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Participatory Budgets in Europe: Between Civic Participation and Modernisation of Administration

Global Typology

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Introduction

- Ideal-typical map instead of empirical table
- Typology that includes the context, the procedures, the general dynamics and the effects of PB
- For a general understanding of participatory politics

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Five criteria

1. Socio-political, legal and economic context
2. Ideological references, frames and pragmatic goals
3. Types of procedure
4. Dynamics of collective action
5. Relation between participatory and conventional politics

One additional dimension

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

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Criterion 1: Socio-political, legal and economic context

- Role of market and state (and community sector)
- Type of welfare state (liberal, conservative, social-democratic)
- Type of capitalism (continental, liberal, social-democratic, Mediterranean, Asian)
- Modernisation of local administration (degree, main tendency: internal reform, market- or citizen orientation)
- Political colour of local government (left, right, variable/coalition)
- Margins of action for local authorities

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Criterion 2: Ideologies, normative frames and pragmatic goals

- Ideologies and normative frames
- 3 types of pragmatic goals
 - 1) Administrative goals (modernisation of public action, neighbourhood management...)
 - 2) Social goals (social justice, inclusion, solidarity) and other goals (economic growth...)
 - 3) Political goals (school of democracy, legitimation of local government or local administration...)

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Criterion 3: Type of procedure

- Transparency of rules, quality of deliberation
- Accountability
- “Procedural autonomy” of civil society (co-elaboration of methodology, meetings of civil society without administration/councillors, etc.)
- Main type of procedural model
- Decision-making competence vs. “selective listening”
- A “4th power” emerging through new institutions combining representative and direct democracy

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Criterion 4: Dynamics of collective action

- Social classes that participate
- Strong or weak civil society in the participatory process
- Type of actors (parties, foundations, NGOs, international organisations...)
- Top-down, bottom-up or mixed process
- Target of participatory procedures (social sectors, organised/active/ordinary/all citizens...)
- Consensus orientation; cooperative resolution of conflicts; “countervailing power”

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Criterion 5: Participatory and conventional politics

- A criterion that results from the others
- No relation: Participation as mere management procedure
- Substitution: Participation develops parallel to conventional politics
- Support: Participation as an instrument for conventional politics
- Combination: a virtuous circle

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Additional dimension: Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- A cognitive and normative evaluation
- The strengths, weaknesses and challenges of each model are first explained regarding its internal logic
- They are also explained according to a comparison between the various models

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Remarks

1. European countries with PB shared (until 2005) the following characteristics

- Only liberal and conservative welfare-states; no social-democratic WS
- Only continental, liberal, Mediterranean capitalisms; no social-democratic and Asian capitalism

2. The following items are important for the particular local dynamics, but are not distinctive criteria for a global typology

- Urban context (size of city, social problems, etc.)
- Financial/socio-economic situation of municipalities
- Legal autonomy and real power of local government
- Relation between mayor and council

3. Procedures where citizens can make decisions directly or through strongly controlled delegates are (more or less developed) examples of a “4th power”

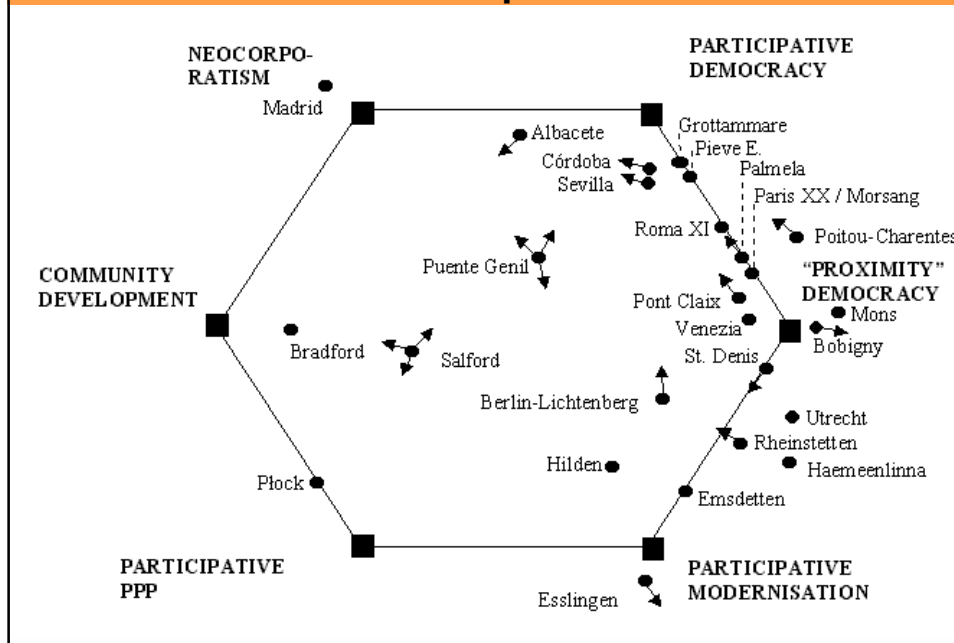
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Six models

1. Participative democracy
2. Proximity democracy
3. Participative modernisation
4. Participative Public-Private-Partnership
5. Community development
6. Neo-Corporatism

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Six models of citizen participation in Europe: A map



(1) Participative democracy

Where?

