to have the discretion needed in order to adjust public policy to the local realities and contexts. Thus, when INCRA regional office bureaucrats use their discretion to fit local realities into comprehensive public policies, they are not only *implementing* agrarian reform policies, they are actually *constructing* them.

Making INCRA the object of investigation and looking at the agrarian reform process from the perspective of the state helps clarify two things. The first is that the final format of public policies are not always the same as those originally planned. In order to assess why some policies are not accomplished, or take an unintended format, this study highlights internal aspects of the bureaucracy, such as its perception of the beneficiary, its material deficiencies (lack of financial resources and unprepared staff), its internal rules, and the networks that link some of the bureaucrats elsewhere. The second thing research focused on the inner workings of the INCRA helps to clarify is the participation of social movements – through beneficiary-organized representatives - in the processes of formulation and implementation of agrarian reform policies. The remaining section of this article discusses the participation of rural social movements within the scope of SR-27 regional office activities.

⁷ Two of the most important normative and executive instructions are the IN 47 and the NE 45, which define who is the beneficiary public of land reform, and how to proceed in case he deviates from the rules and obligations established by the agrarian reform program (i.e.: in case he sells his plot, or accumulates one or more plots in an irregular form).

TRACING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND BUREAUCRATS

INCRA's SR-27 bureaucrats have a long and ever changing experience of interactions with beneficiaries. In contrast to other regional offices, the station in Marabá was directly subordinated to the Council of National Security for seven years (1980-1987).⁸ Due to the great number of violent land-related conflicts in the region – a region that is also geographically and geologically strategic – the military government considered it a priority area in terms of land regularization. This meant that the office in Marabá received not only considerable financial support, but also material and personnel support directly from the military. This military presence in the region during and after the democratic transition in 1985 had implications for the forms by which beneficiaries approached INCRA.

Poor rural workers and migrants from the northeast and other regions formed an important part of the beneficiary public during the colonization period (1970's and early 1980's). During this time INCRA bureaucrats would settle families in demarcated plots, in some cases granting them credit for production and houses. Some analysts characterize the relations between INCRA and beneficiaries during this period as one of tutelage (Ferreira, 1994). Over 50% of today's SR-27 workforce began their career as public servants working with beneficiaries during this period.

Beneficiaries of the colonization program were not organized into social movements or trade unions in the region of Marabá. The military regime was at its highpoint and the most important guerrilla organization - linked to the communist party – that had attempted to overthrow the government had just been extinguished in this very region (the *Guerrilha do Araguaia*). There was a strong military presence and control inside SR-27 during the 1970's as well as between 1980 and 1987 (when INCRA was subordinated to the National Security Council). Rural trade union activities were highly controlled by the army, which was then so entangled within INCRA's bureaucracy that at times even the institution's personnel and material resources were used to interfere in internal trade union elections, by either helping or hindering the voting process as the military deemed

⁸ During this period the office in Marabá became the headquarters of a new institution, subordinated to the National Security Council, known as the Executive Group of Araguaia and Tocantins Lands (GETAT). It kept some of the employees of the extinguished INCRA regional office and hired a number of new public servants. When GETAT became extinct, all of its employees were incorporated to the re-established INCRA regional station. Many of the current bureaucrats in SR-27 were hired during the GETAT period.

appropriate. Land occupation, which had become the most common method of pressing claims for land reform (Sigaud, 2005), was vigorously repressed.

Nonetheless, between the late 1970's and the early 1980's hundreds of land occupations took place in southern Pará (Pereira, 2004). Over several decades the standard practice for obtaining and guarantying land tenure in this region had been the occupation and deforestation of "abandoned" or "empty" portions of land, followed by agricultural production thereon. However, besides the formal colonization program, the government in this period also gave incentives for the establishment of large-scale farming production, which involved the 'capture' of great expanses of land, some of which overlapped with areas already occupied by small-scale workers. Considering the practices long assimilated by these workers and the expropriations they were subject to resulting from the governmental incentives to grand-scale production, some of them began to occupy lands collectively, following up on their old ways. To do this, they would arrive at an "abandoned" portion of the property, deforest and plant sustainable agricultural products, live there with their families and communities, and claim land tenure until they were discovered (and often expelled).

This practice of land occupation at the time was considered spontaneous (Pereira, 2004), meaning that it wasn't organized by any social movement, trade union or party, but by the workers themselves. It led to violent confrontations between workers and the property owner and its employees, supported by police forces. During the late 1970's the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), a progressive branch of the Catholic Church, began an extensive program aimed at evangelization, political education, leadership formation, and judicial advice for rural workers in the region (Assis, 2007; Pereira, 2004; Intini, 2004). Land occupation during this period became an important form of resistance. The resulting violence and growing conflicts that it spawned became public and gained media attention, assisted by mediation from the CPT. This growing public awareness of violent land related conflicts contributed to the government's decision to make Marabá a priority area for land regularization and agrarian reform.

The final years of the military regime coincided with the organization of leftist political forces in the region. Leaders, groomed by the CPT and other advising and mediation organizations, began to construct an organized opposition to the rural trade union leaders linked to the conservative government. The Workers Party (PT) and other leftists' parties also began activities and organization in the region. Hence during the late 1980's, in the early years of the new democracy, forces organized by the political left began to act in southeastern Pará.

Rural trade unions became the main representative institutions of rural workers, who now demanded not only agrarian reform, meaning land redistribution, but also a guaranty of their rights to the land they already had. This specificity of the Pará region, in which land tenure wound up being guaranteed by land occupation in the form described above, reflected the need for differentiated agrarian reform policies (Magalhães, 2003), which were not considered in the national program. Decades long land tenures became regular lots inside agrarian reform settlement projects, and their squatters became agrarian reform beneficiaries that had the same rights as families that had just acquired land. The adaptation of the general rules of the agrarian reform program to the local specificities of the beneficiaries' situation in the Marabá region was left to the regional office's bureaucrats.

This characteristic of land tenure and of workers' organization in the region had implications not only for the state action. It also had effects on the organization of rural social movements and their repertoires of action. Squatters, now rural workers, were mainly represented by trade unions. During the 1980's rural trade unions, allied with PT and other political organizations, managed to organize themselves in a regional federation of rural workers (*Fetagri Sul e Sudeste do Pará*). The Union's representation focused on formal communications with the state, mainly through official documents that requested things such as land regularization for rural workers and the expropriation of properties in order to settle workers who were already occupying the land. Sometimes CPT lawyers would represent workers in the judicial process or in cases where they were arrested (as they still do today). It should be noted that the unions' repertoire didn't include massive land occupation and encampments, nor the occupation of official buildings or blockage of roads.

The MST's arrival in the region during the early 1990s had a significant impact on the unions' forms of action. The movement's base included not only rural landless workers, but also poor people in urban areas. They also included more landless workers than squatters, who were already claiming tenure over the land they occupied. In this sense, even though there was an initial competition between the MST and the already established representatives, the movement tried not to compete with the trade unions in terms of their base. Notwithstanding this decision however, its form of actions and protest tactics pressured the trade unions into making important changes in their usual formal representation. If one may say that up until the 1990's workers' representation was done by formal means that were recognized by INCRA (but not always effective), it may also be said that after MST's arrival those forms of interacting with the state underwent a great change (Assis, 2007; Intini, 2004).

MST actions of land occupation and road obstruction gained great visibility and attracted media attention, for which the movement was well prepared with its flags and helmets. Union leaders ended up being overshadowed, even though they had a much larger base. This process, also identified in the state of Pernambuco (Rosa, 2011), led trade unions to adopt a more movement-like format. Land occupations and encampments were organized along the lines of the massive MST's model; the unions created flags and organized actions such as INCRA occupations.

The apex of MST influence in the region occurred in 1996, when 19 workers were killed by the police in a march that would culminate in the occupation of a property in *Eldorado dos Carajás*, within the Marabá municipality at the time. After this event, extensively covered by the national and international media, the movement grew stronger, along with other representative organizations of the landless. As a consequence the federal government was pressed into taking action in order to guarantee workers' security and to accelerate the agrarian reform process. Marabá's regional office again went through a change and became a special office, with its own budget directly connected to INCRA headquarters. From that moment on social movements began to constitute a new form of relations with INCRA in the region, annually occupying the office and making demands related to internal issues, such as a changes of regional managers and participation in budget allotment discussions.

The relationship between INCRA bureaucrats and social movements at the national level had started to change when the democratic government assumed power in 1985. Palmeira (1994) argues that when the new management staff – composed of him and some other agrarian reform researchers and activists – assumed control of INCRA's national direction in 1985, close ties prevailed between the bureaucrats and large-scale farmers. Their lawyers had free access to official expropriation processes and other documents inside INCRA's headquarters. Likewise, rich farmers were received at any time by bureaucrats and walked freely through INCRA offices. As for landless workers' representatives, they weren't received by bureaucrats and didn't have access to official documents or any of the information they needed.

The attempt to introduce changes to this biased treatment was a great challenge due to the segmentation and factionalism among INCRA bureaucrats, which made it harder to enforce hierarchical positions and to implement changes in the institution (Palmeira, 1994). What the new managers finally did was grant landless workers' representatives unrestricted access to INCRA's bureaucracy. Soon the headquarters were crowded and it became impossible for the bureaucrats to do their work. At this point the managers were able to establish common rules of

access for both public segments with which INCRA works, at least temporarily (Palmeira, 1994). During this time some of the workers' leaders from Pará and other Brazilian states were invited to a meeting in Brasília, where priority areas for expropriation were defined. Pará leaders presented a list of properties with land-related conflicts which were already occupied by workers (INCRA, 1986)

Even though there was a strong disposition on the part of this new INCRA management staff for implementing a comprehensive agrarian reform program, the conservative forces still had a great influence in other realms of the state. During the democratic transition the landowners, who until then had had their property rights protected by the military regime, also intensified their own actions by forming a landowners' organization (Landowner Democratic Union – UDR), with the aim of avoiding and repressing land occupations and expropriations in the new democratic context. In southern Pará this meant an intensification of resistance and conflicts among workers and farmers (Pereira, 2004).

The changes which took place in INCRA's national headquarters were not incorporated into the Marabá regional office immediately. Access to local bureaucracy continued to be biased and asymmetrical, i.e. restricted for workers' representatives. Conservative politicians with long established ties to the institution's bureaucrats still exercised a great influence on internal affairs, such as budget allocations and the designation of managers. Things began to change following the killings in 1996, when social movements increased their activities and Marabá was granted autonomy as a special regional office. In the following year the military was designated as regional manager, which made the participation of social movements very difficult. After a number of frustrated attempts to negotiate with INCRA, workers' organizations planned a large-scale occupation and encampment outside the regional office (Intini, 2004; Assis, 2007).

This massive organized action took place in 1997 and included marches and negotiations with INCRA managers. As this was the first massive experience of occupation, both for the workers and for the bureaucrats, the behavioral codes were still undefined and experimental forms of negotiations were being undertaken at all times. When the negotiations came to a dead-end, the workers' leaders locked some of the managers inside the regional office (Intini, 2004; Assis, 2007). After many weeks they accomplished the most important point in their list of claims: Brasília agreed to replace the military regional manager. After this successful occupation a number of other occupations followed, and every year a massive occupation in INCRA was held until eventually the occupations came to acquire a more routine character, as both bureaucrats and workers learned how to behave

in these situations. These annual occupations lasted until 2001, after which they took place sporadically. The last massive occupation occurred in 2011.

After the 1997 occupation an interesting change began to take place. Workers' organizations started to be recognized as legitimate interlocutors. After a long time during which they pressed for the right to participate in decisions regarding expropriations, infrastructure, credit distribution, and technical assistance for production, the movements were finally recognized as actors entitled to make demands. And gradually official spaces were created where they could participate and negotiate their proposals.

Within the SR-27 these spaces were: the Forum of Agrarian Reform and Family Agriculture, created in 1997 to discuss settlements demands, and the *PROCERA/Lumiar* Commission, created in 1998 to discuss credit assignments (*PROCERA*) and technical assistance (*Lumiar*). This latter program assumed a significantly participative character. Social movements began to create entities specialized in technical assistance to rural workers living in settlements. Not only would they execute the assistance project with funds from the governmental budget but also, within the scope of their commission, they would choose which settlements were priorities. The Technical Unit of Articulation, which replaced the commission in 2000 but only deliberated on credit for agricultural projects; the Technical Chamber in 2002 that replaced the Unit; and the Management Commission created in the same year all had the purpose of deliberating on technical assistance services. Of all these spaces however, only inside the *PROCERA/Lumiar* Commission could social movements effectively make proposals in important decisions (Pereira, 2004).

In all of these institutional spaces the workers' representatives were present and establishing regular contact with bureaucrats and managers inside INCRA's regional office, learning how the bureaucracy worked and gathering information on policies, legislation, and the technical rules of public administration. No matter their formal results, these constituted very important experiences in terms of the social movements' qualifications and familiarity with the state branch they were now closely interacting with. Social movements' leaders proximity with INCRA increased much more after 2003, when the PT (Workers Party) won the presidential election. The leftist political forces with which the social movements were long connected were brought into INCRA as national and regional managers.

After a dispute surrounding the regional manager post in Marabá, the party designated a local politician. The social movements had proposed other names (Assis, 2004), but after some negotiations they agreed on this local political leader, who would later, supported by the votes of INCRA regional beneficiaries, become

a state legislator. It's important to note that prior to 2003 the social movements, as they protested and pressed for change, had already gained a veto power over the designation of managers. After 2003 they became a part in the negotiation process and in most cases the designation of regional managers would require their endorsement. It's also important to keep in mind that the leaders of rural social movements are closely connected to the PT or other leftist parties. In the Marabá region a number of important leaders, most of them coming from rural unions, take part in the party's internal discussions and often present candidates for elections. As for MST leaders in the region, they usually are not organically connected to the party, but nevertheless maintain ties with some of its politicians and often assist in campaigns.

Currently, budget allocations for SR-27 activities are negotiated with social movement leaders in March of every year, when managers travel to each sub-regional office and present and discuss the annual budget program. Local politicians also participate in these discussions. After this participative budget process (as social movement leaders call it), social movements usually organize national mobilizations in order to press claims for an increase in the agrarian reform annual budget. After that, specific regional decisions regarding goals for each of INCRA's sectors are negotiated with social movements and orient the bureaucracy's activities for that year. The land acquisition sector only works with expropriations demanded by social movements, who indicate properties which the bureaucrats should inspect and prepare the legal work required for acquisition and the creation of settlements. Properties presented by social movements are usually already occupied by a number of families in the form of encampments, now recognized by INCRA as a legitimate form of land claim. Likewise, the infrastructure sector only creates work projects for areas indicated by social movements, who present a list of settlements to be benefited by the construction of roads and bridges, or needed repairs.

