REPRESENTATION IN THE AGE OF POPULISM?

IDEAS FOR GLOBAL ACTION

Brussels, 18–20 June 2018
OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE

Leaders from politics, society, academia, democracy support, and media from across the world gather to shape a Global Agenda for the Renewal of Representation, a guide aimed at reinvigorating the linkages between people and the diverse forms of representation they have. This Agenda will seek to inspire (i) social and political leaders from all regions of the globe, and (ii) the communities supporting their work.

VENUE

The Belgian Senate (entrance by Leuvenseweg 7 rue de Louvain, 1000 Brussels)

ORGANIZING PARTNERS

- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
- Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)
- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
- Research Center for the Study of Parties and Democracy of the University of Nottingham and the University of Birmingham (REPRESENT)
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD)

MOTIVATION

The conference takes place against a backdrop of pressing questions on the fitness of the traditional linchpins of democratic representation, political parties and legislatures, to adequately represent people. In both established and developing democracies alike, irrespective of regions, the appeal of these institutions declines as new forms of political action and agendas grow in relevance. Among all, populism adopts different organizational forms, agendas and styles as it travels across regions. Distinct varieties of populism feature a range of disruptive ways of connecting, either through rhetoric or action, people and their grievances on the one hand, to the establishment on the other.

Does populism bear the potential demise or renewal of representative democracy? Our understanding of the specifics has been limited by the fact that populism cuts across both geographic, cultural and developmental boundaries. The implications of populism may vary across time and place; depending on whether democracies are old or young, consolidated or not, and on whether economies are affluent or developing.

Populism’s disruptions to representative systems are wide ranging and include: the re-politicization of long-held consensus on areas such as welfare, economic management, or regional integration, or the reignition of longstanding grievances such as women’s equality, thus redrawing lines of political contestation; the growth of participation outside party
membership, as people search and try out alternative organizational vehicles for political influence, such as movements, protest and other new forms of political organizing; the challenges of polarization to compromise and coalition formation within legislatures; cultural and value changes in societies; the realignment of political allegiances within electorates, volatility and renewal of party systems; the transformation of public debates, as news coverage pushes new frontiers and meets ever-evolving forms of social media on digital platforms; the reshaping of the traditional deliberation and oversight roles by legislatures, and other democratic accountability measures; among others.

All these disruptions are difficult to navigate for social and political leaders, as much as they are for different communities of practice from the social sciences, democracy assistance, and the media. Part of the complexity to deal with populism is because of ‘feedback’ mechanisms at play: populism is in part a product of these changes, but it also reinforces them and drives them further. Conference participants will engage in a dialogue to reflect on past and current opportunities and challenges to representation, as they draw lessons to inspire future action for its renewal.

**CONTRIBUTION TO THE RENEWAL OF REPRESENTATION**

The conference offers an opportunity for a frank dialogue and knowledge sharing across disciplines, political creeds and geographical regions. We invite participants to propose elements for a Global Agenda for the Renewal of Representation. The agenda shall serve as guidance to leaders from politics and society, and the communities working to support them to reactivate the linkages between people on the one hand, and both old and new representation forms on the other. The agenda’s focus is on tackling the changing nature of political representation through the identification of innovative actions.

A wide range of relevant voices from both traditional and recently established political parties and social movements from across the spectrum will engage alongside media, research, and democracy assistance organizations to propose actionable answers to pressing questions, including: Has the public become disconnected from traditional parties and legislatures, or are people simply connecting to them in different ways? Is this the end of parties? What are the implications for established democracies and those countries on the brink of or early moments of democratic transition? How can organizations that advance democracy by assisting political parties respond to the challenges of populism and new modes of political participation? What role has technology and social media played in fostering populism, and what role might they play in the renewal of representation?

Conference participants are invited to inspire new thinking with an eye towards embracing the opportunities created by populism while confronting its challenges. By facilitating greater
convergence between populism research and action, we hope to affect the lives of millions of citizens around the world. These benefits will flow to the citizens of both old and new democracies, including – but not limited to – those who are direct beneficiaries of the EUR 8bn spent on democracy assistance each year.

**STRUCTURE OF THE CONFERENCE**

The conference follows a progressive sequence starting with reflections on the past and present of representation and culminating in forward-looking discussions on actions to renew representation. The conference is thus organized into three clusters. The first cluster intends to build an understanding of populism, its drivers and the opportunities and challenges it poses. The second cluster deals with the implications of these challenges for the future of the two traditional linchpins of representation: political parties and legislatures. The final cluster is forward-looking, as it is geared towards developing an agenda to inspire the action of current and future leaders in politics and society, and the organizations who work in their support.

Each cluster consists of two lightning talks, one panel discussion—both held in plenaries—and a minimum of four parallel working sessions. Lightning talks shall present a position on the proposed theme and set the stage for the ensuing panel discussions and working sessions. Panel discussions will provide space for debate and general reflection on the overarching cluster topics. The working sessions will allow for more focused discussions.

**THE GLOBAL AGENDA FOR THE RENEWAL OF REPRESENTATION**

The organizers will nominate rapporteurs to take on the formulation of the Global Agenda for the Renewal of Representation. Their work will be based on the conference proceedings, reflecting the diversity of political views, disciplines and fields of work.

The Global Agenda for the Renewal of Representation shall be circulated among participants willing to consider their endorsements after the conference. Following a period for endorsements, the Global Agenda will be published online and in print. The online version will remain open for further endorsements by interested organizations and individuals.

