ICELANDIC CROWD-SOURCED CONSTITUTION AND SOCIAL MANAGEMENT: PRACTICE AND THEORY IN CITIZENS DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

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Abstract

The Icelandic government recently, between 2009 and 2013, led the process of creating the first crowd-sourced constitution of the world. Immersed in a context of the global monetary crisis generated by the collapse of America's major financial institutions in 2008, known to the Icelanders as 'The Crash', a bill was submitted to the parliament requiring an advisory Constitutional Assembly to be instated. To ensure participation, the assembly used social media networks to conduct discussions between the people of Iceland and the Council. Although the process was not ratified like the new constitution of Iceland, it served as a model to spread throughout the world. Considering this context, the formulation of a crowd sourced constitution in Iceland will be studied on the perspective of Social Management. The analysis of this process will enable Social Management to be presented as an alternative capable of ensuring participation and emancipation worldwide. Social Management is an original Brazilian concept still under construction that, among other aspirations, aims to broaden the participation and popular engagement in the decisions that influence their lives. Studies on social management in Brazil have been expanding since 1990. This field of knowledge envisages building a new public sphere that aims to bring people and politics together in a way that they can debate and generate collective decisions about the needs and future of the community.

Keywords: Democracy; Participation; Social Management; Iceland.

CONSTITUIÇÃO ISLÂNDIA E GESTÃO SOCIAL MULTIDISCIPLINAR: PRÁTICA E TEORIA NA PARTICIPAÇÃO DEMOCRÁTICA DOS CIDADÃOS

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Resumo

Recentemente, o governo islandês, entre 2009 e 2013, liderou o processo de criação da primeira constituição do mundo baseada na multidão. Imerso em um contexto da crise monetária global gerada pelo colapso das principais instituições financeiras americanas em 2008, conhecido pelos islandeses como "The Crash", um projeto de lei foi submetido ao parlamento exigindo uma Assembleia Constituinte consultiva a ser instalada. Para garantir a participação, a assembleia usou redes sociais para conduzir discussões entre o povo da Islândia e o Conselho. Embora o processo não tenha sido ratificado como a nova constituição da Islândia, serviu de modelo para se espalhar pelo mundo. Considerando este contexto, a formulação de uma constituição baseada na multidão na Islândia será estudada na perspectiva da Gestão Social. A análise desse processo permitirá que a Gestão Social seja apresentada como uma alternativa capaz de garantir a participação e a emancipação em todo o mundo. A Gestão Social é um conceito brasileiro original ainda em construção que, entre outras aspirações, visa ampliar a participação e engajamento popular nas decisões que influenciam suas vidas. Os estudos sobre gestão social no Brasil vêm se expandindo desde 1990. Essa área do conhecimento prevê a construção de uma nova esfera pública que visa aproximar pessoas e política, de modo a debater e gerar decisões coletivas sobre as necessidades e o futuro da comunidade.

Palavras-chave: Democracia; Participação; Gestão Social; Islândia.

From Iceland's origin to the Crowdsourced constitution

Iceland's first written historical records came from the Norwegian Vikings who settled there in 870 a.D. in the person of Ingölfur Arnarson, at the location of present-day Reykjavik (SMITH, 1995). According to this author, other settlements took over the island in its totality around 930.

For Hilmarsson-Dunn (2006), this occupation was due to Viking expansion in maritime explorations, reaching the eastern coast of North America. In addition to the Nordic people, there have been reports throughout the history of expressive interactions between the Icelandic people and the Germans, British, Dutch, French and Basques, due to the *expertise* of these peoples in navigations.

The chieftains established a kind of parliament called, until today, the *Althingi*, making it one of the oldest parliaments in the world dating from 930 a.D. (BYOCK, 2015). Iceland was first conquered by Norway on the following century, however it fell under Danish rule on the 16th century after the dissolution of the Kalmar Union - a union of the Nordic States of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Iceland gained its independence in 1918, but was then invaded by the English in 1940 and had a NATO base established by the USA in 1941. For Skaptadóttir (2011), England protected Icelandic territory because of its strategic position. In addition, there has been post-war economic growth in Iceland due to the Marshall Plan and a growth in fish farming and fisheries. In 1944, Iceland regained its independence in the form of a republic, becoming the first country in Europe to elect a president chosen by the people and not by the parliament (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014).

These changes of relationship between metropolis and colony brought changes in the official language of the country. Until World War II, the official language was Danish. After independence, it became Icelandic. Icelandic, Danish and English are compulsorily taught in schools. The difficulties in maintaining Icelandic as a major are particularly large in IT, where most of the packages are available in English and translation costs for Icelandic are the same as those for language packs with millions of users (HÁLFDANARSON, 2005).

Hilmarsson-Dunn (2006), in turn, points out that the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture promotes public policies of linguistic planning not to let English predominate over Icelandic. The main policy is that every citizen should mandatorily learn two languages other than Icelandic, more commonly Danish and English. Another significant policy is that all national television programs are subtitled in Icelandic. According to Byock (1992), the idea is to maintain the leading

role in the area of literacy and education achieved in 1780-1790 through literacy promotion by priests and family education.

