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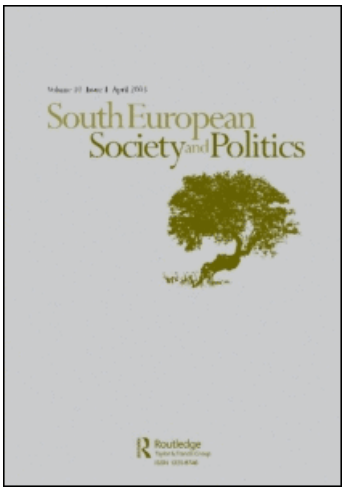

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Introduction: Democracy, Participation and Grassroots Movements in Contemporary Portugal

BOAVENTURA DE SOUSA SANTOS and
JOÃO ARRISCADO NUNES

The last three decades have witnessed a succession of processes of political and social transition in various regions of the world which brought with them a spread of the institutions of liberal, representative democracy beyond the European-North American setting where they originated. From southern European countries like Portugal, Spain and Greece in the mid-1970s to several Latin American, Asian and African countries, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and South Africa in the 1980s, democratization followed different paths associated with a diversity of historical experiences and dynamics of political and social conflict. At the turn of the twenty-first century, in what some have seen as the culmination of these 'waves of democratization', the Washington consensus version of a new, post-Cold War world championed a convergence towards a common, minimal model of representative democracy and a global capitalist economy as the condition for peace and prosperity at the global scale. International organizations like the World Bank included the establishment of democratic institutions and free elections among the set of conditions required for loans and development projects. Over the last few years, however, the promises that the virtuous combination of parliamentary democracy and global capitalism would bring in its wake more development, more equality and less injustice were added to the already long list of the unfulfilled promises of modernity. It will hardly come as a surprise, then, that as different forms of resistance and opposition to the dynamics of neoliberalism emerged, the debates on the theory and practice of democracy and on its links to social, environmental, cognitive and cultural justice gained in visibility and intensity.

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The studies included in this issue have their origin in an international research project, 'Reinventing Social Emancipation', whose aim was to identify and study in detail experiences taking shape through resistance to hegemonic, neoliberal globalization and to its consequences in different areas of social life. The path taken by the project was to look at popular movements and citizen initiatives in a range of semiperipheral countries, that is, countries occupying an intermediate position within the world system in terms of levels of development as measured by conventional standards such as those used by the UN, and located in different regions of the world. The five selected countries were Brazil, Colombia, South Africa, India and Portugal. A peripheral country, Mozambique, was added as a 'control' case. The research team gathered more than 60 researchers in the six countries.[1] Rather than following the conventional path of defining a common theoretical and methodological framework, the project was organized around a thematic core which captured a range of issues defining crucial areas of contestation and resistance to hegemonic globalization and of experimentation with alternative, solidaristic and democratic forms of action. The five thematic areas were the following:

Democracy and Participation

Democracy and participation includes experiences of participatory democracy in both urban and rural contexts which, against the trivialization of citizenship, promote high intensity forms of democratic life, articulating participation and representation and recognizing the legitimacy of a range of forms of expression and public action and a diversity of public spheres associated with the latter.

Non-capitalist Production and Economic Organization

Included here are experiences in solidaristic and cooperative economic activity, associative projects of local development, collective management of land and other resources, alternative forms of access to credit, the creation of translocal and transnational networks of solidaristic economic activity.

Redistribution, Recognition, Justice and Multicultural Citizenship

This head encompasses struggles for the recognition of difference by indigenous peoples, sexual minorities, womens' movements and movements struggling for multicultural conceptions of human rights, for cosmopolitan citizenship, and for broader, multicultural concepts of justice that articulate recognition and redistribution.

Biodiversity, Rival Forms of Knowledge and Cognitive Justice

Included here are the range of responses to the attempts at commodifying biodiversity and different forms of local knowledge and establishing new regimes of intellectual property, as well as the modes of asserting and protecting forms of knowledge on the environment, health and the management of land and space currently under threat by the expansion of hegemonic forms of knowledge and of neoliberalism.

New Forms of Labour Internationalism

The characteristics of the new forms of conflict between capital and labour and the emerging responses by the labour movement and its experiments with innovative forms of action and alliances with other movements and initiatives are here considered in their links to local forms of struggle and resistance to exploitation.

