Roberto Falanga

Developing change

A psychosociological action research with civil servants engaged in participatory processes

27 de setembro de 2013

UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

Developing change

A psychosociological action research with civil servants engaged in participatory processes

Tese de Doutoramento em Democracia no Século XXI, apresentada à Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra para obtenção do grau de Doutor

Orientador: Prof. Doutor Giovanni Allegretti

Coimbra, 2013

Acknowledgments

I would like to embrace my family, my everlasting support. Grazie per essere una famiglia così speciale.

I would like to thank my friends around the world, who are my daily, weekly, monthly, yearly family. Grazie, obrigado, gracias, danke, kiitos, thanks, mulțumiri, merci. You all make the difference in my life.

I would like to express tremendous gratitude to my inspiring tutor Giovanni Allegretti and all of the people that I have met during my Doctorate, who have taught me what it means to be enthusiastic about research.

I would like to acknowledge Francesca Dolcetti, the best mentor and friend I could ask for on the journey of my Doctorate.

Finally I thank myself for becoming the person that I will be.

Ao meu Portugal, que tornou mudanças de vida em desenvolvimento.

E a chi c'è stato, a chi c'è e a chi ci sarà.

Abstract

Changes in public service answer the multiple claims and pressures that, in the last few decades, have demanded profound reflections on the enhancement of democracy worldwide. In this respect, since public administrations govern social transformations through managing and implementing public policies consistent with specific political agendas, participatory devices have recently represented one of the most important international phenomena. As a result, participation compels deep scientific investigation about changes in organizational structures, processes and cultures of public administrations. We argue that the overlapping dimensions of tradition and innovation expressed through new back-office and frontline functions within changing political and administrative rationales, testify the key role played by civil servants. Despite the fact that scientific literature concerning participation has increased in recent decades, a specific overview of civil servants managing and implementing participatory processes, as well as the cultural relevance of their contribution to change, has been limitedly studied.

We propose an exploratory investigation through the meanings of change, by intercepting participatory processes as those "symbolical objects" experienced by civil servants. By interpretively analyzing the ways they construct such meanings, we define different cultural patterns in order to open up areas of reflection about the possible development of participatory processes. Towards this aim, we carried out an action research with the Municipality of Lisbon based on the psychosociological ISO Methodology, and supported by an interdisciplinary framework constructed through a dialogue with critical sociology, organizational studies, political sciences, and public policy analysis. We analyze four participatory processes implemented in Lisbon in 2012 – Participatory Budget, Simplis, Local Agenda 21 and BIPZIP program – administered by two distinct units and responding to two different city councilors. The observation of both the internal and external management and implementation of these processes integrates the interpretation of the four cultural patterns emerging from the analysis of the narratives constructed by 29 interviewed civil servants. Such patterns transversally refer to their work with participation and put emphasis on different aspects: the internal administrative organization; the rules of the game of participatory methodologies; the overall role of political institutions in society;

the commitment to social integration. In assuming the cultural construction of participatory processes as a crucial aspect concerning participation, we open up areas of reflection concerning possible ways for their development. The articulation of four indicators of development emphasizes respectively: the necessity to change administrative structures and procedures in order to address participation to enhance public service; the opportunity to orient technical expertise towards achievable participatory goals; the political character of the functions displayed by civil servants exposed to a public interface with society; the necessary correspondence between territorial integration and coordinated government agency.

As a final point, we argue that the hypotheses of the action research are accomplished because they provide: new knowledge concerning participatory processes by setting new methods and interdisciplinary perspectives in this field of study; new questions concerning participation as a set of changes to be developed within public administrations in transformation; new light on the complex and resourceful roles played by civil servants with participatory processes in terms of administrative cultural change; new possible advancements of the action research with the Municipality of Lisbon and with other contexts; and finally, new interdisciplinary interactions and exchanges consistent with the scientific commitment to the challenges and changes that democratic regimes are demanded to govern worldwide.

Resumo

As mudanças no serviço público, em resposta às múltiplas exigências e pressões políticas das últimas décadas, têm exigido uma reflexão profunda para o fortalecimento da democracia no contexto internacional. Assim, e uma vez que a administração pública através da gestão e implementação de políticas públicas coerentes com agendas políticas específicas tem gerado fortes transformações sociais, consideramos que os processos participativos têm representado um dos fenómenos mais relevantes a nível internacional. Consequência destes factos, a participação requer uma profunda investigação científica com enfoque nas mudanças nas estruturas organizacionais, processos e culturas da administração pública. Assume-se que as dimensões de tradição e inovação que se expressam no desempenho de funções de *back-office* e *frontline* dentro de lógicas políticas e administrativas em mudança. confirmam o papel fundamental desempenhado pelos funcionários públicos. Embora a produção científica sobre o tema da participação tenha crescido nas últimas décadas, a abordagem sob o ponto de vista dos funcionários que gerem e implementam os processos participativos, bem como a própria contribuição do seu trabalho para a mudança, tem sido um tema pouco estudado.

Neste contexto, propomo-nos a uma investigação exploratória sobre os significados da mudança, considerando os processos participativos como "objetos simbólicos" experienciados pelos funcionários. A partir de uma análise interpretativa das distintas construções do significado, conseguimos definir modelos culturais com o objectivo último de gerar espaço para reflexão sobre o possível desenvolvimento dos processos participativos. Metodologicamente, partimos de pesquisa-ação com a Câmara Municipal de Lisboa baseada na Metodologia psicossociológica ISO e com base num enquadramento interdisciplinar fundado no diálogo com a sociologia crítica, os estudos organizacionais, as ciências políticas e a análise de políticas públicas. Analisámos quatro processos participativos implementados em Lisboa em 2012 – o Orçamento Participativo, a Agenda 21 Local, o Simplis e o programa BIPZIP – administrados por duas unidades distintas e sob duas vereações diferentes. A observação da gestão e implementação a nível interno e externo dos processos, integra a interpretação dos quatro modelos culturais, que emergem da análise das narrativas construídas por 29 funcionários entrevistados. Os modelos constroem-se a partir da experiência de trabalho do funcionário público nos processos de

participação e dá ênfase a aspectos distintos, nomeadamente: a organização administrativa interna; as regras e metodologias participativas; o papel das instituições políticas na sociedade; o compromisso com a integração social. Assumindo a construção cultural da ideia de mudança como um aspecto central da participação, abrimos áreas de reflexão sobre possíveis caminhos para o seu desenvolvimento. A articulação de quatro indicadores de desenvolvimento enfatiza respetivamente: a necessidade de mudar estruturas e procedimentos na administração pública para que a participação possa servir como motor de melhoria dos serviços públicos; a oportunidade de orientar a perícia técnica para objetivos alcançáveis; o caráter político das ações que os funcionários públicos desempenham com a sociedade; a correspondência entre objetivos de integração territorial e a agenda do governo.

Para concluir, pretendemos destacar que as hipóteses da pesquisa-ação foram validadas, já que: produziu novo conhecimento sobre os processos participativos, estabelecendo novos métodos e perspetivas interdisciplinares nesta área de estudo; introduziram novas questões relativas à participação enquanto factor de mudança a ser desenvolvida no âmbito de administrações públicas em transformação; gerou novas ideias sobre as complexas e cruciais funções desempenhadas pelos funcionários públicos nos processos participativos em termos de mudança cultural na administração pública; incitou a possíveis avanços da pesquisa ação com a Câmara Municipal de Lisboa bem como com outros contextos e gerou interações e diálogos interdisciplinares consistentes com o compromisso científico para enfrentar mudanças e desafios mundialmente exigidos aos regimes democráticos.

Index

Index of Figures

Index of Tables

Acronyms

A21: Agenda 21 Local ("Local Agenda 21")

AMA: Agencia para a Modernização Administrativa ("Agency for Administrative Modernization")

ARIP: Association pour la Recherche et l'Inventervention en Psycosociologique ("Psychosociological Research and Intervention Association")

AUGI: Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal ("Illegal Origin Urban Areas")

BE: Bloco de Esquerda ("Left Block")

BZ: Programa BIP/ZIP ("BIP/ZIP Program")

CEFA: Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquica ("Center of Public Administration Studies and Training")

CES: Centro de Estudos Sociais ("Center of Social Studies")

CP: Cultural Pattern

CpL: Cidadãos por Lisboa ("Citizens for Lisbon")

DIOP: Divisão Inovação Organizacional e Participação ("Division of Organizational Innovation and Participation")

EAT: Emotional Analysis of the Text

EEC: European Economic Community

EU: European Union

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

ICS: Instituto de Ciências Sociais ("Institute of Social Sciences")

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

ID: Indicator of Development

IMF: International Monetary Fund

INE: Instituto Nacional de Estadística ("National Institute of Statistics")

ISEG: Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão ("School of Economics and Management")

ISO: Indicatori di Sviluppo Organizzativo ("Indicators of Organizational Development")

MUDE: Museu do Design e da Moda ("Design and Fashion Museum")

NGO: Nongovernmental organizations

NPM: New Public Management

NPS: New Public Service

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OST: Open Space Technology

PA: Assembleia Participativa ("Participatory Assembly")

PB: Orçamento Participativo ("Participatory Budget")

PCP: Partido Comunista Português ("Portuguese Communist Party")

PDM: Plano Diretor Municipal ("Municipal Urban Planning")

PLH: Plano Local de Habitação ("Local Housing Program")

PPP: Public Private Partnerships

PS: Partido Socialista ("Socialist Party")

PT: Partido dos Trabalhadores ("Workers' Party")

SAAL: Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local ("Ambulatory Service of Local Support")

SIADAP: Sistema Integrado de Gestão e Avaliação do Desempenho na Administração Pública ("Integrated System for the Assessment of Public Administration Commitment")

SL: Simplis

SOE: State-Owned Enterprises

SPB: Orçamento Participativo Escolar ("Scholar Participatory Budget")

UCE: Unities of Elementary Context

UCMA: Unidade de Coordenação para a Modernização Administrativa ("Unity of Coordination for Administrative Modernization")

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

VA: Assembleia de Voto ("Voting Assembly")

WB: World Bank

Introduction

My experience of this Doctorate has represented a key moment in my life in terms of scientific growth and in a never-ending attempt to understand the world I live in. The opportunity to participate in the PhD program "Democracy in the XXI Century" at the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra, has allowed me to continue to study and reflect on the challenges and changes of current democratic regimes. In continuity with my Masters Thesis concerning new possible interactions between psychologists and urban planners in participatory interventions on territories, I decided to employ my expertise in psychosociology, in order to expand my focus towards the broader agency of governments in terms of participatory policymaking. Such a purpose has represented the most challenging experience of my scientific career hitherto, because it has involved questioning the multiple, different and sometimes overlapping meanings of change as a crucial issue for the future of democratic regimes. By planning an interpretive analysis concerning what takes place inside of public administrations when implementing participatory processes, I have tried to open new areas of reflection about the complex interactions between new political thoughts in connection with public administrations features and social demands in transformation. In these terms, I have dedicated my PhD Thesis to shining a light on the relationships that construct change within political institutions themselves and, on this basis, focused on the cultural ways in which participatory processes are approached by civil servants engaged with them. Furthermore, such commitment has been agreed within the scientific Project OPtar, which has made my investigation one of the products concerning the analysis of Participatory Budgets in Portugal and Cabo Verde[1].

When looking at the global scenario, public administrations are demanded to govern plural transformations at multiple scales and with different sectors of society, for they represent the apparatuses managing and implementing policies within contexts that are in permanent transformation. In fact, more and more societies are dealing with the

---

[1] The Project OPtar ("O Orçamento Participativo Como Instrumento Inovador Para Reinventar as Autarquias em Portugal e Cabo Verde: uma Análise Crítica da Performance e dos Transfers"), financed by the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, aimed at analyzing the evolution of Portuguese Participatory Budgets and the relation with the excursus of Cape Verde versions.

rapidness and uncertainty of present day issues by looking for new ways to organize modes of living together. At the same time, local issues are crossing new global configurations at the political and financial level, resulting in complex and in some cases conflicting demands of governance. As a result, some narrow procedures and mechanisms of the patterns of representative democracy are being questioned worldwide, and capitalistic patterns are being more and more criticized (Sousa Santos, 2003, 2006). When considering the purpose of implementing new conceptions of public service, the relationship between global and local scenarios assumes aspects of increasing complexity and interest (Della Porta, 2011; Morlino, 2011). In order to grasp and gather the plurality of the social, political and financial issues on the table, local and regional authorities mainly, are trying to cope with low levels of trust towards political institutions and goals of effectiveness and efficiency. Political agendas are progressively required to effectively respond to new political claims, while public administrations are demanded to adopt and implement new rationales revealing paradigms of change for policymaking. Indeed, the tense connection between social demands and governments' needs is resulting in significant investments being set aside for the innovation of policymaking.

Public administrations are required to manage and implement political intentions entailing changes in terms of forms of interaction with new actors in policymaking. In these terms, the concept of public policy itself acquires new identities because it is constructed through the legitimized interaction of different public actors engaged in processes of governance (Peters and Pierre, 2001; Fischer and Forester, 2002). Over the past few decades, the implementation of participatory mechanisms has represented one of the most challenging phenomena undertaken by governments at different scales. The reasons for its worldwide diffusion have to be understood by taking into account the relationship between international and national/local scales. The debates that in the last few years have highlighted the potentialities of change carried by participatory processes, including also aspects of deliberative democracy, show that most of the cases developed at the local scale necessarily result in complex sets of questions for public administration (Blondiaux and Sintomer, 2002; Bobbio, 2006; Ganuza and Frances, 2011a). Internal structures, organization of processes and cultural changes call upon demands concerned with resetting vertical and horizontal models of organizational work, reformulating procedures within different administrative units, and rearticulating the roles and functions

of the civil servants. As a result, it becomes essential to analyze the role of public administrations managing and implementing these processes when assuming the key role played by civil servants. Indeed, civil servants come to be seen as actors of the changes that political and administrative rationales seek to start up between new demand and supply sides, because they are demanded to gather plural organizational issues within new policymaking scenarios (Raadschelders *et al.*, 2007). As clearly stated by Sousa Santos (2009):

> *Com o tempo demo-nos conta de que, se não convencermos os técnicos dos municípios, nada se poderá avançar; para mim, nas minhas acções, os técnicos são neste momento o público-alvo, uma vez que têm um grande conhecimento da realidade municipal, têm uma enorme riqueza de trabalho atras deles e, por vezes, têm a ideia de que qualquer inovação institucional é criada à sua custa e de que, sobretudo, não preza nem premeia o trabalho e a experiência que acumularam ao longo dos anos* (*ibidem*: 19 tr_pt_1).

Civil servants have traditionally been required to employ technical skills in substantial connection with bureaucratic principles and/or Market-like logics (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007). Their collocation between political wills and societal issues, as well as managing the demands of NGOs and associative bodies, becomes especially relevant when analyzing participation. In reconfiguring public service delivery, public administration demands civil servants to reframe not only their roles and functions, but also their identity at work that in turn, contributes to the construction of the public administration relationship with both politics and society. In these terms, the changes undertaken by civil servants tell us something about the overall change of public administration. The 'in-between' symbolical space where civil servants engaged with participatory processes experience the connection between new back-office functions and put into practice frontline skills within changing political and administrative rationales, informs the overlapping intersection between dimensions of tradition and innovation. Therefore, participatory devices, in emphasizing the plural elements and passages required at both organizational and cultural levels, demand integrated scientific analyses in order to move towards multifaceted perspectives on this complex object of study. As a matter of fact, the very complexity of these processes demands new interdisciplinary debates for effective analyses to provide applicable knowledge for the advancement and development of changes.

Scientific literature concerning participatory processes has increased in the last few decades and interestingly, has provided areas of crossover studies. Several studies on participatory processes have underlined how technocratic/bureaucratic cultures represent one of the factors to be taken into consideration due to the multi-scale investments made in terms of new governance initiatives and administrative culture changes (Allegretti *et al*., 2011; Sintomer and Ganuza, 2011). Some specific contributions have referred to the interaction between expert and non-expert knowledge by looking especially at the role of external facilitators (Sintomer, 2010; Cooper and Smith, 2012) and deliberative mechanisms (Fischer and Forester, 2003; Bobbio, 2006). At the same time, the cultural dimension has represented one of the principal issues of organizational studies in the past few decades (Crozier and Friedberg, 1981; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992; Weick, 1997), and interpretive approaches have been increasingly adopted in the field of policy analysis. Some scholars have highlighted the necessity to complement the analyses concerning investigations on normative issues and organizational structures, with consistent analyses of the cultural aspects embedded within interactive policymaking (Argyris, 1994; Yanow, 2000; Fischer, 2003). However, a specific overview of the changes to administrative cultures in participation concerning the role of civil servants in the creation and implementation of participatory processes, has been has been limitedly explored (Lipsky, 1980; Bovens and Zouridis, 2002; Durose, 2009; Escobar, 2011). Moreover, when considering the specific contribution of civil servants engaged with participatory processes as possible actors of change, scientific concern seems to be even narrower. If we reflect on the key importance of this issue, as psychosociologists we cannot help but acknowledge the urgent need to foster new interdisciplinary studies in order to contribute with new applicable knowledge.

The arrangement of methodological tools aimed at collecting and interpreting findings and data concerning the cultural aspects of civil servants' engagement with participation, reveals the wide ambition of this Thesis. Indeed, by focusing on the cultural contribution of civil servants towards administrative changes, we are actually opening up a way to better understand the meanings of these processes, in connection with transforming political and administrative rationales. Towards this aim, we acknowledge the necessity to set an interdisciplinary dialogue with other scientific fields that have been producing knowledge and findings about changes in public organizations and policymaking. The focus on

participation as possible change will be supported by the increasing international Literature concerning such issues, as well as by taking benefit from our experiences in this field. In this regard, we will base our reflections by making reference to both place-based research/counseling experiences mainly in Portugal and Italy, as well as exchanges realized over the past few years with some academic institutions concerned with different aspects of our topic. In detail, we will take advantage of the decisive scientific interaction held with the *Centro de Estudos Sociais* ("Center for Social Studies") in Portugal (www.ces.pt), which is our PhD academic institution of reference; with the *Centro de Estudos Sociais America Latina* ("Latin America Center for Social Studies") in Brazil (www.cesamericalatina.org); with the *Laboratoire de Changement Social* ("Laboratory for Social Change") of the Université Paris 7 (www.univ-paris-diderot.fr); with the *Scuola di Psicosociologia* ("School of Psychosociology") (www.spsonline.it) and the *Studio RisorseObiettiviStrumenti* ("Studio Resources-Objectives-Tools") in Rome (www.studio-ros.it), as well as with the *Studio di Analisi Psicosociologica* ("Studio of Psychosociological Analysis") in Milan (www.studioaps.it); with the *Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche* ("Department of Political Sciences") of the University of Turin (www.scipol.unito.it); with the School of Social and Political Science in the University of Edinburgh (www.sps.ed.ac.uk); and with the *Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados* ("Institute of Advanced Social Studies") in Cordoba (www.iesa.csic.es). Such a scientific network will be of support for the interdisciplinary framework aimed at matching the composite set of psychosociological contributions produced in the last few decades about organizational change with critical sociology, organizational studies, political sciences and public policy analysis in the field of participatory studies.

In order to make the study as consistent as possible with the multifaceted aspects of the scientific issue, we will make necessary reference to these plural voices so as to set the path through the meanings of participation, in order to walk with the actors engaged with the management and implementation of change. As a result, change is not explored as a construct *per se*, or as an independent variable, but rather as an organizational by-product culturally constructed that we will seek to intercept through specific structural and normative frameworks. Our purpose is to conclude this work by proposing indicators aimed at opening areas of reflection for the development of participation, by taking into account the complex changes they can disclose. The concept of development is meant as

the possibility to acknowledge the multiple issues, resources and limits that administrative relationships construct when demanded to change. In terms of action research, whose design will be constantly negotiated with the demands of the case study, it implies interpretively analyzing cultural aspects of civil servants working with participation, by instituting settings of shared reflection concerning their engagement. In having a theoretical and methodological basis, providing psychological reading models and integrating the interpretation of the cultural dimensions with such a complex scientific ground, we intend to contribute with new knowledge about administrative changes and trace possible indicators of development.

In these terms, our case study will be the set of changes implemented by the Municipality of Lisbon, that in the last few years have been some of the most interesting examples in terms of participatory initiatives, and which underwent general administrative reform in 2011. By taking benefit from our experiences in the field of participation in Portugal and in other countries (Falanga and Antonini, 2013), we will plan the action research with the Methodology ISO *Indicatori di Sviluppo Organizzativo* ("Indicators of Organizational Development") so as to grasp what changes are being experienced by civil servants engaged with different participatory processes in the city (Carli and Paniccia, 2002). Towards this aim, we will focus on four processes that in 2012 have developed participatory devices through different policymaking designs and within different administrative architectures. The four analyzed participatory processes are: the fifth edition of the Participatory Budget at the Municipal scale (and the "spin-off" Scholar Participatory Budget); the process of administrative simplification and de-bureaucratization named Simplis; the first experience of Local Agenda 21 concerned with actions of environmental sustainability; the second edition of the BIPZIP program aimed at intervening in priority areas of the city ("Priority intervention neighborhoods and zones"). These processes, managed by two distinct administrative units (the Division for Organizational Innovation and Participation and the team BipZip) and responding to two different city councilors, will be interpretively analyzed in order to explore the multiple meanings concerning participation constructed by the civil servants. The enactment of the action research will be framed within the advancement of the scientific project OPtar, by instituting the investigation with the two city councilwomen and negotiating the steps with the two team managers. We will also take advantage of findings gathered throughout the observation of

the processes begun in 2009, in order to implement the fieldwork in 2012 including the observation of the management and implementation of the processes and the interpretive analysis of the Cultural Patterns about participation that are dynamically shared by civil servants engaged with participation. We will specifically make reference to the method 'Emotional Analysis of Text' (EAT) in order to analyze semi-structured interviews with 29 civil servants – team managers and members with ex-collaborators, and current and ex-interlocutors of Participatory Budget – aimed at exploring their narratives of participation. In this way, we want to identify the principal cultural characteristics emerging from civil servants' narratives and concerning the experience of change within public administration, in order to construct a complex understanding and to articulate a reasonable answer to the demand of our research: *what areas of reflection can be opened in order to think about the development of participatory processes when analyzing the complex construction of change from the perspective of civil servants?*

This pivotal study contains various elements of originality that can be summed up through the following hypotheses to be assessed at the end of the Thesis. The first refers to the proper contribution of psychosociology in the field of studies about participation, intersecting the commitment with organizational development and new interactive policymaking processes. Our hypothesis is that by planning an interdisciplinary approach based on psychosociological theories and methods, we are likely to draw together new, applicable knowledge concerning participation. The second original element concerns the focus on the cultural aspects embedded in both the management and implementation of the multiple and different changes when public administrations are demanded to work with participation. The hypothesis related with it, is that participation reveals processes of complex change at both organizational and cultural levels within public administrations. The third concerns the subjects involved in the study, i.e. the civil servants employing new functions within new organizational coordinates, as actors of change and therefore, an exclusive source of knowledge about public administration transformations. As a result, our hypothesis is that by involving these subjects, we will give voice to aspects concerning administrative changes that may help to trace new cultural indicators for their development. The fourth hypothesis is directly concerned with the context that we have been studying in the last few years and therefore, the case study of the action research. The realization of the action research with the two administrative teams of the Municipality of

Lisbon working with the four participatory processes, aims to foster a new acknowledgment of the multiple meanings of being engaged with such processes. The fifth, finally, is committed with the proper scientific relevance of the study, which is supposed to contribute to the scientific fields concerned with participatory processes, policy innovations and public administration changes. In this regard then, we are confident that psychosociology can play a key role in the enhancement of this new interdisciplinary field of studies, and innovatively contribute to ongoing debates about the complex challenges that democratic regimes are necessarily demanded to respond to.

FIRST PART – APPROACH

Ao contrário do que em geral se crê, sentido e significado nunca foram a mesma coisa,
o significado fica-se logo por aí, é directo, literal, explícito, fechado em si mesmo, unívoco, por assim
dizer, ao passo que o sentido não é capaz de permanecer quieto, fervilha
de sentidos segundos, terceiros e quartos, de direcções irradiantes que se vão dividindo e subdividindo
em ramos e ramilhos, até se perderem de vista, o sentido de cada palavra
parece-se com uma estrela quando se põe a projectar marés vivas pelo espaço fora,
ventos cósmicos, perturbações, magnéticas, aflições.

José Saramago, Todos os Nomes

The First Part of the Thesis aims to ground the theoretical framework that will provide the basis for the formulation of interpretive categories concerned with the cultural patterns of civil servants engaged in participatory processes. Participatory processes cannot help but be approached as multifaceted phenomena, objects of complex reflections in several scientific domains. When conceiving reality as sets of coexisting elements, the object of study becomes the networks established in social phenomena. Complexity itself can be considered a social construction, stemming from the crisis of social sciences' paradigms (D'agostino and Olivetti Manoukian, 2009). The authors argue that complexity does not only refer to the co-presence of multiple elements, but also to its connection with what is considered antagonistic, opening it up to paradoxes and contradictions. Several social sciences have deepened complex debates concerning their own epistemological pillars in connection with a rich and compound framework of theories and methodologies.

Every historical age is characterized by the imaginary of symbolically and socially constructing institutions. Such imaginaries are structured so as to hardly reframe them and new social and organizational instances do not necessarily fit inside. As argued by Castoriadis (1998, 1995) imaginaries often have to balance the tendency to conserve the past and the desire to reach new futures. In these days and age, we are still dealing with modernity paradigms that are evident in the exigency of control and dominance of the knowledge, that leaves people far from understanding reality (see: Arriscado Nunes, 1998/1999; Boltanski and Thévenot, 1999; Latour, 2004). Contemporary psychology is currently presenting two main distinct "imaginaries": on the one hand, a "medical" orientation to individuals; on the other, theories providing a wider view on social

relationships (Grasso and Salvatore, 1997). The first one is still linked to the fascination held by some of the paradigms of natural science in the Modern time. As a result, psychological phenomena are experimentally analyzed in terms of approximation of whether they are a "truth" or "normality". The attention on the context conversely provides theories that deal with the symbolical interaction between individuals and their environments.

In this scenario, psychosociology represents our point of reference in providing theoretical and methodological tools to understand the sense of shared meanings for social life (Barus-Michel *et al*., 2002). In compliance with socioconstructivist thought (Gill, 1994; Harrè and Gillet, 1994; Billig, 1997) and acknowledging the relevance of considering contexts as real, we agree that social events are inevitably the byproduct of co-constructed mental processes. On this basis, psychosociology proposes reading models and categories that supply the emotional understanding of social interactions. The psychological contribution to social studies implies that we consider social phenomena as intrinsically concerned with the emotional dimension of both individual and collective action (Enriquez, 2003). Considering environments as emotionally symbolized contexts, the Italian psychosociological school of thought has been proposing in recent decades to focus on the merging processes and dynamics oriented by emotional symbolization (Carli, 1976, 1987; Carli and Paniccia, 2003). The ways individuals interact has a "cultural" worth and they are dialogically connected with the environment. With specific reference to the psychoanalytical work of Matte Blanco (2000, 2005; Dottorini, 2000), unconsciousness is considered to work "semiotically", i.e. working with distinct rules from rationality and basing collusive emotionality among subjects. Thus, people interpret their environment through two different processes: firstly the emotional symbolization; and secondly, the operative categorization based on rational criteria, which are negotiated by individuals and inherently dialoguing with unconscious rules. The two processes tensely emerge within discursive practices and behaviors since symbolization orients categorization by defining its frameworks, whereas categorization turns reality into intelligible.

Consistent with this brief outline, transformations in terms of political agendas, internal rules, technical competences and skills, in and out-sourcing, schedules, and other phenomena, inform the impact that the implementation of participatory processes can

initiate at the organizational level. If we consider actions as socially constructed and emotionally symbolized by individuals sharing the same environment (i.e. organizational context as well as the different geographical scales of political actions), the cultural level becomes a key theoretical and methodological construction (Falanga, 2013a). Said so, the First Part presents two chapters: the Chapter I will give general references concerned with psychosociology theories; the Chapter II will aim to deepen the understanding of the scientific contributions on the new horizons of organizational studies.

Chapter I - A psychosociological perspective on organizations

1. Outline

At the beginning of the XX century, several studies undertaken to deepen the meaning of social interactions and communities, began to gain widespread attention in Europe and North America. Sociologists such as Durkheim and Mauss, the "cultural systems" defined by Mead (1928) and later on Lévi-Strauss' theories on "social facts" (1958), testify to lively scientific production in this area of study. Several scholars belonging to psychological studies started up new specific branches of research too. George Herbert Mead (1934) gave special impulse to social psychology diffusion, the School of Palo Alto emphasized the role of communication (Watzlawick *et al.* 1967), and the Gestalt-Theorie elaborated on an alternative vision for psychological studies in opposition to behaviorist reductionism of both individual and social reality. As a result, the "object" is not considered as existing with intrinsic *a priori* characteristics that are not influenced by the relationship with the "observer". In that scenario, psychosociology marked a further step towards the "revision" of psychological paradigms, seeking to gather theoretical reflection with social action (Barus-Michel *et al.*, 2002). The history of this discipline is strictly intertwined with the social, political and economic context of its evolution. In the period of European economic restructuring between the 1950s and 1960s, followed by the workers' and student protests of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the worldwide economic crisis in 1970s, psychosociology assumed a more recognized role in the field of social sciences, mostly in France and Italy where the debate regarding the role of social sciences played an active role in promoting new equilibriums of social power.

Founded on the analysis of the relationship between individuals and their environments, psychosociology takes inspiration from different areas, mainly group theories (Balint, 1957; Bion, 1961) and some social psychologists (Moreno, 1934; Mayo, 1949). Founder of the Research Center for Group Dynamics in the University of Michigan, Lewin (1948, 1972) intended to develop two specific aspects: to both study the rules of the game of small groups and to use them for change enhancement. The author defines the group as a social subject created and simultaneously generating dependence among the members. In this sense, the group can hold a very high degree of unity even though it could

be very heterogeneous at its core: it is not the similarity among the members but rather the interdependence, as well as the sense of belonging, which institutes the group itself. Participation can be functional for a common objective, as well as for its own existence by aiming to empower people. By suspending group members' actions, the author provided the opportunity to acknowledge individual imaginaries interfering with group problem-solving. Hence, participation in groups implies re-signifying relationships in ways that affect the sense of belonging to a community and individuals' styles of living together. Stemming from an "ethic necessity" of individuals to decrease the costs of the management of either an organization or a community, to identify problems and to question local leaders, groups should be functional to get rid of "omnipotent" delegating dynamics, and turn the members into responsible actors of their own projects. So, for instance, a group constituted of charismatic figures is not necessarily "stronger" than a group with a range of different personalities. *Il tutto, infatti, non è "più" che la somma delle parti, ma ha diverse proprietà. Si dovrebbe dire perciò: "il tutto è diverso dalla somma delle parti"* (Lewin, 1972: 197, tr_it_1). By focusing on and analyzing the "fields of forces" and actual possibilities for decision making of groups, it becomes possible to talk about possible changes[2]. Psychosociology grounds its action research approaches through the author's conception of a new integrated research method within social structures, as well as the articulation of planning, executing and assessing phases[3].

From the contributions of American social psychologists, psychosociology has gradually moved its theoretical references towards psychodynamic theorizations. Klein (see: Klein *et al.*, 1985), Bion (1961) as we will see later, as well as Kaës and Kernberg,[4] have all contributed to establishing a turning point for psychosociological organizational

---

[2] Behavior is considered as function of the person in the environment. The field is set in the *hic et nunc*, though holding a historical background, and contains three elements of analysis: (1) space of life: how the individual knows the psychological context; (2) physical and social processes occurring outside the space of life; (3) borderline between the two spaces wherein individual perceives and acts (*ibidem*).

[3] Change is a dynamic phenomenon characterized by both start and end points, as well as by specific processes that rarely own foreseeable and predictable outcomes (Orsenigo, 2007).

[4] Kaës, connected to Anzieu's works developed in the *Cercle d'Etudes Françaises pour la Formation et la Recherche Active en Psychologie* analyzes modern institutions by considering the interpersonal relationship as constructed through inter-subjective psychical formations and social elements. Institutions are defined as social creations, economical devices, juridical frames and expression of political powers. The "grade zero" of every structure is the first symbolical representation of the world, in continuous interaction with collective unconscious trans-individual instances. Kernberg postulates that organizational structures are inherently crossed by paranoid dimensions, mainly dishonesty (psychotic traits) and paranoid behaviors (fear, diffidence or depressive behaviors). Bureaucratic systems try to preserve stability through corrective instruments and by means of subjects demanded to guarantee apparent objectivity (Kaës *et al.*, 1998).

approaches. The understanding of unconscious phenomena provided the configuration of a conception of change fairly distant from "managerial attitudes" attempting to plan change itself. With regard to group experiences, the debate used to concern both the educational and therapeutic outcomes, since the group used to represent a stressful setting in terms of individual emotional experience. By intuiting the importance of letting intra-psychical and relational dynamics emerge, psychosociology became interested in group archaic phenomena. Group experience was not sufficient to understand complexity without considering the history of both the individual within the group, and the group within the context. The focus overtook the narrow attention on emotional processes and included the work towards group objectives, so as to grasp rational methods and emotional processes adopted by the members[5].

Nowadays, psychosociology does not benefit from an integrated theory and methodology. However, what could look like an insurmountable obstacle for scientific worthiness actually represents a distinctive resource in having promoted debates, studies and researches within and between various social sciences. Yet some transversal issues have been spotted as common to the different scholars that have defined themselves – or have been defined by someone else – as psychosociologists. According to Chambel and Curral (2000), such common points of interest are: (1) individuals' behavior in organizational contexts; (2) the relationship between environmental influences and individuals' behavior; (3) efforts in overtaking some behaviorist theories in favor of motivational factors; (4) conciliation between formal and informal dimensions; (5) the group as a basic organizational phenomenon. At its core there is the attempt to ground studies on the reading of the symbolical construction of reality, and according to Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian (2011) the action research character marks the most important difference from other psychological (e.g. psychology of work) and sociological approaches (e.g. sociology of organizations, social engineering). Individuals and organizational contexts are understood as embedded realities reciprocally shaping one another: on the one

---

[5] In 1959 a first group of scholars led by Eugene Enriquez, Jean Rouchy, Guy Palmade, Jean Dubost founded the ARIP and later on there was the foundation of Italian schools of psychosociology. At the same time, the combination of psychoanalysis and experimental sociology inspired the "sociopsychoanalytic" approach, essentially concerned with politically empowering organizational members, whose founder is considered to be Jaques (1976).

hand individuals symbolize and act in the context; while on the other hand the environment provides the basis for symbolization and action.

Emotional symbolizations (Carli and Paniccia, 2003) compose organizational relationships through connecting reality with archaic psychological objects, internalized by individuals and projected onto collective settings[6]. As a result, internal and external worlds are scarcely consistent with reality due to their profound symbolic connection with the dynamics of unconsciousness. In order to get people more aware of reality, psychosociology proposes to pay constant and critical attention to such dynamics and their never-ending attempt to simplify reality into dichotomous categories. Individual and organizational change became an extremely important topic from the 1980s onwards and implied a consideration of both manifest and latent discourse and practice. Psychosociology was called upon to make a clear distinction within the field of psychology and those "medical" traditions concerned with behavioral ideas of normality. Psychosociology was also challenged to get into contact with new advancing "philosophies" for organizational management and their myths of planning. In order to foster a notion of change related neither with predicted goals nor behavioral patterns, a process of continuous interrogation about organizational relationships was needed so as to connect specific rules of game and interactive outcomes. Some scholars defined it as a new branch of the discipline named "psychosociology of organizations" concerned with different organizational interactions: (1) among individuals; (2) between individuals and groups; (3) among groups.

> *Le projet d'étudier l'interaction sociale dans le cadre spécifique et quotidien de l'organisation inclut la reconnaissance implicite de l'influence de facteurs organisationnels sur les comportements sociaux. Cela signifie qu'un tel projet ne peut être mené à bien sans une analyse des structures et du fonctionnement de l'organisation et donc, sans le solides references à la sociologie des organisations* (Petit and Dubois, 1998: 4, tr_fr_1).

In conceiving organizations as complex systems where contrasting interests and aims get together, Olivetti Manoukian (2007) points out the fact that such elements are not

---

[6] The authors distinguish emotional symbolizations from cognitive perceptions in terms of different spheres of the human experience with the world (*ibidem*). In the same vein, Fornari (1979, 2011) defines the unconscious as a "facultas signatrix", that is a process of proto-symbolization. The affective semiotics is a dimension of thought for the author inherently connected with the characteristics of the familiar relationships, distinct from the cognitive process of categorization.

necessarily evident or objects of immediate knowledge. They are rather intrinsically embedded within social structures and therefore are potential objects of deep psychosociological analysis. Organizations are far from being considered as functionalist producers of goods, but rather multifaceted realities including informal, formal and real aspects, whose combination raises inevitable "contradictions". The author claims that psychosociology should be committed to analyzing these contradictions in order to understand what type of rationality is involved, for instance whether it is a "specialized" or "confused" one.