For Hermannsdóttir et al (2012), immigrants were divided in 2012 among 68% of non-Nordic Europeans, 15% of the Philippines and Thailand and 17% of other parts of the world. Until 2004, immigration was mostly from women seeking domestic work. From 2004 onwards, most were men employed in heavy industry and construction. The authors state that in 2006 there was a great increase in European immigration to Iceland due to the non-necessity of European work visas for residence.

According to Riordan (2017), immigrants constitute 10.6% of the population, with a total of 35,997 individuals. Of these 38.3% are from Poland, 5.2% from Lithuania and 4.5% from Philippines. In 2017 alone, there was a change in the majority gender trend, with 51.5% female immigration, mainly from Polish and Filipinos .

According to Kristinsson (1992), economically, Iceland depends mainly on its exports in the field of aquaculture and fisheries. Captive fish farming in Iceland dates back to the 14th century, as reported in the GullÞóris saga, being dependent on springs and geothermal sources. In addition, the University of Iceland has been conducting research on aquaculture since 1935.

The extraction of aluminum and the raising of animals brought during colonization - oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, geese and chickens are also economically important (ADALSTEINSSON, 1981; ARNALDS; BARKARSON, 2003). Recently there has been a greater interest in ecotourism, in the form of horseback riding on trails (HELGADÓTTIR, 2006) and whale watching (PARSONS; RAWLES, 2003).

According to Henderson (2004), in terms of the economic exploitation of whales, they were traditionally hunted from the eleventh century onwards, through knowledge gained from the Basque people (region of present-day Spain) who came to hunt whales near the Arctic. Smith (1995) reports that in addition to meat and oil, tools and weapons could be obtained from the bones of whales.

Henderson (2004) also reports that whaling countries signed an agreement in 1946, declaring an indefinite moratorium on this hunt in order to promote repopulation of endangered species. Proponents of ecotourism argue that revenues from whale-watching tourism are higher than previous revenues from their hunting. However, the moratorium on hunting has led to a decrease in the number of fish, damaging the main economic sector in terms of subsistence of the people of Iceland. According to Boffey (2018), this year the government has allowed the hunting of 191 whales to balance the proportion of whales and fishes around its coast.

Picture 1: Map of Iceland

Source: Google Maps (2018).

Picture 1 shows the map of Iceland showing its main cities being Reykjavik its capital. The Statistics Iceland Portal (2018) presents that Iceland is a country containing 102,775km^2 of land, and a population of 348,450 habitants. Its GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is $24 billion and the GDP per capita is $73,092. According to Kail and Cavanaugh (2018), the HDI was 0.921 in 2015 which is the 9th highest, in 1990 the HDI was 0.797, while Brazilian HDI in 2015 was 0.754 and in 1990 it was 0.611 in comparison.

According to Gylfason (2013), Iceland's first constitution as a republic was approved in 1944 after a referendum established its independence from Denmark. However, this new document was almost identical to Danish constitution almost only replacing the word king for president, who was elected by the public and not by the Parliament, making Iceland the first country to popularly elect a president in Europe (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014). This document was meant to be revised in the future, as it was never understood as permanent (FILLMORE-PATRICK, 2013; BERGSSON; BLOKKER, 2013).

In 2008, Iceland suffered from a process known to the country as 'the Crash'. According to Vaiman et al (2011), it consisted of an economic, political and cultural downfall provoked by the Icelandic banks becoming bankrupt due to corruption. Up to that point, Icelanders believed little or no corruption existed within their public administration and political system. The monetary loss was equivalent to seven times the annual GDP (Gross Domestic Product) at the time (VALTYSSON, 2014; ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014).

With the global crisis of 2008, the Icelandic financial system collapsed, which surprised the world due to the low levels of corruption found in previous international surveys. Some writers argue that the Icelandic financial system has shattered due to clientelism and nepotism among politicians, owners of financial institutions, and large corporations, and some authors (VAIMAN; DAVIDESON; SIGURJONSSON, 2010; VAIMAN; SIGURJONSSON; DAVIDSSON, 2011; MIXA; VAIMAN, 2015) which was not mapped in the international surveys on corruption due to a deficiency in the studied variables. In terms of international impact, the 2008 crisis affected the immigration process as many Icelandic industries reduced or closed their activities in this period (SKAPTADÓTTIR, 2011).

Following this event, Icelanders took the streets in to what became known as the 'Pots & Pans Revolution' or also 'Kitchenware Revolution' (BERNBURG, 2016). On January 20 of 2009, protesters carried pots and pans and banged them to draw out politicians in front of the *Althingi* - Icelandic parliament - which was surrounded by thousands of people. They demanded anticipation of elections and resignations and removals in the government. A Special Prosecutor's Office was created which prosecuted bankers, public servants and others. Also, the parliament appointed a Special Investigation Commission that produced a 2,400-page report, and finally Geir Haarde, the former Prime Minister, was tried and sentenced. All the demands of the revolution were met (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014; FILLMORE-PATRICK, 2013).