The conception of knowledge and of social scientific research that informed the project deviates from conventional social scientific work in several respects. The production of knowledge is, here, inseparable from a critical engagement with the subjects and the settings of the research. By 'critical', we mean that the task of the researcher is not just to describe and deal with what can be identified and analyzed using dominant social scientific theories and research procedures. Reality should not be reduced to what exists at a given historical juncture according to these theories and procedures. Uncovering the absences of official discourse and the silenced voices of past and present struggles and identifying the emergent forces that give shape to alternatives are crucial means for the production of a knowledge which does not see the current dynamics of neoliberal, hegemonic globalization and the low intensity forms of democracy and social apartheid it generates as ineluctable, as a fatality to which people should adapt in order to survive. Other futures and another, solidaristic globalization are possible, and grassroots movements and struggles are crucial contributions to the project of a multicultural and cosmopolitan world, a world built on social and environmental justice, solidarity, active citizenship and high intensity democracy. Cognitive justice and epistemic democracy are an indispensable part of such a project.

This form of critical engagement with the world does not mean that rigour and objectivity are sacrificed. The five thematic areas were explored through specific extended case studies selected by each national team, mobilizing a range of techniques available to social scientists. The 'strong' version of objectivity adopted ensured that the assessment of research would take into account the whole range of social, political, cultural and cognitive conditions framing each of the case studies.

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A broader comparative approach including southern hemisphere countries allowed for a different range of questions to be asked and for the specificities of the semiperipheral condition within particular regions of the world system to be highlighted without the imposition of theoretical and analytical frames based on the analysis of core or 'developed' countries. This approach aims at the 'de-provincializing' of the discussion of current issues of democracy and citizenship in Europe both through its relocation to a broader space of comparison and through the detailed analyses of a country which is both a part of one of the core regions of the world system – the European Union – and a subaltern space within this region, thus concentrating in an exemplary way many of the contradictions that characterize the world system in its current historical stage. The following sections explore some of the contributions of this fresh approach to critical and comparative research to the discussion of the current predicament of democracy in Europe as it faces the challenge of neoliberalism and of the emerging responses to it.

NEOLIBERALISM AND ITS CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

Even in the countries regarded as the cradle of democracy, the decreasing participation of citizens in elections, the lack of accountability of elected officials, the growing exclusion or marginalization of significant sectors of their populations from participation in social and political life or from gainful employment, the limitations of political and social rights, the dismantling of public welfare provision and the privatization of the public services that were at the core of the welfare state are regarded by many observers as symptoms of severe pathologies that affect the democratic order and its legitimacy.

The current situation is characterized by a predominance of forms of 'thin' or low-intensity democracy (Santos 2002b: 293), with democratic life reduced to steadily less mobilizing periodical elections to choose those who will exercise power on behalf of citizens. Both economic and financial globalization and the securitarian turn in the wake of the events of 11 September 2001 are accelerating the erosion of both the space of genuine political choice and the rights of citizens. Global economic constraints are invoked as a fatality to which all countries have to adapt in order to be able to survive in an increasingly competitive environment which escapes regulation by national governments. Threats by terrorist organizations or by so-called 'rogue states' allegedly justify the enactment of a wide range of liberticide measures, some of them aimed selectively at some groups defined by their ethnic background, nationality or religion – and, more generally, at the movements and organizations labelled as

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'anti-globalization' – but striking more generally at the heart of the very 'negative liberties', the rule of law and the respect for basic human rights once celebrated by even the most conservative liberals – all this in the name of collective security. Exclusion, xenophobia, increasing inequality, these are the visible consequences of a 'de-intensification' of democracy which is rapidly extending towards attempts at limiting the very rights of expression and association.

In the core countries of the world system, the experience of the welfare state as a response to the tension between capitalism and democracy through a 'virtuous' circle of economic growth and redistributive policies has given room to the mysterious disappearance of that very tension, with the spread of the market to every domain of social life, the narrowing down of democracy to a minimalist version and the push towards deregulation and the dismantling of redistributive policies. In semiperipheral and peripheral countries, even the limited attempts at public policies aiming at the reduction of inequalities and at the provision of basic services in health, education and welfare were swept by the tide of neoliberal economic and financial policies. The collapse of the experiences of state socialism in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern European countries added to the widespread belief that capitalism in its neoliberal version would become the unchallenged form of economic organization dictated by historical necessity. This state of affairs has not gone unchallenged, however. Some see in the capacity for self-criticism and renewal of the constitutional order and the institutions of liberal democracy the key to effective responses to the pathologies of actually existing representative democracy and to neoliberal globalization. Others, instead, point to innovative forms of citizen participation and social movements arising from subaltern groups and collectives throughout the world and to their struggles for broader, participatory conceptions of democracy and of citizenship (Santos 2001).