In summary then, organizations provide a unique set for psychosociology since they are a collectivity, composed of various groups and bringing together individuals and objectives within a tense process that crosses unconscious dynamics and rational definitions. Notwithstanding, a basic problem with the definition of both "organization" and "institution" persists in the realm of psychosociology. The evidence for this comes from the ambiguous use of these terms, in some cases interchanged with synonyms used by branches of psychology, such as psychology of work, psychology of community as well as organizational psychology. In some cases, psychology has aimed to change organizations by alternatively assuming an antagonistic, militant attitude or by colluding with organizations' goals. When doing so, psychology has often dispensed of the interpretive analytical function of its social commitment with change and rather, pursued standardized patterns of action. Conversely, Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian (2011) outline that organization can be understood as something that neither originates nor develops in strict correspondence with the declared objectives. It is rather enrooted within unconscious mechanisms and instituted in order to cope with paranoid and depressive anxieties. Thus, psychosociology is concerned with the exploration of contexts in order to interpret symbolical dynamics. The organizational (i.e. the rational outcome) and the institutional (the symbolical shaping of rationality) dimensions (Carli and Paniccia, 1981) are intrinsically embedded, such as the unconscious and the conscious ways of the psyche to express itself (Blanco, 2000, 2005; Dottorini, 2000).

2. The influence of psychoanalysis on psychosociology

In establishing a perspective for the understanding of the organizations, and specifically public institutions as both historical and symbolic products of the human kind, psychoanalysis holds a large and varied set of theories. As Freud put it (1921), unconsciousness plays a fundamental role in the explanation of social relationships, as well as for the domain of social sciences in proposing a complex explanation of human behavior: "*la psicologia individuale è al tempo stesso, fin dall'inizio, psicologia sociale.*" (Freud, 1921: 261, tr_it_2). Accordingly, Enriquez (2003) states that psychoanalysis is a crucial source for all social sciences since their proper objective is the study of social interactions. Individuals do not exist outside their social environment and such a condition creates a controversial relation between the need to be recognized as social actor and the expression of one's own desires, as well as the need to identify oneself with the otherness. The other actually represents who owns the power to give a "place" to us in society by recognizing our role (see also: Falanga, 2013b). The relationship occurring between these elements and characterizing individuals and contexts, i.e. the very meeting with the "other", calls upon the first studies undertaken by Le Bon and Freud on the phenomena of the masses. According to Le Bon (1980), crowds represent provisory creatures characterized by a "collective soul" inciting people to behave as they would not if they were in other situations. Three fundamental psychical characteristics are inferable: (1) feeling of invincible power, (2) mental infection; (3) suggestion (Fiore, 2008). Similarly, Freud (1921, 1929) argues that crowds are unstable, irritable and impetuous: individuals experience omnipotent feelings that generate intolerance towards any kind of doubt and perplexity, through a sort of trans-hypnotic condition reached by means of the leader's speech. The different mass *modus agendi* dissolves social sublimations guaranteed by norms and institutions and puts aside feelings of social responsibility by making people share the identification with a common "Ideal Ego". Despite this, individuals are currently demanded to "split" their common identifications into several social spheres and groups, yet it remains necessary to consider individuals psyches within social contexts.

Social relationships are inherently ambivalent because they are based on the twofold instinctual influence of attraction and repulsion, i.e. love and hate. Instinct of love is directed towards two types of realities: the leader and counterparts (the "brothers"). Men are meant to be representative of such dynamics since they are subject to the threat of

"castration" and so they find in collective relationships the proof of their own power. Instinct of hate implies fantasies of death, disintegration, and destruction, translated in the necessity to symbolically construct an "enemy" in order to maintain the safety of the community. The enemy can be either an external target to whom one declares war, or an internal member turned into a "whipping boy". Rivalry and struggles for power have symbolically found norms and institutions governing civil societies. And even if the passage from violence to the State of right could be understood as a form of violence, as well one that ratifies the power of a community, the enactment of rules for social living should be considered necessary to regulate the access and permanence in the shared social symbolism (Freud, 1921, 1929; Enriquez, 1983). Once the State is legitimated by people and simultaneously becomes the legitimization of social relationships, individuals may realize that they are potential enemies to each other. The State is delegated to govern and symbolically supply thought on behalf of the individuals and then becomes the modern form of the "horde". In the renowned work "Totem and Tabu" (1913), Freud argues that at the very origin of society, there is a conflicting relationship occurring between an oppressive father (symbol of "Thanatos") and his "sons". The threat of castration coming from the father makes the sons organize his murder, turning them for the first time into a community. Communities symbolically originate from conspiracy against someone[7]. After having experienced the ability and power to kill, humankind turns the father into a mythical founder of the society and organizes it in order to prevent another breakup of rules. Institutions, moral restrictions and religion are some of the devices adopted so as to preserve society from generalized violence. Social institutions represent the "product" of the connection between "ancestral ghosts" and social agency. In preventing society from direct instinctual expression, culture represents the struggle and its simultaneous repression through rules for social reciprocity.

Individual belonging to social organizations and institutions experiences a sense of guilt, which in turn generates the "Oedipus complex" (Freud, 1913). As a result, leaders of social institutions are likely to pass on such a power to the dependents, by seeking to balance the instinct of death with the instinct of life. In this sense, both organizations and

---

[7] This phenomenon becomes fairly visible in xenophobic events where communities are likely to bear some persecutory personal matrixes. Fiore (2008) emphasizes how the persecutory dimension is a sort of pre-text for the formation of relationships and then the text where certain kinds of group dynamics stem from (see also: Falanga, 2013)

institutions represent key social contexts for the deep understanding of psychic dynamics occurring between individuals and collectivities, as well as groups and society. Whether the offer of "love" or its lack causes unconscious dynamics that reveal the symbolical signification of organizational realities; human limits imply recognizing the instinct of death operating in the underground of organizational relationships. If social institutions play the illusionary role of providing "peace" to societies, it becomes of crucial importance to understand what happens when the collective feeling towards an institution gets into crisis. According to Enriquez (2003), whenever such idealized realities end up losing their safety-giving role, one option is that people turn their need for transcendent identification towards reciprocity. The ideal of "equality" originating from the French revolution, created in western societies, at the symbolical level, the absence of asymmetric relationships. As a result, such an equal society is supposed to create on the one hand new transcendent and universal entities, such as the State and the money (the Market); and on the other hand generalized conflicts to be governed.

> *L'amputation (ou la canalisation des pulsions sexuelles et agressives) ne doit pas être ressentie comme telle. Elle doit être acceptée et même désirée. Ce renoncement aux satisfactions pulsionnelles est consécutif à l'angoisse devant l'autorité et donne naissance au sentiment de culpabilité, sentiment renforcé par l'angoisse devant le sur-moi (héritier des interdits culturels et parentaux). Si la civilization commence dans le crime, elle se termine par le renoncement aux pulsions (ibidem: 22, tr_fr_2).*

The contribution of Jaques (1976) has been that of analyzing the profound emotional ground upon which organizational members develop defensive mechanisms[8]. It means that institutions, as any social system, aim to reach a manifest objective and simultaneously maintain certain equilibriums against the emergence of both persecutory and depressive angst. The anxiety is likely to be generated every time rational order and informality collide. Roles are made for that, but the question is: what is the symbolical nature of the roles played within an organization? According to the author, organizations provide images of the organizational members that match with their own identities. In such

---

[8] Member of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, which in the 1950s was particularly concerned with studying mechanisms of defense, transfer and identification in order to find the right combination between technical and social aspects, and overcome the opposition between "hard" and "soft" approaches in the field of organizational studies. The context is studied as a source of energy – information and materials – which is transformed by the organizations themselves.

a way, organizations ensure their role of reference, whether it is symbolized as the "good" mother (Eros) or the "bad" one (Thanatos). And then organizations represent modalities to make members defend themselves from falling apart due to psychotic mechanisms, such as paranoid and depressive anxieties. As a result, as stated by Enriquez (1983; 2003), whenever an institution loses its symbolical role, members are constrained to live their own narcissistic injuries. Such a condition is likely to be experienced by society whenever the crisis is profoundly intertwined with collective life. Pagés (1968; *et al.*, 1998) reinforces Jaques' perspective about the frustrating role of organizations in terms of members' identification. In living in profound and permanent conflict, the members cannot help but believe the illusion of a monopoly of love brought by "hypermodern" organizations. Yet the point is not the suppression of desire, but rather the repression of love (i.e. the recognizing of the desire itself). Organizations are used to present themselves as eternal and omnipotent and so able to both realize members' dreams and eliminate any sort of contradiction. Social institutions provide the right tools to avoid the confrontation with the "Thanatos", i.e. the ghost of the death and then the destruction. "*Institutions et structures psychologiques se répondraient ainsi comme les pièces d'un système socio-mental qui se renforcent mutuellement, dont l'une est la lecture de l'autre dans un autre langage*" (*ibidem*: 231, tr_fr_3)[9].

Another key psychoanalytical reference is that of Matte Blanco (2000, 2005; Dottorini, 2000), who understood unconsciousness, consistent with the first Freudian topic, in terms of two co-existent modes of the human mind. The unconsciousness is not meant as the limit of the rationality but rather its source and, being so, identifies two general rules of logic underlying the functioning of the unconsciousness[10]. The "bi-logical" system presents the "homogeneous" mode alongside the "heterogeneous" one. Blanco's theoretical contribution is centered on the opportunity to think about psychic reality in terms of the relationship between symmetric and asymmetric dimensions, respectively responding to

---

[9] In this respect, Gacci and D'Agostino (2008) argue that the higher level of identification, the higher degree of self-commitment is likely to be generated. Identification does not imply non-critical adhesion; it can rather imply ability in keeping "safe" distance from problems and people, balancing from disruptive distance and suffocating closeness.

[10] Freud (1915; 2005) argues that unconsciousness is composed of instinctual representations that structure themselves into fixed schemes intertwined with personal experiences. The intensity is movable and then a representation can either provide another of its "charge" or condense more representations' intensities. Nonetheless, according to Matte Blanco (2000, 2005), when conceiving unconsciousness as regulated by symmetric logic, some of the rules described by Freud look more consistent with asymmetric logic.

the homogenous and heterogeneous modes. The (1) principle of symmetry requires that unconsciousness does not see any difference among the signs of the world, whereas the generalization principle (a corollary of the symmetry principle), asserts that any single object is equivalent to the class it belongs to, i.e. every object categorized in terms of an affective class assumes all of the properties associated with the class itself; the (2) principle of asymmetry in constant work with the unconsciousness in order to distinguish elements from the indistinct totality. Even though the creation of "classes of symmetry" is a first step for recognizing such elements and resolving unconscious ambiguity into ambivalence (Carli, 2007), they retain symmetrical features. Carli and the members of the school of psychosociology of Rome have elaborated Matte Blanco's proposal in terms of a semiotic basis for new understanding concerned with collective emotional dynamics (Carli and Paniccia, 2002). The "dividing thought" is able to establish connections according to rational logic, whereas the "emotional thought" is addressed to synthesize and simplify the reality into big emotional classes. Emotions are meant as affective meanings through which mind performs basic psychological "divisions" of the experience[11]. Every sign of the world is polysemous because it has an infinite domain of potential significance (see also: Vygotsky, 1986). As a result, reality is immersed into ambiguous coordinates according to the logic of emotions, and the most immediate way to resolve ambiguity is action. In these terms, every action is always "over-determined" since it condenses multiple meanings. From this assumption, psychosociology distinguishes ordinary actions from reflective actions: the first reveal the ways unconsciousness is working in connection with the signs of the context; it informs about which logics are being set up for the organization of a community and what sorts of relationships of power cross social fabrics[12]. "*It is acting out, on the one hand, and on the other the thought that organizes and*

---

[11] From this view and consistent with the socio-constructivist current, Salvatore and Venuleo (2008) postulate the existence of an affective semiotics that entails the creation of the ontological valence of the reality, as well as the construction of the context regulating sensemaking. Since the symmetric thought treats the sign not as standing for something else but as being, without any mediation, that thing and something else (Matte Blanco, 2005), the affective semiotics has a reifying function that turns representations of the world into realities for the mind.

[12] All the behavioral outcomes are considered as actions, so the act of communicating too. Bruner (1986) argues that the when individuals narrate reality, they do construct meanings of that; Freud (1915, 2005) uses narrations (and some features of language) as the gateway for the interpretation of dreams and psychoanalytic therapy; Matte Blanco (2000) considers the language as a rational instrument addressed to "divide" reality and like Freud, the gateway to catch the rules of unconsciousness; Carli and Paniccia (2002) state that language represents an agreement (or disagreement) between emotional dynamics and the intention to communicate comprehensible and sharable contents at the collective level.

preludes to action, which lead to the emotional definition of objects and therefore to an organized relationship with them" (Carli, 2007: 376).

3. The characteristics of group making

Psychology and other scientific domains have widely agreed about the peculiar nature of the group in comparison with "crowds" and casual gatherings of people, in terms of collective and individual thinking (Cooley, 1909; Asch, 1955; Caplow, 1968; Stoner, 1968; Janis, 1972; Moscovici and Doise, 1991; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Kruglanski et al. 2005). In highlighting phenomena such as conformism, alliances, persuasion, groupthink, false consensus, polarization, and so on, individual psyches are subject to strong and sometimes unexpected dynamics, i.e. members are not necessarily aware of profound, ongoing dynamics. According to psychoanalytic theories, the group is founded on the twofold action of the instinct of life and death, whereas social connections are directed to symbolically fight against the supposed existence of a dominant entity. By instituting a sense of belonging and then collective solidarity, individuals attempt to depressurize internal destructive impulses so as to control social relationships. It is from this sense of guilt that cooperation and project-making arise as compensatory actions (Freud, 1913). Foulkes (1973) is considered one of the first psychoanalysts who tried to extend the theoretical and practical proposal of the psychoanalysis to the group, founding the "group-analysis" method. In his conception, what concerns individuals is automatically present in the "outside", making external fairly correspondent to psychic realities. Unconsciousness is then considered as something strictly determined by the social acculturation of people, rather than determined by biological forces (see also: Fabian, 2002; Hopper, 2003). According to Fiore (2008):

> [*f*]*or its members the group plays a therapeutic role, because by taking on the anxiety of its members it partially frees them and at the same time, as it accepts the persecutionary theme, it will make each member feel able to deal with the thing they fear at certain times and in certain situations* (*ibidem*: 255).

In line with this, by referring to Klein theories concerned with primitive relationships with "partial internalized objects", Bion (1961) has analyzed deeply the psychological processes concerning the pre-symbolic dimension in a group. The author individuates two main co-existing group functions: the rational one, undertaking the pursuit of objectives;

and the function of basic assumptions, dealing with the assurance of the life of group. Members "lose" their individuality and develop three possible basic assumptions: (1) dependency; (2) fight-flight; (3) pairing, meant either to help or to obstruct the real activities of the group and play an essential function in terms of a psychological defense from psychotic, paranoid or depressive anxieties. Cooperation within the groups has always to face the tendency to be rewarded by expressing one of the basic assumptions. The risk of non-attainment of real demands coming from the context is always there. In terms of symbolical dynamics, group making points up the need of both being recognized and different. Identification processes can lead to a denial of differences whereas the conflict and the need for leadership simultaneously constitute the basis of interaction. It is the very struggle between the recognition of desire, which links members one and other; and the desire of recognition, which places a common object of love as target for collective identification.

We have seen that Lewin (1948) proposes to consider groups as the expression of ethical necessities to participate. Psychologists should be concerned with the pedagogic goal concerned with providing an opportunity to take part in individual learning experiences within and through collective settings. According to the "T-Group" approach, group experiences have to deconstruct daily constraints conditioning members' behaviors in order to create an "alternative" set. Change must necessarily be something perturbing equilibriums that are devoted to maintaining organizational self-regulation. After his pioneering work, small groups became a well-known instrument for therapeutic practice in terms of self-training through participation and interaction[13]. Supported by new scientific attention to organizational interactions, like those stated by the School of Human Relations (see: Chapter II), members moved from being conceived as "self-functioning entities" to "function-dependents by other entities". Due to the impossibility of separating individuals from their social contexts, group studies contributed to the creation of new models of organizational analysis, in opposition to behaviorism trends in social sciences. It was the

---

[13] In 1946 Lewin and his research team (Zander and Lippit among the others) belonging to the Research Center for Group-Dynamics of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, were demanded to plan a training seminar for teachers. They chose to set up discussion methods instead of "traditional" lessons in order to decrease psychological forces opposing to change. Training group (T-Group) was conceived as a space of reciprocal reflexive feedbacks about real ongoing behaviors. Such a self-centered experience was aimed to study the systemic interdependence among members so as to permit group changes possibly transferable to members' organizational contexts of belonging.

conception of "change" that was at the heart of this new turn. Change was seen as something that could not be ordered *a priori,* rather demanding, knowing and acknowledging internal processes. Between the 1960s and 1970s, gradual changes were to transform the nature of "T-Groups", pushing for reviewing the impersonal rules and, as a matter of fact, the portability of group learning into daily life. Such change is part of a lively debate-taking place in those years. With regard to the risk of potential pressures of conformity coming from external demands on the group: what degree of manipulation is it possible to set in the group? And, more broadly, is psychology still supposed to consider members as some sort of "patients" or is it necessary to reframe their function? People taking part in group experiences express their daily relationships' modalities, hence it is possible to rethink the "use" of the group and simultaneously make group learning "useful" for daily life.

Carli and Paniccia (1981) have criticized aspects of T-Groups' artificiality due to the absence of common objectives addressed to "produce" something. The task to interact and reflect on the interaction itself without any reference and interference from the exterior, was as problematic as Rogers' idea about the impossibility of rationalizing emotions towards authenticity and "authority's liberation". Both Lewin and Rogers' approaches base and limit group experiences in the *hic et nunc*, an imagined setting without history and roles. Psychosociology should rather conceive groups as social phenomena containing "familiar" dimensions in terms of emersion to the dynamics of daily life. Between the 1970s and 1980s, in connection with a general historical conjuncture in Europe claiming the epistemological transition in social sciences, as well as in social living and governing, change became a key issue. Several psychosociologists committed themselves to two levels of organizational change: it is not only individuals who were supposed to change; groups also have to create conditions for group-changing. From being objects of change, organizational members were gradually reframed as subjects of transformation and active agency. Approaching organizations as networks of inter-depending elements, the change of one part is both dependent on and relevant for the whole system. The impossibility of reducing the reality of the group into the mere addition of the members, made some French scholars concerned with organizational studies argue that organizations also, when conceived as formal systems of action, hold collective skills generated within groups. The risk of mechanical approaches to groups and organizations, even when they seek the

"human factor", is the risk of the so called "human engineering" which pays attention to individual instances rather than social ones (Crozier and Friedberg, 1981; Sainsaulieu, 1988).

4. About organizations and institutions

As already stated in the first paragraph, the goal of defining organizations and institutions presents overlapping points. In our understanding, public administrations play both roles at the same time. Yet literature is not unanimous in this respect and further key questions emerge in the debate: considering institutions as organizations, at what point are organizations institutions? Can public administrations be considered both organizations and institutions? According to the French School of psychosociology (Barus-Michel *et al.*, 2002), unit of analysis starts from conceiving the human being as simultaneously rational, emotional and psychological. In accordance with psychoanalytic assumptions, organizations own an unconscious dimension which canalizes, and in some cases, censors or even deletes members' desires.

> *Nel momento in cui degli individui si trovano in gruppi (o comunità) situati in luoghi circoscritti, con un compito comune da assolvere insieme, e dovendo definire tra loro le relazioni reciproche e con l'ambiente, si verifica un processo di accostamento, di somiglianza e infine di omogeneizzazione dei fantasmi e dei comportamenti e ogni individuo diventa il luogo (corporeo e fisico) in cui s'inscrivono i risultati delle interazioni sociali; e ogni corpo sociale deve affrontare le stesse questioni che lo interrogano, provocando angoscia e gioia nell'individuo* (Enriquez, 1983, p.283, tr_it_3).

As a result, the author (2003) proposes to analyze organizations according to different aspects: (1) the culture constructed in continuous interaction between members, clients and public; (2) the symbols created in order to both ground and legitimize members' agency; (3) the imaginary which plays both as substitution of the individual imaginaries and a motor to make them develop creative imagination (even though it is hard for organizations to promote the second aspect since it would mean to open a transitional space wherein the reflective activity could end up questioning the organizations itself). The author proposes seven instances as reading criteria for social phenomena to be analyzed, by comparing

social actors' discourses and behaviors in order to perceive chains of significance, strategies as well as inner contradictions of the system.

The (1) mythical instance represents the "meta-history" of the organization, i.e. emotional communication and conceptual system at the same time. It is composed of both individual ghosts and collective angst and desires; its function is to solve daily problems and then reduce anxiety by providing the sense of community belonging. The (2) socio-historical instance refers to western societies founded on the modern ideology, replacing mythology in order to provide homogeneous images of societies without conflicts through producing a language of "truth" (see also: Foucault, 1966, 1975, 1997). The (3) institutional instance concerns organizations (including those political in nature) and their legitimization is founded on a form of knowledge that has power of law and that presents itself as the expression of truth (see also: Sousa Santos, 1990, 2000). Institutions may refuse historical process for it compels them to acknowledge internal contradictions and conflicts. As regards the (4) organizational instance, the author argues:

> [s]i l'institution pose la nécessité de l'alienation et des mécanismes de clivage, l'organisation la traduira en style de division du travail. Si l'institution est le lieu du pouvoir, l'organisation sera celui des systèmes d'autorité (de la réparation de la présomption de compétence et de la responsabilité) mis en oeuvre, si enfin l'institution est le lieu du politique et de l'essai de régulation globale, l'organisation est celui des rapports de forces quotidiens, des luttes implicites et explicites et des stratégies des acteurs (Enriquez, 2003: 89-90, tr_fr_4).

Organizations are affected by basic angst related to a fear of unpredictable and creative processes, as well as possible destabilizations deriving from free expression. For this reason, organizations prevent internal competition ("Thanatos") through establishing rules against generalized struggles and simultaneously promoting individualization, responsibilization and emulation towards enhancing productivity ("Eros").

The (5) group instance refers to people carrying on a common social imaginary, which in turn, implies holding ideas and experiencing actions concerned with position, role and definitions of desire. Groups work in accordance with idealization (strengthening the worthiness of group projects); illusion (desires' canalization prevented from values' questioning); and/or belief (choice of certainty instead of truth). Minority groups transgress

the established order and base internal dynamics on reasons about who is loved and who is not, overtaking the rightness to get together. If minority groups manage to be accepted within organization, they will become "truth bearers"; if they do not, then diffidence will be institutionalized within[14]. As regards the (6) individual instance, the author distinguishes between "individual" and "subject" in terms of agency. The latter is the one capable of transforming social and cultural structures, whereas the individual implies being member of an organized crowd[15]. As Enriquez (2008) puts it:

> [*l*]'*individuo isolato o massificato (o entrambi) non é un vero soggetto. Perché lo ridiventi é necessario, come nella polis greca, che faccia parte di un gruppo in cui ognuno abbia lo stesso diritto di parlare e lo faccia assumendosene la responsabilità* (*ibidem*: 39, tr_it_4).*

Finally, the (7) instinctual instance is transversal to all of the others and consists of the two basic instincts of life and death. Organizations are subject to this double dynamic and their existence actually relies on the ability to balance them. In this scenario, "denying castration" becomes a functional defense mechanism to be reproduced whenever an organization is threatened by internal tension (i.e. instinct of death organized into creative energy). As a result, organizations will charge the working environment or some internal minority group with having perturbed its status and playing then a persecutory (destruction coming from the exterior) and paranoid function (internal threat). The two instincts are functional for organizational contexts: "life" permits members to feel that they belong to a community but at the same time it risks the creation too of strong links coming up with defensive cohesion and narcissist agreement. When "death" breaks with homogeneous forces, it permits people to acknowledge the difference, the temporality, and the self-organization and then to open the system for different symbolical systems.

When psychosociologists intend to research and intervene in social phenomena, they are unlikely to grasp all of the issues at the same time. Organizational problems can adhere more to some instances than others, although complex explicative power originates

---

[14] Moscovici (1980) indicates two patterns of behavior: (1) adhesion consisting of public and non-private agreement with majority instances; (2) conversion consisting of private and non-necessarily public agreement with minority instances. Minorities' influence is likely to produce better debates because permitting multiple viewpoints, whereas majority has normally a "converging feature" (see also: Moscovici and Doise, 1991)

[15] Nonetheless "hypernormality", as a synonymous of repetition, like the bureaucratic personality described by Merton (1952) is not necessarily a realizable metaphor of life. As Castoriadis (1995) puts it, if bureaucratic rules were to be applied, bureaucracies themselves could not work. So, bureaucracies need in their own spaces some sort of perversion that, in turn, end up being functional for organizations themselves.

from all of them. According to this overall view, institutions seem to be the ones directing normative orientations whereas organizations, on providing rules and rituals for their functioning, seem to be competing for the role of institution. Lapassade (1974) collects the surrounding polysemy of the term "institution" stressing some of the most common acceptation - established organization; corpus of norms defining what is legitimate and what is not in a social system; and the level of the social reality defining what is established. Yet the author is clear in observing how the role of institutions is in the same vein of the one played by unconsciousness with the psychical domain, i.e. institutions represent the political unconsciousness of societies. Along a similar line, Carli and Paniccia (1981) propose to understand the institution as a dimension co-present in every organizational reality[16]. Such a proposal needs to be deepened in order to catch the psychoanalytical articulations within, as well as the psychosociological implications. In these terms, the analysis of the unconscious dynamics characterizing institutional dimension allows us to explore the ways organizations approach ordinary life and change:

Table 1 - Two opposite institutional dynamics

	Affiliation and power constraining	**Realization and recognition of the other**
Context structure	Chain of duty	Objectives
Organizational character	Granted Organization	Constructed Organization
Functions	Substituting Functions	Integrative Functions
Motivation and assessment	Social Mandate	Client orientation

adapted into English from: Carli and Paniccia, 2003

---

[16] The methodological highlight of co-existing "internal" and "external" groups evokes the notion of internal/external worlds. The internal group is characterized by unconscious dynamics, whereas the external group is supposed to regulate social relations according to objectives, i.e. consensus (Carli *et al*., 1998).

5. The Italian psychosociological schools of thought

The school of psychosociological thought in Italy has two important centers: "Scuola di Psicosociologia" (SPS) in Rome and "Studio di Analisi Psicosociologica" (APS) in Milan. In gathering several leading scholars and approaching different social phenomena, Italy confirms its relevance in this field of studies. With regard to SPS, psychosociology has been clearly configured as a clinical approach in analyzing the relationship between psychologist and subject(s), in strict reference to context characteristics. Organizations are seen as contexts of power and conflict due to instinctual forces crossing social interactions and "deforming" the relationship with "desired objects" (Carli, 1976). It is the imaginary, i.e. the "imagining desire" that filters human relationships and that permits both considering the limits of the context and of innovative possibilities. In concordance with Enriquez (2003), Carli considers the institution as the expression of desires; more precisely the desire of fusion with the imaginary provided by the organization that allows "death" instances to be put away. Moreover, organizations are also marked by inner desires for power between members generating potential conflicts. It is through social relationships that desire is expressed and potentially provokes change when social actors become aware of it. Organizational analysis focuses on a twofold level of study: on the one hand the dimension related to project making, and on the other hand the ways projects are undertaken. The process is regulated by norms and sanctions and it is a relation of power whose control defines the productivity of the organizations through specific sequences of actions.

Public administration has transformative goals because its proper mission is the government of societies in transformation. In this sense, organizational changes will inevitably take place between and within institutions, as well as between them and societies. As regards the tension between the claims of change and preservation of the institution, Carli and Paniccia (1981) reflect on the articulation of explorative and "automatized" strategies. When internal specialization is subject to standard procedures, then automatized procedures are likely to impede the process of continuous reformulation of the organizational *desiderata*. Explorative strategies are supposed to permit internal debate, by legitimizing questions concerned with macro and micro organizational goals. It implies re-signifying organizational aspects in connection with the demands of the working

environment. In this line, Carli and Paniccia (1981) have proposed taking into consideration two co-existent psychological dimensions that characterize all the organizations: the "institutional" and the "organizational" levels. As the authors put it:

> [*l*]*a struttura sociale, quindi, può essere analizzata lungo il duplice livello organizzativo ed istituzionale e la dinamica simbolica, così com'e è stata elaborata nell'ambito della teoria psicoanalitica, può dar ragione di queste due modalità di funzionamento dei sistemi trasformativi* (*ibidem*: 141, tr_it_5).

The institutional level expresses unconscious dynamics constructed and performed by the organizational members. The organizational level is represented by the real coordination of the social interactions by means of rational devices and possibly relying on general consensus. Such a dimension owns the function of controlling human instincts by means of shared symbolic patterns about the working environment, in order to prevent mutual aggressiveness. The tension between such dimensions calls upon questions about the epistemic worthiness implied in any organizational change, even when it seems exclusively referring to structural settings. In this sense, the concept of "collusion" (Carli and Paniccia, 2003; Carli, 2006a) is consistent with the idea of unconscious dynamics crossing and sustaining social relationships. Inspired by Matto Blanco (2000; 2005), the production of psychical fantasies stem from the interaction between two different mental logics, which in turn are governed by two distinct sets of rules. The expression of the unconsciousness and the possibility of working on that is guaranteed by the filter of the "asymmetric" logic, i.e. the set of rational rules governing the external world. Nonetheless, in cases where we do not deliberate somewhat between emotions and actions, the two logics get mixed up and risk overlapping and being undistinguished[17].

Thus, contexts are expression of shared emotional symbolization that is defined as "local culture" in being composed of different cultural patterns (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). Culture patterns define styles of collective living together in connection with the triangular relation between sense of belonging (memory of identity towards the future), otherness (necessary interlocutor in order to prevent the sense of belonging reiterating itself within an infinite game of power) and rules of the game (regulating sense of belonging and

---

[17] As Calvino also put it, we are inevitably divided by the tendency to trace lines, join points, project vectors in the space; and the desire to represent the confused multitude of the same space, attempting to translate it into intelligible words. Both of the tendencies will never be totally satisfactory (Calvino, 1988).

otherness)[18]. The mythical dimension is enrooted in the way people symbolize the three dimensions. Their articulation within and their relation with reality become especially evident in situations of change. When the working environment demands for structural transformations, it claims new adaptations that can rely either on the organizational level or even ignore the demands of reality. In the case of the latter, collectivity is likely to develop social dynamics tangled in their emotionality, i.e. far from being productive in terms of organizational scopes. The authors (*ibidem*) illustrate three ways people can transgress to each component of their living together: (1) by denying the rules of the game, members end up transforming relationships into connections founded on "implicit agreement", putting up an inclusive rituality for "members" that is at the same time exclusive with respect to the "others". In fact, the missed negotiation with the other generates his/her ignorance of the rules of the game preventing him/her to know, understand or share their meaning. Such a defensive attitude can end up creating two kinds of situations: either like-family assimilation of the otherness or his/her demonization. By (2) denying the otherness, members support the confusion between internal and external worlds: every element of the context is understood as part of their context. Such a self-referential attitude is fed with unsaid norms and the use of implicit values substitute the rules of the game. The otherness is accepted only through ritualizing aggressiveness whenever the relationship leads to some personal profit. Violence ends up being regulated by violence itself, even when self-directed because it represents the only way to escape from thinking. By (3) denying the sense of belonging, the otherness becomes the myth of the unknown, the future, and the innovation. Without memory of collective identity, the rules of the game impose a generalized acceptance of the other to the detriment of members' process of identification with the working environment.

The distinction between the mythical and the real dimensions of living together is the first step in the configuration of the psychological competence in analyzing "demand", i.e. the emotional way subjects formulate their claims (*ibidem*). It involves legitimizing reflection as the key element for making people and context develop. Psychosociological action starts precisely when managing to suspend daily activities, in order to install a

---

[18] The three functions call upon the psychoanalytical distinction between "Es, Ego and Super-Ego" respectively concerned with the sense of belonging, otherness and norm. McClelland (1961) has further articulated the triad in terms of motivation: (1) affiliation as related with systems of belonging; (2) power as referred to the rules of the game; (3) achievement as foundation of the recognition of the otherness.

legitimized setting possibly "containing" the work of reflection. In this scenario, the psychosociologist is not called upon to configure any final destination of either intervention or action research, but has rather to institute the steps to pass from the occasional "institutional analysis" to the "institution of the analysis" as ordinary behavior of the social actors, enabled to question and reflect on their own working environment[19]. In agreement with the idea that it is not the analysis of "something beyond", but the elaboration of what is unconsciously included in the demand, Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian (2011), stress the importance of distinguishing between the analysis of the demand from the research, and analysis and elaboration of the problems so as to avoid any personification of the organization. By focusing on the degree of "mentalization", i.e. skills in self-reflection, their indication is to emphasize the points of contradiction between individuals and organization in order to use what is defined as organizational dysfunction as a source of knowledge about social processes. Indeed, APS pays special attention to the role of training with individuals, groups and organization. Training is thought to arrange micro-social sets wherein organizational members can actively take part in an experience whose first goal is to (re)design the triangular relation between (1) consultant, (2) client and (3) problem. "Formativity" is the possible outcome when clients manage to think about the internal and external conditions of self-existence, to express and finally to intervene in one's life (Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian, 2011)[20]. The proper plus value of psychosociology is so connected with the capacity to facilitate people expressing their own interpretive hypotheses about their working environment through self-reflective knowledge. It involves turning representations, thoughts and emotions affecting introspection and social cognition into objects of knowledge[21].

---

[19] In a similar vein, Bhabha (1996) argues the potential existence of "in-between spaces", as settings to legitimate different thoughts concerning reality through suspending "action", in order to disconfirm dominant rationality.

[20] This training model differs from "traditional" lessons as well as from the idea of training as instrumental for predetermined objectives, i.e. outcomes of some sort of organizational diagnosis. Through theoretical models of "right" behaviors, members should be persuaded to change. Conversely, formativity is concerned with progressive approaches, in order to grasp both potential and evident conflicts and to open questions and re-interpret problems (Olivetti Manoukian, 2007).

[21] In this respect, the authors (*ibidem*) point out the "multi-directional" quality of language, linking cognitive and emotional dimensions, as well as individual and collective, known and unknown. Communication plays a role of social action that demands elaboration by the subjects so as to permit their own creation of knowledge awareness.

6. Towards the definition of organizational culture

The complex history of psychosociology has made this discipline a lively, content-rich and open domain of reflection, research and action. By specifically focusing on the contributions concerned with organizational contexts, we have pointed out that it is necessary to assume their institutional dimension in order to grasp and understand their (re)structures. Change is likely to represent a key element through which we look at these contexts and the "strategies" they settle to transform rules of the game in connection with new interacting subjects. In this sense, psychosociology is committed to analyzing the different cultural patterns that give voice to the symbolization of the context. As Chambel and Curral (2000) put it:

> *[a] cultura tem, nos sistemas humanos, uma função estabilizadora e redutora da incerteza e, consequentemente, da ansiedade. Num contexto organizacional onde as características mais visíveis são a inovação, a adaptação e a mudança constantes, a cultura torna-se o principal obstáculo da sobrevivência da organização, a não ser que essa cultura seja construída em torno da inovação e da mudança* (*ibidem*: 180, tr_pt_2).

When considering the specific nature of public administrations, it becomes essential to comprehend how institutions can change. By taking into account the two structural elements composing public organizations – the technical and the political expertise – psychosociologists cannot help but rely on some convergence between the two parts (Brunod, 2007). The professional action must take into account the whole governing system, when focused on one specific part. Petit and Dubois (1998) have considered the institutional power in terms of equilibrium: "[l]e *pouvoir de l'État, en envahissant non seulement les organisations, mais encore tous les secteurs de la vie sociale, divise les membres de la société*" (*ibidem*: 94, tr_fr_5). By understanding the very complex role played by public administrations, we are compelled as scientists to tackle their analysis with very careful and attentive methodologies. By approaching the construction of organizational cultures, we are likely to make a first exploratory step to grasp contextual features. Along this line, Carli, Paniccia and Lancia (1988) have specifically considered the "legitimization" of the organizational members' roles in connection with their sense of belonging and the connection between expert and inexpert actors. As for this action research, such an observation implies considering civil servants linked to both politicians and "inexpert" social actors within the context of public administration. In this sense we

will review in the next Chapter the ways organizational studies have dealt with perspectives of analysis on cultures, in order to increasingly specify the complex framework and content of this work in the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter II - The organizational cultures of public administrations

1. Outline

Organizations are inherently and necessarily complex systems. Thompson (1967) stresses how both "rational" approaches – oriented to define control systems and regular performances – and "natural" approaches, have grounded their reflections on the subject of organizations rather than on processes[22]. Questions related to inner rationality, boundaries of action, as well as the influences of contingent situations and environments gradually contributed to a break in the trend for universal and monolithic explanations, in the second half of the XX century. The definition of organizational and individual objectives, the articulation of roles and functions, the expression of diverse forms of power, inform the margins of actions and organizational capacities. In this sense, approaches to organizational studies have more and more, over time, taken into consideration the very processes structuring and culturally characterizing organizations. Such a perspective has also led to public administrations and policymaking processes where a wide variety of actors are alternatively included and excluded, invited and left outside, formally and informally involved, in order to foster good governance. These complex dynamics brought about by the role of political and administrative systems, in terms of the exercising of power, and from the cultural point of view, compel us to consider the reciprocal effect on such systems. As Dahl and Lindblom (1953) also put it, shaping administrations involves shaping administrators themselves. Rule followers, competitive actors, cooperative personalities are some of the options that raise questions about organizational "malleability" and the real possibility of transforming public administration into sites for new learning.