According to Suteu (2015), in 2010, a national forum was organized by a group called 'the Anthill' to discuss the future of Iceland, it was composed by 1500 members selected, mostly randomly, from the National Population Register. On 6 November of the same year, another forum was organized, this time with parliament support, where 950 people were randomly selected also from the National Population Register. They discussed fundamental values and distinct constitutional categories, separated in small groups. They decided the new constitution ought to contain provisions on national ownership of natural resources, foster accountability, facilitate the decentralization of power, ensure environmental protection, and others (FREEMAN, 2013; LANDEMORE, 2015; BERGSSON; BLOKKER, 2013).

These authors also report that, at this forum, it was decided it was necessary to elect an independent Constitutional Assembly that would review and re-draft the constitution, considering the previous one had a transitory nature. Twenty-five members were to be elected as representatives of the council. A total of 522 candidates bearing between 30 and 50 support signatures participated. The turnout was particularly low, only 36% of the country's voters participated. The Supreme Court then annulled this assembly alleging irregularities. The government decided to contradict the Supreme Court and re-appointed the elected members for a new 'Constitutional Council' (FREEMAN, 2013; BERGSSON; BLOKKER, 2013; ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014; FILLMORE-PATRICK, 2013; LANDEMORE, 2015).

Parliaments and politics in function were not allowed to participate. Therefore the group of 25 members, being 15 men and 10 women, from diverse backgrounds, were given four months to

write the new constitution. It took place in Reykjavik from 6 April to 29 July 2011, the council was separated in three groups (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014; FILLMORE-PATRICK, 2013). As Valtysson(2014) details:

> The Constitutional Council was formed on 6 April 2011 and divided itself into three working groups. *Group A* worked on basic values, citizenship and national language, the structure of the Constitution, natural resources, environmental issues, human rights, and the state church. *Group B* worked on the foundation of the Icelandic Constitution; the roles, positions, and responsibilities of the President, Parliament, government, and ministers; the responsibilities of the executive; and the status of municipalities. Finally, *Group C* worked on public democratic participation, the independence of judicial courts, the supervision of judicial courts regarding other holders of state authority, parliamentary elections, the constituency system and MPs, international contracts, and foreign affairs. (p.55)

Considering the time given, 4 months, and the need of making the work as transparent as possible, to be more credible – and also to attune for the assembly being reappointed by the government – the Council decided to rely on online and especially social media technologies. People were able to comment on the Council's website as well as to join discussions on *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Flicker* and videos with interviews, meetings and each new draft were streamed or/and posted on *YouTube*, in addition, people were also able to send hard-copy letters. (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014; FREEMAN, 2013).

The most participative part of the process itself took place during this step, while the council were in the writing process itself, the members regularly posted their work for the public. On Thursdays their recommendations were introduced at the meetings, then they were put on the Council's website where people could contribute there or through Facebook. This way people were able to give feedback by email, social media, the Council's website and also handwritten proposals, even people from other countries sent ideas. The final decision to accept or not these suggestions and to discuss or no them were on the hands of the 25 members and not the public themselves. However, these ideas contributed for shaping the draft, sometimes significantly, as in article 14 which came directly from the people (LANDEMORE, 2015; VALTYSSON, 2014; ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014).

Following this methodology, the council was able to reach a unanimous decision regarding the final version of the draft in the short-given time. A considerable part of the problems addressed by them were resolved by vote during the first days, however, they decided later to use consensus whereas possible. The most considerable changes in comparison to the old constitution were the ones related to the national referendum power. It would allow 10% of the voters to initiate a national referendum on laws passed by the parliament, 2% of the voters could present an issue to be discussed by the parliament and 10% of the voters could present a bill itself to the parliament. In 2012 the draft was submitted to a referendum and approximately 50% of the voters participated, the draft was approved by approximately two thirds in favor of the new constitution (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014; FILLMORE-PATRICK, 2013; FREEMAN, 2013).

Social Management

Professor Tenório's first contact with the term social management was in a text by Giorgio Rovida (1985). Since then, this theory has been growing and being developed by more researchers each day. As any other new areas that arises it is also been facing some difficulties. Professor Tenório, and other group of researchers such as Cançado, have been trying to improve and delimitate the concept in other to fully establish Social Management as an applied a social science area.

Tenório's (1998) first attempts to define Social Management affirms that on the strategic management, traditionally adopted worldwide, there is a managerial action in which the system-enterprise determines its functioning and therefore the State imposes itself upon society. In Social Management, first it is necessary to invert the logic behind the pair of words State-Society and Capital-Labor to Society-State and Labor-Capital. The protagonist on such relations ought to be citizenship and not the State or the market themselves. Unfortunately, what has been found is a

practice of a supposed Social Management, more coherent with this strategic management than with solidary and democratic societies (TENÓRIO, 1998).

Further on, the state management, the techno-bureaucracy becomes anti-democratic, the participation of the worker class in the decisions of the enterprise-system is not encouraged and so the exercise of citizenship on the enterprise management and on the public policies processes is not valued. Thus, for Social Management to be considered as effective, the government's public policies formulations should not consider the people as target, client or goal but as an active participant, which is when citizenship is truly respected (TENÓRIO, 1998).

