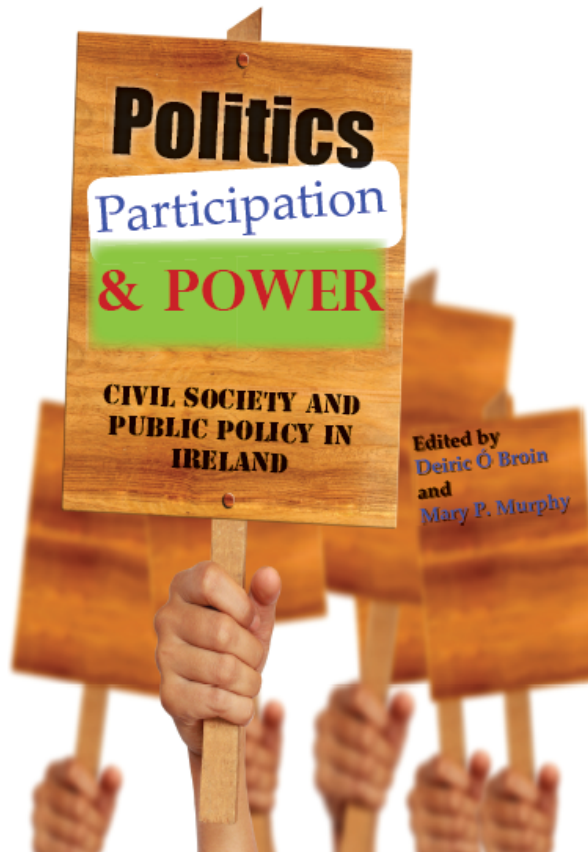




CLAIMING OUR FUTURE

a progressive movement for an equal,
sustainable and thriving Ireland



Interdependent relationship between participation and values

Mary Murphy (NUIM) Innsbruck

- PART ONE

- THE PROBLEM - LACK OF IDEAS/DEBATE ABOUT ALTERNATIVES

- AN IRISH STORY TO ILLUSTRATE A GLOBAL PROBLEM

- PART TWO

- THE ATTEMPT TO SOLVE IT - CLAIMING OUR FUTURE

- PART THREE

- COMPARING IRELAND TO LATIN AMERICA

PART ONE

- The theory
- Identifying the problem

Colin Hay, 2004

Robert Cox 2000

WHAT

Ideas

Discourse

Values

H
O
W

Institutions – Processes
Social Movements,
and more

Where ...

Active Citizens
Actors/interests

WHO

Participating in popularising policy alternatives

- The role civil society groups play in policy formulation is strongly managed by the state into a narrow, one dimensional, sectoral and problem solving role
- Reinforces power inequalities and mitigates against any more significant policy alternatives entering national debate

Theory – ‘state capture’

- Institutionalism
 - At macro and micro levels place practical and cultural boundaries on the policy process
- Generally work to reinforce the status quo and narrow range of policy alternatives
- Work on policy alternatives more likely to happen outside boundaries of formal policy process and in state free state

Absence of Irish Public Imagination

- Lack of republican values filled by church & market
- Political culture, clientalistic and local: valuing community/ land/property over society/people
- Nature of state, society (church/education), market
- Group think, deference, fear of offending power
- Absence of discourse, ideology and debate
- Cynicism/anti-intellectualism- lethal cocktail O'Toole

Shock doctrine: attack on public

- Public Goods, Services & Expenditure (Austerity)
- Public Accountability. New Public Management (Q)
- Public Scholarship & Public intellectuals (Lynch et al)
- Public sphere, participation and discourse (Harvey)
- Public solidarity – individualistic, sectoral and silos

Culture/imagination

- Passive and stagnant (Mair 2010)
- Kicking and screaming, dragging Ireland into the 21st C Bacik 2007
- We should not be sluggish in the doldrums of what happens Heany *Seeing Things*,
- Without political imagination no political struggle AM Smith 2005
- Tragic narrowing of political imagination, a poverty of ideas
- High energy democracy, creative humanity Ungar 2009
- "...whatever is given can always be reimagined, Heany "The Settle Bed"