Change, again, seems to be at the very heart of the question. How is it possible to change public institutions, taking into account their organizational nature and political commitment? Is it a matter of norms and roles or does it rather imply also cultural dimensions? And what can we mean by culture when dealing with public administrations?

---

[22] "Natural" approaches have especially characterized 1970s North American and European scientific literature. In USA, relevance was given to the perspective of individuals creating organizations, whilst in Europe several schools concentrated on organizations as systems of roles and power. In opposition to the functionalist vision on consensual automatisms, social actors are inserted into specific organizational processes.

We can see that public organizational change inevitably raises questions concerned with legitimization and the adherence between normative structures and the commitment of collective members (Merton, 1938). As institutional analysts have emphasized, it is necessary to see the ways members incorporate rules and roles as a matter of identity. Rules may be followed because they are seen as natural, rightful, expected and legitimated. Notwithstanding this, it does not imply a necessary shock with the chances of change: rapid and costless adaptation to functional and normative environments may lead to functional or moral necessity to observe structures and rules (March and Olsen 1989a, 1989b, 1995). As a matter of fact we are thus required to match our reflections with the proper complex nature of public administrations, by maintaining the attention on the basic structural/cultural architecture of all organizational systems.

2. Organizations: structures and subjects

The Classical school of thought has been connected with the success of the management school of thought, responding to the diffusion of big industrial corporations and the financial capital needs of anonymous companies in the XIX century. Managers, in a different way from owners, were to be experts accounting to organizational shareholders. At the same time, workers' corporations and labor unions were organizing "interest groups" concerned with mass production. Rationality of organizations became a central issue for scientific debate and three scholars are considered as milestone representatives of this time: Taylor, Fayol and Weber.

Taylor (1923) bases his reflections on the capacity of the labor rationalization of micro-context: the "one-best-way" promotes using less to reach more. By both maximizing profit and decreasing costs, organizations should adhere to owners' desires. Rationality refers to the achievement of goals (instrumental rationality) and towards this aim it is necessary to check individual skills and intrinsic lazy nature. Workers are seen as elements of a whole workforce executing what planners decide they should do. Fayol (1918), together with Mooney and Urwick, has conceived management as one of multiple organizational functions: technical; commercial; financial; security; accountability. Management must plan, organize, rule, coordinate and control. Bureaucracy may fit with managerial ideas since it includes the possibility to organize work into departments

managed by supervisors who, in turn, depend on top managers. The responsibility of the workers is conceptualized as narrow because of the delegating process within a top/down hierarchy. As regards the Weber's theoretic model (1947, 1978), it is focused on the formal organizational relationships. The ideal type of "bureaucracy", a concept already existing in the XVIII Century, and possibly concerning both mass democracies and capitalistic economies of that time, highlights the connection between standard routines and leadership. From the definition of three forms of power grounding social leaderships – charismatic, traditional and rational-legal – bureaucracy assumes the latter, in order to define the roles, functions, rights and duties of organizational members. As a result, the author stresses the principal bureaucracy features as: rules and procedures; formal and impersonal behavior; technical skills; and separation between individuals' interests and the organization's mission. Several scholars have coped with the reformulation of Weber bureaucratic principles by taking into account multiple factors conflicting between model and realities.

Selznick (1957, 1984) considers the connection between an internal need for stability and simultaneous external pressures of change as a source of stress for public organizations. Organizational basic needs of preservation are: stable frontiers; authority and informal relationships; continuous internal policy; and homogeneous organizational image. The growth of highly skilled workers is intertwined with this basic question because "new experts" were seen as a possible source of more conflicts between personal aims and organizational goals. On the one hand organizational predictability can be worked through formalization and standardization; on the other hand control procedures are likely to make experts unable to adapt to changing environments, finally generating unintended consequences. In order to permit organizational change in accordance with the working environment and preserve its power, individual initiatives may impose their leadership. As a result, the organization is likely to turn into a proper "institution", overtaking instrumental identities (i.e. technical services provision). Co-optative forms of responsibility power sharing, through both formal and informal dynamics, are likely to prevent threats to organizational status quo, potentially stemming from either internal or external groups. Formal co-optation is conceived as a form of enlarging top-level legitimacy by engaging the "base" without an actual transfer of power, e.g. through consultative initiatives. Informal co-optation rather represents the negotiation of the

organizational purposes with new inserted decision makers. In a similar vein, Gouldner (1959) distinguishes bureaucracies based on expertise, from bureaucracies based on discipline, stressing then the new potential impacts of professionalization within organizational systems. The use of impersonal rules as mechanisms of control tells us about the minimum acceptable behavior which, together with low internalization of rules, could end up reducing workers' commitment. On recognizing the existence of impersonal rules co-existing to formal ones, the best functional solution is not always feasible by political and cultural actors, and vice versa. As Merton (1938) puts it, the outcome of bureaucracy cannot help but be a professionalized incapacity to adapt to a working environment, with regards to organizations as well as social contexts. Sainsaulieu (1987), in reviewing Weber's bureaucratic ideal type, rearticulates the threefold conception of power. According to the author there are five typologies of authority: (1) hierarchy relying on the professional skills of others; (2) proximity demanding definition of abilities and functions; (3) break-up between top and bottom, possibly due to management incapacity or ineffective employee recruitment; (4) multiple break-ups in the line of hierarchy due to either excessive labor division or to organizational faults; (5) experimental changes by both carrying on projects and sustaining groups.

Several scholars have conversely emphasized the instrumental value of rational principles. Olsen (2005) stresses how the term bureaucracy, in signifying an organizational setting of "bureaus", includes professional and full-time administrative staff with lifelong employment. Bureaucracy represents the organizational and normative structure where government is founded on authority, implying therefore the belief in a legitimate, rational-legal political order delegated to enforce State legal order through rule-bound, hierarchical relations between: (1) citizens and elected representatives; (2) democratic legislation and administration; (3) within administration; (4) and between administration and citizens as subjects (as well as authors) of law. In managing this complex, intertwined network, public institutions must:

> […] *clarify how malleable administrative organization and practices, mentalities, cultures, and codes of conduct are and what the conditions are under which administrative forms can be deliberately designed and reformed; and second, to balance stability and flexibility* (*ibidem*: 12).

In this sense, the author argues that attacks toward the inefficiencies of bureaucracy have often overlapped critical analyses with generalized criticism concerning the proper role of public administration. The point seems to be rather that public administrations are currently designed to both speed up and slow down learning from experience, so as to be adaptable to new environments (see also: Rockman, 1998).

In contrast to Classical schools of thought, organizations have also been considered as social systems sustained by informal relationships. During the first decades of the XX century, the North American context was affected by widespread social conflicts due to the introduction of mass production systems and the overpopulation of urban spaces. The school of human relations in the 1940s sought to interpret that complex scenario by referring to some contributions coming from the psychology of work, as well as by the experiences of group analysis[23]. Organizations result from the continuous social interactions of the basic psychosocial motivation of recognizing and being recognized by the others. By emphasizing the cooperative dimension and the importance of incentives as devices for worker satisfaction, social claims could not be reduced into narrow rational rules. Barnard (1938) analyzes the connection between individual and organization through the triad: (1) property; (2) management; (3) organizational member; and breaks with the linear idea of a direct relation between owner and dependent. Organizations could either achieve their purposes accomplishing the principle of effectiveness, or put the resources in use and possibly bring about determined aims in line with the principle of efficiency. Cooperation is conceived as the way to improve the personal contributions of the organizational members who can be motivated through either material or moral incentives, in order to have an impact on both solvency and management legitimacy. Mayo (1949) notices the capability of leadership to mobilize workers around plans without damaging integrative policies concerning the satisfaction of their emotional needs. The author proved that the link between increasing productivity and the introduction of better conditions of work is related to group cohesion and to the degree of integration between individuals and their informal and formal groups (which are not supposed to coincide necessarily), at the

---

[23] On giving emphasis to informal relations, some criticism has regarded the potential functionalist "drift". Whether the issue is referred to workers' satisfaction, it could lead to the conceiving of top/down strategies aimed at duping workers and simultaneously withdrawing the political character of their claims. In a similar way, "cultural analyses" have also been objects of skeptical considerations concerning the instrumental use when emphasizing dimensions of coherence, passive adaptation and top level conditioning to the detriment of members' active role and then visions of change (Crozier and Friedberg, 1981).

Hawthorne industry between 1927 and 1932. The school of Palo Alto has contributed to communication as an interactive process constituting symbolic communities. The strict relationship between communication and organization is based on the continuous interaction permitting an exchange of ideas and values, shared interpretations and visions of the context, likewise affirmed by "network studies". Goffman (1988) indicates the existence of informal strategies carried out by organizational members involves considering organizations as systems wherein social connections hold an everlasting implicit dimension influencing formal situations. The author has been one of the most important scholars to contribute to microsociological analyses of ordinary human behavior, pointing out its "dramaturgical" features, i.e. techniques addressed to control interacting identities and the impressions to be put in scene. Human interactions are based on an operative agreement, a set of rules aimed at assuring the feeling of reality during the performance of daily routines, and simultaneously ensuring the privacy of the "backstage" (*ibidem*). As a result, organizational members act in accordance with either implicit or explicit scripts, at both individual and group levels, and are likely to sort two different ways of adaptation out: primary behaviors responding to official demands; and secondary behaviors escaping from the role imposed by organization through a sub-adaptation[24].

3. Organizations: systems and environments

Organizations have also been conceived as open systems. Some branches of social sciences have approached social systems by taking inspiration from Ludwig Von Bertalanffy (1950) studies developed in the 1930s, concerning natural systems as sets of interacting elements[25]. Postulating permeable boundaries crossed by transforming fluxes of information and feedbacks, open systems were conceived as characterized by a general homeostatic character addressed to remain stable and, as a matter of fact, closed systems are likely to be exposed to gradual deterioration and disorganization. Every element depends on the other, and the whole system is often organized into subsystems in

---

[24] Petit and Duboise (1998) similarly argue that adaptive forms "*peuvent augmenter les adaptations rapides aux changements en compensant l'insuffisance des structures formelles ou contribuer aussi à créer des cohésions ou des antagonismes à partir de faisceaux de relations fondés sur des valeurs multiples (disponibilité, coopération, cordialité, contrainte, …)*" (*ibidem*: 23, tr_fr_6).
[25] Four basic principles: (1) totality is more than the addition of the elements; (2) interactions are reciprocal and asymmetric; (3) organization implies holding specific characteristics; (4) environment surrounds and interacts with the system and vice versa.

accordance with its own complexity, as well as in response to the demands of the context. The relationship between organization and environments becomes a lively field of scientific reflection, as testified by the number of scholars concerned with the impact of contingent environmental conditions' analysis. Managing an organization involves interpreting the inside as well as the outside of organizations, and then the tense interaction between external forces and internal processes. On deepening the characteristic of uncertainty, Burns and Stalker (1961) argue that every organization makes sense and works in compliance with the ways it manages to "fit" within the environment. Hall (1972) distinguishes the external context – features potentially influencing the organizations – by the specific element – individuals and organizations influencing specific organizations, stakeholders, clients, workers, and so on. Katz and Kahn (1966) specifically focus on the processes of transformation from input to output in connection with feedbacks coming from the context, as well as on the quality of products/services delivered in accordance with overall organizational missions. Woorward (1958) focuses on the role of technology, pointing out the costs for organizations not adequately provided with technological equipment, likely implying a productivity decrease.

Mintzberg (1987) approaches environmental contingences by setting out five organizational key elements: (1) operative centre; (2) strategic top; (3) hierarchical line; (4) techno-structure (work analysis, planning and control of activities and human resources); (5) logistical sustainment. The author discusses the coordinating mechanisms (supervision, standardization of procedures, outcomes and qualifications, mutual adjustment) entailing different divisions of the labor. On the one hand, it is possible to arrange either hierarchical-vertical or diversity-horizontal hierarchies, formalization, training and socialization. On the other, the whole organization conceives group criteria in accordance with functions, clients, products and placement; as well as dimensions of organizational unity. Environmental connections can rely either on planning/control or on reciprocal adjustment with respect to factors of contingency such as organizational age and scope, the type of technical system (regulator, bureaucratic or formal one), stability or dynamicity, complicity or complexity, diversity and power distribution of the environment. As a result, the author proposes five typologies of organizational configuration: (1) simple structure; (2) mechanical bureaucracy (formalization of the operative centre and procedures' standardization, complex administrative structure, distinction between managers and

workers and a simple and stable context), (3) professional bureaucracy (the operative centre is the key element, proximity with the client, grouping based on functions and financial market and decentralization), (4) structure based on divisions (compliance with the financial market, global decentralization, each division holds centralized power and carries on formalization of its members), (5) adhocracy (horizontal specialization based on training, small project units, specialists training multidisciplinary units and complex and dynamic context).

4. Organizations: rationalities and strategies

Simon (1960) considers organizational structures as both restricting and resourceful factors in terms of decision-making. Decision is understood as entailing every human action, so that the necessity of types of rationality sustaining thinking processes is seen as crucial. By focusing on the cognitive aspect of decision-making, the author points out the incapacity for human beings to sustain a model of absolute rationality: it is through cooperative interaction that organizational purposes come to be defined, but unlike Barnard (1938), solvency is not the explanation: members look for satisfactory solutions, rather than the best ones. A form of "bounded rationality" is considered to govern organizational processes, in terms of selective perception of reality and communication[26]. Problem-solving through decision-making represents a key factor for successful organizations since it can be planned into procedures aimed at "absorbing" uncertainty. In this respect, Gigerenzer and Goldstein (1996) propose substituting traditional understanding of rationality with plausible criteria that the human mind is capable of using in scenarios of limited information. Rapid inferences elaborate small averages of information and the authors define them as "fast and frugal heuristics"[27]. Searching for the most satisfying solutions implies a continuous process of learning that is likely to allow members to adopt the "best" strategies to reach their own interests. Learning is strictly dependent on experience rather than on cost-benefit analyses, i.e. it has to be studied as a process of

---

[26] Such a notion allows the analysis to accept that actors have vague and incomplete images of objectives. While this makes the rational model more realistic, it seems to consequently compel the analysis of specific contexts needing different and well-grounded theories on social construction of rationality.

[27] It seems to some extent supplying principles like the Ockham's razor (the simplest of two or more competing theories is the most preferable; explanation concerning unknown phenomena should first be attempted in terms of what is already known); the "optimus ignorance" (find out as much as you need to know now); and the "appropriate imprecision" (there is no need to know everything exactly) (see also: Weick, 1997).

problem solving. In this sense, groups are meant as social constructions, functioning to integrate different strategies and orientations of members, as well as to regulate their own behaviors and interactions.

Cyert and March (1963) argue that the principal organizational phenomenon is the formation of coalitions. Groups constantly negotiate their own goals and strategies in order to influence other groups. Negotiation creates either implicit or explicit agreements about goals and roles according to power held by the parts. In this respect, Chambel and Curral (2000) state:

> [*o*] *poder que os indivíduos e grupos possuem è a principal força motora de uma coalizão. Sem poder não há negociação, pelo que todos os elementos de uma organização têm algum poder* (*ibidem*: 192, tr_pt_3).

Generating and exercising control entails different strategies: formal authority, control of resources, control of rules, control of information, control of borders, alliance making and so on. It is with the contribution of Crozier (1997) that questions concerning strategies of problem solving gain a well-grounded legitimization in the field of organizational studies. Strategy is understood as the concrete chance to access resources, tools and power: individuals' possibilities and abilities are inseparable from the very context where they come to be played. When considering rationality of decision-making, the author argues for the necessity to consider the actor within the system by overtaking the "rationality of the system" in order to analyze the "rationality of the actor". In Crozier and Friedberg's view (1981), social relationships cannot help but be strategic in terms of power, and groups and organizations must be understood as political and cultural outcomes. Systems of action and strategies inform the rules of the game governing social relationships and rely on different typologies of rationality contingently instituted and developed. For this reason, it is necessary to understand what kind of rationality is played by an organization and what type of relationship it has with internal micro-cultures. Such an understanding is likely to allow the interpretation of multiple organizational games and conflicts: "[*l*]*a lutte, la plupart du temps, ne consiste pas tellement dans une discussion ouverte des coûts et avantages, c'est une lutte sur la définition du problème, c'est-à-dire sur la rationalité qui s'appliquera*" (*ibidem*: 364, tr_fr_7). Since there is no absolute rationality, and neither *a priori* nor *a posteriori* rationality, the purpose is to understand the "rationalities" by analyzing concrete systems of action, i.e. the relationship between rationalities, group strategies, structure,

systems of power and internal norms[28]. Problems correspond to the ways decision-makers, micro-cultures and actors both interpret and shape them through cultural learning. Hence, there is neither determinism nor absolute conditioning in public administrations, but rather routines structured with specific tasks throughout lifelong employment. While exploiting "zones of uncertainty", organizational members are also likely to tackle four types of "vicious circles": (1) impersonal regulation causing people isolation; (2) centralizing decision power; (3) stratification of individuals into homogeneous groups; (4) parallel powers creating zones of uncertainty.

In this respect, the political worth of organizations assumes certain relevance when dealing with public administrations. Policies are inherently embedded within systems of action, constituting the whole strategy of governing systems as specific actions (and their "micro-cultures"). In making decisions, governing systems actually enroot policies according to certain conceptions of the problem and consequently enact and keep certain processes under control. Hence, it is crucial that policy analysis deals with the definition of the problems to be solved through policies. On this subject, Pagés *et al.* (1998) point out the need for historical framing: the "hypermodern" system based on the capitalistic development holds a twofold goal: to both favor local adaptations and prevent conflicts, by providing local autonomies (see also: Falanga and Antonini, 2013). "*L'efficace des structures de pouvoir réside dans cette action d'ajustement des différents éléments en présence, de mise en relation mais aussi de séparation constante.*" (Pagés *et al.*,1998: 72, tr_fr_8). The control of the rules represents the phase of intervention on the "empty" spaces, in order to adjust internal contradictions (see also: Olivetti Manoukian, 2007). Power does not "merely" go from top to bottom levels, but rather articulates both the bottom and intermediary levels of public administrations for any political initiative passing through these levels.

---

[28] The vision of the authors is positioned critically towards both the conception of *a priori* (synoptic model) and *a posteriori* rationality (Lindblom, 1965). The latter entails the justification for managers to confuse goals and instruments and then relies on this "riskless" rationality. The mutual adjustment of initial ambiguous and even contradictory objectives implies gradual agreement stemming from action. Notwithstanding in most cases *a posteriori* rationality serves editing *a priori* rationality's errors and at the same time the latter is indispensable to order confusion. As a result both models of rationality are too abstract and sources of vicious circles.

5. Organizations: cultures and symbols

From the 1970s onwards, the attention paid to organizational cultures is likely to be related to increasing discontent with "hard approaches" in organizational studies, as well as with general trend of the enterprises to pass from forms of control based on "bureaucratic" logic, to instruments based on the internalization of values and objectives (Bonazzi, 2002; Morgan, 2006). Thus, while important studies focusing on the cultural traits of successful enterprises started to be carried out – mainly between Japan and USA – diffused research for new integrated interpretive models was compelling social sciences[29]. Frost *et al.* (1985) propose three sets of problems concerning cultural perspective: (1) economic difficulties, productivity decline and competition problems with corporations: culture is singled out as a possible tool for achieving better performance; (2) social forces leading to a growing tendency for people to want more from work than simply a paycheck as the quality of work became more important; (3) widespread dissatisfaction with "structural" knowledge produced by standard organization theories: mere quantitative approaches were seen as inappropriate and accused of having produced superficial and irrelevant results[30]. In this respect, Alvesson (1990) advises to be skeptical with regards to such an "explosion," and rather, relates the cultural studies' expansion to market rules in terms of sellers/producers of theories (researchers and consultants), customers (managers), and products (knowledge codified into books, courses and consultancy services). The message of culture as a key dimension for collective behavior reading has persuaded those managers with ambitions and duties of controlling organizational life especially. The idea that managers do not know what is going on "below the surface", and that another field of powerful leadership exists as a form of "symbolic management", has made the message particularly appealing to both managers and those academics interested in suiting, in some cases, their interests. In this respect, the author stresses the predominance of a "corporate culture" instrumentally focusing on the extreme behavior-governing force of the "culture".

---

[29] It was especially the idea of quality that allowed Japanese philosophy on management to interact with western theories. The control on the product used to be specialized and distinguished from the whole process, fostering the idea of low quality products liable of strict control. Japanese philosophy points out the control on the process and remarks on the passage from mechanical philosophy to social innovation (Ouchi, 1981).

[30] In 1979 an issue of the Journal "Administrative Science Quarterly" dedicated to qualitative research on organizations stared up a general trend on cultural studies challenging dominant economic views in the field of organizational studies. Important research realities have been constituted around this area, such as the European Group of Organization Studies, from which the Standing Conference on Organizational Symbolism has increasingly gained importance in Europe and USA and between 1980s and 1990s, cultural approaches on organizations have definitely gained a principal role in social sciences.

It might be argued that the present preoccupation with corporate culture and similar subjects can be seen as a result of a general trend towards cultural fragmentation and social disintegration, affecting, among other things, people's work moral and relationship to authorities and their general compliance in organizations (*ibidem*: 44).

Key importance is placed on the relationship and distinction between cultural and symbolist, as demonstrated by the vivacious debates concerning mainly North American and Scandinavian new-institutionalist schools from the end of 1970s on. By approaching formal structures as rational symbols, scholars have focused on different aspects of public organizations, such as planning procedures; decision-making processes and rituals; symbolic functions of organizational reforms (March and Olsen 1989b; Brunsson, 1990; Brunsson and Olsen 1993). Alvesson (1993) considers symbolism as not properly focused on the culture and rather on the ambiguous connection between symbols and their content. In line with this, Morgan (2006) has made a profound use of symbolic significances of rational aspects by means of organizational "metaphor". In this sense, by understanding organizations as shared systems of meanings, metaphors not only represent something else to be known, but they also structure organizational actions. As a result, networks of people shaping and signifying their actions need to look attentively at the way they use organizational procedures, rationalize choices, as well as make sense of what they do. The ways in which people are either demanded or willed to act in order to organize their lives, as well as to cope with transformative environments, do not necessarily coincide with the theories-in-use (Argyris and Schön, 1974, 1978). In other words, there is always a potential contradiction between the symbolical understanding of the reality and the ways reality itself is played and displayed (see also: Olivetti Manoukian, 2007).

Weick (1997) is considered one of the most important scholars concerned with the study of symbolical processes. Culture is meant as both a frame and content of social actors' lifestyles that constantly manipulate the multiple symbols surrounding their environment. In interpreting different codes and signifying their context, actors actually enact their life. At the same time, they cannot help but construct ambiguous definitions of reality, from the very overwhelming gap existing between "words" and "things" of the world. The author proposes the concept of "sensemaking" as a process especially evident when the working environment looks fairly "implausible" or new "objects" get into

ordinary life. Uncertain situations make the managers realize the worth of defining problems as a key task for their professions and a mission for organizations (see also: Schön, 1983)[31]. Thus, when retrospective vision opens the confrontation with previous life experiences, actors are enabled to make sense of reality. In these terms, every discussion will first develop the meanings of previous discussions and, most importantly, will be essentially addressed to make sense of the current talk. As a result, decision-making is a process, not properly a single action or an output. The definition of a problem means the presence of an absence to be filled and the absence itself is something defined by individuals and not existing on its own. Moreover, since reasoning does not anticipate decision-making, outcomes precede decisions themselves in order to justify specific actions and so legitimize a "story" by means of actors' narrations. As the author puts it:

> [...] *la formula concerne la giustificazione (i miei pensieri giustificano le parole che ho detto in precedenza), la scelta (scelgo quali parole focalizzare e quali pensieri le spiegheranno), il sensemaking retrospettivo (prendo in considerazione quello che ho detto in un momento successivo nel tempo, quando il discorso si é fermato), le discrepanze (sento il bisogno di vedere che cosa dico quando qualche cosa non ha senso), la costruzione sociale della giustificazione (chiamo in causa quei pensieri che la mia socializzazione mi fa etichettare come accettabili) e l'azione come occasione che genera sensemaking (il mio atto di parlare da inizio al processo di sensemaking)* (Weick, 1997: 12, tr_it_6).

In summary, the author defines seven key characteristics of sensemaking: (1) identity construction through storytelling: by experiencing feedback coming from the outside, organizations continuously signify the working environment and their own identities; (2) retrospective process: current reality represents a sort of "visionary moment" anticipating intellectualization and the claims of ambiguous situations for clear values and priorities; (3) enactive function of made-sense environments as active subjects of social relationships:

---

[31] Ambiguity has been diversely defined with respect to the area of concern, though it generally refers to a lack of clarity and high complexity, allowing the legitimization of different explications (Levine, 1985; March, 1994). Weick (1997) stresses the difference between ambiguity and uncertainty in these terms: uncertainty needs more information not really debate, what on the contrary, is needed in ambiguous situations. As a result, uncertainty does not have to do only with "suspicious" answers, but also with suspicious questions, i.e. with problem setting and so with current actions and future perspectives (see also: Burns and Stalker, 1961).
Likewise, Pellizzoni (2005) distinguishes ambiguity (lack of clear definition) from uncertainty (ignorance about probabilities something is likely to happen); furthermore the author distinguishes: ignorance (lack of data); open-endedness (lack of control over all the variables); complexity (non-linear interaction among variables); discordance (divergence about data definitions, selection or interpretation).

the interruption of the continuous experience flux permits the creation of expected contexts; (4) social decision-making as a reciprocal and contingent influence among individuals: sharing meanings is not the essential task of collective actions, but rather the collective experience represents the object of sharing (see also: Carli and Paniccia, 2003; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992); (5) continuity of fluxes of experiences which, once interrupted, generate emotions (see: Kats and Kahn, 1966) and reveal the worth of sensemaking[32]; (6) centered on and deriving from selected information: framing and reframing carry symbolical and pragmatic meanings, evident when conflicting interpretations end up being solved through "self-fulfilling prophecies"; (7) Plausibility and not carefulness should guide organizational agency because there is no reality out there: what makes sense is not always sensitive and consequently, carefulness is not that necessary, whereas plausibility fits better with imperfect reality and information. By connecting values and actions into unities of significance, the aim of sensemaking is the creation of good story-processing and gathering elements. Members' stories generate the organizational history. In these terms, internal reunions and meetings are extremely important because they are the places where members more palpably make sense of their experiences and definitely "construct" organizations (see also: Schwartzman, 1989). Reunions are organizing processes that imply setting up procedures through which participants can interpret members' behaviors and identities. Organizations represent nothing but places where a continuous game of reconciliation between habits and actions is carried out (see also: Bourdieu, 1997). Organizational members create their own boundaries in order to benefit from sensemaking, but at the same time they seldom manage to perceive the boundaries because they are too strictly dependent on their theories in action. As a result, members do not always acknowledge their own behavior and its impact. For example, innovation could end up representing a new form of control.[33]

---

[32] The author distinguishes between "standardized" and recent fluxes: the first are more affected by interruptions whereas the latter hold weaker social connections. Intensive but short-term relationships have higher probabilities of experiencing unexpected interruptions because members do not know each other. Organizational life can generate a strong emotional life and in order to cope with changing environments, people should increase their autonomy so as to experience sensemaking.

[33] There exists an intrinsic difference between the normative course of action and cultural embedding. For instance, according to Crozier and Friedberg (1981) a rigid structure managing turbulent environment could commit the whole organization to develop new capacities possibly ending up reinforcing automatic strategies. As a result, the authors suggest considering collective capacity as both addressed to objective problem solving and cognitive resistance toward new learning. As a matter of fact, it is the set of reasons and motivations to learn the key factors to be analyzed, rather than the learning *per se*. "*Cependant, que que soit le sens dans lequele ils emploient les règles et les zones d'incertitude artificielles qu'elles créent, les*

Therefore, strategies aimed at tackling transformations entail either conscious or implicit intention, and the subsequent degree of commitment, to re-establish a certain order or establish changes. Weaker commitments are likely to make adaptation easier for an organization, while stronger commitments are likely to make an environment more susceptible to adaptation by organizations. As the author states:

> [*s*]*e una persona non prende decisioni, avrà soltanto un senso molto vago di chi è come persona. lo stesso vale per le organizzazioni. Un'organizzazione che non prende decisioni è una non-organizzazione: è disorganizzata* (Weick, 1997: 174, tr_it_7).

6. Organizational cultures: toward a psychosociological approach to public administrations

The idea that culture represents the integrated set of values, norms and perceptions of the context derives from anthropology, whereas the conception of subsystems articulated into a general cultural set is influenced by psychosocial studies. In the organizational studies' field, some scholars have identified approaches that consider culture as produced by all the individuals (including both the mentioned perspectives) and approaches emphasizing the role of managers[34]. By taking a brief look at some of the primary historical approaches, American anthropological studies have generally focused on the analysis of the relationship between personality and culture, to some extent in contrast with Freudian theory concerning instinctual forces. Mead (1928) focused on the process of "enculturation", considering personality as a product of educative processes in compliance with cultural principles. Nonetheless, cultural learning is not deterministically conditioned since systems of social cognition are "used" by individuals who, in turn, can change them. Benedict (1961) has proposed the concept of "cultural patterns" characterized by general orientations and meaning selections. Since they come to be configured together, they give shape to the "culture" which offers unconscious schemes to individuals. As a result:

---

individus ou groupes tendront toujours à prendre appui sur celles-là dans leur action, et, ce faisant, vont se perpétuer, voire en accentuer l'emprise en tant que régulateur essentiel de leurs interactions." (*ibidem*: 221, tr_fr_9).

[34] Psychosociology has largely debated the organizational twofold dimension concerning "emotions" and "operations" (Fleishman and Harris, 1962; Levy-Leboyer, 1974). As a result, leadership has been configured in strict relation with the analysis of the context and some scholars have consequently emphasized possible general characteristics of management as autocratic, laisser-faire, intermediating, integrating, or social (Blake and Mouton, 1969).

[…] the life-history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth, the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs are his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities (*ibidem*: 2).

Structural anthropology, based on Claude Lévi-Strauss' theories (1958), assumes the existence of universal cultures defining symbolic systems – language, wedding rules, economical links, art, science and religion – which inform the physical and social realms (see also: Fabian, 2002). With regards to sociological contributions, the school of Chicago has proposed the "symbolic interactionism" approach by George Herbert Mead (1934), focused on common symbols found in societies. The structural-functionalist Parsons (1961) has considered culture as constituted by structured systems of ordinate symbols orienting society. Culture is the subsystem of a general system, which combines "social action" and "structure" in a comprehensive theory about the relationship between cultural components, interiorized by individuals and institutionalized models of society. It is from the 1970s onwards, that organizational studies considering organizations as cultural and political arenas start to define a specific scientific field. The impracticality of conceiving any absolute rationality, as well as any *a priori* explanation without analyzing the relationship between members and their context; the contributions of the school of Human Relations approach; and the diffusion of Organizational Development methods devoted to counselling and training, have all played a crucial role in organizational studies.

When psychosociology approaches organizational cultures, it makes a much-needed reference to a wide background of studies in social sciences. To grasp the cultural nuances revealed through organizational agencies involves considering the processes of social construction that enroot and provide different types and levels of legitimization to members' actions. Understanding the construction of specific and contingent rationalities implies considering their "status" of collective, shared symbolical instances enacting both explicit and implicit rules of the "game". Social relationships cope incessantly with the rules of sorting out either agreements or contradictions that can, in turn, reinforce organizational "basic assumptions". In this respect, Schein (2000) outlines three composing elements: (1) basic shared assumptions, (2) explicit values and (3) artifacts. Culture has the function to both adapt organization to environment and strengthen internal

integration. The role of the psychologist when interacting with organizational environments is intrinsically embedded with the function described by the author.

> *La cultura, in quanto tale, non è direttamente osservabile: è infatti meglio concepirla come quell'insieme di ipotesi fondamentali e inconsce che si danno per scontate e che si sono evolute nel tempo per risolvere le varie questioni interne ed esterne che il gruppo ha dovuto fronteggiare. Ma la cultura verrà riflessa nel comportamento aperto che è visibile e che può essere analizzato tramite un processo congiunto di ricerca fra il consulente e i membri interni del gruppo* (idem, 1992: 40-41, tr_it_8).

The French school of psychosociology interestingly, has fostered a dialogue with clinical sociology that aims to frame psychological agency within the current context of tremendous division in *"societas"*, resulting in reverence for excellent performances; transformation of citizen into consumer; reduction of long-term planning; uncertainty; money seduction; social persuasion and instrumentalization. The loss of *"universitas"* has made multiple and empty ethics proliferate so as to make people dream without demanding and arguing. As a consequence, people become isolated and objects of mass communication who experience omnipotent and impotent feelings all at once (Enriquez, 2008)[35]. In this scenario, the pattern of organizational authority is principally oriented to vanishing collective investment because the leader is the self-centered and narcissistic individual that uses the "mask of authority" in order to promote the cult of the person. The increasing anomy and individualization of western societies is reflected in the breach of dialogue between citizens and public institutions. People end up experiencing themselves as strangers and having a sort of double social personality (Barel, 1984; Pagés *et al.*, 1998). The emphasis on technical skills and the destruction of professional vocation are the counterpart of job insecurity and fragmentation of systems of belonging (Sainsaulieu, 1988)[36]. The author argues that:

---

[35] The author (*ibidem*) explains that the Athenian polis used to gather "universitas" and "societas" through providing "isonomia" (right of speech) and "isegoria" (right to be heard). Contemporary "societas" is likely to leave individuals isolated, and see them as mere "subjects" with neither sense of belonging to communities, nor responsibility as citizens.

[36] Perpetual mobility could prevent the crystallization of interests and, as a result, prevent the constitution of stable work social links, as much as to join common needs and expectations toward collective claims. In this sense, mobility is likely to correspond to dynamics of personnel's interchangeability, turning "change" into a strategic policy presented as a value to be accomplished. As regards public administration, this is a relevant factor since a lifelong career does not only represent a "material good" but also a symbolic one, and often a principal value expressing the organized and consolidated sacredness of the job (Bolognini, 1986). In the

> [*p*]*uisque le secteur central de l'expérience technicienne est celui du changement integral, il faut introduire une nouvelle représentation de la culture afin de mieux évoquer le sens de cette expérience. Puisqu'il y a mouvement, pourquoi ne pas considérer que la mobilité puisse développer ses conséquences hors d'un espace à deux dimensions dont les processus d'évolution sont ceux du départ d'un milieu social pour atteindre la réintegration dans un autre milieu social, lui-meme défini par référence au primier?*(*ibidem*: 197, tr_fr_10).

In this sense, as the forms of power change, the way people access power also shows the impact. The role of social sciences in critically highlighting sources of people domination shifts the question from power *per se,* towards boundaries and new social opportunities. De Gaulejac (2005; *et al.* 1995) states that capitalism has been simultaneously imposing and justifying people suffering, finally generating social angst. Power is dislocated, de-territorialized and often unrecognizable to the eyes. What looks like the loss of centers of power, causes irresponsibility and refusal of social norms as a new organization of power. The fragmentation of social relationships and the massive investment of money subjugate people. New devices are used in order to legitimize "rational ideologies" demanding public institutions' analyses to shift from questions concerning abstract change to questions assuming social exclusion.

> *Alors que la société semble prête à imploser du fait de l'exclusion d'un nombre de plus en plus élevé de personnes, il est temps de redéfinir des formes d'intervention des institutions sur les territoires en crise, afin de réduire le décalage entre la demande sociale et les réponses institutionelles* (de Gaulejac *et al*., 1995: 11, tr_fr_11).

As a result, political institutions have inverted the connection between demand and supply because the interpretation of the social demand is constrained within a technical language that makes the result strictly dependent on what it is possible to do.