Conference and working session rapporteurs will elaborate two complementary products:

- A report of the conference proceedings, which will be offered for publication to relevant academic or media outlets.
- A short synthesis of the Global Agenda in the form of an op-ed will be offered for publication to a pool of leading news media outlets in different languages and from all participating regions.
## Agenda Overview

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<td>Session 2.4 Parties, movements and tech: Bridging the gap</td>
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<td>Convener: International Republic Institute Room M</td>
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| 20 JUNE | Plenary Session 5: The Future of Political Representation (Hemicycle)  
|         | - Lightning talks: Global Perspectives on the Influence of New Modes of Interest Representation  
|         | - Panel discussion: Action for the Renewal of Political Representation |

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| Convener: International IDEA  
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| Session 3.2 | The future of populism: is ‘fixing’ populism by changing the rules the answer?  
| Convener: OSCE ODIHR  
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| Session 3.3 | Now what? Responding to populism in policy and practice  
| Convener: European Partnership for Democracy  
| Room B |
| Session 3.4 | Saving democracy from tech, or saving democracy with tech?  
| Conveners: National Democratic Institute and International IDEA  
| Room M |

| 20 JUNE | Plenary Session 6: Presenting the draft Agenda for Action (Hemicycle) |

| 20 JUNE | Plenary Session 7: Closing (Hemicycle) |
**DETAILED AGENDA**

**DAY 1 (18 JUNE 2018)**

16:30–17:00  Arrival and registration of participants

17:00–18:15  **PLENARY SESSION 1. OPENING: THE RISE OF POPULISM AND THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY**

  *Room: Hemicycle*

  **Keynote speakers:**
  
  *Christine Defraigne*, President of the Belgian Senate
  
  *Enrico Letta*, former Prime Minister of Italy
  
  *Rafael Correa*, former President of Ecuador
  
  **Moderator:** Yves Leterme, Secretary-General of International IDEA and former Prime Minister of Belgium

18:15–19:30  Reception

  *Room: Reception Rooms of the Presidency*

**DAY 2 (19 JUNE 2018)**

08:30–09:15  Arrival of participants

09:15–09:55  **PLENARY SESSION 2. INTRODUCTIONS AND OBJECTIVE**

  *Room: Hemicycle*

  **Objective:** The Global Agenda for Action for the Renewal of Representation

  **Yves Leterme**, Secretary-General of International IDEA and former Prime Minister of Belgium

  **INTRODUCTION**

  *Simone Filippini*, Executive Director, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

  *Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir*, Director of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

  *Sue Inglish*, Independent Governor, Westminster Foundation for Democracy

  *Nic Cheeseman*, Co-Director the Research Centre for the Study of Parties and Democracy and Professor of Democracy and International Development at the University of Birmingham
PLENARY SESSION 3. GLOBAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON POPULISM

Room: Hemicycle

09:55–10:30 Lightning talks: UNDERSTANDING POPULISM AND ITS DRIVERS

This introductory session sets the stage for discussions. It provides an overview of different understandings of populism today, and the variety of forms it has adopted at different historical periods and regions.

Cas Mudde, Associate Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia; Researcher in the Center for Research on Extremism at the University of Oslo

Chantal Delsol, Philosopher, Founder of the Hannah Arendt Research Institute, author of Populisme: Les demeurés de l’Histoire, Le Figaro columnist

10.30–11.30 Panel Discussion: IS POPULISM A THREAT OR AN OPPORTUNITY?

In light of the historical and contextual factors driving populism, this session explores whether the increase in populism represents an opportunity or a threat to representation. The panel discussion will examine the growing relevance of populist forms of political leadership and mobilization, and how the phenomenon has unfolded across regions.

Delia Ferreira, Chair, Transparency International

Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu, Founder and Executive Director, Center for Policy Alternatives, Sri Lanka

Claudia Luciani, Director of Democratic Governance, Council of Europe

Chantal Delsol

Cas Mudde

11.30–11.45 Coffee Break (Peristyle)

11.45–13:15 PARALLEL WORKING SESSIONS: CLUSTER 1

Session 1.1 Learning from history: past experiences of populism and its drivers

Convener: Westminster Foundation for Democracy

Room D

Session 1.2 Neighbourhood effects? Assessing the impact of populist trends in Europe/US on the politics of other regions

Convener: Westminster Foundation for Democracy

Room K

Session 1.3 From evidence to action: Using research to transform populism from threat to opportunity

Convener: Represent

Room B
Session 1.4  Social Media matter: The role of information integrity in the rise of populism

Convener: National Democratic Institute

Room M

13:15–14.15  Lunch (Peristyle)

14:15–15:45  PLENARY SESSION 4. THE CHANGING FACE OF REPRESENTATION

Room: Hemicycle

14:15–14:45  Lightning talks: ADAPTATION TO THE EVOLVING NATURE OF REPRESENTATION

This session addresses one of the most pressing questions of our time: How will political parties and legislatures have to transform to remain relevant? How have new political movements succeeded in adapting to the changing face of representation?

Katalin Cseh, Vice-President, Momentum Movement, Hungary

Speaker to be confirmed

14:45–15:45  Panel Discussion: THE CHANGING FACE OF REPRESENTATION, VISIONS FROM THE REGIONS

The panel addresses how politics has transformed, bringing new actors and methods to the table. The panellists will debate about the changing face of representation from their political experience, and answer some of the following questions: what does political leadership landscape in different parts of the world currently look like, and how will the ‘face of representation’ change (e.g. thanks or due to populist movements)? Can we expect more or fewer female leaders/faces in politics in different regions of the world? Does populism open or rather further close doors for traditionally excluded or marginalized groups in society? How (often) do leaderless movements change the traditional notion of a chosen/elected leader? Who will be representing ‘the people’ in the future, and at what level?