Signposts: directions to next turn

- Ideas concerning direction of change
- Not blueprints - steps from here
- Rethinking relations btw finance/production, state/market, genders/care
- Implications for organising enterprise, education, property, work relations,
- Environmental sustainability
- Equality, interdependency
- Care for us and eco system
- Market for needs -degrowth
- Pre and re distribution
- New power relationships
Local democracy to global trade and financial regimes

Roberto Ungar 2009

PART TWO

- An Irish attempt to promote debate about alternatives

Developing cross coalitions across progressive agendas

2007- 2010

A better Ireland is possible (2008)

2002 – DCRGA - Disabling Dissent
Harvey –no strings attached

Gunpowder plot -State free spaces

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Is Feidir Linn – shaping our future

- World Social Summit
- EU level 'Spring Alliance'
- Comhar
- ICTU
- TASC
- Social Justice Ireland
- Is Feidir Linn
- Community Platform
- Local Platforms Big Push/ Town halls

Slow build up of alternative

08 Community Platform

Shaping our Future 2009 Is Feidir Linn

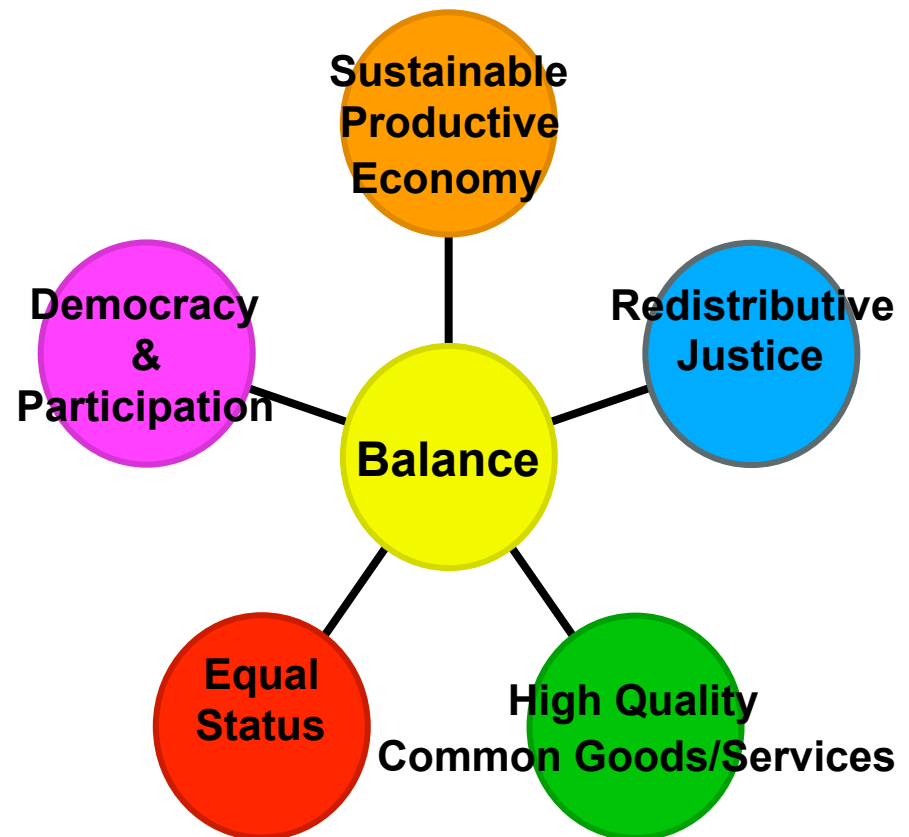
A Better Ireland is Possible

Towards an alternative vision for Ireland

By Professor Peadar Kirby
