

State of the Community Conference 2018

#ShareYourHumanity

REPORT

Part II.



INDEX

Part II.

1. HIGHLIGHTS – Conference programs

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1. HIGHLIGHTS – Conference programs

a. Panel: *The Collective “I”: My Rights Stop where Yours Begin (Human, Animals, Plants and the Earth)*

Tuesday, June 26, 2018

CIDJ (Centre d’Information et de Documentation de la Jeunesse)

"Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu" - Ubuntu concept. A person is a person through other people. We do not exist in a vacuum. How do we define our pursuit as individuals and as part of a society to define the framework of our choices, our ethics and morals? The 20th century's focus on the "I" as an individual leads to differentiating "Us" and "Others", in an ongoing futile struggle that is always won at the expense of someone else, human, animal or vegetable. We are more and more in need to rethink the collectivity of rights, to find the balance between "Us" and any "Others": Collective Rights, and not just Human Rights.

What can Western philosophy learn from Asian, African, Native American philosophies which might not separate the "I" from the "Us", the individual from the collective, humans from the environment? How is the liberal, capitalist, consumption economy dominant in most societies damaging our collective wellbeing? Radically rethinking our perspective on what "One" and "One's good" mean can direct our actions towards a more sustainable, just global society and a new consciousness of our collective responsibility?

Sonia Dhillon Marty, President, Dhillon Marty Foundation



"Objective of this 7th annual conference is to reflect on how we can build critical thinking and civic engagement, especially among the youth. We have so many different group identities and every group has their rights. When we coexist in such an interconnected society, maybe we must think about what is our collective rights - what is the dance between the right of an individual vs. the responsibility towards others - humans,

animals, plants and the earth."

Florent Pratlong, Professor, University Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne
"The Collective Philosophy"



Innovation is the way to collectively rethink how we can face the current issues around sustainability. What is the relationship between the collectivity and our social responsibility? Historically, notion of collectivity has been critical in social transformations. In this "collaborative economy" (which argues we now have horizontal orientation in the society, due to technological advancement), with connectivity and ease of travels, we must question what is our responsibility and work

together to recognize common goals.

Andreas Schneider, Founding member, Institute for Information Design Japan

"Certainties and Trust" - The Practice of Wiping the Floor - "



Today, sophistication of props furthers us from interacting with the ground, an interface for establishing and anchoring one's relation with time, space and the community. Over the ages and across cultures, humanity has developed practices and expressions for recognitions and respect for such "space-time inclusion", from the prehistoric stone settings to Rangoli drawings. As a way to reflect on one's relation with the space and the collective, I propose



the audience to join in daily cleaning of the conference venue, as seen in various aspects of Japanese culture in the daily life, school education and Buddhist spiritual practice/Noh theatre. *The audience joined Mr. Schneider to clean the floors of the CIDJ, the conference venue, throughout the remaining conference days.

Andreas Schneider

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State of the Community 2018
Paris

2018 06 25

Certainties and Trust

The Practice of Wiping the Floor

1/3

Summary A short introduction to interactions with territory - from prehistoric stone settings to sophisticated Rangoli patterns in today's India, lead to a more general discussion on the significance of ground as an interface for establishing and anchoring states of community. Participants are called upon to join daily early morning practice on the conference's premises.

The first contact is something few of us would remember. When we were let free from affective embrace or the close confines of a cradle, a box. There must have been somebody acting as referential anchor, a 'point de repère.' Calling out and back, fencing off if we should reach for danger zones. The experience of solid ground, territory that afforded explorations, has ever since become a constituting pattern in our being in the world. Growing up, we more and more loose sight of the firm base upon which we stand and progress, as a matter of course. Yet, over the ages and across many cultures, practices evolved that refined recognition and respect for the foundation of space-time inclusion in various expressions: paleolithic stone settings, cadastres of cultivated land, dry landscape gardens, Rangoli drawings, and many more.



Extension **The Being in the World Wheel**
Issues, Possibilities, Decisions

1/3

3factors.org/bepardud

This volvelle affords permutations of relevant factors in the everyday.



Affecting

Needs
Constraints
Possibilities

Acting

Me
The World
Tools

Accomplishing

Intangibles
Contextables
Tangibles

Alecia McKenzie, A Paris-based writer and journalist



While the heat for journalism is being lowered, journalists/writers bear responsibility to stay mindful of the influence one creates with his/her writings. Such concern is at the base of my career, as I came into writing to utilize my talent to improve the community. In Jamaica where I grew up, media was quite strong - in talk shows, people will call in to discuss politics, social and personal issues and listen in to the dialogue, which creates a community media where collective dialogues are happening all the time.

As a writer and journalist, it's critical to balance the "I" whose perspective I'm writing through and the "we - the collectivity" that receive the writings, have certain expectations and reactions.

b. Panel: *Economics of Technology: Equitable Distribution or Winner Takes All*

Wednesday, June 27, 2018

CIDJ (Centre d'Information et de Documentation de la Jeunesse)

The Western myth of never ending progress has transformed its metaphors over the centuries. Today technological and industrial advancement is advocated for in the name of lives' betterment in health and comfort; the opening of new paths for human expression; the creation of new possibilities for humanity and the creation of more ecologically sustainable solutions. We need to ask questions about the driving forces behind technological progress, about the profits that result from investments in the technological sector and about who enjoys them in order to uncover the economics of technology and to understand its politics.

Can technology enable alleviation of poverty or such global concentration only creates a few winners? How do we create policies so that Automation, AI and globalization do not keep on aggregating the wealth in the hands of the few while replacing manpower with machines? When labor is taken away from people, how do we allocate resources and define human value separately from production and ownership of technological resources?

John Crowley, Chief of Section of Research, Policy and Foresight and Sector for Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO



Idea of “robots” preexisted any actual blueprints of robots - today, we still operate around the same idea of what robots should be, based on those ideas from the 1920s. Common sense of policy makers tend to be based on the previous generations and ideas around rapidly developing technology is no exception.

(Quoting an expert) “There are perhaps 700 people in the world in the world who can contribute to AI research, 70,000 who can understand and

participate actively in commercializing it, and 7 billion who will be impacted.” In a market defined by such steep pyramid, what tends to happen is incredibly unequal distribution of profits. This interaction between development and distribution seems to be driving some aspects of our income distributions today.

Andrew Feenberg, Canada Research Chair in Philosophy of Technology, School of Communication at Simon Fraser University



“Is technology responsible for inequality?” While traditional philosophy of *technological determinism* answered “yes” with the idea that technology develops with knowledge and humans must adapt to it, today’s mainstream idea disagrees. *Social determinism* argues technology is not just the product of science, and the responsibility for the inequality is not with the technology itself but is in the choices made by actors in the process of development. We must look to the actors’ choices to determine what is a trajectory for progressive development that does not increase inequality.

Technology and Inequality

Is technology responsible for growing inequality? This is an essential question for us today as we observe rising poverty amidst the consolidation of giant tech fortunes on the Internet. There is a dubious assumption behind blaming technology, the assumption that technology determines society. This is called “technological determinism” and it was very popular in social science after World War II. It still hangs on in popular discourse, but it is contested in academic circles.

An entire new discipline called Science and Technology Studies has emerged in the last 30 years based on the opposite view. According to “STS” social “actors” influence the design of technology. This is possible because there are always a multiplicity of problems among which only a few are solved technically, and furthermore, there are many technical solutions to any given problem. Social choice thus prevails in the definition of what is a technical problem and in the choice of a specific technical solution. The question of technology becomes the question of the social forces with the power to shape technology.

What are those social forces today? The answer to this question is obvious. Capitalism is triumphant. Of course it is still subject to various political constraints, especially when it comes to environmental issues, but on the whole, large corporations get their way. This includes shaping the technologies that we use in our everyday life so as to maximize profits. Goals such as economic equality and democracy do not figure among their priorities. I am not saying that capitalism is all bad, although there are certainly some real villains out there such as the corporate pushers of opioids. Most capitalist technical solutions serve a public interest of some sort. But even where the public is served business must find a way to make money with the solution. This places economic constraints on technical decisions which have immense impacts on our lives.