Valuable insights into the current crisis of democracy have been provided by the critiques of 'aggregative' democracy advanced by 'deliberative' theorists. Whereas the former assumes that citizens have preformed and fixed interests and preferences that will not be changed through their engagement in political struggle and public debate – and thus the voting process, as the main means of expression of the will of citizens, amounts to an aggregation of individual preferences and interests – the latter have underlined the way in which debate and persuasion through rational argument may lead participants in deliberative processes to change their views on the subjects under discussion and thus either to reach common or convergent positions on these or, at least, to have a better and clearer understanding of one

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another's positions when they disagree. The value often put on consensus through deliberation as the 'normal' (or, at least, the most desirable) outcome of the democratic process, however, tends to neglect a crucial feature of democracy: its recognition as an agonistic play of conflictual and diverse perspectives, aimed at dealing with the tensions between liberty, equality and difference, between the struggle for recognition and the struggle for redistribution, in order to construct common worlds where differences and contradictions can be dealt with through non-violent means.[2]

It is not enough to search for more participatory and deliberative modes of exercising democracy as long as the problems of inclusion and exclusion, of both ensuring access to the material means for a decent living and of broadening the means and forms of democratic expression are not taken up as crucial for the survival and quality of democratic life. Citizens often express their concerns in this respect through repertoires that are not reducible to debate based on rational argument. Forms of story-telling, performance, music, dance and other modes of expression or public protest are all legitimate, democratic means of non-violent participation in public life. This broad conception of democracy is all the more needed when governments and administrations increasingly tend to ignore public expressions of discontent that do not follow the 'orderly' path of voting, petitioning or responding to opinion polls and display a rejection of the political choices offered by the traditional actors of representative democracy.

DEMOCRATIZING DEMOCRACY: THE ROAD TO ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION

In the European context, discussions of the pathologies of democracy and of their implications for governance, citizenship, social justice and the struggle against different forms of inequality and of oppression were strongly influenced by Michel Foucault's later work on power, resistance and governmentality and by a range of neomarxist, feminist and poststructuralist orientations. More recent work has focused on the need to redefine the political in heterogeneous societies where claims for the recognition of differences based on gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity or religion are prominent (Featherstone and Lash 2001), as well as on the implications of the emergence of supranational arenas of governance and political struggle. How can citizenship and democracy be redefined so as to take into account the emerging versions of a *demos* which is no longer based on clear-cut definitions of national citizenship? A further issue is that of the scope of the domains of social life which should be subject to

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democratic control. The economic and the domestic domains figure prominently among the latter (Santos 2002b). The need to extend democratic debate and democratic control of these different domains of social life beyond the national context raises other pressing questions on the capacity of extant democratic institutions and practices to deal with the effects of economic, political and cultural globalization. How to reconcile the need for more participation and the increasingly mediated forms – through information and communication technologies – of public debate and deliberation required for the creation of new kinds of public spheres at the transnational level?

Another area of debate relates to the need to rethink the governance of societies deeply transformed by a range of new technologies and of their impacts, variously described as information societies, risk societies, knowledge societies or knowledge-based societies.[3] Neither traditional representative democracy nor expert intervention have provided adequate answers to the problems arising from these developments, as can be seen form the responses to the BSE crisis, to AIDS, to environmental hazards or to the new expectations and uncertainties associated with genetics and biotechnology and with the new information technologies. A range of interesting initiatives and experiments in citizen participation in areas like technology assessment, environmental impact assessment and urban and regional planning, among others, suggest that the response to these issues may well provide one of the most promising laboratories for the reinvention of participatory democracy and of its articulation with representative democracy.[4]

These areas of controversy have recently converged with the debate within political philosophy on forms of democracy – aggregative, deliberative and radical – and on the relationship between representation and participation. The issue of participation has been linked to the notion of democracy as 'agonistic pluralism', as a mode of institutionalizing and channeling conflict within heterogeneous societies or within transnational spaces. As stated above, this requires the recognition, on the one hand, of the plurality of forms of citizenship within a national or transnational space, and, on the other hand, of the plurality of languages and repertoires of action that citizens bring to democratic debates and initiatives. This debate brings to the fore issues such as the need to reconstruct appropriate notions of justice, recognition, redistribution and participation in order to promote new forms of multicultural citizenship. Included here are concerns with cognitive and epistemic justice, as experiences in participatory technology assessment and in environmental struggles have shown. The recognition of a diversity of forms of knowledge and experience provides relevant resources for dealing with

problems which cannot be appropriately dealt with as 'technical' or 'scientific'. Identifying the repertoires of rival knowledges and how to articulate them into new configurations of knowledge appropriate to respond to specific problems in particular situations is a crucial part of radical democratic initiatives.