& Dr Mary Murphy



COMMUNITY PLATFORM
CHALLENGING POVERTY & INEQUALITY



BUILDING AN ALTERNATIVE

Talking

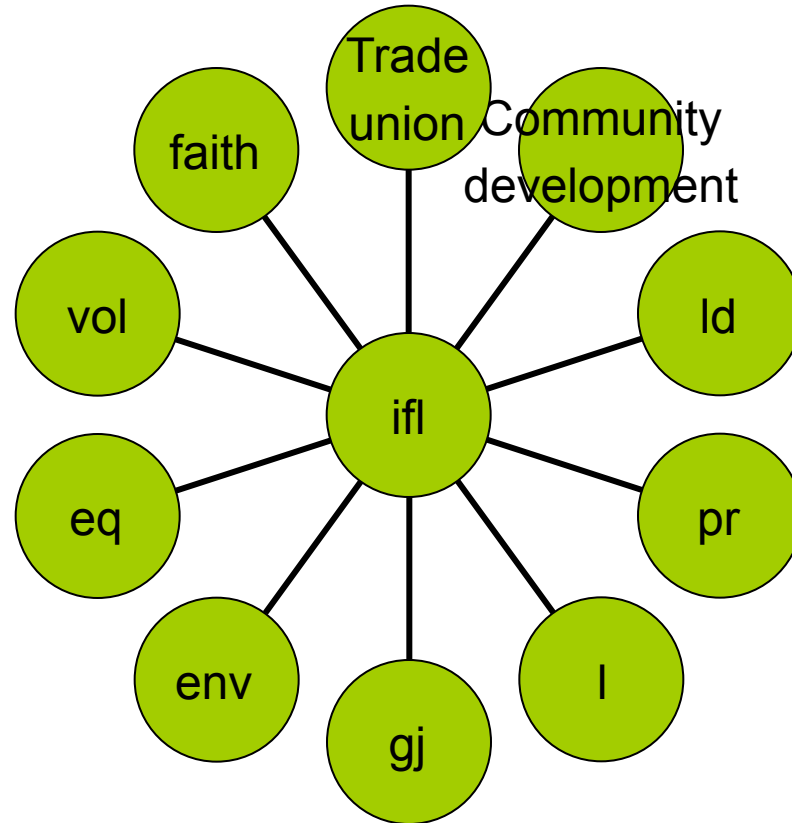
Listening

Trust
building

Ideas

Strategies

International



Jan 10'

- ICTU, TASC, SJI, Community Platform, Environmental Pillar and Is Feidir Linn – had all published alternatives and were not pursuing electoral strategy
- Maximise alternatives - STATE FREE, CROSS SECTORAL, NATIONAL AND LOCAL MOBILISATION
- 3 strategies
 - develop narrative, CHOICES DOCUMENT
 - media campaign, CO-ORDINATE
 - mobilise to popularise support
- Claiming Our Future!



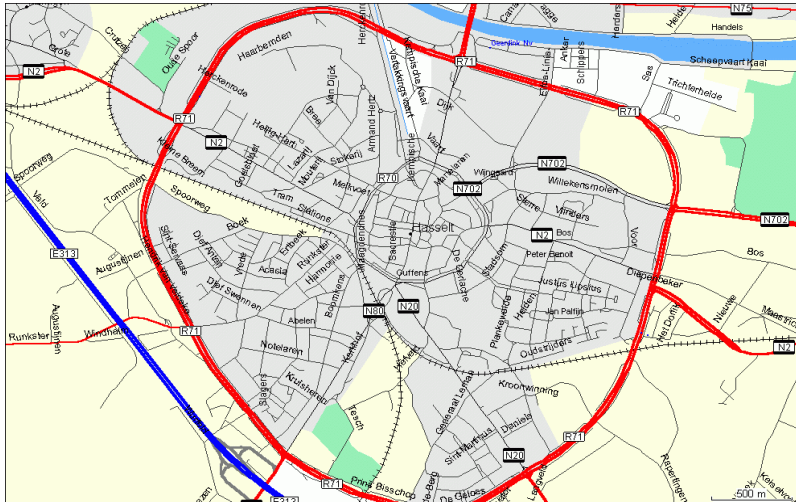
- **When:** Saturday, 30th October (ALL-DAY)
- Civil society has a vital contribution to make in identifying and progressing new policy choices.
- The event is planned to provide an opportunity to discuss and deliberate on:
 - » The values that we share and espouse.
 - » The implications of these values for new policy choices.
 - » Ways of cooperating and coordinating to advance these values and policy choices.
- Local meetings/activities throughout the country in the lead up to event
- 1300 booked in, 100 trained facilitators, 60,000 raised, social media, voluntary input
- Deliberative dialogue on website
- Free deliberative software