- Most influence in Spain and Italy (the closest models are Córdoba, Sevilla, Grottammare and Pieve Emmanuele; Albacete between Participative democracy and Neo-Corporatism; Rom XI and Venezia between Participative democracy and Proximity)
- Little influence on French, Portuguese or English experiments
- No influence on German experiments
- Far less widespread in Europe than in Latin America

Participative democracy

Context

- Transformation and affirmation of the state; growing strength of the market, some countervailing dynamics to it
- Conservative welfare state; social-democratic possible
- Mediterranean capitalism; continental and social-democratic possible
- Weak/medium degree of modernisation; citizen orientated modernisation
- Left-wing local authorities
- Variable margins of action

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Participative democracy

Ideologies, frames, goals

- Ideologies/normative frames: Post-authoritarian socialism; participatory democracy
- Integration of user know-how
- Distributive justice
- Strong politicisation; a new balance of power between government and citizens (co-decision)

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Participative democracy

Procedure

- Clear rules; high deliberative quality
- Strong accountability
- Strong procedural autonomy of civil society
- Mostly: the Porto Alegre Model adapted for Europe
- Co-decisional power
- “4th power”

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Participative democracy

Collective action

- Middle-class and upper working-class; working class
- Strong civil society in PB
- Left-wing political parties, anti-globalisation movement, associations
- Top-down articulated with bottom-up process
- Participation directed mainly towards active and organised citizens
- Cooperative resolution of conflicts; “countervailing power”

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Participative democracy

Participatory and conventional politics

- Legitimation effect of public policy possible, but participation is not mainly a management problem
- No substitution
- Combination rather than support

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Participative democracy

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- Strengths: combining a strong autonomy and influence of civil society with a renewal of politics; new model of power
- Weaknesses: requires a lot of favourable factors, unstable if confined at the local level
- Challenges: really link participation with modernisation; to avoid the risk of bureaucratisation of civil society; going beyond the local level; long-run sustainability

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(2) Proximity democracy

Where?

- Mostly influential in France and Portugal (Bobigny, Saint-Denis, Pont-de-Claix, Palmela)
- Influential in other models: Utrecht (Netherlands), Mons (Belgium), Hämeenlinna (Finland)
- Some influence in Italy (Venezia and Roma XI between Participative democracy and Proximity)
- In the Third World, a sub-model would be the “populist PB” (communication between politicians and citizens, confusion between the state and civil society, strong mobilisation and a charismatic dimension)

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“Proximity” democracy

Context

- Affirmation of the state; transformation of administration at the neighbourhood level; growing strength of the market
- Conservative welfare state; social-democratic possible
- Continental and Mediterranean capitalism; social-democratic possible
- Weak/medium degree of modernisation; internal and citizen-oriented modernisation at the neighbourhood level
- Left-wing local authorities
- Variable margins of action

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“Proximity” democracy

Ideologies, frames, goals

- Ideologies/normative frames: “Communicative Republicanism”; urban regeneration ideology, deliberative democracy
- “Proximity”: neighbourhood management; integration of user know-how
- “Solidarity” without redistribution
- Rhetorical politicisation; participation as a complement to representative democracy (“selective listening”)

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“Proximity” democracy

Procedure

- No clear rules; weak deliberative quality
- Medium to high level of accountability, but at neighbourhood level only
- Weak procedural autonomy of civil society
- Mostly: “proximity” participation
- Consultative role; “selective listening”
- No “4th power”

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“Proximity” democracy

Collective action

- Middle-class and upper working-class, working class possible
- Strength of civil society variable
- Left-wing political parties, anti-globalisation movement
- Top-down process
- Participation directed mainly towards active and organised citizens; ordinary citizens possible
- Consensus orientated; no “countervailing power”

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“Proximity” democracy

Participatory and conventional politics

- Participation as mere management possible; legitimation effect of public policy possible at the micro-local level
- Support possible at the local level (“small democracy”)
- Substitution possible (although not desired)
- Combination difficult

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“Proximity” democracy

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- Strengths: More communication between citizens and the political system at the neighbourhood-level
- Weaknesses: Arbitrary of “selective listening”; weak autonomy of civil society; no clear relation to administrative modernisation
- Challenges: to increase the deliberative quality; combining participation and modernisation beyond the neighbourhood-level; to reduce the gap between radical ideology and modest effects on social justice and political culture; avoiding populism

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(3) Participative modernisation

Where?