Some examples are obvious. Oil companies want us to keep consuming their products even though the consequences for the climate are now well established. They must continue to encourage the use of fossil fuels and build drilling platforms, tankers and pipelines rather than supporting less polluting alternatives with their immense resources. The law of the market is more powerful than any individual oil executive's conscience, at least as a general rule. Those who object strongly move on to other opportunities, which changes their lives but not ours.

I am interested in such obvious examples as this, but there are also more complex and subtle examples that better illustrate the connection between inequality and technology today. Consider the Internet, source of many of the great fortunes that have tilted the balance toward increasing inequality. Was it *technically* necessary to gather billions of users on the same few services such as Facebook and Google?

To understand why the present configuration of the Internet is the result of social choices beneficial to business rather than technical necessity, one needs to understand the history. The Internet was originally conceived by the US military as a decentralized system for distributing files between computing centers on universities. It was quickly appropriated by early designers and users to exchange email as well. Because the original design was decentralized, so was the email service. It was what we call “peer-to-peer,” that is from one user’s computer to another user’s computer without passing through a central point of transmission. Later, online groups began to form in which each member had access to a central file containing all the messages sent by members. This made possible familiar interactions such as you experience today on the Facebook “wall.” But at this early stage the services that stored the central files of the groups were numerous and the groups formed for the most part around common projects of interest to all their members.

Facebook capitalized on the idea of organizing groups of “friends” around the personal interests and activities of a single member. This has broad appeal, but a bit like entertainment on television, it reaches the lowest common denominator. Facebook also took advantage of the “network effect” to accumulate users. This so-called effect is simply the observation that the more people who are on the same communication network, the more useful is the network to them all. Once Facebook had a large audience it became difficult to get along without it and so its audience grew and grew.

But this is where the story gets nasty. Facebook was now storing personal data extracted from the interactions of millions of users on its own computers. The “cloud” was born. That data was researched and used to target advertising. Facebook captured a huge advertising market and went on to become the world-straddling giant it is today.

Meanwhile, in the early phases of Facebook’s growth another trend was developing in the world of the Internet. This trend was music sharing on peer-to-peer networks such as Napster. This design took advantage of the Internet’s original decentralization. There was no central so-called “cloud” storing the music Napster enabled users to share. Instead a portion of all the users hard drives was dedicated to music sharing and public indexes connected users to the music they wanted, wherever it was stored. This system worked rather well and like Facebook grew with the network effect.



Could this peer-to-peer design have served as an alternative to Facebook's centralized organization? It probably could have achieved success if it had attracted sufficient investment, but who would want to invest in a system that offered no prospect of economic gains for the investors? Peer-to-peer networking has no cloud in which to store and analyze personal data. It is hopeless from a business perspective, and Napster was actually closed down by the courts. In a different world a government agency would have sponsored the development of peer-to-peer networking. Billions of dollars, equivalent to the private investment in the current Internet giants, would have achieved the goal of a truly public service. And why not? This is what the government did with the highway system. Perhaps the information highway deserved a similar treatment.

I need to conclude quickly now. A different design of the Internet was always possible. Our needs could have been served by that design without creating huge new fortunes and contributing to the growing inequality of our society. If that path was not taken, the reason has less to do with technology than with the imperatives of the economic system.

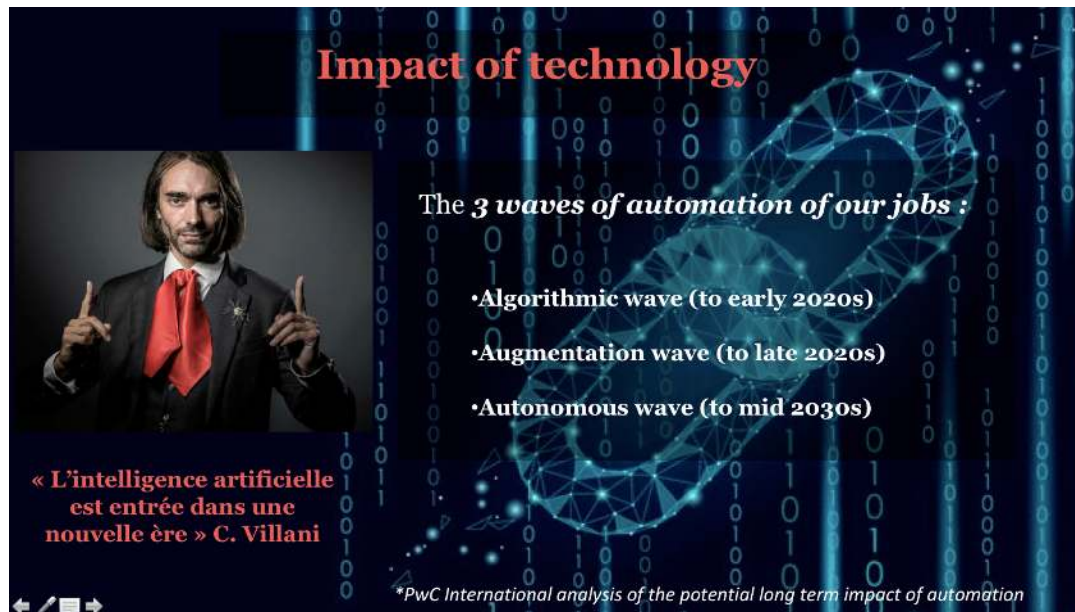
Bernard Gannier, Chairman, PwC France and Francophone Africa



Technology is a tool to allow humans to help themselves. We must aim for technology to serve everyone, and not just a privileged few. We have collective and individual choices to use it to build a system to bring good to all. Regulations, politicians, medias and companies have a role to play, and we must reconcile the business and the society into thinking about how to use it to create a better society. In the historical context of post WWII and globalization and development, companies must

be able to answer people's question "what is it in for me?" and to invite choices that benefit everyone. All our choices must concern collective good and whatever we do, technology will not solve everything, but it only helps us liberate ourselves. We must build tech-enabled, human centric organization with humanity at the center.





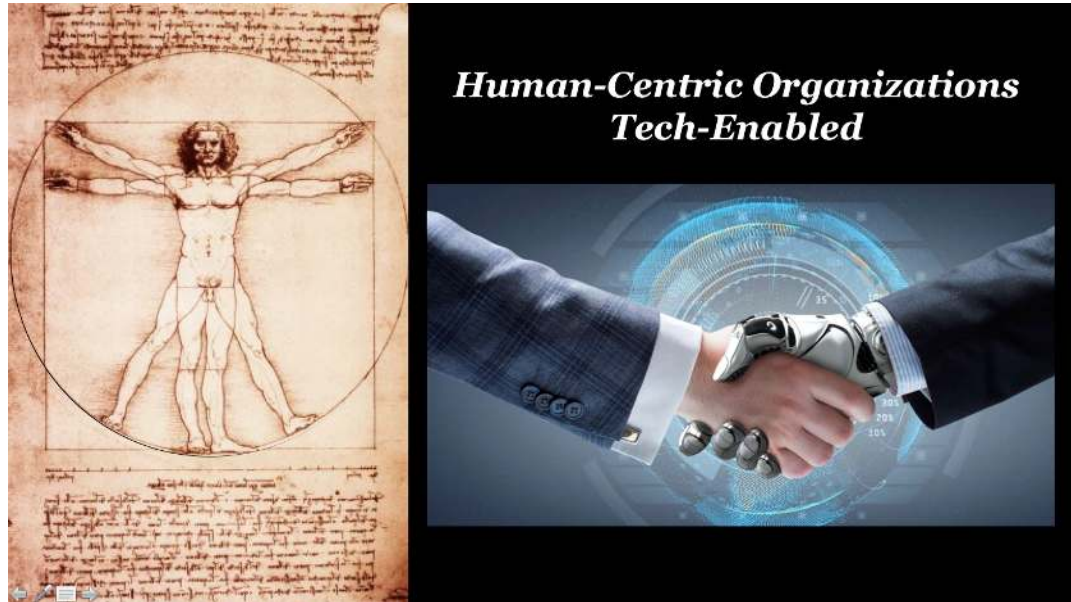
Impact of technology

The **3 waves of automation of our jobs** :

- Algorithmic wave (to early 2020s)
- Augmentation wave (to late 2020s)
- Autonomous wave (to mid 2030s)

