Global Civil Society
A study on the Transformative Possibilities of Civil Society as an Agent in International Relations

Written
By

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Dedicated to the Loving Memory of my Professor and Mentor,
Stelios Alexandropoulos.

"Rebellion is one of man’s essential dimensions.
It is our historical reality.
Unless we ignore reality, we must find our values in it…
Man’s solidarity is founded upon rebellion,
and rebellion can only be justified by this solidarity…
In order to exist, man must rebel…
Rebellion is the common ground on which every man bases his first values.
I rebel - therefore we exist."

Albert Camus, The Rebel (L’ Homme revolté) 1951
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January, 8th Linköping, Sweden
Eirini Souri
**Abstract**

Global Civil Society is a spectrum of diverse social actors, which offers an alternative to the making of contemporary politics, and towards social change; it provides us with a new approach to change the existing global order through development rather than confrontation. For this reason, global civil society has recently attracted increased interest in the academic and political discourse and consequently has left the margins and is placed in the centre of contemporary International Relations and political theory.

Utilizing neo-Gramscian ideas this study examines global civil society’s concept and core features and focuses on its role as well as transformative possibilities as an agent in contemporary world politics. This thesis demonstrates through the findings of our case study on “Civil Society Organisations’ Response to the Fourth European Union – Latin America and the Caribbean Summit in Vienna 2006” the alternative approach in dealing with political issues and actively working towards those ends.

This research’s conclusions designate the great potentialities of civil society’s organizations, if carefully managed to transform the contemporary world; as well as the necessity of addressing global civil society in order to understand the role of the social realm in reducing the gap of legitimacy in the contemporary world order.
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Abbreviations

ALBA  Alternativa Bolivariana para la Amèrica
CAN  Andean Community
CEO  Corporate Europe Observatory
CSOs  Civil Society Organisations
EA  Enlazando Alternativos
EA2  Enlazando Alternativas 2
EU  European Union
FTAs  Free Trade Agreements
G8  Group of Eight
IMF  International Monetary Fund
INGOs  International Non Governmental Organisations
IPE  International Political Economy
IR  International Relations
LA  Latin America
LAC  Latin America and the Caribbean
Mercosur  The Common Market of the South
NAFTA  North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGOs  Non Governmental Organisations
PPT  Permanent People’s Tribunal
RMALC  Mexican Network Against Free Trade
TNCs  Transnational Corporations
TNI  Transnational Institute
UN  United Nations
U.S  United States
WTO  World Trade Organisation

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Preface

Global Civil Society is the subject of the thesis in hand for the Master of Arts and Social Sciences in International and European Relations. It is an effort to examine this newly-emerged social agency and evaluate up to a certain degree its role as an agency in the making of regional and world orders, and its role in relation to key global issues.

Its emergence is highly linked with the emergence of globalization. Globalization represents a decisive configuration of social, economic, political, and cultural changes which consequently has transformed key institutions and practices of the modern world\(^1\). These rapid globalization processes stem from the neo-liberal ideology, which has provided the “guidelines” for the global transformation processes, leading states to introduce deregulatory policies, liberalize domestic markets, and privatize state enterprises as well as host of social services\(^2\).

Most of the analysis conducted on globalization share a common discourse regarding the political economy of globalization and emphasize on the efficiency, stability, and equity of the new world order. However, critical perspectives, such as feminism, do not perceive globalization with the same “rose-glasses”, but on the contrary include a broader range of theoretical positions and focus on the instabilities and inequities of the new world (dis)order\(^3\). The interest on social, cultural, environmental and other issues that have emerged from the processes of globalization gave rise to global social action, one of its forms one could say that is also global civil society.

Coexistence, solidarity and collective action are considered an approach to social change, but civil society is associated to another approach towards it. It is an approach that is related to the process of international development.\(^4\)

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The ostensible aim of this strategic “project” is to form partnerships with governments and overseas development assistance organizations in promoting and improving the lives of the people. It is an approach predicated on partnership with likeminded organizations in a shared project. Rather than confronting the existing global order in an effort to change the existing distribution of power, the aim, in effect, is to empower the poor without disempowering the rich.

In that sense global civil society is seen as the way to improve globalization. A different way, especially for social agendas that appeal to our moral sense surely has a better chance of succeeding than trade sanctions. A great upside to the use of moral consciousness is that it joins the two great forces that increasingly characterize the twenty-first century: expanding globalization and civil society. Partnership rather than confrontation can lead to shared success.

Thus civil society represents a series of diverse social actors introducing “a new way of doing politics”, the so called “no-power, alternative development approach to social change”. Something that is strongly related to “governance” which in this case is defined as replacing mechanisms of political control hitherto associated with the nation state and the democratization of global structures. Civil society here represents a marriage between capitalism and democracy; an effort to democratize the international state system and to engage stakeholder organizations in a project of “good governance”. Global civil society represents an alternative to the social movements and their radical antisystemic politics towards social change.

As Jagdish Bhagwati mentions in his article Coping with Antiglobalization, “Social good is multidimensional, and different corporations may and must define social responsibility, quite legitimately, in different ways in the global economy. A hundred flowers must be allowed to bloom, creating a rich garden of social action to lend more colours to globalization’s human face”. What is yet to be seen through this research is how far civil society is able to go towards this aim.

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5 Petras J. and Veltmeyer H., p. 3
6 Idem
8 Petras J. and Veltmeyer H., p. 3
9 Ibid, p. 8
10 Idem
11 Bhagwati, J., p. 7
Part I

Chapter I: Introduction

In this chapter apart from giving the aims of the study and formulating the research questions, we give a description of the delimitations of the study, the definition of the thesis subject and finally the methodological considerations and the sources discussion.

1.1 Aims of the Study and Research Questions

This study, suggests that indeed there is a significant growth of global civil society in the late twentieth century and that it has and it is playing an important role in contemporary political agenda. This study wants to indicate the “globality” of civil society organisation and their networking. Core aim of the study is to stress the reasons of civil society’s significance and its transformative possibilities as a social agent, taking as a case study “Civil Society Organisations’ Response to the Fourth European Union – Latin America and the Caribbean Summit in Vienna 2006”.

One main point that this study wants to underline is the linkage of civil society with global governance and democracy that will occupy a sufficient part of the theoretical part. Another main point is the leading role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) inside global civil society, which is explained in our descriptive part and aims to highlight their importance.

Lastly, this research sets a pair of research questions; firstly, a broader question that this thesis is concerned with; “Which are the transformative possibilities of civil society groups?” This thesis does not aim to answer this question but to contribute to its answer. We will suggest that there are significant possibilities that civil society can offer and these transformative possibilities are strongly attached with the democratization processes in the political arena. Secondly, a pair of two more questions that they will enable us to contribute to the answer of the first one. “What was civil society groups’ reaction towards the 4th European Union – Latin America /Caribbean Summit in Vienna 2006?”, and “Which was their criticism and what was their input towards the bi-regional relations of the European Union and Latin America?” These research questions are related to our case study.
1.2 Delimitations

Keeping into consideration what has been said, we can set the delimitations of this study. Firstly, we narrow the scope of research through our case study that focuses on civil society groups working in the relations between European Union (EU) and Latin America (LA). The European Union example is one of the most recent examples of an efficient regionalization and a great example of a region’s collaboration with other regions in a civil society level among others, that is the reason why it was chosen. More specifically the case study will concentrate on the 4th European Union – Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) Summit on EU’s and Latin America’s trade relations and civil society’s input in these relations. This choice was based on the fact that these two regions can offer a great example of the effects of globalization, as well as regionalism as a response to these effects. Furthermore inter-regional cooperation not only in the form of trade agreements but as well between different regional civil society’s groups, are also key elements that will help this study to come to its point.

Here it is essential to point out that this research will be based only on European NGOs or, NGOs with European basis, due to the specific extent of thesis that is required. European NGOs have been preferred primarily because of the fact that this thesis is interested in examples of regionalization, and on that occasion the European Union is the most successful example of regionalization so far in the contemporary world.

Lastly primary attention will be given to the criticism of civil society’s groups on the existed and possible consequences of the two regions Free Trade Agreement (FTAs). The main focus will be on the 4th EU – LAC Summit in Vienna at 2006, where with this event, governments from both regions made efforts to strengthen the bi-regional strategy of association.

The study will focus on the responses of civil society groups on that Summit. Namely this response was another event parallel to this official event, where social movements and NGOs from both regions organised. That parallel event, “Linking Alternatives forum 2”, was a summit meeting of civil society against European Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and neoliberal policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. In our case study we will examine the response of three different European NGOs; Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), Transnational Institute (TNI) and, Oxfam. These specific NGOs were chosen since they are regarded to be the pioneers of the
Linking Alternatives 2 Summit. Taking a look at these two events and later by examining the different reports from the civil society groups participating in these events; the aim will be to answer the research questions presented earlier.

1.3 Definition of Civil Society

As a political idea, civil society has a long lineage, dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries. Among 20th century thinkers, only Gramsci is invoked in contemporary discourse among leftwing civil society projects to rebuild community. However civil society has come from the margins of international relations dialogues to the center and it has been argued to be “the idea of the late twentieth century.” It has moved from the domain of political theory into mainstream comparative politics. What is more, the idea of promoting civil society is considered as the way to democratization and a transparent just world system.

Based on the above, a study on global civil society is a current issue that will be occupying researchers and scholars the following years as it has already done, therefore it is not only very interesting but also necessary for the academic field to be examined. This study is attempting to contribute to all the other various studies that have already been made on this specific subject and hopefully offer an additional view on civil society and its role to contemporary politics.

In order to give a good basis for the comprehension of the analysis there will be a brief definition of the research’s subject. In his article, “Global Civil Society: Changing the World?”, Jan Aart Scholte tried to give the frames that shape civil society as a term. The contemporary proliferation of broadly related terms perhaps in part reflects uncertainty, confusion and disagreement about the meaning of the older notion.

So as to reach to a definition it is necessary to indicate some of the general assumptions on civil society’s concept. Firstly, it is generally agreed that civil society lies outside the “public sector” or official governance and it definitely lies also outside the “private sector” of the market economy. Thus one can identify civil society as a

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“third sector”. Additionally, a more positive concept of the term is that civil society actually exists when people make concerted efforts through voluntary associations to mould rules: both official, formal, legal arrangements and informal social constructs.

Civil society encompasses enormous diversity. In terms of membership and constituencies it includes, academic institutes, community-based organizations, development cooperation groups, environmental campaigns, ethnic lobbies, foundations, human rights advocates, relief organizations, peace activists, professional bodies, women’s networks and more.

Civil society groups also differ in organizational forms. There are bodies formally constituted and officially registered groups as well as informal associations. Diversity can also be found on the capacity level of different civic groups. Civil society includes very well resourced bodies as well as others that barely make meets end. Others have a large member group, funds, trained stuff, office space, communications technology and data banks, where others lack all of the above. Another strong difference between civil society’s groups is the tactics they employ to pursue their aims. There is, direct lobbying official agencies and market actors, as well as mobilization of the general public through social activities, such as boycotts, petitions, etc.

All in all, due to all these facts mentioned above, one can say that civil society bodies are highly diverse. However a broad definition could be that civil society exists whenever people mobilize through voluntary associations in initiatives to shape the social order. After our definition of civil society, this chapter will go on with explaining the methods are going to be used in this study.

15 Ibid, p. 3
16 Scholte, 1999, p. 4
17 Idem
18 Idem
19 Ibid, p. 5
20 Idem
21 Ibid, p. 7
1.4 Methods and Methodology

This study will undertake a qualitative type of research. Qualitative research as a term implies an approach to social research in which quantitative data are not collected or generated.²² Sometimes qualitative research is discussed in terms of the ways in which it differs from quantitative research. However this creates a problem, since it means that qualitative research is just what quantitative is not, which is not a correct way of definition.

Concerning the methodology, this thesis has three main characteristics; firstly it adopts a deductive view of the relationship between theory and research, where the process whereby hypotheses are deduced from existing theory and that guides the process of data collection so that they can be “tested”.²³ On the basis of what is known about a particular domain (global civil society), and of theoretical considerations, (neo-Gramscianism), in relations to that domain, deduces a hypothesis that must be subjected to empirical scrutiny.

Secondly this research holds an interpretivist epistemological position, since it stresses on the understanding of the social world through the examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants; and thirdly, it adopts a constructionist ontological position, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena “out there” and separated from those involved in its construction.²⁴

Interpretivism, it’s a term that usually denotes an alternative to positivist orthodoxy of epistemological position that natural science uses. It is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural science and thus requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action.²⁵

Lastly, concerning constructionism, it is the ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It simply implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction and that views them as socially constructed.²⁶

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²³ Ibid, p. 9
²⁴ Idem
²⁵ Ibid, p. 13
²⁶ Ibid, p. 17
Nonetheless, qualitative research can be defined better, by specifying the nature of qualitative research. There are not only different traditions but as well considerably diverse methods.\textsuperscript{27} The main qualitative research methods are: ethnography/participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, language-based approaches to the collection of qualitative data (such as discourse and conversation analysis), the collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents.\textsuperscript{28} This specific study is using the last method as qualitative research method.

Furthermore another characteristic that makes easier to identify a qualitative research is the way of operationalization. The steps taken in the research are a way to see how the research is used. More specifically the main steps in a qualitative research are the following: starts with formulating general research question(s), selecting relevant site(s) and subjects, then collection of relevant data, then interpretation of data follows, as well as conceptual and theoretical work, then maybe there will be the need of a tighter specification of the research question(s), and then again collection of further data, and lastly writing up findings/conclusions.\textsuperscript{29}

There are of course possible weaknesses of adapting such a kind of method. Some of the common arguments of the criticism of qualitative research related also with this study are the following.

Qualitative research has been characterized as too subjective, and by that is stressed out that qualitative findings rely too much on the researcher’s often unsystematic views about what is significant and important and what is not. Exactly because qualitative research often begins in a relatively open-ended way and entails a gradual narrowing-down of research questions or problems, the consumer of the writings deriving from the research is given few clues as to why one area was chosen upon which attention was focused rather than another.\textsuperscript{30} Additionally it has been argued that qualitative research is difficult to replicate. This argument was based on the fact that in qualitative research there are hardly any standard procedures followed and often reliant upon the researcher’s ingenuity, it is impossible to conduct a true replication.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{27}Bryman, A., p. 267
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, p. 267-268
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid, p. 269-270
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid, p. 284
\textsuperscript{31} Idem
1.4.1 Research Design and Operationalization

Last but not least, concerning the research design, we are going to discuss about the operationalization of the ideas presented in this thesis into our empirical part, the case study. Before though going into our discussion we find it necessary to explain what we mean by the term case study. A basic case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case.\textsuperscript{32} According to Stake, case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question. The emphasis tends to be upon an intensive examination of the setting. Some of the best-known studies are based on this kind of design. These include research on; single community, single school of studies, single family, singly organisation, a person or a single event.\textsuperscript{33} Our research will focus on the case study of the event of the 4\textsuperscript{th} EU–LAC Summit in Vienna at 2006.

Going further with the operationalization; in our second chapter of this thesis, we are going to explain the theoretical approach that is going to be applied later on in the analysis and conclusions. The ideas and the interpretation of the concepts that our theory will give will be the tools to examine and later analyse the concepts presented in the descriptive part, such as the role of NGOs as civil society’s main agent as well as the role of civil society within the EU and LA, since these will be the basis of the understanding of the examination of our case study. Later on their analysis of these different aspects of civil society will be conducted in the spirit and under the perspective of our theoretical approach.

Furthermore at the analysis chapter the findings from our case study will also be examined and analysed. Namely, civil society and NGOs as its main agent, civil society as a remedy for global governance democratic deficiency and the different roles that civil society has in North and South, having the example of EU and Latin America, will help us come to critical conclusions concerning the research questions raised in the beginning of this part. After giving a description of the methods and methodology of the study, the next and last step for this chapter will be to discuss on the sources of data that are going to be used in the study as well as give a critical view concerning there relevance and operationalization.

\textsuperscript{32} Bryman, A., p. 48
\textsuperscript{33} Idem
1.4.2 Sources

As mentioned above there are several diverse research methods of qualitative analysis. The method that is going to be used in the study will be the method of collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents, as well as e-research; a research based on internet as a method of data collection. About e-research; Internet constitutes an environment within which to conduct research since it offers several opportunities such as World Wide Web sites or pages as objects of analysis, ethnographic study of internet, qualitative research using online focus groups, qualitative research using online personal interview, and lastly online social surveys. This study specifically will use the “www” as objects of analysis concerning the NGOs working on EU-Latin America Free Trade relations. Additionally, in order to give a more coherent image of the sources that are going to be operationalized in this thesis, there is going to be a short description of the empirical and theoretical literature.

- Theoretical Literature

Concerning the theoretical literature; as it is going to be explained further for the theoretical part the thesis is going to use scholars and researchers that their work has been associated one way or another with Antonio Gramsci’s work. Robert W. Cox, Barry K. Gills, Stephen Gills and more are fine examples of scholars in the field of IR. Furthermore their understandings on agency and the role of civil society in the making of regional and world orders will help in building up the appropriate background in order to answer the research questions drawn at the beginning of this paper.

In particular Robert W. Cox is the one most dedicated scholars that introduced Gramsci to the study of the world politics. He has attempted to “internationalize” Gramsci’s thought by transposing several of his key concepts, most notably hegemony, to the global context. Cox has developed a Gramscian approach that involves both a critique of prevailing theories of IR and International Political

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34 Bryman, A., p. 467
Economy and the development of an alternative framework for the analysis of the world politics.35

To analyze Cox’s ideas there is a significant start point that gives the reader to understand one of its core principles. That is an often quoted sentence in his seminal 1981 article “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory”, that goes as follows: “Theory is always for some one, and for some purpose”36. It expresses a worldview that follows logically from the Gramscian, and broadest Marxist position; If ideas and values are (ultimately) a reflection of a particular set of social relations, and are transformed as those relations are themselves transformed, then this suggests that knowledge (of the social world at least) must reflect a certain context, a certain time, a certain space. Knowledge can be neither objective nor timeless.37

Apart from theorists associated with Gramscianism, there are other scholars the thesis will be occupied with, that made contributions in the study areas of globalization and regionalism. Two most worth-notable ones are Björn Hettne and Jan Aart Scholte that they have made great successful efforts in analyzing.