Kizza Besigye, Opposition leader, Uganda

Gordana Comic, MP and Deputy Speaker of Serbian Parliament

Nicholas Westcott, Director, Royal African Society

Katalin Cseh and second lighting talk speaker

Moderator: Wouter Dol, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

15:45–16:00  Coffee Break (Peristyle)

16.00–17:30  PARALLEL WORKING SESSIONS: CLUSTER 2

Session 2.1  The power and limits of protest: lessons from the women’s movement

Convener: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

Room D
Session 2.2  More than elections: politicians’ ongoing accountability to citizens  
Convener: Transparency International  
Room K

Session 2.3  Re-engaging with the people: How parties outside the EU deal with populist competitors  
Convener: Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy  
Room B

Session 2.4  Communication Technology in Modern Democracy: (dis)Connecting Public-Political Dialogue?  
Convener: International Republic Institute  
Room M

**D A Y  3  (20 J U N E  2018)**

08:30–09:00  Arrival

09:00–10:30  **P L E N A R Y  S E S S I O N  5.  T H E  F U T U R E  O F  P O L I T I C A L  R E P R E S E N T A T I O N**

Room: Hemicycle

09:00–09:30  Lightning talks:  **T H E  F U T U R E  O F  P O L I T I C A L  R E P R E S E N T A T I O N**

The talks will explore the potential and limitations of new modes of political representation. The focus here will be on recommended actions for improving and innovating political representation, especially from the perspective of inclusion and reducing inequalities.

Richard Youngs, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Athena Tong, International Campaigns, Demosistō Hong Kong


A forward-looking panel to offer visions for the renewal of the linkages between political parties, legislatures, new modes of political organizing and people, as well as their influence and their implications for democracy. Leaders representing diverse political actors with experience in various forms of citizen engagement from different regions will debate what efforts are called for to provide additional channels of political participation or to replace existing ones.

**John Paul Mwirigi**, MP for the Igembe South Constituency, Kenya National Assembly  
**Myroslava Gongadze**, Journalist, Voice of America Ukraine  
**Athena Tong** and **Richard Youngs**

Moderator: Katarzyna Gardapkhadze, First Deputy Director of OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
10:30–11:00  Coffee Break (Pericycle)

11.00–12:30  **PARALLEL WORKING SESSIONS: CLUSTER 3**

Session 3.1  Innovation and representation: including alternative forms of citizen engagement in politics  
Convener: International IDEA  
Room D

Session 3.2  The future of populism: is ‘fixing’ populism by changing the rules the answer?  
Convener: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights  
Room K

Session 3.3  Now what? Responding to populism in policy and practice  
Convener: European Partnership for Democracy  
Room B

Session 3.4  Saving democracy from tech, or saving democracy with tech?  
Conveners: National Democratic Institute and International IDEA  
Room M

12:30–13:30  Lunch (Peristyle)

13.30–15:00  **PLENARY SESSION 6. CONCLUSIONS: A GLOBAL AGENDA FOR THE RENEWAL OF REPRESENTATION**

Room: Hemicycle  
Presentation of the draft Global Agenda.  
Panel discussion with representatives of International IDEA, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Represent and Westminster Foundation for Democracy.  
Moderator: Dr. Fernando Casal Bértola, Assistant Professor in Comparative Politics, School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham

15:00–16:00  **PLENARY SESSION 7. CLOSING SESSION**

Room: Hemicycle  
First responses to the Global Agenda.  
**Michelle Bachelet**, Former President of Chile  
**Heidi Hautala**, Vice President, European Parliament  
**Luca Jahier**, President of the European Economic and Social Committee  
Moderator: Sue Inglish, Westminster Foundation for Democracy Independent Governor
## Session 1.1
### Learning from History: Past Experiences of Populism and Its Drivers (Room D)

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<th>Westminster Foundation for Democracy</th>
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<td><strong>Cluster</strong></td>
<td>Understanding populism and its drivers</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td>With so much attention focusing on the emergence of populist movements in Europe and the US in recent years, it is instructive to reflect on populist experiences from elsewhere in the world and examine carefully their histories. This can cast light on the trajectories these populist trends are likeliest to take and how political systems in the past have responded to the threat they posed. The panel will look at experiences from the Balkans, the Middle East and North Africa, and Latin America to get a global picture of how populism has manifested in the past.</td>
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| **Agenda**         | • Opening statement by the moderator.  
                      • Presentations by speakers.  
                      • Roundtable debate, led by the moderator.  
                      Interaction with the audience. |
| **Format**         | Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience |
| **Speakers**       | • Gordana Comic, MP and Deputy Speaker of Serbian Parliament  
                      • Professor Samir Makdisi, American University of Beirut  
                      • Hajer El Ouardani, Université de Tunis El Manar  
                      • Fiona Mackie, Economist Intelligence Unit |
| **Moderator**      | Dina Melhem, Westminster Foundation for Democracy |
| **Rapporteur**     | Ellen Shustik, Westminster Foundation for Democracy |
### SESSION 1.2

**NEIGHBOURHOOD EFFECTS? ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF POPULIST TRENDS IN EUROPE/US ON THE POLITICS OF OTHER REGIONS (ROOM K)**

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**DESCRIPTION**

The recent populist trend in Europe and the US have been extensively studied and analyzed with respect to what it portends for the future of Western liberal democracy and its institutions. Significantly less attention has been given the impact of these populist movements on the political systems of neighboring regions. Has the rise of populism opened the door to increased Russian influence throughout Eastern Europe and the Middle East? If the populist trend continues, will it further erode confidence in democracy in countries still undergoing transition? This panel will look at current evidence from the EU neighborhood to understand how European populism may have implications beyond the borders of Europe.

**AGENDA**

- Opening statement by the moderator.
- Presentations by speakers.
- Roundtable debate, led by the moderator.

Interaction with the audience

**FORMAT**

Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience.