« L'intelligence artificielle est entrée dans une nouvelle ère » C. Villani

*PwC International analysis of the potential long term impact of automation



**Yuko Hayashi, Professor, Graduate School of Innovation and
Technology Management at Yamaguchi University**



UN SDG's (Sustainable Development Goals), crucial to sustain our global society requires learning from humanity's history. At an acute historical turning point with developing technologies, we could look to Japan's Meiji Restoration 150 years ago, where the country rapidly modernized itself by ending 270 years of closing its doors to abroad. From the ideas of Yozo Yamao, "father of Japan's engineering study" who contributed to such movement, 3 prongs to achieving the SDGs:

1. Education of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics)
2. Inclusion
3. Interdisciplinary approach

c. Panel: Democracy Redefined: New publics, Activism and Governance

Friday, June 29, 2018

CIDJ (Centre d'Information et de Documentation de la Jeunesse)

New technologies and social medias are changing the meaning of “public”. But in fact, how much and how deeply these more republicans peer-to-peer modes of communication influence our contemporary societies? What are the profound consequences of these new ways of communication? Can these new ways underpin a vibrant and inclusive public culture, different from everything we have known, still be compatible with the basis of a communicative democracy? The rise of fake news and its influence on public opinion, is a now a polarizing issue of the populism/representative democracy debate.

On the other hand, the rise of technology revisited the conditions of activism, making new experiments in sustainable collective living easier, but also feeding disengagement to usual institutional and political structures. At a time of fundamental transformation, horizontal connections and knowledge sharing, is it still possible to think about global issues? Are all the groups really connected, really preoccupied by environmental or economical concerns or are they still more deeply worried about the place to place issues? Is class and work-based mobilization possible under these new conditions? Does digital technology provide a better arena for participational democracies? What are the downsides of our new democracy and is the party-based electoral democracy still a path to follow? What do we mean when we say “the old world has died, and the new world is still struggling to be born”? Technology is creating the possibility to build transnational communities, that aggregate in the name of a specific cause, but then dissolve once the battle is over: if it does not rely on long-lasting communities, can activism be effective in the long run? What role traditional class or work-based organizations play in community mobilization?

As we now see the full potential of more inclusive and participatory governance, the dispersion of knowledge, the access to many new and powerful algorithms and the rise of complexity concerning the public management, a lot of pressure is being put on the usual top-down governance systems. On the other hand, the absence of systemic change, the deployment of new technologies is likely to lead to new patterns of control, surveillance and exclusion, that would benefit a limited group of owners and providers of those technologies. Regarding those issues, how can we or public authorities use A.I., robotics and all other new technologies, in order to make governance more inclusive and sustainable? How can we make sure that our personal information and what makes us who we are won't be used against us, against democracy? Should we be more concerned about social media and space sharing working places? Is this knowledge being used to influence our beliefs and actions?

Claudia Roda, Professor, The American University of Paris



"Technological Monsters?"

How digital age changed the democracy, for the better and the worse



BOTS UNITE TO AUTOMATE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



Inside Trump's 'cyborg' Twitter army



Automated Pro-Trump Bots Overwhelmed Pro-Clinton Messages, Researchers Say



Information Polarization
Privacy infringements
Reduced Attention Span
Online censorship
Surveillance
Digital divide
...

Access to information and services
Access to education
Digital Health
Digital citizen
Support to elderly and differently able
More voices heard
...

Digital tools to control narratives

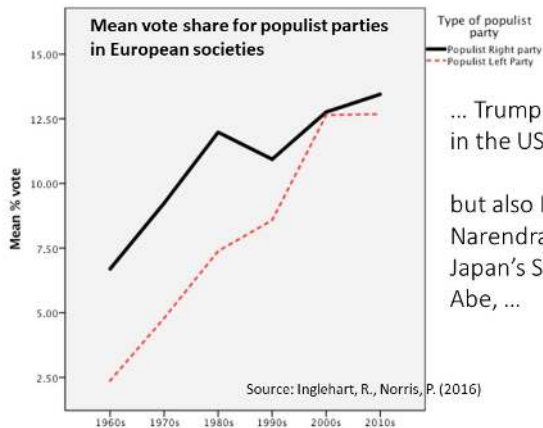
Brexit, US presidential election, Italian general election

*The old world is
dying, and the
new world
struggles to be
born; now is the
time of monsters*

*La crisi consiste appunto nel
fatto che il vecchio muore e il
nuovo non può nascere: in
questo interregno si
verificano i fenomeni morbosi
più svariati. Antonio Gramsci
Quaderno3 §34*



Growth of Populist Movements



... Trump election in the US, Brexit,

but also India's Narendra Modi, Japan's Shinzo Abe, ...

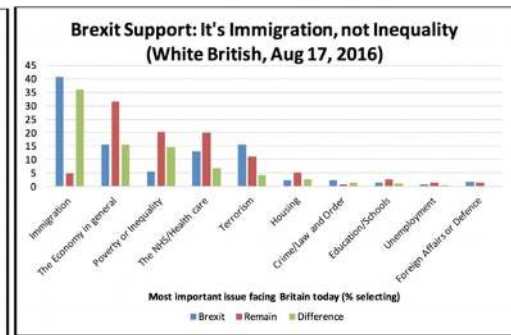
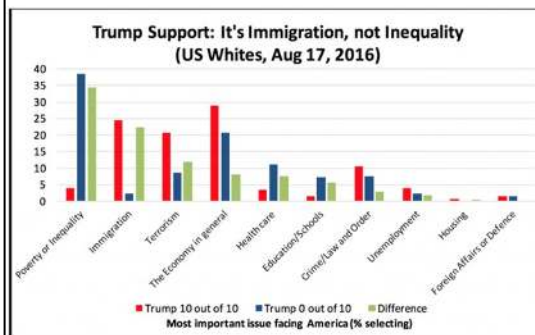
Economic Factors

(insecurity, inequality, ...) consequences of changes transforming the workforce and society in post-industrial economies

Cultural Backlash

(LGBT rights, Abortion, ...) reaction by once-predominant sectors of the population to progressive value change

Cultural Backlash



Source: Eric Kaufmann (2016)

Causes of Populism

- Reaction to the social dislocations of globalization

Economic Factors

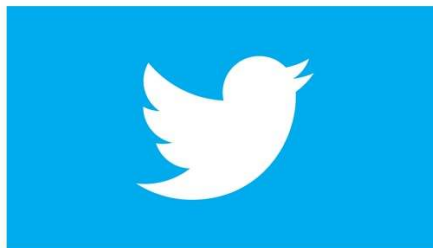
(insecurity, inequality, ...)
consequences of changes
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Cultural Backlash

(LGBT rights, Abortion, ...)
reaction by once-predominant
sectors of the population to
progressive value change

Controlling Narratives

Computational Propaganda



Recent estimates place the
percentage of detectable bots on
twitter to 15%

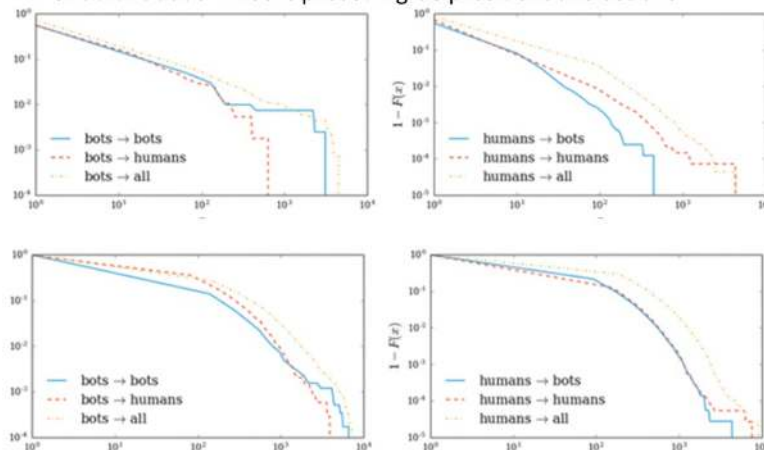
- **follower bots**—boost political figures' follower numbers and passively like or re-tweet content;
- **roadblock bots**—spam hashtags associated with activists or political opposition in order to shut down or interrupt dissent
- **propaganda bots**—mimic humans send out effusively positive information about a government or politician or propagate negative attacks against the opposition

Samuel C. Woolley (2017) Computational Propaganda and Political Bots: an Overview, in Shawn Powers and Markos Kounalakis Eds, Can Public Diplomacy Survive the Internet? US Government Advisory Commission on Public Democracy

Computat. Propaganda: Bots Effectiveness



Period of about 4 weeks preceding US presidential elections



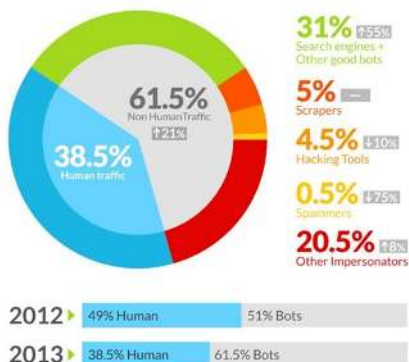
Replies: humans engage in replies interactions significantly more with other humans. Conversely, bots fail to substantially engage humans.

