



**TOWARDS A  
TRANSNATIONAL DIRECT  
DEMOCRATIC  
INFRASTRUCTURE -**

- WHEN THE INTERNET BECOMES CRITICAL

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**MY INPUT:**

- 1) **INTRODUCTION:** Making representative democracy truly representative
- 2) **INSIGHT:** Modern Direct Democracy - Procedures and Practices
- 3) **OUTLOOK:** The Transnational Turn - Opportunity structures in the making
- 4) **CONCLUSIONS:** Establishing an infrastructure for transnational direct democracy  
- and the role of internet: examples and prospects

INTRODUCTION (1/2) – MAKING REPRESENTATIVE

TRULY REPRESENTATIVE :

- > **The paradox:** more quantity, less quality
- > **Old contradictions:** onelevel vs. multilevel, premodern vs. modern, indirect vs. direct, developing vs. developed
- > **New challenges:** globalized economy, non-globalized democracy (supercapitalism, but no superdemocracy!)

INTRODUCTION (2/2) – MAKING REPRESENTATIVE

TRULY REPRESENTATIVE :

- > **Democracy is an unfinished journey**
- > **No shortcuts and quick-fixs**
- > **Democratization of democracy is the key**
- > **Deepen and broaden: 21th century democracy is to be more direct and more transnational.**

2 INSIGHT (1/6) – MODERN DIRECT DEMOCRACY –  
PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES:

- > SPECIFIC PART OF ELECTORAL PROCESSES
- > ABOUT ISSUES, NOT PEOPLE (NOT ELECTIONS OR RECALL)
- > BOTTOM-UP, NOT TOP-DOWN: DIVISION OF POWER (NOT PLEBISCITES)
- > MODERN, NOT-PREMODERN: SECRECY OF THE VOTE (NOT ASSEMBLIES)
- > INITIATIVE & REFERENDUM: AGENDASETING & DECISION-MAKING  
(NOTCONSULTATIONS, FOCUS GROUPS, PETITIONS)





2 INSIGHT (6/6) – MODERN DIRECT DEMOCRACY –  
PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES:

- > - A LOT OF QUANTITY, BUT LITTLE QUALITY
- > - BAD PROCEDURES > BAD PRACTICES
- > + LEARNING BY DOING, LEARNING FROM EACH ANOTHER
- > + CoE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FREE AND FAIR INITIATIVES AND REFERENDUMS

3 OUTLOOK (1/4): THE TRANSNATIONAL TURN –  
OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES IN THE MAKING

- > THE NEW TWINS: DIRECT DEMOCRACY AND EUROPEAN  
INTEGRATION
- > GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP: MULTIPLE, REMOTE, ABROAD VOTING  
RIGHTS

3 OUTLOOK (2/4): THE TRANSNATIONAL TURN –  
OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES IN THE MAKING

- > THE EUROPEAN REFERENDUM EXPERIENCE: 50 NATIONWIDE  
POPULAR VOTES ON EUROPE IN EUROPE > TOWARDS A PANEUROPEAN REFERENDUM
- > THE EUROPEAN INITIATIVE EXPERIENCE: AGENDA AND FULL INITIATIVE  
RIGHTS IN MOST COUNTRIES > TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN INITIATIVE

3 OUTLOOK (3/4): THE TRANSNATIONAL TURN –  
OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES IN THE MAKING

THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN INITIATIVE

- INTRODUCED BY THE EU CONVENTION
- ESTABLISHED IN THE LISBON TREATY (ART. 11.4)
  - TESTED IN MORE THAN 20 CASES
- THE SAME RIGHT AS THE PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL

3 OUTLOOK (4/4): THE TRANSNATIONAL TURN –  
OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES IN THE MAKING

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP: MULTIPLE, REMOTE,  
ABROAD VOTING RIGHTS

- MYSELF: NINE LEVELS OF CITIZENSHIP, ELECTIONS &  
INITIATIVES & REFERENDUMS
- REMOTE VOTING > GLOBAL ELECTIONS

4 CONCLUSIONS (1/): ESTABLISHING AN INFRASTRUCTURE  
FOR TRANSNATIONAL DIRECT DEMOCRACY - AND THE  
ROLE OF INTERNET EXAMPLES AND PROSPECTS

- > **Opportunities:** Democratic rights and institutions
- > **Infrastructure:** supporting tools and assistance

4 CONCLUSIONS (2/): ESTABLISHING AN INFRASTRUCTURE  
FOR TRANSNATIONAL DIRECT DEMOCRACY - AND THE  
ROLE OF INTERNET EXAMPLES AND PROSPECTS

- > **Pan-European referendum:** consultation, information, deliberation, decision

4 CONCLUSIONS (3/): ESTABLISHING AN INFRASTRUCTURE  
FOR TRANSNATIONAL DIRECT DEMOCRACY - AND THE  
ROLE OF INTERNET EXAMPLES AND PROSPECTS

- > **European Citizen Initiative:** signature gathering, transnational dimension, verification, implementation

4 CONCLUSIONS (4/): ESTABLISHING AN INFRASTRUCTURE  
FOR TRANSNATIONAL DIRECT DEMOCRACY - AND THE  
ROLE OF INTERNET EXAMPLES AND PROSPECTS

- > **Global Citizenship:** Attention, Alerts, communication, decision

4 CONCLUSIONS (4/): ESTABLISHING AN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR TRANSNATIONAL DIRECT DEMOCRACY

- > E-DEMOCRACY: From Local to Global
- > LOCAL: Testground, Developments, Trust
  - > COUNTRY-WIDE: a possibility
- > TRANS-NATIONAL: a Must (but: necessary but not sufficient)

MUCHAS GRACIAS!

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