**SPEAKERS**

- Emilia Zankina, American University in Bulgaria
- Finn Heinrich, Democracy Reporting International

**MODERATOR**

Franklin de Vrieze, Westminster Foundation for Democracy

**RAPPORTEUR**

Graeme Ramshaw, Westminster Foundation for Democracy
### SESSION 1.3

**FROM EVIDENCE TO ACTION: USING RESEARCH TO TRANSFORM POPULISM FROM THREAT TO OPPORTUNITY (ROOM B)**

| CONVENER | REPRESENT – the Research Centre for the Study of Parties and Democracy |
| CLUSTER | Understanding populism and its drivers |

**DESCRIPTION**

Populism is commonly presented as both a global phenomenon and an existential threat to representative democracy. This session will explore how academic research can help to transform populism from a threat into an opportunity by providing more nuanced, context-sensitive understandings of this phenomenon. Speakers will draw on new research, including research showcased at REPRESENT’s recent conference—Political Parties in the Age of Populism—to identify concrete actions that can contribute to the renewal of political institutions.

**KEY QUESTIONS/ THEMES**

- Regional varieties of populism: Populism is a global phenomenon but one with distinct regional drivers and manifestations. What does this variation mean for responses to populism?
- Which facets of populism represent potential opportunities?
- How will the practice of democracy support need to change to realize opportunities created by populism and contribute more effectively to the renewal of representative democracy?

**AGENDA**

- Opening statement by the moderator.
- Presentations by speakers.
- Roundtable debate, led by the moderator.

**FORMAT**

Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience.

**SPEAKERS**

- Susan Dodsworth, International Development Department at the University of Birmingham
- Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, School of Political Science of the Diego Portales University, Chile
- Fernando Casal Bértoa, School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham
- Greg Power, Global Partners Governance

**MODERATOR**

Lise Storm, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter

**RAPPORTEUR**

Anna Silander, School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham
SESSION 1.4
SOCIAL MEDIA MATTER: THE ROLE OF INFORMATION INTEGRITY IN THE RISE OF POPULISM (ROOM M)

CONVENER National Democratic Institute

CLUSTER Understanding populism and its drivers

DESCRIPTION This session will discuss how information integrity in public discourse and political systems is increasingly distorted by disinformation campaigns spread through automated accounts, trolls, or other forms of computational propaganda. It will focus particularly on developing responses across sectors, in collaboration with government, the private sector and civil society including through a new initiative known as the Design for Democracy Coalition. The Coalition is a multi-partisan, global coalition of key actors in the democracy community to better liaise and coordinate with tech companies and social media platforms on areas of shared concern. Speakers will discuss this initiative, and the role of various groups from political parties to tech companies to media organizations in countering computational propaganda, disinformation and other forms of negative speech. Responses to encourage greater information integrity include measures ranging from developing strong cybersecurity for parties and CSOs to election monitoring for disinformation and other forms of harmful speech online. The group will also consider ways that new regulations such as the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and initiatives such as the proposed EU Code of Practice on Disinformation can play a positive role in encouraging the development of information integrity in democratic discourse, politics and societies around the world.

FORMAT Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience.

SPEAKERS
- Margo Gontar, StopFake
- Dimitar Dimitrov, Wikimedia Foundation
- Industry Representative (TBC)
- Daniel Arnaudo, National Democratic Institute

MODERATOR Kip Wainscott, National Democratic Institute

RAPPORTEUR TBC

SESSION 2.1
THE POWER AND LIMITS OF PROTEST: LESSONS FROM THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT (ROOM D)

CONVENER OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
The evolving nature of representation

Populist parties and politicians claim to represent the “people” against elites, but more importantly, they also claim that only they represent “the people” and the “people’s will”. But what populists take to be the people’s real will is derived from what they stipulate to be the real people—and not all citizens will automatically be part of that real people. With this notion, the populists deny the pluralism of contemporary societies. When they say equality, they seem to mean sameness. Very often, the programs of populist parties and movements consider the concept of gender equality to be detrimental to the family and society, as meant to destroy the ‘natural roles’ given to men and women and thus take concrete steps against gender equality and human rights. They create conditions for a strong anti-feminist bias, taking action to the detriment of already achieved rights, resulting in direct consequences to issues such as prevention of gender-based violence, education on gender equality, women’s political participation and the adoption of special temporary measures.

Recent years have seen massive protests organized by the women’s movement against proposals to curtail women’s rights as well as human rights and the rule of law more widely. Examples such as the Women’s March in the US or the women’s strike in Spain and the Black Protest in Poland show how women are trying to effect change by standing up en masse to perceived injustice. What is the impact of such mass organization, what results have been achieved and what are the limits of protest? And on the other hand, what are the benefits of representation and participation in decision-making through more formal politics, as the recent rise of feminist parties, for example in the UK, Sweden and Finland, implies? What are the lessons learned and best practices for ensuring women’s representation, role, and influence in today’s politics? How do the more traditional mainstream political parties fit in this?

**AGENDA**

- Opening statement by the moderator
- Presentations by speakers
- Roundtable debate, led by the moderator

**FORMAT**

Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience.