The land expropriations and infrastructure budget allotments are broad decisions that encompass all areas of SR-27 activities. Settlement priorities are negotiated firstly between social movements recognized by the SR (MST, FETAGRI and FETRAF) and then presented to the INCRA's regional office via formal request. They are comprehensive actions negotiated directly with the highest level of representation of workers' movements, social movements, and political leaders. There is, however, also a lower level of beneficiaries' representation recognized by INCRA and with whom bureaucrats interact on a daily basis: the settlers' associations. These associations are the juridical entities recognized by INCRA to represent settled workers with respect to decisions assigning credits. They were

initially a formal imposition on governmental credit assignment programs. Credit should be destined to go to agrarian reform beneficiaries through their settlement associations. Each agrarian reform settlement has to have at least one association, and its president must be a beneficiary.

After the first associations were created for this purpose in the 1990s, social movements began to slowly incorporate them into their structure. Trade unions included settlement associations as an important part of its base, and most of the associations are also affiliated with trade unions since they need them for their labor rights. There are also associations connected to MST in settlements controlled by the movement. Interactions between the presidents of associations and bureaucrats are very frequent both inside and outside INCRA's regional office. As they are the main mediators between the bureaucrats and the beneficiaries, these representatives frequent the SR-27 regional office on a daily basis. Dozens of presidents from different settlement associations come to INCRA every day to deal with issues such as credit assignment, regularization of beneficiaries' claims, and disputes between settled families. They also come to pick up official documents such as the "beneficiary relation," which includes all the settled names for each settlement, and the "beneficiary mirror" with each beneficiary's complete status since joining the agrarian reform program.

Not surprisingly, the participation of this lower level of representation in INCRA is more localized, as they represent only their association members. At the same time it is much more massive. There are around 500 settlements controlled by the SR-27, and some of them have more than 10 associations. INCRA recognizes the autonomy of associations as mediators who control the beneficiaries' situation inside the settlements. They deliberate and choose which families should be benefited with a credit budget and during what time frame, presenting official lists to the credit sector, supervised by the bureaucrats. Associations also present official requests to include and/or exclude beneficiary families, and following the receipt of such requests bureaucrats make field trips to assess these families' compliance with the agrarian reform program rules. Sometimes associations require a visit by a bureaucrat to the settlement in order to monitor and regularize a family's situation. This last type of official request often includes the name of the bureaucrat that the association would like INCRA to send to its settlement.

Relations between association presidents and INCRA bureaucrats are very close in some cases. As mentioned above, SR-27 has a number of older public servants who have been there since the colonization period. During the last 30 years these bureaucrats have become acquainted with some of the workers' representatives, most of whom have also been working in the region for decades.

Interactions among some of them have become even closer because the same bureaucrats have been working in the same settlement for years, and as part of their job they often make field trips to these settlements and stay for weeks. Pará is one of the largest states in Brazil and has one of the worst road systems. This means that trips to settlements are difficult and time-consuming. In order to do their work bureaucrats usually have to sleep inside the settlement, often using the association president's house as a point of reference. This practice, repeated over the years, ends up creating strong ties of socialization, and in some cases of friendship. These relations are a far cry from the impartial, distant, rational relations usually taken for granted between a bureaucrat and beneficiary, or state and social movement representative.

A sociological analysis of the relations expressed by, for instance, an official document in which an association requests that the state send a specific person to do a routine bureaucratic job, requires that a much deeper account be taken of the connections that supersede the state-civil society divide. A better account of policy implementation processes would be even more likely once these connections are all disclosed and described. In essence, it's not enough to know only what are the participative institutional spaces in which the state interacts with social movements and how such spaces work. A full explanation of the participative and policy implementation processes can be much more comprehensive once the connections between the bureaucrats, beneficiaries, and social movement leaders are traced in every possible field of social action. This is not only because they have acquired familiarity while carrying out their work, but because they are not insulated actors.

Some of the bureaucrats who exert key roles in INCRA's management and policy implementation are affiliated with the PT or other parties; some of them used to be MST cadres; others come from a conservative background and are against landless movements. Some are religious and belong to the same church as many of INCRA's regional office beneficiaries and leaders. All of them are executing agrarian reform policies and all of them have some degree of discretion in their work. By opening the black box of the state we can analyze how all of these connections have an impact on interactions between INCRA and those social movements which participate in agrarian reform policies, and how such policies evolve from project to reality

This paper concludes with some remarks on how to deal theoretically with the empirical evidence with respect to social movements' participation in agrarian reform policies at the regional office in Marabá. Contributions from theories concerning participatory democracy and actor-network relationships are assessed.

CONCLUSIONS

The activities of social movements, both inside and outside INCRA, are complex and diversified. What is the best approach to aid in understanding such a unique case of interaction among state and social movements?

Researchers working within the theoretical framework of participatory democracy have paid a great deal of attention to Brazilian experiences of institutional deliberative spaces. Participatory budget talks (Abers, 2000), conferences (Faria, 2012), and councils (Abers and Keck, 2009) are among the most investigated institutional experiences in Brazil. Assuming that there is a clear division, and in some cases even an opposition, between state and civil society, the literature on participatory democracy focuses on institutional deliberative spaces, where the participation of civil society would help deepen or democratize the democracy (Santos, 2002; Avritzer, 2002) by fostering a more democratic and participative political culture (Avritzer, 1995). By taking part in the political decision-making process, civil society would be empowered and as a result would demand more accountability from the state.

Wolford (2010) tried to analyze the participation of social movements in the agrarian reform policies implemented by INCRA through the lens of the participatory democracy approach. This led the author to conclude that there is a unique form of participation of civil society in agrarian reform policies, which is not the result of a planned institutional design but rather happened by default, due to the INCRA's institutional weaknesses (low budget, understaffed offices and underprepared personnel), as agrarian reform had not been a priority for the government in previous years.

Even though the author points to interesting and important aspects of how INCRA functions, due to the civil society/participatory democracy theoretical framework she adopts her the paper doesn't succeed in opening the black box of the institution. The state side of the interaction is seen as a whole, a coherent unity that sanctions MST's illegal land occupations by accepting the movement's selection of beneficiaries and of properties to be expropriated. However, it's equally possible to conclude from the data presented above that INCRA does not act as a whole, nor even as a coherent unity, when interacting with social movements' representatives. The relations between the beneficiaries' representatives and INCRA as an institution are part of a kaleidoscopic phenomenon, ever changing according to the positioning of managers and bureaucrats.

Another important aspect that influences not only participation, but also INCRA's capacity to implement negotiated decisions, remains left inside the box

in Woford's (2010) analysis: the important segmentation and the basic dispute among INCRA's employees. This dispute – between bureaucrats more identified with party politics and bureaucrats that defend a less politicized INCRA – is a major issue for the institution and has implications for its capacity to implement agrarian reform policies (Penna, 2012). There is also a cleavage between bureaucrats who are more favorable and enthusiastic supporters of social movements, and bureaucrats who are more resistant and even opposed to their collective actions. There exist a not insignificant number of the latter in SR-27. Nevertheless, INCRA employees work with social movement leaders on a daily basis, inside and outside the regional office, as they are recognized and legitimized by the state as the beneficiaries' representatives.

These are only two of the most relevant internal segmentations inside INCRA which demonstrate the shortcomings of a state-civil society dualistic approach, which remains plastered both by the theoretical divide between the state and civil society and by the static status it assigns to the state while focusing on civil society. No matter how useful it can be to analyze deliberative and participative institutional spaces, a participatory democracy approach which assumes the state is a single unit, separated from civil society, is not the best approach to interpret the multifaceted participation of social movements within INCRA.

In order to account for the intricacies involved in the participation of social movements in agrarian reform, an approach is needed that permits opening the state's black box. By treating the state as an actor-network (Latour, 2005; Passoth and Rowland, 2010), it's possible to deal theoretically with the diverse and non-organized connections that permeate the state. The actor-network (ANT) approach (Latour, 2005) argues that a good sociological explanation is one that discloses and describes connections between things as a way to explain social action. Since all the actors are multilayered and have a number of connections elsewhere that influence their social action, the best way to explain such action(s) is by tracing a comprehensive network that embraces the entire patchwork of connections relevant to the actor. Hence INCRA actions would be better explained by tracing the relevant connections of its bureaucrats which impact the institution's work, rather than by attributing a number of causal variables, drawn from a previous theoretical model, to such actions.

Passoth and Rowland (2010) argue that even though the view of the state as an unitary actor has been useful in the theorization of political science and international relations as well as for analyzing political discourse and action, a sociological and political analysis would only suffer from working within this "state as a unit" framework. Taking the state unit for granted limits analysis

because it doesn't account for many complex and determinative aspects that influence policy formulation (Li, 2005) and implementation.

The complexity of the data presented above in terms of connections between bureaucrats and beneficiaries couldn't be properly analyzed using an approach which views the state as a monolithic actor. Likewise, if such an approach were adopted prior to the empirical observation, the density of connections permeating INCRA would escape notice. This is why this paper defends the actor-network approach rather than the state-civil society approach as being more adequate to account for the complex, incoherent, and unpatterned data which shows up in empirical research. When considering the state as an actor-network rather than an actor, it's possible to postulate on and include unusual forms of connections in order to explain how social movements participate in INCRA's policies. Along with Keck and Abbers (2002, 2203), I would argue that the best way to understand what comes out of the participation process, in terms of concrete state actions, is by opening the state's black box and describing all the controversies and internal procedures that influence public policy implementation.

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Camila Penna

PARTYCYPACJA I REFORMA ROLNA W BRAZYLII: ŚLEDZĄC POWIĄZANIA MIĘDZY BIUROKRATAMI A RUCHAMI SPOŁECZNYMI

(Streszczenie)

W realizacji reformy rolnej w Brazylii obserwuje się różne formy relacji biurokracji państwowej i ruchów społecznych. Wiele możliwych i złożonych powiązań dało się zauważyć w ciągu ostatnich 30 lat. Możliwe powiązania wskazują na przestrzeń instytucjonalną dla dyskusji, ale także na wiele relacji nieformalnych między biurokratami i mediatorami ze strony ruchów społecznych. Literatura nt. demokracji uczestniczącej (partycypacyjnej) nie jest najlepszym środkiem do analizy tego wielkiego obszaru powiązań, ponieważ stwierdza się w niej, że mamy dwóch oddzielnych aktorów: państwo i społeczeństwo obywatelskie i że państwo jest aktorem monolitycznym. Zróżnicowanie możliwych form relacji ruchów społecznych i biurokracji może być lepiej badane przy zastosowaniu podejścia „actor-network” (aktor w sieci), ponieważ podejście to daje badaczowi narzędzie obserwacji powiązań w różnych miejscach i formach, jak również narzędzie do analizy ich wpływu na działania aktorów w procesie politycznym. Dane potwierdzające ten argument pochodzą z etnograficznych badań w Brazylijskich instytucjach państwowych, które wprowadzają reformę rolną, INCRA (*National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform*). Badanie skoncentrowano na tym, jak biurokracja rozumie i reaguje na jedną z najlepiej zorganizowanych i zmobilizowanych publicznych akcji na brazylijskiej arenie politycznej. Przedstawia ono interesujące wyniki dotyczące złożoności sieci, w których są uwikłani biurokraci oraz skutki dla negocjacji i implementacji polityki rewindykowanej przez wiejskie ruchy społeczne. W artykule omawia się niektóre wyniki badania w świetle teorii demokracji partycypacyjnej i teorii „aktor w sieci”.

Słowa kluczowe: INCRA, Biurokracja, teoria „aktor w sieci”, demokracja partycypacyjna, Brazylia, proceduralizacja partycypacji

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MEDICALIZATION OF A WOMAN'S BODY – A CASE OF BREASTS¹

Abstract

Medicalization of a woman's body is not a new phenomenon – it is widely described in Polish and foreign literature mainly with reference to maternity and menopause [Domańska 2005, Buczkowski 2005, Szczepaniak 2010, Bielawska-Batorowicz 2005, Arroba 2003, Cindoglu, Sayan-Cengiz 2010, Spina 2010, Whitaker 2000, Bell 1987, Conrad 2007, et al.]. Both issues are very complex and include theoretical deliberations and empirical research over variety of problems². The paper examines the process of medicalization of a woman's body with a focus on breasts. This choice is based on observations and analyses of literature concerning the medicalization of women's bodies. A key finding was that within the frames of the process some aspects of women lives became more, while other conditions stayed relatively less medicalized – which stays in agreement with the Conrad's concept of the degree of medicalization [Conrad, 2007: 6–7] – and that one of the most medicalized part of a woman's body became breasts. To analyze this issue three dimensions of the medicalization of women's breasts are proposed: aesthetic – commercial, reproductive-demographic, medical - productive. The analysis depicts how a part of a female body became a matter of interest for

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² Medicalization of maternity includes such questions as infertility, in vitro fertilization, professionalization and medicalization of pregnancy, institutionalization and technicization of delivery and professionalization of motherhood, that is related to increasing power of medical professionals over the process of care and breeding of a child. Medicalization of menopause focuses on such aspects as hormone replacement therapy, psychological changes in women caused by fluctuation of hormones as well as osteoporosis as a consequence of menopause.

different medical subdisciplines depriving women of autonomy and changing normal life processes into an object of medical interventions and making women subject those interventions. The paper shows also how a female body became an object of biopower and biopolitics, which – through different tools – governs individuals' bodies as well as whole populations. To analyze the issue a new analytical approach is proposed based on the concepts of the sociology of the body and the concept of biopower by Foucault. The analyze focuses not on the medicalization of the whole body and life of a woman but only on a part of the body – breasts and it does not depicts a certain case of medicalization but multidimensional practices performed toward that part. The analysis will be made in the context of the Polish society but the assumption is that the medicalization is a global process that progresses similarly in all Western societies and some comparisons and references to other countries (mainly to the United States) will be made.

Key words: medicalization, biopower, body, breasts, maternity, cancer, plastic surgery

1. MEDICALIZATION – DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT³

Medicalization is a process in which more and more non-medical aspects of everyday life (states, actions, behaviors and attributes) come under the jurisdiction and control of medicine. They usually are defined as diseases, syndromes, and dysfunctions. These definitions underline that a certain problem must be moved into the medical, i.e. professional sphere. The contemporary model of medicalization makes use of agents who are not necessarily medical professionals (journalists, social movements, etc). Thus, the definition becomes broader and broader, and medical professionals are only one of the possible elements of the process [Conrad 1992, 2005, 2007; Poitras 2009 et al.]. Some even suggest that medical professionals are not necessary to medicalize the problem it is suffice to display and treat them as such, eg. in media or by non-professionals. Moreover, within contemporary model of medicalization definitions suggest that another

³ Thorough elaboration of the development of medicalization models one can find in: Wieczorkowska M. [2012], *Medykalizacja społeczeństwa w socjologii amerykańskiej*, [w:] "Przegląd Socjologiczny", tom XLI/2, p. 32–56. This article emphasizes only essential issues concerning those models which are important to understand expansion of medical procedures into women's lives in several dimensions.

aspect of the medicalization is expansion of already existing medical categories and making more and more, previously seen as healthy people suffering from certain diseases [Conrad 1992, commentary: Davis 2006].

