



KATARSIS WP 1.5

Governance & Democracy

Draft Report, March 2007

Roskilde, Denmark, 31-03-07

Bernhard Leubolt
Andreas Novy
Barbara Beinstein

Work in progress – please do not quote without permission.



Outline

- Definitions – Governance & Democracy
- Modalities – Governance & Democracy
- Current Trends in Governance
- Towards Democratic Governance
- Summary: ED and SCS

Definitions

- Democracy (People's rule)
 - Indirect vs. direct forms
 - Liberal democracy
 - Parliamentary democracy as ideal type
 - Strict separation of state and civil society
 - Aims at protecting the individual
 - Republican democracy
 - *Res publica* and *Polis* as ideal types
 - Collective discussions to define the public interest
 - Aims at promoting citizenship → public spaces as „schools of democracy“



Modalities of democracy

- Democratization as an ongoing process vs. Democracy as a value in itself
- Contemporary concepts
 - Deliberative democracy
 - Combination of liberal and republican concepts (Habermas)
 - Participatory democracy

Modalities of democracy II

	Procedural dimension	Content dimension
Domain?	Political	Socioeconomic
What about?	RULE-MAKING	RESULT-ORIENTED
Prime Value?	Freedom	Equality and justice
How?	Access to decision making: Control of state apparatus: bureaucracy/ public control/ private control Participation/ empowerment	Access to resources Social & economic rights as entitlements: universal or targeted
Forms of democracy	Direct, representative, participatory	Socioeconomic citizenship (welfare)
Utopian Form of Socioeconomic organisation	Democratization and participation	Embedded capitalism, post- capitalism, solidararian economy, socialism



Definitions II

○ Governance

- Mode of coordination and negotiation, relating to control, resistance and steering
- Interplay of public and private actors solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities
- State no longer the sole agent responsible for development – important role in steering
- Re-scaling of political space (“glocalization”)
- Recent popularity, linked to socio-economic transformations

Modalities of Governance

	Exchange	Command	Dialogue	Solidarity
Rationality	Formal and procedural	Substantive and goal-oriented	Reflexive and procedural	Unreflexive and value-oriented
Ideal type	Derivatives Market	Sovereign State	Open Network	Required Love
Criterion of success	Efficient allocation	Effective goal attainment	Negotiated consent	Unconditional commitment
“Homo ...”	<i>Economicus</i>	<i>Hierarchicus</i>	<i>Politicus</i>	<i>Fidelis</i>
Space-time horizons	World market, reversible time	Organizational space, planning	Re-scaling, path-shaping	Anywhere, any time
Main Sign of failure	Inefficiency	Ineffectiveness	“Talking shop”	Betrayal
Other Failings	Market inadequacies	Bureaucratism, corruption	Secrecy, distorted communication	Co-dependency; asymmetry

Governance and recent transformations

- Governance introduced as anti-concept to government and state involvement in the 1970s
- Later had to introduce state failure
- Normative tendency
 - Correct both state and market failures
 - Expressed by „Good Governance“ (main international institutions: UN, OECD, World Bank, IMF, EU,...)
 - Governance as „Dialogue“

Socio-economic transformations

- Keynesian Welfare National State during Fordism (1930s-1970s)
 - Mass production for mass consumption within the “power container” of the national state
 - Planning from above
 - Bureaucratic top-down approaches
 - Tripartite corporatism
 - State, employers’ federations, trade unions
 - Inclusive welfare regime based on a gender division of labour
 - State-provisioning of public goods
 - Diminishing social inequalities

Socio-economic transformations II

- Schumpeterian Postnational Workfare Regime during Post-Fordism (from 1970s onwards)
 - Crisis of Fordism
 - Neoliberal transformations
 - Internationalization of national states → „globalization“
 - Privatization → criticism of bureaucracy and state failure
 - New crisis-tendencies → market failure
 - Social crisis: rising inequality and poverty
 - Economic and financial crisis

Current Trends in Governance

- „Partner State“ (CRISES team)
 - Decisions taken within policy networks (new forms of corporatism, private – public partnerships)
 - Blurring boundaries between public and private actors and spaces (e.g. corporate governance)
 - Consensual arrangements
 - „Hegemonic consensus“ (García et al) → liberalism in different forms (authoritarian, socially „inclusive“, ...)
- Output-orientation
 - Output dimension of satisfied „clients“ and short term efficiency and not
 - Input-dimension of democratic legitimacy of participants in political decisions
 - „Faustian bargain“ (Peters & Pierre)



Current Trends in Governance

- Multi-level/ multi-scalar governance
 - Political power shifting from national to multi-national and local levels („glocalization)
 - Federalism (type I MLG) and network governance (type II MLG)
 - EU as prototype for multi-national federalism (multi-level)
 - Nation state remains crucial actor (especially with type II MLG)
 - Regional governance
 - Newly emerging cross-border-regions (e.g. CENTROPE,...)
 - Traditional regions within nation states (e.g. Scotland, Catalonia,...)

Current Trends in Governance II

- Corporatism
 - Pro-growth alliances
 - Business centered forms of partnerships
 - Highly restricted participation
 - Elitist governance model
 - Welfare governance
 - State spending in social programmes and employment initiatives
 - More inclusive forms of participation
- Managerial governance
 - New public management
 - Tools from business administration implemented in public administration
 - Output orientation → restricted participation
 - Top-down planning → elitist conception



Towards Democratic Governance

- Democratic Governance as proposal for the concrete utopia for a socially innovative mode of governance within Katarsis
- Democracy treated as a process (of democratization) comprising two dimensions:
 - Procedural
 - Material

Towards Democratic Governance II

- Participatory governance
 - Active citizens participate in discussions concerning state actions (republican tradition)
 - Questions concerning
 - Who is entitled to participate
 - Decision-making rules
 - Relationship to socio-economic development
 - High potential for SCS, if
 - open to all affected persons instead of being restricted to an “enlighted elite”
 - participants possess decision-making power instead of a mere consulting position
 - decisions within participatory settings concern socio-economic development
 - Problems
 - Election of private participants
 - Participation depends on financial and non-financial resources

Towards Democratic Governance III

- Communitarianism as strategy of „deviant mainstreaming“ (Arthur et al)
 - Empowerment of third sector
 - Expansion of social economy
 - Emphasis on social cohesion
 - Community-based self-management
 - Reinvention of civic virtues
 - Public vs. state property
 - Problems
 - Voluntary work in third sector instead of paid state employment (especially women)
 - Bureaucratization of NGOs
 - Accountability problems with third sector provided services
 - Localism

Summary

- Main Exclusionary Dynamics
 - **Liberal forms of governance** privatise the public domain, thereby limiting access to public goods
 - Republican value “one (wo)man – one vote” is replaced by flexible forms of **élite representation** and limited participatory spaces
 - Proliferation of **clientelist patterns** of political decision making
 - Tension between (economic) space of flows and (political) territory

Summary II

- Socially Creative Strategies „out“ of exclusion
 - Sovereignty and **multiscalar politics** → **institutions**
 - Universalistic elements of the **welfare state** with pluralist service delivery at the local level
 - **Bottom-up empowerment** strategies
 - Experimentation with the **democratisation of society, economy and politics**