The material consists of books such as “Approaches to World Order” by Robert Cox, “Globalism and the new Regionalism” by Björn Hettne; as well as journal articles like “Civil Society at the turn of the millennium: prospects for an alternative world order” by Cox or working papers such as “Global Civil Society: Changing the World?” and “What is Globalization – The definition Issue Again?” by Jan Aart Scholte and more. Additionally for the theoretical part, secondary literature such as textbooks like “The Globalization of the World Politics” by John Baylis and & Steve Smith as well as “Political Ideologies; An Introduction” by Andrew Heywood and previous doctoral thesis, like for example Rosalba Adriana Icaza Garza’s doctoral thesis in “Civil Society and Regionalization, Exploring the Contours of Mexican Transborder Civic Activism” for the Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International Studies, in the Department of Politics and International Studies of Warwick University.

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35 Hobden, S and Jones, W. R, p. 237
36 Ibid, p. 238
37 Idem
Concerning the empirical literature; for the analysis on global civil society and the role of NGOs, a series of books on civil society such as by Kaviraj and Khilnani, John Keane and Akira Iriye is going to be used.

For the analysis of European Union’s relations with civil society as well as the European civil society groups, the main literature will be documents and data from the official websites of the EU and the civil society organization websites, as well as documents from the European Commission like “Partners in Development – The European Union and NGOs” from the Directorate General for Development. The same applies for the analysis of the EU – LA relations and trade agreements.

For reasons of operationalization books, working papers and journal articles from scholars that have already been mentioned as well as many others will be used in order to analyze the findings of the research and the drawing of results at the end of the analysis.

Concerning the case study, the material that are going to be used are all based on internet research from official websites of the European Commission, European Economic and Social Committee as well as official websites of the organizations involved in the processes of the summits that as mentioned earlier are going to be under focus. Such sites are the Linking New Alternatives 2 Forum, and civil society groups such as the Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), Transnational Institute (TNI), Oxfam, and Europe’s Forum on International Cooperation (EUFORIC) etc. The documents that are going to be used are official reports conducted on the specific subjects of the summits.

Ending this first part of the thesis, we are going to move on the next chapter that is the research’s Theoretical Approach.
Chapter II: Theoretical Approach

This study adopts an International Political Economy theory approach. International Political Economy (IPE) emerged at the early 1970s as International Relations (IR) began to change as policymakers and scholars were forced to pay more attention to economic affairs by the growing economic interdependence of countries. Since then IPE has continued to advance as a core subject to IR.

In contrast to other IPE approaches, such as rational choice analysis, critical approaches assume that policies within the world-economy are affected by historical and sociological factors. Critical approaches explicitly seek to challenge dominant intellectual paradigms, which contribute to sustain the status quo and power structures. Attention is paid to the ways in which actors formulate preferences, as well as to the processes by which decisions are made and implemented. These theorists examine in extent the beliefs, roles, traditions, ideologies, and patterns of influence which shape preferences, behaviour, and outcomes.

One of these approaches derives from the strands of Marxist theories, which has emerged from the work of the Italian Marxist and social theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). Gramsci’s work influenced considerably the study of IPE, where a neo-Gramscian or “Italian School” is flourishing.

Generally, neo-Gramscianism offers a set of common assumptions that generate particular explanations regarding agency in the making and re-making of regional and world orders. This tradition stems from a materialist conception of history and as such observes process of change as deeply interconnected to material or economic developments in the social world. Neo-Gramscianism will form the larger theoretical approach of this specific study, since its insights provide an adequate perspective in understanding global civil society.

Combined with neo-Gramscian approach this paper will include the work of “critical IPE/IR scholars like the contemporary theorist Robert W. Cox, who was the main scholar that introduced Gramsci’s work to International Relations, Björn Hettne,

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39 Idem
40 Idem
42 Idem
Barry K. Gills, Stephen Gills and others. These authors have been selected because their respective contributions drawn from, or are associated in different forms with Antonio Gramsci’s work. This framework will address their understandings on agency and the role of civil society in the making of regional and world orders.

In this chapter first there will be a description of the main concepts of Gramscian theory. Secondly there will be an analysis of neo-Gramscianism and its relevance to Gramscian theory. Globalization and regionalism will also be discussed as issues with great relevance to civil society’s emergence as well as areas of “action”. The discussion of civil society under the neo-Gramscian perspective will follow as well as the discussion of the limitations of this approach in relation to this study. Before closing this chapter there will be a part that conceptualizes global civil society and at the end we will give our theoretical framework.

2.1 Gramscian Theory’s Core Features and Ideas

The *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci’s collection of notes and some longer essays which he produced during his captivity are his sole intellectual legacy. Gramsci tried to redress the emphasis upon economic and material factors. He stressed out through the theory of hegemony, the importance of the political and intellectual struggle. His stress on revolutionary commitment and “optimism of the will” endeared him to the new left, even though he remained a Leninist throughout his life.

What he had to say centered upon the state, upon the relationship of civil society to the state, and upon the relationship of politics, ethics and ideology to production. The main question which animated Gramsci’s theoretical work was why had it proven to be so difficult to promote revolution in Western Europe. His answer to this question revolves around his use of the concept of hegemony. Hegemony is a term widely used in International Relations theory, most frequently in order to describe the most powerful state in the international system, or the dominant state in a particular region.

Hegemony for Gramsci means leadership or domination as well, but in a sense of ideological hegemony it refers to the capacity of bourgeois ideas to displace rival

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43 Idem
views and become, in effect, the commonsense of the age.\textsuperscript{46} Gramsci underlined the degree to which ideology is embedded at every level in society, in its art and literature, in its education system, mass media, in everyday language and popular culture.\textsuperscript{47}

An important feature here is political practice. Namely, if the hegemony of the ruling class is a key element in the perpetuation of its dominance, then society can only be transformed if that hegemonic position is successfully challenged.\textsuperscript{48} This entails a counter-hegemonic struggle in civil society, in which prevailing hegemony is undermined, allowing an alternative historic bloc to be constructed.

For Gramsci there are two main strands of the concept of hegemony.\textsuperscript{49} The first ran from the debates within the Third International concerning the strategy of the Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of a Soviet socialist state, and the second from the Machiavellian writings.\textsuperscript{50}

This thesis is adopting the second strand. Gramsci took over from Machiavelli the image of power as a necessary combination of consent and coercion. To the extent that the consensual aspect of power is in the forefront, hegemony prevails. Coercion is always latent but is only applied in marginal, deviant cases. Hegemony is enough to ensure conformity of behaviour in most people most of the time.\textsuperscript{51}

Gramsci recognized that coercion characterized less developed societies, but it was not the case in more developed countries of the West, where the system was maintained through consent. Consent is created and recreated by the hegemony of the ruling stratum in society.\textsuperscript{52} It is hegemony that allows the moral, political, and cultural values of the dominant group to become widely dispersed throughout society and to be accepted by subordinate groups and classes.

According to Gramsci, dominant ideologies become sedimented in society to the extent that they take on the status of unquestioned “common sense”. All this takes place through the institutions of civil society. Civil Society is the network of institutions and practices in society that enjoy some autonomy from the state, and

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\textsuperscript{46} Cox, W. R., 1996, p. 124
\textsuperscript{47} Idem
\textsuperscript{48} Idem
\textsuperscript{49} Hobden, S. & Jones, W. R., p. 236
\textsuperscript{50} Cox, W. R., 1996, p. 125
\textsuperscript{51} Idem
\textsuperscript{52} Idem
\end{flushleft}
through which groups and individuals organize, represent, and express themselves to each other and to the state. ⁵³

For this reason superstructural phenomena, such as civil society should be taken into consideration, while the structure of society may ultimately be a reflection of social relations of production in the economic base, the nature of relations in the superstructure are of great relevance in determine how susceptible that society is to change and transformation.⁵⁴

Moreover another important feature in Gramscian theory is that in order to describe the mutually reinforcing and reciprocal relationships between the socio-economic relations (base) and political and cultural practices (superstructure) that together underpin a given order, uses the term historic bloc.⁵⁵ For Gramsci and Gramscians, this term underlines the importance of interaction between politics and ideas when analyzing economic relations, something that Marxism fails to include. Gramsci attributed the source of his notion of the historic bloc to Georges Sorel, though Sorel never used the term or any other in precisely the sense of Gramsci gave to it. ⁵⁶ Gramsci shared the views that state and society together constituted a solid structure and that revolution implied the development within it of another structure strong enough to replace the first. Whether dominant or emergent, such a structure is what Gramsci called an historic bloc.⁵⁷

The historic bloc similarly had a revolutionary orientation through its stress on the unity and coherence of sociopolitical orders. It was an intellectual defense against co-optation by transformismo.⁵⁸ The historic bloc is a dialectical concept in the sense that its interacting elements create a larger unity. Gramsci expressed these interacting elements sometimes as the subjective and the objective, sometimes as superstructure and structure.⁵⁹ The above description of the main features and ideas of Gramscian theory will be the tool for the further analysis on neo-Gramscianism as an IPE approach.

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⁵³ Hobden, S. & Jones, W. R., p. 236  
⁵⁴ Hobden, S. & Jones, W. R., p. 236  
⁵⁵ Cox, W. R., 1996, p. 131  
⁵⁶ Idem  
⁵⁷ Idem  
⁵⁸ Idem  
⁵⁹ Idem
2.2 Neo-Gramscianism

Neo-Gramscian theory, as said previously, uses the ideas and insights of the Gramscian theory, to highlight the role of politics, law, culture, and knowledge in shaping the preferences and policies of actors.

The basis here is that interests, actions, and behaviour in the world-economy all take place within a structure of ideas, culture and knowledge. The way that actors understand their own preferences will depend heavily upon prevailing beliefs and patterns of thinking in the world-economy, which are embodied in contemporary institutions. The question that neo-Gramscianism asks is: whose interests and ideas are embodied in the rules and norms of the system?

The answer to this question lies again in hegemony. The dominant power within the system will achieve goals not just through coercion but equally by ensuring the consent of other actors within the system. Thus, dominant powers will promulgate institutions, ideologies, and ideas, all of which help to persuade other actors that their best interests converge with those of the dominant power.

As Cox mentions, relating hegemony and international relations, Gramsci observed that basic changes in international power relations or world order, which are viewed as changes in the military-strategic and geopolitical balance, can be traced to fundamental changes in social relations. The group which is the bearer of the new ideas is an intellectual stratum which picks up ideas originating from a prior foreign economic and social revolution.

2.2.1 International Organizations as the Mechanisms of Hegemony

In neo-Gramscian theory hegemony at the international level is not merely an order among states, but an order within world economy with a dominant mode of production which penetrates into all countries and links into other subordinate modes of production. It is also, as seen in Cox, a complex of international social relationships which connect the social classes of the different countries.

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61 Idem
62 Idem
63 Idem
64 Cox, W. R., 1996, p. 133
65 Ibid, p. 135
66 Ibid, p. 137
World hegemony can be therefore described as a social structure and economic structure, and a political structure, and it cannot be simply one of these three but a combination of all three. As Cox underlines, world hegemony can be expressed in universal norms, institutions, and mechanisms which lay down general rules of behaviour for states and for those forces of civil society that act across national boundaries, rules which support the dominant mode of production.\(^{67}\)

One type of mechanism, that universal norms of a world hegemony are expressed, are the international organizations. International organizations function as the process through which the institutions of hegemony and its ideology are developed.\(^ {68}\) They embody rules which facilitate the expansion of the dominant economic and social forces but which at the same time permit adjustments to be made by subordinated interests with a minimum of pain.\(^ {69}\) Most importantly, international institutions perform an ideological role as well;\(^ {70}\) they reflect orientations favourable to the dominant social and economic forces.

Therefore, neo-Gramscianism highlights actors and processes involved in globalization that have important ramifications for institutions.\(^ {71}\) For example, the protest against the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank can be construed as part of an ongoing dialogue which affects states in several ways. The international attention to these issues places them on the agenda of international meetings and organizations; this also puts pressure on political leaders and encourages interest and pressure groups to form within the state. Consequently the beliefs, ideas, and conceptions of interest in IR change and this can shift the attention, nature, and functions of international institutions.\(^ {72}\)

From this approach, several other actors, such as civil society, other transnational actors, etc, are involved, both within and across societies, including international institutions, and which play a dynamic role. This study is examining global civil society, as an agent that might consist with other agents an alternative historic bloc.

But before going further with the examination of agency and later on particularly civil society from the neo-Gramscian perspective, it is thought as appropriate to examine

\(^ {67}\) Cox, W. R., 1996, p. 137
\(^ {68}\) Idem
\(^ {69}\) Ibid, p. 138
\(^ {70}\) Idem
\(^ {71}\) Woods, N., p. 345
\(^ {72}\) Idem
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more closely some other concepts and issues that concern this paper. Globalization and regionalism are two significant counterparts of this study. Therefore in the following paragraphs there is going to be an attempt to examine these concepts more closely.

2.3 Globalization and Regionalism

Björn Hettne in the debate on the “new world order” emphasized these two processes that described as seemingly incompatible. He argued that these two processes are going on simultaneously and they deeply affect the stability of the present international system, thus contributing to both disorder and the new global order. The difference between regionalism and the infinite process of economic integration that globalization demands, is that there is a politically defined limit to the former process. This is a result of earlier in time attempts to find a transnational level of governance which reinforces certain shared values and minimizes certain shared perceptions of danger.

Globalization is defined here as an integrative process and implies an observed tendency towards a global social system, that is so contradictory and turbulent that a specific framework is needed in order to explain it. According to Hettne, the global awareness resulting from globalization processes includes inevitably negative expectations and the wish to halt or reverse these processes, thus initiating a counter-process of “de-globalization”. According to the different framework that is used to explain globalization there are different counter-processes that lead to different outcomes in terms always of levels of governance. Hettne identified four such counter-processes; first is the liberal globalist case where the market plays central role and the role of the state is consequently reduces; second is the durable disorder where globalization process is seeing only from its vicious side; the third strand describes how international community should meet the globalizing factors, here there are two possibilities, assertive multilateralism, relating to a United Nations (UN) focus order, and plurilateralism based on a great power concert, ex. Group of Eight (G8), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) etc; the last

74 Ibid, p. 9
75 Ibid, p. 3
76 Ibid, p. 6
strand is *global cosmopolitanism* combined with *new regionalism* based on increased influence on international governance for civil society within framework of a global “normative architecture” and the move from national to regional governance.\(^77\) This study is undertaking the last strand where power moves up to the transnational level. The state can be replaced or complemented by a regionalized order of political blocs, a new regionalism, or by a strengthened global civil society with a new normative architecture of world order values.\(^78\) Regionalism is seeing here as an attempt to bring globalization processes and transnational transactions under some political-territorial control.\(^79\) This suggested world order is based on global values and norms, and the rule of law, monitored by a vigilant civil society, the result of which would be human global governance.\(^80\)

Additionally, here the role of development cooperation in order to facilitate “human global governance” would largely be used for upgrading the rule of law, strengthening the impact of human rights and democratic governance at all levels, including at the global level, and improving the capacity of governments in poor countries and global civil society to participate in this process.\(^81\)

However as a response regionalization takes different forms both over time and between different cultural areas of the world.\(^82\) Such examples as is going to be discussed later are the European Union and similar regionalization examples from Latin America, such as Mercosur, and the Andean Community etc.

After our small reference to these two processes and their operationalization as concepts in this study, will go further by explaining the relations between agency and structures in neo-Gramscian approach and why this will be useful for this study.

\(^78\) Hettne, B., “1. In Search of World Order”; in Hettne, B. and Odén B., p. 21
\(^79\) Hettne, B., et al, p. 6
\(^80\) Hettne B., “1. In Search of World Order”; in Hettne, B. and Odén B., p. 21
\(^81\) Hettne B. and Odén, B., Introduction, p. 5
\(^82\) Ibid, p. 7
2.4 Agency in Neo-Gramscian Approach

This study is closely related to structure-agency considerations. Under conditions of globalization powerful structural forces in the political economy of regionalization enable and constrain particular forms of agency. Civil society is one of these forms of agency.

Neo-Gramscian accounts emphasize that agency is the result of structural contradictions of capitalism or that agency is making up the structures in the world order. This way, civil society associational expressions consider stemming from two interpretations on agency. Some accounts emphasize that agency is conditioned by powerful structures; whereas some others emphasize that agency is making up these structures. These two different emphases have implications on the ways they explain the emergence of associational expressions of civil society at national, regional and transborder level.

Beginning with the first “emphasis” on agency; agency results from structural conditions. When civil society organizations are seen as forms of social resistance or as stabilizing forces of the status quo, it is assumed that their “agency” derives from prevailing relations among social structures: capitalism, neo-liberal discourses, new constitutionalism, etc. Thus, the responses of those actors which are supportive or opposing neoliberal policy frameworks on regionalization are seen as outcomes of the structures of capitalist accumulation and exploitation that have constrained certain social forces and have enabled others.

The second “emphasis” on agency; agency makes the Structures. Here the emphasis is stressed on the fact that social struggle has been underestimated in the making of world orders as agents make up the structures of the social world. These neo-Gramscian considerations not only urge to re-insert social struggle in the analysis of

83 Cox, Robert W., ‘Civil Society at the turn of the millennium: prospects for an alternative world order’. Review of International Studies, 1999
84 Garza, Rosalba, Adriana, Icaza, “Civil Society and Regionalization, Exploring the Contours of Mexican Transborder Civic Activism”, Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International Studies, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, September 2004, p. 76
86 Garza, I. R. A., p 84
the world orders as a driven force of social change, but advises that it needs to be addressed as not “over determined” by historical laws.\textsuperscript{88} Additionally, for some agent’s consciousness is acknowledged as “an autonomous force” despite the existence of material constrains.\textsuperscript{89} Thus, while in the first emphasis contradictions derive from historical structures’, in the second one historical contradictions “result from human beings acquiring self-consciousness and capacity to understand and act in historical situations”.\textsuperscript{90} This perspective indicates the self-reflexivity of the agents despite structural constrains and to some extent it is useful as it allows understanding that agents can transform structures on everyday actions. However it should be highlighted that this account observes agency as either power or resistance, due to the fact that neo-Gramscianism addresses “agency” from the perspective of structures and therefore it tends to portray it as unproblematic and unified “actors”.\textsuperscript{91} As such, “actors” in the realm of civil society are seen as part of a “progressive movement” or a “passive revolution” as a form of a counter-revolutionary or restorationist reform from above that presents mass participation and avoids radical social change.\textsuperscript{92} Lastly, some civil society actors are seen as performing a role of “organic intellectuals”, understood as critical agents that “serve to clarify the political thinking of social groups, leading the members of these groups to understand their existing situation in society”. As for others agents are examined with respect to the “level” of consciousness that Gramsci envisaged in social forces: comparative, class related or hegemonic.\textsuperscript{93} Clearly however, these two perspectives on agents stem from Gramsci’s own concern in identifying potentialities of emancipation in civil society by taking into account dominant structures without descending into methodological individualism or reductionism.\textsuperscript{94} At the next part of this chapter, taking into consideration what has been said above, there will be an attempt to explain civil society under the neo-Gramscian perspective.