In a broader context medicalization is seen as a part of a historical process – secularization. Since the power and authority of traditional institutions such as religion and family have weakened, a new type of power, one based on knowledge, became dominant.

An early model of medicalization placed emphasis on medical imperialism and medical social control. In the contemporary model ever more attention is paid to biotechnological development, expansion of genetics, models of managed care, and even to non-medical agents of medicalization like media and social movements [Illich 2010, Conrad 1979, 2005, Conrad, Schneider 1992, Wootton 1959, by: Poitras, Meredith 2009, Szasz 2007 et al.]. It can be readily observed that the commercialization of medical services leads to greater competition among medical institutions and professions on one hand, and greater expectations on the part of patients/clients on the other. To gain the interest of prospective patients, new medications are offered and there is a growing tendency to define non-medical actions, states and behaviors as disorders, dysfunctions and diseases. As the female body has been considered for several centuries as weaker, inferior and more captive to biological aspects, it is obvious that it is a prime candidate for medicalization. The following sections of this article will focus on the medicalization practices with respect to women's bodies.

Contemporary model of medicalization is essential in frames of this article as it shows the expansion of that process. As it was stated above, with the decreasing role of medical professions the role of lay groups increased. They include media, social movements as well as individuals joined only by common interest [Bird, Conrad, Fremont, 2000]⁴. In other words, lay persons become main pressure group in treating a certain condition as a disorder or a disease (however medical professionals still have the power of deciding whether an individual is sick or not). To conclude, one can observe increasing role of new agents of medicalization including media, social movements, markets (eg. pharmaceutical or cosmetic market) and consumers themselves [Conrad 2005]. They can play essential role in frames of the medicalization of women's bodies.

⁴ Examples include demands of the veterans of Vietnam war to treat post traumatic stress disorder as a disease (psychiatric environment finally included it on the list of disorders) or movements of infertile couples who demand to treat infertility as a disease with in vitro procedure as a medication to it which should be fully refund by the government.

Another important aspect in the contemporary model of medicalization is expansion of medical categories – including new conditions and new diagnostic criteria into existing categories of diseases and disorders. All those changes are visible in consecutive revisions of International Classification of Diseases (ICD). Examples include a change of norms of cholesterol level, expansion of ADHD and expansion of alcoholism. In the 60s of the 20th century the maximum acceptable range was 400 mg/dL, people who have crossed that level were prescribed statins. Today's standard is the range from 200 to 240 mg/dL and as Greene states: "Nearly 60 percent of Americans age 50 or older meet the current specifications for being prescribed statins, although only 400,000 people have cholesterol high enough "to clearly constitute a disease." "[Greene, 2009]. Hyperactivity – the second example – was a disorder diagnosed previously in children, mainly in boys who were very active and had difficulties in focusing on tasks. Later Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) was introduced as a disease to be diagnosed more and more often in girls and youth. During last years "adult ADHD" was introduced including into this category adults suffering from distraction and personal as well as professional problems [Conrad 2007, 46-69]. The last example is similar – alcoholism is seen as a chronic and lethal disease but not only a person who is addicted suffers – an alcoholic's family members were admitted to be co-addicted and they were given a label of "adult children of alcoholics" (ADA) [Conrad 1992]. Those examples were given to show the expansion of the process of medicalization and its directions – on one hand, medical categories expand within conditions that have been once medicalized and on the other hand the process enters new areas – conditions, behaviors and states (as in the case of ADHD and the latest medicalized condition – shyness) and then expand within those categories. The same scenario one can observe with reference to the medicalization of women's bodies. Some conditions that previously were seen as normal life processes – as loosing of bone density that increases with age and can be seen as a risk factor – nowadays are treated as a symptom of a disease called osteoporosis [Moynihan, Heath, Henry 2002, 888–890].

2. BIOPOWER OVER WOMEN'S BODIES

On a broader level it is essential to focus on the concept of biopower and biopolitics⁵ proposed by M. Foucault and its role over disciplining and controlling women's bodies.

In historical perspective biopower is third type – after sovereign power and disciplinary power – of governing populations. It is a power over life. Biopower relates to the development of technology and liberal economy [Foucault 2006, Lemke 2010]. While disciplinary power was the one over an individual and was based on discipline and training, biopower focuses on control and regulation [Foucault 1993]. Political technology of life consists of two types of technology – disciplinary and safety technology. The first one focuses on an individual body that is being trained to make it productive and economically effective. Discipline is executed through institutions, but responsibility of being in a good condition lies in individuals. Safety technology refers to population and its main aim is to control and to prevent negative consequences coming from coexistence of population as biological entity [Foucault 1993, 2010, 2012]. In order to this biopower has to regulate processes and conditions of populations. Regulation refers to the concept of a norm, which describes what and who falls under this category and who is an outsider, who is healthy and who is sick [Foucault 1993, 2010, 2012, Lemke 2010, Bińczyk 2002]. One has to remember that biopower is related to knowledge, it is a sort of knowledge-power. Regulation and control is executed through the state.

In 19th century those two types of power became joined together as complex political technology which is aimed at control of the man-body and the man-species at the same time [Lemke 2010]. One of the tools of new knowledge-power is medicine. That is why practices of medicalization can be seen as practices of biopower. In frames of this paper practices and procedures of medicalization of women's breasts are treated as technologies of biopower.

⁵ The concept has much longer history tracing back to 19th century's "philosophy of life". In the 20th century Rudolf Kjellén gave birth to contemporary concepts of biopolitics, developed through next decades in the form of biopolitology, ecological and technological biopolitics and – in the concept by Michel Foucault [Lemke 2010].

3. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As it was stated before medicalization of women's bodies has been widely described in the body of literature. The process itself has a long tradition tracing the change in perception of a woman body.

Usually, medicalization is described in two ways. The first one is a kind of „holistic” approach in that sense, that a woman's body or a whole life of her is depicted as the one that has been medicalized and to illustrate how much, authors give examples of certain medicalized conditions [Waggoner, Stults 2010, Morgan 1998, Costa, Stotz, Grynszpan, Souza 2007, Buczkowski 2005]. The second way is to describe certain cases of medicalization of women's bodies as the medicalization of menopause, pregnancy, premenstrual syndrome or maternity. The approach proposed in this paper focuses not on a whole female body but only on a piece of it – breasts, and examines not a single case of medicalization but variety of procedures of medicalization toward that single part of a body.

What is so special about that part of the female body? First, it is the most visible distinction between girls and boys during adolescence. Second, a woman's breasts play several roles, being a tool for erotic satisfaction (pleasure), a symbol of womanhood (identity), and an instrument for breastfeeding (reproduction). Third, the fascination with breasts is a uniquely human feature, and there is evidence that it is biologically rooted [Young, Alexander: 2012]. And last but not least, breasts are an organ in which one of the most damaging types of cancer can develop. The importance of women's breasts can be observed in many aspects of everyday life, on micro- and macrolevel, where they are an object of discussions, actions or programs, such as:

- **In language** – there are lots of words to describe female breasts, many of which are not neutral (bust, tits, melons, balloons, boobs etc.);

- **In marketing** – “breasts can sell anything” say some marketing specialists, and indeed if one looks through advertisements it is hard to deny that there is a lot of truth to that statement. A female breasts are also a demanding part of the body to care for. There are plenty of products offered to enhance them – underwear, cosmetics, massagers, dietary supplements and so on;

- **In health policy** – a woman's breasts have become an object of many governmental screening programs aimed at preventing the development of cancer;

- **In health services** – concerns about the quality of one's breasts have created a huge market for health services focused on breast enhancement, with the dominant role played by plastic surgery;

– **In the psycho-social dimension** – a woman's breasts are an element of sexual identification and personal attraction, a symbol of womanhood and maternity, as well as an element in sexual relations and a source of sexual pleasure. This list does not deplete all aspects, it is rather a kind of illustration of an extent of the issue without an aim to classify or put in some order. To analyze the medicalization of women's breast, at first three dimensions of the medicalization of women's body are introduced based on the following criteria:

- Function of the body;
- Perception of the body;
- Responsibility for the governing/managing the body;
- Methods of governing/managing (Table 1).

The first two criteria are based on concept developed within the area of sociology of the body [Buczowski 2005, Bauman 1995: 73–102, Featherstone 2008: 109–117, Shilling 2010, Nettleton 2007 et al.], while the last two are based on the concept of biopower by Foucault that was described before [Foucault 1993, 2010, 2012].

TABLE 1. Dimensions of medicalization of women's bodies

Dimension	Function of the body	Perception of the body	Responsibility for governing	Methods of governing
aesthetic-commercial	delivering pleasure	flexible – body as a project / product	individual (auto-control)	discipline, training
reproductive-demographic	prolonging the species	body as an instrument	institutions (institutional control)	control, regulation, training
medical-productive	economic efficacy and utility	body as an instrument	state / government (political control)	discipline, regulation, control

Source: own elaboration based on: Buczowski 2005, Bauman 1995: 73–102, Featherstone 2008: 109–117, Shilling 2010, Nettleton 2007, Foucault 1993, 2010, 2012.

The first, **aesthetic-commercial dimension** directs attention on the function of delivering pleasure. As Featherstone writes “in the consumption culture the body is seen as a vehicle of pleasure: it is desired and desiring, and the closer it is to idealized images of youth, health, fitness and beauty, the greater its barter value is⁶” [Featherstone 2008: 111]. And further he states that in contemporary culture the body is seen as flexible, features that once were seen as unchangeable, today are an object of modifications. Discipline and training are methods

⁶ Own translation.

to achieve a desired image. And a direct consequence is that persons are obliged to take responsibility for their look. In a long-term perspective there is a shift in perception of ageing – it is seen as a symptom of negligence rather than as a natural life process [Featherstone 2008: 112]. Due to that, the body is being managed to achieve a desirable effect. Individuals with the aid of cosmetic, pharmaceutical, surgical and other markets shape their bodies. Paradoxically delivering pleasure is related to pain and suffering to which bodies are subjected to achieve desirable image. Methods of governing include discipline and training. Bodies are being managed by individuals but they rely on a huge markets of specialists and advisory bodies to direct their performance to create the “performative selves” [Featherstone 2008, 115–117].

The second – **reproductive-demographic dimension** – focuses on prolonging the species. It joins micro- and macrolevel, private and public aspect, similarly to the Foucauldian concept of sexuality. The body is seen as a reservoir for new life. The decision of having a baby is private and individual but giving birth joins an individual with the society and broader context of social life. Such decision is often considered with reference to economic and cultural aspect. Reproductive function depicts how the body shapes the background of social life and participates in it at the same time [Shilling 2010: 82]. Turner writes that each social system has to deal with “the problem of the body” which has four dimensions and their source is social: reproduction of the population in time, control over desire as an external problem of the body, regulation of the population in space and representation of bodies in the social space with the use of external body images [Turner 1984: 91–114]. The body that is seen as an instrument of prolonging the species is being institutionally managed. Preparation to pregnancy, the pregnancy itself and the delivery of a child are subjected to regulation and control of medical institutions and pharmaceutical and cosmetic market. In the book “Our Bodies, Ourselves. For the New Century” authors describe variety of diagnostic and genetic procedures during pregnancy [2004: 446–451]. The Polish “Childbirth with Dignity Foundation” for many year diagnoses a problem of dependency of women to medical institutions and of reduction of their authority in matters related to pregnancy and maternity⁷.

The last – **medical-productive – dimension** directs attention on economic efficacy and utility. The body is being politically managed by the state / government and its agendas. This dimension in its theoretical layer is the closest to the

⁷ For more information see: <http://www.rodzicpoludzku.pl/>

concept of biopower by Foucault. The body is seen as an instrument of political and medical decisions on macrolevel. There is no place for individualism and autonomy. All the decisions (concerning a woman's breasts, for example) are centrally administered and governed and must be complied with, at the risk of having sanctions imposed. Economic efficacy and utility are understood in two aspects. In the first aspect, individuals in the population must be healthy to be able to work effectively which is a demand of capitalism. In a second aspect, a sick person generates additional costs to the community and broader system. An illness or disability creates social costs that is why it is so important to control the population's health, to regulate it as "prevention is better than a cure".

Dimensions of medicalization presented here were depicted in frames of medicalization of the body. In further part of this section those dimensions will be shown together with procedures of medicalization of women's bodies and of women's breasts.

A proposal of the analytical tool is to demonstrate to what extent on how many ways women's bodies with a focus of women's breasts were and are, being medicalized.

Table 2 displays three main dimensions contributing to the placement of women's bodies under the jurisdiction of medicine, as well as certain procedures that they include, with the special attention paid to women's breasts. As it demonstrates, the medicalization of the female body takes place in three areas: aesthetic – commercial; reproductive – demographic; and medical – productive.

In each dimension in relation to practices of medicalization of breasts a dominant practice is highlighted. A main criterion of domination is popularity of the practice in Western societies and in Poland. It is important to add that other practices mentioned in the table are related to the highlighted one.

TABLE 2. Dimensions and practices of medicalization

Dimensions of medicalization	Practices of medicalization of the body	Practices of medicalization of breasts
Aesthetic – commercial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plastic surgery • Body modifications (tattoos, piercing, scarification, transdermal implants) • Fitness • Diets • Wellness and spa • Cosmetics • Dermatology • Dentistry • “Medical” underwear 	Breasts as an object of desire: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plastic surgery (breast augmentation) • Wellness and spa (vitality) – cosmetic and dermatological procedures on breasts • Breasts cosmetics • Tattoos and piercing of breasts • Clothes (bras and tops underlining breasts, corsets) • Fitness
Reproductive – demographic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In vitro fertilization • “Illnessization”* of pregnancy • “Illnessization” of childbirth • “Illnessization” of maternity and breast feeding • Abortions • Postnatal depression • Cosmetics • Medications, parapharmaceuticals, dietary supplements • Medicalization of cyberspace • Medicalization of the book and press market • Contraception 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pressure to breastfeed (dealing with milk excess and lack of milk) • Medications, parapharmaceuticals, dietary supplements to enhance breasts during pregnancy, and breastfeeding • Diets enhancing the quality of milk • Cosmetics improving breasts during pregnancy and breastfeeding and keeping breasts in a good shape after it • Special equipment (lactators, silicone caps, lactating pads, bras, tops for breastfeeding) • Guides, magazines and programs about breastfeeding • Lactating clinics • Lactose laboratory tests
Medical – productive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Premenstrual syndrome (PMS) • Menopause • Osteoporosis • Menstruation • Ageing • Screening programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Screening prevention programs • Ultrasonography • Mammography • Biopsy • Mastectomy • Chemotherapy • Radiotherapy • Cosmetics • Breast prosthesis • Clothes • Rehabilitation

Source: own elaboration based on the available body of literature concerning the medicalization of a female body.