- Most influence in Germany: Emsdetten, Hilden, Esslingen, Rheinstetten
- Some influence in Spain (Puente Genil between Participative democracy and Participative Modernisation)
- Influential in other models: Hämeenlinna (Finland)
- Could in the future become more important in other places. Examples: Alcobendas (Spain) if it introduces PB, Scandinavian countries which want to introduce PB
- A modernisation that differs from what is happening in Latin America (where corruption and clientelism are more important)

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Participative modernisation

Context

- Transformation and affirmation of the state („competition rather than privatisation”); growing strength of the market
- Conservative welfare state; social-democratic possible
- Continental capitalism; Mediterranean and social-democratic possible
- Medium/high degree of administrative reform; internal and “citizen oriented” modernisation
- Variable political colour of local government
- Variable margins of action for local authorities

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Participative modernisation

Ideologies, frames, goals

- Ideologies/normative frames: Citizen orientated tendencies of New Public Management
- Administrative modernisation; participation only one dimension of it
- Social peace; no distributive aims
- No politicisation; policy rather than politics

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Participative modernisation

Procedure

- Some rules (“medium”); weak deliberative quality
- Medium to high accountability
- Weak procedural autonomy of civil society
- Mostly: Consultation on public finances
- Consultative role
- No “4th power”

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Participative modernisation

Collective action

- Mainly middle-class participation
- Weak civil society in PB
- Strong role of administration; various political parties, foundations
- Top-down process
- Participation directed mainly towards ordinary and active citizens (often mistrust towards organised citizens)
- Consensus orientated; no “countervailing power”

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Participative modernisation

Participatory and conventional politics

- Participation as mere management; legitimisation of public action probable
- Support possible
- No substitution
- No combination

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Participative modernisation

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- Strengths: strong articulation between participation and administrative modernisation
- Weaknesses: participation is a tool for administrative modernisation rather than an end in itself; low level of autonomy of civil society; weak political dimension
- Challenges: avoiding technocracy; to maximise participation; combining new policy with a new form of politics

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(4) Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Where?

- Most influence in Eastern Europe (Płock, Poland)
- Influence on other participatory models in Great Britain and in Eastern Europe
- Partly influence on British PBs
- Had some influence in Italy under Berlusconi
- Very influential in the Third World

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Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Context

- Strong market; national government or international organisations push towards more participation
- Liberal welfare state
- Liberal capitalism
- Variable degree of modernisation; market- and “client-orientated“ modernisation
- Variable colour of local government
- Little margins of action for local government/non interventionist local government

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Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Ideologies, frames, goals

- Ideologies/normative frames: “Participative neo-liberalism”; governance
- Public Private Partnership; integration of user know-how
- Reinforce social capital for better social relations; no distributive goals; economic growth
- No politicisation; better legitimation of local government

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Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Procedure

- Clear rules; medium to high deliberative quality
- Medium to high accountability to stakeholders
- Weak procedural autonomy of civil society
- Mostly: the public/private negotiation table
- Some decisional capacity
- New governance power rather than “4th power”

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Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Collective action

- Middle-class (representatives of municipal council, business and civic associations)
- Weak civil society in PB
- International organisations (World Bank and UNO foster experiments between PPPP and Neo-Corporatism), business, local governments, NGOs
- Top-down process
- “Civic” participation directed towards organised or active citizens
- Consensus orientated, no “countervailing power”

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Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Participatory and conventional politics

- Legitimation effect on public policy possible; participation as mere management probable
- Support possible
- No substitution, no combination

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Participative Public-Private-Partnership

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- Strengths: fits well to a context where the market is powerful; a way of getting new money; involves various stake-holders
- Weaknesses: in the “donor model”, business is more powerful than civil society; power relations are not challenged; no stable basis (it relies on money from private sector or international organisations); focuses on “painting” and avoids “housing”; few citizens participate; few links with the municipal political structure and administrative modernisation
- Challenges: more power for local governments; going beyond “painting”; to equilibrate the weight of different actors; to articulate participation and administrative modernisation; to give politics a new legitimacy; avoiding the shift towards market-like professional NGOs

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(5) Community development

Where?