**SPEAKERS**

- Soraya Post, Member of the European Parliament, Feministiskt Initiativ
- Marta Lempart, Strajk Kobiet/Women’s Strike, Poland.
- Joanna Maycock, S European Women’s Lobby
- Karolina Leakovic, Leader of the Women’s Forum of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia

**MODERATOR**

Marcin Walecki, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

**RAPPORTEUR**

Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

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### SESSION 2.2

**MORE THAN ELECTIONS: POLITICIANS’ ONGOING ACCOUNTABILITY TO CITIZENS (ROOM K)**

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<td>The evolving nature of representation</td>
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<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>The discourse on “corrupt elites” is a common theme of populist movements around the world. How to hold elected politicians to account is of course a key issue for any democracy, but public perception on the issue has evolved in recent years. Expressing discontent at the ballot box every few years is not long enough. Beyond the populist rhetoric, this session will explore various ways to hold elected officials to account beyond elections. Questions around ethics, conflicts of interest, lobbying transparency, and revolving doors will be discussed. The balance between the freedom of mandate in a representative democracy and ensuring that politicians respect ethics rules, but also the platform and mandate they were elected on, will be at the center of the debate.</td>
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| SPEAKERS       | • Paul Maassen, Open Government Partnership  
• Doru Peter Frantescu, Votewatch  
• Aidan O’Sullivan, European Ombudsman  
• Mady Delvaux (TBC), Member of the European Parliament |
| MODERATOR      | Daniel Freund, Transparency International |
| RAPPORTEUR     | TBC |

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**Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience.**

**Speakers**

- Paul Maassen, Open Government Partnership
- Doru Peter Frantescu, Votewatch
- Aidan O’Sullivan, European Ombudsman
- Mady Delvaux (TBC), Member of the European Parliament

**Moderator**

Daniel Freund, Transparency International

**Rapporteur**

TBC
### Session 2.3

**Re-Engaging with the People: How Parties Outside the EU Deal with Populist Competitors (Room B)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convener</th>
<th>Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cluster</td>
<td>The evolving nature of representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>With a decline in party membership and a growing mistrust in political actors, many parties and politicians are proactively addressing this problem by creating new and innovative mechanisms to re-engage with the people. Some of these mechanisms are high-tech in nature, whereas others are a reinterpretation of traditional engagement structures. This session will bring together practical experiences and lessons from outside the EU that will assist the democracy assistance community in shaping new policy and actions. Experiences from Africa, the Eastern European Neighbourhood and Latin America are presented and compared to trends within the EU in order to distill best practices.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Agenda            | • Opening statement by the moderator  
• Presentations by speakers  
• Roundtable debate, led by the moderator  
• Interaction with the audience |
| Format            | Panel presentation, followed by roundtable debate with audience |
| Speakers          | • Kizza Besigye, Politician Forum for Democratic Change  
• John Paul Mwirigi, MP for the Igembe South Constituency in the Kenyan National Assembly  
• Levan Tsutskiridze, Eastern European Centre for Multiparty Democracy  
• Ingrid van Biezen, Leiden University and member of the NIMD Supervisory Board |
| Moderator         | Egbert Pos, NIMD |
| Rapporteur        | Debbie Vermeij, NIMD |
## SESSION 2.4

**COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY IN MODERN DEMOCRACY:**

**(DIS)CONNECTING PUBLIC-POLITICAL DIALOGUE? (ROOM M)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CONVENER</strong></th>
<th>International Republican Institute</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLUSTER</strong></td>
<td>The evolving nature of representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DESCRIPTION</strong></td>
<td>The shift from personal political dialogues of consensus and compromise seeking to those of quick bursts of 280 characters or less in an exchange of online posts, epitomises the impact technology and communication platforms have on modern governments and political parties. As the internet-of-things and e-governance extend the reach of technology in our daily lives, it has become more susceptible to cyber-attacks, politically-motivated leaks, and disinformation raising questions about privacy and the fragility of our digital societies. This panel seeks to bring together voices from political parties, companies, and NGOs to discuss whether our initial understanding of technology as a force for strengthening democracies remains true today. How has technology shaped the modern political party and what it means to campaign? What risks do we face as political discourse has moved from lengthy party meetings and citizens-party dialogues to a level of instant short posts curbed by social bubbles? Is the libertarian nature of internet culture inherently more supportive of extreme forms of political populism? This panel seeks to discuss these topics as well as highlighting some of the key deficiencies and threats to democracy arising from technological advance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FORMAT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **SPEAKERS**         | • Philipp Hansen, Political Unit, ALDE  
• Brady Hills, International Republican Institute  
• Gonçalo Raposo Carriço, European Popular Party  
• Ricardo de la Blanca, Freedom Social Technology |
| **MODERATOR**        | Patryk Pawlak, European Union Institute for Security Studies |
| **RAPPORTEUR**       | TBC |

Working Sessions (Continued)
### SESSION 3.1

**INNOVATION AND REPRESENTATION: ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT IN POLITICS (ROOM D)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CONVENER</strong></th>
<th>International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLUSTER</strong></td>
<td>The future of political representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DESCRIPTION</strong></td>
<td>The conference thematic pillar “The Future of Political Representation” explores the potential opportunities and limitations of new modes of political representation and focuses on recommended actions for improving and innovating politics, especially from the perspective of inclusion and reducing inequalities. This working session will look more closely at new modes of citizen engagement, and will challenge participants to think about the future of representation in more practical terms, to discuss alternative paths for political action and learn about innovative mechanisms that engage citizens in politics.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Whilst traditional political parties in many regions worry about membership decline and an increasing distance from citizens, citizen platforms and social (media) movements, often fueled by protest, seem to have gained ground and be the new political forces to be reckoned with. Could these innovations in representation and democracy practice make political parties and parliaments redundant? Can we have the best of both worlds? That is, can we develop innovative mechanisms that engage citizens in politics in a way that complements, improves and changes, rather than replaces, political parties and legislatures?

### AGENDA

11:00-11:30 Panelist introduction and statements
11:30-12:00 Moderated debate: What is the status quo, what are innovations, what’s the future?
12:00-12:30 Q&A with the audience

### FORMAT

A five-minute introduction of the topic with each panelist taking maximum 5-10 minutes to introduce themselves and their perspectives on the topic. Then 30 minutes of curated questions from the moderator (e.g. interview or fishbowl style), and 30 minutes of Q&A with the audience ending with a summary and thanks.