\textsuperscript{88}Gill, Stephen, “Power and Resistance in the New World Order”, 2003, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. xi
\textsuperscript{89} Cox, R. W., 1999, p. 16
\textsuperscript{90} Gill, S., 2003, p. 22
\textsuperscript{93} Cox, R. W., 1999, p. 15-16
\textsuperscript{94} Gill, S., 2003, p. 11
2.5 Neo-Gramscianism and Civil Society

The concept of civil society is often associated with voluntary forms of collective action that to some extent are different, autonomous and/or oppositional to forms of corporate and state power.\(^{95}\)

However, the contemporary academic discourse on civil society can be put into three ideological categories; conservative, liberal and radical. Under this ideological spectrum civil society can be viewed in different ways. Liberals regard civil society as a countervailing force against an unresponsive and corrupt state and exploitative corporations that ignore environmental issues and human rights abuse.\(^{96}\)

Conservatives discern in civil society the beneficial effects of globalization for the development of democracy and economic progress –for advancing the idea of freedom in its historic march against its enemies.\(^{97}\)

Lastly for radicals civil society is seen as a repository of the forces of resistance and opposition, forces that can be mobilized into a counter-hegemonic bloc or a global anti-mobilization movement.\(^{98}\)

All of the above apparently diverse points of view, share however an important similarity concerning civil society. One way or another all of them view civil society as an agent for change or as an agent of conservations of structures of privilege of certain groups in society.

The neo-Gramscian perspective of civil society, as part of the critical approaches of IPE, contrasts not only the liberal but the orthodox Marxist perspectives as well. Gramsci’s view on civil society as a realm where the hegemony of the state was consented, sustained, reproduced and channeled; but also where counter-hegemonic and emancipatory forces could also emerge; is different from Marxist’s view that see this realm as purely related to or expressing the bourgeois order.\(^{99}\)

Civil society in Gramscian theory was the realm where a socialist alternative could take place and hence, he was concerned with the possible strategies that should be followed. As such, he elaborated the concept of “war of position” as a long-term counter-hegemonic strategy “for the conquest of civil society and for the

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\(^{95}\) Garza, I. R. A., p. 82


\(^{99}\) Cox, R. W., 1999, p. 5
transformation of civil society in an emancipatory direction. These concepts are undertaken by neo-Gramscian theorists to “assess” civil society groups as “totalities” of strategic/instrumentally driven emancipatory and counter-hegemonic possibilities.

Additionally, for Gramsci as Cox mentions there was never pure spontaneity in the construction of social organizations but always a combination of leadership and movement from below. Civil society from a Gramscian perspective is also a realm of contestation as power relations are inherent to it as well as “multiple forms of oppression”. Thus, the inherent dialectic in Gramsci’s notion of civil society challenges the “spontaneous” and “voluntaristic” liberal notions of civil society and the assumption of a “given” and more or less stable political market. Civil society seen as an arena of hegemony and contestation “permit an analysis of contradiction and conflict within rather than viewing the primary contradiction as lying between state and civil society” as liberal approaches tend to emphasize. Consequently, civil society from a neo-Gramscian perspective as a social realm is both “shaper and shaped” and its agents stabilize and reproduce the status quo, but also can drive social transformation.

Closing this chapter, it is considered as necessary to examine also the possible limitation of this approach for this study.

### 2.6 Approach Limitations

Gramsci’s writing reflects a particular time and in many times a particular set of circumstances. This has led several scholars to question the broader applicability of his ideas.

The central argument is that Gramsci was primarily concerned with a specific national society, the Italian, rather than the analysis of the international arena. Moreover, his thinking was relevant to a specific historical era, and cannot therefore be regarded as a source of “transhistorical” concepts. However it is suggested that a careful analysis of the Prison Notebooks reveals that Gramsci was indeed attempting to develop a conceptual framework that, while certainly not claiming universal, timeless validity,
would certainly be applicable to other societies. Additionally, and as his analysis of Italian society demonstrates, he was very well aware of the significance of developments in the international sphere. However the question is how useful ideas and concepts derived from Gramsci’s work prove to be when they are removed from their original context and applied to other issues and problems? And here as said earlier in this chapter, both various critical scholars as well as Neo-Gramscianism as an approach used these ideas and concepts and applied them successfully to other contemporary issues such as at the present example civil society discussion.

Apart from the above, some authors have criticized neo-Gramscian views on agency because they receive agency as a collective human activity, and that tends to display civil society actors as monolithic and fixed. Thus, groups and expressions of civil society are “assessed” with respect to whether their potentialities can drive progressive alternatives or not, rather than explain them by taking into consideration their contradictions and diversity when driving or not those alternatives. Moreover, it is argued that there are crucial aspects of the social realm of civil society and of its actors and expressions that have been neglected because of the ways in which agency is addressed by neo-Gramscian commentators as regards to the making of regional and global orders: agency results from or is making up structures. In addition to that other important explanatory limitations of neo-Gramscian accounts derive from how civil society is addressed. In short civil society here is understood in primarily “strategic” terms.

Lastly, as Robert Cox has highlighted, it is important to address civil society in order to comprehend its role in reducing the gap of legitimacy in the contemporary world order. As stated at the beginning of this chapter; would a re-enforced civil society be a sufficient agent to become the basis of an alternative order? As Cox mentioned, in order to answer this question, one has to attempt and examine the situation of this civil society in different parts of the world; and this is what this study through the case analysis of the European civil society’s input to the European Union – Latin America trade relations, will attempt to contribute to this answer.

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108 Garza, I. R. A, p 88
109 Idem
110 Idem
2.7 Conceptualizing Global Civil Society

Before continuing with the presentation of our theoretical framework, we need to explain the basic concept of the thesis. Therefore in this section we will be occupied with the portrayal of global civil society, the course of its development and some of the concepts that are complementary to its nature.

In contemporary politics when talking about civil society, due to the diversity of its groups the line dividing voluntary activities from official and market practices can blur. However “pure” civil society activities involve no quest for public office and no pursuit of pecuniary gain.\(^{112}\) In particular “civil society exists whenever and wherever voluntary associations – of whatever kind – try deliberately to change certain governing rules of society”.\(^{113}\) Civic associations often operate in regional and global spaces as well as in local and national contexts. Conceptions of civil society need to be recast to reflect these changed circumstances. In the following section there will be an attempt to analyse global civil society, examine its emergence and how has evolved through this changed circumstances. We are also going to analyse its present role in the political field and see what kind of changes can it bring by its operations.

2.7.1 Global Civil Society

Indeed scholars of IR have taken up the notion of civil society to express the strengthening of ties between non-state actors across national frontiers. Its discussion not surprisingly has been associated with a wider concern on globality and globalisation. Therefore nowadays global civil society’s conception is inseparable from the notions of these two other concepts. In order to give a concrete explanation of the notion of global civil society we need therefore to examine these two concepts. Globality and globalisation are two new concepts in social relations. Analysts disagree not only on the nature and extend but also periodisation as well as direction of the changes that these two concepts suggest.\(^{114}\) Generally globalisation designates a growth of connections between people across the world, but globality can also be conceived in a more specific way that opens up distinctive insights into contemporary

\(^{112}\) Scholte, Jan Aart, “Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance”, Global Governance, vol. 8, no. 3(July-Sept. 2002), p. 283
\(^{113}\) Ibid, p. 284
\(^{114}\) Scholte, J. A., 1999, p.8
world affairs. This perspective identifies globalization as deterritorialisation or, to be more specific, a rise of “supraterritoriality”. Globality on the other hand and in this sense has a “transworld” or “transborder” quality. A supraterritorial phenomenon can appear simultaneously at any location around the world that is equipped to host it and/or can move or less instantaneously between any points in the world. It is argued that “global” relations are social connections in which territorial location, territorial distance and territorial borders do not have a determining influence. Nevertheless social relations have undergone relative rather than total deterritorialisation; hence we can say we inhabit a globalising rather than a globalized world.

After this discussion, the connection of these concepts to global civil society, raise the question on what a “global civil society” involves. In short global civil society encompasses civic activity that; addresses transworld issues; involves transborder communication; has a global organisation; and works on a premise of supraterritorial solidarity.

More specifically, global civil society exists in one sense when civic associations concern themselves with issues that transcend territorial geography. Various civic associations have campaigned for instance, on ecological problems, transworld diseases, human rights and so on. They have raised questions concerning the contemporary globalising economy and armament.

Civic associations can be considered global since they use supraterritorial modes of communication, something that make them agents of information. Especially the revolution of the Internet usage has considerably contributed to their further development on their communication policies. At the same manner, civil society is global when campaigns adopt a transborder organisation and when its groups are motivated by sentiments of transworld solidarity. Nevertheless, owing to the contemporary growth of global issues, global communications, global organisation

116 Scholte, 2002, p. 286
117 Idem
118 Scholte J. A., 1999, p. 10
119 Idem
120 Ibid, p. 11
121 Ibid, p. 12
and global solidarities, civic activity can today no longer be understood with a territorialist conception of state-society relations.\textsuperscript{122}

- The development of Global Civil Society

Civil society has mainly attributed supraterritorial (global) attributes quite recently as mentioned earlier, and it is not until the 1960s that this “transformation” happened. Global civil society has been part of a wider process of globalisation that occurred simultaneously. Actually some of the forces behind growing transborder civic activity are the same as those that have propelled globalisation in general.\textsuperscript{123}

Indeed the rise of supraterritoriality (globalization) has resulted mainly from the mutual reinforcing impulses of global thinking, certain turns in capitalist development, technological innovations and enabling regulations.\textsuperscript{124} Capitalist development is crucial since globalisation has largely been spurred by the strivings of entrepreneurs to maximise sales and minimise costs. Additionally, global spaces have offered new opportunities for surplus accumulation through sectors like electronic finance and the Internet. Technology is vital since developments in communications as said and information processing have supplied the infrastructure for global connections. Lastly, regulations are necessary since measures like standardisation and liberalisation have provided a legal framework that encourages globalisation.\textsuperscript{125}

Furthermore, some of the reasons of global civil society’s development consist also the causes for the spread of globalisation in general. Thus it seems most unlikely that global civil society will shrink in the foreseeable future and all the more probable that it will further expand.\textsuperscript{126}

The question that rises after explaining the causes of the emergence of global civil society is what were the changes that this emergence brought? Indeed there are several repercussions but there are several main broad changes that can be underlined; the emergence of a multilayered governance, the privatisation of governance, the incitement for activity and reconstruction of collective identities, citizenship and

\textsuperscript{122} Scholte J. A., 1999, p. 13  
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid, p. 14  
\textsuperscript{124} Idem  
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, p. 15  
\textsuperscript{126} Idem
democracy. At the following parts we are going to examine more closely some of these changes that global civil society brought to modern politics.

2.7.2 Democracy and Global Governance

Theories of global civil society can be interpreted as responses to the problem of governance without government in IR. Its attractiveness as a concept lays on the fact that it can be used to justify institutions of global governance. In this context, the concept of a global civil society might provide a shorthand response to the problem of democratic deficit. Legitimacy implies some kind of prior authority, and all such authority in turn ultimately depends on the possibility of justification. Therefore it is arguable that the “concept of global civil society can be used to justify the exercise of governmental authority within an emergent world polity to the extent that it provides a substitute for a truly transnational demos”.

As said earlier, civil society refers to a political space where voluntary associations deliberately seek to shape the rules that govern diverse aspects of social life. Democratization of global governance is thus one of these aspects that this thesis is interested in examining closer. More specifically, the next chapter will examine the potentials of civil society as a force for democracy in global governance.

Effective governance is regulation that achieves not only efficiency and order, but also public participation and public accountability. Civil society activism offers significant possibilities to reduce the major democratic deficits that have grown during recent decades in the governance of global relations. As well as it has the potential to detract from as well as add to democracy in the ways that global affairs are regulated.

Going further there is a need to define both democracy and governance. Firstly, the notion of democracy; democracy has known many meanings and instruments in different times and places. Yet there is a common thread that runs through all its conceptions; democracy is a condition where a community of people exercises...
collective self-determination. Namely talking about democratic governance, it is meant to be participatory, consultative, transparent, and publicly accountable; and it rests on the consent of the governed.

Another important feature here is that democracy is constructed in relation to context and should be reconstructed when that context changes. As mentioned earlier contemporary globalization constitutes the short of change of situation that requires new approaches to democracy. In reality recent civil society mobilization has responded to democratic deficits in prevailing patterns of globalisation; however the level of democratisation is something that can be debated.

The democratizing potentials of civil society are being evaluated in respect of the governance of global relations. Geography here is deeply interconnected with other dimensions of social relations: culture, economics, politics, and time. Additionally, globalization – as a reorganization of social space – is therefore likely to both reflect and promote shifts in other social structures, including those of governance.

Referring now to governance, it is as globalization, a new concept that has been added to the political agenda. Globalization – as a reorganization of social space – has gone along with the reconfiguration of regulation. Insight of globalisation, many social relations substantially transcend territorial geography, territorialist governance has become impracticable. National and local governments are unable by themselves to effectively regulate phenomena like global issues such as global ecological problems or global finance. Transborder flows cannot be tied to strictly delimited territorial space anymore, and this is a reality that states have to face.

It is apparent that globalization has indeed among other factors loosened important social underpinnings of sovereign statehood. Furthermore, the public in the contemporary world has become increasingly ready to give “supraterritorial values” such as human rights and ecological consciousness higher priority than the states give; something that also contributes to the shift from “government” to “governance” and what is more, to a contemporary multilayered governance.

134 Scholte, 2002, p. 287
135 Idem
136 Baylis J, and Smith S., et al, p. 15
137 Scholte, 2002,p. 287
138 Ibid, p. 288
In the recent years, governance has increasingly worked through private as well as public instruments, where regulatory authority has become considerably more decentralized and diffuse.\textsuperscript{139} One can see that nowadays the regulation of global flows occurs through intergovernmental consultations and coordination rather than through state action; which indicates that indeed the governance of global relations has dramatically shifted.

Copying with global relations has been permanently institutionalized in suprastate agencies with both regional and transworld coverage. Of course that does not mean that states do not play any role, since these international institutions have gained their “power” from national governments. However, global relations indeed are regulated in a “poststatist” fashion that has no single centre of authority\textsuperscript{140}, and that is a new reality for nowadays politics.

- Global Governance’s Democratic Insufficiency & the Answer of Civil Society

Global Governance may constitute a totally different dimension in the way “to do” politics, but as any other new-born reality it also lacks several characteristics that will make the difference between a global governance and a “good global governance”. One of these lacks is the lack of democratic legitimacy.\textsuperscript{141}

As mentioned above being democratic involves public participation and public accountability, both criteria that are missing from almost every area of global policy. Hence it is logical to assume that contemporary globalization has indeed provoked a crisis in democracy.

The disjunction between supraterritorial spaces and territorial self-determination forms one of the main democratic deficits that global governance is accused for.\textsuperscript{142} Even if other social relations have gained a substantial global dimension, still democratic practises have largely failed to cope with the new changes and this is proved by the fact that the public continues to look to government as the sole site for democratic governance. It would take a lot more even if territorial mechanisms for regulating global spaces were maximally democratized to minimize these democratic

\textsuperscript{139} Scholte, 2002,p. 287
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, p. 289
\textsuperscript{141} Idem
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid, p. 290
deficiencies, since the state itself as an agent of democracy is not sufficient enough to deal the current global issues.143

Another problem at this area is related to the changing contours of the community under contemporary globalization.144 In short the public identified the nature of the community still in a “national” manner rather than a “transborder” one. Still even if globalisation has loosened the links between territory and collective destiny and even if the growth of suprateritorial flows has encouraged individuals to identify themselves in a multiple manner rather than only the state-nation one, yet conventional theories and mechanisms of democracy tend to define individuals only in a territorial-state-nation terms.145 Nevertheless contemporary world politics involves communities that include substate and transtate ethno-nations and host of transborder solidarities146 and globalization has encouraged the growth of cosmopolitan bonds inside those communities.

Democracy has been still more diluted in intergovernmental governance mechanisms; while transgovernmental networks of technocrats have operated almost completely outside the public eye and democratic scrutiny; and meanwhile suprastate institutions have tended to hold even flimsier democratic credentials than national governments.147 In short, it is apparent that global governance is substantially democratic deficient when it comes to private regulatory mechanisms. Hence, from local to global levels, and in private as well as public spheres, the regulation of suprateritorial realms is full off democratic deficits; therefore one can say that global governance is not yet democratic legitimate.

At this point more and more academics as well as citizens have considered global civil society as a contributor into making global governance more democratic. Civil society from this perspective is seen as a way to advance public participation, public accountability, consultation, and transparency in global governance.148 Nevertheless is not that civil society does not have lacks and setbacks, but despite these it clearly makes an impact and its highly regarded to be a positive one.

143 Scholte, 2002,p. 290
145 Scholte, 2002,p. 290
146 Idem
148 Scholte, 2002,p. 293
More specifically, civil society has various positive impacts in terms of contributing to a more “democratic global governance”. To begin with, civil society gives voice to stakeholders. Civic bodies can provide opportunities for concerned parties to relay information, testimonial, and analysis to governance agencies; as well as they can open political space for social circles, who tend to get limited hearing through other channels.\textsuperscript{149} In this way civic associations can indeed shift global politics towards greater participatory democracy. Besides, civil society can advance democracy in global politics through public education activities. Informed citizenry can be the basis for an effective democracy and civic bodies can raise public awareness and understanding of transworld laws and regulatory institutions.\textsuperscript{150}

Additionally, knowing that democratic rule rests partially on vigorous, uninhibited discussion of diverse views makes it clear that civil society inputs contribute by the variety of their perspectives, methodologies and proposals to the policy arena, and fuel the debate on global governance.\textsuperscript{151} Debates on ecological issues, human rights and other contributions, have made policy discussions more critical and creative. Civil society is seen from this spectrum as a source of objection and challenge, something that is as necessary for a “real” democracy.

