

Democracy and Participation in the 21st Century

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Modalidades de participação política na América Latina e em Europa em perspectiva comparada

Organizadoras

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Dia 14.07 (ANF2 NOVO BANCO, 4th Floor)

Sessão 5.5.1

9:00 – 10:30

How subjective representations of citizenship affects: new forms of participation in South America. Camila Carvallo (UCLouvain, Belgique) and Pierre Baudewyns (CESPOL, UCLouvain, Belgique)

What are the determinants that explain the evolution of subjective representations of citizenship and how does it affect the political behaviors of citizens in less institutional way? Political science has developed several theories about electoral behavior within the framework of institutional participation. However, the new forms of participation have not been studied in the same way, even if research has been done increasingly on the topic over the last years. An agreement in political science is that the patterns of citizenship have been changing and a new citizenship's conceptions have emerged. The 21st century will be shaped by a new socialization of be a "good citizen" with important implications for political legitimacy. Within the framework of changed representations of citizenship, less institutional forms of participation acquire a new meaning. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to measure the relationship between subjective representations of citizenship (or group belonging) and the new forms of political participation. The paper will be at the crossroad of social psychology and political science theory. In doing so, a comparative and longitudinal analysis will be carried out focused in three South American countries that have been characterized by an increase in new forms of participation since the recovered democracy in the 1990 to date: Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Data will be obtained from World Values Survey and Latinobarómetro Survey. Univariate and multivariate analysis will be applied. The first results show that changes in subjective representations of citizenship explain an increasing of new forms of participation in moderate or violent illegal forms. This paper

argues that subjective representations of citizenship have an effect in the forms of new forms of participation evolutions in the three countries.

Os determinantes da participação em protestos no Brasil e em Portugal. Julian Borba (UFSC – Brasil), Carla Simara Ayres (UFSC – Brasil) and Britta Baumgarten (CIES-IUL – Lisboa)

Apesar de contextos significativamente distintos, Brasil e Portugal vivenciaram nos últimos anos a emergência de um ciclo de protestos. Enquanto em Portugal tal ciclo começou em março 2011 e esteve fortemente associado à uma reação à crise econômica e às reformas impostas pela Troika e fez parte de um ciclo internacional de protestos a seguir da Primavera Árabe, no Brasil ele emerge num contexto (2013) de relativa estabilidade econômica e política e num tempo em que as manifestações dos indignados e occupy já tinham diminuídos. Considerando tais diferenças de origem em ambos os ciclos, no presente estudo buscamos analisar se elas se refletem nos condicionantes individuais participação em protestos nos dois países. Para tanto, utilizamos pesquisas de opinião pública realizadas com amostragens do conjunto do eleitorado dos dois países durante a vigência de tais protestos, onde comparamos os efeitos de variáveis relacionadas a dimensões sócio-demográficas, e de atitudes e valores políticos. Nossa expectativa é que o perfil dos participantes seja semelhante no que se refere aos seus atributos sócio-demográficos, de modo que tendem a participar aqueles portadores de maiores recursos. Já no plano das atitudes e dos valores encontraremos semelhanças e diferenças: entre as semelhanças, um sentimento de insatisfação (com a vida, com a economia ou com a política). Entre as diferenças, esperamos que se expressem no posicionamento ideológico, no apoio a democracia, e na relação com os partidos políticos.

Participatory Budgets in Brazil and Portugal. Tracing patterns of depoliticization. Roberto Falanga (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon) and Lígia Lüchmann (UFSC – Brasil)

The controversial convergence of international organizations and alterglobal movements - or put it differently neoliberal and leftist political agendas - on the promotion of participatory budgeting urges new frameworks of understanding. More broadly, several scholars argue that the current depoliticizing trends of participatory arenas is expressed through new forms and scopes imprinted by political representatives, practitioners, lobbies, citizens, and academia. Acknowledging the challenging task to make sense of participatory budgeting against these molds, this contribution aims to compare two key sociopolitical contexts to characterize patterns of depoliticization. By zooming in on Brazil and Portugal, where participatory budget started in the late 80s, and where participatory budgeting shows today the highest rate of implementation at the local level, their different 'histories' and institutional frameworks will be underpinned. In Brazil, the detachment of participatory budget from the "Partido dos Trabalhadores party zone", and the witnessed decline of these experiments, while in Portugal the great impulse given by civil society organizations and academia, accompanied by a different political narrative will be discussed in view of depoliticization patterning.

Popular Participation and the On-going Practice of State-Building. Aurea Mota - Universitat de Barcelona, Spain.

This paper presents some aspects of a larger research project that has compared collective action in contemporary Brazil, South Africa and Southern Europe. The focus will be the relationship between participation and the polity. Two main topics are discussed: The paper explores social movements, popular participation, civic action, and the role of protests in the elaboration of a novel understanding of the Political and of the State. It starts from the fact that democratic transformative political majorities in Brazil and South Africa emerged from social movements, to some extent outright resistance movements. We also deal with the fact that those governments in Brazil and South Africa have in turn been challenged by protest movements, leading to the impeachment process against former Brazilian President Dilma and the widespread discrediting of South African President Zuma. Europe witnessed strong social movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These movements led to high-intensity political participation with the onset of egalitarian-inclusive democracy from 1919 onwards. These high levels of participation led to forms of democracy that often collapsed soon thereafter, giving rise to authoritarian or totalitarian regimes. Not least in the light of these experiences, post-Second World War European democracy is built rather consciously on “civic apathy”, low-intensity political participation, and highly routinized political participation. The paper critically examines in context political descriptive ideas widely used to characterize the relation between the citizens and the polities. Terms as such as “civic disaffection” it is meant to explain a supposed state of political apathy. In first decade of the twenty-century, compared to the high point of progressive “participatory democracy” in Brazil and, to a lesser extent, South Africa, Europe could easily be described as ‘participatory’ exhausted. This does not mean, however, that Europe is indeed fatigued and that there is no significant political agency to be observed in the region. Instead, the paper rescues the idea of disenchantment as a motor for political action. It is meant to make possible to understand the present scenario: the consequences of disappointment with the implementation of the transformative agenda in Brazil and South Africa; and of the room opened to conservative populism in Europe.