### SPEAKERS

- Patrick L. Scully, Participedia
- Hernan Vales, Rule of Law and Democracy Section, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
- Athena Tong, Demosistō, Hong Kong
- Teele Pehk, Estonian Cooperation Assembly
- Samson Itodo, Iaga Africa
- Michael Babyak, ArrowIQ

### MODERATOR

Brechtje Kemp, Political Participation and Representation, International IDEA

### RAPPORTEUR

Martha McCoy, Everyday Democracy
### Session 3.2

**The future of populism: is ‘fixing’ populism by changing the rules the answer? (Room K)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Convener</strong></th>
<th>OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cluster</strong></td>
<td>The future of political representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td>The rise of populist/anti-establishment movements or parties poses challenges to all sectors of society. Their appeal also presents the question how apt political party regulation is to respond to those parties. Populist parties illustrate the very dilemma of political party regulation; too much regulation will stifle political discourse and might further disenfranchise citizens who become frustrated by the obstacles they face when wanting participate in public discourse by way of engagement in political parties. Resting on the profusion of analysis available on this revamp of populism, the Working Session will look specifically at whether populist movements and political parties have specific characteristics and present challenges that require additional regulation, from their funding modalities to their political platforms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Format</strong></td>
<td>Panel discussion with substantial Q&amp;A session.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Speakers** | • Richard Katz, Member of the OSCE/ODIHR Group of Experts on Political Parties  
• Eka Gigauri, Transparency International Georgia  
• John Holmes, UK Electoral Commission |
| **Moderator** | Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) |
| **Rapporteur** | Jacopo Leone, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) |
## SESSION 3.3
### NOW WHAT? RESPONDING TO POPULISM IN POLICY AND PRACTICE (ROOM B)

#### CONVENER
European Partnership for Democracy

#### CLUSTER
The future of political representation

#### DESCRIPTION
The workshop will answer the ‘now what’ question by building upon the lightning talks and panel discussion of cluster 3 to look ahead in terms of policy-making and practical steps to take in order to counter the negative political effects of populism. Following a presentation, the session will engage a range of practitioners, policy-makers and donors to seek to establish recommendations for counteracting populism and reinvigorating representative politics. The discussion should take into account what is realistic and actionable from the point of view of policy-makers and practitioners. Some example questions:

What angles can be taken to address current challenges to representation? What have various donors done to promote pluralism? What responses have practitioners made to the rise of populist rhetoric? What are possible policy responses to the rise of populism? What role could new forms of communication play in this?

This workshop forms part of a series of events convened by EPD over the course of 2018 and 2019 that will review European democracy support.

#### AGENDA

11:00-11:05 Moderator introduction  
11:05-11:20 Speaker  
11:20-12:30 Discussion with participants

#### FORMAT
The session should take the form of a workshop, encouraging different members of the audience to contribute to the debate. It will be kicked off by a presentation.

#### SPEAKERS
- Richard Youngs, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### MODERATOR
Tom Millar, European Commission (TBC)

#### RAPPORTEUR
Ken Godfrey, European Partnership for Democracy
SESSION 3.4
SAVING DEMOCRACY FROM TECH, OR SAVING DEMOCRACY WITH TECH? (ROOM D)

CONVENER
National Democratic Institute
International IDEA

CLUSTER
The future of political representation

DESCRIPTION
With the growing importance of technology in political campaigns and politics in general, a great deal of focus has been placed on the type of influence it can exert. The initial enthusiasm about the power of technology to act as a pro-democracy force, which arose after its anti-authoritarian use in the Arab Spring and in the 2009 Iran protests, was confronted with an increased use of technology by authoritarian regimes and anti-democratic elements within democracies. This counter effect has harnessed the same technology that pro-democratic forces have used to achieve an entirely different goal: supporting authoritarian and antidemocratic agendas. The panel will shed light upon the potential positive and negative effects of tech on democracy, and on strategies to diffuse its most negative effects while fostering and amplifying the positive ones.

FORMAT
Plenary presentations followed by open discussion with the public.

SPEAKERS
- Rachele Gilman. New Knowledge Foundation and Code for Democracy
- Rebcan Rumbul, MySociety
- Representative from the industry
- Clay Dumas, former White House Office of Digital Strategy
- Sam van der Staak, International IDEA

MODERATOR
Kip Wainscott, National Democratic Institute

RAPPORTEUR
Alberto Fernandez Gibaja, International IDEA
ABOUT THE SPEAKERS

PLENARY SESSION 1

CHRISTINE DEFRAGNIE, PRESIDENT OF THE BELGIAN SENATE
Christine Defraigne is a leading Belgian politician and the current President of the Senate of Belgium. A member of the Mouvement Réformateur, Ms. Defraigne held positions in both the municipality of Liège and in the Parliament of Wallonia before joining the Belgian Senate in 2003. She has served as its President since October of 2014.

ENRICO LETTA, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF ITALY
Enrico Letta is Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) at Sciences Po and the former Prime Minister of the Italian Republic. Serving in the Italian Parliament from 2001 and 2015, Mr. Letta held prominent positions within the Democratic Party and led multiple government ministries before serving as Prime Minister from 2013 to 2014. A graduate of the University of Pisa, Mr. Letta has focused much of his academic and professional work on the European Union.

RAFAEL CORREA, FORMER PRESIDENT OF ECUADOR
Rafael Correa served as the 43rd President of Ecuador from 2007 to 2017. An economist by training, President Correa received his PhD in economics from the University of Illinois and went on to serve as the Minister of Finance in 2005. The founder of the PAIS Party, President Correa first won election to the Presidency in 2006, before winning a second term in 2011. During his tenure as President, Mr. Correa served as President pro tempore of the Union of South American Nations and of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States.