Furthermore, civic bodies by increasing the public accountability of the regulatory agencies concern, they once more promote democracy in global governance. Monitoring implementations and effects of policies regarding global relations and press for corrective measures when the consequences are adverse, civil society can push authorities in global governance to take greater public responsibility for their actions.\textsuperscript{152}

Lastly, in terms of the positive impacts of civil society regarding democracy enhancement, civic mobilization truly can increase the public transparency of global governance. Pressure from civil society can help bring regulatory frameworks and operations into the open, where they become susceptible to public scrutiny.\textsuperscript{153} All together, these positive impacts of civil society on global governance, can actually provide the basis of a true democratic rule; legitimacy. “Legitimate rule prevails when people acknowledge that an authority has a right to govern and that they have a duty

\textsuperscript{149} Scholte, 2002, p. 293
\textsuperscript{150} Idem
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid, p. 294
\textsuperscript{152} Idem
\textsuperscript{153} Idem
to obey its directives." Engagement between civil society and regulatory mechanisms can enhance the respect that citizens accord to global governance. Civil society can offer a means for affected publics to affirm that global governance arrangements should guide their behaviour. At the same manner, civil society can also provide a space for the expression of discontent and the pursuit of change when existing governance arrangements are regarded as illegitimate.

Besides these positive impacts that were mentioned above, civil society engagement with global governance can also have negative impacts for its democratization, or more likely can also contribute depending on the case to global governance democratic deficits. There are cases where there is an absence of deliberate efforts and adequate resources, together with vigilance against or even non-democratic, elements and practises.

What is more, there is a vast majority of contemporary prospective global citizens that have not participated in any civil society activities regarding global governance. In addition, many of the civic groups that have addressed global governance have not given priority to the implications of their work for democracy. It is also evident that there are problems both of unfulfilled promise and of the possible and of the possible obstruction of democratic processes. Moreover not all civic society groups have equal opportunities to participate; here too hierarchies of social power can operate just as in other political spaces.

In general, there is a tendency inside civil society where Western-based civic groups, such as NGOs that dominate South and former-communist-ruled civic groups that exist in those specific areas. Likewise, grassroots groups are being marginalized and the chance of giving a better voice to the diverse life-worlds that global governance affects gets slimmer. Furthermore, civil bodies have also a democratic responsibility to construct and spread public knowledge of global governance with the same sort of care that is demanded of official agencies. Concerning the enhancement of public transparency, civil society might fail to meet standards of openness in its own activities.

154 Scholte, 2002, p. 294
155 Idem
156 Ibid, p. 295
157 Idem
158 Ibid, p. 296
159 Ibid, p. 297
Concluding, civil society engagement with global governance deals with a plethora of inconsistencies. Therefore, much more effort, resources, and awareness will be needed if civil society is to effect a more substantial democratization of global governance. However even though it is not inherently a force of democracy one can say so that “we have arguably witnessed only the early stages of a long-term project”. Additionally, the existing mechanisms that govern global spaces suffer from major democratic deficits, and unfortunately contemporary theories and practises do not do much in order to alter this situation. It is thus comprehensible why the public has seen civil society as the “remedy” against those deficits. As underlined above, civic bodies can indeed positively intervene with adequately resourced and suitably participatory and accountable human dynamic and can infuse global governance with greater democracy.

Despite these facts, the responsibility for maximising civil society contributions to democratic global governance does not lie entirely with civic bodies themselves, but as well on official quarters and market circles, which have to have their own will and capacity to receive positive civil society inputs. Regulatory bodies must also have relevant stuff expertise, adequate funds, suitable procedures, and receptive attitudes in order to take advantage of the democratic benefits on offer from civil society. Lastly, the promises that civil society made for a democratic global governance are not to be met automatically, thus there are responsibilities that civil society has taken and needs to deliver. Civic bodies as said have also a merit in democratic deficits and therefore activists need to make dedicated and sustained efforts to avoid negative outcomes. There are potentialities and challenges that can be met by civil society regarding democracy in this globalized world, something that can be used as an indication for the possibilities of this world system in the near future.

\[160\] Scholte, 2002, p. 296
\[161\] Ibid, p. 300
\[162\] Idem
2.8 Theoretical Framework

Closing this chapter, it is necessary to indicate the way that all these concepts are going to be operationalized; and how they are going to help to achieve the aims of this study. Since this study is considered to be a contribution to the study of change and transformation within this relatively new, exciting and growing academic field, an approach as neo-Gramscianism is a very useful tool in order to explain the studies main points. Scholars, such as Gramsci and Cox are sources of inspiration as far as the understanding of structural change is concerned; and one can openly argue that when dealing with the emergence and enhancement of global civil society, one deal certainly with structural changes. So these concepts will be the key tools in order to describe and analyze civil society’s role in the field of international relations.

Analyzing global civil society depends on the understanding of its meaning. The concepts, such as agency, structures, alternatives and change, are those we are going to use in order to analyze civil society’s new practices aiming to change the existing order through the new diplomacy of co-ordination and global solidarity.

At the next part of this thesis, we will attempt to analyse the concept of global civil society as well as describe and analyse features that accompany this term in the political context. Issues of democratization, global governance, NGOs role in the political arena, as well as the role of civil society in the EU and Latin America will be carefully examined in order to give a better understanding of global civil society and then help us with the illustrative example that we are going to examine through our case study.
Part II

Chapter III: Portraying Civil Society

This part consist the descriptive part of the thesis. As we have already seen Global Civil Society is a very broad area of research, thus as mentioned in the delimitations of the study we find it necessary to narrow our scope by having a closer look at civil society main agent, the Non-Governmental Organizations. NGOs were chosen among the plethora of other emerging agents of global change and, which are constitutive of a new era in politics, but NGOs or International Non-Governmental (INGOs) are considered to be one of the most important in contemporary politics.

3.1 NGOs as a Leading Civic Agent

NGOs are generally accepted to be voluntary groups of individuals or organizations, which are usually not affiliated with any government and perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. NGOs have significant transnational power. They are developing in a massive transnational network in the global environment, even though they are overwhelmingly newly formed. To give an illustrative example, some 60 per cent of one sample of 700 INGOs was formed between, 1970-1993 when the data were collected. At the following table there are more examples of the development of NGOs transnational power.

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165 Cohen, R. and Kennedy, P., p. 299
Table I: Data on Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IGOs</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>No. 700.</th>
<th>5000 meetings a year</th>
<th>e.g. Universal Postal Union, NATO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INGOs</td>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>No. 23,000. Fivefold growth 1970-94.</td>
<td>Spend 15-20 per cent of OECD funds to the South</td>
<td>INGOs provide support to 100,000 NGOs in the South serving 100 million people (only 20% of world's pop. live in democracies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenpeace International &amp; Rainbow Warrior campaign</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>3 million members in 158 countries</td>
<td>5m. sign petition on anti-nuclear testing campaign</td>
<td>15,000 in Tahiti force French to allow the docking of Greenpeace ships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worldwide Fund for Nature</td>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>4.7 million members</td>
<td>In 31 countries including 12 in the South</td>
<td>Projects in 96 countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends of the Earth</td>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>1 million</td>
<td>In 56 countries, 23 in the South</td>
<td>Six large UK DIY chains boycott rain forest timber.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NGOs arguably have been actually described as an agency for helping guardians of the New World Order secure the political conditions needed to pursue the contemporary political agenda. It is no wonder, therefore that international organizations for development and finance have turned so decisively toward democratization and civil society, contracting NGOs and converting them into their agents as ”strategic partners”. Additionally the reconsideration of the limits of the state action also led to an increased awareness of the potential role of civic organizations in the provision of public goods and social services. NGOs are assigned a leading role as frontline agents of a participatory and democratic form of development and politics, to convince the public thereby of the virtues of community-based development – global or local. In fact the global phenomenon and explosive growth of NGOs reflects a new policy and political consensus that they are de facto, and by design, effective.

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166 Cohen, Robin, “Transnational Social Movements: an Assessment”, WPTC-98-10, Department of Sociology, University of Warwick, p. 3
168 Ibid, p. 9
169 Ibid, p.10
170 Ibid, p. 11
agents for democratic change, an important means for instituting an alternative form of development that is initiated from below, and is socially inclusive, equitable, participatory, and sustainable.\(^{171}\)

It is arbitrary for the continuation of this chapter to drive our discussion to a familiar division in INGOs, that of north – south. Unfortunately, the unequal wealth distribution also affects such agents as well. This division is really crucial in the understanding of NGOs networks as well as civil society itself. Nevertheless this discussion is also extremely useful for the further description and analysis of our case study which deals with this division, as well as other aspects of the nature of global civil society.

### 3.1.1 The Division; Southern – Northern NGOs

In order to analyse this division it is necessary to proceed on the definitions of the two concepts; southern – northern NGOs. Therefore, as a “southern NGO”, the term used to refer to those NGOs located in less-developed countries, whether in the southern hemisphere or not. “Northern NGOs” are those organizations located in more developed countries, referred also as “donors” regarding Southern NGOs.\(^{172}\)

Recent years have witnessed a further evolution of northern NGOs’ agendas as many of those organizations have opted to facilitate the work of their southern counterparts rather than engage directly in development activities.\(^{173}\) This is commonly referred to as “capacity building”, defined as “an explicit outside intervention to improve an organisation’s performance in relation to its mission, context, resources, and sustainability. Achieved through a process-orientated approach of assisting the organization to acknowledge, assess, and address its external environment”.\(^{174}\)

Southern NGOs emerged partially, in response to funding opportunities from northern NGOs. Some of them evolved from membership organizations, and others are outgrowths of their northern counterparts.\(^{175}\) Other southern NGOs, however have formed on their own initiative, rather than donors’, in response to the plethora of development problems confronting their countries. These specific NGOs often claim

\(^{171}\) Petras, J., and Veltmeyer, H., 2005, p. 11

\(^{172}\) Hudock, Ann, C., “NGOs and Civil Society; Democracy by Proxy?”, Polity Press, 1999, p. 1

\(^{173}\) Ibid, p. 10

\(^{174}\) Idem

\(^{175}\) Ibid, p. 11
that they are driven by the desire to identify local solutions to development problems rather than accept solutions imposed from outside.\textsuperscript{176}

In general southern NGOs are as varied as the problems which gave birth to them, but often these organizations resemble their northern counterparts in structure and operations, since many were initiated by former employees of northern NGOs, or received considerable financial and technical support from them.\textsuperscript{177}

Southern NGOs on way or another depend on northern NGOs for their funds, a fact that has further implications. An NGO’s funding source will in part determine the degree of autonomy it has in developing programmes and in working with target groups.\textsuperscript{178} For example, some NGOs receive all of their funds form donors’ programmes with the groups to which the donors have assigned highest priority. In these cases, NGOs are essentially contractors and are little more than extensions of the donor agencies. Organizations which receive assistance through donations solicited from the public exist in the exactly “opposite” direction of those who mentioned above. Thus, one can see that funding does make a difference.\textsuperscript{179}

Despite of the implications driven from financing, cooperation and dialogue between northern and southern NGOs is really important for both of their development as well as for the enhancement of civil society. This dialogue helps to shape conceptual approaches, policies and practises for future capacity-building interventions.\textsuperscript{180}

Likewise dialogue can reveal that NGOs from different regions have different needs. Southern NGOs are demanding more resources and more responsibility in deciding the allocation of resources. Northern NGOs’ dominance marginalises southern NGOs in their own countries.\textsuperscript{181}

For their part, northern NGOs insist their role is essential, since they shield southern NGOs from the administrative burdens associated with accounting for donor resources. Northern NGOs argue that they provide essential training to southern NGOs in order to help them develop their skills, which will enable them one day to lead development, something that are not yet ready to do, since according with the

\textsuperscript{176} Hudock, Ann, C., 1999, p. 11
\textsuperscript{177} Idem
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid, p. 2
\textsuperscript{179} Idem
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid, p. 14-15
\textsuperscript{181} Idem
former, “they lack the capacity to plan project activities, mobilize resources to carry them out, and account for the resources used”.\textsuperscript{182}

To sum up, the way in which financial resources are channelled to NGOs, and the nature of relationships forged in the process, determine NGOs’ capacity. Indeed, the way most NGOs seek and receive resources from their external environments subjects them to external control and leaves them unable to contribute to the process of civil society development by empowering people to voice their own needs and to make claims on government to meet those needs. However, from the above it is apparent that NGOs and particularly southern NGOs have moved from the role of a bit player on the development stage to one which commands the spotlight, and this is an important step towards civil society further development and enhancement.

3.2 Civil Society and the European Union

At this section we will have a closer look in civil society by illustrating the example of the European Union. We will examine therefore at this part EU’s association with civil society as well as EU’s contribution to civil society’s further development and enhancement.

From the 1960s through to the 1980s, Europeans increasingly said that they had participated in various forms of contentious politics.\textsuperscript{183} Today, actors from across the political spectrum press their claims through an expanding array of channels, ranging from interest group lobbying to disruptive protest politics. Over the past decades, a wide range of social and political actors, from left-wing anti-nuclear weapons activists to right-wing skinheads have taken into streets.

It is a reality that many civil society bodies have established offices in Brussels to lobby the EU on behalf of their interests. As regulations governing many sectors of EU, organized business, environmental groups, regional governments, women’s groups and even indigenous people’s representatives\textsuperscript{184} have begun to lobby the Commission and have been invited to participate in policy formation. There is evidence that, as civic groups like environmentalists shift their activities to European

\textsuperscript{182} Hudock, Ann, C., p. 14-15
\textsuperscript{183} Imig Doug, and Tarrow, Sidney, Ch. 7 The Europeanization of Movements? A New Approach to Transnational Contention, p. 116; in Della Porta, Donatella, Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Rucht, Dieter eds., “Social Movements in a Globalizing World”, 1999, Macmillan Press LTD.
\textsuperscript{184} European Commission 1994
level, they experience an institutionalization of collective action.\footnote{Tarrow, Sidney, “the Europeanization of Conflict: Reflections from a Social Movement Perspective”, West European Politics 18, 1995, p. 223-251} Plainly, if Europe is becoming a polity, it follows that contentious politics will gravitate from the national to the European level and that, not only Euro-interest groups, but also civil society groups, will eventually form even more sufficiently at the European level.\footnote{Imig, D., and Tarrow, S., et al, p. 116}

We will go on with this chapter by analysing EU’s own perspective on EU and its relations with civil society. For this reason, we are going to examine EU’s official document by the Commission; “A white paper on European Governance”, published in Brussels 15.7.2001.

3.2.1 A European Perspective on Civil Society Networks in the European Union

- Commission’s White Paper on European Governance

The White Paper on European Governance concerns the way in which the Union uses the powers given by its citizens. This paper proposes opening up the policy-making process to get more people and organisations (including Civil Society Organisations – CSOs) involved in shaping and delivering EU policy. It promotes greater openness, accountability and responsibility for all those involved.\footnote{Europa, Gateway to the European Union, European Commission, Governance in the EU, A White Paper in European Governance, p. 3, http://ec.europa.eu/governance/white_paper/index_en.htm, accessed on 15/09/2006}

Introducing change requires effort from all the other Institutions, central government, regions, cities, and civil society in the current and future Member States. What the Union proposed is a renewed Community method by following a less top-down approach and complementing its policy tools more effectively with non-legislative instruments\footnote{Ibid, p. 4}, such as CSOs.

Regarding this changes here we will underline the Commission’s renewed approach towards CSOs. Concerning better involvement and more openness, the Commission stressed the need of stronger interaction with civil society, as well as regional and local governments.\footnote{Idem} This will be achieved through establishing a more systematic dialogue, publishing minimum standards for consultation on EU policy, partnership arrangements going beyond the minimum standards in selected areas committing the Commission to additional consultation with CSOs in return for more guarantees of the
openness and representativity of the organisations consulted. In addition, concerning global governance, the White Paper aims to boost the effectiveness and enforcement powers of international institutions. Therefore the Commission is bound to improve the dialogue with non-governmental actors of third countries when developing policy proposals with an international dimension.\textsuperscript{190}

As addressed in the White Paper, civil society plays a vital role in giving voice to concerns of citizens and delivering services that meet people’s needs. Therefore, the Union has encouraged the development of civil society in the applicant countries, as part of their preparation for membership. Non governmental organisations play a crucial role at global level in development policy. They often act as an early warning system for the direction of political debate. \textsuperscript{191}

The measures proposed on that White Paper, including an enhanced dialogue with civil society as well as better and more open consultation, better use of expert advice, and better impact assessment, all will help to improve the quality of policy proposals and be part of the solution of the possible democratic insufficiencies that appear inside the EU.

Lastly, the proposals in this White Paper aim to structure the EU’s relationship with civil society. A code of conduct for consultation will identify responsibilities and improve accountability, and contribute to the openness of organised civil society. The Commission underlines that alone cannot improve European Governance, nor can the White Paper provide a magic cure for everything. Change requires concerted action by all including civil society.

From the above one can understand there is definitely much more interaction between EU and CSOs than there was before, and definitely it is apparent through this official EU’s document that there are steps that the Union takes towards the enhancement of their relation. However, it is also obvious that there are a lot more to be done in order to be able to say that CSOs are really taken into account in all different levels of European policy areas. In the empirical part of the thesis, we are going to have an illustrative example of the Union’s interaction with civic bodies. However, now, we shall go on with the one more aspect of EU and its relations with civil society, the EU and NGOs.


\textsuperscript{191}Ibid, p. 14
3.2.2 The European Union and NGOs

At this section of the chapter we are going to examine the more concrete example of the Union working with development NGOs. Development NGOs were chosen for this illustration, since they consist the majority of European NGOs or NGOs with European basis working with other regions of the world, or other countries mostly under development. This examination will help us to have a deeper understanding about NGOs cooperation with the Union, a useful tool for the continuation of this thesis.

From the earliest days of the first Community institutions the EU’s recognized partner NGOs in European Union Member States have been working to gain recognition for an enforceable right to human development for all. This ever-closer partnership today stands as one of the most significant achievements in international cooperation.\(^\text{192}\) The work done by European development NGOs has produced a net benefit in terms of recognition by the Community authorities.\(^\text{193}\) At the same time, the EU has been able to put into practise a highly progressive form of democracy by facilitating and supporting active relations between different “civil societies” willing to forge closer links of cooperation and solidarity.