This debate is, of course, interesting and relevant in terms of its implications for political theory. But it often fails to connect with the experiences and practices of democracy as they are enacted by collective actors in different cultural and historical contexts, on the one hand, and with the research orientations and programmes that explore these experiences and practices. This has been the territory of studies of 'contentious politics', of social movements and citizen initiatives, of identity politics and of the struggles for recognition, of labour movements and new global solidarities, of struggles for livelihood and redistribution, in short, of the new forms of resistance and construction of solidaristic alternatives to hegemonic, neoliberal globalization. These have gained increased visibility over the last years, through the successive massive demonstrations against the World Economic Forum starting in Seattle in 1999 and, in particular, through the three editions of the World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, since 2001, as well as the many regional and national social forums that have been organized in the wake of the Porto Alegre initiatives.[5] A further display of the power of organized citizens at the global level were the huge anti-war demonstrations held throughout the world against the announced strike on Iraq by the USA in February 2003.

Studies on Europe are far from having given to experiences of radical democracy in southern hemisphere countries the attention they deserve, nor have they explored in a more sustained and comparative way experiments in the articulation of aggregative and representative and deliberative, radical, participatory forms of democracy.[6] Some research streams have explored the ways in which social movements and the broader range of forms of collective action subsumed under the label 'contentious politics' contribute to the debates on democracy and, in particular, on its agonistic and radical dimensions.[7] As Barry (2001: 175–96) has argued in his detailed examination of instances of protest and collective action within the space of the European Union – which political theorists like Mouffe or Dryzek would label as forms of radical democracy or of discursive democracy, respectively – current experiences in this field are not just coalitions or mobilizations of previously existing collectives or groups: they correspond to the emergence of new collective actors who come to existence and define their goals and their identities through the very struggles they engage in. There seems to be a parallel

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here with the dynamics described by the critical versions of deliberative democracy mentioned above.[8]

This is particularly relevant for countries where the access of citizens to decision makers and the accountability of elected officials and public administrators is limited, or where spaces for public debate and deliberation which are not subject to the control or manipulation of the state or of powerful economic and financial interests are rare or non-existent. The case of Portugal is particularly interesting in this respect, in so far as, over the period following the 1974–75 revolution, it has revealed persistent weaknesses in both the redistributive action of the state – which thus fails to provide both the means and the opportunities for citizen participation in public life – and in organized civil society, in the form of social movements and citizen associations and initiatives. Given this context, both the experience of the revolutionary period and the more recent popular movements and citizen initiatives that are dealt with in the contributions to this issue raise intriguing questions on the conditions and the difficulties of the emergence of participatory action in times of hegemonic, neoliberal globalization.

There are obvious points of contact between some of the approaches mentioned in this section and the project that generated the studies gathered in this issue. We believe that a convergence is needed between debates on democratic theory within political philosophy, research on contentious politics and comparative approaches to emancipatory initiatives in the South and in the North informed by postcolonial studies and carried out by local research teams connected through transnational networks based on a non-hierarchical approach to knowledge production. This convergence will bring fresh perspectives to the debate on the limits of actually existing democracy and the alternatives to the latter.

PARTICIPATION AND GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY PORTUGAL

Portuguese society is characterized by an intermediate level of development and, historically, has fulfilled a role of intermediation between Europe and other regions of the world system, first as a 'subaltern empire', a colonial power dominated, in turn, by core European powers like Britain, and, after decolonization and following integration into the European Communities in 1985, as an intermediary between the core countries of Europe and the peripheral and semiperipheral countries of Africa and Latin America formerly subject to Portuguese colonial domination.