PLENARY SESSION 2

YVES LETERME, SECRETARY-GENERAL, INTERNATIONAL IDEA
Prior to International IDEA, Yves Leterme served as Prime Minister of Belgium from 2007 to 2011. Belgium held the Presidency of the European Union during Leterme’s tenure as Prime Minister. He then served as Deputy Secretary General of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris from 2011 to 2014.

Before serving as Prime Minister, Leterme held a variety of political posts in Belgium. After starting his career as an Alderman in his home town of Ypres, he became a Member of Parliament in the Chamber of Representatives and served as Chairman of his party CD&V. He
also held various Minister posts, such as that of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Leterme has also worked, inter alia, as a deputy auditor at the Belgian Court of Audit and as an administrator at the European Parliament.

SIMONE FILIPPINI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

Simone Filippini is the Executive Director of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), a position she has held since 2017. An expert in international affairs and development, Ms. Filippinni served in various posts in the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including as Ambassador to Macedonia. Prior to joining NIMD, Ms. Filippinni was CEO of Cordaid, one of the foremost development and humanitarian organizations in the Netherlands.

INGIBJÖRG SÓLRÚN GÍSLADÓTTIR, DIRECTOR OF THE OSCE OFFICE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Gísladóttir has 35 years of leadership experience working on human rights, democratic governance and the rule of law at the international, national and local levels. Before taking up the position of ODIHR Director, she served from 2014 as Regional Director for Europe and Central Asia at UN Women, and Country Representative to Turkey. From 2011 to 2014 she was Country Representative of UN Women to Afghanistan.

From 2007 to 2009, Gísladóttir served as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iceland. She was previously a Member of Parliament and Chairperson and Leader of the Social Democratic Alliance (2005–2009) and Mayor of the City of Reykjavik (1994–2003). Throughout her career, she has been involved in policy and development work in conflict and non-conflict countries, aimed at strengthening democratic institutions and human rights.

SUE INGLISH, INDEPENDENT GOVERNOR, WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Sue Inglish is an Independent Governor at the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, a role she was appointed to by UK Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson in 2017. A veteran journalist and editor with an expertise in UK and global politics, Inglish served as Head of Political Programmes at the BBC from 2005 to 2015. In addition to her role outlining the strategic vision and exercising oversight over the Westminster Foundation, Ms. Inglish is the Chair of the board of the International News Safety Institute, a charity working to improve journalists’ safety.

NIC CHEESEMAN, CO-DIRECTOR THE RESEARCH CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY AND PROFESSOR OF DEMOCRACY AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Nic Cheeseman is Professor of Democracy and International Development at the University of Birmingham. An expert in the politics of sub-Saharan Africa, Professor Cheeseman has published over twenty articles on African politics and is co-editor of the Democracy in Africa
online forum. His most recent book, How to Rig an Election, was published by Yale University Press in 2018. He received his D.Phil from Oxford in 2006.

PLENARY SESSION 3

CAS MUDDE

Cas Mudde is Associate Professor of International Affairs at the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia. One of the foremost scholars on the rise of the far right in Western democracies, Professor Mudde has written extensively on the interplay between populism, extremism, and the rise of right-wing parties across the globe, including in his regular column in The Guardian and in his most recent volume, The Far Right in America (Routledge: 2018). He received his PhD from the University of Leiden in 1998.

CHANTAL DELSOL

Chantal Delsol is Professor Emerita of Philosophy at the University of Paris-Est and founder of the Hannah Arendt Institute. Concerned largely with questions of political and moral philosophy, Professor Delsol has published extensively on the political philosophies of populism, federalism, and extremism, and authors a regular column in Le Figaro. Professor Delsol was elected to the Institut de France’s Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, serving as its President in 2015.

DELIA FERREIRA

Delia Ferreira serves as chair of Transparency International. An Argentinian native, Dr. Ferreira served in various public-sector and academic positions, including as a key advisor to the Constitutional Committees of both the Argentinian House and Senate, before focusing her career on anti-corruption work. Prior to assuming her duties as chair of Transparency International in 2017, Dr. Ferreira directed TI’s Argentinian affiliate, Poder Ciudadano. Ferreira received her Ph.D. in law from Madrid’s Complutense University.

PAIKIASOTHY SARAVANAMUTTU

Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu is Executive Director of the Centre for Policy Alternatives, the leading public policy center in Sri Lanka. A longtime advocate for good governance in Sri Lanka and across the globe, Dr. Saravanamuttu helped to found both the Center for Monitoring Election Violence and the Sri Lankan Chapter of Transparency International. Dr. Saravanamuttu has written extensively, publishing mostly on governance and peace. He earned his Ph. D in International Relations from the London School of Economics in 1986.
CLAUDIA LUCIANI
Claudia Luciani became Director of Democratic Governance (within the Directorate General of Democracy) at the Council of Europe (CoE) in 2012, after working for years as Director of Political Advice and Co-operation. Her work focuses on three specific areas: 1) the solidity of democratic institutions in CoE Member States by ensuring an equal application of European standards and by looking at the critical interaction between different levels of governance (local, regional and national); 2) “managing” the increasing diversity of our societies in a way that is fully respectful of fundamental rights and freedoms; 3) the relationship between culture and democracy through indicators and impact assessment.

PLENARY SESSION 4

KATALIN CSEH
Katalin Cseh is a member of Momentum Movement’s National Board and one of the party’s founding members. In the past few years, she has worked on a number of projects focusing on international and regional cooperation, youth involvement and gender equality. She graduated as a medical doctor and also holds an MSc degree in Health Economics. Prior to joining the Board, Katalin practiced obstetric medicine in Budapest. Currently she is working on her PhD dissertation.