Apart from the technical and financial support, the EU’s weaving of closer relations with NGOs has shown that the voluntary community has an irreplaceable role in the European cooperation, and has as the same time set parameters of cooperation between official institutions and private agencies which respect the autonomy of both.\(^\text{194}\) The Commissions support to NGOs goes both to their development projects in countries in the South and to their activities to mobilise public opinion in favour of development and fairer international relations between North and South.\(^\text{195}\) NGOs contribute to the creation of diverse social structures and the constitution of a democratic base at grass-roots level, indispensable for a really just and stable political democracy, which is a factor in sustainable development, itself a major goal of the EU.\(^\text{196}\)


\(^{193}\) Idem

\(^{194}\) Idem

\(^{195}\) Ibid, p. 5

\(^{196}\) Idem
NGOs relations with the Commission are not always free from frictions or misunderstandings, since it is a question of combining differing points of view and reaching a minimum of coherence of action between various players in the development field.\textsuperscript{197} Harmonious collaboration is possible, provided that each respects the role and the originality of the other. The European NGOs have another role, to motivate the European public and those with political and administrative responsibility in development and in favour of international relations which would give their rightful place to developing countries.\textsuperscript{198}

Development projects however, must not seek to impose western models which are to be followed blindly. European NGOs and their sponsors need to understand the deep-seated concerns and aspirations of people in the South. They must understand their strengths and the realities of their day-to-day life, through first-hand knowledge of conditions in developing countries.\textsuperscript{199} Respect for solutions proposed by local communities characterizes the development work of many European NGOs.

Development policies have evolved over the years. Participation of local communities is a prerequisite for the success of a development programme and the NGO approach is a testing ground offering a lot of useful ideas.\textsuperscript{200} Nowadays, the Commission encourages NGO projects which promote participatory development and which give organisational support to their partners in the South.

An illustrative example of this trend is the Fourth Lomé Convention concluded with the ACP countries. Its principle is based on the fact that support should be given, even within official cooperation frameworks, to the initiatives and contributions of those involved locally in development.\textsuperscript{201} Within this context, the Convention encourages partnership between counterparts in the North and the South for development activities.

To sum up, European NGOs, as Northern NGOs in general, have become increasingly credible and strong players on the development cooperation stage, to such an extent that, nowadays they have considerable influence over governmental development policy.\textsuperscript{202} The support they give to their partners in the South has enabled the latter to organise themselves and to take responsibility for virtually all project implementation.

\textsuperscript{197} European Commission, “The European Union and NGOs – Partners in development”, p. 5
\textsuperscript{198} Idem
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid, p. 15
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid, p. 26
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid, p. 27
\textsuperscript{202} Ibid, p. 35
This new situation is currently generating a reorientation of the activities of NGOs in the North, like European ones, towards a genuine partnership, which is encouraged by the Commission. Southern NGOs have indeed with the development assistance of European counterparts came from the margins towards the centre; nevertheless there is still a lot to be done from their side as well as from the side of European NGOs and the EU itself.

Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Millions of ECU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsaharan Africa</td>
<td>372,575,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>365,651,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>165,735,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean</td>
<td>48,383,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean and Pacific</td>
<td>36,859,92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2,588,236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total NGO cofinancing from 1976 to 1994: 1 billion ECU

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203 European Commission, “The European Union and NGOs – Partners in development”, p. 35
204 Ibid, p. 37
3.2.3 European NGOs in Latin America

From the total amount of aid flowing into Latin America, 43 percent comes from European Union countries. The figure rises to 53 percent if the aid channelled through EU institutions is included. From this European aid given to Latin America an increasing amount is directed through NGOs. One could easily say that NGOs are gaining influence in shaping the European aid regime for Latin America, and European NGOs are key external actors playing an increasingly pivotal role in Latin America.

Generally, European NGOs active in Latin America are small, comparing for example from those of United States (U.S). Thus, founding as mentioned in previous section is frequently an urgent issue, and it affects the self-confidence, that may characterize prominent U.S. NGOs. Furthermore European NGOs do not generally enjoy institutional linkages, as much as their U.S counterparts. Another difference is on the issues that are occupied with. European NGOs have been concerned as mentioned earlier, with issues of development and economic entitlements and have, rather more recently, incorporated human rights and democracy into an agenda influenced ideologically by a critique of the spread of capitalism and the inequity of the North-South divide, we explained earlier in this part.

In order to be able to give a more coherent image of the work of NGOs in Latin America, we find it arbitrary due to issue handling in our case study to have to give a background on Latin America’s civil society and its cooperation with NGOs.

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206 Grugel, J., 2000, p. 87
207 Idem
- Civil Society and Latin America

Civil society in Latin America is seen as an alternative to conventional politics, expressed as a social process governed by the activities of CSOs, all of which are located outside the scope of the state, and in its most extreme form, it has also become a narrative in which civil society is against the state.\(^{208}\) The concept of civil society in the politics of contemporary Latin America operates at three levels.\(^{209}\) In the first place it offers a critique of party-political reason; in the second, it supposedly embodies a move from abstract political representation to concrete social representation; and in the third it provides a general critique of the state in its role as the subject of social and economic change.\(^{210}\)

As a move away from abstract political representation and towards concrete social representation, or the aggregation of civic groups, civil society constitutes the most powerful attack as yet launched against the prevailing political systems and institutional practices of political participation in Latin America.\(^{211}\) As a critique of the nation-state, the notion of civil society has had a number of contradictory results.\(^{212}\) In general, it has accelerated a tendency towards anarchy, which had been a constant feature of most Latin-American republics since independency. By exposing the state’s inability to provide its citizens with the most of the public goods which the reform programmes of successive Latin American governments had promised to deliver, “civil society” seems to be detaching the citizen body from all forms of political representation.\(^{213}\)

The result is a clash of collective and divergent modes of political representation with respect to all of the prevailing forms of social control.\(^{214}\) There is an increasing scope for lawlessness and even a return to revolution, as recent events in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina and Columbia have shown.\(^{215}\) The concept of civil society is thus caught between a flight from conceptions of the state into anarchy, and

\(^{210}\) Idem
\(^{211}\) Idem
\(^{212}\) Ibid, p. 200
\(^{213}\) Idem
\(^{214}\) Idem
\(^{215}\) Ibid, p. 201
ubiquitous programme of economic modernization claiming to be the expression of universal democracy.\textsuperscript{216}

Generally, in Latin America, as in other “developing” regions, but perhaps more noticeably than in most, the idea of civil society as a critique of the state on behalf of what amounts to a virtually stateless society, appears to have defeated the idea that economic and social development should be state-governed political enterprise.\textsuperscript{217}

This has resulted in the retrieval of the social at the expense of the state, and the redirection of politics into the social and cultural. It has meant the awareness of the need to re-draw the ordinary boundaries of the political in such a way that the state is no longer the natural centre of all political activity.\textsuperscript{218}

Consequently, the term civil society has foisted upon the political imagination of most Latin-American societies the illusion not only that the civil is now the only true source of agency and productivity, but that it is also the only source of a meaningful social identity and therefore of all transparent political relationships, both personal and collective.\textsuperscript{219} Due to the explained situation, civil society has become for Latin America the only domain in which true political experience and hence real solidarity is possible.\textsuperscript{220}

Going further with our description, we are going to have an overview of European NGOs’ periods of activity in Latin America, so as to have a more coherent idea of the development that their relations have undergone.

- European NGOs’ Periods of Activity in Latin America

The first period of activity of European NGOs in the region started on the 1970s, NGOs viewed Latin America base communities, popular organisations, and social movements as allies and partners.\textsuperscript{221} During the struggles to overthrow dictatorial rule, European NGOs drew on academic studies that highlighted the importance of popular organisations, self-help groups, peasant associations, and the spontaneous and unorganised activities of people in mass protests. This on its turn gave tremendous rise of optimism about the power of association networks in Latin America and their

\textsuperscript{216} Kaviraj Sudipta, and Khilnani Sunil, 2001, p. 201
\textsuperscript{217} Idem
\textsuperscript{218} Idem
\textsuperscript{219} Idem
\textsuperscript{220} Idem
\textsuperscript{221} Idem
capacity to promote democracies that would redistribute power and wealth in the region.\textsuperscript{222} Emphasis was drawn on apparently powerful social movements as agents that could effect sweeping change, instead of traditional political organisations, parties, or trade unions.\textsuperscript{223} The second period coincides with the first phase of democratization in the 1980s. At this stage European NGOs supported dynamic social movements as instruments both to put an end to dictatorship and to challenge newly appearing “socially disembedded democracies”.\textsuperscript{224} Their key aim was to help local NGOs and social movements develop survival strategies differed substantially from those of the European political parties.\textsuperscript{225} At the third period, the beginning of the 1990s, Latin American social movements grew weaker, and the initial burst of optimism regarding the emergence of a coherent set of popular movements disintegrated.\textsuperscript{226} Consequently, European NGOs reluctantly concluded that simply supporting social movements as a strategy for change was insufficient.\textsuperscript{227} Building up civil society was gradually conceived from the European NGOs as a way to democratize Latin America. It emphasized the importance of long-term transformation of the society and of agency. Accordingly, strong civil societies were not an automatic consequence of democratization but the way to get there and at the same time democratization was seen as the only way to promote economic and social change.\textsuperscript{228} This kind of view influenced the NGOs’ perception of development and democratization. Civil society as a project capable of transforming politics, society and culture in Latin America was taken enthusiastically by European NGOs as long-term strategy for the region.\textsuperscript{229} 

\textsuperscript{222} Grugel, J., 2000, p. 96 
\textsuperscript{223} Idem 
\textsuperscript{226} Grugel, J., 2000, p. 97 
\textsuperscript{227} Idem 
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid, p. 98 
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid, p. 99
The role that European NGOs play in LA, as said earlier, has undergone a number of important changes since the beginning of the 1990s. They have embarked on a new phase of activity that embraces the development of civil society and promotion of democratization as the keys to long-term development in the region. This fact reflects a change in the normative thinking that guides European NGOs development strategies. From emphasizing economic entitlements (1970s – 1980s) as the basis for meaningful participation in society, they moved to emphasizing citizenship as the only meaningful foundation for developments and participation. This shift leads European NGOs, to support democratization as a conscious development strategy. All European NGOs to a greater or lesser extent felt similar pressures to reform, modernize, and justify their activities in the 1990s. Additionally, all share a commitment to development in the South and the construction of a moral basis for international activities, belonging to “transnational ethical network”. Generalization across Europe is difficult, since as said NGOs differ significantly in size, organisation, ideological orientations etc. However contacts and cooperation between European NGOs, especially over funding and policy are increasing. In particular, European NGOs are operating more and more within roughly similar contexts and constrains. European aid now tends to be coordinated in conjunction with official European aid agencies, and it is possible to detect a similar emphasis on civil society in all national NGO communities. Hence, it is even applicable to talk of a “European approach” to aid and cooperation.

Supporting the development of active civil societies in LA has become the dominant leitmotif of almost all European aid to the region. The idea of promoting civil society in developing countries has, in practise, become associated with an array of different and even contradictory policies. In particular, there are significant differences between official aid donors by civil society and what the term means to different

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230 Grugel, J., 2000, p. 99  
231 Ibid, p. 88  
233 Grugel, J., 2000, p. 88  
234 Idem
NGOs, though some NGOs have moved closer to the official donor’s position in recent years.\textsuperscript{235}

More specifically, official donors tend to see civil society as a social complement to the development of the market and economic restructuring that reduces the state’s role in providing social assistance.\textsuperscript{236} Enhancing civil society thus essentially has become a way of promoting social cohesion as state provisions are reduced. Partially, the NGOs are simply responding to political agenda in LA as democratization has come to dominate regional events. In the democratization process, NGOs are particularly concerned with the emphasis on elite accommodation and institution building and its affiliated impact on the lives of ordinary people.\textsuperscript{237} It is not strange that NGOs focus on civil society, since the latter has emerged as a project of democratic empowerment in LA.\textsuperscript{238} NGOs have been influenced by a sense that civil society is the term that withholds the complex reality and current state of development of Latin America’s popular movements.\textsuperscript{239}

European NGOs argue that they have particularly dynamic role to play beyond that of giving aid to LA counterparts.\textsuperscript{240} According to them, they directly involved in the task of building local civil societies through “global civil society”, which involves giving international advocacy and transnational networking a role.\textsuperscript{241} Civil society now “represents the arena where modern forms of political agency take root”.\textsuperscript{242} Actually it would not be an exaggeration to say that European NGOs currently see the development of transnational activism as a key to their work in LA.\textsuperscript{243} Hence, European NGOs are increasingly cooperating in horizontal relationships across state boundaries, undertaking information exchanges and project planning as well as projects and advocacy activities.\textsuperscript{244} They express a growing commitment to the formation of a “transnational ethical network” that centres on supporting democratization and establishing relations of equality.\textsuperscript{245} Their participation in the network is an affirmation of their desire to promote moral, nonmarket approach to

\textsuperscript{235} Grugel, J., 2000, p. 88
\textsuperscript{236} Idem
\textsuperscript{237} Idem
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid, p. 94
\textsuperscript{239} Idem
\textsuperscript{240} Idem
\textsuperscript{241} Idem
\textsuperscript{243} Grugel, J., 2000, p. 96
\textsuperscript{244} Idem
\textsuperscript{245} Grugel, J., 1999
development and democracy. The network emphasizes accountability and the democratization of social relationships, not only within states but also between transnational nonstate actors. Transnational actors’ collaboration in this way serves as a partial counterbalance to European NGOs role as implementers of official aid policy.246

At the following and last section of this chapter, we are going to give a background of EU’s and LA’s relations. This is will be in great help for the presentation of our case study that follows.

3.3 European Union - Latin America Relations

The relations between EU and LAC countries are very diverse. Keeping in mind the colonial past and the present efforts to build up their bilateral relations, the current political and economic relations between the two regions have evolved gradually since the 1960s.

Since the start of the 1990s EU’s attention has been increasingly turned towards Latin America, either as a whole or with one country or region in particular. The EU is Latin America’s second most important trading partner – and the first trading partner for Mercosur and Chile.247 However one has to bare in mind that till now the overall view concerning the two regions trade relations is that are highly asymmetrical.

The economic and trade links were enhanced, resulting in trade figures that more of doubled, between 1990 and 2005. The EU is optimistic by saying that this positive trend is likely to improve at present with the enlargement of the Union, which will consist an integrated marker of 455 million inhabitants.248

At the following table we can see a characteristic example of EU imports and exports from and to Latin America on the year of 2000. This table is indicative for the enhancement of trade links between the two regions.

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246 Grugel, J., 2000, p. 96
248 Idem
Table III\textsuperscript{249}

EU-Latin America Trade Figures (1)

Sources: Eurostat; European Commission.

\textsuperscript{249} European Commission, “The European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean”, Directorate-General for External Relations, Latin America Directorate, Policies Planning and Coordination Unit, B-1049 Brussels, Sheet 3, p. 2
3.3.1 The European Union and the Countries of Latin America

The EU’s relations with Latin America as a whole consist of two components: the political dialogue with the Rio Group and cooperation focusing on the guidelines of the 1995 strategy.\textsuperscript{250} In view of these facts, we find it arbitrary to talk about the relations of each Latin America country separately, just in order to give a clearer image of those relations with the EU.

Table IV\textsuperscript{251}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Countries attending the Madrid Summit & Members of the Rio Group (on 1.3.2002) \\
\hline
Central American countries & Members of the Andean Community \\
\hline
Members of Mercosur & Members of Cariforum \\
\hline
Jamaica & Members of Caricom (on 1.3.2002) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}


\footnotesize\textsuperscript{251} European Commission, “The European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean”, Sheet 1, p. 2
Central America – EU cooperation started in 1984 with the inauguration of the “San José Dialogue”. However it was the cooperation agreement of 1993 that set the basis for their cooperation. The new political dialogue and cooperation agreement signed in December 2003 superseded the former agreement and gave new targets to the EU’s involvement in the region’s development.

With the Andean Community (CAN), the EU conducted a framework for political dialogue, the Rome Declaration, in 1996. In December 2003, the dialogue resulted in the signing of a political dialogue and cooperation agreement which replaced the 1996

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252 Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and Belize
255 Trade block established in 1969, comprising Bolivia, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela
Declaration. One of the main issues in the region is combating drug production and trafficking and is a subject of an advanced dialogue between the two parties.\textsuperscript{256} In the case of Chile, relations with EU are based on the 1996 framework agreement for cooperation, which replaced the 1990 agreement. In November 2002, an association agreement was signed and some provisions (trade, institutional framework, etc.) have been in force on a transitional basis since February 2003.\textsuperscript{257} With Mercosur\textsuperscript{258}, the basic instrument is the interregional EU – Mercosour framework cooperation agreement signed in December 1995. It aims at enhancing political dialogue, progressively establishing a free-trade area and deepening cooperation.\textsuperscript{259} The participating countries had originally planned to finish negotiation in 2004. However, it was not possible to reach an agreement due to the divergent positions with regard to the reduction of EU agricultural tariffs.\textsuperscript{260} Since then negotiations have not made considerable progress.

Finally between EU and Mexico, an economic partnership, political coordination and cooperation agreement was signed in 1997. There is also a short-term agreement on trade. Through these agreements, the two parties have embarked on an enhanced political dialogue, the liberalization of their trade via the establishment of a free-trade area and the introduction of cooperation instruments.\textsuperscript{261} At the following table there are illustrative examples of the trade figures between the EU and Latin America, indicative for the progress of the economical cooperation of the two regions.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{257} Idem
\textsuperscript{258} The “Common Market of the South” is a free trade area and customs union launched by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991. Chile and Bolivia are associated members of Mercosur.
\textsuperscript{260} Edele, A., p. 6
\end{footnotesize}
3.3.2 EU – LAC Partnership; the Summits

Historically, EU’s relations with Latin America countries are based on a series of bilateral and regional agreements. The Rio Summit in 1999, the Madrid Summit in 2002, the Guadalajara Summit in 2004 and lastly the Vienna Summit in 2006 were the Summits where this partnership has been formed.

The main idea behind this partnership, from the Union’s perspective, was that the Union’s political and economic objectives at international level ought to be furthered.