* This is an approximation of the Polish term proposed to describe the process („uchorobowienie”) – i.e. treating a natural process as an illness.

4. APPLICATION OF ANALYTICAL TOOLS IN CASE OF THE MEDICALIZATION OF WOMEN'S BREASTS

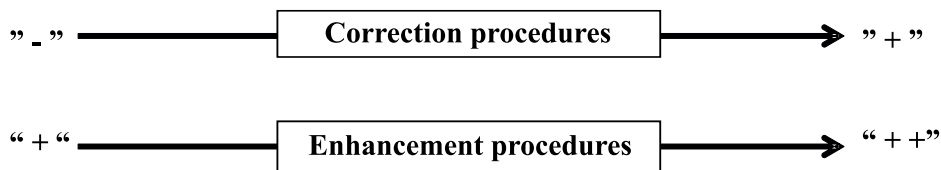
4.1. The aesthetic-commercial dimension

In this dimension the body is seen as an object of desire and/or as an object of admiration. Procedures that serve an aesthetic function can be divided into three categories:

- Procedures of beautification (correction and enhancement);
- Preventative procedures (heading off the first signs of ageing);
- Combative procedures (after the first signs of ageing).

Beautification procedures can be divided into two groups. The first, corrective procedures, serve people whose body or parts thereof have been deformed as a result of a genetic defect, an accident, or a disease. Their aim is “to repair” a failure and to bring back beauty to one's body. Plastic surgery is a good example of such a procedure (reconstruction of face or breast, surgical removal of scars, etc.). Other procedures may include transplantation of organs, dermatological and dentistry services, and even the simplest one of all – a covering make-up. The second group of beautification procedures are enhancement procedures, which “correct” the body even though it does not have the defects described above. Their aim is to make the body more beautiful than it already is, or to modify it in a way that would satisfy its owner. Among these procedures one can include all those mentioned above, as well as using beauty cosmetics, tattoos, use of special clothes (e.g. a corset), piercing, scarification, diets and exercises. Correction and enhancement procedures can be described according to the values of change under their influence (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Value of change according to procedures of beautification



Source: own elaboration

Correction procedures deal with negative starting point, but their result is a positive change, while enhancement procedures refer to the positive starting point (the body is not damaged) and their result is a more positive change. In

terms of health and illness one can say that correction procedures' aim is to change illness into the state of health and enhancement procedures' aim is to improve health or, in other terms, make the body healthier. In the second case health becomes a gradable category.

Preventive procedures are used when one does not observe any signs of deterioration of the body yet, but decides to prevent future symptoms associated with ageing. Their main aim is to "postpone" the process of ageing. A recent example of a mother giving her 8-year-old daughter botox injections is a good example [Bentley: 2011]. Other practices include: physical exercises (fitness, training with a personal instructor etc.), diets, plastic surgery, taking medications (dietary supplements, vitamins etc.), and using anti-ageing cosmetics. A recent procedure involves, for example, blood transfusions to enhance and strengthen the body and the immune system. In October 2012 in Hong Kong one woman died and three other fell ill after having this procedure done in a beauty clinic.⁸ The growing popularity of enhancement procedures can be seen as an effect of the omnipresent image of the young perfect body in the media. On one hand, they show celebrities with perfect silhouettes, without any wrinkles or other imperfections, who look the same without regard to the passage of time. On the other hand the media frightens consumers – mainly through advertisements – with the specter that old age is coming and one ought to fight against what is inevitable by postponing the first symptoms of ageing for as long as possible. Being an old person is seen as undesirable, ugly, even evil. An individual is responsible for his or her looks, but at the same time no one is able to prevent an old age by him or herself alone. It requires specialists – doctors, pharmacists, cosmetics, dermatologists, dietetics, instructors and psychologists.

Combative procedures are used after the first symptoms of ageing have already appeared. Their main aim is to diminish the visibility of the process of ageing and prolong the period of looking youthful. The popularity of these combative procedures is involved – similarly to preventive procedures – with the constant presence of the young image in media. People with wrinkles or flabby skin are taught that their looks are undesirable and that they have to correct their imperfections if they wish to fit into society. As proof of this one can cite the absence of elderly people in magazines and television stations. Combative procedures involve two types of effects: slowing of the symptoms of ageing, or canceling them. One can apply variety of procedures: diets, exercises, cosmetics, covering make-up, special clothes, dermatological and surgical treatment.

⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-19906159> [Accessed on 15.10.2012]

All the procedures described above can use similar instruments and treatments to achieve one goal – improving one's looks. They must be aesthetically pleasing. A body that is beautiful is a body that is healthy. Imperfections of all kinds are seen as symptoms of a disease and have to be diminished or cancelled. The final effect depends on the looks that one has as a starting point, but psychological and economic factors are equally important. It is worth referring to the concept of the 'sick role' described by Talcott Parsons here. He stated that a sick person is not responsible for his or her condition, but he or she has to admit that this is an undesirable condition, one which can be legally excused by medical professionals who give temporary exemptions from daily performance and routines. But the sick person has to seek professional help and cooperate with medical staff in order to get well [Parsons: 1969].

The first element of Parson's definition – the absence of responsibility for the bad condition – seems questionable in the context of this paper. But the other features match the vision of an individual with the imperfect, 'sick' body that has to be repaired. One cannot do it alone, he or she needs specialists who would advise, suggest and correct each defect of the body. In this sense, the aesthetic – commercial dimension has already become highly medicalized. Medicine establishes the standards that describe what is the norm and what is pathology – Body Mass Index (BMI), proper weight, appropriate levels of blood pressure, hormones and cholesterol, proper number of red and white blood cells, correct density of bones according to one's age, sex and ethnicity – these are just common examples of such standards. The pharmaceutical market and cosmetic trade offer more and more medications and cosmetics that can help with problems (now treated as diseases) such as flabby breasts, cellulitis, hair without vitality, or freckles. As the history of the medicalization of a woman's body shows, it has always been seen as weaker, worse, and more labile than a man's body [Buczowski 2005]. Thus with the expansion of this process beginning at the end of the 20th century, the body of a woman has been more eagerly medicalized. As a natural result, it has become more commonplace to seek imperfections, and of course to find them. The situation spirals when the imperfect image of women places them under greater pressure to be perfect, to have perfect bodies - especially certain parts of them [compare: Featherstone 2008: 112-115]. Due to that fact women tend to look for imperfections in their bodies and tend to be harsh judges on themselves, they become especially concerned about certain parts of their bodies that are commonly perceived as being female symbols. One of them is undoubtedly their breasts. During the period of adolescence it is the most visible difference between boys and girls, and just at the time adolescent boys begin to experience their first erotic

dreams, often focused on breasts. Girls become more and more aware of their biological equipment and they realize that it can be an object of desire and/or admiration. By the time they become women they will be aware of the function their breasts can play in their life. The medicalization of the female body image in books, films, programs and magazines gives them a point of reference to determine how they ought to look. They are aware of their responsibility for the look of their body (especially breasts), but they have to rely on specialists who are able to improve their image directly or indirectly, often using medications and cosmetics.

- Beautiful, well-groomed breasts have become a symbol of a female. It is thus not surprising that so many women are concerned about their perceived quality. The main reasons women decide to undergo breast augmentation are listed below, and have an aesthetic or psychological background:

- Dissatisfaction with the condition of their breasts that is usually an effect of diets, incorrect body position, lack of movement, and the process of ageing;

- Dissatisfaction with the size of their breasts;

- Visible asymmetry of breasts;

- Dissatisfaction with the quality of their sexual life;

- Low self-esteem related to perceiving oneself as being unattractive;

- Mastectomies or other diseases and accidents that might have resulted in deformed breasts.⁹

“The better body, the better the life” read the headline of an article published in the Polish newsweekly *Wprost*, describing the popularity of the television show *Make me beautiful* and seems to prove the list above [Zaczyński, Koziński 2006]. “Businesswomen, lawyers, teachers, security officers, policewomen, sports-women. They are between 18 and 57 years old and want to be more attractive. One hundred thousand of them have applied. Thanks to the POLSAT television show *Make me beautiful* [...] they want to increase their value. Beauty and attractiveness have the same market values as knowledge or skills” [Zaczyński, Koziński 2006]. Prospective participants underlined that they would find a better job, a husband or wife with higher status and professional position, that they would be identified with success, perceived as more intelligent and competent in their professional lives and more sexually attractive in their private lives. This example illustrates how the body has become a tool to achieve success in life and thus has been transformed into a market product that can be advertised, improved and sold.

⁹ Compare: www.surgery.org, www.RealSelf.com and other websites concerning plastic surgery.

As mentioned in the previous section main practice of medicalization of women's breasts is plastic surgery. According to American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS) the number of all surgical cosmetic procedures in 2010 was 1,638,524, a significant increase in comparison to the 939,192 such procedures in 1997 [ASAPS: 2011]. Women underwent 91% of the total cosmetic (surgical and non-surgical) procedures in 2011. The five most common aesthetic surgeries in women were: breast augmentation¹⁰, liposuction, abdominoplasty, blepharoplasty and breast lift. The total number of breast augmentation procedures was 316,848, forty-nine percent of which were performed in women between 19–34 years of age. Among women over 18, forty-four percent underwent this procedure for purely aesthetic reasons.

Between 2001 and 2002 an Online Breast Augmentation Survey was posted on a website concerning plastic surgery [Young, Watson, Boswell, Centeno: 2004]. The data was collected from women with and without breast implants (some of whom were considering undergoing the surgery). Data was collected from more than 4000 women. Most of those who underwent the procedure were satisfied and would recommend it to others. Ninety-two percent of women with implants claimed that the surgery improved their overall appearance, and 82% gained more self-confidence. More than 90% were satisfied with the doctor-patient relationship, and more than 75% claimed that they were informed about the risks associated with that kind of surgery. Another survey was conducted by the website RealSelf.com [2012], which claims that breast augmentation improves quality and frequency of sexual contacts. Seventy percent of women with breast implants claimed that their sexual life improved, and 61% of them said that the number of sexual contacts increased after surgery. Seventy-five percent declared that it was worth doing the surgery. "In my personal observation, women definitely feel more confident after the procedure, and you can easily see how that improved confidence will lead to improvements in other areas of their lives¹¹", says Doctor Andrew P. Trussler, a plastic surgeon in the Dallas area and Plastic Surgery Assistant Professor at the University of Texas.

Unfortunately there is no reliable information about the number of breast augmentations in Poland. According to the website www.esthicon.pl there are 9,613 doctors and 400 clinics that offer this procedure in Poland. The cost of breast

¹⁰ The year 2012 marks the 50th anniversary of breast implants. Nowadays the most popular are silicone and saline implants. According to the ASAPS, in 2011 31% of breast augmentation were performed using saline and 69% using silicone implants [ASAPS: 2011].

¹¹ <http://www.realself.com/press/breast-enhancements-better-sex-life-survey-shows> [Accessed on 24.10.2012].

augmentation ranges from 6,000 PLN up to 17,000 PLN (approximately 2000 – 5500 USD) depending on the rank of the clinic and the service that is offered. According to the website, there are countries where such surgeries are relatively cheap (6,000 to 9,000 PLN, which is approx. 2000 to 3000 USD), for example Hungary, Czech Republic, Mexico, and others, where such procedures are rather luxurious (they range from 20,000 to 30,000 PLN which is approx. 6,000 to 10,000 PLN) – for example Canada, Georgia, Switzerland [www.estheticon.pl].

Thus it is clear that a decision to undergo a breast augmentation is in part a commercial transaction. Yet even though it is an expensive procedure, its popularity is increasing worldwide. It is also a highly medicalized decision. And apart from plastic surgery there are a vast range of other procedures to enhance one's breasts (Table 2). They include:

- Cosmetics that bring back vitality, keep the bust in good condition, and enlarge it. In Poland there is a huge market of such cosmetics accessible to women of all ages starting with the age of 30. Cosmetics can be bought in beauty shops as well as in pharmacies. The offer is adjusted to financial resources of women, but the common rule is that the more expensive a cosmetic is the more effective is its' action. Internet resources offer various rankings of such cosmetics. One of the most popular website for women, polki.pl tested bust cosmetics that bring back the vitality which is seen as a symptom of something bad, wrong, a kind of a disease. The website advises women how to take care of their breasts and neckline, how to prevent undesirable changes of bust with cosmetics suggesting that they are a kind of medication for "diseases" of breasts;

- Physical activity – special types of exercises that keep one's breasts in good shape. Physical activity is not a practice of medicalization itself but it is often undertaken as a kind of a therapy to rescue women's breasts. sometimes it can lead to medicalization procedures as plastic surgery, especially when physical activity doesn't bring expected results;

- Diet – paradoxically a diet (which aim is to be slim) can lead to the deterioration of breasts and the cure for that problem can be... a diet, which is rich in liquids and that brings back vitality to one's skin. Books and magazines underline that a diet is effective only with a set of physical exercises. To underline a medicalization aspect here it is suffice to say that a diet is usually associated to health problems and treated as a cure. Moreover, many persons look for professional help of dietetics who have medical education;

- Underwear and clothes – "medical" clothes, corsets, bras that underline breasts and optically make them bigger, tight tops and blouses with huge necklines exposing one's breasts – are designed to make women's breasts an object

of desire. They often are designed in cooperation with medical professionals but sometimes the name “medical” is a misleading marketing trick to bring a client’s attention. It is believed that if something is “medical” it is healthy;

- Tattoos and piercing – these bring attention to the breasts and can strengthen sexual satisfaction. Motives for doing it are various but the medicalization motive here exists as the tattoo and piercing studios more and more often look like operating room and the procedure seems to be a mini-surgical operation (Table 2).

To sum up this part it is worth saying that all those practices that were described and mentioned above medicalize women’s breasts in several ways. They increase women’s concerns about their condition. They impose thinking of their bodies as imperfect, undesired and sick. They make women intensify their contacts with health services and various medical professionals. They generate many iatrogenic consequences deteriorating the health condition and causing a spiral of medical interventions. On the other hand, this dimension underlines that the body is no more seen as done and complete but as something flexible, plastic that can be modified on many ways. The responsibility for the final effect is on the side of individuals. And the extent of medicalization of the body depends on individuals, women have choice to what degree to medicalize their bodies. There are some professions where a beauty, well-done breasts are a kind of a visit card but more and more often women are dissatisfied with their breasts and they lose confidence and self-esteem perceiving themselves as unattractive. Thus the body and breasts are being disciplined in order to bring back to women their self-esteem. In the contemporary society “lookism” becomes a norm and a “flabby bust” is seen as a sort of a disease and decreases women’s opportunities in private and professional life. Women undergo painful procedures to create objects of desire and pleasure (Table 1), [compare: Featherstone: 2008: 109–117].