In 2002, Fischer (2002) suggested five propositions for Social Management, or Social Development Management, in her words, in short, the first is: It is a process of mediation that articulates multiple levels of individual and social power; It is a field of knowledge and space of hybrid and contradictory practices where cooperation does not exclude competition and vice versa; While being ethical and responsible, it should be efficient and effective; It is also a management of the networks, social relations, which are affected by people, behaviors, interaction capabilities and other subject human aspects; It is a process immersed in cultural contexts that shapes Social Development Management itself and at the same time are affected by it (FISCHER, 2002).

Following these propositions Fischer (2002) concludes:

> The social management or social development management field is reflexive of the practices and of the knowledge built by multiple disciplines, designing itself as a pre-paradigmatic proposal, which is being formulated as research schedule and action by many research groups and centers in Brazil and abroad, as well by institutions of different natures that acts on local development (FISCHER, 2002, p. 29).

Further on, Fischer (2007) affirms that, if management is understood as a function and not a tool, and as such it seeks to make society fairer, the distinction of organizations belong to the market, state or third sector spheres becomes irrelevant as all of them should be guided by the social aspect. Therefore, that is what must be admitted for understanding Social Management concept, here defined as a relational act capable of guiding and regulating processes by means of broad mobilization of actors on the communicative act resulting in intra and interorganizational partnerships (FISCHER, 2007).

Carrion (2007), describes Social Management as a search for new paths for the problem of social exclusion provoked by neo-liberalism. As such, it is not a simple matter as transposing the principles from business management to social field. Social Management seeks a local integrated development as well as financial and economical sustainability whenever possible. Towards achieving this proposal, it is a theory that recognizes the conflicts of interest between society, the State and the market (CARRION, 2007).

The State should be capable of ensuring local development by means of inclusive public policies, seeking administrative decentralization and supported on cooperation between the public sector, private sector and third sector. Social Management's greatest challenge is to ensure these interactions are conducted based on solidarity. Some judge this theory as being utopian, Carrion (2007) argues that it is in fact a utopia, however it is a proposition in construction, which seeks to build a more human society. No other paradigm can alter social morphology unless there is political will to do such, however, Social Management brings together tools and postulates capable of bringing change towards a more inclusive society (CARRION, 2007).

According to França Filho (2008), Social Management can be thought of in two perspectives. As a theory that identifies a society's issue or as a management process. In the first case, it would be closer to public management. In the second, it is related to a different way of management, which sees the social as an objective. This author also adverts that social management needs to be careful with its banalization for everything that is not considered as traditional management is determined as social management (FRANÇA FILHO, 2008). This author proposes two challenges for social management to overcome, as it follows:

> In short, these two great challenges are imposed to social management. On one hand to overcome a traditional political culture that permeates the world of social organizations and to undertake effective partnerships between civil society and the public powers

that recognize and stimulate the real potential of the affect groups, beyond a mere attitude of instrumentalization of action. On the other hand, the necessity of building a methodological framework that fulfills the basic requirements of a management truly engaged to social (FRANÇA FILHO, 2008, p. 6).

According to Boullosa and Schommer (2008), Social Management can be thought as a way of managing, a management goal and management field of knowledge. At first, it can be defined as a management which has as its goal the social aspect, for it is not strictly economical. Thus, it can be defined as a way of managing originated in organizational and social contexts that do not belong to the market or to the State, but to a public non-state sphere of action in civil society (BOULLOSA; SCHOMMER, 2008, 2009).

Araújo (2012) states that the social present in this terminology can be understood as both a public space of inter-relations and society itself, therefore, it carries a native ambivalence that carries a group of paradigms and comprehensions. It has a clear goal however, unclear practices and paradigms. Therefore, Social Management has as constituting elements plasticity, fluidity and hybridism (ARAÚJO, 2012). On the authors words it can be defined as:

> As a way of management, it is a modality that presupposes a radical humanism, creativity and ethics. While a social object in order to face the contingencies between public and private on the consolidation of democracies, it refers to theoretical-methodological aspects regarding new organizational formats and new ways of managing, highlighting the solidification and institutionalization (sometimes, early) of an epistemological and political-ethical field, that seeks to explain the relations and social processes (ARAÚJO, 2012, p.68). [4]

Pinho and Santos (2015) affirms that Social Management is a concept in progress, which is a statement upon which many authors agree. It can be said Social Management is not properly public nor private. On the construction of this term, the public is gradually shifted to collective, when related to values and possibilities of interactions. Most Social Management authors agree on the notion of it being a transparent process an of dialogic management in which participants seek mutual agreement (PINHO; SANTOS, 2015).

There are certainly practical experiences of deliberative democracy, however, according to Pinho and Santos (2015), they are still rare and scattered, thus, not sufficient to redefined national practices. Even though, it can be said there is a consensus regarding participation, it is a central aspect in Social Management. However, not all participatory experiences are included in Social Management but Social Management itself is based on direct participation (PINHO; SANTOS,2015; CANÇADO; PINHEIRO, 2014).

The conception adopted and applied on this work is the one created, by Cançado et al (2015). These authors also consider that the term risk being trivialized and suffers from being confused with others such as politics management of social programs. However, it has been gaining recognition and visibility in both academic and media environments. Attempting to avoid this confusion, the authors sought to better outline the concept. For them, social management is composed of some basic characteristics: Collective decision-making, free from coercion, transparency, emancipations, anti-positivism and volunteerism (CANÇADO ET AL., 2015).