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Table V

**EU-Latin America Trade Figures (2)**

![Graphs showing EU-Latin America trade figures from 1980 to 2000](image)

Sources: Eurostat; European Commission.

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\(^{262}\) European Commission, “The European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean”, Sheet 3, p. 2
by development of partnerships with other regions. Therefore the interactions between EU and Latin America begun and resulted on their partnership initiated in Rio in 1992 and the Madrid Summit in 2002 renewed and reinforced this bi-regional strategy.

EU emphasized that the European experience can serve as a benchmark for Latin America in areas such as participatory democracy, economic integration, culture, and training “leaders” in a diverse cultural and linguistic environment. Thus, the Commission proposed a dialogue between the EU and Latin America based on the principle of multilateralism, regional integration and social cohesion. The three main lines of action still focus on political and strategic issues, economic and trade issues, and cooperation.

EU-Latin America relations have developed through three phases. The initial priority for development aid was followed by the opening-up of economic partnership, culminating in the present phase, which is governed by a regional approach and relations based on respect for democracy and human rights.

The EU so as to strengthen it Latin America strategy proposed a dialogue covering three essential issues: the establishment of a strategic alliance, sustainable development, and a dialogue involving civil society. Regarding civil society, the idea behind it is to play a more important role and active role on the process to make political cooperation more democratic and less bureaucratic.

However, behind the objective of strengthening economic and trade cooperation, there is the idea of promoting the smooth integration of both parties’ economies into the world economy by developing systems of production that comply with environmental and social protection rules. Under this perspective the two parties’ bilateral and regional agreements were signed.

More specifically, concerning the Rio Summit in 1999; it was then that a bi-regional strategic partnership was decided with an action plan setting priorities for co-

264 European Commission, “The European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean”, Sheet 1, p. 1
266 Idem
267 Idem
268 Idem
269 Idem
operation, ex. the protection of human rights, education etc.\textsuperscript{270} The Rio Summit also marked the occasion when the mandates to negotiate Association Agreements between the EU and Chile, and the EU and Mercosur were established. Between 1999 and 2002, the partnership made significant progress regarding trade; negotiations aimed at creating a Free Trade Area between the EU and Mercosur and between EU and Chile advanced.\textsuperscript{271} The following Summit in 2002 in Madrid deepened and broadened the partnership initiated at the previous summit. It confirmed progress achieved and launched further proposals for deepening the partnership with the region.\textsuperscript{272} Trade here was in central position in the discussions.

For Chile, the Summit marked the conclusion for the negotiations of an Association Agreement creating Free Trade Area with the Union.\textsuperscript{273} Negotiations with Mercosur towards an Association Agreement advanced. The Summit endorsed a new Business Facilitation Action Plan between the two parties.\textsuperscript{274} For Mexico a Free Trade Area of Agreement that has been negotiated from 1997 and was enforced in 2000, the Summit confirmed the healthy trading relations.\textsuperscript{275} Lastly concerning the countries of the Andean Community and Central America, the Summit aimed at launching new “Political Dialogue and Co-operation Agreements”, coupled with a set of proposals to enhance the co-operation on trade, investments and economic issues. The main target was to establish conditions under which, after the completion of the Doha Development Agenda, both regions would negotiate a mutually beneficial Free Trade Agreement.\textsuperscript{276} The third EU-LAC took place in Guadalajara and had two main objectives; social cohesion and regional integration.\textsuperscript{277} The Summit encouraged further progress in the EU – Mercosur negotiations for Association Agreement which also had as its aim to reinforce the internal Mercosur programme to complete its common market.\textsuperscript{278}

Concerning EU and Central America, as well as the Andean Community respectively, the Summit reconfirmed the objective of negotiating bi-regional Association Agreement

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\textsuperscript{271} Idem
\textsuperscript{272} Idem
\textsuperscript{273} Idem
\textsuperscript{274} Idem
\textsuperscript{275} Idem
\textsuperscript{276} Idem
\textsuperscript{277} Idem
\textsuperscript{278} Idem
Agreements to be built upon the conclusions of the on-going WTO negotiations under the Doha Development Agenda and the progress in the economic integration of the regions.\(^{279}\) The fourth and so far last EU-LAC Summit was held in Vienna in 2006 and which is going to be examined in our case study.

Trade relations between EU and LAC have considerably strengthened in the last fifteen years. Nevertheless, they are highly asymmetrical.\(^{280}\) The EU is currently the second-largest trading partner of LAC taken as a whole, but at the same time, LAC’s position in total EU trade remains relatively low. The asymmetrical nature of trade relations between the two parties gives EU a favorable bargaining position in sub-regional and bilateral trade negotiations. A factor among others that as we are going to see in our case study was the basis for civil society’s criticism against these two regions’ free trade agreements.

**Table VI: EU-LAC Bi-regional Summits**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Summit</th>
<th>Agreement/Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>The Rio Summit</td>
<td>Bi-regional Strategic Partnership with an Action Plan setting priorities for cooperation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>The Madrid Summit</td>
<td>Partnership enhancement, a new Business Facilitation Action Plan, and Free Trade Area between the Union and Chile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>The Guadalajara Summit</td>
<td>Two main objectives; social cohesion and regional integration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>The Vienna Summit</td>
<td>The Vienna Declaration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{280}\) Edele, A., p. 10
Chapter IV: The Case Study

Describing and Analyzing Civil Society’s “Linking Alternatives 2” Summit as CSOs Response to the Fourth EU-LAC Summit in Vienna 2006.

At this final part of this thesis we are going to examine a case study, that through that, we will answer our research questions; “What was civil society groups’ reaction towards the 4\textsuperscript{th} European Union – Latin America /Caribbean Summit in Vienna 2006?”, “Which was their criticism and what was their input towards the bi-regional relations of EU and Latin America?”. This case study is also an attempt to provide us with a more critical opinion about civil society’s transformative possibilities.

The case is referring primarily to the Fourth EU – Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) Summit in Vienna, Austria, the 12\textsuperscript{th} of May 2006, held to further promote and strengthen the bi-regional strategic partnership between the counterparts, described also as a Business Summit which concluded with the Declaration of Vienna. The case study will focus on the responses of civil society groups on that Summit. This response came as a parallel Summit, Summit of Social Movements from Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe “Enlazando Alternativas 2” (Linking Alternatives 2), held by civil society organizations. This Summit is perceived as a major encounter to the first one, which has as its purpose to deliver civil society’s message to the Union as well as to the Heads of States and Governments concerning its opinion on the nature of their partnership and specifically their trade negotiations.

Additionally to those two main Summits that our case study is occupied with, another Summit former to those two will be discussed. This is the first Summit of CSOs from Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe, “Enlazando Alternativos” (Linking Alternatives) that was held in Guadalajara in 2004 on the occasion of the Third Summit EU –LAC Summit in Guadalajara in 2004. Through this discussion we aim to show the basis of the relations between CSOs and the European Union’s and Latin America’s officials, something that will help us in understanding the nature of their relations and use that as a tool to answer our research questions.
At the following paragraphs these Summits will be described, while afterwards “Linking Alternatives 2” Summit will be examined regarding civil society’s input in EU – LAC relations as well as there going to be some specific examples of different civil society’s organizations and their criticism. Lastly we will close this final chapter giving our results and analysis.

4.1 The First Alternative Summit in Guadalajara

On the occasion of the 3rd Summit of Heads of State and Government of Latin America, in May 2004 in Guadalajara, the first alternative Social Summit took place. “Enlazando Alternativos” (Linking Alternatives - EA) gathered together social groups and civil organizations from both continents consisting the first social encounter of massive participation. In Mexico the protests that have taken place against previous summits have been small; however, a large group of organizations was mobilized and protested against the Guadalajara Official Summit.

One of the main aims of this Social Encounter was actually to strengthen the cooperation between social movements and CSOs in Latin America and Europe with a shared interest in the promotion of models of sustainable socio-economic development that put people and not big corporations' profits first. The Forum attracted over 300 representatives of social movements and civil society organisations from every Latin American country as well as some key counterparts from Europe.

Several presentations to the four-day Summit concerned critical analyses of the EU’s current FTAs in Latin America and its negotiations with Mercosur as a regional bloc. Similar to what is apparent in Africa-EU negotiations and agreements, these FTAs were strongly criticised for attempting to accelerate liberalisation and are dubbed the EU’s "WTO+plus" strategy.

The overarching theme for the Forum was "Exchanging Alternatives". A number of presentations were concerned with questions of how to construct "another world", focusing on the potential for people-centred regional integration strategies in the

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282 Idem
284 Idem

EA also produced a declaration and an outline of a Plan of Action.\footnote{Enlazando Alternativas, www.alternativas.at, accessed on 28/12/2006} Namely, with the aim of limiting free trade and promoting cooperation, the organisers of this event pointed out the problematic developments that have been taking place in Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe and at creating a new network of solidarity between the North and South.\footnote{Idem} In that Social Encounter the view was expressed, that the continued liberalisation benefits a small number of enterprises while threatening the majority of the population.\footnote{Idem} Therefore, on that occasion of the Guadalajara official third Summit, the CSOs demanded:

- Independent evaluation of the consequences of free trade agreements,
- Cancellation of foreign debt of Latin American and Caribbean states,
- Protection of smallholder production systems on both continents,
- Food sovereignty instead of pursuit of export policies,
- More cooperation in the fields of politics and development,
- No de-industrialisation through reduction of tariffs,
- Recognition of the rights of peoples, especially indigenous peoples, who are fighting for autonomy,
- More transparency, participation and supervision of democratic processes within bilateral relations, and
- Protection of the human rights as a priority over the pursuit of economic power.\footnote{Idem}

Real World Radio interviewed Carlos Aparicio from AMARC-Pulsar, who was covering the activities of the encounter EA.\footnote{Real World Radio FM, http://www.radiomundoreal.fm/rmr/?q=en/node/1914, accessed on 28/12/2006} The expectations regarding that parallel encounter to the Third Official EU-LAC Summit appeared, as Carlos Aparicio explained, in the interest of Guadalajara people on participating of the activities, where alternatives to neoliberal policies are being discussed. Besides, he informed that, according to reliable sources managed by the press in Guadalajara, the Mexican government spent over 300 millions pesos in the implementation of security measures.
facing the summit. The activities within the program of the social encounter EA started in the installations of Guadalajara University. These activities had as main issues: military interference, agriculture and alternatives to neoliberalism.  

In Mexico, much of civil society organizing against neoliberalism has pointed to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as a concrete example of the harmful effects of free trade agreements. At one point, it was hoped that trade agreements with the European Union would present a more beneficial and just model for such agreements. However, representatives from South America, such as Claudia Torelli of the Uruguay Network, were clear that “we no longer believe in the European Union as a more just movement for integration... everything civil society has complained about has ended up in the accord with Mercosur.”

“Linking Alternatives” was indeed an excellent opportunity for dialogue between EU and Latin American civil groups, but it was equally important for participants from different Latin American nations to share strategies and experiences. Many Latin American civil leaders shared scepticism over the inclusion of a “democratic clause” in European Union trade agreements. Alejandro Villamar, of the Mexican Network Against Free Trade (RMALC), called the clause empty, and referred to the “pretty words” in the EU negotiation strategy as part of the “carrot of cooperation,” which served to distract from the real objective of opening Latin American markets to EU products.

The final declarations made at the conference denounced the effects of two decades of neoliberal policies (free trade agreements included in this) in Latin America, stating that they have contributed to increase in the concentration of wealth and land (this being aggravated by the burden of foreign debt) and the amount of resources that are dedicated to militarization, corruption and impunity throughout the region. The declaration stated that the free trade agreements already signed with the U.S. (such as NAFTA) as well as the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas will “impose a process of integration that is subordinate to the hegemony of North America.”

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293 She is referring to the free trade agreement in the final stages of negotiation between the Mercosur countries in South America and the European Union.
295 Idem
statement continued on to state that the bilateral free trade agreements signed between Latin American countries and the EU can also be located within the same model—a model which exacerbates unemployment causes the disappearance of small farmers and transforms healthcare, education, and other public services into merchandise to be sold on the market.\textsuperscript{297} In essence, the final declaration concluded that, despite resolutions between the EU and Latin America to look at social issues as an important part of all agreements, the EU has pushed forward with essentially the same neoliberal agenda as the U.S.\textsuperscript{298}

As a conclusion one can say that the gathering, despite everything, did not cease to be an important opportunity to create meeting spaces in which the development of alternatives to capitalism can be reflected on and directed.\textsuperscript{299} The event was conceived as the starting point of a new process of cooperation between NGOs and social movements in both regions.\textsuperscript{300} In that first Summit in Guadalajara was the first time that civil society organisations from Europe and LAC organised such a networking event outside the framework of the World Social Forum, which addressed the model of exclusion and neoliberal agenda proposed for the people.\textsuperscript{301}

4.2 The Fourth EU-LAC Vienna Summit

The fourth EU – LAC Summit took place on 11-12 May 2006 in Vienna. From the Union’s point of view it was a fruitful event that brought together 58 Heads of State and Government as well as Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Trade of 60 countries of the EU, Latin America and the Caribbean.

The central theme of this specific Summit was “Strengthening the bi-regional strategic association”.\textsuperscript{302} On the first day of the Summit, six working tables were organized in which Heads of State and Government held discussions on 12 agenda objectives\textsuperscript{303}:

\textsuperscript{298} Idem
\textsuperscript{299} Idem
\textsuperscript{300} Edele, A., p. 4
\textsuperscript{301} Idem
\textsuperscript{302} Edele, A., p. 4
- Democracy and human rights
- Strengthening the multilateral approach to fostering peace, stability and the respect for international law
- Terrorism
- Drugs and organised crime
- Environment (including disaster prevention, mitigation and preparedness)
- Energy
- Association agreements; regional integration; trade; connectivity (investment, infrastructure, information society)
- Growth and employment
- The fight against poverty, inequality and exclusion
- Development co-operation and international financing for development
- Migration
- Knowledge sharing and human capacity building: Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology, Culture

The second day of the Vienna Summit was devoted to separate sub-regional meetings between the EU and specific LAC regional groups (MERCOSUR, Central America, CARIFORUM), and between the EU and Mexico and Chile, Latin American countries that have association agreements with the EU.\footnote{Edele, A., p. 13}

As the Commission stresses, it was an opportunity to take stock of the progress achieved since 2004 Guadalajara Summit and to decide about ways to continue strengthening the partnership.\footnote{Europa Gateway, European Commission, EU and the World, External Trade, Trade Issues, http://ec.europa.eu/trade/issues/bilateral/regions/lac/index_en.htm, accessed on 17/11/2006} One of the outcomes of this Summit was the decision of the parties to launch negotiations for an Association Agreement between the EU and Central America, including a Free Trade Area,\footnote{Idem} as well as Heads of State also welcomed the decision adopted by the EU and the Andean Community to initiate during 2006, a process leading to the negotiation of an Association Agreement which will include political dialogue, cooperation programmes and a trade agreement.\footnote{Gateway, European Commission, European Union in the World, EU/LAC Summit, EU-LAC Vienna Summit, http://ec.europa.eu/world/lac-vienna/, accessed on 19/11/2006}
As Benita Ferrero-Waldner\textsuperscript{308} mentioned, the adoption of a Summit’s Declaration (Vienna Declaration), the proposal set up an EU-LAC Parliamentary Assembly and the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding between the European Commission and Secretariat-General of the Iberoamerican Summit Process, were a number of significant and tangible outcomes.\textsuperscript{309}

A matter of significance is that before the fourth EU-LAC Summit, the EU adopted renewed strategies towards Latin America and the Caribbean, which are adapted to better address new challenges.\textsuperscript{310} Indeed the recently adopted Communication by the European Commission on the EU-Latin America partnership, seeks to revitalize the partnership. It indicates that if Europe is ready to commit itself actively towards Latin America, it is expecting equally strong commitment from its side.\textsuperscript{311}

Thus the Vienna Summit was a decisive moment according to the Union to test this relationship. It was an occasion to strengthen their relationship by underscoring that what unites these regions is a strong asset for the strategic partnership that should be fully exploited in the interest of both regions.\textsuperscript{312}

At Vienna’s Declaration, the two parties reaffirmed their commitment to a strong and effective multilateral system; they aimed to define their common positions and joint actions by setting common objectives, such as democracy and human rights, terrorism, drugs and organized crime, etc.

The issue of trade took up a significant position both during bi-regional discussions and in the framework of the sub-regional meetings. It was underlined that the participating delegations regarded trade as vital factor to reach all goals in poverty reduction, social protection, and innovation.\textsuperscript{313}

Furthermore, the Union and Heads of State and Government agreed that a positive outcome of the WTO Doha Development Round would enable LAC countries to increase their exports and thus to stimulate economic growth in the region.\textsuperscript{314}

Therefore, they fully support the multilateral trading system and endorsed the

\textsuperscript{308} Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy
\textsuperscript{310} Idem
\textsuperscript{312} Idem
\textsuperscript{313} Edel, A., p. 13
\textsuperscript{314} Ibid, p. 14
commitment undertaken at the WTO Hong Kong Ministerial Conference for a successful conclusion in 2006 of the negotiations launched in Doha.\textsuperscript{315}

Even if all these acts on behalf of both regions seem positive and fruitful, however the parallel Summit, held by civil society from both regions, as well, does not share the same views. This is a response of civil society from all the regions involved in this process, it is an organized criticism and a coordinated reaction that indicates the importance of such an input on issues that have a significant value to the people’s of the regions. At the next part we are going to examine this Summit and the main arguments that have been made.

