

# KATARSIS WP 1.5

## Governance & Democracy

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Work in progress – please do not quote without permission.

# Outline

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

# Definitions

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- 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

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- 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

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	<b>Procedural dimension</b>	<b>Content dimension</b>
<b>Domain?</b>	Political	Socioeconomic
<b>What about?</b>	RULE-MAKING	RESULT-ORIENTED
<b>Prime Value?</b>	Freedom	Equality and justice
<b>How?</b>	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
<b>Forms of democracy</b>	Direct, representative, participatory	Socioeconomic citizenship (welfare)
<b>Utopian Form of Socioeconomic organisation</b>	Democratization and participation	Embedded capitalism, post-capitalism, solidarian economy, socialism

# Definitions II

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## ○ 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	Requited 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

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- 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

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- 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

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- Schumpeterian Postnational Welfare 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

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- „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

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- 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

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- 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

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- 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

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- 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 “enlightened 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

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- 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

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- 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

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- 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**