4.2. The reproductive– demographic dimension

“Breast is best” midwives, nurses, and pediatricians tell mothers after child-birth in clinics and hospitals around the world. The pressure to breastfeed¹² starts long before the delivery of a child. Special schools, clinics, and courses preparing pregnant women for delivery become places where they learn about advantages of breastfeeding, both for their babies as well as for themselves. Midwives teach future mothers how to stimulate their nipples, which positions are the most comfortable to feed from, and how to attach a baby to a breast. Magazines, books and

¹² The Polish term describing this phenomenon is “terror laktacyjny”.

leaflets for mothers are distributed in clinics and underline the unique features of human milk. Mothers are advised by midwives, nurses and pediatricians to feed their children naturally for 6 to 12 months. They are also instructed what type of food is prohibited to them (which can cause allergies, diseases, or gastric problems in newborns) and what is recommended to enhance a healthy diet for their child. Advertisements of artificial, modified milk underline the necessity of breastfeeding for 6 months and stress that the milk that is advertised is not the baby's primary milk, but the next, from the 6th month onward.¹³ This is an effect of an official regulation adopted in 1981. According to the World Health Organization breast-milk substitutes have to include information on their labels describing the benefits of breastfeeding and the health risk of milk substitutes. Promotion of breast milk substitutes, as well as the distribution of free samples either to mother or to health workers, is prohibited.¹⁴

TABLE 3. Advantages and disadvantages (inconveniences) related to breastfeeding.

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
<p>Breast milk:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A mother's milk has a unique composition of feeding substances; • It always has a proper temperature; • It is sterile; • It is always ready; <p>Breastfeeding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creates a unique bond between a mother and a child; • Improves the baby's immune system; • Calms down a baby; • Lowers the risk of allergy in babies; • Speeds up loss of weight after pregnancy; • Reduces the risk of breast and ovarian cancer later in life. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One never knows exactly how much a baby has eaten; • Lactation diet (involves the elimination of certain products from the mother's diet); • Pain, irritation, cracks and even bleeding of the nipples; • A mother is dependent on the child's feeding times; • Weaker bond between a child and a father as well as between a mother and a father;

Source: own elaboration based on Eisenberg, Hathaway, Murkoff 2001; Murkoff, Hathaway 2003; Lothrop 2011; Gaskin 2012; and analyses of leaflets and internet forums.

¹³ See the adverts of Nutricia, Nestle, or Bebiko.

¹⁴ <http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/breastfeeding/facts/en/index6.html> [Accessed on 24.10.2012]

Breastfeeding is strongly recommended by The World Health Organization. as follows: “The WHO strongly recommends exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months of life. At six months, other foods should complement breastfeeding for up to two years or more. In addition:

- breastfeeding should begin within an hour of birth;
- breastfeeding should be “on demand”, as often as the child wants, day and night; and
- bottles or pacifiers should be avoided.”¹⁵

Probably the most surprising information that one can find in the WHO fact sheet about breastfeeding is that this method is “associated with a natural (though not fail-safe) method of birth control (98% protection in the first 6 months after birth).”¹⁶ WHO recommends breastfeeding even for mothers infected with HIV (with certain safety precautions, such as taking antiretroviral drugs). Breastfeeding is depicted as a comfortable, fast, economic and healthy way of providing nutrition to babies. While there is some information about the possible difficulties associated with breastfeeding, the document underscores that women can find professional help through counselors and health care facilities. The fact that the document is published by an institution that is considered as a global supplier of medical agendas strengthens the dominant position of medicine over the private and intimate act of breastfeeding. In this light, it is not surprising that women are subjected to medical control and even medical ostracism when they oppose (for any reason) breastfeeding. The medicalization of women's breasts in this dimension changes the independent and private choice of a mother to deliver a child into a medical decision. Pregnant women are advised to train their nipples before childbirth, and after the delivery they very often don't have any choice as midwives (or nurses) bring them their babies for breastfeeding without asking for permission or about their own decision. From women's reports one can learn about practices of squeezing women's breasts by health care workers in order to initiate lactation.¹⁷ This “medical imperialism” over a woman's free choice is additionally fueled by the media. Programs, articles and books show breastfeeding mainly in a positive light, depicting it as an easy, comfortable and enjoyable activity. Little attention is paid to the disadvantages associated with this ‘natural way of nutrition,’ which

¹⁵ <http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/breastfeeding/facts/en/index.html> [Accessed on 24.10.2012]

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ For further information about so-called „lactation terror” in Poland see: www.rodzicpoludzku.pl, dzieci.pl, forum.gazeta.pl, kobieta.wp.pl and other websites and forums designated for mothers.

is probably why some mothers cease breastfeeding quickly when they encounter unpleasant and inconvenient effects (Table 3). Even a quick glance on the reports of mothers on the Internet forums demonstrates how many of them are disappointed with breastfeeding. They claim they didn't know it could be so harmful and damaging for their bodies (especially the breasts and nipples). They also underline that in their relations with nurses, midwives and pediatricians they are usually made to feel guilty when they admit having problems or claim they want to stop breastfeeding. One may find the following "rant" by one of the thousands of pregnant women sharing her anxiety about breastfeeding on an Internet forum (original transcription): "I am so upset over the pressure that gets put on mums to breastfeed like warriors the second they give birth, without any reassurance of 'if you don't want to, or can't, then that is ok.' Instead I get the 'if your milk doesn't come in, then we will keep yanking on your nipples till it does, until your breasts are cracked and you are in so much pain that you are reduced to tears and become an inconsolable stressed teary mess.' Ok, maybe there is a touch of exaggeration in this description ... but that's how it feels sometimes. While I was waiting in my hospital's maternity area I was reading all the posters that were plastered everywhere about breastfeeding, and how far superior it is to formula. One poster actually said: 'BEWARE! If you don't breastfeed, your child will have a lower IQ, risks malformation, SIDS and Childhood Cancers.' Honestly... how did this get approval to even be printed! I feel like I'm the only person in the world that is disgusted by the pressures and one sidedness of breastfeeding. I approached a midwife about this poster and told her that if I was a mother that was struggling to breastfeed I would find this incredibly stressful... and the response was: Well actually less than 3% of women can't actually breastfeed, and the 3% that aren't, just aren't trying hard enough or persisting.' Yup... my jaw is still on the floor."¹⁸ This description is supported by the results of the research done in 2011 in Scotland among 220 participants (mothers, partners, midwives and other members of families). The research showed that there was a clash between the idealistic image of breastfeeding and reality experienced by women. Acceptance of the global policy that advises breastfeeding for at least 6 months may actually cause more harm than would a realistic approach to the activity [Hoddinott, Craig, Britten, McInnes: 2012].

¹⁸ <http://www.huggies.com.au/forum/1-baby/99-breast-and-bottle-feeding/2705710-the-pressures-of-breastfeeding> [24.10.2012]

It is worth noting that more and more mothers become aware of that medicalized and centrally administered pressure¹⁹ and that they starting demanding autonomy and respect for their maternal decisions.

Those who are more determined can count on a huge market of products which help mothers to enjoy breastfeeding. Most of those products are recommended by health care workers, institutions, and associations, which underlines the context of medicalization. Among the products available in Poland one can find:

- breastfeeding equipment – hand and electric lactators (for emptying breasts - used when a mother has to go out and leave her baby. Thus a newborn can be fed by other members of the family), silicone caps (they protect cracked nipples while breastfeeding), lactating pads (they are put inside a bra to avoid stains from milk on underwear);

- breastfeeding clothes - special bras that enable breastfeeding without taking off underwear, tops and blouses with huge necklines that provide “easy access” to breasts, as well as pyjamas and nightgowns with “easy access”;

- cosmetics – creams, oils and ointments for cracked nipples;

- medications, drugs, dietary supplements – special teas and herbs that increase the amount of milk or stimulate lactation;

- off-label use of medications – people may purchase medications designed for one purpose (for example gastric medications) having the aim of using them to take advantage of side effects (i.e. increased lactation) (Table 2).

As can be observed, the market of products facilitating breastfeeding is huge, thus the opportunities and excuses for not breastfeeding diminish. In the U.S. the pressure to breastfeed is so high that despairing new mothers take prescribed medications to stimulate lactation. “Breastfeeding has gone from being an ideal option for new mothers to a mandatory prerequisite for ‘good’ parenthood,” [Lemmon 2012], and thus the body (and especially women’s breasts) have become the focal point of public interest and policy as well as a field of medical expansion.

There is another aspect of this dimension. According to “breast is best” philosophy, breastfeeding is profitable for society as a whole since it provides healthy and strong citizens. Children that has been fed human milk are said to have a better immune system and a lower risk of developing allergies or obesity. In terms of the national economy they will become high quality workers and the

¹⁹ After writing a phrase „terror laktacyjny” (lactation terror), Google Chrome gave back more than 3700 threads referring to it, mostly on websites for young parents and mothers and within forum groups.

national costs of their medical treatment of them will be diminished since they will utilize health services less often.

Where is the holistic approach to being a mother?²⁰ It has gone by the way side on the stampede to the medicalization of breastfeeding. A woman is her breasts, and everything must be done for the sake of her baby. The limitation of the female body to her breasts leads to an evaluation of a woman in terms of her good or bad parenthood, and leads her to a redefinition of her 'self' in light of these terms. It is obvious that this dimension deprives women of autonomy and self-determination. The control over their lives and their bodies is taken over by health care workers, who 'advise' them what they should and should not do. A woman has a choice, but it is neither morally neutral nor independent.

Breastfeeding presented above as the main medicalization practice in the reproductive – demographic dimension displays the connection between private and public aspect of that practice and between micro- and macrolevel. Private decision about breastfeeding becomes a public concern and is imposed to women by medical advisors. A woman has a choice but if she does not conform the regulation she usually meets sanctions – social ostracism, worsening of relationships with medical professionals, psychologically she feels guilty, loses self-esteem and perceives herself as a bad mother. Her breasts become an instrument of prolonging the species in terms of providing a high quality of citizens. Her breasts are being managed – trained, controlled and regulated - by institutions and specialists (Table 1).

All aspects of breastfeeding described above show to what extent a woman's body (with a focus on breasts) has been medicalized. Pregnancy, childbirth and maternity are those conditions that are widely described in the body of literature²¹. Women are deprived of their autonomy and they more rely on the experts' opinion than on their maternal instinct and knowledge. The medicalization of maternity entails the medicalization of childhood as a mother is not an expert in health problems of her own child as well.

4.3. The medical – productive dimension

Last but not least is the dimension where a woman's breasts are considered in strictly medical terms. The breast can be beautiful (aesthetic dimension), it

²⁰ In Poland a book „Polityka karmienia piersią. Ideologia, biznes i szemrane interesy” by Gabrielle Palmer was published in 2011. It stands in opposition to the „breast is best” philosophy, showing how the baby nutrition products market tries to discourage mothers from breastfeeding.

²¹ For references see Summary.

can be useful (reproductive dimension), but it can be also sick. In this context the national screening programs and preventive campaigns will be considered, showing how biopower takes control over women's breasts. This dimension focuses on a macrolevel, a population level. The dimension focuses on controlling and improving of the society's health. The body of an individual is treated instrumentally as an object of biopolitical decisions and medical interventions. Women are significant element of population of each country. They are said to live longer but to be sick more frequently than man. Through centuries their bodies were seen as weaker than men. As they were medicalized to greater extent than men's bodies it is obvious that they are also an object of political decisions and centrally administered practices. On the population level one say about society's productivity and economic efficacy. It is not sufficient to focus on individuals and their health and good condition, certain actions must be directed toward the society, population as a whole. One of the best ways to diminish the rate of prevalence of the most damaging diseases are screening preventive programs. They control and regulate bodies on macrolevel. As long as there were no diagnostic tools, women weren't subjected to screening controls and their lives were not medicalized so much. With the progress in medical technology and the advent of screening programs they have been subjected to instant fright for their health and lives and to the ever-present threat of discovering a cancer.

Breast cancer is the second leading cause of death in Polish women, and one of the leading causes among women. The number of new cases, as well as the mortality rates, continue to rise among Polish women²².

In comparison to other countries of Western Europe or to the U.S., the situation of Polish women is not good. While in other countries 70% of breast cancers can be cured owing to rapid detection, in Poland only 12% of women with cancer are diagnosed in such an early stage.

The most important role in prevention and early detection is played by women's awareness, which is still rather low among Polish women. Their knowledge about breast cancer is frequently based on stereotypes and fright – "cancer is incurable", "I am not going to do a screening test because they might find a cancer" – these are typical reactions of hundreds, if not thousands, of Polish women. The most popular early detection methods – self-control and a doctor's routine control - are not popular among either women or doctors [CBOS 2001, 2002]. Other methods (genetic test, ultrasonography and mammography) involve time, money

²² Based on data collected from the National Registry Office and from the Globocan report by WHO from 2010.

and psychological stress, thus they are even less popular as a form of volunteer screening. According to the Centre of Oncology and the Polish Committee for the Fight Against Cancer, women should do preventive screening systematically beginning in their 30's (regular checkups should start with ultrasonography, but the first mammography should be done between 35 and 39).

Low awareness and stereotypes, combined with rare visits to the gynecologist's office, make the early detection and complete cure of breast cancer much more difficult and ineffective. Experience from other countries demonstrates that the best results in early detection of breast cancer are given by long-term, national health programs fighting against breast cancer. Poland initiated a National Program for the Fight Against Cancer, within the framework of which a National Program of Breast Cancer Prevention was established. It was launched by the Ministry of Health and financed by the National Health Fund (NFZ). The program is dedicated to women between 50 and 69 years old, who haven't had a mammography done during the last 24 months, as well as those who were indicated for a second test after 12 months from the previous screening. Women previously diagnosed with breast cancer could not participate in the program. Among aims of the programs the NFZ delineated:

- **Diminishing breast cancer mortality;**
- Lowering the rates of the breast cancer mortality to levels comparable to the European Union countries;
 - Taking advantage of medical screening programs;
 - Early detection of breast cancer in women;
 - Increasing the cure rates for women;
 - Introducing national rules of diagnostic procedures;
 - Increasing knowledge and awareness among women;
- **Diminishing the costs of cure of women diagnosed with breast cancer by lowering their number as well as the level of advancement of the disease once diagnosed** [National Health Fund 2010].

Two highlighted aims seem to be the most important in frames of this analysis. Diminishing breast cancer mortality means that the population will not be decreasing which is quite important in the context of the contemporary demographic trends. The second aspect refers to economy – the smaller number of sick women, the smaller costs of cure (medical costs), the smaller costs of exemption from professional activity (economic costs) and smaller costs for the family of a woman (social costs).