Later, the author gathers characteristics, which other authors associated to Social Management, being them: Deliberative democracy, dialogicity, emancipation, public sphere, self-interest properly understood, inter-subjectivity, rationality, solidarity and sustainability. Cançado et al then, defines social management as:

> In an effort of synthesis, we can define Social Management as: a dialectical process of own social organization of the public sphere, founded in the self-interest properly understood and that has as a goal the emancipation of men (CANÇADO ET AL, 2015, p. 178).

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[4]   Translated by the first author

Further on, Justen (2016), defines Social Management as an antithetic conception, in relation to strategic management, which is based on collective decision-making, dialogicity, language intelligibility, as a transparent process aiming emancipation, and thus agrees with Cançado et al(2015a) definition. Justen (2016) states that Social Management has as its final goal the Emancipation, following Freire's (1979 apud Justen, 2016) idea of dialogical pedagogy (JUSTEN,2016).

Justen (2016) cites Freire (1979), who defends that emancipation can only be achieved in communion, men do not free themselves alone. This freeing is done, according to Freire (1979) by a critic and emancipating dialogue. Therefore, dialogicity is an essential character for emancipation. Furthermore, according to Justen emancipation is only achieved when the recipient of a given public policy is considered as a subject capable of thinking the world and thinking of himself in the world, such condition is therefore potentialized when in public spheres of dialogue (JUSTEN, 2016).

Further on, this author also argues that before emancipation, inclusion is needed. Inclusion and plurality are only possible in an isonomic treatment where all human beings have equal value. Justen (2016) then concludes that the right to dialogue is inalienable and should include all and any social relation. Only through effective, inclusive and plural participation, in conditions of being exercised with equanimity, subjects can be considered as 'occurrence subjects' (JUSTEN, 2016; FREIRE, 2011 APUD JUSTEN, 2016).

Justen (2016) then, concludes that:

> Social Management, this way, enables to identify the incompleteness of the economist perspective of sustainability, recognizing the nature of a living system, as well as a man, that, due to it, needs an approach in which the consequential utilitarian calculus is complemented by the capacity of'[…] thinking the world, thinking in the world, having a rational and calculating activity, but as well as putting in question yourself and your environment'(GAULEJAC, 2007). That, for sure, demands a dialogical, collaborative and communicative approach, something social management has to offer (JUSTEN, 2016, p.155)[5]

Additionally, social management seeks to subordinate instrumental logics to others more social, political, cultural or ecologic. It is not originally a management from the Market and State, it belongs mainly to the organizations, thought they frequently relate themselves to private and public institutions being a counterpoint to bureaucratic management in order to achieve common good in the republican perspective (FRANÇA FILHO, 2008; CANÇADO ET AL, 2015).

Social Management is oriented by some presumptions to achieve its desired participation, free of coercion. First, it opposes positivism, for Social Management considers the researcher as also part of its object - even truer when the object is social. The researcher is conditioned by social categories, which cannot be overcome. The social phenomena are observed and analyzed according tom its historical laws and the social moment to which the object belongs (TENÓRIO, 1998).

The instrumental rationality is also a barrier Social Management proposes to bypass. For it, most of the times, subdue society to the state or to the market when, as already discussed, this relation should be inverted. The economy should be a path to implement social, political, cultural and ecological goals. This somewhat though tends to inhibit humanity's emancipation, which is one of the main goals for Social Management. Emancipation here understood as freedom from tutelage, from oppressor domination based on the relations of production (TENÓRIO, 1998; 2005; CANÇADO ET AL, 2015)

Hence on, here emancipation is also considered as in Marxist tradition, in which it means to be freed from oppressor domination based on production relations, being emancipation a way of rebellion against manipulation. Additionally, liberty, by means of emancipation, cannot be achieved individually, union and solidarity are needed. Also, the self-interest properly understood is reinforced by emancipation for when the human being is freed from manipulation the notion of being part of a society, for living in community, becomes clearer. Thus, making solidarity and sustainability more obvious (CANÇADO ET AL, 2015)

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[5]   Translated by the first author

Jürgen Habermas' communicative rationality, also inserted in Social Management debate, establish democratic conceptual elements of social relations in contemporary society and through the communicative action that could free men from dogmatisms and also contributes for emancipation (TENÓRIO, 1998).

The self-interest properly understood can be seen as a starting point for Social Management, as mentioned before it shelters two important aspects to be achieved which is solidarity and sustainability. This notion comes from Tocqueville, whereas it is understood that the collective wellbeing is a condition for individual wellbeing. Additionally, it can only happen in a democratic context, which is reinforced by Social Management (CANÇADO, 2013; CANÇADO ET AL, 2016).

Therefore, self-interest properly understood allows individuals to perceive the dynamics of their own performance on the building of the public sphere. Here, public sphere is where Social Management is built, it can be considered as an intermediate category on Social Management's process for it is the place and essential condition for its development (CANÇADO, 2013; MENDONÇA ET AL, 2012).