Rebroadcasting: humans and bots retweet each other substantially at the same rate.

A. Bessi and E. Ferrara (2016) Social bots distort the 2016 U.S. Presidential election online discussion, First Monday, 21(11)

Computational Propaganda

Bot/Human Traffic Distribution

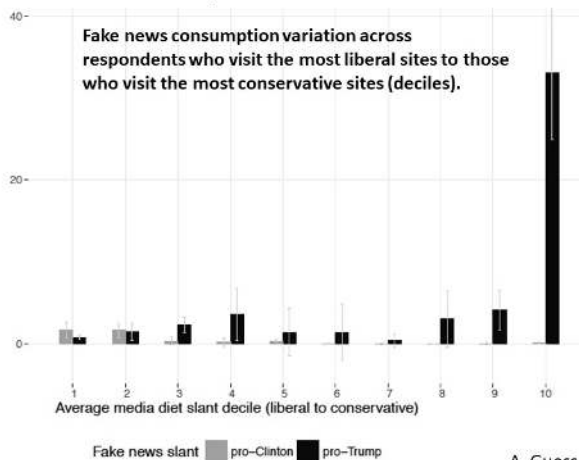


Source: Incapsula Bot traffic report 2013

Recent accounts suggest that robots constitute between 50 and 60% of all HTTP requests to popular Web sites on the Internet (K. Brown, D. Doran 2017)

- Harmless bots: Crawlers for search engines; search for information on specific topics
- Malicious bots: distributed denial of service (DDoS) attacks, identity theft on social media => fake news

Fake news in 2016 US election: What Impact?



A. Guess, B. Nyhan, J. Reifler (2018)

Almost six in ten visits to fake news websites comes from the 10% of Americans who visit the most conservative sites.

Pro-Trump content is attitude-consistent.

Facebook is the most important mechanism facilitating the spread of fake news

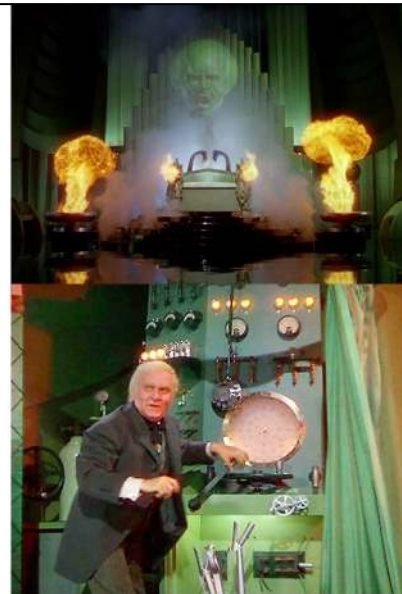
Fact-checking largely failed to reach consumers of fake news.

Need for **transparency**

- Legal / regulatory solutions (libel law)
- Technical solutions

The real problem seems rather the **search for quick solutions** to current economic and cultural challenges.

- Education
- How much does technology contribute to this accelerated expectations and less likelihood to perform more critical, value-based analysis?



Lucile Schmidt, Politician




We are living in a strange moment on the democratic front now, as we see “appearance of anti democracies” in societies that looked like living democracy (such as Turkey in the 2000s) at a recent point in history. We must keep in mind that we are not on a continuous dynamics with cycles reverse movements, which can bring democratic and anti democratic atmospheres very quickly. Digital revolution and institutional framework is not plain element to how societies move.


Yves Sintomer, Professor, Paris 8 University



Challenges of digital mobilization and digital deliberation




Centre de recherches
sociologiques et politiques
de Paris



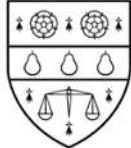
Yves Sintomer
Professor for political science, Paris 8 University
(research center CRESPPA-CSU, CNRS)
Invited scholar, Nuffield College, University of Oxford

**Democracy Redefined: New Publics,
Activism and Governance**

Conference
“State of the Community”
Dhillon Marty Foundation
Paris, 06/26-29/2018
Scientific convener: Sonia Dhillon Marty



UNIVERSITÉ
PARIS 8
VINCENNES-SAINT-DENIS



Nuffield
College
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Tiananmen Square,
June Fourth
Incident
(六四事件)
May 1989

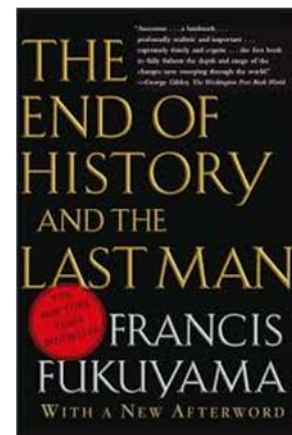


The fall of the
Berlin Wall
1989.11.09.



1989: The end of history?

Francis Fukuyama: "I argued that liberal democracies may constitute the "end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and the "final form of human government," and as such constituted the "end of history." That is, while earlier forms of government were characterized by grave defects and irrationalities that led to their eventual collapse, liberal democracy was arguably free from such fundamental contradictions." (*The End of History and the Last Man*, London: Penguin, 1992)



Hope for (more) democracy

Tahir Square, Cairo, 2011; Sunflower Movement, Taiwan, March 2014; “Passe libre” movement, Brazil, June 2013 ; Maidan Square, Kiev, 22/12/2014



Discontent with democracy?

Puerta del Sol Square, Madrid, May 2011; Syntagma Square, Athens, June 15th 2011; Occupy Wall Street, October 2011, New York; Republic square, Paris, 22/04/2016



The decay of democracy?

Erdogan reelected, June 2018 ; Narendra Modi, 2014; Donald Trump and Abdel Fattah al-Sissi, April 2017; Nationalist March, Poland, 11.11. 2017; Brexit, 2016



- **What was wrong?**
- **Why is this happening?**
- **Is this the real “State of the Community”? The reality of “New Publics, Activism and Governance”?**

1.

Democracy and global governance

Democracy and its challenges in the 21th century

1. Crisis of the Welfare state democracy and neoliberal democracy – but without clear credible alternatives
2. Ecological crisis
3. Crisis of the postcolonial world order: Europe and the USA are being provincialized, have to build another – multiethnic and multicultural– identity. Rise of new nationalisms
4. Crisis of sovereignty of national states. Even more important in Europe: How to combine the local, the national, the continental and the global scales?
5. A specific political factor : the end of democratic mass parties, the decrease of “big politics”, the rise of identity politics
6. Social acceleration of changes (Internet, social networks...), when institutional politics remains the same: **the new public and new activists do not find a sustainable place in the political system**

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Democracy 3.0: Global governance

- The cosmopolitan narrative
- Shift from the nation-state to the globalized world order, from representative government to governance
- « Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action taken. It includes formal institutions and regime empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements (...) » *Commission on Global Governance, 1995*

Democracy 1.0 and 2.0

- **Benjamin Constant's "great narrative": *The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with the Moderns***
- Small communities vs. large nation-states
- Homogenous morals vs. fact of pluralism
- Constant state of war vs. peace and commerce
- Slavery vs. human rights (civilization)
- Direct collective exercise of sovereignty vs. representative government
- Positive liberty (public participation) vs. negative liberties (*habeas corpus*, the freedoms of opinion, association and movement, and the right of property)

The problem: Global Governance?