Why do geese fly in collective formation



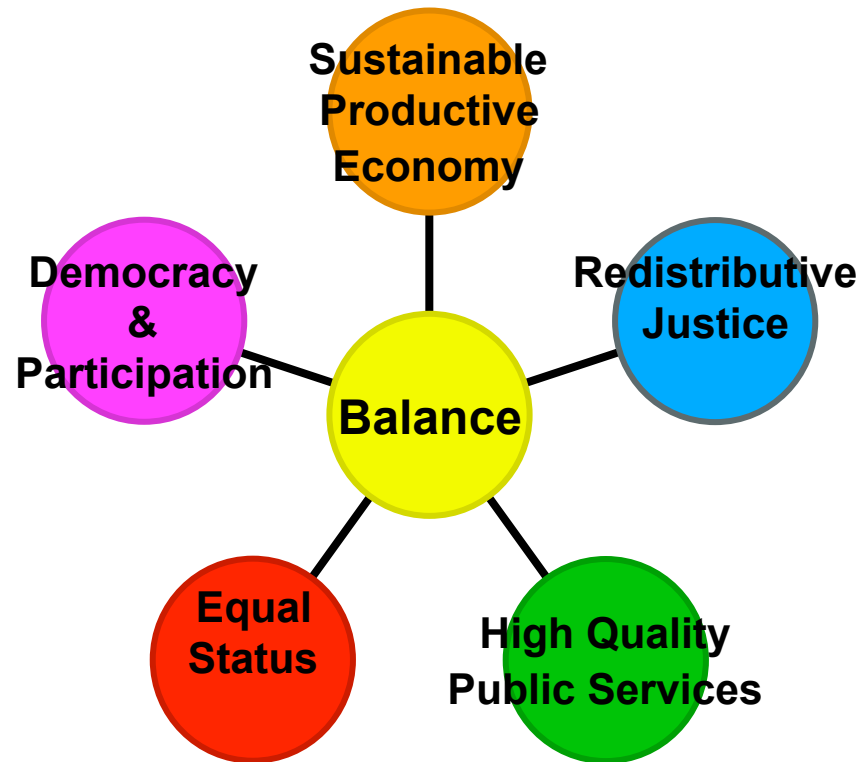
- 72% faster, more efficient
- Rotation of leadership, group interdependency
- Support when vulnerable
- Trust, support, shared leadership shows value of reciprocity/cooperation over individualism/competition

Yes we can



- What about Hasselt
- Free transport, local owned business, mobility for social participation
- Politics matter

Balanced Irish model of development



Values underpinning new development model

Sustainable BALANCE - balances economic, social and environmental objectives and can sustain itself into the future through:

- an economy that is productive and promotes full employment
- a society that is cohesive, caring and inclusive of all;
- an environment that is cared for and well managed.

EQUALITY - contributes to equality for all groups in society in terms of access to resources, to status, and to influence.

Inclusion/dignity/PARTICIPATION - governed in a way that enables all groups in society to have a real say in decisions that impact on them

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE - contributes to independence, equality and development for the disadvantaged regions of the world.

Goal NO 1 : SUSTAINABLE

- A model of development that
- Ensures economic and social security and well-being,
- Accommodates a variety of different economic structures and ownership forms
- Eliminates environmental risk
- Is based on a recognition of global interdependence.



Goal No 2 : Redistributive justice

INCOME, TAXATION, WEA

- A model of development
- where income and resources are distributed more equally
- so as to avoid poverty and inequality and excesses of wealth.
- requires high levels of taxation and social expenditure
- in order to deliver high quality public services and achieve a more equal distribution of wealth.