Social sciences have become increasingly interested in the role of bureaucratic systems and the plurality of "rationalities" within them that govern actions and behaviors. Such an effort has often implied considering public administrations as entities depending on political decisions and on quasi-autonomous organizing devices. Furthermore, as claimed

---

context of external technicians and agencies contracted for short periods, outsourcing policies, in compliance with labor fluidity's principles and job mobility, can also be read as "destructive", when conceived as a substitution of an "old" with a "new" system, by ideologically resetting to zero. It can also be considered "constructive" when addressed to multiply the resources within public administration.

by clinical sociology, public institutions' identities cannot be understood without taking into account social characteristics. Social and institutional identities are constructed through interaction, resulting in the establishment of devices and channels aimed at making respective interlocutors communicate[37]. This being said, it is not convenient to split the objects of analysis without taking into consideration the ways they are immerged in a network of various and diverse connections. Furthermore, public administrations are complex organizations coping with both standard procedures and missions of change and consequently, are placed in an exclusive space of intertwining instances, interests and powers. New agencies and actors advocate for more effective political actions and towards this aim, more and more governing systems have adopted innovative mechanisms. As a result, the analysis of public institutions cannot underestimate the profound impact of transformative dynamics at the cultural level. Innovation through both political and administrative devices generally starts from political will and entails technical skills. As a matter of fact, innovation requires us to see the symbolic worth of change analyzed. To what extents are innovative processes planned as "isolated" devices, and to what extent are they conceived rather as structural reforms, or starting point for those? To what degree is it possible to either plan the impact of such devices or assess their effect? When reform is understood as set of processes aiming to develop the institution, short-term reforms seldom represent intentions of more general changes. As argued by Salis Gomes (2011), incremental and selective reforms could be more consistent with demands of reality. The author points out the real challenge for reform entails both structural and cultural dimensions and prevention from mythical purposes.

> *As resistências de ordem cultural são as mais importantes e as mais difíceis de ultrapassar. Sabemos que a cultura administrativa prevalecente neste ou naquele sistema, num ou noutro tipo de administração, condiciona, quando não determina, o impacte das mudanças que vão sendo introduzidas."* (*ibidem*: 91, tr_pt_4).

---

[37] As Bobbio (1995b) puts it, the institutionalization of social connection by means of codified behaviors, new languages and any sort of norms regarding groups, entities and NGOs corresponds to a movement of socialization of the institutions by means of new interactive devices. Such twofold dynamics are well represented by the "participatory" and the "protected" citizens that can even co-exist and conflict in the same person. As a result, the "*cittadino che attraverso la partecipazione attiva chiede sempre maggiore protezione allo Stato e attraverso la richiesta di protezione rafforza quello Stato di cui vorrebbe impadronirsi e che invece diventa suo padrone*" (*ibidem*: 42, tr_it_10)

Any institutional change passes through cultural organizational changes that compel scientific research to focus on the very complexity of public administrations' identities. In these terms, the conception and implementation of innovative processes represent a visible case of the "movement" of organizational sets through new connections between politicians and civil servants with new actors, as well as from the outside to the inside, through new functions undertaken by new agents of policymaking. At the organizational level it compels bargaining new administrative commitment towards policymaking; at the cultural level, public institutions are compelled to reformulate the heritage of bureaucratic structure and standardized procedures. The scientific exploration of the ways these processes are conceived and managed is likely to inform the methodological options (operative choices) and cultural attitudes (symbolic investments) of the actors in game. New forms of public service delivery, as increasingly intertwined phenomena, also set both hybrid and uncertain instances concerning political mission and administrative functions. Uncertainty constitutes a key to sensemaking because it potentially sets new grounds for individuals' reflection (Weick, 1997). It could even result in some sort of cultural crisis towards established equilibriums, possibly sustained by revised procedures. The establishment of new administrative areas, roles and functions opens up new questions with respect to the role of public institutions and margins of change in societies. On reformulating skills and competences in response to transformative contexts and political wills, innovative mechanisms are a sort of unique prism through which to study organizational cultures and changes today. Administrative teams include civil servants who are inherently set between roles, functions, and symbolical valences of their own identity at work. At the same time, administrative interactions with multiple actors create new symbolical spaces that need to be analyzed so as to study which conceptions of change are being processed.

New explorative thoughts and strategies are likely to be constructed through the implementation of innovative devices, of reforming processes and of change. By conceiving change as the process toward an objective, according to the psychosociologist approach, it is not (only) the "final destination" of new devices that reveals the nature of change, but the specific features of its process. On constructing new possible "semantics" of governance, the instruments for change potentially represent theoretical and methodological gateways to understand which cultures "live" within. Cultural patterns

represent the dynamic ways adopted by members experiencing organization and change (Carli, 1996). The proper characteristic of change in increasing "zones of uncertainty" cannot but deconstruct any deterministic attempt to constrain change towards narrowly predetermined goals. Change becomes change *in itinere* and organization is a by-product of the interactions within. As a result, it is only by getting into contact with change that as scientists we can form an idea about which "crises" and which "opportunities" are being imagined and experienced by the actors. Our commitment to the exploration of cultural patterns requires an analysis of the processes of symbolization carried on by organizational members engaged with policymaking transformations. Organizational cultures, in containing symbolic representations of individuals belonging to the same context, reveal the ways organizational members signify their own working environment. It is the ways members are immerged into co-constructed cultural patterns that inform the "places" of the change. New demands concerning roles (organizational aspect) and functions (cultural aspect) according to changing mandates (interactive aspect) are undertaken in this work. Towards this aim, the Second Part will involve an overall reflection on democratic systems and the role of public administrations, in order to focus on the core issues of new policymaking processes, understood as a potential change.

SECOND PART – CONTEXT

The Second Part of the Thesis intends to frame the macro-contextual coordinates of our study, starting from an overview on European member States, passing through the multiple theoretical proposals that seek to read the changes of public administrations in transforming democratic regimes. As a result, we will approach new interactive policymaking processes so as to understand interrelations and impacts of administrative changes in current times. The link between public administration and political regimes is the key factor through which political sciences have been studying organizational aspects concerning government actions. Historically grounded on both juridical and institutional procedures aimed at strengthening the consolidation of modern democratic States and substitute traditional and regional powers, public administrations have assumed a central role in governments through bureaucratic architectures of functions (see also: Weber, 1970). From the exclusive mission addressed to support the State, passing through the professional and impersonal organization of work, bureaucracies have been required to undertake new and complex tasks. Within a transforming scenario of multiple scales of governments, rules, interests, stakeholders, and citizens, the "post-social State" has in the last few decades, elicited new interactions with civil society and the private sector (Salis Gomes, 2011).

Openness and uncertainty have characterized the European Union (EU) for it includes pluralistic and competitive forms of political representation, attempting to agree on comprehensive lines of action. By not representing unitary actors, States manage with multiple actions, conflicting agendas and internal counter-powers which have to be negotiated with other actors at European, national and sub-national scales. The intrinsic "polysemy" of the EU is evident in the debate concerning its proper definition – Union or Community – indicating from the very beginning the opaqueness of its status. The "unidentified political object", in Jacques Delor's opinion, or "would-be polity" in

Lindberg and Scheingold's view, has emphasized the different ideas and perceptions about EU missions (see: Ruivo *et al.*, 2011). Crozier (1975) argues in this respect:

> [*w*]*hile it has been traditionally believed that the power of the State depended on the number of decisions it could take, the more decisions the modern State has to handle, the more helpless it becomes. Decisions do not only bring power; they also bring vulnerability. The modern European State's basic weakness is its liability to blackmailing tactics* (*ibidem*: 13).

When taking into consideration the member States and the three European Community organs – the Council of Ministers, Commission and Parliament – and their complex design and interaction of powers (Peterson, 1995; Schmidt, 2006), several scholars emphasize the necessity to synchronize national political systems and to constitute a European public space where political parties and movements could have Europe and its civil society as common terms of reference (Urbinati and Dastoli, 2013)[38]. Furthermore we must take into account the emergence of "surrounding" agencies as a relevant phenomenon to EU policies, such as in cases where the inclusion of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in the United Nations (UN) and the interventions in favor of developing countries, necessarily sets up questions concerning international justice and margins for social redistribution, as well as levels of agreement at the political level and processes of "democratization". As a matter of fact, the European "network rationale" has not always interfered with the marginal positions of some States in the EU and, in some cases, asymmetry has even increased (Sousa Santos, 2001, 2006).

Hence, the core question is still concerned with models of gathering EU member States, e.g. by forms of either inclusive or co-existing federalisms. While the State seems to continue to be the center of political organization and social imaginary, the process of Europe-making highlights the creation of multi-scale networks and lobbies on

---

[38] A recent survey about Europeans' engagement with participatory democracy resulted in around 70% of respondents considering local/regional or national elections as an effective way of influencing political decisions, with 50% thinking that voting in EU elections is effective for political decision-making. With regard to citizen engagement in influencing political decision-making, about 34% of respondents had signed a petition in the last two years, with big differences among countries. Other relatively popular forms of engagement were expressing one's views online (28%), expressing one's views to an elected local representative (24%), and taking part in a public debate at a local or regional level (18% during the past two years) (TNS Political & Social, 2013)

policymaking processes[39]. Sharing sovereignty and varying boundaries for national actions reveal multiple conceptions of democratic power and authority as main issues for EU responsibility, accountability and legitimacy. The "Europeanization", in constructing and institutionalizing formal and informal rules, defines the situation of State members still coming to terms with the impact of EU polities on national democracies. In this respect, Fonseca and Carapeto (2009) draw out the fundamental paradigms for policymaking by revealing the strict relationship between political and administrative systems: (1) bottom-up perspective in order to prevent resistance and guarantee effectiveness; (2) self-regulative policies managed by local governments, third sector and independent bodies, as well as by private/public networks consistent with "modern governance"; (3) European policies shaping national policymaking; (4) European policymaking level; (5) political processes impacting national and European scales; (6) global coordination possibly disassociated from political control (see also: Mayntz, 1998).

Attempts at decentralization have been characterizing EU policies in terms of the relationship between global and local powers (Katorobo, 2007). Subsidiarity has become the main instrument for public policy implementation at the national, regional and local levels, obliging us to look at the ways structural funds have either encouraged (or not) the formation of antagonistic subjects and corporations. Regionalism has been conceived as one of the most liable tools for "Europeanization", transforming the role of some European agencies such as the European Regional Development Fund (Ruivo *et al.*, 2011). However, Europe of States, regions or communities has not yet provided adequate representative democracy devices for societal decision-making about priority political actions. In the last few years, EU initiatives for innovative policymaking solutions have also emphasized the role of local actors and consequently promoted place-based approaches. EU Development

---

[39] Koler-Koch (1998) proposes different modalities of State interventions: statist (authority, rule, control), pluralist (arbiter, satisfaction of particular interests), corporativist (mediation and integration of conflicting interests), network (activation of inclusion and participation). Schmidt (2006) from theorizing the existence of four different democratic systems – government by the people (input democracy); government of the people through citizen representation; government for the people (output democracy, i.e. European Parliament entailing technocratic decision-making by the European Commission, resulting in insufficient transparency and accountability); government with the people through interest consultation – argues that the promotion of government "for" and "with people" seems to not correspond to government "by" and "of the people", largely left to member States' charge. As a result, the EU is likely to carry on "policies without politics", at least when policies decided at the EU level come to be removed from the national level, while nation-States are rather implied in "politics without policies". In this sense, the top-down process of member-State adaptation to the EU is distinguished by (but intertwined with) European integration as the bottom-up process of projecting influence and the top-level process of building the EU.

policies individuated regions as target areas (1989/2006 principal programs: "Interreg", "Leader", "Urban") and later on decided to give more relevance to goals involving new application processes for structural funds (2007/2013 principal programs: EU Strategic Orientations; National Strategic Reference Frameworks; National and Regional Operational Programs). As a result, numerous European actions in the last few years have framed new interactive policymaking experiences at the local level of the member States. Furthermore, the "White Paper for European Governance" was issued and introduced EU in the XXI century, with social actors' involvement as one of its strategic concerns. The inclusion of civil society, business and labor groups, NGOs, community-based organizations as well as religious ones, was demanded to "remedy" the widespread "democratic deficit"[40]. Twenty years after the Maastricht agreement, which wanted to decrease territorial inequalities by instituting solidarity and enlarged decision-making processes with sub-national powers, the question seems to still concern European active citizenship.

Hence, it is not only the traditional ways in which States have to implement policies that are affected, but also the traditional routes by which societal actors gain access and exercise influence in policymaking. At the same time, lobby-making has turned into a legitimated practice for EU policies, which implies on the one hand, the revision of established powers and bureaucratic systems, and on the other hand, the persistent risk of cooptation (Selznick, 1984). Thus, the understanding of public administration changes requires an examination of multi-level reforms and the ways in which they are borrowed and connected with both national and international frameworks and agencies (Majone, 1994). Reform processes have to be distinguished by proper forms of modernization involving organizational, institutional and cultural transformations, oriented by external

---

[40] The issue of addressing the low level of democratic participation in public life at local and regional level has been identified by the European Ministers responsible for Local and Regional Government, as the second most important challenge in the area of local and regional democracy. The Council of Europe has issued the Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government (CETS 207) of 17 November 2009 on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority; the Recommendation n°19 of the Committee of Ministers to member States about the participation of citizens in local public life (6th December 2001); the Recommendation n°2 of the Committee of Ministers to member States about evaluation, auditing and monitoring of participation and participation policies at local and regional level (11 March 2009) (see: Vodusek and Biefnot, 2011). Among the others, URBACT is one of the principal EU participatory actions that, from 2003, has circulated the experiences of the cities belonging to the URBAN program. Two hundred cities are currently involved, and the "Partecipando" network is one of the oldest, and among those with the highest number of partners (URBACT, 2008).

and internal factors. Reforms are considered rather as outcomes of planned actions induced by contingent situations. According to Mozzicafreddo and Gouveia (2011), such a distinction is functional to:

> […] *equacionar a transformação da administração publica, entendida como conceito e estrutura de gestão das sociedades, como uma instituição que se adapta, transforma e acompanha a evolução do conjunto da sociedade e das suas instituições, por um lado, e como uma entidade com uma estrita relação com o Estado e com modelo de Estado com o qual coexiste, por outro* (*ibidem*: 5, tr_pt_5).

Reforming processes therefore, have to be interpreted within the framework of the attempts of modernization of the State, market and business, as well as new societal claims and global financial pressures. It is in this vein that we will frame the current challenges of democratic regimes with regards to new interactive policymaking processes.

Chapter III - The changes of public administrations

1. Outline

When a political set of institutions govern a specific territory, we are used to identifying that as a State, whose authority is legitimized by the constitution of a legal system and the capacity to dispose of military forces. Weber (1947; 1978) has emphasized that State legitimacy is strictly connected to effectiveness inasmuch as it is distinguished by the use of "mere force". As a result, citizens' obedience is sustained by the deep belief that rules and their content broadly reflect the right way to behave. In the perennial debate regarding the most desirable forms of administration and government, entailing the core of democratic institutions' identities, the bureaucratic model has been instrumentally figured as the custodian of both democratic-constitutive principles and procedural rationality for the State of right (resembling the principle of Cicero "*omnes legum servi sumus uti liberi esse possumus*")[41]. Consequently, the modern State has succeeded in making legality and rationality broadly legitimized in western societies, and bureaucratic procedural legitimacy has protected public administrations from being questioned by political electors. Politics and bureaucracy have been configured as principal components of democratic governments though the author himself recognizes the potential overpowering effects of fully developed bureaucracies over democracies. As part of the State, public administration is considered as exerting a political function in terms of polity, i.e. policy implementation, but not in terms of politics, which has come to be identified with the State itself. Several scholars have been reinforcing the demarcation between politics and administration, in terms of political representation and accountability in the first instance, as well as policy implementation and exercise of political power and law with regard to public administration (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Parsons, 1995).

New interactive scenarios have made several scholars opt for different definitions of the State and approach the concept of the system as more consistent with policymaking

---

[41] The distinction between traditional, charismatic and legal/rational powers relies on different forms of legitimization (the sacred authority, the extraordinary leader and the laws). Bureaucracy, on being conceived as the best way at his time to respond to legal power, has been designed as the impersonal and professionalized set at the hand of political orders. Yet, formal rationalization has not always been followed by material rationalization of the State, leading in some cases, to the overgrowth of bureaucratic apparatuses (Weber, 1978).

that is required to be as effective in results, as in processes. Political systems involve more inclusive and neutral ideas of the contemporary State, which is configured more as a "facilitator" rather than the only decision maker (Bobbio, 1995b). Notwithstanding this, the State still maintains the role of supplier that necessarily characterizes a different type of power and influence over decision-making. New private interests, instances of non-public intervention in financial activities and exigencies of reforming public administration have gradually altered the role of the State. As a result, the "providence State" has been progressively reconfigured into the "less State" (Mozzicafreddo, 1992; Rosanvallon, 1995). With regard to the impact on public administrations, after the predominance of the "theory of public choice" aimed at reinforcing the primacy of governments over bureaucracies (Rocha, 2009), New Public Management (NPM) has stressed the importance of decentralizing, deregulating and delegating high quotas of political power to administrative managers from 1980s on (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). The idea of reforming the State in terms of power redistribution started to become a more general claim from the 1990s onwards, and some new governance instances highlighted how modernizing administration meant re-conceiving the proper role of the State in terms of democratic measures, civil society and human rights. At the bottom of any innovative political initiative, public sector and policymaking devices come to be settled within specific scenarios. The distinction between policy as political input, and implementation as administrative outcome becomes blurred. Understanding bureaucracies as inherently nested within a network of political actors, and acknowledging that political choices become more and more endemic to administrations, bureaucracies have become an evidently key issue in democratic life (Bryner, 2008; March and Olsen, 1995). Bureaucracy, in some cases, comes to be studied as a proper political entity, if one thinks of public service as inherently intertwined with the responsibilities of democratic citizenship (Lindblom, 1993; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007). In this sense, the role of the administrator cannot be drawn as "merely" concerned with carrying out policies formulated by political decision-makers, although according to Bobbio (1995b) it is necessary to keep in mind that bureaucracy is demanded to administer and not to govern, while recognizing multiple semi-sovereign organizations within, such as private enterprises, workers' corporations and political parties.

When assuming the difficult task of governing rapidly transforming civil societies, governors may decide to rely on the existing multiple networks already existing within, making the State a partner of the social system itself, yet owning top-down powers (Rondinelli, 2007). Thus, thinking of society as plural, new forms of distributing power and integrating civil society with an integrated political society, interactive and inclusive strategies have represented an instrument for the whole political system to recover trust (Bobbio, 1995b; Simonsen, 2008). In line with this, recent reform programs have often aimed at reexamining some democratic constitutive pillars within a new complex network of multi-scale and inter-institutional relations. When taking interactive public service delivery into consideration, numerous variables are put under a new light, such as which public and private interests' articulation. Which public sphere is thought to control political power (Habermas, 1996)? Which forms of publicity are provided by new political actions (Bobbio, 1995a)[42]?

2. Democratic regimes: an overview

It is between the XVIII and XIX century that the claims of workers' movements, especially in France, United Kingdom and United States, highlighted the growing necessity to reform democratic systems. Representative democratic systems were established under constitutional first, and parliamentary then monarchy in England, while in the rest Europe it was after the French Revolution that they began to disseminate. Neither social categories nor corporative representation, but rather individuals owners of political rights, have been conceived as subjects of the State. The association of free individuals is the very bedrock of the institution of political communities. On the one hand, liberal ideals emphasize the role of the individual over society; on the other hand, democracy is intrinsically addressed to both preserve and promote the inclusion of citizens. According to Bobbio (1995a) they have stipulated a twofold agreement:

---

[42] The author (*ibidem*) stresses that the proper nature of power is both to hide and be hidden. As a result, the State and its counter-powers play a hidden game in order to simulate (to make something look what it is not) and dissimulate (to prevent simulation). Such a dynamic has been further debated by Foucault (1975) when reflecting on the relationship between observers and observed in panoptical systems. With regard to participation, Sintomer (2010) is resistant to "reducing" the role of participation to "show" something hidden, which in turn could signify participation as a pedagogic instrument, perpetuating the top-down relationship between experts and non-experts.

> [...] *nella direzione che va dal liberalismo alla democrazia nel senso che occorrono certe libertà per l'esercizio corretto del potere democratico, e nella direzione opposta che va dalla democrazia al liberalismo nel senso che occorre il potere democratico per garantire l'esistenza e la persistenza delle libertà fondamentali* (*ibidem*: 7, tr_it_9).

As a result, the liberal market economy was first organized with the predominance of Fordist mass production ideals and organized collective bargaining; free trade via GATT, EEC and fixed exchange rates via Brettonwood; and class-cleavage[43]. Between the 1980s and 1990s, focus has been given to the service sector, team production and outsourcing; weaker trade unions and more firm-level bargaining; and employment policies focused on the "supply side". Finally, from the 1990s on, the scenario has been characterized by the liberalization of markets in the OECD Countries; changes in well-being; a decline in the contribution of manual workers and disaffection towards left-wing parties; a sense of privation by social class; and the growing salience of a cleavage over values (Hall, 2010).

The progressive advancement of globalized capitalist scenarios has to be taken into consideration in order to understand the evolution of democratic regimes. Della Porta (2011) synthesizes the challenges for current democratic systems in relation to the deep transformation of the relationship between State and market, parliament and executive powers and national and international scales. On pushing for the constitution of interdependent networks and new trade, and communication and knowledge fluxes, globalization has created new boundaries and limits. The production of visible and invisible boundaries has frequently implied the persistence of exclusive centers of power in the hands of multinational enterprises (Crouch, 2010). As a result, States have been required to play new and complex functions of intermediation between national safety and international networks' instances. Sousa Santos (2007) stresses the ambivalence of two global systems governing the rules of the game: on the one hand, the maintenance of the established hierarchy of the States and their national economies, and on the other hand, the different emerging fields of activity attempting to transform such a world system. Their silent and in some cases conniving connection, has been affecting the political geography

---

[43] In this respect Crozier (1975) lists three main categories of "problems" for national democracies in Europe that could end in ungovernability: (1) the increase of social interaction; (2) the disruptive effect of continuous economic growth generating inflation; (3) the collapse of traditional institutions. Then the author adds the upsetting of intellectuals and the general cultural problem that Europe has been facing since it has entered the "post-industrial" phase.

of the world-system and the hierarchy of central, peripheral and semi-peripheral States (Sousa Santos, 2011; Wallerstein, 1993). As a result of this tense conjunction, Sousa Santos (1998, 2000, 2003) has highlighted the essential abdication of the State for globalized financial economy, resulting in the reduction of power redistribution and citizens' participation[44]. Likewise, De Oliveira (2004) argues that international enterprises actually play the most important political power role by embodying the traditional executive, legislative and judiciary powers. Saying that, they have occupied all of the spaces of civil society, turning into the civil society itself.

> *A política, neste caso, torna-se necessariamente, um espetáculo, e deixa de ser operada pelos cidadãos. Não è de individualismo que se trata, mas de atomização. As classes sociais desfazem-se na bruma espessa das recombinações que parecem aleatórias, mas são, na verdade, dirigidas pelo "piloto automático" do capital (ibidem: 19, tr_pt_6).*

As a consequence of the identification of the State with political power and the reduction of the role of the State, a progressive process of reduction of the concept of democracy has been carried out too (Bobbio, 1995a). In placing a big emphasis on procedural and pragmatic aspects of democracy, representative democracy has been assimilated with the rules of the electoral process and, in turn, the process has become the principal "moment" of democratic life. As a result, such a process has also legitimized the "reversed" relationship between citizens and public administration in terms of matching supply and demand: social demands have been increasingly framed using a technical and often cryptic language that have often turned social demands into a sort of independent variable to be treated by experts in back office (de Gaulejac *et al.*, 1995). When the debate passes from the content of democracy to the best ways to improve current regimes, it is evident how mechanisms of separation are impacting the relationship between democratic principles and administrative procedures on the one hand, and political systems and society on the other. The principle of self-regulation, functioning to guarantee the legitimacy of

---

[44] Liberal principles were first addressed to base a new conception of individual freedom, and then were conceived as promoting economic effectiveness. Such a freedom is considered formal (Marx and Engels, 2009) inasmuch as it provides potential equal exchanges in a break with previous social and trade bounds, but it does not take into account the real conditions of possible inequalities. Political economy has established the division between economic "equal" relations and public "unequal" relations' spheres. As a result, the public/private society where the citizen is committed to public interest, comes to be distinguished from economic society where the bourgeois is rather concerned with private interests in competition or collaboration with other individuals (Bobbio, 1995b).

democratic systems through the internalization of democratic norms by citizens, has become a pervasive "illusion" that in the last few years, has shown deep crises (Przeworski, 2010). Minimal "procedural criteria" (e.g. free, competitive and periodical elections) have been progressively questioned and, while the internal debate concerning new political forms has tried to be reduced in terms of representative democracy, at the same time bottom-up claims have started to take make their voices heard (Morlino, 2011; Ganuza, 2012). Sousa Santos (2003) explains how such a "reduced" democracy has currently "swallowed" not only possible internal nuances, but also incorporated other political instances, even the supposed natural "enemies" of democracy. The enlargement of the concept of democracy has put it strategically at the center of the political debate, while becoming an extremely polysemous container of multiple signifiers. In this sense, Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) assess:

> […] *citizens have been taught not to question the fundamental contours of the contemporary political order. If so, they may be incapable of seriously entertaining proposals for systematic improvements in the degree of democracy now being practiced including proposals for more direct democracy, or for other possible improvements in electoral arrangements – improvements that might bring citizens' ideas, more effectively, into the interactive processes by which policy evolves."* (*ibidem*: 44).

Despite the attempt to take advantage of a simplified version of the world, able to move, remove or even hide emerging social demands, the expansion and "self-celebration" of liberal democracy has in turn compelled society and scientists to reflect on the quality of existing democracies (Diamond and Morlino, 2005; Przeworski, 2010). By looking through the ways democracies allow and facilitate the emersion of spaces for democratic dialogues, social sciences have become increasingly committed to analyzing both the hypertrophy of the vote and the reduction of political participation that result in considering the meaning of current political situations. In this respect, Bobbio (1995a) questions if we are to mean political apathy as either a sign of crisis or a sign of accommodating well-being, as well as what type of political distance we are referring to: political disaffection; political surrender; or political refusal due to either mistrust or demonization[45]. Subsequently, are political parties really worried about apathy or are they

---

[45] The author (*ibidem*) states that according to a conservative vision, the crisis of democratic systems is the result of the impossibility to cope with social demands that the State itself aids generating. As for the socialist

concerned with the fact that their electors could be more apathetic than others? In the same vein, one could consider disaffection as functional for political systems so as to not make them overcharged with social demands, respecting the "division of labor" between citizens and politicians (Schumpeter, 1967) and avoiding an "excess" of democracy possibly damaging good governance (Huntington, 1975)[46]. Therefore, it is necessary to understand if it is right or not, to talk about crisis of the State and mostly, from which point of view. When complementing this vision with the globalized scenario and specifically, with EU member countries, we can understand that the "crisis" stems from intertwined factors deriving from different level of analysis. We have seen that the EU has been suffering principally from insufficient solidity of the political project, and the relative devices to transform the Union into an effective democratic system. It means imaging intermediating subjects that are able to translate multiple instances into common political points. In this sense, political parties have been playing an essential role for the enhancement and reform of democracies. The transformation of both social claims and political chains is also affecting the configuration and the role of political parties at different scales (Norris, 1999) [47].

In summary then, the next steps to be taken by representative democracies will be profoundly concerned with new paradigms of political action. Bobbio (1995a; 2011) has emphasized a noteworthy list of promises that democratic systems have not accomplished so far and which should be seriously taken into account for the future: (1) centrifugation of power through the rise of pluralistic society and polyarchic systems (from the VII and VIII centuries' "contractualism")[48]; political economy; utilitarian philosophy conceiving

---

perspective, it is rather the crisis of capitalism that is unable to afford the increasing power of interest groups. Such a condition results from the very enrooting conceptions of State, whether aimed at human faculties and civil progress development or seen as the only way to remedy the potential degeneration of humanity (generally basing liberal conceptions of "minimal State"). When the State is seen as unnecessary, it is linked to the division of social classes, possibly generating struggles for the predominance of one class over the others (see also: Marx and Engels, 2009).

[46] Schumpter (1967) compares political leader to entrepreneur, working according to market exchanges' rules ("*do ut des*") and drafting a society composed of effective sellers and consensus consumers. As a result, electors become political parties' clients and the proper mandate of parties from being free becomes bound (Bobbio, 1995a).

[47] Della Porta (2011) argues that political parties have not been impermeable to social movements' claims since social protests have been addressed to representative democracy and its "subjects". As a result, they have had to take into more serious consideration claims concerning political professionalism and electoral exploitation of the social movements themselves.

[48] Dahl (1989), on conceiving democracy as interest groups' competition, stresses seven principles: (1) constitutionally bound elected politicians; (2) free elections; (3) inclusive and universal suffrage; (4) passive

common good as either the addition of individual goods or happiness of the majority. (2) Multiplicity of sovereignty carried by interest groups, ending up identifying particular interests with collective ones. (3) Persistence and multiplication of oligarchies and elites that was expected to be overcome through the "perfect coincidence" between who makes the laws and who responds to them. (4) Decreasing the space for action of democratic systems due to the concession of both liberty and political rights as the only way to control power[49]. (5) Permanence of invisible power preventing the citizen from knowing not only, "*gli atti di chi detiene il potere e quindi di controllarli, ma anche perché la pubblicità è già di per se stessa una forma di controllo, è un espediente che permette di distinguere quello che è lecito da quello che non lo è*" (Bobbio, 1995a: 18, tr_it_10). (6) A lack of education contributing to a passive attitude from citizens and then indiscriminate action from governments. Such a condition has led to the professionalization of both politics and civil servants, as well as the affirmation of non-elected experts in the financial economy that has become a sort of international "sub-government".

3. Changing public administrations

As democracies need "machineries" to work, administrations organized in accordance with the bureaucratic model have seemed to be the most adequate way to supply their purposes. Weber (1947) has highlighted the relationship between public administration and the socio-political context, arguing that bureaucratization is the shadow of mass democracy. Bureaucratization of the State has followed its democratization, through the enlargement of civil and political rights and the subsequent responsibility of providing public services. According to Crozier (1975), most European countries have had a strong tradition of State control and bureaucratic procedures so as to substitute the weakness of

---

electoral capacity; (5) civil liberties and guarantees; (6) right to use alternative information sources; (7) right to establish autonomous associations.

[49] Sen (2010) proposes analyzing the articulation of political freedoms and civil rights by looking at the ways open debates are being encouraged. Democratic institutions do not produce development per se; they are rather dependent on the system of values and the use that citizens make of them. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) suggest that in addition to substantive liberties, upper and middle classes have wan procedural guarantees and a share of governmental authority in order to protect and enhance their other liberties. These arrangements are likely to create complications for policymaking because even if a majority desires case legislation, and the minority controls even one of the three institutions whose assent is needed, legislation could be blocked.

political systems[50]. On the one hand, career officials have been expected to provide continuity, expertise and loyalty; on the other hand, elected officials to provide legitimacy, political judgment, and policy guidance. As a result, public administrations have been seen sometimes as attempting to monopolize policymaking through bureaucrats' expertise and their control of the procedures of government, while politicians are accused of micromanagement and attempting to politicize the day-to-day management of organizations and personnel (Peters, 1987; Peters and Pierre, 2001). Aberbach and Rockman (1988), reflecting on the US establishment in the era of NPM spreading widely, argue that: "[t]o the extent that doubt exists about the willingness of career administrators to carry out faithfully the policy directions of the political leadership, career administrators are viewed by political actors as impediments rather than implements." (ibidem: 606). As a result, politics has broadly thought of its commitment as supervising the administrative apparatus and, when deemed necessary for further control, it has been "politicized". In this sense, the Weberian model seems not to have taken into large account the potentialities of restraining civil servants' action to serving the population at large and its representatives.

If ever such "neutral" figures have been real, it has become clear that bureaucrats have more and more, embraced an active role in interactive policymaking processes. As a matter of fact, in the last few decades the "welfare State" model for public administration, as clearly divided by politics and neutrally committed to implementing policies, has been profoundly questioned and made into multiple visions over the relationship between politics and public administration arise (Peters, 2001). At the same time, public administration is still argued to be the only guaranty for democratic systems to be equal and more committed to decreasing social asymmetries produced by market rationale (Gale and Hummel, 2003; Mozzicafreddo, 2011a, 2011b). Numerous factors apparently outside the public administration field of action, such as political elections, protests, political parties, social conflicts, claims for civil rights and so on, condition the apparatus in terms of the relationship with citizenship, as well as in the internal functioning. For these

---

[50] Notwithstanding, trust in civil service between 1981 and 2000 (www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu) shows the declining levels of trust in public administrations distinguishing between political leaders and civil servants, making citizens' responses highly context-specific. As a result of such surveys, it is clear that the "commonly held hypothesis of a close relationship between better performing public services, increased satisfaction among the public users and, in turn, more confidence in government is fundamentally flawed." (Van der Meer et al., 2007: 46)

reasons, the impartial actuation of public administration, as well as the primacy in providing and delivering public services, represents a goal for contemporary democratic regimes. There seems to be a growing necessity to create new systems of checks and balances at different governing scales, due to low levels of trust between citizens and political systems, as well as within political institutions themselves, i.e. between political and administrative parts[51].

3.1. Reforming public administrations

In Europe, the impact of global changes at the national level became evident during the 1970s, mostly due to financial constraints for public budgets, the promotion of market rationale for public investments and administrative activities, new expectations towards the quality of services and new rights being acquired by citizens. At that time two sets of ideas for reforming public administration gained a lot of attention. The public choice theory was used to emphasize the necessity to reestablish the primacy of representative government over bureaucracy through actions of centralization, coordination and political power control over the public sector. In some continuity with public choice theory, NPM has pointed out the necessity to reestablish principles of management for public administration (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). NPM has been conceived as a strategic device to respond to general problems of institutional architecture adjustment; labor unions' resistance and its effects on the electoral cycles; and public choices still centered on the model of the welfare State (see also: Chapman, R.A., 2000; Cheema, 2007). Broadly supported by international agencies – such as the OECD, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank (WB) – NPM has essentially promoted outcome-oriented partnerships between the public and private sector. Liberalization; privatization of economic activities; deregulation; delegation and devolution of competences to intermediary organisms; labor flexibility; agencyfication; out-sourcing and contracting out; new subsystems and tools for internal coordination; new technologies for information and communication, as well as the scope to

---

[51] According to Rondinelli (2007), public administrations can be strengthened through constitutional, electoral, governance, administrative or civil service reforms. As regards the last three, they imply reforms delineating roles, responsibilities, and the relationships among different administrative levels in order to strengthen mechanisms for interactive and cooperative decision-making, by specifying hence the procedures of bureaucratic accountability and of judiciary maintenance. As specifically regards civil service systems, reforms can involve adjusting responsibilities and obligations of public employees, pay levels, recruitment procedures, incentives, training and career development rules, and ethical standards.

adapt bureaucratic language to the broader public, were to provide the transformational ideas towards more effectiveness and efficiency[52]. Principles of accountability and responsiveness have represented attempts to reduce internal chains in order to better monitor processes (Hood, 1991)[53]. In measuring performance and management, civil servants have been differently provided with some discretion, in order to improve internal competitiveness, as well as effectiveness and responsible services. Some measures have regarded changes in legal status, payment schemes, mobility schemes, management development plans and training programs, and in some cases new systems for internal assessment of performances have been designed in order to evaluate responsiveness to political directives (Van der Meer *et al.* 2007).

The series of NPM reforms were expected to increase the legitimacy of political systems through improving effectiveness and efficiency by means of interactive devices. However, NPM "client orientation" has often resulted in the transposition of commercial values concerning cost reduction and, in general, has emphasized the tendency to devalue both the constitutional and legal position of bureaucratic apparatuses, in favor of a model managerialism *strictu sensu*. Starting from the essential reliance on agency theory, postulating in line with rational choice theory the legitimated acting of an agent on behalf of another (see: Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007), several scholars have claimed that the principal aim of public administration is effectiveness and not efficiency, for the latter is likely to produce social exclusion in concordance with like-market principles. "*Public organizations were never designed to maximize on efficiency, flexibility and customer friendliness but rather to ensure a uniform and unbiased implementation of the law* (Peters and Pierre, 2012: 8). With regard to the internal effects, NPM reforms have been inherently

---

[52] According to Egeberg (2008) several public services have been organized outside in order to increase efficiency and competitiveness. Nevertheless, he argues, there is a lesson that can be drawn across countries since it "*seems to be that devolution entails a decrease in political steering capacity and authority, and that less attention is given to political considerations in the "decoupled" enterprises*" (*ibidem*: 123).

[53] Accountability is originally derived from "to account for" traced back to the Anglo-Norman times where the obligation to answer for an action, i.e. organizations and individuals get the responsibility and may be required to publicly explain (Wright, 1996). Hence, accountability could be understood as the condition of responsibility, meant as taking the authority in charge to account. Dijkstra (2007), in discussing the classical debate over professionalism and external controls as sources of accountability, links it to the question concerning the meanings of "being held responsible" and "responsibility". The distinction between politics and administration has traditionally associated accountability with elected leaders, whereas neutral competence is demanded of administrators; however NPM gets new concerns for accountability since the "entrepreneurial" role of public managers relies on accounting on efficiency, cost effectiveness and responsiveness to market forces.

dependent on the institutional design and historical courses in the different countries where they have been applied (Du Gay, 2000; Hood, 2001; Van der Meer *et al.*, 2007; Verheijen and Rabrenovic, 2007). Often connected to the Anglo-American custom-based and management driven civil service, as opposed to the continental European formal and rule-driven system, performance measurements and management quality have largely been debated, in the last few years, for the development of public administrations. Fragmented decision-making, lack of control of the accomplishment of internal norms, client culture, co-optation, individualism, opportunism and in some cases missing impartiality guaranteed by adequate bureaucratic principles, have represented some of the main factors for NPM reforms lower success rate in southern Europe[54]. Mozzicafreddo (2011b) states that it is essentially due to:

> […] *por um lado, no facto de negligenciar a importância – seja pelo apoio, seja pela resistência às reformas – dos próprios agentes na evolução das iniciativas de reforma e, por outro, em pensar que a disfuncionalidade da administração se limita à ausência da logica de mercado na questão dos serviços públicos.*" (*ibidem*: 9, tr_pt_7).