- Germany's Federal Minister of Finance, Wolfgang Schäuble, to the Greek delegation: "elections cannot change anything."

(« Yanis Varoufakis à Frangy », *Médiapart*, 25/08/2015, <https://blogs.mediapart.fr/monica-m/blog/250815/yanis-varoufakis-frangy>)

- Alan Greenspan, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve: "We have this chance: due to globalization, political decisions in the USA have largely been replaced by the world market economy. Apart from the issue of national security, the next US president will not have any significant role to play. The world will be ruled by market forces."

(Interview in *Tages Anzeiger*, quoted in Wolfgang STREECK, *How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System*, London/New York, Verso, 2016)

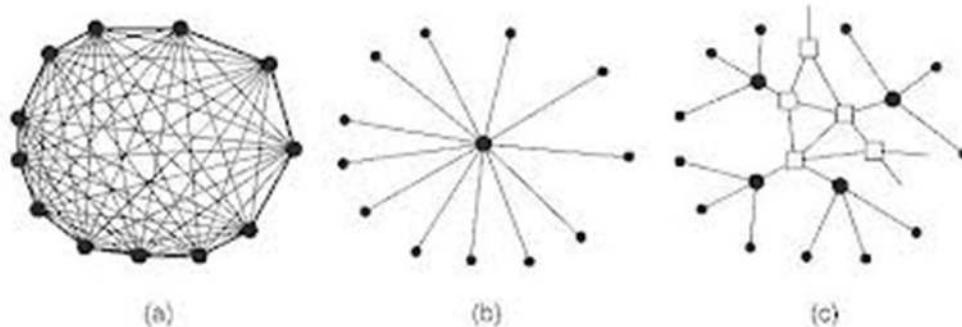
Global
governance,
much beyond
the pyramidal
conception of
power (including
popular
sovereignty)



28

The “classical” network of the first telecom
companies: a paradigm for the government?

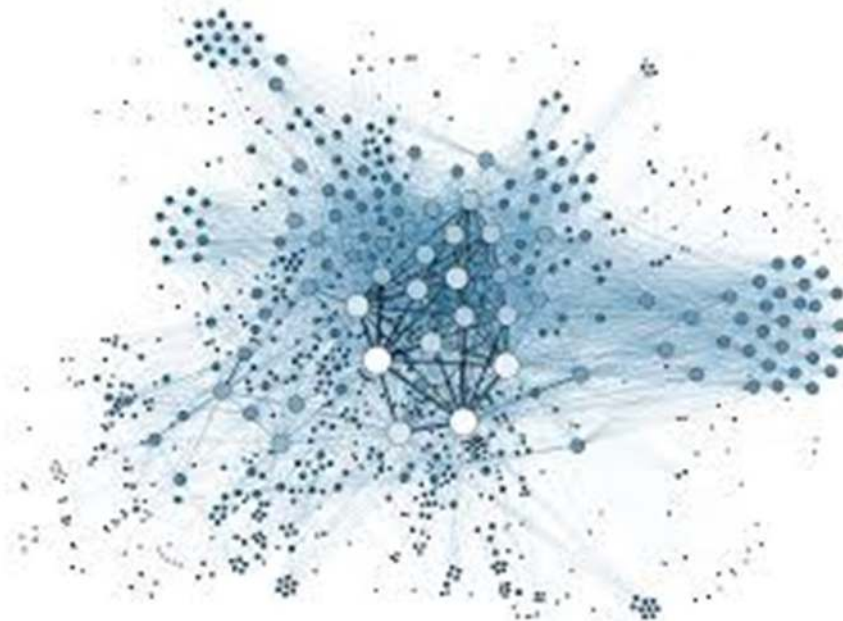
(Idea: Dominique Cardon)



Social networks: a paradigm for governance?



A realistic vision of social networks: a paradigm for governance



31

2.

New publics, new activism in global governance

New initiatives

- Autonomous spaces inventing a new society
- Cities' networks for the ecological transition
- Articulating social movements and institutional reforms
- New democratic procedures
- New constitutionalism, especially in Latin America

The Greenpeace paradigm: articulating counter-expertise, institutional negotiation and civil disobedience

« Non-Violent Direct Action was foundational to Greenpeace as it became a movement of people willing to put their lives on the line for a greater good”
Rainbow Warrior, 1985



The Icelandic paradigm: social movements, new elections, new social labor compact, new kind of election, randomly selected assemblies, on-line deliberation, constituent process...

First citizen assembly (a majority selected by lot), 2009



The Irish paradigm:

Constitutional conventions and the referendums on gay and lesbian marriage (2014-2015) and on abortion (2017-2018)

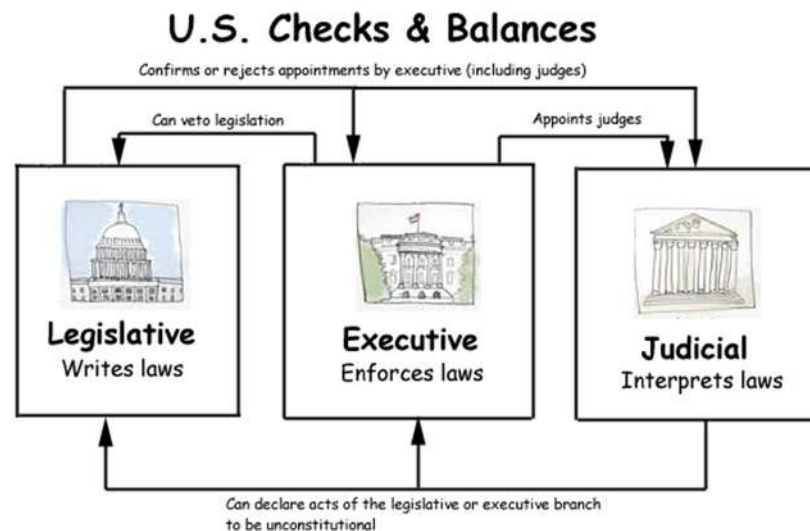
- February 2014: the Irish constitutional convention, mostly selected by lot among lay citizens, proposes a constitutional reform. 05/22/2015: 62% of Irish citizens approve one of its key proposals: gay and lesbian marriage
- November 2016 to April 2017: another Irish constitutional convention, only selected by lot among lay citizens, proposes another constitutional reform. May 25, 2017: 66.4% of Irish citizens approve one of its key proposals: making abortion constitutionally possible



Irish Citizens are meeting to decide on changes to the Irish Constitution

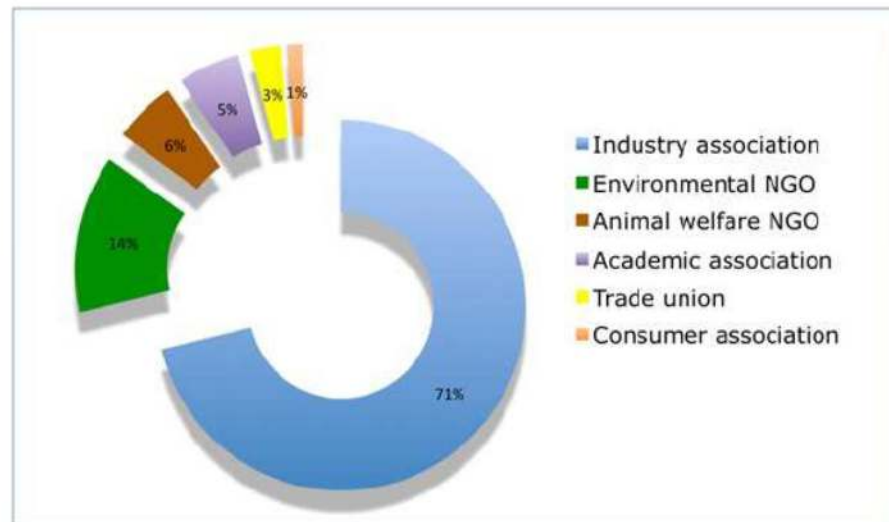
We need a new democratic theory for the 21th century

One example: check and balance, from the classical view...