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For almost half a century, from 1926 to 1974, Portuguese society was subject first to an authoritarian military government and then, from 1933 onwards, to a dictatorship strongly inspired by Italian fascism – the 'Estado Novo' – which suppressed political rights, proscribed any form of free political or labour organization, exercised severe censorship over the press and held on to a colonial empire ranging from Africa to India and East Timor. After World War II, political and social tension grew within the country, with successive waves of vigorous oppositional activism, associated with some opening during the manipulated elections the regime was forced to stage. The colonial empire started to crumble with the fall of the enclaves of Goa, Damão and Diu to the Indian forces in 1960 and the beginning of armed struggle led by the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, in 1961. The modernization projects advocated by a technocratic faction within the regime from the 1960s on, including industrialization and an expansion of education, contributed to limited but real structural changes, among them a change in the composition of the active population, with a considerable increase in the numbers and concentration of the industrial working class around the urban areas of Lisbon and Porto. The promise of a 'political spring' in the wake of Salazar's replacement by Marcello Caetano in 1969 soon turned into an intensification of repression of all opposition to the regime. Internal foci of tension and conflict, translated into labour activism, student protest and political mobilization during election periods converged with a deteriorating military situation in the colonies, growing discontent among a considerable faction of the military, particularly among those drafted as officers for the colonial wars, increasing international pressure on the Portuguese government and the oil crisis, bringing about the collapse of the regime.

On 25 April 1974, a military coup by the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) opened up a new era in the history of modern Portugal. The coup was followed by a revolutionary period characterized by intense popular mobilization and creative political activism, but by fierce political struggle as well, overseen by the different factions of the MFA. The first free elections for the assembly in charge of drafting the new Constitution were held in April 1975. That same year, in November, an alliance of moderate and conservative sectors of the armed forces took control, and Portuguese society entered a period of 'normalization', whose landmarks were the voting, in 1976, of the new constitution and the first free presidential, legislative and local elections after the fall of the dictatorship. In 1985, after a long period of negotiation, Portugal was admitted into the European Community, joining it formally

in 1986 and thus starting the process of 'Europeanization' of the democratic regime.

The revolutionary period (1974–75) witnessed a range of fascinating experiences of active citizenship and of attempting to bring together the two traditions of representative and participatory democracy. As the process unfolded based on the tension between an emerging revolutionary legality and democratic legality, under the tutelage of the armed forces, a plethora of social movements and citizen initiatives gave rise to the invention of new forms of participatory democracy. The 'normalization' that followed the revolutionary period led to the establishment of a parliamentary democratic regime and to the drafting of a constitution which tried to inscribe both the institutional framework of parliamentary and representative democracy and the innovative forms of participatory democracy. Successive revisions of the constitution over the next two decades tended to erase the memory of the revolution and to 'normalize' the constitutional architecture by getting rid of those formulations that were seen as direct expressions of the vigorous popular movements of the revolutionary period and their achievements. Participatory democracy was inscribed in the constitutional text, to be sure, but more as a principle and a right than as a set of specific institutionalized forms of citizen involvement in public affairs. The almost three decades following the revolution witnessed a decline, first, of the vigorous experiences of active citizenship of the revolutionary period, and the fading away of many of its organizational achievements. But the memory of the revolution has not failed to feed onto the experience of those who underwent the consequences of the insertion of Portuguese society into a world steered by neoliberal, hegemonic globalization. Despite their often localized expression and their dismissal from dominant discourse on Portuguese society, recent initiatives point towards a revitalization of active citizenship in pace with trends identified worldwide, especially in the wake of the Seattle demonstrations of 1999.

Studies of the recent historical experience of Portugal have brought to the fore features such as: the absence of a strong, organized civil society, of social movements and citizen organizations and associations; a weak and incomplete welfare state and a strong welfare society based on family, kinship and neighborhood ties compensating for the weaknesses and shortcomings of the former; a discrepancy between the formal definition of citizens' rights and the actual access to these rights; and a discrepancy between advanced legislation and conservative social practices. European integration brought with it new versions of the gap between legal and institutional frameworks and social practices, namely the role of the state as providing the 'imagination of the core' that presents Portugal as

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a backward but rapidly catching up version of the core countries of the European Union (Santos 1993). If it is true that membership in the European Union did not lead to the overcoming of the discrepancy between legal frameworks and the enactment of citizens' rights, its relevance in opening up new spaces for citizen action and struggle and in providing a source of legitimacy for the latter was significant.