NPM can be understood as a sort of ideal when forced to adopt managerial principles and scenarios consistent with the private entrepreneurial system. It seems a mismatch between private and public organizations' logics: the safeguard against clientelism, corruption and favoritism looks better connected with the objective of effective implementation of the law, rather than efficiency maximization as for a private organization.

Between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s a general shift from the concept of 'government' to 'governance' has been identified as a general trend in democratic systems (March and Olsen, 1995; UNDP, 1997; Pierre and Peters, 2000; Kooiman, 2003). From the prevalence of managerialist measures, the idea of governance concerns a model of interaction within and among the States – political and legal environment – civil society – social and political interaction – and the private sector – jobs

---

[54] Restoring trust in politicians by "simplifying" public action is implicit in the NPM goals, but the efforts have been fairly disappointing in some cases. Trust in civil service systems continues to be higher than in politicians (European Social Surveys, 2004) and, in this respect, Rouban (2007) notices how "*relatively high levels of trust are met in countries where managerialism has not been radically implemented, such as in France, or has been largely ignored, such as in Portugal*" (*ibidem*: 276).

and income (Cheema, 2007). In this sense, in the last two decades several countries in Europe have acknowledged the evidence of new social frameworks demanding interactive institutional designs for policymaking with political systems [55]. In this respect, Van den Berg and Toonen (2007) argue three guiding pillars: (1) authority exerted at different territorial levels connected with each other; (2) involvement of non-State actors in decision-making, implementation, and enforcement processes; (3) relations between actors and institutions are not only constitutionally fixed and hierarchical. As the OECD has put it:

> [g]*iven the complexity and scale of emerging governance challenges, governments cannot hope to design effective policy responses, nor to strengthen legitimacy and trust, without the input, ideas and insights of as wide a variety of citizens' voices as possible. Public engagement will increasingly be recognised as another lever of governance – and become part of the standard government toolkit of budgeting, regulatory, e-government and performance management tools* (OECD, 2009: 17).

The legitimization of networks between formal authorities with both economic and social subjects was seen to set up new scenarios for partnership and cooperation. Public, semi-private, private, and non-profit bodies as well as citizens, interest groups and enterprises, come to be considered important as public sector actors, yet leaving final authority in matters of collective or societal interests to political systems, started compelling new governance devices and networks (Rhodes, 1996; Kohler-Koch, 1998; Castells, 2002). On the one hand, the emphasis on transparency and accessibility through structural changes in bureaucracy was aimed at getting closer administrative decisions to the citizens. On the other hand, the effort to make interaction between citizens and political systems easier was sustained by decentralization (Peters and Pierre, 2012). Furthermore, new technological development, in favoring individualized, customized and tailor-made solutions, hardly fits within standardized platforms and has increasingly required new frameworks and expertise. Therefore, a new generation of public policies has especially been claiming for institutional integration and the adoption of new strategic approaches capable of taking into account multi-level governing systems at the international scale

---

[55] Some examples: the "citizens' charter" in the UK (1991); the "charte des services publiques" in France and the "plan de modernización de la administración del estado" in Spain (1992); the "carta dei servizi pubblici" in Italy (1993).

(Donolo, 2005). In this sense, the emergence of multi-level governance might be regarded as the creation of a different institutional environment, which can possibly change the structure and cultures of political systems and its office holders. As a matter of fact, the principle of hierarchy comes to be complemented with the necessity of coordination and integration as regards both administrative units and new actors' participation. The existence of multiple policy and decision-making centers has often made civil servants assume the role of "brokers" among a wide range of non-profit and private stakeholders (Raadschelders et al, 2007). As the public sector comes to be officially involved with both formal and informal networks, negotiation becomes important and skills that were believed to be "*critical to public service 25 years ago are (believed to be) less important today (public law would be the prime example) whereas new types of skills are becoming more sought after (social skills, business management, language skills)*" (Peters and Pierre, 2007: 237).

In line with new governance conceptions, Denhardt and Denhardt (2000; 2007) have emphasized the necessity to overcome narrow references to either political/legal or like-market principles (see also: "new public administration" model in Mozzicafreddo, 2011b). By postulating the model of New Public Service (NPS), the authors argue that global context is demanding new forms of implementing public policies, so as to make them more responsive to the demands of the environment, i.e. the demands of reality as defined by psychosociology. The authors stress the new role of the government in assuming the responsibility to coordinate new subjects and interests for the accomplishment of effective actions. Political systems are required to provide adequate space for interactive decision-making involving politicians, civil service systems and society. Bureaucrats, in extending the role of the democratic citizen, should assume new functions for policymaking processes, by aiding citizens and interest groups to articulate their points of view, their exigencies, and so match individual instances with shared responsibilities. Public interest is the result of such interactive arenas, aiming to overtake the mere addition of interests, in order to create wide agreement. By assuming the role of facilitating and negotiating priorities through institutionalized devices, public administrations should foster horizontal models of interaction for effective collaboration, by both downsizing strict hierarchical structures and reducing central decision centers in

order to approximate government to local instances. As the authors put it, participation becomes a key issue for new public service because it first:

> […] *can help meet citizens' expectations that they are being heard and that their needs and interests are being pursued. Second, greater participation can improve the quality of public policy, as governments tap wider sources of information, creativity, and solutions. Third, greater participation in the policy process aids implementation, as participants have more of a stake in the outcomes. Fourth, greater participation responds to calls for greater transparency and accountability in government. Fifth, greater participation is likely to increase public trust in government. Sixth, greater participation can help meet the challenges of an emerging information society. Seventh, greater participation can create possibility for new partnerships being developed. Eighth, greater participation can result in a better informed public. Ninth, in a democracy, it's simply the right thing to do* (idem, 2007: 95-96).

Local Administrations represent the closest institutions to citizens and for this reason, the most proximal to both interpret and satisfy their needs. Hence, in being demanded to reform traditional modes of working out public policies, adopting inter-institutional devices and introducing new actors coming from the third sector and civil society – such as volunteer non-profit making associations, NGOs, communitarian enterprises, cooperatives – political institutions simultaneously cope with decentralization and participation. Transformative local tendencies can be understood through new governance devices, and participation plays a relevant role in providing the legitimized space for citizens' involvement (Paci, 2008). Satterthwaite *et al.* (2007) articulate this point with two reasons: (1) local administrations have the most direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of citizens in terms of service delivery; (2) it is at the local level that most opportunities for civil society groups' engagement with government exists. Decentralizing simultaneously implies power delegating and the improvement of its coordination, implying henceforth the reorganization of roles and functions in compliance with the subsidiarity principle (Allegretti, 2006). When decentralization is not sustained by effective autonomy in policy and decision-making at the local level, it can risk being adherent to centralized powers. In these terms, Ruivo *et al.* (2011) argue that:

> […] *se a descentralização de poderes não é acompanhada pela reformulação das logicas de funcionamento e de relação com o mundo politico, económico e*

social que aprisionam os contextos locais, o benefício global do território no sentido da sua autonomia e poder de atuação ficará seriamente minada. (ibidem: 209, tr_pt_8).

4. Participatory democracy and deliberation: models that matter

The history of participation is indissolubly framed within the evolution of the modern State, of its transformation into a State of right, and finally, with the struggles for civil rights. When the links between who governs and who is governed become weak, participation is likely to reflect and recover democratic inclusion and social justice. Yet the myth concerning the use of participation as a substitute of representative democracy mechanisms reveals that such a topic needs to be undertaken deeply by social sciences (Held, 1998)[56]. Restrepo (2003) proposes a skeptical reading of participatory processes when possibly representing a strategy to decrease the costs of policy: force the competences among communities in order to make them competitors for benefits; provide incentives for the conversion of popular organizations into enterprises, negotiated by the State; transform requirements into competing projects for the State resources; and make popular sectors responsible for their own future. The author stresses that in this way participation is likely to reproduce the dependency of poor people by providing "circumstantial goods" and recreating the ground for political patronage. However, participatory democracy can actually be approached in order to understand the debate about effective forms of integration between representative mechanisms and interactive processes or, as Sousa Santos puts it (2003), to catch the profound meaning of diverse patterns of democracy. Hence, participatory processes can be considered to have an impact on public administration, in relation to possible design reform or impact over political systems, as well as over the whole legitimacy of the State (Callon *et al*. 2001). In this sense, politics and public administrations are inherently intertwined with the potential transformations that participative mechanisms might be bearing at both structural and cultural levels.

---

[56] Font and Blanco (2005), by analyzing the Catalan case, have argued that participation can work in terms of representative democracy recovery only when considered together with complex sets of variables interacting towards increasing political trust and bettering policymaking.

In dedicating the Chapter to deepening the features of participation, we have attempted to draw some characteristics in connection with other democratic pillars. Participatory democracy is distinguished by direct democracy, which represents the set of participatory forms within representative systems, such as citizens' assemblies mainly at the local scale, and referendums. According to Bobbio (1995a), any form of direct democracy ends up being a form of representative democracy, since the very evolution of the direct involvement of citizens, designs the passages towards the institutionalization that due to its nature, needs to be organized through representative mechanisms (*ibidem*)[57]. Further distinction is made in terms of "radical democracy", as an agonistic manner in which to establish democratic legitimacy, through eliciting social actors' debate and negotiation without configuring an "antagonistic" relationship (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). Since politics is an irreducible dimension of society, and antagonism is present in the ways people establish social connections, it makes no sense to try to remove "passions" from politics; rather it is worth mobilizing them towards new democratic designs (Mouffe, 1999). In these terms, conflicts arise from a common ground of shared meanings but opposite views. When the otherness is not symbolically represented as enemy, the interlocutor is likely to become a subject sharing the same symbolical context[58].

According to Della Porta (2011) it is possible to outline a very basic distinction between participatory and representative democracies, assuming the latter as a pattern of neoliberal democracy. Distinguished by the emphasis on either consensus or conflict, both forms of democracies consider the definition of social interests and identities as exogenous from political processes. By taking into account the possibility of developing deliberative mechanisms within both, new democratic patterns are likely to make the definition of needs endogenous. Yet Bobbio (2006) argues that representative and participatory democracies are grounded in two different types of legitimacy: on the one hand, a wide consensus though based on bounded information (vote), and on the other, the active participation of some citizens. Their differences are impossible to reduce in unity and the

---

[57] Different from direct democracy is the concept of social democracy that, according to the author (1995b) is distinctive of the more advanced democracies. Once citizens realize that the political sphere is part of the social sphere, they can also acknowledge the overall social worth of political decision-making.

[58] Moscovici and Doise (1992) advise on "consensual" forms of participation regulated by agonistic deliberation when grounded on the encountering of arguments concerning different visions of the same problems, which are likely to become "normalized" and then regulated, on the basis of hierarchies. Investment of participants could so be directed more to correct what is mismatching the "facts" in their vision, rather than interrogating either the converging or conflicting definitions of the facts themselves.

author emphasizes the importance of continuing to coexist in a mutual and constructive "mistrust". The concept "deliberative democracy" was first used by Joseph Bessette and then Manin, and has systematically described its features in oppositional terms to liberal theories supporting representative democratic regimes. Political systems' legitimacy should be rather sought through informing and involving citizens, so as to facilitate understanding and consequent choice making. Deliberation on the practical concerns of public administration and policymaking is addressed to promote political engagement of all the agencies by questioning the "rational" articulation of traditional centers of political power (Reich, 1990; Moore, 1995). In attempting to counteract the limitations of representative democracy, deliberative methods have represented one of the most important issues for political sciences and have encouraged experimenting with different forms of deliberative arenas in recent years. Citizen juries, consensus conferences, deliberative pools, town meetings, "débats publics", participatory urban planning, and other experiences have often attempted to respond to the increasing disaffection between citizenship and politics, as well as the triumph of performing politics and surveys (Sintomer, 2007).

By arguing the chance for communicative rationality to show and perform points of view, Habermas (1996, 2008) understands the public sphere as the space where both formal and informal forms of communication shape enclaves, free from institutional power[59]. Social inclusion, equality and transparency of democratic mechanisms are considered to be the main goals of deliberative principles, based on the assumption that gathering rational, equal and free individuals, results in overcoming idiosyncratic viewpoints. It is through the possibility of enhancing exchanges between institutions and civil societies organized into public spheres, that deliberative politics can be better oriented to common goods and reinforce the sense of belonging of the involved community. Thus, deliberation is likely to ground legitimization of the "input", as well as the effectiveness of the "output" in the field of public policies (Pettit 2001; Dryzek and

---

[59] Habermas (2008) conceives informal deliberation occurring outside institutions and formalization of the deliberation into public opinion influencing institutions. In saying that, Habermas distinguishes between analytic and substantial arguments to argue that the growth of knowledge takes place through rationally motivating substantial arguments enhancing the persuasiveness of knowledge claims, in particular social contexts. It implies that the earlier stage of argumentation is less systematic and more intuitive than the later stages, where the presented claims have to be interactively justified. The author recognizes that actors can be either strategy-oriented towards success of their own interests (see also: Crozier, 1997; Simon, 1960) or consensus-oriented, and so relying on the interactive definition of claims.

List 2003; Fischer, 2003). Such a perspective shows deliberation as a set of processes concerning high-quality public reasoning, possibly addressed to common purposes. In order to go beyond the "mere" bargaining of private interests and powers, as well as the division between professional policymakers and non-experts, deliberative arenas are generally conceived of to treat circumscribed goals relying on the assistance of the experts as facilitators (Argyris and Schön, 1974; Bohman, 1996; Elster, 1998; Fung and Wright, 2003; Bobbio, 2002). The impact of multiple conflicts developed in public arenas needs to be more deeply studied in terms of diverse public spheres generating diverse "grammars", as well as owning diverse powers of accessing and deliberating in these processes (Sousa Santos, 2006). In this sense, Bohman (1996) points out the necessity of assessing the ways multiple systems of values come to be included, in order to understand how different perspectives match for problem solving, starting from a condition of recognized equality.

As regards the relationship between deliberative and participatory forms of designing interactive policymaking processes, several scholars have been shining a light on different issues in the last recent years. Participatory democracy could be conceived as the theoretical framework for deliberative actions that can be either negotiation-oriented or dialogic (Pellizzoni, 2005)[60]; the procedures aimed at including marginalized social actors, whereas deliberation is committed to creating public spheres so as to correct government (Pazé, 2011); and the attempt to include the majority of the population, whereas deliberative processes are rather committed to providing spaces for shaping and debating preferences (Papadopoulos and Warin, 2007). For these same reasons, Bobbio (2007) assumes a skeptical vision of participatory processes for "opening the door" without breaking possible crystallized divisions between political active and marginalized citizens. In this sense, the selection of participants is considered as a way to prevent such phenomena. Deliberative mechanisms can proceed with the selection of representative samples of the population, in order to allow high profile deliberations towards consultative decision-making or more target-solving problem goals, whether at the local or at supra-local (e.g. consensus conferences), including different ranges of actors (citizens, interest

---

[60] Likewise Fung (2003) distinguishes between "hot" and "cold" forms of participation in public deliberation according to different settings and actors involved. On the one hand one can have randomly selected citizens presenting opinions, non-binding or quasi-binding recommendations; on the other hand one can have activists and stakeholders debating on the lack of inclusion and deliberation in ordinary social life (see also: Bobbio, 2010).

groups and/or experts). Deliberative processes have experienced the enactment of microcosms and mini-publics by either gathering a limited number of people representing the wide range of positions in society, or electing casual samples from the population. Selecting people could guarantee the condition for rational deliberation, preventing the reproduction of social inequalities in terms of active and passive citizens. Nonetheless, Fishkin (2009), who has been particularly attentive to survey methods for deliberative processes, argues that they cannot ensure the real participation of people selected, i.e. the phenomenon of self-selection is present in these processes too[61]. Hence, both participatory and deliberative processes aim to increase trust in political systems through new forms of consensus building. Notwithstanding this, they seem to carry on different visions of democracy that, in the last few years, have been an object of reflection in terms of possible integrations. Such a "challenge" requires us to critically analyze what is at the very core of their designs, and the ways scientific disciplines have been approaching the two areas. Ganuza and Frances (2011a) point out that on the one hand studies concerning deliberation processes have been mainly concerned with the "experimental" dimension, whereas participatory processes have been analyzed more in terms of the influence of interest groups. In these terms, it is necessary to understand whether participatory processes can provide space for deliberative scenarios, by questioning the typologies of participants and what kinds of motivations are moved forward (see: Blondiaux and Sintomer, 2002).

Questions, doubts and dilemmas surrounding the development of participatory democracy and the fading borders with other conceptions of democracy, are currently animated issues of scientific debate (Baiocchi, 2001; Cook and Kathari, 2001; Fung, 2008). Bobbio (2006) synthesizes some of the main dilemmas concerning participation: (1) procedural v. substantial: when meant as the result of political will, it is likely to be seen as an instrument enabling the achievement of specific goals; when meant as the claim of some sectors of civil society, it expresses rather the demand for changes in the political establishment; (2) participatory v. deliberative: deliberation can be meant as a form of participation founded on the process of argumentation, whereas participation *per se* does not emphasize such an aspect (3) for everybody v. for some: it is more plausible to not

---

[61] Fishkin and Luskin (2005) have worked with random (and remunerated) sampling with a pre-post survey and a deliberative weekend experience in order to let them discuss on a specific issue about which they have previously received appropriated material and information.

reproduce the division between "active" and "passive", though it is necessary to seriously consider the legitimacy of the outcomes; (4) top-down v. bottom-up: it is necessary to institute the presence of a third external actor in order to both facilitate meetings and overtake the ideal of neutrality by looking for equal-proximity instead of equal-distance; (5) decisional v. consultative: the lack of bounding power in decision-making can be a limit, but also a resource because it allows more open confrontations among the actors, resulting in some forms of empowerment through negotiating rules of the game; (6) approaches v. problems: the redistribution of resources can be driven by a principle of social and territorial justice, whereas the work on specific interventions must be based on different types of approaches.

Claims for shared sovereignty, variable boundaries, composite identities, and fragmented representative democratic systems have encouraged the promotion of various experiments aimed at enhancing transparency, circulation of information, the strengthening of social connections, solidarity and the democratization of democracy in the European context. In this scenario, the theoretical division between deliberative and participatory methods ends up fading, when we decide to refer to deliberative participatory processes aimed at guaranteeing attention on both the quality of deliberation and the inclusion of social sectors. The focus on incisive outcomes has recently driven scholars and practitioners to reconsider realistic integrations between these models. At the same time, the impact of such interactive policymaking processes assume their own meaning only when considered within their sustainable institutional design and consequently, in relation to public administration structures and cultures. In recent years, several attempts at combination, articulation and integration of participatory "open door" and deliberative "samples" have been experienced[62]. Hence, it is the very conception of the process, its position within the general administrative structure, its characteristics as policymaking processes and its insertion among the other governance processes, that is worth analyzing.

---

[62] According to criteria of participatory assembly meetings (e.g. neighborhood councils; consultative committees; participatory urban planning; participatory budgets and so on) and mini-publics (random selection; citizen juries in Germany and USA; consensus conferences in Denmark; citizen conferences in France; planungszellen in Germany and so on), in the last few years numerous hybrid experiences have been developed in Europe, for example Democracy Max in Scotland concerning electoral reforms (http://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/democracy-max/).

Chapter IV - Interactive policymaking processes

1. Outline

Administrative structures, in taking together legislative and administrative functions, have been traditionally demanded to effectively implement public policies. By considering contemporary public administrations as the gathered systems wherein political and bureaucratic instances look for multiple "contacts", it is necessary to understand what types of interactions are needed to construct new governance measures[63]. The interaction between actors not included in policymaking hitherto, puts a complex series of questions on the table that political sciences and public policy analysts have been exploring in the last few years. The potential conflicts emerging from the multiplication of the interests at the stake, could have numerous consequences as regards demands to be accomplished, legitimization to be improved, mechanisms of reciprocal control, and so on. Controversies, conflicts and agreements acquire specific meanings when connected to the correspondent institutional designs supplying new interactive processes. Such a perspective moves scientists to focus, not only on the ineluctable dynamicity of such processes, but also to shift their attention from political leadership towards the relationships in progress.

The pluralism of the emerging political contexts questions the established rule of majority governing representative regimes (Bobbio, 1995b). In dividing competitors playing their game so as to achieve forms of equilibrium, a long tradition of scholars has debated the effects of decision-making in political systems. From the theory of the games (Von Neumann and Morgenstern, 1944), the majority principle results in zero-sum, in comparison with actors agreeing on the same outcomes who design a positive-sum game[64]. In this respect, the "dilemma of the prisoner" shows how choices addressed to maximize individual goods can result in two types of outcomes: on the one hand the "Nash

---

[63] We use the concept of interaction in this chapter in order to give an account of the vast polysemy characterizing new policymaking processes, such as "openness", i.e. providing citizens with transparent information and making the policy process accessible and responsive; and "inclusion", i.e. including as wide a variety of citizens' voices in the policymaking process as possible (OECD, 2009).

[64] The theory of the games considers choices as grounded in individual attitudes, and players are required to know the rules of the game as well as the consequences of their choices in order to adopt their strategies, that when defined as dominant, implies forms of "power" over other players. Any plan of action is always dependent on the type of interaction played, and while choosing is sustained by the knowledge of the available options, deciding is sustained by the decisional process in action (Gherardi, 1985). As a result, games can: (1) be cooperative and repeated throughout time or competitive; (2) provide complete information about others' strategies; (3) be everlasting; (4) result into either zero-sum or non-zero-sum.

equilibrium", on the other hand the "Pareto optimum"[65]. The latter describes a situation where resources cannot help but be to the advantage of one player, while making another player less well off, i.e. either monopoly or oligopoly to the detriment of perfect competition among the actors (such a principle has been used to describe the "hidden hand" regulating liberal market). Egoistic attitudes could end up benefitting the whole society by setting up a perfectly competitive economic system. In fact neoclassic economic theory postulates the market as the perfect mechanism, selecting the business subjects most able to optimize resources and maximize effectiveness (Pereira, 1994). When conversely the result is the "Nash equilibrium", the game is not played cooperatively, but rather sustained by the ambition of profit maximization of one player, though not damning other competitors and, eventually, not playing a zero-sum game. When achieving this equilibrium the game shows that individual choices concerning strategy and benefit depend strictly on the choices of others. Cooperation is therefore a group strategy instituted only when considered dominant, i.e. clearly functional for maximization of goods throughout time. Strict rationality governing human actions is inherently related to the possibility of fixing preferences, advancing cardinal utilities on the basis of "perfect" information. The rational model is used to identify decision-makers who first empirically assumed the existence of a problem, then formulate the goals for the optimal solution after determining consequences and probabilities of alternative means (costs and benefits), in line with effectiveness and efficiency principles promoted throughout the 1980s, ending up bolstering bureaucratic conceptions of governance.

Hence, whether theory of the games has been considered by both political and economic sciences, in order to face the very challenge of understanding how people deliberate and choose the best goods within social systems, it is clear how the reality shows a more complex and unpredictable collection of factors. The principle of choice itself differs extensively when considering individuals or society. Yet Coleman (1990), although

---

[65] The dilemma describes a situation with two individuals in jail, separately interrogated about their faults according to these premises: (1) the one confessing avoids punishment and condemns the other to seven years in jail; (2) the two confessing results in six years in jail each; (3) neither confessing results in one year jail each. There would be a "Pareto optimum" if they reciprocally knew the strategies resulting in the third option. On the contrary, the most common result is the second option, demonstrating the failure of "perfect rationality", while compelling for cooperative strategies. In this respect, numerous scholars have further articulated the dilemma by introducing complementary variables (e.g. see: Johnson *et al.* 1998; Fundenberg and Levine, 2009).

advising on the artificial dimension of the "dilemma" when compared with social realities, points out how the theory must be taken into consideration when analyzing the way communities' norms are constituted, applied and defended in promoting cooperation and sanctioning non-cooperation. The rules of cooperative games provide an opportunity to think about networks composed of new actors interacting for policymaking. Rational choice theory has represented one of the most important contributions in theoretical terms with regard to policymaking and the interaction among individuals hitherto. The idea of "optimum" outcomes is deeply enrooted by the use of rational choice in terms of deliberation, as well as in terms of institutional constraints on the political view of the critical impact of contextual variability on individual rationality. As a matter of fact, the individual decision-maker is thought to be self-interested and seeks to rationally maximize utilities. As Crozier (1975) puts it:

> [*t*]*his kind of rationality, which can be considered as the most powerful tool humanity had discovered for managing collective action, is founded upon a clear distinction between ends and means and an analytical fragmentation of problems within a world that could be considered infinite. Within such a framework people can define goals according to their preferences (i.e. their values)* (*ibidem*: 40).

Social fabrics are anything but homogeneous subjects harmonically composed of and including different actors, who have the same access to information, hold the same possibility to use knowledge, and continue to have the same priorities throughout time. When not considering real outcomes as biased by irrationality, scientists have been compelled to consider rules of the political game, not as merely the framework, but rather the essential part of the game itself (Elster, 1979). Furthermore, questions concerning trust of political actions come to the fore: when marginalizing the variability of the environment and searching for universal truths, practices carried out by political institutions are likely to not grasp real social claims, and be more interested in legitimizing homogeneous political orders (Mouffe, 2000). Therefore, governments of pluralistic societies must cope with new complex systems of interactions that serve to increase effectiveness of policies. In these terms, cooperation is likely to design positive-sum games that could provide new sources for the legitimization of interactive processes. As a matter of fact, when such necessity is translated into new devices, it is likely to change the vision of policymaking. Considering the traditional phases of public policymaking – initiation and definition, formulation and

enactment, implementation and impact, and evaluation – as well as the conception of politics and administration as separated areas of the formation of policies, we can see the attempt to (re)produce classical bureaucracy thought, based on neutrality and technical specialization addressed to implementation (Peters, 2001; Barrett, 2004). In this sense, even the distinction, between politics as confrontation and competition between political parties, unions, movements, interest groups, and policy as the set of laws, norms, action planning addressed to achieve specific results in compliance with actors and interests, becomes blurred. Lasswell (1963) has argued that politics represents the set of dynamics canalizing irrational parts of society towards open space so that rationality and dialectical processes should be understood as secondary to the redefinition of an emotional consensus. Hence, the vision of bureaucrats as mere executors cannot help but create a biased perspective on the real impact of administrative involvement in implementing processes. By approaching implementation as a phase in connection with policy designing, the proper conception of policymaking as responding to clearly identifiable problems has started to change. And the scientific debate has shifted progressively from analyzing, designing and implementing as separated areas, towards the intertwined evolution of policymaking processes and the diverse roles implied within (Maynard-Moody, 1989).

2. What role for policy analysis?

Policymaking raises questions concerning its definition that in the last few years, have involved new perspectives on the social construction of action. When demanded to rethink goals of economical growth within scenarios of crisis, and simultaneously acknowledging the increasing complexity of collective and private matters, interactive policymaking has begun to represent a new source of legitimization and effectiveness. By expanding the change to include new actors, interaction is likely to create new settings for different actors to apply their multiple practices and so contribute to the formation of public policies (Moro, 2005). Thus, the term policy comes to be applied to actual practices and not merely to formally announced intentions of government. It can indicate both the overall agency of governments and more precisely, governmental actions[66]. The possible commitment to

---

[66] According to Lowi (1972), there are three types of policies: distributive (subsidies that give protection to certain interests), redistributive (concerned with the role of the government in societal and economic matters) and regulatory (standards on regulated industries). Moreover, each type of policy is associated with specific

cooperate needed from political institutions, business bodies and civil societies, in order to mobilize resources intended for development, raises a complexity of demands. By defining problems, elaborating scenarios, deciding solutions, such processes are required to enact policies that deal with either collective issues or specific interests (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995; Zamagni, 2007). In holding tight to its mission to provide stable frameworks for interaction – by grounding actions on shared "institutionalized meanings" as a basis for interpretation of path dependent actions in correspondence with the generating systems (March and Olsen, 1989a) – policymaking has widely become the junction point for different "systems of action" (Crozier and Friedberg, 1981) to get involved and in some cases, co-decide. Furthermore, it is likely that policies regarding industrial enhancement, innovation, learning, territorial and social justice will become objects of contention, competition or agreement among the actors; and that policies will take the form of stories framing problems that, henceforth, embed bounded sets of conclusions (Edelman, 1985b; Roe, 1991).

The passage from "*doxa*" (subjective opinions) to "*episteme*" (intersubjectively founded opinion) can change the contents and legitimization of policy analysis. It is not the accumulation of knowledge, but rather the gathering of multiple understandings that can change the rules of the game towards new results. When focusing on processes the key factor becomes the ways results are achieved, rather than the results *per se*. The construction of reality is fed by representations that dynamically interact when subjects are embedded in the same context (Moscovici, 1961; Grasso and Salvatore, 1997; Carli, 2006a)[67]. Approaching the complexity of the changes ongoing in the economic, political, social as well as organizational areas – such as representative roles in the whole political sphere, national States facing controversial globalizing pressures, the increasing role of spontaneous social protests, the worldwide current economical and financial crises, the effort for enhancing political trust – science has had to reframe the analyses concerning contemporary societies. The relationship between subjects and objects of discussion has

political processes. According to Egeberg (2008) policies can be divided into two main categories: (1) substantive, i.e. the kind of policies making most of the bureaucrats engage in most of the time; (2) administrative, i.e. dealing with aspects of the administrative apparatus itself.

[67] Moscovici (2005) distinguishes between hot and cold representations as regards scientific systems' knowledge. Scientific knowledge, proceeding through breakups (see also: Kuhn, 1962; Lorenzano, 2000) is incorporated, re-elaborated and reconstructed by social actors in their daily life, and so in tense relation with common sense owning a conservative and action-oriented nature.

become extremely important for social science, displacing the question of the object *per se,* towards the problem of how theories and realities are reciprocally bonded (see: Toulmin, 1990; Everdell, 1997). Subject and object are seen as elements of the process of knowledge, intertwined within complex contextual connections to be critically analyzed (Neisser, 1987).

Contextual variability and its "epistemological" turn imply new conceptions of society (Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Lyotard, 1979; Bauman, 2000). At the same time, social sciences have become more and more attentive to what might be reproduced in the downside of disciplinary rhetoric, mainly in cases concerning basic assumptions of modernity (Latour, 2004). As a result, new forms of knowing also question the role of sciences and their outcomes, because they come to be framed as "social processes" themselves (Sokal and Brikmont, 1999; Jasanoff, 2003). The acknowledgment of new relationships between cultural universes needs to overtake any attempts of separation that have resulted in linear and all-inclusive explanations of reality. It seems necessary to go beyond big "narratives" in order to analyze the project of modernity, both explicitly and implicitly present in social and political discourses[68]. In this respect, Sousa Santos (2000, 2007) has contributed to the big critical debate over this theme, proposing the concept of "ecology of knowledge" by arguing the need for diversity of knowledge to be mutually connected for new and wider forms of legitimized narratives. When multiplicity emerges as a legitimate ground for constructing knowledge, it could also be possible to understand to what extent power can work towards either coercive or emancipative results. As a result, the author argues that with power being intrinsically distributive, the problem lies at the bottom of unequal social and political relationships. For this reason we should look at the power in its specific and pragmatic expressions and as a result, any political systems should take into consideration not only the presence or absence of democratic principles, but also their "intensity"[69].

---

[68] Snow (1995) proposes the distinction between two types of "cultures" in science and simultaneously highlights the danger in polarizing them. Arriscado Nunes (1998/1999) deepens such a controversial debate stressing the political character carried by the division between sciences and policy because it allows political positions to be expressed through the science's language, i.e. its rhetoric can be promoted as scientifically valid argumentations supported by relation with a "down" and "undifferentiated" culture.
[69] The author is in continuity with, and simultaneously re-ponders the position of Foucault (1997) by highlighting the risk of trivializing power when conceived as multiple and ubiquitous. At the same time, Foucault (*ibidem*) states that freedom is everywhere, meaning therefore that there is always space to

This extensive debate also involves the legitimization of technical knowledge and skills in working contexts. In terms of public policy analysis, it has been largely undertaken by the disciplines belonging to the field of political science, those mostly concerned with the dilemma about traditional or context-focused methods of inquiry and data analysis replication (Aberbach and Rockman, 1995). Policy analysis has been characterized by the use of multiple methods in order to both produce and transform policy-relevant information towards problem solving in the vast field of policy. Its proper hybrid nature makes policy orientation an intrinsically multidisciplinary science (Dunn, 1981)[70]. Academics, staff in government agencies, researchers in think tanks, management consulting firms, interest groups and non-profit organizations encompassing different areas of public administration, have been variously committed to influencing problem selection, problem analysis, organizational identity, administrative strategy, public access and public understanding. However, policy analyses have often relied on positivist paradigms, characterized by technocratic approaches based on causal laws of society, to be verified by neutral, empirical observations (Dryzek, 2002)[71].

Likewise, we have already argued that policymaking should not be understood as a phase or process that is strictly separate from political actions and providing mere technical assessment pre/post the political calculations of policymakers (Miller, 2002; Toulmin, 1990). Policymaking rather, represents a sort of political exercise where public organizations are caught in the middle of the political commitment in reshaping public policies. Hence, the gradual shift toward socially constructed phenomena rather than methodological descriptions, has led to a focus on the effects of social and political interactions addressed to either define and/or solve problems on the tables of governments

---

determine new equilibriums in the "never-ending" struggle of power regarding subjects, as well as forms of knowledge.

[70] From the 1960s on, policy analysis has particularly developed mainly in the USA and Europe under the influence of the theories of Habermas and Foucault, or social constructionism, as in the UK and France. While in Sweden and Denmark great attention has been paid to policy implementation and evaluation research, in Germany, the policy implementation process has proposed the "actor-centered institutionalism", understanding institutional factors as providing negotiation arenas for corporative actors, whether public or private (see: Mayntz and Scharpf, 1995).

[71] Dryzek (2002) argues that in response to positivism there has been critical rationalism, deriving its principles from Popper's philosophy, based on a falsification that in policy, means proceeding by tentative trial and error. Dealing with policies as scientific experiments, propogates the image of rational policy engineers and fails to recognize that policies are symbolically mediated social processes. Another approach has been the analycentrism, which emphasizes the process character and the possible implementation of alternatives, in accordance with analysis' criteria of optimization within resources' constraints.

(Bohman, 1991; Howlett and Ramesh, 1995; Bryner, 2008). Therefore, policymaking can be seen as a by-product of the multiple understandings and narratives constructed by interest groups, policy constituencies and scholars working in competing disciplines, and citizens producing new potential frameworks for social problems. The chance to make different forms of knowledge, know-how and power encounter, is to constitute spaces where it is not the "truth" to be claimed, but rather the most plausible action to be undertaken in specific situations. By restructuring the definition of the setting and of the problems to be debated, there is the possibility to create the conditions for more complex models of policymaking (Thibaut and Walker, 1978; Weick, 1997).

2.1. Reflecting on policymaking, reframing public policies

Whether "frame analysis" (Goffman, 1974) attempts to explicate the structures that give form to processes of social interaction and communication, policy frame can be understood as a story setting out a problem and a consistent course of action to be undertaken. In line with this, Schön and Rein (1994) argue that the concept of a framework distinguishes different problem solving situations; the first, disagreements, arises from a common frame, while controversies derive from conflicting frames, i.e. different problem-setting stories, which are based on generative metaphors. The institutional embedding may carry its own characteristic perspectives and ways of framing issues and/or offer roles, channels and norms for discussions and debates, determining the legitimacy of participants in the policy conversation. Frames are self-referential but they are not self-interpretive: they are about action and our self-commitment to make it realizable. Conversely, Schön (2002) argues, it is possible "*to have reframing without controversy and controversy without reframing. Policy can change without a frame choice, and we can debate frame choice without any political change resulting (ibidem*: 161). This means that policy change can also consist of mere adaptation to changing situations. In this sense, one could argue that change can be achieved without any necessary reflective practice of the actors involved, and let the processes be directed by casualty. Notwithstanding, such a view evidently gets rid of the tremendous potential functions and contributions of aware actors

participating in policymaking processes[72]. Both participants and professionals can promote reflective actions during the course of dialogue with other actors, in order to learn and indeed simultaneously question their own work context. Considering problem-setting stories as based on "generative metaphors", reflection can actually offer a way of revealing the ways social actors deal with epistemological predicaments and in turn, promote new awareness. Forms of frame-reflective discourses are likely to allow participants to identify those "taken-for-granted" assumptions used in arguments in order to explore the profound meanings of the interactive game at stake. When reflection is assumed as a basic issue of policymaking, it becomes clear how policy, forms of knowledge and psychological involvement are strictly intertwined[73]. In this sense, Schön (1983) argues that the "reflective practitioner" should be able to distinguish two basic paradigms of knowledge: on the one hand, technical rationality as a positivist and empiric conception of approaching reality, and on the other hand, reflexivity as the ability of technical rationality to work within confusing and ambiguous conditions[74]. Reflexivity should provide an understanding of power dynamics and then give access to the possibility of changing practices, potentially transforming rules and functions of reference.