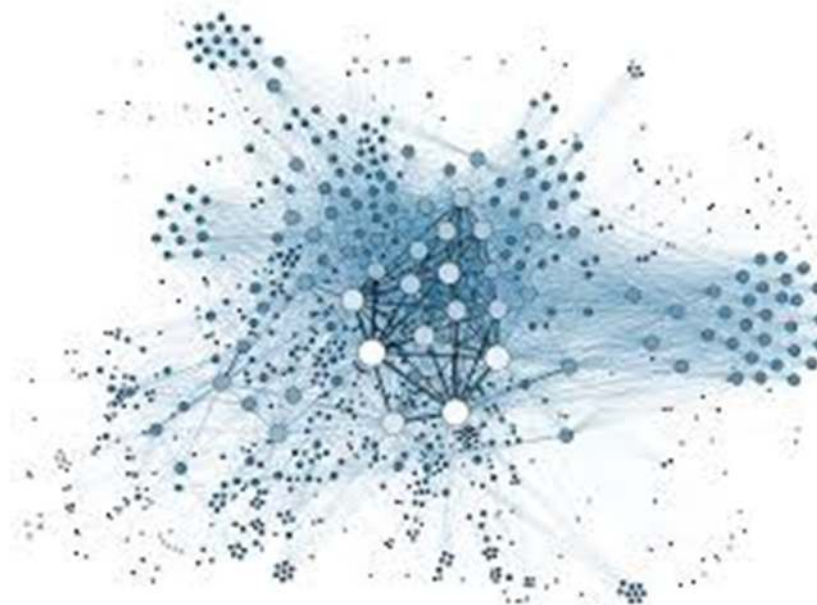


The *European Chemicals Agency's* stakeholders committee

NB. Some academic associations are linked to corporations



... to a new theory of check and balance in the global governance network



39

Huge oppositions → We need a new revolution. Is it realistic?

The Storming of the Bastille, July 14, 1789



Women's Lib 1970, Washington DC



The feminist
paradigm:
With a new
activism, a new
democratic
revolution
could be
realistic...

Me too, 2017 (2007)



Omar Layachi, PhD Student, Ecole Polytechnique



Democracy redefined: new popular aspirations and civil conflict

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION & HYPOTHESES

- The puzzle we want to address is three-fold:

1. What explains the variance in civilian victims of state-based violence from country to country, and from year to year?
2. Can a refined view of discriminations (by typology) answer this puzzle, by uncovering differentiated effects of various discrimination types? Thus acting as an “early warning” for civil conflict severity?
3. Similarly, can a refined view of democracy and development indicators help answer this puzzle?

We will try to solve this puzzle using a Multiple Component Analysis, which will explicit the relationships and correlations within our data (Polity IV, Minorities at Risk, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, UN Development Program data)

Hypotheses

INTRODUCTION & HYPOTHESES

- Hypothesis 1:

- **Democracy without basic socio-economic rights and participation cannot act as a violence mitigator**

1. A simple political analysis of a polity does not suffice anymore to understand the mechanisms of civil conflict.
2. The need to redefine our understanding of democracy – as a process and as a status – is paramount from conflict prevention and peace building perspectives.

Hypotheses

INTRODUCTION & HYPOTHESES

- Hypothesis 2:

- **Development and discrimination indicators are early markers of civil conflict severity in terms of casualties**
- 1. Even more than the absence of discriminations, development – both human and economic – has become a corner stone of popular aspirations and claims.
- 2. Beyond the analysis of initial policies, their impacts on the ground is primordial in explaining how the aspirations of peoples across all countries and continents crystallize into civil contention and conflict.

Hypothèses

INTRODUCTION & HYPOTHESES

- **Un démocratie sans droits socio-économiques ou participation réelle ne peut agir en tant que “réducteur de violences civiles”**
- **Les indicateurs de développement et de discriminations sont des marqueurs de sévérité potentielle des conflits civils en termes de victimes civiles**

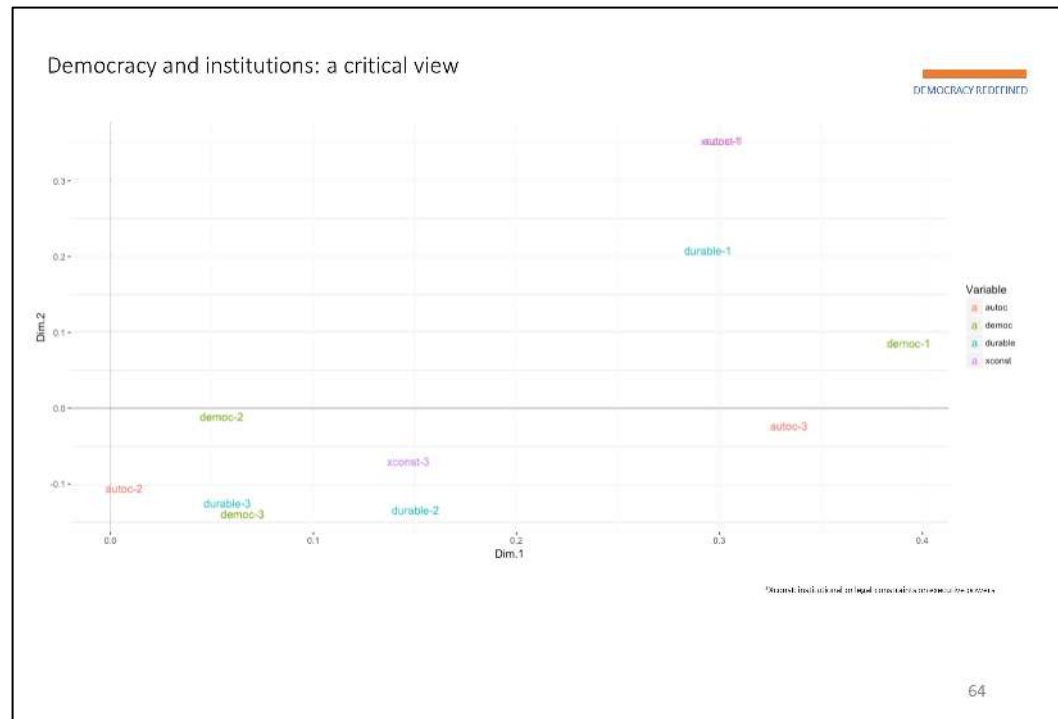


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DEMOCRACY REDEFINED



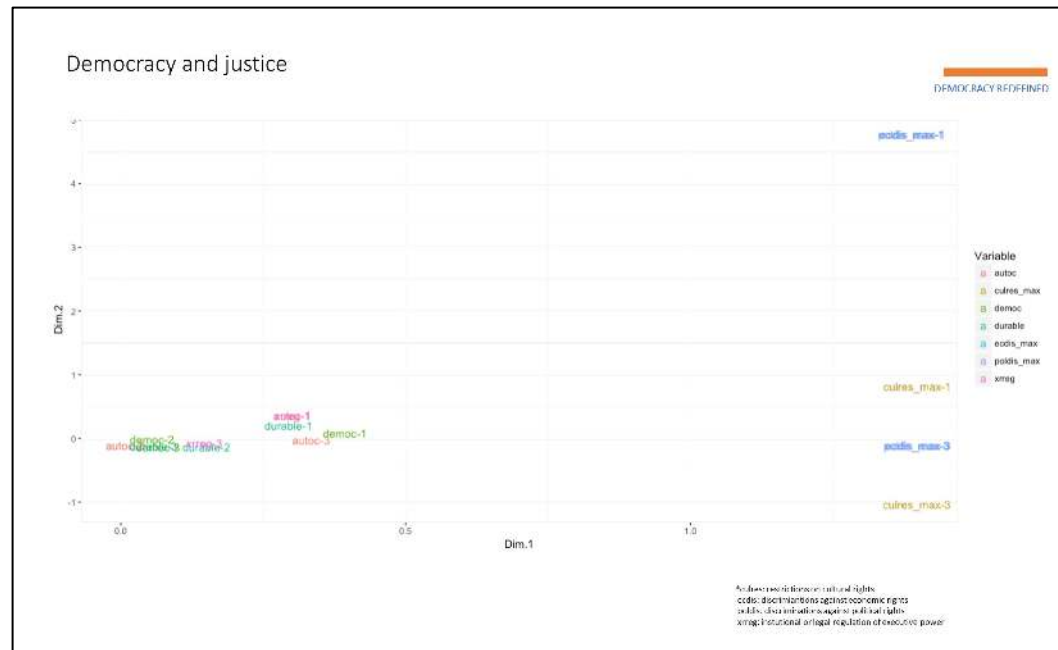


Democracy and institutions: a critical view

DEMOCRACY REDEFINED

- From the perspective of the Polity IV project (Systemic Peace, initiated by Ted Gurr):
- « Democracy is conceived as three essential, interdependent elements. One is the presence of institutions and procedures through which citizens can express effective preferences about alternative policies and leaders. Second is the existence of institutionalized constraints on the exercise of power by the executive. Third is the guarantee of civil liberties to all citizens in their daily lives and in acts of political participation. Other aspects of plural democracy, such as the rule of law, systems of checks and balances, freedom of the press, and so on are means to, or specific manifestations of, these general principles. »

For operationalization purposes, this definition of democracy deliberately leaves out several aspects of the life of a *polity* that could actually be paramount to explain the levels of civil conflict severity.