GORDANA ĆOMIĆ
Gordana Ćomić is a Serbian Member of Parliament and has served the National Assembly of Serbia since 2000 as a member of the Democratic Party and is a deputy speaker of the assembly. She currently serves as a deputy chairperson of the Committee on Constitutional and Legislative Issues, member of the Committee for EU integrations and a member of the Committee for environment. As founder of the Women’s Political Network, Gordana has had a very important role in the women’s movement in Serbia having been involved in the battle for equality in representation and participation of women in all decision making processes in Serbian society.

KIZZA BESIGYE
Kizza Besigye is the primary opposition leader in Uganda. A four-time candidate for the Presidency of Uganda, Mr. Besigye served as the President of the Forum for Democratic Change, the primary opposition political force in the country. A physician by training, Mr. Besigye has used his voice as a presidential candidate and political leader to advocate for improving human rights and liberal reforms within Uganda.
Nicholas Westcott is Director of the Royal African Society, a position he has held since November 2017. A veteran of the UK Foreign Office, Dr. Westcott served as the United Kingdom’s Ambassador to Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Togo, and Niger. Between 2011 and 2017, he served as the European Union’s Managing Director for Africa and as the Managing Director for the Middle East and North Africa in the EU’s External Action Service. He received his PhD in African History at Cambridge and serves on the Editorial Board of African Affairs.

Richard Youngs is Senior Fellow in the Democracy and Rule of Law Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. An expert on the foreign policy of the European Union and on democracy support, Dr. Youngs has held positions at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, as well as at the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, DC. Dr. Youngs is the author of twelve books, including Europe Reset: New Directions for the EU (Tauris, 2017). He received his PhD from Warwick University.

Athena Tong serves as the responsible for International Campaigns for Demosistō Hong Kong.

John Paul Mwirigi is a Member of the Kenyan National Assembly, the lower house of the Parliament of the Republic of Kenya. Elected to represent the Igembe South Constituency in central Kenya’s Meru County, Mr. Mwirigi won election as an independent candidate in 2017. At just 23 years of age, Mr. Mwirigi is the youngest-ever candidate elected to the Parliament. Mr. Mwirigi is an education student at Mt. Kenya University.

Myroslava Gongadze is a Ukrainian journalist and Chief of Voice of America’s Ukrainian Service. The host of both Voice of America’s Chas-Time program and Ukraine First National TV’s Prime Time with Myroslava Gongadze, Ms. Gongadze regularly interviews leading figures in both American and Ukrainian politics, and has been published in The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, and the Journal of Democracy. A lawyer by training, Ms. Gongadze has also been a leading advocate for press freedoms and journalistic protection in Ukraine.
PLenary session 7

Michelle Bachelet

Michelle Bachelet served as the 35th and 37th President of the Republic of Chile, and was the first woman to be elected to the Presidency. A member of the Socialist Party, President Bachelet is a physician by training and served as Health Minister and Defense Minister before being elected to her first term as President in 2006. After her first term, President Bachelet went on to serve as Executive Director of UN Women, before returning to serve a second term as President from 2014 to 2018.

Heidi Hautala

Heidi Hautala is a Member of the European Parliament from Finland, and currently serves as a Vice President of the European Parliament. A member of the Green League, Ms. Hautala began her political career as leader of the Finnish Green Party, going on to serve two terms in the Finnish Parliament and as Minister of International Development from 2011 to 2013. She has also served three separate times in the European Parliament, and most recently assumed office as an MEP in 2014. She was elected a Vice President in October 2017.

Luca Jahier

Luca Jahier serves as the 32nd President of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC). A member of the EESC since 2002, Mr. Jahier was formerly a journalist and political analyst in his native Italy, and remained active in NGOs supporting employment and volunteerism. During his time at the EESC, Mr. Jahier has served in various leadership roles, including as Group III President from 2011-2018. Mr. Jahier was unanimously nominated to serve as the EESC’s President, and he assumed office in April 2018.
ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE (INTERNATIONAL IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide, in the areas of elections, constitution building, political parties and parliaments. The institute works with governments, political parties, parliaments, social organizations as well as international organizations by providing knowledge resources and support to democratic reforms. Based in Stockholm, the institute works in Africa, Asia-Pacific, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean.

WWW.IDEA. INT

THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (NIMD) is a democracy assistance organization that supports political parties in developing democracies. NIMD’s approach is characterized by interparty dialogue: bringing parties together and encouraging them to cooperate on political issues. NIMD assists political parties to become more responsive and policy-focused, empower members of marginalized groups, and provides political education programmes for (aspiring) politicians. Currently, NIMD runs programmes in more than 20 countries in Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Eastern Europe.

WWW.NIMD. ORG

THE OSCE OFFICE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS (ODIHR) provides support, assistance and expertise to participating States and civil society to promote democracy, rule of law, human rights and tolerance and non-discrimination. ODIHR observes elections, reviews legislation and advises governments on how to develop and sustain democratic institutions. The Office conducts training programmes for government and law-enforcement officials and non-governmental organizations on how to uphold, promote and monitor human rights.

WWW.OSCE.ORG/ODIHR
THE RESEARCH CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY (REPRESENT) is a collaboration between the University of Birmingham and the University of Nottingham. It brings together, and drive, innovative and interdisciplinary research on the falling social penetration of established parties, the rise of populism, and the effectiveness of aid to support democracy. REPRESENT provides a ‘hub’ for knowledge exchange between academic researchers, policy-makers and practitioners from Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Asia.

WWW.REPRESENT-RESEARCH.ORG

THE WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY is the UK’s leading democracy-strengthening organization that brings together parliamentary and political party expertise to help developing countries and countries transitioning to democracy. The WFD supports the universal establishment of legitimate and effective multi-party representative democracy and inclusive governance which strengthens policy-making, accountability, representation and citizen participation.

WWW.WFD.ORG
REPRESENTATION IN THE AGE OF POPULISM?

IDEAS FOR GLOBAL ACTION

Brussels, 18–20 June 2018