Sessão 5.5.2

11:00 – 12:30

Political strategies of religious groups in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Letícia de Lima Viana - Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

This thesis intends to contribute to the debate about the role of religious groups in the contemporary State, reflecting on the power relations that they constitute in society and how they stimulate them to occupy spaces in the representative structures on the Brazilian State. Specifically wants to identify the forms that these groups engender to occupy the structures of secular democracy and, thus, to influence the construction of policies and to define the symbolic uses of the territory, making visible or invisible manifestations of the sacred. To this end, the case study was established with greater emphasis from the perspective of evangelicals, but it also addresses two other religious groups that have maintained historical relations with the State in Brazil: Catholics and Afro-Brazilian Religions. Interests to know how the dispute over space and time in the city of Rio de Janeiro is part of the expansion and / or resistance project of each group. Each project will be analyzed based on the movement of individuals identified with these groups and on their guidelines' range in the formal decision making of the state

structures, beginning with the election of the National Constituent Assembly in the 1980s.

Transição social e ecológica: emergência de iniciativas cidadãs para um novo modelo societal. Janice Cavalcanti Gendron - Universidade Federal da Paraíba/PB, Brasil

Podemos constatar nos últimos anos uma forte tomada de consciência sobre a questão climática e ambiental por parte da sociedade civil, de organizações governamentais e empresas, tanto nos países do Sul, como do Norte. Essa questão se evidencia pelo impacto midiático e político que tem tido as conferências internacionais ligadas a essas questões, mas também pela marcante presença dessa temática nas mídias, nos discursos de projetos empresariais e políticos. Uma série de iniciativas, movimentos e ações cidadãs tem surgido afim de sensibilizar sobre a necessidade de se encarar os desafios ligados à mudança climática como uma oportunidade de repensar o modelo de sociedade que foi construído nesses últimos séculos, baseado na pilhagem dos recursos naturais e na busca do crescimento econômico ilimitado, que causou danos ecológicos, sociais e culturais, sem resolver as questões econômicas e de qualidade de vida de forma equitativa no mundo. Os diversos movimentos que tem se denominado de “transição social e ecológica” tem como desafio lutar por uma sociedade mais justa e equitativa, seja do ponto de vista ecológico, econômico ou social. Na França, o movimento “Alternatiba”, que luta pela justiça climática e social, tem mobilizado muitos cidadãos/ãs através de uma forma particular de militantismo, baseado na valorização de iniciativas inovadoras existentes - em termos de transição social e ecológica – no território Francês e europeu, buscando a promoção de um modo de vida mais respeitoso do meio ambiente, mais convivial e visceralmente democrático. Essa contribuição apresentará uma análise do movimento de transição “Alternatiba”, tendo como foco os seguintes questionamentos: como a questão da mudança climática coloca em questão o modelo de desenvolvimento capitalista e a busca de um novo modelo societal? Quais são as características de uma sociedade de transição? Quem são os atores? Qual é o modelo de sociedade desejado?

Participación política, derechos humanos y calidad de la democracia en contextos de violencia extrema. Laura Loeza Reyes - Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (CEIICH, UNAM)

Durante la última década los procesos políticos en México se han caracterizado por transcurrir en escenarios de violencia extrema: violencia de Estado, resultado de la política de “combate al crimen organizado” y violencia social, que deriva de la estatal. Los escenarios de las violencias y los actores involucrados (estatales y no estatales; nacionales y transnacionales; legales e ilegales) y los vínculos que establecen entre ellos dificultan nombrar estas formas de violencia con el lenguaje ordinario y el jurídico. Esto dificulta a las víctimas y al conjunto de la sociedad dar sentido a lo que está ocurriendo. La manera como se nombra a las violencias en la narrativa oficial es parte del problema y de la estrategia y ha permitido a los perpetradores gozar de impunidad. Por su parte, diversos movimientos de víctimas, acompañadas por organizaciones civiles defensoras de los derechos humanos, libran una intensa lucha en demanda de justicia, reparación y no repetición tratando de que el lenguaje jurídico y el contenido de las leyes reflejen la realidad de las violencias y que las políticas públicas adquieran un enfoque de derechos

humanos. Para ello han desplegado una intensa actividad legislativa en un contexto en el que las instituciones de la democracia representativa (poderes ejecutivo, legislativo y judicial y comisiones de derechos humanos) atraviesan por una profunda crisis de representación y legitimidad, son parte del problema y actúan más como obstaculizadores que como coadyuvantes del trabajo de las organizaciones en los procesos de defensa y acompañamiento de las víctimas. El objetivo de mi ponencia consistiría en dar cuenta de estos procesos en los que las organizaciones civiles y los movimientos de víctimas, desde el paradigma de los derechos humanos, contestan la narrativa oficial, basada en un paradigma securitista.