Goal No 3 : QUALITY PUBLIC SERVICES

- A model of development which
- prioritises, invests in and develops
- high quality public services.



-

2009 Ryan Report shows the frightening consequences of unequal status in Irish society

Goal No 5 : DEMOCRACY

- A model of development that
- enhances the system of representative democracy,
- that promotes a more inclusive, participatory and active democracy,
- and that supports civil society so greater diversity of influence is secured.



Part Three

- **Learning from Latin America?**
- 'Greece is not Ireland' – different responses

- Collective responses in Latin America and Ireland to neoliberalization in a time of crisis:



Silva and Polanyi

- Uses Silva's (2009) framework on popular responses in Latin America to that region's debt crisis of the 1980s and 1990s.
- Polanyi's (1949) theory of "double movement":
 - imposition of market society disrupts people's ability to fulfil vital needs;
 - multiple social groups seek protection from the state to insulate them from market forces

Silva (2009) - Motivation

Factors	Indicators
Long-term market society project	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. First stage reforms: balanced budgets, restrictive monetary policies, liberalization policies in finance, investment, trade and agriculture, emphasis on foreign private investment, privatization, labour reforms;2. Second stage reforms: privatization, decentralization, retraction of universal access to services, expansion of powers of finance ministers and central banks etc.3. Political reforms: insulating economics from politics.
Stark political and socioeconomic exclusion	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Increased levels of unemployment, informality, underemployment, inequality and poverty with lower incomes per capita.2. political exclusion: reduction of institutional channels for popular sector demands; use of facilities to stifle debate and expedite reform; weakened legislature; consensus among major parties in favour of neoliberalism; dismissal of the legitimacy of popular sector grievances, claims and demands; betrayal of election and other promises by political parties.
Economic volatility and crisis	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Wide swings in growth.2. State and government seeming incapable of fulfilling its economic and welfare functions;3. Persistence “with procyclical, deflationary economic policies” which reinforce “the logic of the market”

Silva (2009) - Capacity

Factors	Indicators
1. Associational political space,	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Existence of a democratic system of government.
2. Constructing associational power and forging collective power	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Creating new organizations and recasting existing ones;• Coalition building across new, recast and traditional movement organizations and across clusters of power;• Issue framing and brokerage mechanisms to link protest groups;
3. Reformist thrust to major protest groups or significant armed conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Advocacy for reform of neoliberalism not the replacement of capitalism.

Silva (2009) Latin America

- Attempt to impose market society in the region in 1980s/90s
- Caused a “double movement” in some Latin American countries leading to end of neoliberalism;
 - Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela
- Not in Chile and Peru, one or both, conditions were not met;
- Do the conditions exist in Ireland?
What prospects for a turn away from neoliberalism?

Ireland: Capacity

- There have been a wide range of national and local protest in Ireland over the last six years
 - these have not coalesced into a determined, united counter movement;
- Trade unions key mobilizing role:
 - has adopted a largely defensive strategy which limits its capacity for narrative and alliance building with others.
- Contemporary Irish civil society “passive”:
 - dominance by state and market – co-option, funding pressures
 - Limits its ability to represent popular sectors, form narratives and build alliances.

Ireland

Factors	Ireland 2007-2013
1. Long-term market society project creating stark political and socioeconomic exclusion (Yes/No)	No. Market economy with significant, but lessening, political and socioeconomic inclusion.
1. Economic volatility and crisis (Yes/No)	Yes. Less so in latter years but with potential for more.
1. Associational political space, favourable/not-favourable	Favourable, democratic regime but with some closing down of associational space.
1. Reformist thrust to major protest groups or significant armed conflict (Yes/No)	Yes, insofar as protest exists
1. Issue framing and brokerage mechanisms to link protest groups (Yes/No)	No. There have been attempts at this but mostly unsuccessful.
Outcome	To be continued

THANK YOU!