Essential aspect is also that healthy women are an important tool of reproduction. Breast cancer is a long-term, sometimes incurable disease, and diminishes the chances of pregnancy.²³

To control the condition of breasts women undergo different medical procedures – ultrasonography, mammography and biopsy – that generate fears and may be harmful. If the cancer is found a woman and their breasts undergo next medical interventions: mastectomy and – if it is necessary – chemio- or/and radiotherapy. Medicine offers them medical (physical) rehabilitation but does not take into account psychosocial consequences of the surgery. In the aesthetic-commercial dimension it was stated that breasts are a sign of female identity so depriving of them results in negative reactions. Women lose self-esteem, feminine identity, they feel worthless as women. technological progress offers them breast prosthesis and medical clothes to cover their disability. Additionally, plastic surgery offers reconstruction of breasts but these are another practices that medicalize their bodies and their lives.

In this dimension the decision-making and control are totally on the side of the-political and medical decision-makers, leaving no autonomy to women. This is also related to medical education and a kind of knowledge/power that enables medical professionals to determine whether one is sick or not. Instrumentalization of a female body in that dimension is the highest and governmental practices of regulation and control over it is to bring social, medical and economic efficacy and profits.

5. SUMMARY

The paper is a proposal for a new analytical perspective of medicalization. It focuses not on a whole female body (as most of works used to do) but on a part of it – breasts, and it does not analyze a certain case of medicalization but displays multidimensional frame of practices of medicalization of women's breasts.

Three dimensions that were distinguished and analyzed referred to the concept of biopower by M. Foucault and concepts of sociology of the body. The main aim was to show on how many ways only a part of the body can be medicalized. After the analysis a question raises whether multidimensional medicalization practices have consequences on women's identity and dignity. Focusing only on breasts would be seen as a kind of fragmentation of a female body. Examining changes in women's identity under multidimensional practices of medicalization would be an interesting empirical challenge to follow.

²³ Breast cancer rates are highest among 50-69 year-old women, who are no longer in their reproductive age but still play an important role on the job market and in households.

The article showed as well to what extent women's body is medicalized in each of dimensions and how much depends on an individual in terms of making their lives more and more medically dependent. In the first – aesthetic –commercial dimension a female breasts is medicalized on many ways but decision-making is on the side of a woman, so finally results in varying of the level of medicalization (one has to consider age, financial resources, believes that influence the decision of undergoing certain practices). The second dimension focused on the reproductive function and put stress on breastfeeding as an example of combining private and public aspect. Practices of managing the body are rather centrally administered by medical institutions and professional working there. A woman has a choice but autonomy effects in some negative psychological and social consequences. In the last – medical-productive dimension – there is no place for individual nor for their individual needs and fears. The body and breasts are governed by the state and its agendas in order to be healthy and to diminish costs of curing, fulfill the function of reproduction and to increase the state's wealth. In this dimension women's bodies seem to be the most deprived of their autonomy and humanity.

The analysis displays also how the definition of medicalization evolved – in the first section a theoretical frame was depicted, while analytical sections operationalized evolution of the medicalization definition and its models underlining increasing role of non-medical parties and lay persons in medicalizing women's bodies (which is most visible in the aesthetic-commercial dimension).

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Magdalena Wieczorkowska

MEDYKALIZACJA CIAŁA KOBIECY – PRZYPADEK PIERSI

(Streszczenie)

Medykalizacja ciała kobiety nie jest nowym zjawiskiem – jest szeroko opisana w polskiej i zagranicznej literaturze, zwykle w odniesieniu do macierzyństwa i menopauzy [Domańska 2005, Buczkowski 2005, Szczepaniak 2010, Bielawska-Batorowicz 2005, Aeroba 2003, Cindoglu, Sayan-Cengiz 2010, Spina 2010, Whitaker 2000, Bell 1987, Conrad 2007, itd.]. Oba tematy są kompleksowe i obejmują zróżnicowane rozważania teoretyczne i badania empiryczne. Artykuł przedstawia proces medykalizacji ciała kobiety z naciskiem na piersi. Wybór ten wynika z obserwacji i analizy literatury. Kluczowym wynikiem jest, że niektóre aspekty życia kobiet są bardziej medykalizowane – co jest zgodne koncepcją Conrada stopniowania medykalizacji – i że jedną z bardziej medykalizowanych części ciała kobiety są piersi. W celu analizy tego tematu zaproponowano 3 wymiary medykalizacji: estetyczno-komercyjny, reprodukcyjno-demograficzny, medyczo-produkcyjny. Analiza pokazuje jak część ciała kobiety staje się przedmiotem zainteresowania rozmaitych subdyscyplin medycznych, pozbawiając kobiety autonomii i zmieniając normalne życiowe procesy w obiekt medycznych interwencji. Artykuł pokazuje także, jak ciało kobiety staje się obiektem biowładzy i biopolityki, które – poprzez różne narzędzia – kontrolują indywidualne ciała jak też całe populacje. Aby analizować ten problem proponuje się nowe podejście analityczne, oparte na socjologicznej koncepcji ciała i biowładzy rozwiniętej przez M. Foucaulta. Analiza nie koncentruje się na medykalizacji całego ciała i życia kobiety lecz tylko na części ciała – piersiach. Nie opisuje jakiegось przypadku medykalizacji, lecz wielowymiarowe praktyki skierowane na tę część. Analiza jest przeprowadzana w kontekście polskiego społeczeństwa, sądzymy jednak że medykalizacja jest procesem globalnym, który przejawia się podobnie we wszystkich zachodnich społeczeństwach. Tak więc uwzględniamy porównania i odniesienia do innych krajów (zwłaszcza Stany Zjednoczone).

Słowa kluczowe: medykalizacja, biowładza, ciało, piersi, macierzyństwo, rak, chirurgia plastyczna

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BRED OR WILD PARTICIPATION?

Abstract

The development of the participation proposal for French citizens leads us to examine whether state organized participatory democracy hinders social change. The taking over of deliberation and participation functions by state and corporate bodies through regulations and initiatives such as participatory devices seems to both stimulate and channel citizen participation in decision making processes. More and more scholars study these institutional devices, criticizing the “procedural tropism” [Mazeaud, 2011] observed in the literature. Indeed, the proceduralization of citizen participation over the last years, embodied in established and standardized devices which are controlled by a public or administrative institution, is of great social significance.

Those standardized forms of debate, conceived in a top down approach by state and public bodies are also becoming compulsory in different fields of public action. Environmental law recent developments in France for instance are increasingly calling for citizens’ inclusion, as well as urban planning.

This institutionalization process produces at least two main types of consequences. According to Fourniau and Blondiaux [2011] it “coincides first of all with a renunciation of a large-scale social change”. These participative settings multiply and are often localized and time limited. They are aimed at what Fung [2003] calls the “mini public”. They do not allow sufficiently broad and concrete deliberative structures which enable real citizen expression.

At the same time proceduralization usually gives control over participation to the authorities who organize it. The way in which they frame power, stage public meetings and animation choices reduces the margin of uncertainty which maintains openness and freedom of speech at debates. We have already

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highlighted this institutional issue and its political consequences for public debate [Revel, 2007]. Can we suggest that the shape of the participatory devices contributes to defining the form of justifiable public participation? The opposing argument about public debate proposed by Mermet [2007] lies in between “wild democracy” and “bred democracy”.

Key words: civic participation, public actions, institutionalization

INTRODUCTION

Civic participation patterns are multiple and various, since states take a variety of paths in response to the challenges arising from processes of economic and liberal globalization. These dynamics produce different mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and underlie the systems of “variegated citizenship” [Eckert, 2011]. Representative democracy is facing a crisis, while citizens have new expectations. They are asking for more empowerment and want to take part in scientific controversies as well as discussions about public policy. It is often thought that citizen participation is a way of fulfilling these expectations.

Deliberative democracy theorists agree that a mode of governance is “...the public deliberation of free and equal citizens is the core of legitimate political decision-making and self-government” [Bohman, 1998]. Decision-making is then based on “...discussion among free and equal citizens” [Elster, 1998] and produces outcomes that reflect the public interest. The concept of public participation describes somewhat more concrete procedures and processes. Renn et al. [1995] define public participation as “...forums of exchange that are organized for the purpose of facilitating communication between government, citizens, stakeholders and interest groups, and businesses regarding specific issue or problem”. This definition includes arenas such as public hearings, public meetings, public debate, citizen advisory committees, consensus conference, citizen juries and focus groups.

Participative devices have been increasingly recognized in sociological writings and lay citizens have been more and more asked to participate. This increasing “participatory offer” for lay citizens in France leads us to examine the “procedural tropism” of most of the literature centered on participation [Mazeaud, 2011]. Yet the “procedural tropism” of research, which sets up the implementation of a procedure as an explanatory variable of the effects participation has on public action, creates an obstacle to the understanding of the way in which participation,

understood as all the mechanisms of citizen participation in public action, is linked to decision-making.

The works on the deliberative devices (especially citizen juries, consensus conference) which distinguished the modalities of influence over these procedures for public action and public debate: direct influence over the contents of public action or indirect influence over the ideas discussed or the administrative actors and the participants' learning [Guston, 1999; Goodin, Dryzek, 2006] are rare enough to be noticed. As chambers [2009] notices, in deliberative theory some theories of democratic deliberation (on the ascendancy) focus on discrete deliberative initiatives within democracies and some theories of deliberative democracy (on the decline) attempt to tackle the large questions of how the public, or civil society in general, relates to the state.

This paper explores the variety of institutional devices which promote direct citizen participation in policy making in France. Our viewpoint joins in a study of the participative democracy in France where the institutionalization is maybe more pushed than somewhere else because the appeal to the law is rather strong regarding participation of the public, mainly in the domains of the environment, and where the centrality of the elected representative in the French political system makes that participatory devices may be more disempowered that wherever somewhere else.

Indeed the proceduralization of citizen participation over the last years in France, embodied in established and often standardized participatory designs which are controlled by a public institution, is of great social significance. This article aims at assessing the visible effects of the institutionalization and proceduralization of citizen participation in public action in France. Does wider and more numerous citizen participation mean deeper democracy ? Does state sponsored participatory democracy hinder social change ?

This institutionalization process results in at least two main types of consequences. According to Fourniau and Blondiaux [2011] it "coincides first of all with a renunciation of a large-scale social change". These participative settings multiply and are often localized and time limited. They are aimed at what Fung [2003] calls the "mini public". They do not allow sufficiently broad and concrete deliberative structures which enable real citizen expression.

At the same time proceduralization usually gives control over participation to the authorities who organize it. The way in which they frame power, stage public meetings and animation choices reduces the margin of uncertainty which maintains openness and freedom of speech at debates. We have already highlighted this institutional issue and its political consequences for public debate [Revel,

2007]. Can we suggest that the shape of the participatory devices contributes to defining the form of justifiable public participation? The opposing argument about public debate proposed by Mermet [2007] lies in between “wild democracy” and “bred democracy”.

In the first section of this article we examine that both institutionalization and proceduralization processes are reducing the citizens’ empowerment despite a strong “deliberative imperative” to deepen democracy. The second part focuses on the process of standardizing participatory settings. Despite the vast potential for creativity in organizing the concrete forms of debate, there is a standard model which is best suited to middle and upper class citizens. In the last part we show that the ability for citizens to demonstrate initiative is rare, either when they are reconfiguring existing institutional devices or when they organize themselves into participative arenas.

1. THE DELIBERATIVE IMPERATIVE: THE DOMESTICATION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Proceduralization and institutionalization processes channel citizen participation in decision making

Stefano Rodota [2007] recognizes that we are dealing with a new public space where the democratic process can develop rather than simply substitute representative democracy with a direct one. Practices of public deliberation play an essential role in the recent theorizing about democracy and especially in “deliberative” democracy. As a first definition, deliberation is a process of open public discussion in which participants offer proposals and rational justifications to support collective decisions. Participatory settings give an opportunity to really experiment with the deliberation process and to meet citizens coming from very diverse backgrounds. The deliberative democracy ideal is to achieve dialogue between all components of a community through these arenas and exchange, produce more effective and equitable decisions through a learning process based on reasons and arguments.

Indeed a real deliberative imperative seems to preside over the implementation of miscellaneous institutional designs (citizens’ juries, public debate, and joint commission) [Blondiaux, Sintomer, 2006]. There is a large variety of institutional participatory designs at different scales (national, regional, local) and with different deliberative intensity. In numerous public meetings participants simply listen to official and expert discourse and get information about public policies.

A much smaller set of participatory devices are deliberative. In that case citizens are informed but they also take positions, listen to other people's arguments and reasons, learn and sometimes make inquiries and may change their minds during the discussion. This call for citizen participation may try to solve different kinds of issues related to representative democracy.

One of these issues is the lack of democratic depth. Analyzing the history of Civil Society Organisations in the United States, Skocpol discusses the changes in US public involvement and its recent concerning decline. She points that "optimistics correctly point out that public agendas have been enlarged by expert advocacy groups fighting for social rights and fresh understanding of the public interest"¹. Since fewer and fewer Americans join voluntary groups that meet frequently, there have been a proliferation of nonprofit groups lead by elites who can interact with the government, but not the people. She writes "yet those who look on the upside fail to notice that more voices are not the same thing as increased democratic capacity". Americans who are not wealthy or well educated have now fewer associations representing their values and interests, and fewer opportunities for participation.

Thus the proceduralization process was initially designed to avoid grass-root participatory democracy main traps, especially as a tool to assure every citizen with equal opportunities to participate. Deliberation recommends itself because it relies on a broad consideration of alternative solutions, increasing the likelihood that the perspectives held by all members of a heterogeneous community will be given voice. And deliberation is also clarifying and enlightening, highlighting the moral issues at stake in political debates and allowing citizens to elucidate these issues for themselves [Rawls, 1993]. The "deliberative" model aims at giving each citizen equal time to speak, treating each other with respect and eschewing bargaining or self-interested claims in favor of reasoned discussion. Rules definition in the habermassian view of public participation prevents from Not In My Back Yard effects and provides equal participatory opportunities that neither representative democracy nor the grass-root mobilizations cannot provide.

Marinetto [2003], analyzing active citizenship draws attention on the way society is governed and to structural changes in the nature of political governance. He explores the relationship between civil society and political institutions. He demonstrates that central government "has played an integral part in the burgeoning of active citizenship, using policy intervention in such areas as urban

¹ Skocpol, T. (2003) "Diminished democracy : form membership to management in americian civic life".

regeneration and local government to intervene deliberately in supporting active citizenry” [Marinetto, 2003]. He also recalls that, if active citizenship has indeed entered the political calculations and ideological calculations of governments on both sides of the social spectrum, no substantive transfer of executive power from the centre to locality can be witnessed linked to active citizenship.

Meanwhile the evolution of the laws made compulsory citizen consultations to various domains such as environment, health, or urban and country planning. In France, the Aarhus convention was ratified in 2002, the environmental chart in 2005, the local democracy law in 2002 all detailing when citizens ought to participate. Consultative devices also multiply at the local level partly because elected representatives and technicians hope to gain greater legitimacy from it for their decisions, even if these devices are seldom compulsory. The main objectives of these arenas are to create a dialogue, to learn about people’s opinions on different public policy matters. They are not participative because they are mainly informative, allowing questions and answers but no real discussion among the public. Officials also hope to avoid conflict by informing the public and listening to questions. They try to anticipate any contradiction or controversies.