---

[72] Symbolic representation is basic to political argumentation: symbols can follow the tradition of conception as devices used to hide, a kind of metaphor which is part of the culture which, in turn, slips by us (Stone, 1997). However, symbols as we mean in psychosociology, imply understanding the deep constitutive factors of our contexts. "*Despite the fact that symbols and the multiple meanings create problems for the systematic empirical study of politics and public policy, there is no escaping their central role in the world of political action*" (Fischer, 2003: 56).

[73] Beck *et al*. (1994) define reflexivity in both individual and institutional terms as the only reasonable goal for ongoing challenges. Sciences acknowledge their limited contribution for knowledge, as much as institutions become aware of being provided with neither infinitive nor self-sufficient resources. Sousa Santos (2000) deepens this perspective by arguing that there has been a dominant predominance of legitimized science to the detriment of different constellations of knowledge; like the State right to the detriment of multiple forms of rights, and liberal politics to the detriment of social powers (see also: Kelsen, 1995). Such a "cosmic" dynamic has had the goal of reducing the "caosmic" plurality of the structural spaces of power in society. Similarly, Foucault (2005) recognizes in the proliferation of norms mixing legality and nature, prescription and constitution (in comparison with the general laws of the State), a "normalizing" action.

[74] In this respect, Edelman (1985) reflects on the relationship between reasons and rationalizations as strictly intertwined, since the first can be expressed only through the latter. "*Every term and every entity in the environment is a signifier, and signifiers evoke a range of meanings that continues to widen endlessly. It is evident that the dominant meanings rationalize existing social inequalities, but always in ways that subvert those values and premises as well.*" (*ibidem*: 19). According to Bakhtin the relational nature of the world is expressed through communication, which includes many voices implicit in our understanding and entailing of texts, and in the end, the proper construction of social worlds which are continuously re-described through social interactions. Nonetheless, there is always the potential presence of self-referential rational choices that Petitt (2000) names as "resiliency", explaining the persistence of some human behaviors.

3. The construction of the interactions

On shifting from rationalist principles, towards the construction of interdisciplinary, holistic and discursive paradigms that catch the essence of policymaking, several policy analysis scholars have been arguing for the necessity to approach the complexity of social and reframe policymaking processes. By recognizing the difficulty for rational choice theory to explain new emerging matters, as well as the entrance of multiple interests and the bounded visions concerning problems and solutions, new models of both enacting and reading interactive policymaking processes have been developed in the last few decades (Donolo, 2006). The interaction with non-governmental actors in producing public policies has been interpreted as the great challenge for current democratic regimes and the "reinvention" of government through governance measures (Rhodes, 1996; Schmidt, 2006; Peters and Pierre, 2007). It has not been a matter of abandoning hierarchical structures, but rather the inclusion of either procedures or devices for interaction, cooperation or participation. As a result, roles and responsibilities have been put at the core of the debate about the actual capacity of the public sector to retain such transformations, as well as the worth and the effectiveness of new interplays between political elites, interest groups' demands, and institutional processes. As policymaking processes cope with social problems, they can be understood as social constructions, built on the intermingling of empirical findings with social meanings and ideological orientations (Fischer, 2003). Social construction of meanings is not limited to a particular phase of the process, but rather infused throughout. While there is not a testable reality to matter in shaping political choices, but rather definitions of reality rising from beliefs that language helps to evoke, it is the "unobserved" reality that gives a chance for deeper understanding. Therefore, policymaking can be understood as a constant struggle over the definitions of problems, boundaries of categories used to describe them, criteria for their classification and assessment and the meaning of ideals that guide particular actions (Lasswell *et al*. 1952).

Interaction is thought of as a form of reconstructing what constitutes the interests of different participants through mutual learning, both stemming from and impacting on different conceptions of contexts, problems experienced and ways of addressing these problems and changing situations (see: Healey, 2002; Markovà, 2003). The reflection on the actors and the rules of the game enacted within interactive policymaking processes, leads to communicative planning activities. Communication has been the object of multiple

studies and from the 1980s on, special relevance has been given to it by scholars like Habermas, Foucault and Bourdieu. In compliance with Habermas' investigation (1996), neither control nor domination have to stay at the center of the analysis, but rather the productive ability of organizing and coordinating action through consensual communication. The re-politicization of the public sphere with communicative interactions, traverses imaging ideal situations wherein nobody imposes restrictions concerning who may participate and what has to be said. According to Fischer (2003), Habermas' idea concerning the creation of a public sphere where citizens could openly discuss political agreements has been depoliticized through State interventions, especially concealing the dominant interests of capital business. The author proposes to approach policymaking through "post empiricist" and discursive policy inquiry, based on the ways policy argumentation is influenced or shaped by the languages framing different discourses about the world. New "policy epistemics" should rely on a conception of social change that understands the need for a critical dialectic between the objective structures of existing institutional arrangements, and the subjective understandings of the actors working in them. As a result, the author argues that: "*the social world is an interpretative linkage of social perceptions, recollections, and expectations, all of which are grounded in subjective experience and understanding of the social and physical realms* (*ibidem*: 49). The deliberation of public policy involves the traditional technocratic issues of examining outcomes, as well as the larger social, political and economic system and their underlying normative and principles. Everything we say is thus a contribution to building model of political relations, and then public policy is not only expressed in words, but also constructed through languages.

From the point of view of Foucault (1975, 1997), since truth is founded on discursive conventions of power, subjects themselves can be understood as creations of prevailing and mainstream discursive practices. Along this line, by examining the utterances of actors involved in policymaking processes with respect to a topic of common concern, it is important to take into account how people construct language and how language "constructs" people. Towards the aim of transforming society through changing discursive practices, Bourdieu (2005) focuses especially on the invisibility of power and on ordinary micro-practices generating "habits". Cultures and practices are shared by embodying habits that, consequently, determine dominant discourses and legitimize certain uses of the

language. In order to break with the arbitrary legitimacy of some habits, the author emphasizes the need for "heterodox" discourses so as to create alternative forms of practical reasons. In this respect the author argues that mechanisms of "symbolic violence" are likely to prevent critical reflection by means of standard definitions, i.e. habits reproduced in daily life (see also: Bohman, 1997). Other approaches like ethnographic studies and neo-institutionalism have had a great impact between the 1980s and 1990s. The latter has emphasized how the interests of the actors are always intrinsically influenced by institutional structures, norms and rules through which they are pursued (March and Olsen, 1984, 1989a; Thoenig, 2008). Hence, the play of power is nothing but a fairy game among interest groups because the political and organizational environment determines how interest groups, politicians and administrators choose their policy references[75]. Policy network studies have also played a relevant role, in focusing on networks created around common ideas concerning the solution of public problems. In strict connection with policy communities – whose actors can either be represented or not in policy networks – networks are expected to transmit beliefs concerning some specific types of knowledge, influencing patterns of behaviors (Haas, 1992).

It is evident that there is a growing fashion within social constructionist theories that implies the conception of public policies as shaped through socially interpreted understandings. Decision-makers are always engaged in a work of manipulation of signs and symbols that shape the ways reality is treated (Edelman, 1960, 1977, 1985a). That is why communicative exchange within interactive processes has become so relevant in the last few years. Language is seen not only as an "instrument" for political expression, but also as the principal factor of politics' construction. The language used by policymakers to frame social problems implies specific visions on causes and therefore, particular sets of actions to be undertaken. Ideas and values are embedded in discourses constructed within policymaking processes, reflecting systems of power (Sintomer, 2010). The analysis of communication within democratic institutions implementing interactive policymaking processes, must take into account the role and the communicative contributions of

---

[75] Schmidt (2006) approaches "discursive institutionalism" emphasizing how discourse cannot be separated "*from the interests to which gives expression, the institutions by which it is shaped, the culture which frames it; and the ideas which it serves to generate and convey*" (*ibidem*: 249). Discourse owns two dimensions: the ideational – supplying policy with substantive cognitive and normative arguments outlining transformative power of discourse – and the interactive – coordinative and communicative discourses – particularly deepening the interactive dimension of EU impact on national governments.

politicians, experts, civil society organizations, citizens and other stakeholders. That is the reason why adopting a hermeneutic perspective on reframing the settings of research is functional, to prevent accommodating analyses and interpretations to the standards of the established narratives (Kaplan, 2002). In this sense, the involvement of policy analysis with discursive democratic debates and disputes, involves tackling deep reflections on the interaction of arguments (Dryzek, 2002). As a result, policy analysis and planning cannot help but be concerned with both the content (epistemological concerns) and performance (institutional and organizational concerns) of arguments, resulting in the very ambiguousness of policy analysis. By assuming that problem solutions depend on problem construction, which is a rhetorical and interpretive work, Fischer and Forester (2002) suggest that context-specific rhetoric reveals the ways symbolism of language matters in problem setting and problem solving[76].

Getting through content and performance, interpretive policy analysts have been specifically concerned with the socially constructed nature of any claims of knowledge by focusing on the role of "myth" in policymaking (Yanow, 1994, 1996, 2000). Meant as narratives aimed at diverting attention from puzzling parts of reality, myths are social constructions including beliefs and incommensurability within public narratives that, in turn, are not explicitly conscious. As psychosociologists, we need theoretical and methodological tools so as to grasp, read and interpret the work of symbolization grounding communicative interactions. In compelling emotional and intellectual beliefs, myths prompt action that validates customs, ceremonies, rituals, and rites, which cover the deep struggle among social actors (see: Chapter I). Myths allow people to communicate knowledge about policy and organizational matters by maintaining silences in public discourse.

> *If value conflict in public policy relates to matters of status or status-based power, then we might expect some of the policy's goals to be verboten. In those cases policy language is more likely to be ambiguous or vague, and we are more*

---

[76] Escobar (2009) proposes the distinction of different typologies of dialogue, based on Linder's (2001): (1) "formalis", focused on the deliberative turn supported by the encountering of rational arguments in accordance with Habermas' theory, ending up as a source of normative validity; (2) "hermeneutic", especially emphasizing the role of reflection, and then the aspect of both social and cultural inquiry for deliberative experiments through mutual exploration of arguments and subsequent new insights, fostering potential unforeseen creativity; (3) "pragmatic", highlighting the turn into social action of arenas constituted for problem solving, by creating conditions for surpassing specialized expertise and counterbalancing it with simultaneous reliance on experience and local knowledge, resulting in building citizenship itself.

likely to find policy or organizational myths that deflect attention away from that
which is publicly undiscussable (Yanow, 1994: 420).

In not having public consensus supporting their legitimacy as public issues, there is a cultural prohibition concerning such goals, as well as the prohibition itself (see also: Edelman, 1977). Hence, by acknowledging the contradictions underlying myths and organizational life, we reveal competing values in order to reveal explicitly – supported by consistent models of analysis – how symbolization works. Likewise, Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian (2011) point out the necessity to reveal contradictions within organizational talks and behaviors. Furthermore, in the same vein of D'Agostino and Olivetti Manoukian (2009), Yanow (*ibidem*) has shone a light on two macro-types of myths (by analyzing the Israel Corporation of Community Centers): the first, rational goal-setting and secondly, organizational flexibility. Both of these work to deflect attention from the unattainability of the agency's social goals, so as to reconcile the conflict between two incommensurables: the value of the "unachievable" goals due to limited resources and the value of maintaining organizational life as successfully achieving goals. On the other hand, flexibility ensures some amount of ambiguity by multiplying actions, increasing ambiguous debates and ending up in impossible assessment and possible political legitimizations through publics' acquiescence (Edelman, 1960, 1985a). The role of interactive policymaking, when adopting a hermeneutic perspective on the process of symbolical signification, leads to complex questions. Will explicit discussion about public good bring to light contradictions and conflicts more disruptive than society is prepared to handle, or does it rather silence established interests in a tokenistic way? Under what conditions will policy stakeholders be likely to change their beliefs and hence their myths? And then, what sort of outcomes should we expect from interactive policymaking process? Could they effectively change equilibriums or would they rather become new myths used to cover up forms of the *status quo*?

4. The rules of "participatory games"

The ways people communicate and symbolically construct the meaning of their interaction, (i.e. defining one another as well as both problems and solutions), becomes of central importance for interactive policymaking. When bringing new actors into political

activity, processes can be structured according to different models of public deliberation. Two of the main approaches are referred to as "deliberative" and "participatory" democracies. Some scholars, as previously discussed, have commented on the principal features distinguishing the nature of deliberative and participatory arenas and some of them have come up with the necessity of hybrid participatory sets for effective policymaking. The creation of settings wherein different agents can deliberate is thought of as promoting social learning about public problems. The focus on the "quality" of communication among the actors and the capacity of building consensus over issues considered to be important for the specific purpose of their presence, makes deliberative principles particularly concerned with building understanding and high quality decisions. Participatory processes are adopted to both arrive at a workable decision and bring communities together (Fischer, 2009), and are generally seen as more concerned with the inclusion of agents of deliberation, often with scarce attention to the process of arguing and traditionally more committed with (re)distribution of power. As described by Arnstein (1971), the empowerment of citizens is at the heart of such processes (redistribution of information, resources and influence on decision-making) and, along these lines, the author posits a "ladder" with eight rungs (manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and finally, citizen control)[77]. Hence, the author has specially stressed the role of public acknowledgment through information sharing towards co-decisional outcomes as regards governmental actions (Davis, 1997)

Fung (2006) sees a risk in fusing empirical scales describing levels of influence that individuals may have over collective decisions with some sort of "normative approvals". Starting from the idea that different situations demand different typologies of participation, the author supposes as a principal reason for enhancing citizen participation, the deficiency of the traditional set of decision-makers (whether elected representatives or administrative officials) in terms of knowledge, competence, resources, etc. So the author (*ibidem*)

---

[77] Such milestone analysis is specific to the struggles that low-income citizens and their community organizations in the U.S.A. had in getting real participation within particular government programs in the 1960s. Later on Pretty (1995) has distinguished: manipulative and passive participation whenever the decisions have already been taken; consultation; material incentives making people participate by contributing resources; functional, whenever the aim is efficiency and cost reduction after the main decisions have been made by external agents; interactive, when local groups take control over decisions; self-mobilization of people taking the initiative independently of external organizations and controlling the resources.

distinguishes: (1) scope, responding to "who participates?"; (2) mode of communication and decision, responding to "how to participate?"; (3) extent of authority, responding to "towards what?". As for the first issue, the author recognizes eight typologies of participants. The first two entail the State practice in involving political representatives and bureaucratic administrators. Then, one can think about whether to include professional or lay stakeholders, still keeping the participatory method exclusive. In order to make it a more inclusive process, one can randomly select by either opened or targeted recruiting as well as leaving it open to self-selection. The last form of inclusive participation is identified in the diffuse public sphere: mass media, associations and informal venues of discussion. With regard to the modes of communication and decision, the author lists six ways that go from the less intensive to the most intensive ones, including the level of investment, knowledge and commitment required from participants. If listening as spectators, expressing or developing preferences do not entail any decision-making process, but rather aim to promote the communication level, the author recognizes methods for aggregating and bargaining, deliberating and negotiating or the use of technical expertise as forms of more intensive deliberation. Finally, in terms of influence on policies, the author distinguishes forms of mere personal benefit due to some sense of civic obligation or edification; communicative influence; advice and consultation for public authorities; direct power through either co-governing partnership or direct authority over public decisions or resources. Then the author employs the three described dimensions to discuss how participatory processes can be addressed towards three crucial issues for democracy: legitimacy, justice and effectiveness of public action and specifying how "*no single participatory design is suited to serving all three values simultaneously; particular designs are suited to specific objectives*" (*ibidem*: 74)[78].

Our understanding of both deliberative and participatory patterns makes clear the necessity to think of different forms of coordination among actors who are demanded to implement public policies. With less or more emphasis on the dialogical turn and construction of argument, with either open door or randomly selected actors, interactive

---

[78] If legitimacy stems from the agreement of citizens over government's actions, justice is the capacity to include non-politically influential societal sectors (as occurred with the Participatory Budget in Porto Alegre through the inversion of spending priorities from wealthy areas of town to poorer neighborhoods (Baiocchi, 2003) and effectiveness is the possibility to really implement what has emerged from the processes (what can demand the direct involvement of citizens' knowledge or know-how).

policymaking processes share the aim of reaching legitimatized decision over public goods. Such an ambition has to do with the management of different interests getting involved in processes that had often been reserved to "distant" political institutions hitherto. In political terms, it implies a "revision" of the ways power has to be publically managed, although the visibility of power does not necessarily imply horizontal coordination since exposition can be managed in either "higher" or "lower" positions with respect to society, marking then a distance from citizens (Kets de Vries, 1993; Quaglino, 1996; Bobbio, 2011). In organizational terms, both deliberative and participatory processes call upon the function of experts for the management of the processes. Such experts can be figured as either external or internal subjects working for public administration, including also a large variety of hybrid positions related to contractual job forms. Hence, it is necessary to reflect on the organizational typology of the involvement of public administrations in interactive policymaking processes when seeking to grasp how political planners and bureaucrats conceive and manage them.

The classic tension between expertise and participation are central to these experiences, largely designed to counter the techno-bureaucratic and elitist draws of political and organizational processes (Fischer, 2009). Along this line, Forester (1999) has referred to the challenge for policy analysis in undergoing positivist attitudes toward new epistemological positions by proposing the figure of "deliberative practitioner". Starting from the conception of science as a cultural form of argument, the author emphasizes that the point is neither to argue against hypothesis testing nor to argue for a desperately needed broader conception of social research, but to pursue the question of how practitioners learn and develop good judgment in practice (*idem*, 2002). Directed towards goals of public learning and political empowerment, by supporting people in codifying into symbols an integrated picture of the reality which can generate consciousness, such an expertise calls upon the necessary context orientation of policy analysis. Therefore, on the table there is not only the critical analysis of the political planner, but also of the policy analyst as planner, i.e. self-reflection as a method for improving skills, acknowledging the role of agent of specific political-institutional contexts, and being part of the effort to reform society. As argued by the author, it compels us to understand the ways administrative personnel concerned with participatory processes selectively construct settings and characterize themselves (and others). Such a perspective is particularly important when

conceiving the complex and, to some extent, ambiguous situations created when gathering a various range of interests intervening in policymaking.

Every regulatory activity of government must cope with problems involving adversary interests. It is the very nature of democratic systems to design – at the theoretical level – the possibility for citizens to control political institutions, responding to principles of individual liberties (Bobbio, 1995b; Sen, 2010). Both governmental and non-governmental agencies have been legitimized to either promote popular initiatives, or stop governmental actions. This implies that the nature of this control essentially works when citizens want the government to desist on some specific policy initiatives, but can hardly act through representative mechanisms whenever they want to control government or make it act toward specific issues. What interactive policymaking places evidence on is the possibility to manage this topic in public arenas. The interplay of group interests with governmental organizational units is generally aimed at preventing unsolvable tensions, and possibly design new policies able to respond to the varied range of demands directed to public administrations. New ways of developing public policies aimed at gathering different and potentially conflicting interests within governmental actions, have questioned traditional conceptions concerned with the interaction between political and public spheres. Such an interplay implies not only the factual encountering among different actors, but also and firstly, the articulation of different perspectives on the problems themselves, their relevance as well as the vantages concerned with taking into account the different solutions on the table. Even though non-political groups, especially in the economic sphere, have always played some role in public decisions, their direct association with deliberative processes, the multiplication of non-elective juridical or consultative structures, and the proliferation of inter-administrative bodies, do raise a question about democratic deficit and institutional imaginaries (Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009)[79].

Interest groups can be considered as constituted organizations, NGOs, civil society organizations and stakeholders. In this scenario it is important to analyze the ways different interests interact and potentially influence one another. Such a cooperative or competitive relationship is supported by the very nature of policy to be debated, and its ability to settle

---

[79] In this respect, some scholars have proposed an analytical matrix defined as "new political culture", emphasizing the changing scenario of political values (e.g. left and right wings), as well as the concurrent importance of social issues and financial market individualism (see: Dagnino, 2001; Azevedo *et al.* 2009).

and manage conflict among the actors. In this sense, the concept of interest needs to be disambiguated first. Since there is usually considerable correspondence between organized groups and particular interests, it becomes essential to understand to what degree governments are responsive to particular interests who bring pressure upon them. Edelman (1952) argues that a high segmentation of interests to be responded to by single units can decrease the importance of any of them at all and, vice versa, group interests that have to take into consideration several governmental bodies are likely to suffer a disadvantage somewhat. Whoever adheres to any interest carried out by a group can be considered as part of it. In line with this, the author distinguishes interest groups from constituent groups, enabled to wield sanctions against the organization whenever it fails to take adequate account of the interests to which the constituent adheres. Both administrative agencies and elected officials have constituencies to whom they must listen and by whom they can sometimes be eliminated, i.e. different organizational units have different constituencies and different interests. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) argue that the very function of interest groups – also including government officials, their associations, and their departments or agencies – primarily relies on the possibility to gather interests, preventing then too much dispersion. To some extent, their inclusion in policymaking processes is seen as a reasonable way to optimize the work of public administration, towards the aim of coping with the increasing complexity of governmental agendas. At the same time, their contribution plays a role in terms of external monitoring of political actions on the one hand, and on the other hand, carrying information otherwise unachievable.

Interest groups potentially involved in interactive policymaking processes refer to two main categories: the first, groups related to citizens and secondly, the business agencies. Furthermore, these groups can be differentiated into "lobbies" bearing their own interests and representatives of common interests. Either neglecting or giving precedence to one or another implies different political choices: if business is considered to bring employment and, conversely, potential stagnation whenever its issues end up not being corresponded, citizens' demands are likely to be the first reference for effective governments in terms of the democratic game[80]. Yet, the looseness of popular control over government can render the situation in the advantage of business agencies. In fact, by arguing that the business

---

[80] In this sense, as argued by Ruivo *et al.* (2011), public power ends up expressing itself as both socio-centric, when promoting abstract equality for citizens, and egocentric, when responding to particular interests.

sphere has generally gained the key position in current democratic regimes, the authors state that:

> […] *debate about reduction of inequality, and inquiry into the need for reduced impairment is blocked in part by the public's lack of skill at probing either substantive problems or political procedures. Closely connected with lack of skill is lack of motivation or will.*" (*ibidem*: 149).

In this sense, they argue that wiser policymaking entails political agendas committed to the development of a thoughtful citizenry, i.e. breaking up the vicious circle producing social incompetence (Argyris and Lindblom, 1994), as well as the inhibition of the employees[81]. "Intelligent democracies" are supposed to approach decision-making through incremental methods that could substitute cogitation either partially (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973) or completely (Lindblom and Wildavsky, 1993). "Unintelligent" democracies are conversely, likely to exclusively respond to citizens' claims, whereas democracies strictly concerned with "elites" are likely to come up with unresponsive actions.

Hence, the possibility to reconcile the citizen and business systems seems to be conditioned by the overall capitalistic scenario, reporting on the one hand the general tendency of governments to accommodate business interests, and on the other hand, the accommodation of citizens to the scenario itself for being persuaded about the priority of financial issues as needed for social welfare. On accepting the existing distribution of wealth and the pressures of business agencies over political debate, putting citizens aside from public issues, competition of interests in democratic systems has often emphasized some business privilege prevailing on the marginal sectors of society[82]. The perceived lack of citizen contribution to public policies in terms of encountering agreement or struggle over common good's ideas, entails a reconsidering of which prerogatives are being carried out by interactive policymaking, and which agencies are being involved in the production

---

[81] Political interaction arbitrarily defines "good policies" due to the ineluctable set of incomplete information supporting decision-making. As a result, the only feasible way to objectively undertake a policymaking process is by considering the definition of the key questions. Argyris (1976) claims that such processes are based on the articulation of errors and corrections. As a result, potential learning is always rising from correcting errors and, conversely inhibition of learning results when either errors or corrections are not present.

[82] In this sense, Donolo and Mattei (2013) argue that the model of sharing is applicable to the vision of citizen as customer brought about by capitalism, which turns democracies into narrow competitive political systems legitimized by rational public choice theories.

of public goods[83]. As a matter of fact, governmental agencies have increasingly shown to be particularly responsive to the interests of some business groups, compelling scientists to tackle analyses in terms of political institutions' subordinate and superior agencies, either rigidly or fairly separated, as well as the type of fluxes occurring among them, in terms of representativeness of interests.

In summary, the frameworks of multiple spheres getting involved in interactive experiences are likely to provide opportunities to reframe micro-contexts of interaction and macro-contexts of belonging (Carli and Paniccia, 1981). In our understanding, it is from considering the construction of their rules of the games that makes sense of the conflicts and confrontations, strategies and interests and myths and rituals performed by the actors interacting at the public level with the government. Towards this aim we will specifically explore these topics concerned with participatory processes – consistent with the processes analyzed in the case study presented in the Fourth Part – and the role of civil servants when directly engaged for their management, in the Third Part.

---

[83] Samuelson (1954) has proposed to divide goods into public and private respectively, according to the inclusion and exclusion of social actors. Ostrom and Ostrom (1977) have introduced another criterion: subtractability and rivalry which identifies "club" and common goods in terms of low subtractable/high rival and high subtractable/low rival (see: Messina, 2012). According to Pellizzoni (1998) the production of common goods through extra political cooperation is likely to elicit a sense of community belonging. Yet Putnam (2004), in arguing the key role played by "social capital" also states that it can "*be simultaneously a private good and a public good. In many instances of social capital, some of the benefit goes to bystanders, while some of the benefits serve the immediate interest of the person making the investment*" (*ibidem*: 8).

THIRD PART – TOPIC

How can government be organized to locate power and wisdom in the same place?

Plato

      The Third Part of this Thesis focuses on the multiple and interrelated variables intertwined in participatory processes, in order to shine a light on the role of civil servants engaged in their implementation. In aiming to enhance policymaking by eliciting new sources and forms of trust in political systems, participatory processes also play a role in terms of organizational change. We have seen that change can be read as the possible forces for administrative reforms that, in the case of participation, should take into account both the political choice of inclusion and the impact of gathering new "voices" in policymaking. Despite the claims of some scholars of citizens' incapacity to pragmatically cope with general issues (Schumpter, 1967), citizen expertise is actually increasingly seen as required to integrate technical knowledge. The game played by citizens and formal groups with specific interests also involves counterbalancing possible scientific and technical collusion with capitalism, in preventing radical transformation of power distribution. Such a point informs the tense connections constructed between participative initiatives and political power inasmuch as actors are demanded to employ political skills that, in representative democratic systems, are thought to be held by the "professional" politicians (see: Sintomer, 2007).

      Therefore, when analyzing participatory processes we should give serious consideration to which and how voices are expressed. We should also account for external voices, as well as for the internal ones. In the formulation of (new) bureaucratic devices, participatory processes provide not only the chance for the claimed political "democratization", but also for administrative changes (Sousa Santos, 2003)[84]. These

---

[84] As regards Porto Alegre Participatory Budget, Sousa Santos (2002) points out the chance to turn "technobureaucracy" into "technodemocracy" when matching social issues and technical expertise. In order to perform new interactions with citizens, public administration provided training courses aimed at rethinking narrow technical language and procedural definitions, so as to facilitate and unearth citizens' know-how. In this sense, Brazilian Participatory Budgets show the interlacing of structural interventions in public administration and political visions of governance. Maurer (2010) argues that it has been possible to tie PBs in seamlessly with the reform of municipal administration and the great variety of civic participation approaches, generating a passage from "order municipality" through a "service municipality" and on to a

processes seem to embody some of the changes promoted by new principles of governance and as a way to cross the line of the challenging transformations proposed at different and interacting administrative levels. In resetting competences and powers, vertical subsidiarity is demanded to integrate horizontal subsidiarity forms that are meant to tackle new administrative competences and powers (Allegretti, 2006b). The intricate emerging framework actually questions standardized definitions of the role of the State at different scales and new interactive policymaking rationales. Redistributing powers, gathering new agents for shared projects, reconsidering the borders between public and private, regenerating trust towards political institutions, are just some of the purposes of participation. For this reason, the EU has been encouraging institutionalized forms of both interest group and citizen inclusion so as to implement agreement on problem definition and to create wider support for public policies. There appears to be widespread acknowledgment of the necessity to match the measures undertaken with NPM and the redesign of financial/economic spheres after the fall of communist systems, the rise of new economies in developing countries, demographic movements, efforts at controlling and constraining cross border movement, accelerated information exchange and increased accessibility of information[85].

The changes brought about by NPM, the reformulation of NPS and the development towards new governance devices, as well as both endogenous and exogenous factors emerging with new social and financial issues, have compelled organizational theories and policy analysis to draw new reflections. Going beyond the binary vision concerning public and private sectors as vessels that do not communicate with each other;

"citizens' municipality". Pazé (2011) also states that participation seems to have succeeded in making civil servants, "*ascoltare le ragioni della cittadinanza, a esprimersi in un linguaggio comprensibile, a rendere conto delle proprie decisioni. Non si tratta di un risultato meno rivoluzionario.*" (*ibidem*: 181, tr_it_11). Notwithstanding, Ganuza (2012) argues that often "[d]*esde el punto de vista de la administración, la incorporación de la participación se ha hecho sin modificar sustantivamente las formas de gestión, ni la organización de las mismas*" (*ibidem*: 337, tr_sp_1). (see also: Pipan, 1996; Allegretti, 2005).

[85] The Aarhus Convention, signed in 1998 under the aegis of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, has promoted the participation of people in deliberative processes, and was adopted in 2001 by the permanent Commission of the European Council. More recent actions on participation include: the "Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the participation of citizens in local public life at local level" (CM/Rec 2011); the "Declaration on participatory and transparent governance" of the sixth Global Forum on "Reinventing Government" organized by the Korean Republic (UNDESA, 2005); projects on citizens' engagement launched by OECD from 2005 (OECD, 2009). Some of the initiatives and programs undertaken by the European Commission in this respect are: White Paper on European Governance; Action Plan for Better Regulation [COM (2002)278]; European Transparency Initiative; The Active Citizenship Initiative (European Youth Portal); Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate [COM(2005)494]; White Paper on a European Communication Policy [COM(2006)35].

the polarization between Weberian-like hierarchy oriented systems and radicalized views on human relations (see also: Olivetti Manoukian, 2007), and the supposed disjuncture between exogenous (socio-economic and political environment) and endogenous (functional) demands on public administrations, the ground upon which administrative changes were to be settled is undoubtedly fertile (Brunsson and Olsen, 1993; Bekke *et al.* 1996; Peters and Pierre, 2007). Notwithstanding, the scientific community appears to have paid scarce attention to the analysis and understanding of bureaucratic transformations that are possibly linked to participatory processes. This could be due to some sort of mythical collusion between science and the political view that sees administrative complexity as machineries to be possibly reformed, i.e. public administration as an unnecessary object of scientific attention unless studies are addressed to some kind of training results. It could also be due to another mythical collusion between science and the political view concerning the relationship between political institutions and society as exclusively played by politicians and citizens, i.e. public administration as a non-existing subject that has to manage and implement participatory initiatives. Far from being "true", these mythical visions are more likely to mark an "abyssal line" that both covers and hides the in-between space where bureaucratic apparatus is settled in such changing scenarios (Sousa Santos, 2007; Bhabha, 1996). In reality, participatory processes compel this line to be switched, so as to deepen the remarkable complexity of demands and the tremendous potentialities undertaken by civil servants.

In order to tackle this study, we are therefore dialoguing with both "structural" and "cultural" perspectives so as to defy "technocratic" drifts concerning bureaucratic systems, which on the one hand provide an impoverished vision of the complex functions developed by civil servants, and on the other hand, prevent some political limits on administrative transformations. As a result, the enactment of specific political intentions and the definition of structured organizational charts may permit participatory processes to produce some effect on both social and political systems. Therefore, the constitution of new teams working on participatory processes, the diffuse interdepartmental management of participatory processes, as well as internal, external or hybrid forms of cooperation, are factors to be analyzed attentively when observing political institutions. In this sense, our work hopes to open a door on the contextual meanings generated by internal relationships both cultivated and envisaged through participatory processes. Transformations demanded

of governments when adopting new measures capable of improving the public management of these processes, call upon new skills and relationships that cross vertical and horizontal coordination, as well as back and front functions. From this tridimensional vision of change, we can grasp the tension inherent in the challenges created by participation when seeking to articulate "innovation" and "tradition". By exploring the participatory roots of bureaucracies, we can collect evidence about the work carried out at the civil service levels, and by understanding the points of view of civil servants engaged in participatory processes, we intend to give voice to their contribution in creating the proper spaces for participation. Towards this aim, we will conclude the three parts of the Thesis dedicated to a review of the theoretical topics introduced in the pragmatic experience presented in the Fourth Part, and finally recollected in the Fifth Part.

Chapter V - Participatory processes

1. Outline

Over the past few decades, participatory processes have become objects of growing investment by local and regional authorities worldwide, being viewed as a pivotal tool towards enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of policymaking, while slowing down the perceived legitimacy of political representation[86]. Nowadays, participation represents one of the most important trans-scalar phenomena in the context of political systems dealing with new governance issues, claims and demands that, in Europe, have not been extensively covered by traditional public policies (Vodusek and Biefnot, 2011). According to Carvalho Guerra (2010), three key factors explain the increase in the development of participatory processes: the increasing complexity of society, the necessity for more transparent information, and the demand for more functional and effective democracy. Such processes question the traditional system and appeal for more proximity politics, by simultaneously criticizing private financial support for public agendas. On the one hand, the State is likely to continue to be represented as the central power, distant from the day-to-day reality of citizens, which generates feelings of frustration and anger. On the other hand, the State is conceived as the representation of all citizens, compelling direct responsibilities in its maintenance (see also: Freud, 1921, 1929; Enriquez, 1983). These two opposite positions are likely to be mediated by participation when we conceive of the State as the result of many and different agencies, competing and negotiating the rules of the game concerning social life. In this "third way", participants are also called to mediate between the feeling of frustration that stems from both impotent and omnipotent attitudes, experienced when citizens do not feel to both belong to and have voice within the State, which is seen as the only "owner" of political life (Bobbio, 1995b; Sousa Santos, 2000). Moreover, if it is true that the neoliberal paradigm has contributed to the disaffection of people to political life, reducing civil societies into electorates, then we should start from

---

[86] At the national level some Countries have also been adopting participatory principles towards the aim of reinventing the proper democratic architecture, like in Ecuador (2008) and in Bolivia (2009) whereas in Europe the most recent attempt has been the participatory construction of the Islands' Constitution (2011).

this assumption in order to understand what moves participants (and non-participants) to participate and use their voice[87].

The challenge seems to be that of developing institutions that are able to flourish in the face of changing environmental issues, while maintaining a commitment to the primacy of democratic values (see also: UNDESA, 2000). It means that embodying people's view is the point of "new" representativeness, since voting raises the sovereignty of parliament but seems to not be sufficient for new international, national and local issues, reconfiguring at the same time the sources of legitimization itself. In these terms, participation can represent an instrument for the effective delivery of public services, as well as for accountability of the potential influence of actors and their control over governmental decisions (Fischer, 2003). New partnerships are being constructed between governmental and non-governmental institutions and new connections are being designed with new actors not included in policymaking processes until now. As a result, new networks and necessities of coordination are being expressed by public administrations in order to effectively manage such processes. By improving the connections among the multiple skills and know-how owned by elected and non-elected public officials, public administrations are representing a unique "laboratory" of democratic experimentation, e.g. citizens' committees, participatory budgets, participatory forums, district laboratories, strategic urban planning, participatory urban interventions, citizens' juries, participatory projects, etc. (Bobbio, 2006). The various institutional arrangements reveal that participation can be seen as the attempt to govern and articulate processes of action and govern the direct issues of society (Allegretti U., 2006a, 2006b).

In this respect, some scholars have specifically put emphasis on the necessity to be attentive to the role of political institutions when structuring processes that could end up "normalizing" spontaneous practices of civil society (Fischer, 2006). When reducing the inner variability and unpredictability of participation by incorporating it within compact institutional structures, scientists are compelled to give an account of the "rhetoric" articulated about, within and around it (Locke, 1997; Cooke and Kothari 2001). The

---

[87] In this respect the OECD (2009) highlights two types of non-participants: (1) people who are "willing but unable" to participate for a variety of reasons such as cultural or language barriers, geographical distance, disability or socio-economic status; (2) people who are "able but unwilling" to participate because they are not very interested in politics, do not have the time, or do not trust government to make good use of their input.

adoption of certain political languages as well as the correspondent actions that endorse participation potentially reveal what kind of and to what degree institutions are committing themselves to such processes. The enlargement of the polysemy of a concept can also be meant as rhetorical, revealing on the one hand a semantic loss and on the other hand some concern with preventing confusion and conflict about the definition itself, and so the problem-setting. As a matter of fact, if participation becomes too "rhetorical", there is a risk of making participation a kind of "buzzword", used in a way that results in hypertrophying its proper meaning and legitimizing policies (Cornwall, 2007; Ginsborg, 2006). At the same time, we should also be aware of not being partisan and "demonizing" political actions by eliciting some romantic view of the good society in the post-social State (Salis Gomes, 2011).