4.3 Civil Society’s Response to the Vienna Summit; “Linking Alternatives 2”

The Summit of Social Movements from Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe, “Linking Alternatives 2” (EA2) was a social encounter of civil society organizations from the EU and LAC on Fourth EU-LAC Summit of Heads of State and Government. The Summit carries the theme: “Social Alternatives in a New Era of Europe-Latin America Relations”\textsuperscript{316}

The Summit was organized by the LAC-EU bi-regional network, which includes more than 200 social movements, NGOs, human rights organizations, solidarity groups, anti-globalization movements, trade unions and unemployment groups, environmentalists, farmers, students, indigenous people, migrant and refugee associations etc. Its main objective was to create a platform for cross-fertilization and networking, and to enhance the visibility of social discontent about prevailing EU-LAC relations.\textsuperscript{317}

This event had as its purpose to highlight the analysis of trends and developments in Europe and LAC; assess the significance of relations between both regions in current neo-liberal global context; address the EU trade agreements in the region as well as political role of the EU TNCs in both Europe and LAC and showcase people’s alternatives in development strategies and proposals.\textsuperscript{318}

\textsuperscript{317} Edele, A., p. 4
There were two main events during this Summit; first part was a session of the Permanent People’s Tribunal (PPT) on “Liberal Policies in European Transnational Corporations in LAC”. PPT is not a tribunal in a juridical sense, but an instrument used to influence public opinion and to support NGOs and social movements. For the alternative summit in Vienna, the bi-regional network CSOs requested PPT to investigate the increasingly dominant role of European TNCs in Latin America focusing on the threats posed to political sovereignty, development policy, economic autonomy, and democratization. The aim of this part of the Summit was to raise awareness for the rights of the peoples, denounce existing free trade and bilateral investment agreements, expose the role played by TNCs in the configuration of the global economy, and to support CSOs seeking ways of dismantling their power in world politics.

This session perspective was to generate an unprecedented level of interest and expectation in Latin American and European CSOs that created new networks and a basis for strengthening their struggles, resistance and search for alternatives for the dominant economic and social paradigm. The cross-fertilization of action and analysis that PPT seek to foster, made its work more than a mere academic exercise, but rather a genuine effort to contribute with its experience to a common endeavor of social, environmental, and labour movements in both regions.

The second part consisted of a number of panel discussions, seminars, and workshops, where the topics discussed at the official summit were critically analyzed, and alternative proposals were developed for the current EU-LAC relations, based on the experience of people at the grassroots, and to facilitate the creation of the networks between CSOs from both regions. They key themes of these discussions were: the effects of neoliberal globalization, militarization and human rights, alternative regional integration, development cooperation, and political dialogue.

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319 The PPT is an organ of the “Lelio Basso International Foundation for the Rights and Liberation of the Peoples” based in Italy. It follows a tradition that begun in 1967 with the “Bertrand Russell Tribunal” sessions I and II on international war crimes in Vietnam.
320 Edele, A., p. 16
321 Idem
322 Idem
324 Idem
325 Edele, A., p. 4
As described by the title of EA2 the main objective was to “link alternatives” by creating a “political and mobilizing space”. The event was conceived as the starting point of a new process of cooperation between NGOs and social movements in both regions.

4.4 “Linking Alternatives 2” Summit’s Criticism and Outcomes

EA2’s target was to “enhance the visibility of social discontent” by acting as public expression of popular pressure. CSOs criticism was mainly directed at neoliberal policies pursued in both continents. It was argued that European and LAC countries shared a similar experience regarding the implementation of the neoliberal concept. Namely while neoliberal policies had been imposed brutally on LAC countries by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through structural programmes, they had been implemented gradually in Europe through the creation of Single Market and Monetary Union.

Main objects of criticism however, were the FTAs between the EU and regional groups or single states in LAC. CSOs clearly wanted to expose and criticize human rights violations and environmental pollution committed by European TNCs in LAC countries. Leading argument was that FTAs were pushed by industrialized states not only due to economic and commercial interests, but also for geopolitical reasons. “FTAs are not agreements between equal partners” behind that statement by the CSOs one of the main goals of this event is revealed; send a message to the Heads of State and Government to stop promoting a bi-regional free trade agenda.

As the PPT indicated, while the role of U.S-based TNCs in LAC has been widely discussed in recent years, less attention has been paid to the power of European TNCs. In a number of countries, certain strategic sectors, such as energy, petroleum, water, and telecommunications, are led by European companies. TNCs are regarded as the major promoters of the “neoliberal ideology” of the current model of globalization which is responsible for the growing gap between the rich and the poor. LAC countries have suffered from the negative consequences of their activities, such as unemployment, increasing precarious working condition, the destruction of

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326 Edele, A., p. 4
327 Idem
328 Idem
329 Ibid, p. 5
330 Ibid, p. 15
agricultural systems for the benefit of agribusinesses, the violation of the rights of indigenous peoples and small farmers, the plundering of natural resources, the privatization of services, and increasing poverty. The widespread human rights violation in LAC by European TNCs and the growing corporate influence on governments and international organizations in favour of the liberalization of trade, services, and capital flows.\textsuperscript{331}

As presented in the report on EA2, the bi-regional network of CSOs regards neoliberalism as the economic, political, social, and cultural policies imposed by the dominant classes and their governments.\textsuperscript{332} These classes are trying to convince that the current process of globalization is a natural process everyone has to adapt to, and that improves the living conditions of all. However the network believes that neoliberalism is leading humanity along a path with serious consequences which are evidence by events in Latin America and increasingly in Europe as well: growing militarization, violation of human rights, and attacks on social rights.\textsuperscript{333}

As evidence in a report recently published by the UN, the neoliberal policies implemented worldwide in the past ten to fifteen years have led to an increase in income disparities both within countries and between industrialized and developing states.\textsuperscript{334} Indicatively, the process of globalization fails to distribute wealth more evenly, the external dept of developing countries, the liberalization of markets for goods and services without the opening of labor markets, unemployment, export subsidies for agricultural products in the EU and US, and the policies of the World Bank and IMF.

Additionally concerning regional integration CSOs network pointed out the critical aspects of the dominant models of integration. They indicated that agreements between the EU and LAC are based on a relationship of domination which TNCs play a leading role. The capitalist integration model followed by the EU was strongly criticized on being solely based on economic liberalization with the objective of profit making.\textsuperscript{335} However it was highlighted that LAC countries had so far failed to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Edele, A., p. 15
\item Ibid, p. 29
\item Idem
\item Ibid, p. 30
\item Ibid, p. 31
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Global Civil Society

written by Eirini Souri

develop successful alternative models of regional integration, which showed that it was easier to criticize than to formulate realistic alternatives.\textsuperscript{336} Lastly, development cooperation between LAC and EU was equally criticized. CSOs accused EU of hypocrisy because at the one hand the Union puts the topic “social cohesion” on the agenda of the official summit, but on the other hand foster economic liberalization that caused social inequalities in the first place.\textsuperscript{337} What is more, CSOs argued that most CSOs proposing alternatives based on the experience of grassroots were not given the opportunity to participate in the formulation of EU’s development policies; and even though the Commission had organized a “Bi-regional NGO Forum” six weeks before the official summit, it had little impact on the decisions taken by Heads of State and Government.\textsuperscript{338} Now we will go on to the last section of this part. At this section we will present the responses of three different NGOs, on the two Summits.

4.5 Responses from Different CSOs on the Summits; CEO, TNI and Oxfam

4.5.1 Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)

Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO) is an Amsterdam-based research and campaign group targeting the threats to democracy, equity, social justice and the environment posed by the economic and political power of corporations and their lobby groups.\textsuperscript{339} CEO is registered as not for profit foundation under Dutch law at the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce. Financial support for CEO activities has been confirmed from Christian Aid, Humanitarian Group For Social Development, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, the Sigrid Rausing Trust and RH Southern Trust.\textsuperscript{340} The CEO gave an impressive report on the two Summits. In this report the critique was equally made on both the EU as well as European TNCs. According to CEO the EU was simply boosting talks on trade and investment liberalization for all parts of LAC and this Summit would actually help to meet this end, since the competition

\textsuperscript{336} Edele, A., p. 31
\textsuperscript{337} Ibid, p. 32
\textsuperscript{338} Idem
\textsuperscript{339} Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), http://www.corporateeurope.org/aboutceo.html, accessed on 15/11/2006
\textsuperscript{340} Idem
between the Union and US for economic dominance in the region is already putting pressure in both parties.\footnote{Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), A critique of the EU-Latin America Business Summit in Vienna, \url{http://www.corporateeurope.org/viennabusinesssummit.pdf}, accessed on 29/10/2006, p. 2}  

CEO also commented on the EA2. It referred on the cases presented on the Forum and highlighted that they indicated that the growing volumes of European investment in Latin America by no means automatically benefits the region’s people nor the environment.\footnote{Ibid, p. 3} These cases are just a dire warning against the EU’s agenda of accelerated deregulation of trade and investment, as the CEO stated.\footnote{Idem} The Observatory found righteous the fact that the PPT called for the power of these TNCs to be scaled back and for establishing standards and binding regulations, rooted in the rights of peoples, for accountable performance of these firms.\footnote{Idem} The deeper problem, CEO suggests, is that EU governments shape their international trade policies around the interests of large corporations and pursue strong collaboration to promote their shared objectives.\footnote{Ibid, p. 4}  

As it is stated in CEO report “In the light of the record of gross misbehaviour by many EU-based TNCs and the more general failure of the neoliberal development model in Latin America, governments ought to use the Vienna Summit to explore new approaches. Instead of steam-rolling ahead with trade negotiations serving the interest of large corporations, governments should re-assess the flawed model which has over the last decades caused a harmful over-dependency on often irresponsible corporations.”\footnote{Ibid}  

What the CEO suggests is that now it is high time for new approaches to be explored, and a good starting point would be the People’s Trade Treaty proposed by newly elected Bolivian President Evo Morales. In this proposed model increased trade and investment flows are just not a goal in itself but must be made to serve sustainable, just and people-centered development.\footnote{Idem}
4.5.2 Transnational Institute (TNI)

The Transnational Institute was founded in 1974 as a worldwide fellowship of committed scholar-activists. It was one of the first research institutes established to be transnational in name, composition, orientation and focus.\(^{348}\) In the spirit of public scholarship, and aligned to no political party, TNI seeks to create and promote international co-operation in analysing and finding possible solutions to such global problems as militarism and conflict, poverty and marginalisation, social injustice and environmental degradation.\(^{349}\) At the heart of TNI lies the committed core of current fellows and advisors. They include journalists, independent researchers, and senior scholars from similar institutes in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe, Scandinavia and the USA.\(^{350}\) TNI is constituted as a non-profit organisation registered in the Netherlands. TNI receives part of its institutional funding from the Samuel Rubin Foundation (New York) and otherwise is supported on a project by project basis by a range of funders, including church agencies, peace and environmental organisations, European foreign and development co-operation ministries, the European Commission and private foundations in the USA and Europe.\(^{351}\)

In TNI discussion paper on “Remaking the Washington Consensus in Vienna; The EU free trade agenda for Latin America”, TNI simply stated that the EU alternative for LAC countries in relation to free trade agreements is no different from the US free trade agenda. The EU according to TNI, has just presented its free trade objectives within a “broader framework of cooperation”.\(^{352}\) EU failure to address effectively asymmetries between the two regions simply means according to TNI that this is likely to disproportionately benefit European multinationals.\(^{353}\) TNI stresses out that in its negotiations with LAC countries, the EU is challenging US hegemony in the region by offering a more comprehensive model of political and


\(^{349}\) Idem

\(^{350}\) Idem

\(^{351}\) Idem


\(^{353}\) Ibid, p. 3
economic relations as an alternative to the US’s strict bilateral policies of “trade not aid”. The question however remains for TNI, how much substance is being given to this model? The concern seems to gather around the fact that this alternative is a more of a “sweetener” for the goal of market opening and investment protection.

TNI scholars conclude to the point that by following the EU alternative is more likely to intensify the already glaring asymmetries between the EU and the LAC region, with development cooperation and political dialogue serving as “instruments to preserve existing inequalities” to the advantage of the EU and its business interests in the region.

4.5.3 Oxfam

Oxfam GB is a development, relief, and campaigning organisation that works with others to find lasting solutions to poverty and suffering around the world. It is an independent organisation, registered as a charity, affiliated to Oxfam International, with partners, volunteers, supporters and staff of many nationalities – part of a global movement to build a just and safer world. It is a catalyst for overcoming poverty and its work is based on three inter-linking fronts; saving lives by responding swiftly to provide aid, support and protection during emergencies; developing programmes and solutions that empower people to work their way out of poverty; campaigning to achieve lasting change.

Based on Oxfam’s press release in October 2006, and as the title of the article indicates, Oxfam warns about the proposed new EU trade policy that is “development-blind”. Oxfam argues that the Union’s external trade plans will pose a serious threat to poor countries' development, such as LAC countries, if implemented. The Oxfam’s argument is that EU’s aggressive liberalisation agenda in developing countries and its

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355 Idem
attempt to impose rules on competition, investment, and government procurement will not help development.360

In Oxfam’s words “The new emphasis on regional and bilateral free trade deals will undermine multilateralism and calls into question the EU’s stated commitment to the World Trade Organisation negotiations”. Celine Charveriat, Head of Oxfam’s Make Trade Fair campaign stated “It seems the wolf has taken off its sheep's clothing. This is an extremely aggressive agenda that pays little more than lip service to development. The EU’s plan to use free trade deals to force concessions on issues that developing countries have repeatedly rejected at the WTO, will undermine multilateralism and increase poverty and inequality. This is not a plan for competitiveness but a plan for exporting inequality and poverty”.

For the EU to call on LAC countries to open their markets and deal with non-tariff barriers, when they have similar barriers in place and continue to pay vast sums in trade-distorting farm subsidies, is highly controversial if not hypocritical.361

As mentioned in the article Oxfam is particularly concerned by; the apparent intention to follow the USA’s lead in using Free Trade Agreements to force open developing countries’ markets and impose anti-development conditions on investment, competition, and government procurement that go well beyond WTO standards; demands for a high level of reciprocity in trade negotiations, as opposed to acknowledgment of the need for special and differential treatment for developing countries and their right to protect products of vital importance to food security and livelihoods; demands for stronger intellectual property rules and enforcement, which threaten to limit access to vital medicines for people in developing countries, as well as depriving farmers of the right to ownership of seeds.362

360 Oxfam, Press, “Oxfam’s warns European Trade policy is “development blind”.
361 Idem
362 Idem
4.6 Results and Analysis discussion

4.6.1 The First CSOs Summit and the Vienna Summit

Before seeing the results from the examination of our two main summits, the Vienna Official Summit and the EA2, we need to have a thorough look on the kind of impact that the first Social Summit, EA had on the agenda of the Vienna Official Summit in 2006. Based on our previous descriptions of those Summits, one can say that CSOs in EA did have some effect on the next official EU-LAC Summit.

By observing the 12 agenda objectives of the Vienna Summit\(^{363}\) one can see that some of the demands made in the declaration of the first Social Encounter\(^{364}\) were partially met by the official Summit, others were not clear and others were not. More specifically the demand on the enhancement of the cooperation in the fields of politics and development was partially met, since as stated in the Vienna agenda, the objective of development co-operation and international financing for development does include this claim. On the demand from CSOs of recognition of the rights of peoples, with concerns on the autonomy of indigenous peoples, the objectives on behalf of the official Summit, firstly of the fight against poverty, inequality and exclusion and secondly, of human rights, have even though not clearly covered these aspects.

Furthermore, on the transparency, participation and supervision of democratic processes demand within the bilateral relations one can agree that was satisfactorily met since the official Summit had the objective of Democracy as prior to its list. This objective in relation to human rights covered as well, even partially the claim of the Social Encounter on the protection of human rights as a priority over the pursuit of economic power.

Nonetheless, the agenda of the Vienna Summit was not clear on other demands of the Social Encounter, something that makes it difficult to discern whether there was a wish on behalf of the Vienna Summit to meet those ends or to avoid them. Some of these examples are; the demands on protection of smallholder production systems on both continents, and the food sovereignty instead of pursuit of export policies.

Lastly there were claims from the CSOs that were not met at all from the Vienna Summit agenda, such as the independent evaluation of the consequences of free trade


agreements, the cancellation of foreign debt of Latin American and Caribbean states, and the No de-industrialisation through the reduction of tariffs. These been said, we are going further to the discussion of the results from the second Social Forum.

4.6.2 The Vienna Summit and the Second CSOs Summit

The Vienna Summit was undoubtedly a major event for the EU-LAC relations. In any occasion this official summit was indicative for the future of these two region’s bilateral and bi-regional corporation. The Social Forum EA2 came however as a surprise due to its determined nature to make a point to the Union and the Heads of State and Government.\textsuperscript{365} The message was obviously, as delivered from the CSOs attending the EA2 Summit, that the free trade negotiation that are fostered by the EU are not either improving the LAC countries already bad position in the world, nor providing any kind of solution. Trade simply is not a remedy for the problems that these countries are facing due to the liberalization and rapid globalization processes.\textsuperscript{366}

Therefore as stated in the beginning, “Linking Alternatives 2” Summit can be seen as civil society’s reaction towards the 4\textsuperscript{th} EU-LAC Summit. Having now a clearer perspective from the main objectives as well as the outcomes of the EA2 Summit as well as from the specific reports from CEO, TNI and Oxfam discussed earlier; we can say that all of them share a common view on EU trade policy implementation on LAC countries. EU even though in a slightly different manner than the US is unjustifiably fostering free trade agreements in the name of development and economic growth. EU may also foster development and aid in those countries but it is highly contradictory the fact that the EU instead of trying to normalize the already asymmetrical relations with the LAC, it tries to accelerate the liberalization processes without bearing in mind the implications for the Latin America region.