This process of progressive institutionalization is also evident in the development of a political agenda on “participative democracy” and the “local democracy” amongst all political affiliations. Indeed, in every territorial configuration, and especially in urban areas, the political actors present themselves as representatives of the common good as if no previous or uniform political model prevails. Above all this “real” democracy which is based on local debate and freedom of speech is a myth, underlying sociability and the social fabric. Lebart and Lefebvre [2005] precisely deconstruct the idolization of the word “nearness”, showing how elected representatives increasingly call for more proximity as they shy away from it.

More than 70 national public debates occurred in France since 1995 (date of the creation of the French Public Debate Council “CNDP”). Many Regional or General councils have created their own participatory democracy services which are dedicated to creating new links between these institutions and their citizens. For instance the Nord Pas de Calais Regional council has already organized three citizen juries. There are also participatory budgeting experiences inspired by the Puerto Alegre experience in Brazil, in different French regions etc. Participatory Budgeting is a democratic deliberative process, in which ordinary people, usually district inhabitants, decide how to allocate parts of a municipal or public budget. One of the first full participatory budgeting process was developed in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, starting in 1989, by PT (Workers’ Party). Participatory

Budgeting is a year-long decision-making process in which citizens negotiate among themselves and with government officials over the allocation of new capital investment spending on projects, such as health care clinics, schools, and street paving [Wampler and Avritzer, 2004]. According to Nylen [2003] Participatory Budgeting are state government independent. Literature tends to emphasize that Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre is open to any individual citizen willing to participate, combines direct and representative democracy, involves deliberation (and not merely consultation), is redistributive towards the poor, and is self-regulating, such that participants help define the rules governing the process. Sousa Santos [1998], and Genro [1997]. Still some criticism raised as Participatory budgeting seemed unable to have long lasting effects on social justice and poverty reduction.

The development of these participatory designs (citizen budgets, public debate and participatory budgeting) on a local and on a national scale has reached a high level. Still the observers note a disaffection of the public with these participative arenas. More frequently we observe meetings “without public”, and it becomes difficult to motivate the citizens to participate in an experiment of participative democracy, even to be punctual. It is the “intermediary bodies” which seem to have taken over as associations, labor unions or NGOs (non-governmental organization), the so called “civil society”. Democratizing democracy seems to be more complex.

Besides as we previously stated, deliberation here is a process of open public discussion in which participants offer proposals and rational justifications to support collective decisions. To reach this ideal, lots of participatory meetings we have observed face difficulties. This is the case in public debates organized by the French National Commission of Public Debate, discussing the opportunity and conditions of motorway construction. In the second half of the 1980s, after several conflicts about major infrastructure plans (such as the Mediterranean High speed train conflict), several official reports pointed to the necessity of a new decision making process. These reports argue that the public has lost confidence in the inquiry system and that the public feels that it provides window dressing for a decision that has already been taken.

Public debate in France is a new procedure of participatory design that began in 1995 with the Barnier law that created the Public Debate National Commission (Commission Nationale du Débat Public). In this procedure, lasting four months and organized by a Commission, citizens enter into detailed and sustained deliberation with officials about the opportunity, content, design and effect of particular project of national importance (railways, airport, highways, etc). CNDP

is a lasting, independent structure that can be referred to by the environmental associations that are recognized by public authorities and nationally established. CNDP is responsible for the observance of public participation in the decision making process all over France. There are procedural rules to respect (publicity, transparency, argumentation, equivalence). This is weak public consultation since the participants don't make a decision at the end of the process. At the end of these public debates the president of the Commission has to draw up a schedule which is made public. This report, summarizing the deliberation content, is sent to the concerned Minister who then takes the decision to go on with the realization of the project or to quit.

Thus, the creation of the CNDP relies on the assumption that citizen's participation has become a key ingredient in the development of successful policies. Citizens participation is supposed to increase collective decision acceptance because citizens have a direct say in the decision making process, even if the linkage between public debate and decision making is weak. If citizens are given the opportunity to comment on urban planning in public, they should be more likely to accept it. This institutionalization of public debate at a national level provides a stable organizational and legal frame to State sponsored participatory devices. We will analyze some public debates in depth in the second part of this paper.

What are the main consequences of the institutionalization of participation? These are the abandonment of a global social transformation project and the incapacity to create a powerful citizen voice.

There is no longer any global social change at stake. There are precise and narrow agendas set for discussion with citizens. The great utopia of citizen participation seems far away. We observed one citizen jury on culture organized by the Nord Pas de Calais regional council in 2011, observing every meetings and discussions as guarantor of the global procedure's deliberative quality. The main question was quite general and vague.² There was no link to the regional council political agenda. The main question raised was: "What does culture represents in people's lives?" At the end of the citizen jury (5 days) the citizens reintroduced political stakes as the expenses control of culture by the citizens,

² This citizen jury was held in the town of Bethune France from December 7th of 2010 to January 26th of 2011. It consisted of 5 days of discussion among 18 citizens that were regional inhabitants. They were all voluntary and appointed by drawing lots from electoral rolls. The citizen jury was lived up by a consultant. They drafted a public-spirited opinion in a report which was then handed to deputy chairman of the Regional Council who was at the origin of this citizen jury. The questions asked to the citizens in French were "Que représente la culture pour la vie des gens?"

the link between culture and education, and the reminder of the importance of popular (cooking, music, traditions) and multicultural issues. Their report, once handled to the elected representative who asked for the citizen jury to be hold, did not produce major changes. One year later, a meeting was organized by this elected representative to give feed back to citizens about the pay the regional council had introduced changes linked to their advices we were also invited to. There was poor content as to the main suggestion made by citizens. The question remains of the purpose of such participatory devices which seem to be seen by politicians as a way of legitimizing their position inside the political arena more than a real attempt to integrate citizen views

The institutionalization process is also more and more localized and punctual. For instance a consensus conference or a citizen jury only gather small groups of people (15 to 20 people up to one thousand on average) for three week-ends. Fung [2003] call them “mini publics”. According to him, there are four types of mini public. Firstly, an educative forum that aims to create nearly ideal conditions for citizens to form, articulate, and refine opinions about particular public issues through conversations with one another; secondly a participatory advisory panel aims not only to improve the quality of opinion, but also to align public policies with considered preferences; third, a participatory problem-solving collaboration that envisions a continuous and symbiotic relationship between the state and public sphere aimed at solving particular collective problems such as environmental degradation or unsafe streets. Four, participatory democratic governance, seeks to incorporate direct citizen voices into the determination of policy agendas.

Participants should be roughly equal in their opportunities and capabilities to propose ideas and make claims. Some inequalities still remain. For instance when people are not always used to talking in public or presenting a rational argument or remaining seated for a long time. Citizens, even if they volunteer to be part of a participatory setting, usually don't feel legitimated in represent their fellow citizens. They firstly seek to build their own credibility and legitimacy to speak and to hold some points of interest. Since the mini public is not representative of the state from a statistical point of view, their voice may not be heard. Their claims might not be taken into account. For all those reasons, the participatory devices do not allow sufficient broad and concrete deliberative structures to allow real and powerful citizen expression.

2. THE STANDARDIZATION OF PARTICIPATORY DEVICES: A STANDARD MODEL BEST SUITED TO MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS CITIZENS

The second dynamics develop at the same time as institutional participation. The proceduralization of participative devices drives their standardization. Habermas' political philosophy advances a procedural definition of legitimacy. Neither the general interest carried by the State, nor the majority will expressed by the vote are enough to justify the democratic choices. The norm is justifiable only if it results from the inclusion of fair processes of deliberation, in which all the citizens can participate and in which they cooperate freely. Sanders [1997] demonstrates "that taking deliberation as a signal of democratic practice paradoxically works undemocratically, discrediting on seemingly democratic grounds the views of those who are less likely to present their arguments in ways that we recognize as characteristically deliberative. In our political culture, these citizens are likely to be those who are already underrepresented in formal political institutions and who are systematically materially disadvantaged, namely women; racial minorities, especially Blacks; and poorer people".

In practice the public action proceduralization, which aims at making decisions by adjusting conflicting interests, rather meets a need for constraint of politico-administrative efficiency than requirement of democracy. By involving stakeholders, the deliberation favors the social acceptance of decisions, rather than it changes its main outfits. Citizens themselves in France are seldom present, their interests and views are said to be represented within the debate by grassroots organizations. Associations are in position to participate in the elaboration of the public choices, diverting them from their initial anti-authority vocation. While multiplying the concessions on the procedures, the politico-administrative decision-makers almost always succeed in maintaining their dominance.

Focusing on the rules and concrete methods one public meeting; the political authority keeps the choice of his interlocutors, almost always masters the agenda, the places, and the calendar of the discussion. Everything can in principle be discussed, except the forms of the discussion themselves.

The participative devices became very standardized and despite their variety, we find a dominant model. This model is socially defined to promote the codes and ways of being that favor the superior and middle classes. We are able to point the clothing codes, the vocabulary and the manners to express oneself or social codes and meeting places chosen (generally amphitheatres).

The local authorities who organize those arenas are likely to control the exchanges through multiple ways. First they decide the type of setting, its scope, and its questions/problematic. They also choose its schedule and main animation rules. Even when the public meetings are led by a neutral and independent third party, it is the local authorities which hold the budgets and give the main indications. Usually the elected representatives are worried about the way the debate will develop and they try to reduce uncertainty. By doing so, they reduce the margin of freedom and uncertainty which allows a minimum of opening up of the debates. The effect of surprise or novelty indeed allows decreased asymmetry between participants and gives a vaster space of expression to the citizens.

The institutionalization and proceduralization of those participatory designs have consequences that are now clearly stated: they do not open deliberation to the young, the female and the poor people [Sanders, 1997]. Furthermore the deliberation does not often support any decision, as elected representatives in France are still in charge of the decision making process.

To illustrate the ambiguous role of taking over of areas of deliberation by state and corporate bodies, we will synthesize the results of a three years case study of several public debates. We have observed six public debates organized by the French National Commission of Public Debate, discussing the opportunity and conditions of motorway construction between 2004 and 2007. This was a state funded research project, which aimed to assess the participative intensity and scope of public participation and deliberation within public debates' meetings. Our methodology was based on observation (every meeting was observed by two researchers) and interviews (of the debates organizers, participants, experts, and state representatives). We also video recorded some of the meetings.

Our results show that public debate meetings are not really deliberative. They are institutionalized and standardized settings (even if the law does not give any indication about the concrete method to organize the debates). As we said previously, subaltern classes are under-represented in those arenas. Furthermore, there are few lay citizens, the majority of the participants belong to civil society organizations. We will show that citizen participation decreases rather quickly. Trying to understand the reason for this disaffection, we measured speaking time according to the actual categories of actors: national commission members (405 mns or 22,5%), project owners (545 min or 30%), associations or experts

(294 mns or 26%³) and public (566 minutes out of 1808 mn or 31% of total speaking time)⁴. Status and speaking time equality is one of the national commission rules, directly inspired of Habermas work. It is explicitly explained at the beginning of the public meetings as a deliberative rule, and lots of participants evaluate the deliberative intensity of those public debates according to those criterias. In this case, speaking time allocated to the public was 9 times out of seventeen shorter than other actors speaking time. We could calculate those speaking times thanks to our video records, which was very reliable and we also calculated using the exhaustive meeting minutes for double validation.

As innovative as they may be, participatory experiments particularly lack creativity. For example, after more than ten years of existence (and some 70 debates organized), the public debate in France tends to follow a dominant model. There is a social norm, which does not rely on juridical texts. Nowhere is the form and content of the public debate described by the law. Still we have observed a striking homogeneity in the chosen institutional design, organizational choices, speech control, etc... This induces several consequences. Firstly, the more different public debates meetings you participate in the more pertinent and skilled you become. Secondly, individuals forming the public rarely criticize the debate setting. There are implicit norms, caused by the public social composition (very homogenous). Those implicit norms favor the dominant participant profile (male, skilled, employed, used to public deliberation). The average age of the persons who participated in the debate was approximately 50 years old and we were able to track down a deficit of representation of women (there are usually between 10 and 20% of women among participants⁵). Finally the famous “lay citizen” did not appear at the majority of the meetings. In other words, the “selfless” (“disinterested”) citizen will not participate in the public debate simply because he does not feel concerned.

A public debate no longer discerns the opposition of the general interest to the particular interests. It is a question of seizing the conditions of expression and reconstruction the sense granted to projects and of the formation of a community of stakeholders. This complex process follows several stages. The brevity of this article does not allow us to embrace this problem in an exhaustive way. We

³ Experts were only invited to 13 meetings out of seventeen, that's why we add to calculate their global speaking time on the basis of this fourteen meeting global speaking time (1045 min and not 1808 minutes which is total amount of speaking time during seventeen meetings).

⁴ We will analyse those speaking times below.

⁵ We estimated the participant's number of each meeting, which was possible in majority of cases because participants were only hundreds.

suggest approaching public participation during a public debate that occurred in North of France from September 2003 to January 2004, about a new highway building opportunity.

The link between participation and decision is a delicate matter here. At first, the recurring charge that “everything is beforehand played” is always heard. This way, actors test whether the organizing commission is really neutral, and if the technicians describing the project are really listening to the ideas of other.

Participation eroded very quickly. During the first meetings, more than 400 people came to assist and listen. A few could speak. Then one month later, public attendance falls to 100 people. Only 50 individuals came to the last public meetings, most of them for professional reasons.

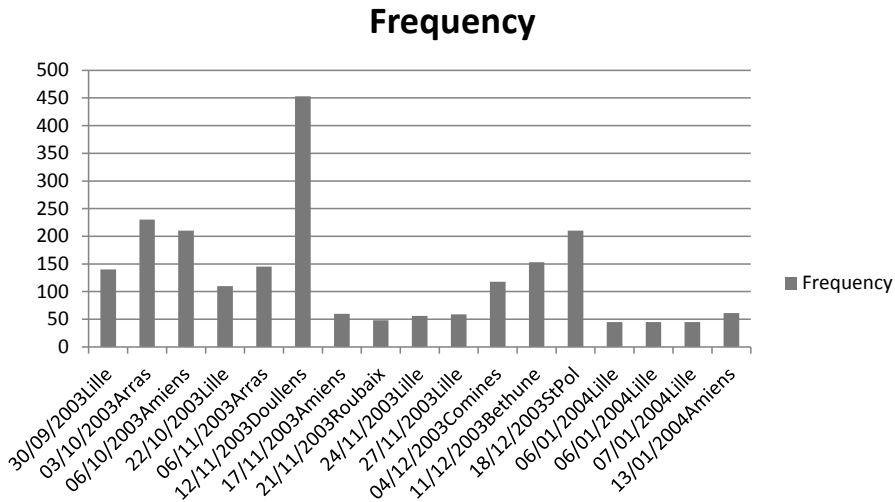


FIG. 1. The analysis of time devoted to public expression is helpful in understanding why public attendance collapses.