In the Second Part we introduced some of the main characteristics of participation by creating a virtual dialogue with other conceptions of democracy, mostly regarding deliberative principles. Participatory processes are demanded to influence public policies in terms of administrative efficiency and pluralistic inclusion (Ganuza and Frances, 2011a), which explains the increasing attention on deliberative methods conceived as forms of "empowered participatory governance", increasing citizens' capacity to both participate in and share responsibility for public affairs (Fung and Wright, 2003). Such a point raises questions of "quantity" and "quality" that, as Farrington *et al*. (1993) put it, give a measure of the depth and breadth of participatory processes. In engaging participants from the first steps of decision making, participation can be either 'narrow' by involving a handful of people (or particular interest groups), or be 'wide' by having a large range of people involved, although if only informed or consulted their participation would remain 'shallow' (see also: Moro, 2009). Thus, as regards the aspect of inclusion, it is important to understand how translating voices into influence requires more than capturing what people have to say. Rather it involves efforts 'from above' in terms of responsiveness, and 'from below' in order to support collectivities to overcome resistance to change (Cornwall, 2008). Such an issue is deeply consistent with the idea of participation as interacting with policy agenda because inequality determines the ways social problems are defined by people and decision-makers. Since the choice of the problems to be debated depends partly on the perspective of the beholder, marginalized

sectors of society may lack a contribution resulting in a trade-off as regards participations' outcomes.

2. The whereabouts of participatory processes

The goal of social inclusion can be understood as one of the main drivers of participatory processes between the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s in Latin America. Within a complex set of convergent circumstances, from local level financial reforms through to the fall of the Berlin wall and a certain subsequent mistrust in socialism, movements aimed at establishing democratic regimes in Latin America found particularly fertile ground (Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009). In those Countries the reproduction of capitalism deeply affected the proper construction of civil society by excluding large sectors from political life. As argued by Pires (2002):

> [t]oda a década de 80 foi marcada por um intenso debate sobre o papel do governo na economia, com franca vantagem para as teses anti-intervencionistas, favorecidas não só pela crise do welfare-State, mas também pelo colapso das experiências socialistas e pelo robustecimento da teoria econômica do lado da oferta (ibidem: 57, tr_pt_9).

Participatory processes represented therefore, a chance for the "reinvention" of political systems and the replacement of economic resources on behalf of social justice oriented investments (Allegretti and Herzberg, 2004; Guimarães, 2008)[88]. In 1988 the right to participation was included in the Brazilian Constitution and in 1989 the city of Porto Alegre experienced the first participatory device for municipal revenues and expenditures' budgeting called the Participatory Budget (PB). The president of the Municipality promoted the involvement of popular councils and citizens, organized in the Union of Porto Alegre Neighbors' Associations (UAMPA), which debated with the local power about the best ways to impact on the municipal government of the city (see: Sousa Santos, 2002; Avritzer, 2006; Avritzer and Navarro, 2003). The evolution of PB highlighted the first preeminent role of the Partido dos Trabalhadores ("Workers' Party"), although the basic idea of the process was not to be dedicated to either workers or any other social

---

[88] Two ways of citizens participate: (1) citywide assemblies and neighborhoods; (2) district meetings in which everyone can take part, and which often elect delegates to represent them in participatory budgeting councils.

sector, but rather to all citizens. It was after 1996 that PB started to represent a governance device less dependent on political parties (Wampler, 2008). From a juridical point of view, PB was not to modify the attribution of local government competences established by the Brazilian Constitution, and the local government has maintained the charge of municipal budget endorsement[89]. In the beginning, some legal, financial and technical constraints and considerations had not entered PB debate, resulting in numerous proposals that were in many cases, inconsistent with local power competencies and laws in force. For this reason, from 1992 the Municipality clarified some normative and technical requirements to be accounted for when participating in PBs, as well as defining three general criteria to be accomplished in issuing the investments' planning: (1) thematic priorities brought by citizens; (2) population living in each neighborhood; (3) real condition of public services and infrastructures. At first, the work carried out by agents focused on two municipal investment areas: space - in each territory the priorities are defined and debated with inhabitants; and theme - each intervening area consists of specific meetings and committees (Sintomer, Allegretti, 2009). In seeking to balance citizens' priorities with social redistribution, Porto Alegre has been considered as succeeding in both encouraging inducted activism and reconfiguring, to some extent, the role of militancy as not possible only outside of institutional spaces (Baiocchi, 2003).

Fiscal decentralization and transparency have represented key issues in enabling a more direct relationship of accountability between citizens and local government. The redistributive potential of Porto Alegre PB emphasizes the gradual effect of redefining political agendas, as well as the community sense of belonging by means of some basic principles by letting all citizens participate (no need for affiliation); reframing with citizens the principles of participatory and representative democracy; redistributing public investments in accordance with general criteria defined by participants, as well as technical and economic feasibility. The perception of enlarged participation in decision-making, as well as the attention paid to social inequalities has been considered as an effective way to integrate deliberation into public debate. As argued by Ganuza (2012):

---

[89] The Brazilian Constitution issued in 1988 includes budgeting (Art. 174) as later stated in Art. 48 of the Law n. 101/2000. PB does not depend on municipal legislation, it is rather regulated autonomously, providing at the same time legal independence and political dependence. As a result, from 1992 to 2002, public works expenditure has been around US$700 million through participatory budgeting (Cabannes, 2004).

> [*a*]*quello que para el giro deliberativo era un flujo natural (primero deliberación informal y luego estructuración de los debates en el seno de las organizaciones sociales antes de ser transmitidas al sistema político para crear o modificar el derecho positivo que terminará regulando la vida de la ciudadanía), dejó paso a una deliberación formal (vía los procedimientos del presupuesto participativo) en el espacio público y una influencia directa en la gestión política, fundamentalmente vinculada a la definición de una parte de la ley presupuestaria* (*ibidem*: 335, tr_sp_2).

Hence, the severe separation between the governors and the governed, as still stated in deliberative theories, and the attempt to create formal spaces of deliberation mediated by political and social organizations, was substituted by the convergence of the actors in the same institutional framework debating the rules of the game itself.

Since the first Brazilian experiments, PBs have spread exponentially in Latin America first and Europe, Africa and Asia later on. At that time, EU member States were broadly facing an increasing disaffection towards political institutions. The decrease of affluence in the polls, as much as the decrease of political activism and the general disaffection toward both democratic institutions and politicians, showed some of the effects of the evolution of neoliberal regimes. By reflecting on the growing separateness between citizens/electors and professionals of politics often protected by political parties' rules, as well as facing the distance brought about by technocratic procedures and technical language, the EU has been compelled to look for new governance solutions (Ginsborg, 2006). Participatory processes have represented an opportunity for administrative modernization aimed at managing problems and disillusions derived by some NPM measures that, despite being aimed at reducing influence-peddling, simplifying bureaucratic procedures and enhancing economic initiatives, have also represented one of the factors that have widened the gap between political institutions and citizenship, due to the concrete impact of private bodies in public management and decision-making. As for participatory budgets, they involve the modification of the methods of traditional accounting budgets and a move towards management accounting, with budgets divided into headings of products or objectives. Looking at Porto Alegre, modernization through PB means taking into account some intention of "democratization" in terms of the re-orientation of urban and social inequalities (Cabannes *et al*., 2009; Santos, 2003).

The overall opportunity to create a virtuous circle between more participation and less electoral abstention, has largely meant that the main challenge for EU States has been coping with increasing uncertainty in complex transnational networks and the deriving multi-scale economic, financial and political pressures. The actual "distribution" of PBs in Europe has been characterized generally by political involvement mainly in southern Countries such as Spain, Italy and Portugal, as well as by an administrative modernization orientation mostly in northern and eastern Countries, such as Germany, France, England and Belgium (Sintomer, 2005; Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009). As a result, participatory processes have represented an available tool for modernization, articulating in some cases issues for democratization, by canalizing and rationalizing incoming social demands, as well as governing social movements and protests by providing some form of control over public governance (Della Porta, 2011). Nonetheless, it is fairly evident that purposes concerning redistribution have not been the first to come out in EU participatory experiences. In this sense, public deliberation has rarely been addressed in the debate about financial management, reproducing in some cases the same "distance" that was supposed to be recovered by proximity (Sintomer, 2005; Pazé, 2011). As a matter of fact, as scientists we are to look at the premises of participation, which involves taking into consideration the evolution of neoliberal systems and democratic regimes in relation to the articulation of social issues. What we have seen with respect to the persuasive reframing of representative democracies in terms of "procedural drifting", is an element to be considered when one notices the reciprocal mistrust governing the relationship between political institutions and citizen participation, and possibly resulting into forms of "distant proximity"[90].

Nonetheless, participation does not only refer to PB, but rather to a multiple and varied set of actions that have been experimented before, during and after the Brazilian experiences. Following Cornwall's (2001) threefold historical and conceptual draw as regards Western Countries, we intend to complement some of the overall considerations concerning the "evolution" of participation and participants up to the present day. In the

---

[90] Aberbach and Rockman (1978) in their survey of federal bureaucracy in US, and despite expecting a large majority of good results from participatory devices, discovered four macro attitudes against citizens involvement, concerning (1) the belief that active citizens are often unrepresentative of the public they claim to represent; (2) that they will not be held to account for program failures; (3) that their involvement will complicate the already complex and inefficient policy processes; (4) and that citizens lack the expertise to make a useful contribution.

1970s, a widespread acknowledgment of the opportunity to transform the role of citizens from "beneficiaries" of public policies, started to become an object of both political and scientific debates. As a result, the idea of increasing control over resources and political institutions gave rise to the configuration of "consumers" in line with some determinant issues, such as a spotlight on efficiency and effectiveness, self-determination in social changes, and mutual learning. In the 1980s, development projects strengthened demands for efficiency and effectiveness, adding sustainability, according to some schools of thought, as a form of domesticating participation by means of community development projects (see: Cornwall, 2003). The scenario was mainly composed of NGOs taking an increasingly instrumental role in the delivery of development and new policy agendas, as well as private bodies' like-market initiatives. The rise of popular organizations saw the debate between participatory development and people's self-development capture the tension between mainstream and alternative approaches to development (Rahman, 1995). The latter was mainly inspired by Freire's work (1996) systematized in the approach "Participation Action Research" and emphasizing the need of enabling people to articulate their own concerns through collective actions. It implies shifting attention towards the enhancement of people's capabilities to advocate for their entitlements and to participate more actively in determining public services (see also: "government with people" in Schmidt, 2006). In the 1990s, a general attempt to operationalize participation signaled a breakaway from a 1980s' ideals of harmonious and cooperative community development. The debate was less concerned with "why" participation and more with "how" to participate and from being "consumers", citizens began to be seen rather as stakeholders of public goods[91]. As a result, a range of "packages" of participatory methods began to be adopted and accommodated within the design of political systems (Thompson, 1995). The idea of "empowerment" itself generally assumes the acceptance of liberation from State intervention, providing therefore a link between participation and economic liberalization (UNDP, 1993).

After a decade of "advocacy planning" in the 1970s, and "technicalization" between the 1980s and 1990s, where experts have seemed to be the only legitimized actors to be committed to developing projects, defending societies and, in turn, imposing methods, participatory processes have recently assumed some of the new primary governance

---

[91] World Bank's Learning Group on Participation in 1994

concerns. Converging over growing pressures for institutional reforms aimed at enhancing the responsiveness of different scales governments, Rondellini (2007) points out that strengthening local governance capacity has been a product of both vertical decentralization (authority, responsibility, and resources) and horizontal decentralization (local communities' empowerment). The author states that:

> [*i*]*nnovative political leaders and public administrators know that the success of democratic governance requires decentralizing participation in public policy making and the implementation of government programmes, and that the success of decentralization depends, in turn, on giving local administrative and political units adequate revenue and spending powers* (*ibidem*: 20)[92].

As we can see, different visions of participation stress different visions of participants - beneficiaries, consumers, people to become "empowered", stakeholders, as well as going back to the proper idea of citizen (see: Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007; Mozzicafreddo, 2011b). After the first phase of criticism of neoliberal culture in 2000, PBs have gradually worked in the creation of both national and international networks. It is from 2008 then, with the beginning of the international financial crisis, that new bottom-up issues and claims have become of central importance for institutionalized participatory phenomena (Sintomer, 2013).

3. The participants and the local scale

Access into participatory process and the inclusion of the actors' voices means assuming awareness and responsibility for the object of deliberation. What matters then is the ways such objects are driven to become "common objects" (Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian, 2011) and then to sustain "common objectives" (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). The question entails, and goes beyond the analysis of "degrees" and "moments" of actors'

---

[92] Some recent advancements in Europe have been in the United Kingdom with the Local Government Act in 2000, in France with the Proximity Democracy Law in 2002, in Spain with the Local Government Modernization Law in 2003, and in Holland with the Local Democracy Law in 2002. As regards Spain, it is relevant to say that it has been the country where more PBs have been experimented with (Ganuza and Frances, 2011b; Sintomer *et al*, 2011), although from 2012 a decreasing phenomenon is affecting this and other European Countries. However, PBs still play an important role around the world. In North America, participatory budgeting experiences are increasingly growing from the first pivotal experiences (2001 in Guelph Ontario and Toronto Community Housing; 2006-2009 in Plateau Borough Montreal; 2009 49th Ward of Chicago; 2011 NYC and 2012 in Vallejo and San Francisco in California) (http://www.participatorybudgeting.org/).

involvement, as well as the type of investment and redistribution of resources on the table. The inclusion of different actors requires first categories to read and interpret the ways problems and solutions are set. Questions about "whose agency" inevitably beg further questions concerning the diverse characteristics of the participating agencies. Such an issue cannot be analyzed without looking at the relationship that society is undertaking with political institutions and vice versa.

Expectations concerning participation and the concretization of the results are inherently connected with the success of the processes and their capacity to both sustain and continue political actions. On accomplishing the "ideal" of participation, public administrations are also demanded to cope with a structured attitude of persistent disappointment with political actions. Hirschman (2002) argues that forms of disappointment generally arise because *"new types of purchases are undertaken with the kinds of expectations that consumers have come to associate with more traditional purchases."*(*ibidem*: 45). When confronted with disappointing experiences, actors are likely to looks for different sources of supply in a competitive environment. Such a mechanism, defined as "exit", has been that most studied by economists, according to the author. Nonetheless, they can also raise their voices, and thus initiate actions that can range from private complaining to public action. "Exit" can also result in public action, but only when it is the outcome of disappointment from the search of happiness through private consumption. Such a dynamic is inherently related to the "power" of images of change that are produced, as if it were a total goal in lieu of more modest expectations. Dissatisfaction emerges as a sort of reaction to too high expectations, but this is still not a reason to turn away from such action on the part of any but the most naïve and weak-willed citizens. It is more evident in periods when important progressive changes are taking place, with new groups gaining access to goods and services previously reserved for the few or not available at all (Fuchs and Klingemann, 1998). In these terms, Allegretti *et al*. (2011) distinguish between bound processes and consultative ones, inasmuch as by accomplishing the idea that satisfaction strictly depends on the creation of expectations and the achievement of the proposed objectives, consultative processes seem to be more exposed to expectation "breaks". Through co-decisional processes, citizens are likely to assume co-responsibility for the process, even though projects go to be realized by the

administration[93]. When participants are called to become involved in a negotiating process to come up with some common projects, and when they are provided with easy instruments to monitor what will be done in terms of outcomes, administrative equilibriums may change. Consultative processes appear to maintain traditional structures without a clear demand for accountability, whereas co-decisional processes, in accepting and adopting citizens' decisions, are likely to alter investment priorities and review respective governance actions. Nonetheless, consultative processes represent a big challenge in terms of expectations and promises: on the one hand, citizens cannot help but expect that their participation will have some effect on the final decisions, and on the other hand, political institutions are demanded to be completely in charge of the most satisfactory results. Such a "polarized" connection, with political representatives on one side and citizens on the other, is potentially more fluid when participation is structured in co-decisional terms, although it involves the application of effective methodologies for coping with the complex match of interests.

The interplay of ideas and suggestions from diverse co-decision participants is likely to represent a fuller range of relevant considerations, although it does not guarantee "good" policy. Gaventa (2006) suggests that we analyze the types of power played by participants, distinguishing between power "over", when referring to the ability of the powerful to affect the actions and thought of the powerless; power "to" as the capacity to act, to exercise agency and to realize the potential of rights; power "within" as the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a precondition for action; and power "with" refers to the synergy emerging through partnerships and collaborations with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building. Furthermore, some participants may represent badly crucial considerations or inequalities and power may give disproportional weight to certain considerations. According to Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) "intelligent processes" should be held by sizeable numbers of people, permitting reasonable tradeoffs among conflicting values, so as to make policy actions take available information about social problems into account. Nevertheless, people could choose to not participate. Participatory initiatives tend to be premised on the idea that everybody wants to participate, barely recognizing the choice of not participating (Neumann, 1989). Such a

---

[93] The author (2013) proposes to consider Satisfaction as the outcome either equalizing or overtaking the relation between Results less Expectations ($S \geq R - E$).

phenomenon is also known in representative mechanisms, such as with electors who assess weak benefit in relation to the costs (primarily in time spent for voting). Likewise, in collective actions the "free riders" assume that since the possible successful outcome of collective actions is a public good, individuals may decide to withhold their contributions in the expectation that others will exert themselves on his/her behalf (Olson, 1965). We understand that actors perceive clear advantages from participatory situations in order to come out of their "private" spheres. In this respect, Nie and Verba (1975) argue that participatory behavior is always dependent on a combination of power and willingness between participants and institutions generating active participation, non-participation, exclusion or self-exclusion. Mannarini (2009) identifies three possible personal attitudes: (1) pro-social; (2) obtaining clear explications, although the nature of participation is inherently characterized by some degree of uncertainty (for the solutions as for the outcomes of the process); (3) cognitive needs.

Combining these considerations with the actual whereabouts of participation, we should recognize the relevant role played by local scales, as emphasized also by numerous EU programs. It is at the community level that cooperation is likely to generate participation and conversely, the lack of reciprocal social agreements may result in anomy, a sort of "free riding" citizenship. In this sense, Putnam (1992; 1993) has referred to the "social capital" as an attribute of communities with a diverse stock of social networks and civic associations. In saying this, the author argues that they can "*confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes, and take advantage of new opportunities. In short, there is mounting evidence that the characteristics of civil society affect the health of our democracies, our communities, and ourselves*" (Putnam, 2004: 7)[94]. From this concept, Ruivo (2000) proposes the concept of "relational citizenship" as the informal and unofficial network that could result in corruption when not addressed to recover social inequalities. Therefore, the use of unofficial avenues for the resolution of problems at the local level is also likely to threaten democratic institutions and weaken collective initiatives for spontaneous participation. Nonetheless, local powers continue to represent a

---

[94] Seemingly to De Tocqueville (1969), the author has recognized the important role of vibrant civil society organizations for sustainable democratic regimes. Voluntary organizations mobilize people at the grassroots and provide avenues for grassroots participation, self-help, and self-governance. In this sense, social networks, civic commitment and social trust are likely to generate "social capital". By making citizens more demanding in terms of social infrastructures and democratic values, governments should increase their quality.

possible counter-power to the central one, imaged as the one responsible for policies aimed at maintaining a certain kind of status quo. If the local scale can be strategic for overhead democracy, due to the reduced dimensions allowing more proximity between society and institutions, the challenge remains in the feasibility of spreading innovative models, the resources to put their know-how into new networks and the ability to manage both national and international scales (Dowbor, 2008).

4. Changes and reforms

Participation involves a serious commitment in terms of political projects and organizational procedures. Participatory processes are not only what results from meetings and networking, they also imply internal transformation, changes to the standard ways of conceiving the delivery of public services, costs of maintenance of the projects and so on. As a result, the narrow use of concepts like efficiency and effectiveness does not cover the complexity brought about by participation when aimed at overtaking single actions. We should look rather at the complex framework sustaining those processes in order to grasp what is changing, why and how so as to analyze occurring dynamics and possibly estimate the future. The efforts of participatory processes to advance with sharing symbolical and material constructions of solutions, responds to a multi-scale situation of political disaffection and a necessity for State reforms. Yet it is each specific context that embodies these reasons, in accordance with the established relationship between political institutions and citizens. On the basis of the features of public administrations and the design of participatory processes, the purpose is to gather, to connect and make actors interact in order to give them a voice and access to multiple demands. Public administrations are also demanded to synthesize these public issues and make them part of the political agenda. The challenge of making participants interact and find a common objective as a result of their deliberations, corresponds to the challenges of solving problems by integrating governing functions. If one of the critical points has been the bureaucratic segmentation of the problems to be tackled through "sectorialized" policymaking, participatory processes potentially require and can provide a more integrated vision of the territory because of the introduction of complexity as rationale. It is a cultural matter concerning both the relationship with the community, and the (re)construction of internal connections that cannot be evaluated as long-term "immaterial" products (Carvalho Guerra, 2010).

At this point, our question is whether participatory processes can represent some change or potential "drivers" for administrative reforms. As previously outlined in the third Chapter, we mean reform as stemming from ordinary language arguments produced in the everyday social interaction of policymakers, scientists and citizens. As a matter of fact, reforms are not only punctual experiments but rather *symbolically mediated change processes which can be understood only if we uncover the action-motivating reasons that guide efforts to alleviate practical problems.*" (Dunn, 2000: 259). In this sense, it is reasonable to question the "power" of participatory processes within public administrations: they can be considered as single reforms at the ontological level, but also a moment for a deep rethinking of the whole bureaucratic system at the symbolical level. It becomes essential to grasp how through participatory processes, it is possible to "construct" general reforms at the organizational as at the cultural levels, involving therefore the whole political system. The question then is - are participatory processes capable of resolving dilemmas concerning problem setting of participation itself and setting up different interacting views of public administration? Do they enable actors to manage and resolve mutual interests (democratic aspects) at minimal transaction costs (efficacy and effectiveness) in stable frameworks (legality)? In fact, if participatory processes are inherently thought of as solving problems of efficiency and effectiveness, this does not necessarily imply a democratic commitment to the inclusion of all social issues and, furthermore, it has to respond to local, national and international issues, principles and pressures[95].

Several studies have highlighted how reforms show the existing gap between normative directives and organizational behaviors. In this respect, for example, Brunnson and Olsen (1993) have stressed how reforms normally succeed as organizational discourse, but can have little impact on daily activities. Issuing reforms does not guarantee reforming processes: it is always possible to change without changing anything and create situations of "innovative immobilization" (Donolo, 1989; Thompson, 1995; Wallerstein, 1995; Carli and Paniccia, 2003). In other words, we should take into account the ways cultural and

---

[95] Raadschelders and Bemelmas-Videc (2007) argue that the legitimacy of any reform is linked with different factors managed by public administration: democracy (concerning responsiveness and accountability, as stressed by political approach), legality (the rule of law and the respect of individual substantive rights, appointed by the legal view), effectiveness and efficiency (performance, as emphasized by the managerial view). Their thesis is that when administrative reforms are not in line with the political realm, they become ineffective (and vice versa) affecting, in turn, the whole political/administrative legitimacy.

organizational levels work when required to implement change through new policymaking processes. For example, we should also understand what administrative reforms rely on, whether on the (good) willingness of some administrative personnel or on a complex effort at reframing public service. Either reforms rely on the kind of confidence revealing the never-ending bureaucratic ideal of well-conformed bureaucrats, or they are committed rather to work through the impact, resources and limits of reforms at the structural and symbolical level. This compels us to take into consideration the political intentions "starting up" administrative reforms, and the possibility of tackling "easy" changes inspired by managerial ambitions or reforms, inspired by the complex nature of public administration (Mozzicafreddo, 2011a). As argued by Enriquez (2003):

> [q]ue d'organisateurs ou de théoriciens pensent maintenant encore qu'en opérant des «réformes de structures», en favorisant le passage d'un mode de fonctionnement bureaucratique à un mode de fonctionnement participatif, les problèmes essentiels des organisations (et par voie de conséquence de l'organisation sociale) peuvent être évoqués, posés et résolus. Pour chacun d'eux, l'organisation est une machine, à régulation simple ou à régulation complexe, comportant, suivant les auteurs, des individus ayant des mains, des coeurs, ou des cerveaux, mais qui, comme toute machine, peut être fabriquée, rénovée ou réglée sans qu'il soit nécessaire de vérifier ou de contrôler l'«environnement» qui, certes, a des effets, mais toujours secondaire (ibidem: 91, tr_fr_12).

The question is thus related to political intentions grounding participatory policymaking processes, whether they are "easily" setting up processes within unchanging bureaucratic procedures and instruments, or opening spaces for the emergence of alternative governance agendas. Participation has provided the idea of "expended areas" in policy as reforming a modus operandi that used to be once almost completely closed off to legitimize public involvement. Engaging citizens in making and shaping decisions that affect their environments equally extends to involving them in naming needs or priorities (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2000). Taking into account participatory budgeting, for instance, beyond the budget for the single projects, political institutions must also calculate the costs of their maintenance. In this sense, it is the entire and integrated development of the territory that is the real issue for participatory processes, rather than the implementation of isolated interventions. This is, to some extent, quite revealing about the feasibility of these processes in terms of institutional sustainability, and their potential role in reforming

public administrations. Whether considered as a change *per se* or a "start-up" for more general change, participation is conceived as a by-product of the existence and evolution of political systems. In this sense, the effort seems to be concerned with overtaking the cultural isolation at the institutional level as well as the consideration of successful processes (best practices) as "islands of success". Towards this aim, political institutions are required to provide sufficient flexibility and open-ended approaches, by opening the degree of participation and increasing inter-institutional collaboration. Modernizing public administrations could therefore lead to the reduction of hierarchical divisions, new transversal cooperation among institutions and new human resources management methods (Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009).

The point is why participatory processes should represent real change and administrative reform. Considering the inherent nature of public administrations and their own commitment to governing mutable social systems, we understand that they are organizations necessarily demanded to change. Yet this point matches and possibly clashes with the standardization of bureaucratic procedures aimed at both controlling and leveling public service delivery. As a result, public administrations, like any organization, are likely to produce internal forms and forces of resistance so as to preserve the general equilibrium. And this is especially relevant for public administrations when considering the basic pillars of the bureaucratic model. Kykyri *et al*. (2010) argue that when process-oriented organizational changes are enacted, participation can include instances of resistance, meant as both systemic and interactive, since participation (and resistance) are public phenomena, with neither private nor innate individual characteristics. As a matter of fact, administrative changes should prevent the endorsement of some fancy rhetoric of change and rather cope with the feasible integration of innovation and standardization for policymaking processes. As a result, public organizations are demanded to regulate their systems of myths (Enriquez, 2003) and possibly get out from either "cosmetic-like" or "surgical-like" interventions based on the colluding imaginary that organizations only suffer from topic dysfunctions (Carli, 1996). When participation is undertaken in a way that dominates and plans new organizational processes and devices, by driving and ordering events without taking into consideration their cultural dimension, it is likely to provide the fertile ground for awkward outcomes, such as the refusal of the past, symbolically represented as "the problem", and the "mythization" of the future, seen as "the hope". Participation could

instead develop a shared function of reflection and self-reflection aimed at imaging the future by (re)narrating the organizational history and the way it matters in the present (Weick, 1997).

From the first methodological commitment to change within systems by Lewin (1948, 1972) several scholars have given an account of the complex games played through change. Schein (1992) articulates a proposal consisting of different steps for people to manage change: (1) creating motivation to change by dis-learning habits (see also: Bourdieu, 1997, 2005) is likely to provoke resistance of "face-saving"; (2) the "unfreezing" step is followed by "cognitive restructuring" by means of new patterns or suitable possibilities; and in the end (3) it is possible to "refreeze" knowledge by incorporating new points of view on intra-psychic dimensions and patterns of relationships. Interestingly, Argyris and Lindblom (1994) have debated forms of resistance in unfreezing defensive patterns of organizational behavior, due to a kind of tacit assumption that it is the power people who do it, but people are just as good at impeding it. Argyris (1994) distinguishes between defensive and productive reasoning when concerned with producing results in policy statements. Even though the world of action is dynamic and uncertain, and probabilistic reasoning should be more realistic, it is likely that people feel more comfortable with false certainties generated by deterministic reasoning, and often resist evidence when disconfirming their "theories-of-action" (Argyris and Schön, 1974). Distinguished by "theories-in-use" for theories of action inferred from how people actually behave, Argyris (1976) has proposed a theory of organizational learning in terms of not questioning fundamental design, goals, and activities (single-loop), or coping with inhibition of change since people learn to communicate inconsistent messages by acting as if they are not inconsistent (double-loop)[96]. People are likely to collude, because even when aware of the "cover-up" action, they could act as if they do not recognize it and, in turn, expect that others will not "blow that cover" (*idem*, 1991). To change in order to see through organizational defensive routines and either formal or informal organizational norms that protect them, requires grasping those features that are wired into the construction of organizational cultures (see also: Janis, 1972).

---

[96] The behavioral strategies of the second model involve "*sharing power with anyone who has competence, and with anyone who is relevant in deciding or implementing the action, in the definition of the task, or the control over the environment. Face saving is resisted because it is seen as a defensive nonlearning activity, and any face-saving action that must be taken is planned jointly with the people involved, with the exception of individuals vulnerable to such candid and joint solutions.*" (*ibidem*, 369)

In considering internal relationships, we understand that when looking at systems of action, a complex range of elements should be taken into account. New rules of the game, new forms of control and also new "areas of freedom" may "worry" systems because they potentially question sources of power and possibly threaten spaces of autonomy, though not necessarily resulting in real change. As Crozier and Friedberg (1981) put it:

> [*l*]*es rapports de force se transforment quand une capacité meilleure commence à faire ses prevues à travers une forme d'organisation nouvelle. Mais un changement de rapports de force n'entraîne pas nécessairement le développement d'une capacité nouvelle, et un changement de la nature et des règles du jeu: il pourra s'agir d'un simple renversement d'élites* (ibidem: 392, tr_fr_13).

Whether explicitly or implicitly shared or claimed, forms of resistance, conflict, and boycott reveal the cultural dimension of transforming routines, affecting interests and reframing imaginaries. In this sense, analysis of participatory processes must include the systems from where they originate, the actors engaged and the participants, the methodologies worked out, the objectives to be achieved, as well as what stays "underground". Furthermore, we understand that learning is a key factor for any innovation to be successful, despite the fact that change is not exactly something to be taught. Are actors supposed to learn new behaviors? Are they supposed to learn how to solve new problems? Yes, but not only this. When learning new patterns for the "game", people are always embedded within a work of reconfiguration at both a rational and emotional level. Beyond the inadequateness of focusing on individual theories of learning (Carli and Paniccia, 1981) and understanding the cultural worth of working in team with and for change, we are compelled to settle on whether learning is to be conceived as a functionally gradual evolution (Lindblom and Woodhouse, 1993) or rather a dynamic break. Is the "paradigmatic rupture" (Kuhn, 1962) a guarantee for innovation or does it open it up to a wide range of possibilities, including forms of regression?

5. What organizational change through participation?

When thinking about the potentialities of participatory processes, mostly implemented at the local scale, we should distinguish between forms of localism and goals of local development, as well as between general aims of growth and other economic currents (Sen, 1992, 2010). With regard to the development of connections among social parts (people,

groups, inhabitants, organizations, institutions), territorial elements (daily life spaces, material and immaterial resources of the environment, social networks, project making) and the ways public problems are treated (responding to collective matters, satisfying needs, expectations, demands, mediating conflicts and redistributing resources, grasping opportunities), participation plays a relevant role (Cognetti and Cottino, 2009). We have seen that when methodologically structuring the interaction among different actors around decision-making processes, change can represent a fashionable aim to be reached (or not). When referring to the development of a territory, we cannot help but think about the development of participation itself and linking such an issue with the administrative change that is likely to be planned (or not). Thus, as regards development too, we should be able to epistemologically position our point of view by considering the possible rhetorical uses of the concept. In the last few decades, development has represented a many-sided concept, enlarging its meaning and spreading its polysemy, and consequently being adopted into several types of political discourses.

The use of words such as 'change' and 'development' can reveal different patterns of conceiving reality and then the very construction of participatory processes themselves. In becoming universal "passwords" for policymaking, when they turn into "buzzwords" they define precisely what is in vogue, and simultaneously render it identifiable. As highlighted by Cornwall (2007) "[*i*]*n the lexicon of development, there are buzzwords that dip in and out of fashion, some continuing to ride the wave for decades, others appearing briefly only to become submerged for years until they are salvaged and put to new uses.*" (*ibidem*: 472). It reveals, furthermore, the very transitional nature of their "construction", between global and local issues, such as has occurred with the historical progress of the concepts referring to 'development'[97].

The use of these words in changing policies may be functional for the whole of social and political systems as levers for development. As for organizational development, when carrying out participatory processes we see the basic necessity to understand what kind of legitimate framework is sustaining them. The enactment of these processes is something that both precedes and reveals what the political will is made of, and what types of

---

[97] For instance, in the 1990s, good governance compelled the use of terms such as "transparency" and "accountability", whose trans-ideological character seems appropriated for a large variety of political and policy actors. As a result, for instance, at the same moment that NPM was using them for administrative reform, citizens and activists used to claim them for democratic enhancement.

theories-in-use are supporting the work (Argyris and Schön, 1974; Brunod, 2007). It is indispensable to think about participation in relation to whole organizational planning in order to frame it within the system of action and its multiple goals, such as changing management strategies, meeting members' expectations, adapting normative directions or roles, promoting collaboration among the parts, enhancing communicative channels, joining or dividing departments, and so on. Nevertheless, participatory experiences implemented so far in Europe have often been implemented as "peripheral" actions of public administrations and have often overestimated technical procedures (Ganuza 2012).

We understand how important it is to look at the position of these processes in the public organizational chart, so as to reflect on which ideas about the development of the context these processes are supposed to carry on. In order to capture the institutional design sustaining participatory processes, especially in the case of participatory budgets, Dias (2010) proposes to take into account two variables so as to typify processes: (1) "who decides" polarizes on the one hand consultative participatory processes, and on the other hand co-decisional ones; (2) "how is the decision taken" polarizes processes promoting negotiation among the actors and competitive processes based on individual instances[98]. The difference between consultative and co-decisional processes seems to rely on the possibility of impacting the administrative system, which, in the case of the second, is demanded to reorganize the set of policymaking procedures and reduce bureaucratic intermediations. In the same vein, Allegretti *et al*. (2011) have emphasized the role of co-decisional processes in comparison with consultative ones, in terms of impact on administration. Sintomer *et al*. (2005) have indicated this phenomenon in terms of "participatory modernization" as a progressive modernization stemming from the implementation of participation (see also: Sintomer and Ganuza, 2011). Notwithstanding this, in creating chances for sharing the overall policy burden, participation is also likely to set possible mutual obstruction. Indeed, Navarro *et al*. (2006) clearly state that

---

[98] As a result, (1) "One-to-one demanding", where people just ask for something to be done without any negotiation, neither among the actors nor with the institution that, in turn, is not demanded to account on its commitment. (2) "Public consultation" creating the space for mutual confrontation and information, as well as for monitoring to what degree political institutions commit themselves to the results. (3) "Ideas' competition" concerned with participation without deliberation, i.e. participants do not negotiate their points of view and are basically motivated by the chance to see their project "win". (4) "Collective construction" based on sharing rules of the game, taking care of social justice and cohesion principles, in order to work out feasible projects.

participation can enable the whole structure to undertake broad transformations, as much as result in the prevention of the implementation of the processes themselves.

In this sense, the role for psychosociological approaches to participatory processes for their own development, the development of the territory and as potential factors of administrative development, directly compels the role played by the psychologist in contact with such contexts. Petit and Dubois (1998) have stressed the potential adherence of psychology to specific "myths" that could end up presenting the researcher (or in this case, the consultant) as a "good educator" transmitting knowledge and methods; a physician diagnosing organizational dysfunctions; a psychoanalyst revealing what is hidden underneath phenomena; or a proselyte imposing new good values and ethic. As a result, our proposal is to make the action research carried out by the psychologist play a role in development, based on the analysis and interpretation of the organizational relationships. Towards this aim, we need to focus on the subjects we have identified as strategic, in order to grasp the ways relationships organize shared cultural meanings of participation: the civil servants engaged with participatory processes.

Chapter VI - Civil servants

1. Outline

The autonomy of bureaucracy is an organizational principle rooted in constitutional democracies designing the separation of powers. According to Weber (1978), such a condition encompasses an enduring struggle between political leadership and processes of bureaucratization, since politicians are supposed to inevitably find themselves in a "dilettante" position when confronted by lifelong trained civil servants in administrative expertise terms. In fact, the central premise of Weberian theory is that bureaucracy's strength is based on lifelong career technical expertise, whereas politicians are rather expert in political directives related to the principles and mechanisms of representative democracies (Aberbach *et al.*, 1981). By focusing on current public administrations as civil service systems mediating the mobilization of human resources in the service of the State at its different scales, we can see two types of principles working towards new policymaking processes: subsidiarity and new forms of result oriented management. As a result, new dynamics are being elicited between sub-national governments intending or planning public services, and citizens who are expecting to receive them, in terms of both quantity and quality (Katarobo, 2007).