According to Tenório (2005), the public sphere assumes equality of individual rights and discussion, without violence. As such, the public sphere is the space where people presents their inquiries by means of mutual understanding. Additionally, the author affirms that civil society and public sphere are complementary in a way that the second is the space in which the dialogue between civil society and the state occurs (TENÓRIO, 2005).

This concept, public sphere, for Habermas (1995 APUD PERES JR. ET AL, 2013), is where democracy is a requirement for its development. Public sphere is the aspect of social life in which public opinion is formed, it is a proper network for communication of contents, positionings and formation of opinions which are condensed and becomes public opinions on specific themes. It is there that society, the State and the market interacts dialogically (PERES JR. ET AL, 2013).

Social Management, therefore, seeks to build a new public sphere in which the population is brought closer to politics, for it is a needed subjective space where it can be possible for people to deliberate about their needs and future. Social Management develops itself as individual emancipation is made possible when the bourgeois public sphere is substituted by this new subjective space containing the theoretical categories: Deliberative Democracy, Dialogicity, Intersubjectivity and Rationality (CANÇADO ET AL, 2015)

Other key concept in Social Management is participation, for it seeks a management more participative, dialogical, in which the decisions are collective. According to Paula (2005), the societal public administration, inserted on the social management perspective, manifest itself in alternative experiences such as Management Councils and Participative Budgeting (TENÓRIO, 1998; PAULA, 2005).

Participation and citizenship are, here, understood as the appropriation by individuals of the right to democratically build their own destiny. In Brazil, since 1960s, the social movements seek to develop social participation and to rethink Brazilian development through the optics of a new State management which ensures public participation in the institutions generation management experiences focused on the real demands of the people. Thus, Social Management is a societal alternative to substitute the technical and bureaucratic management in order to ensure participation by means of a decision-making process involving multiple social subjects (TENÓRIO, 2005; PAULA, 2005).

For this participation to be effective, another key concept in social management is needed to be ensured, deliberative citizenship. It is understood, in this context, as a political deliberative action in which an individual must participate in a democratic procedure, deciding in different parts and roles in society. It also means that legitimacy of political decisions must be originated in discussion processes guided by inclusion, pluralism, participative equality, autonomy and common good (TENÓRIO, 1998; TENÓRIO, 2005; CANÇADO ET AL, 2015).

Deliberative citizenship is also inserted in the bosom of the debate between liberals and republicans, where the second groups seeks to negotiate what is best for the own group or society. Thus, it consists of taking in consideration the multiplicity of communication ways, moral, ethical, pragmatic and negotiations, in which all of them are ways of deliberating (TENÓRIO, 2005).

In the context of Social Management, oriented by Habermas' communicative rationality, the proposals from the participants cannot be validated without reaching an agreement, which must be

achieved communicatively. Only if all participants, through the communicative action and dialogue, admits the validity of a given truth Social Management process occurs (TENÓRIO,1998).

All these concepts come together to compose Social Management and can be, following the Negative Dialectics logic, redesigned as many times it needs, for here there is intention of synthesis, only thesis and antitheses, therefore there is a permanent effort for evolution and change of this theory. Considering the Negative Dialectics theory, the concept is only a moment, and as thus, here Social Management starts as an opposition to strategic management, however, Cançado et al (2015) draft a proper concept to avoid labeling everything that is not strategic management as Social Management creating a concept which is also perceived as a non-concept. Picture 2 illustrates this relation (CANÇADO ET AL, 2013; CANÇADO ET AL, 2015):

Picture 2: Social Management Main Theoretical Categories
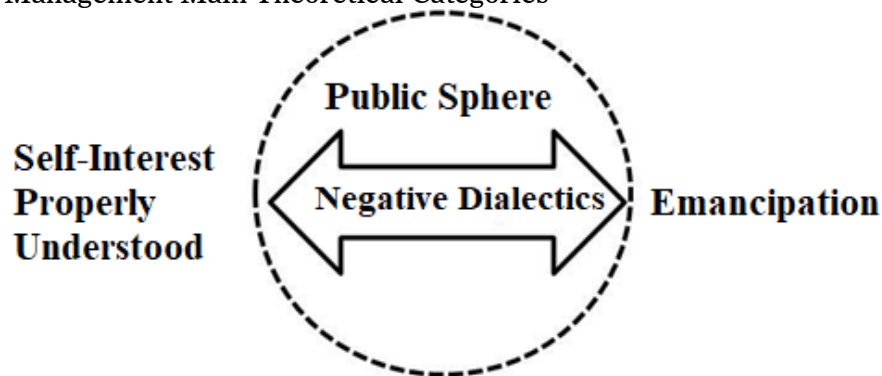
Source: adapted from Cançado et al (2013).

Discussion

Considering the historical production of constitutions around the globe, Iceland's process was certainly unique. There was an effort to include population, which led to a very open and innovative process. It was a relatively transparent process which allowed some degree of open dialogue and participation considering the limited number of members and short time they were given (LANDEMORE, 2015; BERGSSON; BLOKKER, 2013; ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014).