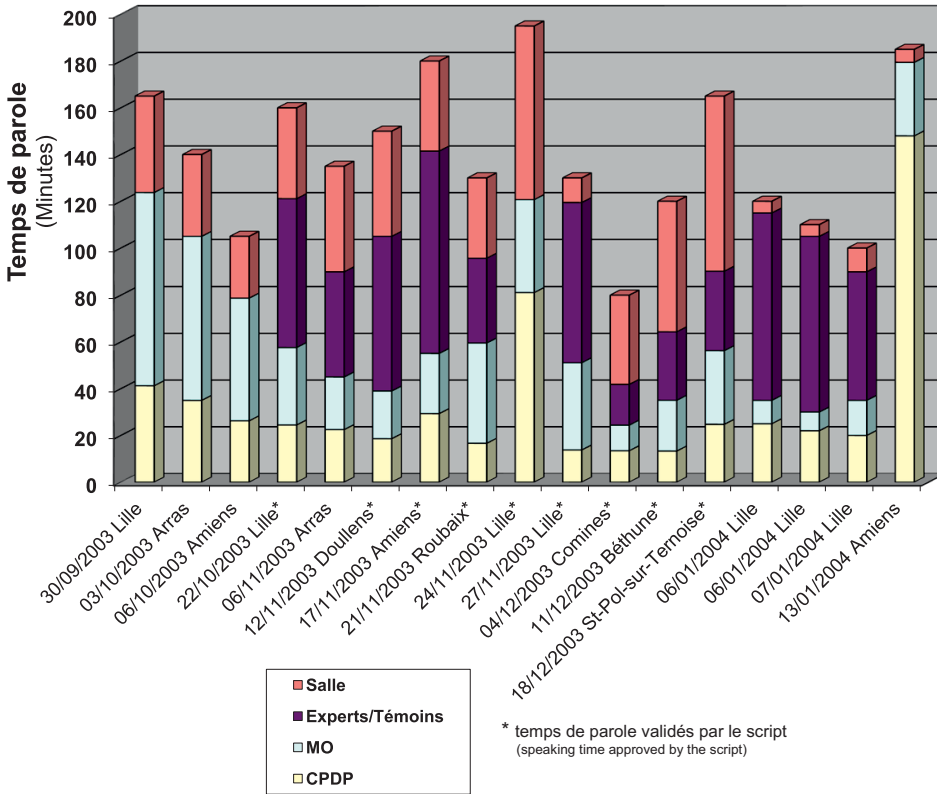


FIG. 2. Time devoted public expression by type of stakeholder

The public (showed here in red colour) is always the last to talk (sometimes individuals have to endure two hours of continuous speech before they can express themselves), and they often have less time to speak (31%) in comparison with the commission organizers (in yellow) who had 22,5% of total speaking time, or the technicians submitting the project (30%) (blue) or the experts (violet) 28% ie : 70% of speaking time was out of reach of the public. As people have been complaining against that inequality, commission members organizing the debate tried to constrain the technicians time, which is decreasing. Nevertheless, this decrease does not really benefit to the public as experts tends to speak more. There are two meetings during which the debate organizers spoke majority of the time. One is the conclusive meeting, during which they did explain their final report content. The other one is occurring on Noveis more surprising.

It corresponds to an attempt to avoid a conflict about expertise independency. Two experts mandated by the national commission turned out to be firm and lobby representatives, as though they had been introduced as neutral and independent. The debates organizers decided to publically acknowledge it, recognizing their mistake and tried to restore their credibility, in order to fight against the charges of manipulat met once a week.

The persons who followed most of the meetings, a sort of pilgrimage to Nord-Pas-de-Calais, constitute a group of about twenty persons who knew each other. Some people were called by their first names or were on first-name terms. They acquired common vocabulary and references. Those people progressively were invited to “after debate buffet”, an occasion for the debates organizers to discuss out of sight with several stakeholders, in a friendly setting. The members of this “community” tw better each others position and could grasp important information that or could get later.

Each meeting followed a model that framed the debates itself. The choice of meeting rooms (city center, amphitheater) the « mise en scène », the way of expressing themselves organizers of the debate and the majority of the participants also indicates a upper social origin (the organizers are often judges, retired prefects, professors either state senior official). The rules of the debate seem to favor equal expression opportunities, because of their dialogical habermassien prism, depreciate the expressions of the order of the testimony, of the emotional or of the irrelevant subjects. Those levels of expression are often the ones of people ignoring public debates rules or belonginto working classes.

The institutionalization of the citizens’ participation comes to be thought of as the corollary of contemporary transformations in public action. Of special note here are the processes of territorialization. On a local scale, making people participate, is also to try to build visibility, even a new legitimacy (for different kind of actors like association, representatives, experts for instance).

Recent rks brought about a change in point of view by pointing to the political logic as well as the dynamics of institutionalizing the participative offer and so contributed to disillusion in the conditions of appearance of the participative devices.

However, even within the framework of these institutional participatory devices, the citizens can show initiative and succeed in re-configuring the system itself, so they can renegotiate rules, or hijack them in certain cases. The efficiency with which the groups mobilize themselves against a highway or TGV (High Speed Train) project using consultation procedures granted or with which

the public of a district council can undermine a priori stiff device contradict the argument about the absence of political impact in such participatory devices.

People can also refuse to participate, delegitimizing the procedure. Associations are usually reluctant to do so, adopting a more reformist perspective. Talpin [2010] observing how the subaltern classes can speak and express criticism in weak institutions like city participatory councils shows that, despite their under-representation in the city's participatory institutions, subaltern classes are present in them and sometimes do speak. "When they do, they often express harsh criticisms of the public authorities and the municipality. We then raise the question whether these criticisms matter". He suggests a balanced answer, showing that even if these criticisms are generally too weak to impact life conditions of these people they might symbolise a form of public recognition of the existence of these marginalized groups in the public sphere.

3. SPONTANEOUS MOBILIZATIONS

Next to these institutionalized and standardized devices, what happens when the citizens take the initiative? Can one knock down the implicit domination?

Several recent examples (debate on the nanotechnologies of 2009, discussions about gmo and nuclear power, discussions about biodiversity in regions) encourage us to notice the presence of uninstitutionalized mobilization which calls on the strength of the citizen expression and the existence in France of a "participative culture" supported by the use of the new communication technologies (social networks among others). Collective action and mobilizations have long been important movements, independent from the emergence of the participative democracy, but the novelty here is that the institutionalized participation sometimes gives life to forms of "wilder" participation.

The observation of these debates is more difficult for the researchers because for it requires time and availability. Some reactivity is necessary to also follow an alternative forum, this can explain that the majority of the studies concern institutional settings (and thus known and announced in advance). Besides, count of studies is made ex post from archives and written report. Those documents about citizen mobilization are rare and difficult to find.

Still people who engage in a deliberative experience do change. Some social learning effects appear as a result of the participation to these procedures, even if these effects remain limited. People progressively get more and more informed, change their discourse and tend to behave as active, concerned and public-spirited

citizens. Day after day, people learn the actual rules of the debate: what can be said and how, what are the relevant arguments etc. [Blatrix 2003].

The ecological area of the “union zone” project, situated in the North of France on the territory of three municipalities is an example of how organized and mobilized citizens were at the same time able to create the conditions of the political support of a new project for town and country planning and then to specify a place and to achieve the start of a partnership approach with the authorities concerned after moments of hostility and conflict.

The Union is one of the main current projects of French urban renewal. Formerly an industrial area, this 80 hectare site is today largely free of its former buildings and inhabitants. The Union is a piece of city to be created, invented, and connected with the existing urban fabric.

This territory concentrates a symptomatic socio-spatial segregation built on an accumulation of social and ecological inequalities. The mobilized actors (Institutions / associations) appropriate different objectives for (low / strong) urban durability in the formulation and the implementation of the planning process around the project. During the crisis of the 70s, the deindustrialization of the site participates in the process of territorial disqualification (unemployment, flight of the populations) of the northeast hillside of the Lille metropolis. In the 1990s territorial exclusion emphasises a poor social fabric, an accumulation of social and ecological inequalities, indicating territorial disparities in the risk exposure (Pollution, former industrial sites, nuisances etc.) [Beck, 2008]. During more than thirty years, the local actors (territorial regions, associative and firms) tried to produce a plan susceptible to re-revitalize this space, to give it a new industrial attractiveness.

The collective of the union is an association which was established in May, 2005, “to obtain a right of glance and intervention on the institutional projects within the framework of participatory and collective dialogue”. This group wants “to be strength of reflection, initiative, a place of construction of projects.” Another central claim at the time of the group formation is one of creating jobs for those dismissed subsequent to the closure of the factories which fit the site employee’s profiles. Quickly the collective elaborates a first series of demands, “For the right to change of era”. Alongside the elaboration of these claims the Collective of the Union is constantly striving to deepen of its reflection on the subject and organizes a series of journeys in Europe [Friburg etc]. With the publication of an original document, “eight proposals for Union area”, the collective forms a citizen second opinion and presents the spatial and financial realities which adapt the initial plan to the basis of the technical objectives of the main plan of 2009. The collective of

the union experts imagines interactions with the surrounding districts, plans and anticipates the present and coming needs of the territory, mobilizes the register of ecological urgency. It politicizes the ecological planning of the territory.

Besides, the Union catalyses a whole associated inheritance of local mobilization outcomes, in particular the inheritance of commitments of the 1970s with respect to the urban projects of Alma-Gare as well as the more recent disputes surrounding the rebuilding of the Roubaix canal. The memory of the past (victorious) fights can constitute a resource for the present mobilization. When the local authorities wanted to realize an ecodistrict, the collective of the union was at first excluded from the project. Its members stood up and organized events and mobilizations, covered by the media. Finally, the decision-makers finally recognized the collective of the union as a valid partner.

The ecological area, thought to be linked to a sustainable development plan, necessitates public participation. Besides, diverse anti-authority dynamics were created around the project. The conflict takes place around the ecological and social quality of the project of ecodistrict. Paradoxically, these anti-authority dynamics are gradually going to contribute to strengthening the technically sustainable options of the project. However, the directories of the associative actor's actions and the differentiated claiming registers are more or less compatible with the technical constraints of the project.

The participative practices developed locally – which took place with conflicts - are going to bring about a reorientation of the project on certain technical options.

As Lejeune and Villalba [2012] summarize: the collective first takes on the role of an observer during participative workshops. Nevertheless, the decision-makers and political authorities are sensitive to the mobilization capabilities of this actor, as well as of the quality of the second opinions which he proposes. A partnership agreement signed between the planner and the collective of the union amounts to an institutionalization of these relations. This case highlights what mobilized citizens can achieve and how bred and wild participation can interpenetrate.

Short lively moments of democracy, the participative processes are truly fascinating. The researcher should not forget to place them in the context of global public dynamics where they exist only momentarily among others. The bred participation, that is the participation built on ad hoc participatory designs, often top down, meets the requirements of the public action. As we saw it sometimes weakens spontaneous mobilization (for instance in the case of the public debate), sometimes fosters it. This tension between bred and wild participation is intense and certainly useful to understand the public governance global economy.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have highlighted that the emphasis on procedure rests on the idea that only strict constraints can create conditions for a real deliberation whereas in real life all sorts of social and communicational distortions occur. These constraints include the transparency and the public nature of the process; the equality of the different parties participating in the debate; the sincerity of arguments invoked, their moral justification, the manifestation of respect towards participants and reciprocity. All of these derive from the habermassian Theory of Communicative Action (TAC).

Inequalities still remain. No single participatory design is pertinent in addressing pressing deficits in more conventional, less participatory governance settings. Those participatory devices must be defined according to specific objectives and context. Whereas, as we showed in this paper, institutionalization led to a standardization of their shape, weakening their innovative character and favoring upper and middle class people.

On the one hand the institutionalization process and proceduralism are slowly keeping the actual participatory setting within a consultative trend, avoiding losing control. By doing this elected representatives are deceived. They don't learn much and spend too much time organizing these arenas. Some of them are now willing to get more feed-back and innovation from their citizens. It is, as one representative told us during an interview, a way to gain support on a new policy outside of the traditional political rows and to communicate too.

On the other hand, to become attached to the interweaving study between the participatory device and its wings, the way in which the actors play and act with the device and its rules, we really show that the actors (associations, experts, elected representatives, groups of citizens) have a differentiated but real capacity to instrumentalise the participatory device, thus confirming the analysis of Callon, Lascoume and Barthe [2001/2009 for english traduction]. The participation has an effect on the balance of power between the actors by conferring on some of them new resources. The question remains whether they will, then, decide to keep it for themselves or agree to share it with new comers.

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Martine Legris Revel

SPONTANICZNA CZY KONSTRUOWANA PARTYCYPACJA?

(Streszczenie)

Rozwój projektu obywatelskiej partycypacji we Francji prowadzi do zbadania znanego z literatury „tropizmu proceduralnego” [Mazaud, 2011]. Proceduralizacja obywatelskiego uczestnictwa urzeczywistniana za pośrednictwem ustalonych i standardowych pomysłów, kontrolowana przez publiczne lub administracyjne instytucje, jest w ostatnich latach najważniejszym faktem społecznym. Celem tego artykułu jest ocena widocznych efektów instytucjonalizacji i proceduralizacji partycypacji obywatelskiej w publicznej akcji we Francji. Proces instytucjonalizacji powoduje co najmniej dwa rodzaje skutków. Wg Fourniau i Blondiaux [2011] przede wszystkim ona „współgra z pojawieniem się zmiany społecznej o szerokiej skali”. Przejawy partycypacji są często lokalizowane w ograniczonym czasie. Fung [2003] nazywa je „mini public”. Nie prowadzą do szerokiej deliberacji i do konkretnej formy, pozwalającej na rzetelną ekspresję obywateli. Do innych skutków należy to, że proceduralizacja zazwyczaj umożliwia kontrolowanie partycypacji przez władze. Ich siła, spotkania publiczne i sposoby działania redukują margines niepewności, co prowadzi do utrzymania otwartej debaty i wolności słowa. W ten sposób podkreślono wagę instytucjonalizacji i jej polityczne skutki dla debaty publicznej [Revel, 2007]. Czy możemy sądzić, że kształt projektu partycypacji przyczynia się do zdefiniowania publiczności i form partycypacji? Mermet [2007] zaproponował określenie debaty publicznej jako opozycji między „dziką” (spontaniczną) demokracją i „bred” (konstruowaną) demokracją.

Słowa kluczowe: partycypacja obywatelska, instytucjonalizacja akcji publicznej, proceduralizacja partycypacji