\textsuperscript{365} Edele, A., p. 32
\textsuperscript{366} Idem
4.6.3 Civil Society as a Transformative Social Agent in Latin America

On the discussion of European NGOs working in Latin America, we mentioned that building up civil society was conceived as a way to democratize the whole region.\textsuperscript{367} The importance of a long-term transformation of the society and mainly agency prioritized the need for democratization in the area. Hence one can say that enhanced civil societies were not an automatic result of democratization processes in Latin America but the way to promote economic and social change.\textsuperscript{368} This gave rise to new notions of development and democratization to NGOs from the North and the South. Civil society was therefore a project capable of transforming politics, society and culture in the example of Latin America and that was the reason of European NGOs undertaking this as a long-term strategy for the Latin American region as well as others.\textsuperscript{369}

Hence it is not an overstatement to say that European NGOs apart from giving aid to Latin American countries, they did offer something more.\textsuperscript{370} The task of building up local civil societies in the region through “global civil society”, which involves giving international advocacy and transnational networking role, was a dynamic role to play on their part.\textsuperscript{371} As stated in the descriptive part, civil society now “represents the arena where modern forms of agency take root”.\textsuperscript{372}

Without any restraint, scholars are able to say that civil society for Latin Americans has become a true if not the only true source of agency and productivity, as well as the only source of meaningful social identity.\textsuperscript{373} A fact that is closely linked with citizenship and democracy, therefore civil society has become an agency of transparent political relationships in Latin America, both personal and collective.\textsuperscript{374} Hence it is not an exaggeration to say that civil society groups have become as the only arena in which true political experience and thus real solidarity is possible for those groups.\textsuperscript{375}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{367}{Grugel, J., 2000, p. 98}
\footnotetext{368}{Idem}
\footnotetext{369}{Ibid, p. 99}
\footnotetext{370}{Ibid, p. 94}
\footnotetext{371}{Idem}
\footnotetext{372}{Colas, A., 1997, p. 964}
\footnotetext{373}{Kaviraj Sudipta, and Khilnani Sunil, 2001, p. 201}
\footnotetext{374}{Idem}
\footnotetext{375}{Idem}
\end{footnotes}
Now connecting our analysis with our results; the results from the observation of the Guadalajara Social Encounter and the agenda of the Vienna Summit can indicate indeed that there were efforts on behalf of the European Union to enhance cooperation between then Union and CSOs and indeed several of the claims made on the declaration of the Social Encounter were met by the Vienna agenda. However, as explained earlier from the results of the criticism made on the EA2 to the Vienna Summit, it is clear that there is an inconsistency between those efforts and the actions adapted by the Union and Latin American officials. By simply putting topics, such as “human rights”, “social cohesion”, or “development cooperation” on the agenda of the official summit, imbalances caused by the fostering economic liberalization through free trade agreements cannot simply be stabilize the highly asymmetrical relations between the regions.
Part III

Chapter V: Analysis of Civil Society’s role as an Agent in International Relations

5.1 CSOs as a Counter-Hegemonic Agency

Throughout this study we have discussed about civil society presence in IR. We have seen that under conditions of globalization, powerful structural forces in the political economy of regionalization enable and constrain civil society agency organizations. As neo-Gramscianism emphasizes civil society as an agency is the result of these structural contradictions and developments of capitalism. However civil society organizations can be seen as forms of social resistance as well as stabilizing forces of the current status quo, and we can assume that their “agency” derives from prevailing relations among social structures: capitalism, neo-liberal discourses, new constitutionalism, etc. Thus, neo-Gramscianism emphasizes that the responses of those actors which are supportive or oppose neoliberal policy frameworks on regionalization are seen as outcomes of the structures of capitalist accumulation and exploitation that have constrained certain social forces and have enabled others. In the case we have just examined, the responses of CSOs to the trade relations of EU and Latin America were opposing this status and therefore can be seen through our theoretical approach as an outcome of those liberal policies which as proven in the EA2 Summit have constrained and exploit the Latin America region. Reasonably according to our approach, CSOs can be seen as a form of a counter-revolutionary attempt to reform, presenting a mass participation as shown in our illustration that aim not to radical social changed but to alternatives methods in handling globalization and regionalization processes. Moreover, they can be understood as critical agents that intent to clarify and inform social groups involved in these processes such as indigenous people, workers, women etc. and enable them to political thinking, leading those groups to understand their situation, the causes of these situation as well as ways and means they can or at least try to change them.

According to the above argument, the EA2 Summit clearly worked towards those

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376 Cox, R. W., 1999, p. 4
377 Gills, B. K, 2000, p. 24
378 Cox, R. W., 1999, p. 5
379 Drainville, A. C , (1999), p. 222
ends, and they provide important feedback to the parties involved in these process as well as the parties involved in the official EU – LAC Summit.

As we already discussed civil society in Gramscian theory was the realm where a socialist alternative could take place and hence, possible strategies could be developed.\textsuperscript{380} CSOs participated in EA2 offered their criticism on the EU-LAC trade relations and even though no coherent possible alternative methods were introduced to the ones proposed in the official Summit expressed the need of finding those alternatives and addressed this need to all their counterparts present on the Summit.

This highlights the fact that even though there are not yet answers there are possibilities to find those answers by simply enhancing the present activities of those CSOs. Thus, as neo-Gramscian theorists underline, civil society groups can be indeed seen as “totalities” of strategic driven emancipatory and counter-hegemonic possibilities.\textsuperscript{381}

\section*{5.2 Partnership as an Approach to Social Change}

Given to neo-Gramscianism and taking into consideration the results of our case study, one can say that even though solidarity and collective action are considered as an approach to social change, in the same manner as the examples of social movements were perceived at the previous decades; civil society groups are associated to another approach towards social change, an approach that is related to the process of international development.\textsuperscript{382}

This approach that CSOs have currently adopted has as its aim to form partnerships with other political actors such as governments and overseas development assistance organizations in promoting and improving the lives of the people.\textsuperscript{383} The EA2 itself is an evidence of civil society implementing this approach. It is an approach predicated on partnership with likeminded organizations in a shared project. In a way it was another form of confronting the existing global order in an effort to change the existing distribution of power. Most importantly the aim of these groups is not to take

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[380]{Cox, R. W., 1999, p. 5}
\footnotetext[381]{Ibid, p. 6}
\footnotetext[382]{Petras J. and Veltmeyer H., p. 2}
\footnotetext[383]{Ibid, p. 3}
\end{footnotes}
the power the current dominant social groups but to empower the poor by eliminating or at least balancing existing social and economic inequalities.\textsuperscript{384}

In that sense neo-Gramscianism views global civil society as the way to improve those inequalities that globalization has resulted or worsen. Civil society is offering a different way, especially for social agendas that appeal to our moral sense, which arguably has a better chance of succeeding than trade sanctions.\textsuperscript{385} From this point of view the combination these two major forces that increasingly characterize the twenty-first century, expanding globalization and civil society, can be seen as a great advantage for contemporary political actors, since a partnership is always preferable to confrontation and it can also lead to shared success.\textsuperscript{386}

Therefore one can defend why civil society groups according to our approach represent a variety of diverse social actors introducing “a new way of doing politics”, the so called “no-power, alternative development approach to social change”.\textsuperscript{387} A factor that is also affecting the conception of “governance” as it was operated in current politics till now. In fact this new approach could in effect replace mechanisms of political control that up till now were associated with the nation state\textsuperscript{388} and the democratization of global structures.

Civil society effectively represents a link between capitalism and democracy. It is an agent that could democratize the international state system and to engage prevailing groups in an attempt to practice “good governance”. This been said global civil society represents an alternative to the social movements and their radical antisystemic politics towards social change\textsuperscript{389} and it is therefore more promising in its transformative possibilities than any other social actor till now.

5.3 The Capabilities of Civil Society in Democratizing Global Governance

As we have already mentioned in previous chapters global civil society is an alternative method for solidarity, citizenship and democracy.\textsuperscript{390} Its transformative power derives from the attempt of its members to mobilize through voluntary

\textsuperscript{384} Petras J. and Veltmeyer H., p. 3  
\textsuperscript{385} Bhagwati, Jagdish, 2002, p. 6  
\textsuperscript{386} Idem  
\textsuperscript{387} Petras J. and Veltmeyer H., p. 3  
\textsuperscript{388} Ibid, p. 8  
\textsuperscript{389} Idem  
\textsuperscript{390} Scholte, J. A., 1999, p. 1
associations in initiatives to shape the existing world social order. In global civil society’s core one can find citizenship and the values of individualism, and civil society’s efforts focus on empowering individuals to change those aspects of the contemporary world that are against them. Democratization is civil society’s tool towards those ends.

When explaining the division between Northern and Southern NGOs, we already saw, democratization is one of the main aims of both actors in their attempt to improve the existing political structures and the way that they regulate global affairs. Civil society activism therefore, offers significant possibilities to reduce the major democratic deficits that have grown during recent decades in the governance of global relations.

According to critical theorists like Cox, globalization has indeed provoked a crisis in democracy. The democratization process involves the enhancement of public participation and public accountability, which almost every area of global policy lacks. Civil society as an agent that promotes solidarity and social interaction, is bringing both public participation and public accountability in the political arena, and therefore enhances democracy. Hence it is not an exaggeration that lots of academics as well as citizens have considered global civil society as a contributor into making global governance more democratic. Civil society from this perspective is seen not only as a way to advance public participation, public accountability but also consultation and transparency in global governance. Even so it is not that civil society is currently a drastic remedy for the democratic inefficiencies of the political world. Despite these it clearly makes an impact and it is highly regarded to be a positive one.

Due to civil society groups’ diversity in perspectives, methods and alternative proposals, their inputs can vary as well. This fact on its turn can fuel the debate on global governance and effectively on policies. Thanks to CSOs lobbying in policy-making discussions, they brought issues related to human rights, environmental issues, unemployment, crime and drug trafficking and others, on the table of policy negotiations and have given a more critical and creative perspective.

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391 Petras J. and Veltmeyer H., p. 7
392 Grugel, J., 2000, p. 87
393 Scholte, 2002, p. 281
394 Idem
395 Ibid, p. 293
396 Ibid, p. 294
Nonetheless even though civil society is not as a solid force of democracy, reasonably contemporary politics are witnessing the first steps of a long-term process.\textsuperscript{397} Neo-Gramscian perspectives underscore that in this process not only CSOs share the responsibility in the efforts to democratize global governance, but also officials and market lobbies do. In order to maximise civil society’s contributions these groups have also the responsibility to accept civil society inputs\textsuperscript{398}, and be ready and equipped for such cooperation with relevant stuff, adequate funds, receptive attitudes etc.\textsuperscript{399} As shown in our case study, CSOs organising EA2 had as their solid purpose to get across their input on EU-LAC trade relations, since previous attempts have not been fruitful, the EA2 Summit itself was received as an input or else criticism on those relations and more specifically to the official Vienna Summit. Presumably, the official political groups on their turn should incorporate this input on their agendas; however this is yet to be seen in the near future.

The possibilities that CSOs have for making a more “democratic governance” are not to be met automatically, this as said before is a long-term process that demands commitment and the desire to deliver those “promises”.\textsuperscript{400} Negative outcomes are also part of the process but what civic groups should be focusing is on the potentialities and challenges that they should meet regarding their targets such as democracy. Therefore despite negative aspects of the cooperation of CSOs with other groups official or market-related, it is very important for the development of both to continue the dialogue between them.\textsuperscript{401} As the European Commission underlined in the White Paper on Global Governance, political actors individually cannot improve global governance, changes like these require concerted action by all including civil society.\textsuperscript{402}

It is apparent based on the above that interaction between political actors, such as the EU and CSOs, has increased in the recent years. These steps even though small are still steps towards the enhancement of their relation, something that in the long run will positively affect global governance. However, as mentioned in previous chapters it is also obvious that there are a lot more to be done in order to be able to say that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{397} Scholte, 2002, p. 296
  \item \textsuperscript{398} Ibid, p. 300
  \item \textsuperscript{399} Idem
  \item \textsuperscript{400} Idem
  \item \textsuperscript{401} Idem
\end{itemize}
civil society’s input is indeed taken into consideration in all different levels of policy areas.

Our case study indicates that even though there are different events where European officials as well as Heads of State and Government interact with CSOs still there are no considerable efforts made towards a true cooperation.

5.4 Towards Answering the Research Questions

In our broad research question, “Which are the transformative possibilities of civil society groups?” as we stated in the first part, this thesis claims that there are significant transformative possibilities that civil society can offer. Above in our attempt to analyze civil society as an agent in IR, we had the opportunity to display most of those capabilities of civil society. Broadly according to Gramscian thought civil bodies are seen as “totalities” of strategic driven emancipatory and counter-hegemonic possibilities, giving the opportunity to people for an alternative to the present political and economic reality.

More specifically, civil society introduced a new approach on doing politics the “no power, alternative development approach to social change”, as we highlighted previously, something that neo-Gramscian theory approach has underlined. A fact that emphasizes its promising nature in transforming the social world since it seems that it has prevailed over others political and social agents in the attempt of democratizing the global structures or presenting an alternative.

Mainly however, the most significant factor that contributes to our answer on the importance of civil society’s transformative possibilities is linked with democratization. Civil society activities through public participation, public accountability, consultation and transparency, reduce the major democratic deficits that exist in international relations. Therefore as we have already stated civil society as an agency in the manner that neo-Gramscianism instructs, it does promote democracy, and this is one of its major transformative possibilities.

Furthermore in realizing these transformative possibilities, the research questions related to our case study, as well as the case study itself, contributed considerably towards our answer. In particular, on the questions “What was civil society groups’ reaction towards the 4th European Union – Latin America /Caribbean Summit in Vienna 2006?”, “Which was their criticism and what was their input towards the bi-
regional relations of EU and Latin America?” as we already acknowledged in the last chapter of the case study part, the EA2 Summit came as a reaction to the 4th EU-LAC Summit, with the clear point that trade agreements is not an approach to cope with liberalization and rapid globalization processes.

CSOs agreed that regional integration could be used as a way of confronting and managing the process of economic globalization, however they emphasized that both the EU, LAC countries and CSOs should find an alternative model of regional integration for the LAC countries, that would have to include political, social, and cultural aspects, not only economic ones. In the EA2 Summit, the “Alternativa Bolivariana para la América” (ALBA) was highlighted as the beginning of a promising process that could eventually lead to such an alternative integration model based on the solidarity of Latin American countries.403

In contrast to the official Summit of Heads of State and Government, EA2 was an example of real political dialogue because the term implied equality between the partners.404 Unluckily civil society maybe is a partner to official political actors however one can say that it is not yet an equal one. This is justified by the fact that the input that these civic bodies offer is not yet taken into serious consideration by official parties. On defense of this statement, the results from the examination of the impact of the Guadalajara first Social Summit on the Vienna official Summit enhance this view. As presented in our results analysis, there is cooperation between civil society and official political actors and to a minimum; officials are trying to incorporate feedback from civil society in the political agenda. Nonetheless, this cooperation needs to be strengthened and be developed in order to speak of a true democratization of governance, since it seems still that civil society’s role is second-rate political role in reality.

Lastly, bearing in mind that the sphere of international relations suffers from democratic deficits and that most of the political actors agree on civil society’s significant contribution to those ends – for that many international organizations including EU, have fostered cooperation with civil society groups - civil society’s input needs to be taken more seriously and more efficiently into consideration in order to meet democratization of global governance and a more equal and just world.

403 Edele A., p. 32
404 Ibid, p. 33
Conclusions

Globalization is a relatively new idea in social sciences, and what social sciences find as its current central feature is that many contemporary problems cannot be adequately studied at a level of nation-states, but need to be theorized in terms of global (transnational) processes and analyzed in terms of transnational actors. Civil society is a new transnational social actor that many theorists believe that will provide the international political community an alternative sufficient approach for dealing with these problems.

The new international development process that global civil society introduces as an problem-solving approach of contemporary globalization related problems, has as its primarily purpose in advancing cooperation between the diverse political actors of the international political system and via development and assistance to promote and improve living conditions for all. It consists an alternative way to cope with globalization and the effects of liberalization processes that appeals also to our consciousness and hopefully has a better chance of succeeding than trade sanctions.

One of the main issues that was presented in this thesis, that globalization brought along as a consequence, is the severe democratic deficits that were spread into the international system. Nowadays the discussion on global governance’s weak democratic basis is becoming more and more an obstacle in maintaining the contemporary economic capitalistic order. In sight of this severe international political problem global civil society comes as a “remedy”, providing its new way of doing politics, the “no-power, alternative development approach to social change”. Civil society’s transborder activities are encouraged as private or individual actions that provide stability amidst “insufficiencies” of governments dealing with regionalization and globalization. Simultaneously, neoliberal discourses, policies, institutional frameworks and so on, have stimulated responses of resistance within civil society

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406 James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, p. 2
407 Ibid, p. 3
408 Bhagwati, Jagdish, p. 6
409 James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, p. 3
aiming to sway prevailing market rationality on regionalization and to bring forward different forms of political control by society and state’s actors.\textsuperscript{411} Global civil society’s characteristics; transparency, accountability and, public participation offer global governance the legitimacy that it lacks, therefore democratizing it. As stated in the beginning, for that reason global civil society represents a “marriage” between capitalism and democracy in an effort to democratize the international system.\textsuperscript{412}

More specifically, from our case it is difficult to evaluate at this point in time whether EA2 was a success regarding the transformative capabilities of global civil society. For sure, as European observers stressed out this Summit was enlightening and educative, however the event has not changed anything for the time being.\textsuperscript{413} The success of this Summit is therefore depending on the follow-up activities from counterparts, civil society and official political actors. Yet one obvious conclusion concerning the regionalization of Latin America and its development as an equal political and economic partner to the EU; is that it proved much more difficult to develop viable alternatives than to criticize the existing approaches.\textsuperscript{414} Nonetheless, for many CSOs examples of political actors in Latin America such as, Hugo Chávez, Fidel Castro, and Evo Morales demonstrate that even in the era of globalization and neoliberal liberalization, it is possible to develop and implement alternative political and economic models\textsuperscript{415}; and this is indicated that there is “room” to hope for in the future for developing such alternatives.

In conclusion, through this thesis we tried to examine this newly-emerged social agency and evaluate up to a certain degree its transformative role in the regional and world order. A definition of civil society as a re-conceptualization of contemporary social action opens up new knowledge and engages key policy challenges of current politics in a critical manner.\textsuperscript{416} Notions of solidarity and collective action are captured inside the concept of civil society and indicate the growing of supranational connectivity of social political actors and the need of the cooperation that civil society represents. Such an insight offers a highly promising entry point for further research and action on contemporary social actors and the way of transnational problem-

\textsuperscript{411} Cox, R. W., and Schechter, M. G., 2002, p. xxi
\textsuperscript{412} Idem
\textsuperscript{413} Edele, A., p. 34
\textsuperscript{414} Idem
\textsuperscript{415} Ibid, p. 35
\textsuperscript{416} Scholte, J. A., 1999, p. 24
solving.\textsuperscript{417} As Robert Cox has noticed, it is highly important to address the situation of civil society in order to understand the role of the social realm in reducing the gap of legitimacy in the contemporary world order.\textsuperscript{418}

In this paper, suggestions have been expressed, that global civil society can be a force of transformation in the contemporary world if it is carefully moulded to serve those ends. Transborder civic associations have great potential to help globalization towards efficiency, equity, democracy and ecological sustainability. Nonetheless, complacency could lead them to promote the opposite results. A long haul of committed endeavour still lies ahead.\textsuperscript{419}

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\textsuperscript{417} Scholte, J. A., 1999, p. 24
\textsuperscript{418} Cox, R. W., and Schechter, M. G., 2002, p. xxi
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