- Still marginal in Europe for PB
- Some influence in England (Bradford is closest to the model; Salford not far, but also influenced by Proximity and Participative PPP)
- Influential in other models (Community Development Corporations...), most of all in the United Kingdom
- Could gain influence in Italy
- Influential on PB outside Europe: in Canada (Guelph); in Latin America (Villa El Salvador, Perú...)

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Community development

Context

- Strong market and community sector
- Liberal welfare state
- Liberal capitalism
- Variable modernisation; market- and “client-orientated“ modernisation; citizens realise projects
- Variable colour of municipal government
- Little (and reducing) margins of action for local government

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Community development

Ideologies, frames, goals

- Ideologies/normative frames: Grassroots socialism, “participative liberalism” (J.S. Mill, Dewey...); empowerment traditions, urban regeneration ideology
- Outsourcing and delegation to NGOs and community corporations; integration of user know-how; professionalisation of NGOs and community corporations
- Empowerment of minorities; affirmative action; no global distributive justice
- Politicisation possible

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Community development

Procedure

- Clear rules, medium to high deliberative quality
- Variable accountability
- Strong procedural autonomy of civil society which is involved in the implementation of projects
- Mostly: Community development at local and city level
- Decisional capacity; parallel to the state
- “4th power” largely disconnected from the other three

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Community development

Collective action

- Working class, upper working class and middle-class; participation of disadvantaged groups (ethnic minorities, etc.)
- Strong civil society/community organisations
- NGOs, political parties (various political tendencies), semi-public organisations independent from local government, international organisations
- Top-down and bottom-up process
- Participation directed mainly towards specific “communities” (organised citizens) and active citizens
- Cooperative resolution of conflicts; “countervailing power”

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Community development

Participatory and conventional politics

- Legitimation effect on public policy difficult; participation as a mere management possible (professionalisation of NGOs)
- No support
- Substitution probable
- Combination difficult

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Community development

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- Strengths: fits well in a context where the local government is weak; strong autonomy and influence of civil society; citizens are involved in the implementation of projects
- Weaknesses: difficulty to integrate city as a global entity; few links with local government; administrative modernisation and politics seem secondary in participatory model
- Challenges: avoiding the drift towards market-like professional NGOs; to have some impact on politics; going beyond the local level

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(6) Neo-Corporatism

Where?

- Not much influence on European PBs at the moment
- Some influence in Spain (Albacete between Participative democracy and Neo-Corporatism, Madrid could develop a neo-corporatist PB)
- Influence on other participatory devices (Local Agenda 21, strategic planning, participative social work...)
- Influential in various places in the Third World

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Neo-Corporatism

Context

- Strong state that directly organises participation
- Conservative welfare state, social-democratic WS possible
- Mediterranean capitalism, continental or social-democratic possible
- Variable degree and orientation of modernisation
- Variable colour of local government
- Real margin of action for local government

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Neo-Corporatism

Ideologies, frames, goals

- Ideologies/normative frames: Neo-corporatism, governance
- A more efficient and legitimate public policy
- Social cohesion
- No politicisation; better legitimation of local government

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Neo-Corporatism

Procedures

- Generally, informal rules; variable deliberative quality
- Medium to high accountability towards stakeholders (but not necessarily towards citizens)
- Weak procedural autonomy of civil society
- Mostly: participation of organised interests
- Decisional capacity possible, selective listening probable
- New governance power rather than “4th power”

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Neo-Corporatism

Collective action

- Middle-class (representatives of municipal council and of business, delegates of various institutions and of NGOs)
- Strong civil society
- Local institutions; local NGOs; local lobbies; business associations; unions; international organisations possible
- Top-down process
- Organised citizens, social sectors
- Consensus oriented, no “countervailing power”

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Neo-Corporatism

Participatory and conventional politics

- Participation may be reduced to a management procedure
- Support probable
- No substitution, no combination

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Neo-Corporatism

Strengths, weaknesses, challenges

- Strengths: involves many stake-holders; large social consensus possible; strategic planning possible
- Weaknesses: power relations are hardly challenged; no participation of ordinary citizens
- Challenges: avoiding the manipulation of civil society; going beyond selective listening; to articulate participation and administrative modernisation

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Conclusion

- There is no global convergence of European PBs and of citizen participation in general
- Some path-dependency effects. Open question: better try to break with the past, or to link PB with previous participatory devices and traditions?
- Some common features:
 - Some convergence on norms: neighbourhood management, “technical democracy”, deliberative democracy
 - Some convergence on practices: techniques circulate, are imported, adapted, exported; new professional and/or political knowledge for the organisation of participation

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