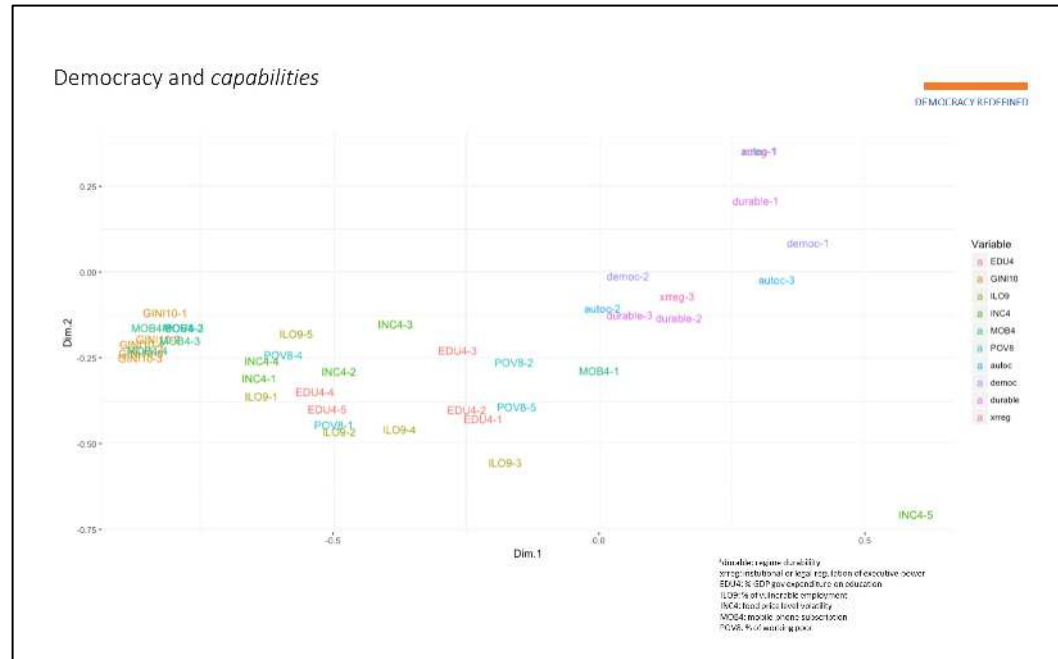


Democracy and justice

DEMOCRACY REDEFINED

- Democracy from the perspective of Nancy Fraser, a justice oriented view
 - Contrary to Rawls and Habermas' views of Justice as a deliberative, consensus-building, and somewhat absolute process, Nancy Fraser adopts a more concrete vision of justice based on three pillars:
 1. Recognition : of identities, rights, aspirations, and legitimacy of claims.
 2. Redistribution: of resources, opportunities, and common goods.
 3. Representation: within the institutions and processes of the polity.

Based on this conceptualization, our data has shown first that democracy and institutions are not enough to ensure fairness and justice (from a discrimination point of view), and second that redistribution and representation are deeply intertwined (economic and political discrimination are correlated)



Democracy and *capabilities*

- Democracy from the perspective of Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, a *capabilities oriented view*
- Nussbaum and Sen developed the *capabilities theory*, as an alternative to *welfare economics*, by focusing primarily on people's *well-being* and *agency* in terms of actual realisations rather than initial rights.
- Their approach has led to the development of the Human Development dataset by the United Nations Development Program, as a more adequate approach to *international development assistance programs*.

Democracy *per se* is unfortunately – as our data has shown – not enough to address human and economic development issues. And if we consider how such issues are paramount to the peoples' aspirations, any understanding of democracy as a mere *institution* that disregard these aspects will be subpar in terms of understanding civil contention and conflict.

La démocratie à redéfinir

DEMOCRACY REDEFINED

• La démocratie peut être redéfinie sur 3 plans

1. Elle ne se limite pas à un système électoral, mais inclut aussi des institutions et des contrôles de l'exécutif.
2. Elle doit englober une conception de justice sociale, économique, et politique afin de répondre aux griefs populaires (en termes de discrimination notamment).
3. Elle doit adresser les besoins de bases et les aspirations des populations afin de répondre aux enjeux de développement économique et humain.