Iceland's Crowd sourced constitution was shelved by the parliament, it was an innovative process, considered the most inclusive constitution-writing process (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014). Some of Social Management's key concepts are participation, transparency and dialogue free of coercion, which is essential to Habermas' deliberative democracy. The constitution drafting in Iceland followed some of Social Management theory to a certain extent, and from this experience it is possible to improve and contribute to Social Management's development, and as such, provide additional alternatives to future initiatives seeking to improve people's participation.

Social Management can be also defined, on Tenório's (2016) words as decision making actions, whereas different actor of a given territory constitutes themselves as collective authority during the decision-making process itself. Further on, territory is here defined as dynamics among different actors who are connect by cultural, economic, political and social variables in determined spaces on which participation, a dialogical process, takes place (TENÓRIO, 2016).

Iceland, being a country of 330 thousand population, on which this huge participative process took place, seems to fit in professor Tenório's definition of territory. On this perspective, as Social Management aims to promote process which coordinates, in a horizontal and democratically way, the interaction between actors from a given territory, to avoid it being used as an instrument of political power, Iceland's process do not only fit in but also provides a unique practical experience to be availed and analyzed on Social Management's perspective.

Therefore, participation as a key concept for Social Management, and also for democracy itself, can only be truly achieved through deliberative processes by means of institutional arrangements that enables interaction between public power, civil society and economic agents (TENÓRIO, 2016). Except for the economic agents, Icelandic crowdsourcing constitution writing process consisted of a deliberative, to a certain extent, process. Professor Tenório advocates that, for participation to take place it needs three attributes:

1) The individual who participates must be conscious about his/her acts and to comprehend the process in which he/she is inserted; 2) Participation cannot be forced; and 3) The individual must get involved willingly, without coercion or imposition (Tenório, 2016, p. 79)[6].

On what concerns those requirements, all three aspects were met to a certain degree on Iceland's Constitution drafting process. All the 25 participants of the Constitutional Council were aware of their roles and of the process they would be involved. Their participation was expected in the process but not forced considering it was not a random or forced selection but a process in which they needed even to gather recommendation letters ranging from 30 to 50 supporters and considering this it meets the third criteria, as nobody imposed their application. Having integrated social media and internet to ensure participation, the process facilitated nationwide public participation on the making of a document crucial for democracy. It was unprecedent, for it was the first time in human history that a foundational text was written with relatively direct participation (FREEMAN, 2013; LANDEMORE, 2015)

Considering Cançado et al (2017) criteria for participation, it can be said that the process was not actually direct but indirect. The 25 elected members were responsible for the decisions and not the people themselves. Also, it was non-presential for the discussions with society were done through the internet mostly. Further on it was non-mandatory as, except for the 25 members, participation was not imposed. Finally, it was considered asynchronous, for the decisions were not presented immediately, peoples' contributions were analyzed and only later the council would post the decisions (CANÇADO ET AL, 2017).

When considering the 25 members themselves in a deliberative process, it can be said perhaps there was mutual agreement without coercion, since they tried always to reach an agreement on matters discussed, and when that was not possible voting was used, so the Council is, in a way, related to the tradition of Habermas' deliberative democracy, as they reiterated the importance of reaching a consensus through dialogue. Thus, the writing process, when allowing people to comment and suggest ideas, opened itself up to deliberation between the first and second deliberative tracks (VALTYSSON, 2014; LANDEMORE, 2015).

However, as Icelandic territory is considered, even though the public sphere is extended though the internet, it did not develop spaces suitable for true deliberation and people participation as the writing process was not outsourced to general public. The process was not collaborative as in Wikipedia's example, instead only the 25 members participated in the writing process and it was only made public when finished (LANDEMORE, 2015). Further on, even if commenting and suggesting is though internet is considered as full participation, it is a process that must be ongoing and continually revised, short-term processes, considering the Council had only 4 months, does not enable citizens to properly debate and reach a consensus (FREEMAN, 2013).

The steps prior to the Council itself were also a problem to ensure true participation and deliberation. The selection methods for the National Forums as well as for the Constitutional Assembly, then turned into Constitutional Council by the parliament, were never open for discussion in the larger public sphere. Also, its draft produced by the Council, would be later altered by Icelandic experts, in a process which ended up creating problems and restrictions the draft version did not possess. Thus, people were considered a *weak public* - defined as those who generates practices of opinion formation while strong public is related to those who generate discourses including both opinion formation and decision-making - as they were dependent on the Council's decisions to insert their ideas on the bill (FRASER, 1992 APUD VALTYSSON, 2014). Furthermore, the Council itself was powerless before the Parliament, which would be responsible for accepting the draft and reviewing and then transforming it on the new official constitution (LANDEMORE, 2015; VALTYSSON, 2014)

Another requirement pivotal to Social Management is transparency in the process, regarding communication among participants and accountability for the public. On this regard, Iceland's process is said to be relatively transparent. Most of the process was constantly opened and available to people. The Council tried to make it as transparent as possible as well as encouraging interaction

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[6]   Translated by the first author

by using social media like YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Flicker. Every Thursday they streamed their meetings live on the internet. The problem lied on the actual writing process itself and some of the meetings as they were done behind closed doors. However, all this effort to use social media and share the work was done to ensure people's trust, as they had been appointed by the parliament after the Supreme Court refuse the Constitutional Assembly and considering the low voting percentage of 36% of voter participating in the Council's election (LANDEMORE, 2015; VALTYSSON, 2014).