The authoritarian mode of relationship between the state and citizens has persisted despite the change in political regime and the advanced framework of rights which is still one of the most important legacies of the revolution. The absence of spaces for public debate and deliberation outside the formal settings of parliament, local government and legislatures and courts of law is conspicuous. Non-state public spheres are still foreign to Portuguese society, despite the vibrant but short-lived experiences in popular mobilization and organization during the revolutionary period. This makes all the more interesting the emergence, in recent years, of locally-based citizen movements against what are seen as situations or actions involving some degree of injustice or violation of the rights or of the well-being of the population. The cases studied by the contributors to this issue explore movements and forms of collective action that have given rise to a number of experiences of articulating different kinds of struggles, of movements and of associations, of alliances with local government, state institutions, members of Parliament, political parties or actors within the legal and judiciary system. They often mobilize resources made available by European integration, such as directives on the environment, consumer rights or human rights. But they also draw, if not always explicitly, on the memory of the revolution and on different traditions of local struggle and popular action.

Rather than considering Portuguese society as a 'latecomer' or 'laggard' to a converging space of states following a common blueprint for economic and social organization, citizenship and democracy, the approach taken here focuses on the 'bottom-up' dynamics of the relationships between difference and equality, citizenship and diversity, forms of democracy, state and society, state and economic organization, capital and labour, citizen initiatives and social movements, 'Europeanization' and national social and political processes, the global and the local.

THE CASE STUDIES

The contributions to this special issue provide an alternative approach to issues which, from the perspective taken here, often look parochial in the narrow Eurocentric frame within which they are usually analyzed.

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Each of the case studies is located at the intersection of several of the five themes enumerated above. They are exemplary in the way they bring to the fore the complex dynamics of struggles against different forms of oppression and the specific modes in which a variety of collective actors converge or cooperate, revealing their ambiguities and hesitations. They focus on the way processes at different scales – local, national, European, global – are articulated. Although they deal for the most part with grassroots initiatives and movements, they are attentive to the multiple ways in which their protagonists resort both to forms of contentious politics and radical democracy and to the means and channels provided by the institutions of representative democracy. Whereas citizen initiatives are highlighted, attention is given as well to the different ways in which their success is contingent on the responses of national and transnational political actors and institutions. The new collectives emerging from these processes are thus more than just an aggregation of previously existing actors and of their interests. They define new configurations of interests and identifications which may be more or less durable, depending on how the specific struggles they are engaged in develop, how heterogeneous interests and aims are translated into common purpose and action and on the responses of the state and of other actors to their claims and to their initiatives.

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NOTES

1. The project was funded by the Macarthur Foundation and, for the work on Portugal, by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and directed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos. For a detailed description of the project and of its results, see www.ces.fe.uc.pt/emancipa. The results are currently being published in Portuguese (in Brazil and Portugal), English, Spanish and Italian. See Santos 2002c, d, e. For an extended discussion of the themes dealt with in the project see Santos, 2001.
2. On this debate, see Habermas 1996; Benhabib1996; Laclau and Mouffe 2000 (originally published in 1985); Mouffe 1992; Dryzek 2000; Santos and Avritzer 2002; Santos 2002b. Geoff Eley's recent history of the European left defines as its backbone the themes of democracy, active citizenship and collective, grassroots mobilization (Eley 2002). As the author himself acknowledges, his extensive and detailed historical reconstruction is heavily indebted both to scholarly work in social history to recent historical experiences in grassroots activism, feminism, environmentalism and the peace and anti-racist movements and the theoretical and political debates over these experiences.
3. This is the focus of social science research within the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme.
4. Among recent contributions to a growing body of literature dealing with these issues, see Callon *et al.* 2001; Barry 2001; Fischer 2003; Jamison 1998.
5. For a detailed discussion and analysis of the World Social Forum and its contribution to innovative democratic and solidaristic practices, see Santos 2003b.
6. Experiences like participatory budgeting, adopted by more than two hundred municipalities in Brazil and in other countries of Latin America and endorsed as good

practices in urban government by the United Nations and even by an organization like the World Bank, have scarcely made their way into debates on democracy and citizenship in Europe, despite their obvious relevance to many of the concerns of those who participate in those debates. See, for instance, Santos 1998, 2002a; Avritzer and Navarro 2002; and several of the contributions to Santos 2002c.

7. See, for contributions to this literature, Fox and Starn 1997; Giugni *et al.* 1998, 1999; McAdam *et al.* 2001; Tarrow 1999. The timely issue of political violence and its relationships to democracy is dealt with in a recent book within the same research tradition (Tilly 2003).
8. Barry's approach is strongly influenced by science and technology studies and by the latter's studies of the material practices of science and of how they make use of the power of *demonstration* to confer visibility and 'matter of factness' to the objects or phenomena they deal with. For an argument along the same line, see Callon *et al.* 2001.

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