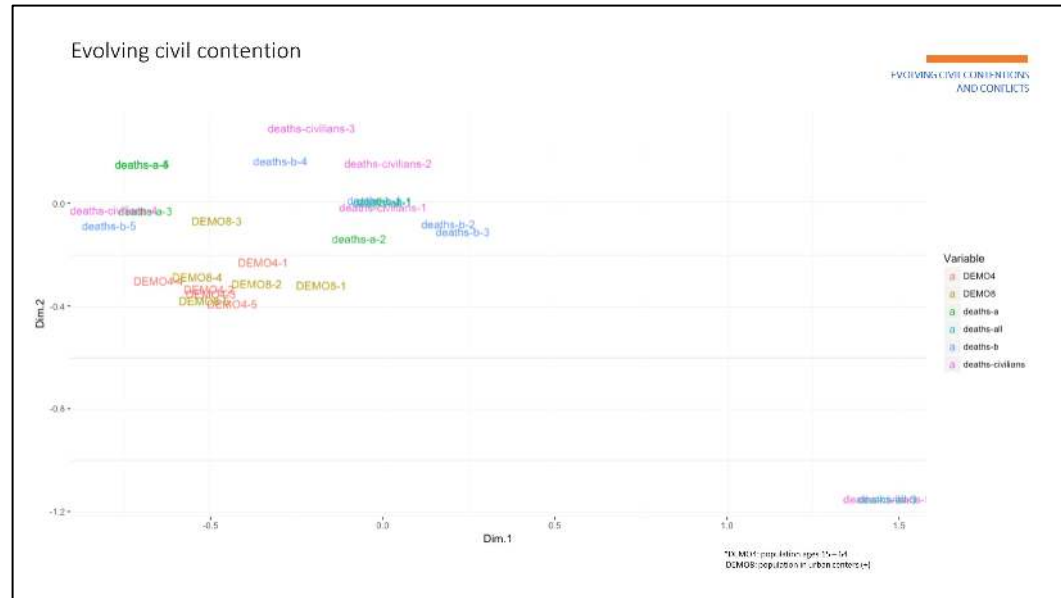


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EVOLVING CIVIL CONTENTIONS AND CONFLICTS

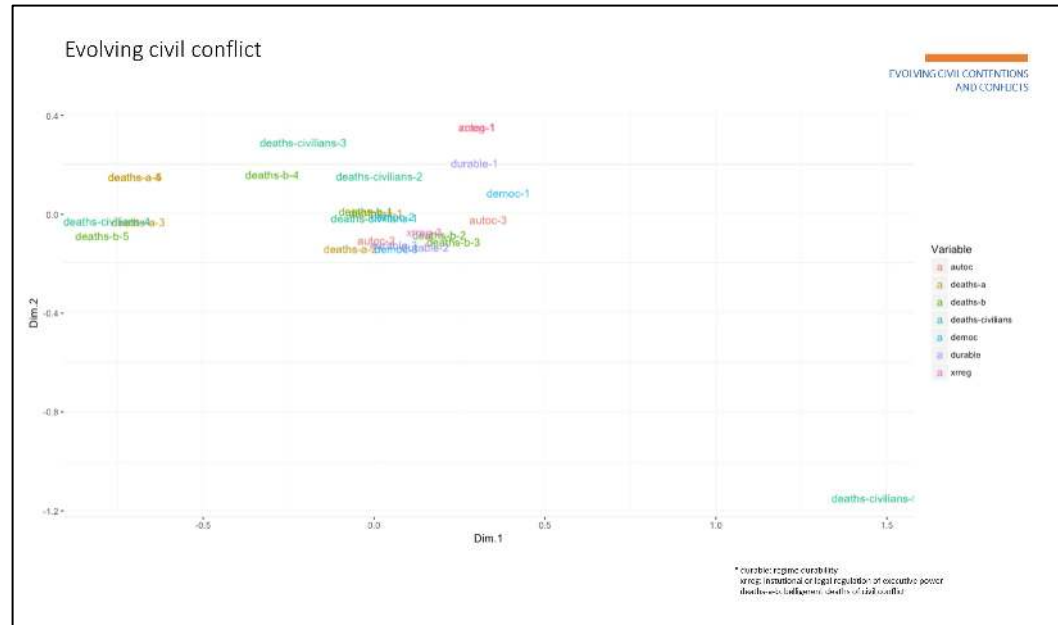




Evolving civil CONTENTION

- Addressing popular aspirations in a demographically shifting world: from the Chiapas rebellion in 1994 to the Arab Spring in 2010
- Demographics do not explain all the contentious processes leading to civil conflict, but they do highlight some important aspects:
 - The importance of addressing the needs of a younger and more educated population.
 - The sensitiveness of a new urban society, with more needs in terms of resources, and more complex requirements in terms of redistribution and representation.

Our data shows a slight impact of demographics on civil conflict severity, particularly when conflict is moderate. An explanation is yet to be found for extremely severe civil conflict (in terms of civilian victims)



Evolving civil conflict

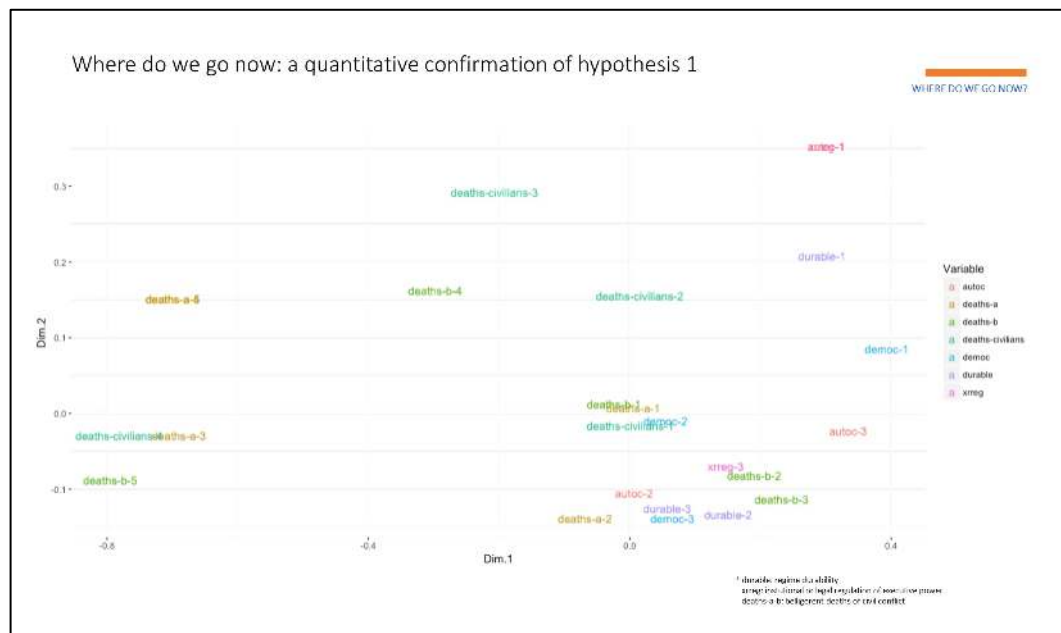
- The issue of state response to popular aspirations: between accommodation and repression
- The question of institutions – democratic or not – is paramount to understand how a polity will react to civil contention and address civil conflict. Yet, our data shows that democratization can only address moderate or “mild” episodes of civil conflict – in terms of casualties, extreme cases are still unexplained by the institutional environment of the polity.

The last few decades have shown that purely institutional responses to civil contention have been unable to avoid or even mitigate severe civil conflict. A wider perspective is therefore needed both from academic and policy-making perspectives.

L'évolution de la conflictualité civile

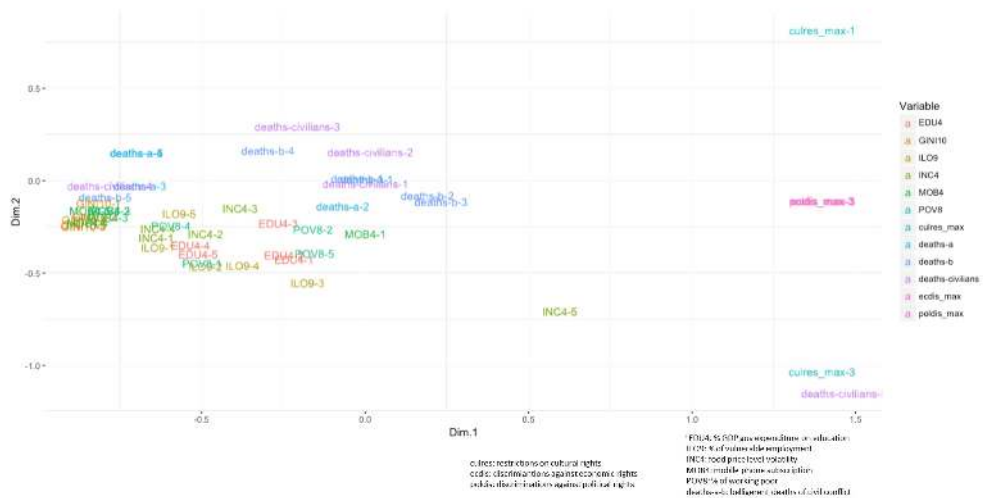
- Cette évolution s'est faite sur deux plans:

1. Une démographie en évolution a engendré la naissance de nouvelles aspirations politiques, sociales, et économiques
2. Le cadre institutionnel et légal ne suffit plus à répondre à ces aspirations et à canaliser la contestation populaire (notamment dans ses aspects les plus intenses)



Where do we go now: a quantitative confirmation of hypothesis 2

WHERE DO WE GO NOW?



Where do we go now: a quantitative confirmation of hypothesis 1

WHERE DO WE GO NOW?

- A more inclusive understanding of democracy as a conflict mitigation mechanism
- The simpler way we choose to understand the exercise of democracy by a polity, the less effective it will be to be able to understand the mechanisms of civil conflict and of its severity.

Beyond an electoral system, democracy has to be understood as a set of institutions aiming at ensuring a certain level of fulfillment of popular aspirations.

Where do we go now: a quantitative confirmation of hypothesis 2

WHERE DO WE GO NOW?

- Development and discrimination indicators as an “early warning” system for the international community
- From a policy-making perspective, the understanding of what leads to more or less severe civil conflict – particularly in terms of civilian casualties – is paramount.
- Having “early-warning” indicators could assist international institutions aiming at resolving, mitigating, and preventing civil conflict.

Our data has shown that discrimination and development indicators are promising candidates for such an “early warning” framework.

Une confirmation quantitative de nos hypothèses

WHERE DO WE GO NOW?

- Nos deux hypothèses ont donc été confirmées quantitativement:
- D’un point de vue scientifique, cela montre la nécessité de comprendre la démocratie bien au-delà des plans légaux et institutionnels.
- D’un point de vue opérationnel, cela permet d’envisager des indicateurs d’alerte pour la communauté internationale, dans le cadre de la prévention des conflits civils.

Nos résultats quantitatifs ont montré que les indicateurs liés aux discriminations et au développement sont des candidats prometteurs.