For the deliberative democracy - as also a key component in Social Management - to take place, pluralism, among other aspects, should be ensured. Therefore, a given council, been plural and inclusive would make decisions that, in thesis, represents the public interest as much as possible. Tenório e Kronemberger (2016) in states that the decisions should be originated by discussion processes, guided by the principals of inclusion, pluralism, participative equality, autonomy and common good. And thus, these two aspects, inclusion and pluralism were also partially met, considering the process here in question.

The Council itself was composed by 10 women and 15 men, as there was a criterion that demanded at least 40% of women. thus, considering gender it was somewhat balanced. Regarding profession, there was, in Landemore's words:

> a university professor of economics, the director of the university of Iceland Ethics Institute, two media presenters, two physicians, a lawyer and radio presenter, two mathematicians, a farmer, a journalist, a manager, a lecturer in International Politics, a pastor, a reader of political science, the manager of the division of architecture at Reykjavik Art Museum, the chairman of Crowd Control Productions, a theater director, a university professor, a former museum director and teacher, a media presenter and university student, a lawyer, a trade union chairman, a political scientist and university student, a consumer spokesperson, and a film-maker and physician (LANDEMORE, 2015, p.16).

Considering the list, the group has an appropriate level of education and presents a considerable number of professors and students. Therefore, it cannot be said it was descriptively representative considering Iceland's population, thought it was more representative than any other constitution making process (LANDEMORE, 2015). However, when the online process is considered, the numbers worsen, according to Professor Ragnhildur Helgadottir, only 13% of the online submissions came from women, 77% from men and 10% from organization. Thus, the entire process empowered males mostly (ODDSDÓTTIR, 2014).

The Chart 1 presents, in short, the results from the previous discussion on this paper.

Chart 1: Crowdsourced constitution process vs. Social Management

Analyzed categories	Social Management	Iceland's crowdsourced constitution process	Were the requirements met according to Social Management?
Participation	'Process dialogically coordinated that has as protagonists are all social actors identified in the territory' (Tenório; Kronemberger, 2016, p.62).	The topics were open to discussion, but the writing process was on the hands of the 25 Council members.	Yes, however partially since only the 25 members had decision-making power.
Transparency	'Necessary condition for the other characteristics, since the decision-making process goes through the understanding, for language using and communication between people the information must be available to all[..]' (Cançado et al, 2015, p.130)	The process was largely posted online in order to promote transparency and accountability, except for the actual writing process.	Yes, except for the writing process itself
Pluralism and Inclusiveness	Pluralism concerns the representation of diverse actors that participate on the decision-making processes on the local public policies and Inclusiveness considers the communication power of society as a whole, in special, the voice of the ones excluded from the system (TENÓRIO; KRONEMBERGER 2016).	There was a 40% requirement for women members in the council ensuring their representativeness, however there was no such requirement for different social representations such as working class or immigrants.	Yes, considering gender, however not when considering different social origins.

Source: Elaborated by the first author

Final considerations

Social Management, which is considered a concept of Brazilian origin, has been growing and is an in-progress field. Here the concept adopted is that Social Management is a managerial participative process where the decision authority is shared among the participants. Further on, it seeks to invert the pairs of words, State-society and capital-labor and to Society-State and Labor-capital by means of deliberative citizenship. This way, this ongoing field is significant for the development of democratic management in Brazil in opposition of strategic management, which focuses on the Market and on the State (TENÓRIO, 2016).

Icelandic crowd sourced Constitution writing process has some of the core elements of Social Management, even though in a limited way, participation, dialogue, transparency, inclusiveness and pluralism and can be considered as a deliberative process to a certain extent. The final draft was shelved by the parliament, and its future is still uncertain up to this day, some blame the momentum that passed after the financial crises ended, some the opposition, mainly the parliament as well as the economic interest which did not approve certain provisions of the draft (LANDEMORE, 2015).

However, even considering these problems, this process has given a model for constitutional reform with a considerable level of people's participation never performed before. It showed the world that e-government is a valuable tool to enhance democracy and transparency (FILLMORE-PATRICK, 2013; FREEMAN, 2013). Landemore (2015) suggests that in future similar processes more direct participation should be ensured, for example, allowing people to work together on the writing process in a collaborative way, similar to Wikipedia. Additionally, it would be interesting to improve representativeness, considering most of the working class were not properly represented on the Council and making the whole process more deliberative by organizing open meetings and discussions around the country and not only on the capital.

Therefore, it can be considered, on the perspective of Social Management, as a significantly participative and transparent process which sought to ensure the empowerment of Icelanders, and as such, an important experience to help develop Social Management as a field as it provides valuable knowledge to be used in new participatory processes in Brazil and around the globe. Iceland's Constitution writing methodology, given the mistakes here appointed are given attention, can be a valuable tool to be used in Brazilian councils, especially on environment with proper education level and access to internet such as universities.

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