When we look at the relationship between politicians and bureaucrats, participation highlights the exposition of a third set of new actors who must enter policymaking processes. The politics/administration linkage becomes then a more complex dichotomy when focusing on the triangular relationships sustaining government activities. The implementation of participatory devices make civil servants particularly "exposed": on the one hand, the relationship with political figures is required to reformulate some of the dynamics of "stiff" top-down control and provide new degrees of autonomy to public managers; and on the other hand, civil servants are demanded to work with new subjects in the "representation" of the political system. In creating new borders and spaces of work, civil servants are currently required to (re)articulate their functions in terms of civic agency and entrepreneurialism and a capacity to manage risk and legitimacy, amidst new networks and powers (Goss, 2001). However, such a point does not relate to all civil servants. When we understand bureaucracy as a system of organizing roles and functions in both a vertical

and horizontal way (and which responds to political representatives), it is necessary to see the rules of the games within.

All the same, top-level bureaucrats are generally considered the subjects of Weberian theory and they are defined by the OECD (Parrado Diez, 2008) as those non-political actors who are required to lead and manage public policymaking, operational services and public service delivery. As highlighted by Kuperus and Rode (2008), they:

> […] *mettent en oeuvre des processus de réforme et doivent gérer l'évolution organisationnelle de l'administration publique avec efficacité. Ils doivent par conséquent faire preuve d'intuition et de stratégie, avoir de fortes aptitudes à diriger et à gérer les individus, ainsi qu'une grande connaissance de la politique et de leur environnement."* (*ibidem*: 5, tr_fr_14).

As regards the lowest levels of bureaucracy, they have been defined in the last few decades as those "street-level" officials working in contact with citizenry (Lipsky, 1980). The middle levels of the bureaucracy have been broadly underestimated in political science literature, though the relationship among these levels informs the "shaping" of policies, unless we are to imagine some form of severe top-down constraining coming from either politicians or top-level managers (Page, 2007). When dealing with organizational devices, it is necessary to take into account the ways in which human relationships are transformed and *vice versa*, because it is by experiencing relationships that collective identities are created[99].

Hence, our intention is to deal with civil servants as neither "mere" executors nor "hands" of political directives, but rather as point of juncture between political programs and their operational impact within the organization, as well as with society. This is more relevant, inasmuch as we consider the changing networks of connections running through established and formal relations, as well as informal communication channels and decisional outcomes with respect to the implementation of interactive processes. The success of governance initiatives strictly depends on the ways in which bureaucrats

---

[99] According to Sainsaulieu (1988) four typologies of actors can be outlined from the interaction between organizational experience and identity at work: (1) mass action: fusion character; (2) strategic actor: either negotiation over cultural identity (likewise functionalist analysis by Parsons, 1961) or negotiation as construction of strategies (Crozier, 1997); (3) single actor: personal energies addressed to succeed in social integration and recognition; (4) multiple actor: multi-system belonging human condition.

symbolically adopt and pragmatically work them out (Peters, 1997). Such a perspective can thus inform to what extent, and in which modalities civil servants engaged with participatory processes are contributing to some political idea of change within public administration, by first looking at the relationships established within public administrations that might reveal something about the relationship between political and bureaucratic systems. When gathering these types of data it is possible to grasp what types of change are being politically conceived of and technically performed.

2. Reframing roles

As legal-rational constructions emerged within a particular political-administrative and legal framework of the XIX Century, bureaucracies have been characterized by neutral treatment but often also by idiosyncratic features. Standardization has been enforcing specific codes of behavior based on ethical norms, as well as the legal rights that protect civil servants against arbitrary interventions and behavior of their political superiors (Van der Meer *et al*. 2007). Sainselieu (1988) points out that the rationalization of administrative work has an impact on the ways bureaucrats construct reciprocal relationships, founded on mutual control. "*Ce phénomène de la bureaucratie envahie par le formalisme des rapports humains et le ritualisme des procédures ouvre tout de meme une large interrogation sur les raisons profondes de cette adhésion à une regle somme toute éprouvante*" (*ibidem*: 377, tr_fr_15). Furthermore, as emphasized by Crozier (1997), the connection between experience and the extreme bureaucratic formalism is often revealed by the deep exigency of self-protection from multiple informal pressures. In this sense, relationships are also characterized by fields of power and dominance that are likely to generate forms of reciprocal skepticism and suspiciousness, when professional strategies are not grounded on common agreements. NPM reforms have grasped this aspect when assuming "generalist" experts as top-level civil servants, as a way to keep good administrative performance under control in order to review the "traditional" separation between political leaders and senior civil servants operating in a hierarchically-structured and legally-based public administration[100]. In doing so, they have also endorsed further divisions between civil

---

[100] From the first steps of reform in Great Britain in the early 1980s, to the reforms in other European countries, NPM style reforms have been built upon a series of criticisms against a civil service alternatively or cumulatively viewed as "social-democrat", "welfare proactive" or "conservative", essentially reducing it

service specialists at the bottom of the ladder, and seniors experts in policy at the top, creating in some cases new "political elites" among civil servants when managers are designated by politicians.

Civil service reform has constantly tackled questions related with expertise and professionalization, questioning structures and practices. As already stressed by Weber (1947) and elaborated on by Gouldner (1959), there exists a basic tension between hierarchy and expertise, which reveals a key problem of contemporary democratic bureaucracies. The intensification of demands for new governance devices that can gather multiple knowledge in order to enhance government's responsiveness, have questioned the primacy of mere managerial concerns for the assessment of policies (Rouban, 2007). NPM reforms have sought to enact new forms of control on bureaucrats' strategic role or professional sphere of autonomy, by providing top-level civil servants with new managerial tasks. Senior civil servants have been invited to legitimize public policy and then have been regarded as co-decision makers of political elites, rather than mere subordinates. In this sense, we are led to suppose that greater tensions are likely to be created between political leadership and administrative expertise at the lower levels. According to Page (2007), it is necessary to pay attention to lower level bureaucrats' policy work because in holding responsibilities to develop policy details, they are likely to be involved in internal conflicts with top-level managers, as well as with elected officials. In being founded on the principle of spreading information and enhancing new group practices in terms of work, expression, deliberation, planning, problem solving, education, and so on, participation implies a rethinking of the established network of hierarchies and functions. When decisions are reached as a result of negotiation between different actors, the challenge for civil servants comes from the dynamics involved in enacting new forms of "social contract" (see: Rousseau, 2006). By recollecting the integrative and participatory dimensions of political deliberations, civil servants are demanded to re-modulate technical functions in the context of transforming relations and moving equilibriums. Their function of steering and controlling is not likely to come from public office in a narrow sense, but

---

to a sort of "enemy". Countries experiencing the end of authoritarian regimes in the middle of the 1970s, such as Greece, Spain and Portugal were also meant to address such reforms to participate in the political and economic network of European Union (Raadschelders and Bemelmas-Videc, 2007).

rather from engaging and coordinating with other actors (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000; Peters and Pierre, 2007).

Implementing participatory processes represents the coming together of various and multiple factors at the administrative level: new civil service issues in terms of the profession, new groups structures, new modes to negotiate experimental devices in a continuous relationship with the hierarchical functioning of bureaucracies, possibly stemming from cultural resistances, as well as chances to learn. As a matter of fact, law and legal controls may be de-emphasized to the detriment of some degree of discretion enhancement because they are demanded to negotiate policy decisions with other actors. "Politicization" of public administration has been one of the remarkable debates of the last few decades[101]. In emphasizing political affiliation, loyalty and commitment to political representatives, top-level civil servants have often been demanded to change their "status" in terms of internal relationships, as well as in terms of ability to serve current and future governments and society at large (Suleiman 2003). Peters and Pierre (2004) distinguish between bottom-up politicization pertaining to the increase of political activity by civil servants (party-political allegiance and behavior and/or policy-oriented attitude and awareness of the political context), while top-down politicization involves an increased level of control exerted by government over bureaucrats, i.e. trying to ensure that behaviors of civil servants are compatible with their own policy preferences. At the same time, NPM reforms have also stressed the role of the senior public administrator as a manager rather than as a policy advisor, implying alterations of career incentives. With the increasing supremacy of the managerial perspective, less attention seems to have been focused on the policy and appraisal dimensions of the senior civil servants' work. As such – and in contrast to politicization trends – the managerialism of the senior civil service has been likely to cause a simultaneous bottom-up style of depoliticization.

---

[101] Politicization is defined by De Montricher (2008) as the "*appropriation of public agencies by a specific political coalition or the strengthening of the top level of an administration to implement the commitments of the electoral campaign.*" (*ibidem*, 296). Van der Meer and Frits (2002) identify different methods for having compatibility between politicians and top civil servants: (1) political appointment of civil servants (spoils system; formalized political discretion to appoint top civil servants; informal political appointment of permanent civil service positions; political advisers; ministerial cabinets); (2) alternative external sources of advice and expertise (external personal advisers; hiring of consultants; advisory bodies and public expertise institutions); (3) deconstruction of monolithic and integrated "bureaucracy" (slimming down bureaucracy; creating competing advisory or implementation offices; creating supervisory bureaucracy); (4) changing administrative values (manipulating or creating a service ethos; adapting legal provisions).

As a result, the politicization of civil servants' activities may be at the authority of political superiors, but it is conceivable that the opportunities for increased political activity by civil servants increase their discretion. At the same time, internationalization and multi-level governance seems to have created intertwining dynamics with politicization and professionalization fluxes, breaking up the classical conception that used to make political and technical work coincide with the division between politicians and bureaucrats (Van den Berg and Toonen, 2007). European integration indeed, influences the *modus operandi* of national bureaucracies given the inducement of EU policies to adopt network-style governance in order to uncover gaps in existing accountability relations and division of competences. Nevertheless, while interactive governance and transparency are perceived as positive from legitimacy and accountability perspectives, they have also showed the extent of political control over bureaucrats. Processes of politicization have also been calling for an extensive use of performance indicators and tools addressed to mark a new distinction between politicians and public managers through "agencyfication", that is opening up to expertise partnerships in the form of private management consultants, international organizations or academics. By supporting new professional cultures focused on performances and results rather than on legalistic procedures and equal treatment of public service users, both the recruitment of managers from the outside and the use of personnel in not-for-profit, for-profit, or client organizations so as to implement political programs, means that a significant number of people making decisions about governance have not been immersed in the career values of civil service (Chapman, 2000).

Such an issue is inherently related to the status of the lifelong careers of bureaucrats and the growth of the private sector since the mid 1990s, leading to substantive changes in employment conditions concerning job security, low-paid and short-term jobs and in some cases, connected with specific performance targets (Van den Berg and Toonen, 2007). The debate on the status of professional career traditional patterns for civil servants, in comparison with the position of employees in the private sector has been profoundly dependent on the changes caused by new institutional multi-level governance actions carried out by multi-actor policymaking processes. Thus, transforming bureaucracy raises questions of legitimacy and involves changing the forms of control that, at this stage, are more likely to exert over inter-organizational exchanges in multi-level governance. The question of how career paths for well-performing or simply talented civil servants could be

defined has gradually put a spotlight on different models within EU. The UK "fast-track" career system based on talented administrative staff selected by competition for faster career advancement, separated from political office holders – though politically oriented with NPM reforms – is fairly different from bottom-up politicization in Southern Europe where the main objective was to get rid of political pressures and influence peddling (Rouban, 2007).

3. Reframing public service

Transforming bureaucracy raises questions of legitimacy and implies changing the forms of control that, at this stage, are more likely to exert over inter-organizational exchanges in multi-level governance. Both NPM and new governance schools of thoughts are concerned, at their very base, with strategies for enhancing public service delivery. When considering the concept of service, our attention is focused on the processes that construct results rather than on the results *per se*. The inherent interactive nature of service is actually distinguished by the production of goods, since the process is part of the "product", influencing the way it comes out. As Normann (2004) has put it, service, process and supply system are coinciding and overlapping elements because the interface is the crucial variable, determining the strategic placement of the organization delivering the service. In this sense, the author proposes to overtake the traditional distinction between organizations producing goods and organizations producing services, by rather highlighting whether organizations are market or service oriented. In the case of the Third Sector, this reflection can undoubtedly mirror public administrations in terms of enrooting rationales, as we have seen in some cases of NPM, as they themselves can be market oriented. Service is a logic of working, consisting of actions and interactions where subjects are possibly involved in a dialectic process that, in turn, represents a by-product of the relationship. Hence, the "function of client" assumes a further acceptance that the author condenses in the concept of "prosumer", i.e. producer and consumer. In this sense, the free concurrence of the market influences the differentiation of mass-services, eliciting the transformation of the mono-dimensional characteristics of public administrations. Processes of change are inevitably complex and are characterized by phases of profound ambiguity and incoherent behaviors. Yet the author (*ibidem*) argues that when provided

with new and adequate tools and skills, change may become surprisingly easy because in receiving feedback from external clients, it is likely to enhance "virtuous circles". Conversely, the risk with narrow procedures is the possibility of bureaucratic principles leading to "vicious circles": establishing complicated systems, fostering mythical growth without control and reproducing gaps between services and clients' expectations. Virtuous circles are considered as chains of "moments of truth", providing the actors with the opportunity to get involved by specifying the service itself, co-producing it, controlling its quality and maintaining its ethos.

When considering participatory processes as the encounter between "prosumers" of public policies, who must cooperate within an emerging layout of new governance actions, the quality of the service cannot be reduced to measuring clients' satisfaction, but rather as the moment for keeping control over accessibility conditions, adjustment of processes to different public needs, the advantage of choosing one or another plan, and so on (de Gaulejac *et al.*, 1995). In other words, the quality of participatory processes depends on the performance of the whole democratic system that must be analyzed in terms of both tangible and intangible activities[102]. We can think of organizational life as "moments of truth" which take place when subjects and groups that belong to different hierarchical levels as well as to different functional sectors assist one another in order to "serve" possible cooperative goals. Developing the "function of internal client" is strictly linked to the enhancement of the service to be delivered, since the notion of civil service itself is inherently intertwined with an aspiration for change, as a function of the transformation of the role of the State in society. As Denhardt and Denhardt (2007) put it when discussing the NPS, the point does not only concern a redefinition of:

> […] *how we see the citizens we serve, but also a change in how we see ourselves and our responsibilities – how we treat each other, how we define our purpose and goals, how we evaluate ourselves and others how we make decisions, how we view success and failure, and how we think about legitimacy of our actions* (*ibidem*: 191).

The lively debate in political sciences concerning the concept of "client" is intrinsically linked to the historical concern of modern democracies with choosing either

---

[102] One of the most important characteristics of the idealized model of Japanese management tradition is that of considering the client and not the organization as the one who "provides" the salary (Ouchi, 1981)

individual or citizen as actor of democracies (Held, 1996). With respect to public service "referee" definitions, Mozzicafreddo (2011b) argues that the use of words always says something about the deep conceptions concerned with politics and, therefore, is always symbolically embedded.

> *Atendendo à complexidade dos serviços públicos, nomeadamente europeus, e à multiplicidade de objectivos e situações contraditórias, os cidadãos são tanto utentes (ocasionais) quando utilizam um produto ou um serviço, como clientes quando pagam em contrapartida de uma escolha; são igualmente beneficiários quando portadores de direitos específicos no âmbito da logica de redistribuição, como contribuintes, e, ainda, eleitores e eleitos quando olhados desde o ponto de vista da participação pública. Porém, não deixa de ser necessário assinalar que a difusão da noção de cliente tem algumas consequências importantes para a administração pública. Isto, nomeadamente, pelo facto de a noção de cliente denotar, por um lado, o contribuinte, ou seja, quem contribui para a manutenção do serviço publico e, portanto, com direitos de reciprocidade e, por outro, a ideia de a administração necessitar de satisfazer os seus utentes e cidadãos como as organizações privadas satisfazem os seus clientes (ibidem: 27-28, tr_pt_10).*

Cornwall (2001) argues that when defining subjects as "beneficiaries" of public policies, one assumes the convergence of mainstream neoliberalism with community development, making people intervene within consultative processes. Participation is "for people", and so people are invited to take part in processes. When participation is "controlled" by those whom development is supposed to benefit, participation is likely to be linked to claims for democracy. The author indicates a third option when the need for a closer relationship between those who work for development and the "users", makes public administrations promote participation "with people". "*The shift from "beneficiary" to "customer" carries with it a cluster of associated meanings: from the implications of a "customer service" ethos for development practice to the ironies of viewing recipients of aid as active consumers.*" (*ibidem*: 34) Inviting people to participate as beneficiaries or consumers is not in itself enough to bring about meaningful change. If customers choose products, then citizens are invited to decide what is important to be included in public expenses by the government. Hence, the challenge seems related to both enabling excluded people and empowering all of the actors to exercise agency through the institutions, that assume in this sense the role of "stakeholders of public goods". Likewise, Carvalho Guerra

(2010) says "*[a] democracia participativa encara os cidadãos não como consumidores mas como produtores da sociedade, o que é uma inversão de lógica cheia de sentido e de impactos práticos.*" (*ibidem*: 129, tr_pt_11). Bourgon (2007) says that "*[c]itizens are more than constituents, voters, or clients. As citizens, we reconcile our conflicting individual interests as taxpayers, workers, parents, or users of public services*"(*ibidem*: 175). As Salis Gomes (2011) puts it, the use of the concept of client is inherent to the NPM conception of a functioning public administration, configuring a relationship where citizens can expect the best service, but are not simultaneously supposed to be involved in the construction of the service itself. In this way, the fashioning power of this concept has allowed in recent years, the neglect of other existing interactions, such as solidarity exchanges, social asymmetries, and contractual relationships and legitimacy in politics[103].

We have already declared in the First Part that the use of the concept "function of client" is consistently referred to as the theoretical and methodological framework of psychosociology (see also: Carli and Paniccia, 2003). Nevertheless, at this point we sense the necessity to clarify inner details. When considering the psychological dimension of this function, client is not necessarily a concrete person or agency. It could also represent some potential subject that our action is symbolically referring to throughout its development. Indeed, as stressed by Kykyri *et al.* (2010), "*[a]lthough the consulting literature tends to refer to "clients" as if they were always clearly identifiable and as if the word client has an overall and literal meaning, there are in reality some remarkable difficulties in defining the client.*" (*ibidem*: 93). Once we assume the assumption that public service is committed with and addressed to other's demands, public administrations are likely to reconfigure their position in this context and rearticulate human and material resources. In other words, when adopting a "function of client-orientation", public administrations are likely to adopt a new vision for problems to be solved, to the detriment of the standard solutions provided. Function of client-orientation in public service could address the situation where citizens are conceived of as mere customers to be satisfied. It could involve thinking about the whole development of the context that public administrations and participants are sharing

---

[103] This is a severe remark on the public peculiarity of public administration concerned with citizenship equality (Thoenig, 1987). Such an aim cannot be pursued when assuming the same strategies of private enterprises, as attempted to some extent through NPM reforms. It is important rather to refer to recovering institutions, norms, actors and public legitimacy of decisions in order to foster the connection between politics, public administration and citizenship.

(Carli, 1996). In this sense, the client is the symbolical agency bearing demands of development. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze how clients express their demands, what their symbolical languages are and what types of social networks they are set within. As a matter of fact, civil servants also exert the functions of client within public administrations.

In this sense, the nature of participatory processes can change the proper morphology of the administrative public service: the distance between "producer" and "consumer" is overtaken and reformulated in order to bring political representatives and bureaucrats closer to citizens. When the overall purpose to bring citizens closer to services first delivers the reframing of public service delivery as "function of client-orientated", participatory processes can be seen as possible strategies of bridging the perceived distance between citizens and the public service. Such a point entails internal re-modulation in accordance with new modus operandi and new purposes, indicating the enactment of settings devoted to reconvening on the meanings, problems, solutions and identities of the actors. It does not require developing abilities in "mere" front office, but rather coordinating new frontline settings of confrontations, demanding in turn new articulations in terms of identity[104].

4. Training and counseling: models that matter

Since the service is neither a product nor a set of technical data, it can be read as a system of interaction that through participation enacts new dynamics. The different demands brought by actors shines a light on the close connection between the "what" and the "how" of participation, i.e. results and processes. Participation does not happen without its processes and processes always yield some results, so the question is: what sort of results are we referring to? Firstly and consistent with psychosociology, results should be understood in terms of a symbolic construction of the context in connection with the otherness. This is not entirely new, as highlighted by decades of scientific literature around

---

[104] Pipan (1996) argues that front office is conceived of as the public administrations' interface: "*l'interazione faccia a faccia sulla scena dello sportello legittima i pubblici dipendenti come protagonisti di un evento e attori di un rito. Lo sportello è il luogo dell'evento in cui la metafora bellica può essere celebrata. [...] e non è soltanto un ambiente pubblico lo sportello dove si interagisce con l'altro; è anche retroscena, luogo dove il lavoro può rimanere un fatto individuale oppure trasformarsi in lavoro di equipe*" (109-110, tr_it_12). As a result, the external client seems to apparently "fade" in back office, though it is more likely to be present in exasperated emotional dynamics (Bion, 1961).

the issues concerning education and training within organizational contexts. Sainsaulieu (1988) argues that it is not only participatory visions of the management of internal personnel that has allowed the development of new approaches to human relations, but also proper policies for training have helped us to think about how to develop new organizational values. Lifelong training can have a profound effect within organizations and on their cultural patterns, when concerning new models of integration (*idem*, 1987). As a result, trainers could end up assuming the role of change developers within rigid organizational structures by "allying" (i.e. colluding) with either personnel's top-level managers or directors. Others could conversely join the causes of the workers, similarly in conflict with the role of trainers. When potential results such as sociability (critics to authority, new learning rhythms, diversity of interests); integration (new knowledge to get involved in scenarios from where they used to be excluded); open social systems (new inter-service and inter-institutional connections in order to open the closed systems within); imaginary (cognitive breaks, new encounters, questioning of habits that can result in the creation of new social forces), are assumed as a threat, training is generally avoided.

The demand for personnel training represents a further point revealing the relevance of cultural dimensions. As Pagés *et al.* (1998) put it, personnel policies should be understood as embodying organizational ideologies because it is impossible to dissociate procedures and devices from the discourses that sustain and legitimize them. Ideology is considered by the authors as those forms of hiding profit and dominance goals through practices legitimized by common values. In their critical view, such policies are generally carried out by diverse processes, such as "abstraction" (reducing social relationships into money connections and inducing false representations of reality); "objectivation" (comparing individuals to utilities through emphasis on performance)[105], "deterritorialization" (pushing workers to move from their native places in order to better assume organizational codes); "canalization" (transforming individual energies into a

---

[105] "*A partir de ce moment toute revindication collective devient impossibile pour ceux qui ont pris le départ de la course. L'individu se sent manipulé du fait qu'il n'a aucine prise sur les mécanismes qui le captent*" (*ibidem*: 151, tr_fr_16). Tests, surveys, quantitative techniques, rational decision making models, "objectivation" procedures likewise all the attempts to translate human factor into mathematical schemes are likely to produce universalistic discourses legitimized by scientific language.

working force towards career objectives)[106]. Each of these processes concretely manifests itself through multiple procedures and devices, just as each device is concretized by means of multiple processes. Towards these aims, the authors also point out the encouragement for individuals to express their own claims, so as to instrumentally decrease the chances for solidarity and feelings of guilt when not accomplishing personal tasks and identification with organization. Personnel policies generally aim to prevent collective claims by promoting isolated individual linkages within the organization. In these terms, mobility is read as an instrument aimed at preventing the crystallization of interests over parts of the organization. When workers are constantly moved, change is introduced as a value to be pursued, resulting in permanent agitation.

> [*U*]*ne conséquence de cette modification constante des equipes de travail, de leurs territoires ou de leurs fonctions, est l'impossibilité de constituer des noyaux stables, des groupes ayant une dynamique propre et susceptibles de poser des exigences ou des revendications collectives* (*ibidem*: 163, tr_fr_17).

Training courses presuppose conceptions about the way either desired or ongoing changes can be handled by organizational contexts. What is likely to be drawn out by looking at the conceptions grounding the demand and intentions of training courses, has to do with the relationships that administrative personnel enact within and with agencies. As a result, when participation is thought of as an isolated event, it could count on "isolated" technical skills and possibly training for the enhancement of cognitive knowledge. When participation is conceived of as broadly mobilizing organizational meanings, training should more likely be addressed to reframe relationships, functions and identities at work., Training then, in the first instance, is committed to interpreting the demand that the organization expresses when needing training. Alternatively, training risks reproducing the "myth of the solution", i.e. collusion with the idea that through training, problems will be solved. In this myth there are at least two possible misunderstandings: the first one refers to "easy" solutions; the second is the projection of problems into external situations or individual "dysfunctions". In these terms, like politicians and managers, training

---

[106] Career permits primordial angst and potentially drives individual desires towards perfection and omnipotent dreams. However, individuals may end up entrapped because while being recognized (i.e. loved in psychoanalytical terms) by the organization, they become dependent on the organizational projects.

facilitators cannot be considered as neutral figures, but rather as bearing some political conception about organizational change (Orsenigo, 2009).

Such concerns relate to consultancy too. When acknowledging the nuances of researching and/or acting within organizations, external actors have to be considered as proper agencies interacting with the whole of public organizations. By understanding consultancy as a medium for organizational change, Schein (1997) argues that the very goal of supporting clients' acknowledgment is addressed to play active roles in the environment. Expert advice is not considered to be that distant from managers' responsibilities, consisting of primarily catching the symbolical dimensions of organizational clients, their ambiguous, different or even conflicting demands and objectives[107]. It is within such various scenarios that both managers and consultants can "design" their strategy as "walking around" (*idem*, 1992). By being essentially interactive, this strategy is likely to have some impact on the clients it serves, which in the case of public administrations means considering civil servants who are demanded to "serve" their colleagues, in order to make public administration serve society. Kykyri *et al.* (2010) propose a meta-reflective experience with the clients of consultancies by talking about their own involvement. The "ownership talk" implies discursive acts including subjectivity and personal interest in the descriptions of the issues at hand, so as to increase speakers' accountability and responsibility in their setting. As the authors point out, the goal is "*by inviting and encouraging the use of personal accounts, to create a social and emotional atmosphere of sharing and participation.*" (*ibidem*: 110).

Both training and consultative initiatives are thus inevitably settled within existing networks and relationships under incessant construction and (re)configuration. When organizations intend to change, members are either implicitly or explicitly demanded to adopt new patterns of behavior and then to assume or reframe their identities at work[108]. A critical understanding of the cultural dynamics constructing change reveals intrinsic

---

[107] The author (*ibidem*) distinguishes: initial clients (first contact possibly not "owning" the problem); intermediate clients (result from initial client's "diagnosis"); primary clients (subjects of the intervention); final clients (stakeholders not having direct contact with the counselor but that benefit from the intervention). Final clients are likely to be the whole organization, as well as the society. Direct involvement in the process will hopefully bring about organizational learning and independence, reducing the need for the consultant's help when facing future conflicts.

[108] Chong *et al.* (2006) analyze the ways cognitive, motivational and value attainment of PBs influences the job performance of civil servants by taking into consideration as variables: role ambiguity, organization commitment, and job satisfaction.

ambivalence between organizational members and organizations (see: First Part). In psychoanalytically representing an object of identification, public administration also displays sources of "love" and "hate" at the same time. The permanent opposition between the search for love and the angst generated by perceived refusals could make the object of love emotionally inaccessible. Individuals could adopt strategies of projection and/or identification with objects perceived as aggressive. Such an omnipotent imaginary does not get rid of the primordial angst, but rather displaces it into other "objects" that can become very powerful in emotional terms. As a result, symbolical codification of the work helps to construct and put at risk, individual and collective identities. Organizational members construct their identities, the identities of their teams and the identity of the organization itself within tense dynamics concerning the ways they perceive their employment, their profession as well as the way those are perceived by the organization (see also: Schwartzman, 1989). The product of this tense game is not only an internal affair, but rather the ground where the interior encounters the exterior and *vice versa*. Institutional roles therefore define "frameworks" where demands and outcomes are to be considered in close connection to the specific cultures in construction. When established rationales are demanded to change, as in the case of public administrations reforming their *modus operandi* aimed at developing new policymaking processes, the ways members of organizations assume changes – both symbolically in terms of identity and pragmatically in terms of functions – represents a key feature. As Pipan (1996) puts it:

> [*i*] *membri dell'equipe sono tali non per il loro status di componenti dell'organizzazione, ma per la collaborazione che mettono in atto per sostenere una data definizione della situazione. Essere un'equipe implica la possibilità di rompere il frame amico-nemico, attraverso il passaggio dall''io" al "noi"e per l'affermarsi sul retroscena di una direzione capace di riorientare i pubblici dipendenti al lavoro, non più inteso come burocrazia ma come servizio* (*ibidem*: 110, tr_it_13).

5. Civil servants engaged in participatory processes: the contribution of psychosociology

The demarcation between political and administrative spheres shielding respective sources of power becomes muddied when participatory processes emphasize how lines of accountability and political oversight represent intertwined factors. Even if clear of party

politics, civil servants are demanded to contribute to political processes and sometimes to make sense of possible mishmashes. As pointed out by Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993), all governmental policymaking can be considered political, since it involves the use of authority. The point is what political and administrative forms of authority "consist of" today and which demands expressed by participants are being articulated.

> *Indeed, if it were possible to count all the policy-making acts in any political system – choices made, attempts at persuasion, agreements reached, threats and promises made, authoritative commands given or received – one would find that, so defined, policy making rests overwhelmingly in the hands of bureaucracy, leaving relatively few policies to be determined elsewhere. Although the executive, legislature, and judiciary dominate in setting some of the most important policies, the bureaucracy predominates over a larger number, including some of the highest importance* (ibidem: 59).

Participatory processes provide unique settings for these dynamics to be "exposed": on the one hand, the decision to undertake interactive processes reveals political projects concerning administrations and contexts; on the other hand, the ways public administrations receive, elaborate, manage and work out such political projects reveals patterns of multiple relationships sustaining participatory processes. As regards the latter, scientific literature is surprisingly limited, though interestingly some scholars have debated some relevant features characterizing civil servants engaged in direct interaction with citizens. Lipsky (1980) has defined as "frontline workers" the officials who interact daily with the wider public and hold some responsibility for public service delivery. In empowering skills concerning policymaking, it is necessary to look at how this category of street-level bureaucrats works for implementation. The author puts a spotlight on the character of discretion, since decisions can vary from client to client, making policy implementation subject to employees' perceptions, although these are likely to be under control through forms of "judgment by peers". Discretion is required whenever problems cannot be reduced to programmatic formats, as well as whenever employees have to make some judgment about people for the application of policies. At the same time, discretion is nurtured by clients believing and being made to believe that officials are likely to hold the "key" to their wellbeing, revealing a structured disparity with clients, because they hold a set of expectations, policy goals and outcomes that are often oblique and not clearly

stated[109]. The lack of a transparent set of outcomes and scarce supervision can lead them to either adjust their work to the advantage of their own goals or favor some specific client (see also: Egeberg, 1995). Accordingly, Theodoulou and Kofinis (2004) argue that it is the lack of clarity of policy goals that is the very point. In order to ensure that the outcomes effectively match policy goals and then reduce broad interpretation, the authors make reference to the necessity to increase the evaluation of programs. The discretionary ability consists then in the inevitable variations occurring between public polices and their original intended policy goals. In these terms, discretion also responds to the changing political and administrative environments as a strategy to sustain long-term effectiveness. Hupe and Hill (2007) argue that frontline workers face an imperative to action and so have to work to accommodate disorder in local governance. In this sense, accountability is distinguished between internal (political, administrative and professional) and external (participatory) and, as a result of growing discretion, political systems tend to increase mechanisms of control, though they themselves enact internal forms of peer-control. Likewise, Bovens and Zouridis (2002) state that decision-making power can help street-level bureaucrats to constrain broad administrative procedures into concrete situations in compliance with administrative accountability commitment.

Durose (2009), basing her analysis on some UK experiences, argues that such a characteristic makes street-level bureaucrats "entrepreneurial" frontline workers, who are therefore committed to adjusting administrative work to new governance demands by identifying and engaging marginalized groups for community resources and service delivery, in order to produce mutually beneficial outcomes for government and community (*idem*, 2011). Civic entrepreneurialism reflects the nature of local governance actions that necessarily represent contested sites for policies, and frontline workers are demanded to use their situated and interactively constructed knowledge so as to act entrepreneurially for both service delivery and network building. In the same vein, Lowndes (2005) focuses on the figure of "institutional entrepreneur" in local governance and identifies strategies of sharing, borrowing and remembering in their everyday work when service delivery is developed in response to changing environments. Their strategies are the result of the

---

[109] Techniques or strategies that characterize the discretion of street-level bureaucrats include routinizing, modifying goals, rationing their services, redefining or limiting the clientele to be served, asserting priorities and developing practices that permit to process the work they are required to do, often in the context of severe limitations on personnel and organizational resources (*ibidem*).

"muddle and mess" that local governance actions imply in attempting to engage the community (see also: *idem*, 1997). Leadbeater and Goss (1998) define a "civic enterprise culture" that is concerned with the attempts of the public sector towards innovation in order to meet changing demands. In this sense, frontline workers necessarily draw upon their local knowledge.

Yanow (2003) sees local knowledge as strategic for the success of policies because it implies interacting with social actors in order to grasp their own definitions of problems and solutions. In always being referred to specific settings wherein civil servants can display their expertise, frontline workers actually develop local knowledge on the basis of their own subjective interpretations of the situations. Civic entrepreneurship overtakes Lipsky's notion of street-level bureaucracy discretion, and rather seeks to understand the ways civil servants cope with crosscutting problems that are mainly faced at the local level. Nonetheless, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2006a; 2006b) argue that we should draw from the fact that scholarly narrative central tenets are, for the most part, absent from the street-level workers' own narratives, that they do not describe themselves as policymakers, decision-makers or even government workers. As a result, the authors propose to define them instead as "citizen agents", intimately linking their employment with citizens and other street-level workers. Along this line, Escobar distinguishes street-level bureaucrats and proper "engagers" as those officials that do not work in one policy area, but on processes across domains (2011). Such a role, typical in transitions from technocratic to collaborative ways of working, involves operating between public authorities and communities of place, practice and interests. Such a mission is inherently afforded starting from their status and expertise as established by traditional mechanisms of representative democracy, which inevitably creates frictions that must be managed within participatory processes. Engagers emphasize the political worth of their function because they represent tensions, ambiguities and power struggles stemming from and simultaneously contributing to, diverse understandings of local democracy. Their work is ongoing, fluid and indefinite, but their legacy in terms of achievements and social capital are often more visible because they are concentrated geographically and when engaged in local deliberative processes, whatever happens during their participation has a more direct impact on their immediate social worlds.

Alongside participatory initiatives carried out by administrative teams, participatory processes can also be managed by external agencies, whether delegated to work them out or demanded to collaborate with the public sector. In some cases, the agencies can also work as "trainers" for civil servants in order to implement their capacity to learn to manage future processes. Cooper and Smith (2012) discuss some of the dynamics that could occur when external participation consultants are demanded to manage the processes. For example, they could feel the difficulty of matching participation proposals with the broader structure and culture of public authorities. We are not going to deepen the exploration of cases of external agencies and consultants, although we acknowledge that we leave aside an important element of analysis (see: Schudson, 2006). However, we are aware of the fact that both internally and externally managed processes see a key role played by civil servants. Indeed, in both cases, they could develop new expertise once public organizations have to coordinate and integrate the interests of different actors, accomplishing the challenging generation of new interactions[110]. That is the reason why we need to go beyond considerations about power stemming from narrow conceptions of discretion, and look at the ways civil servants symbolically interact with change, playing the roles of civic agents, entrepreneurs or engagers by transforming public policies in local democratic systems. Hence, when looking less at overhead democracy and more at plural demands, civil servants necessarily play a central role in achieving new forms of political system legitimacy. The cultural construction of their engagement in participatory processes is the key to understanding the change.

When understanding change as socially constructed, negotiated, and locally interpreted, cultural meanings necessarily question ordinary ways of organizational acting (Heracleous and Marshak, 2004). Participation may be connected to some intentions or actual endorsement of administrative reform. Nevertheless, we have seen that even when not officially framed within more general acts, participatory processes cannot help but make different administrative rationales interact, creating some discontinuity with ordinary administrative life. New conceptions of public service create a cultural tension with

---

[110] As regards internal relations, Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993) argue that processes of "mutual adjustment" are likely to set decentralized coordination among different programs and agencies, overtaking the strict and narrow policy segment owned by each division. By adjusting towards each other, adjustment may prevent forms of hierarchical exacerbation, as well as high control that ends up interfering with the ability to perform.

coexisting bureaucratic principles and procedures. Psychosociology provides an integrated theoretical framework and a lively set of methodologies addressed to analyze, understand and extract interpretive hypotheses concerning cultural changes. Taking into account the process of symbolization carried out by civil servants engaged with participatory processes, means opening a path of analysis – which is new in the scientific fields concerning participation and concentrated on what occurs at the administrative level. The relevance of both making these collective perceptions emerge and translating them into interpretive hypotheses relies on the possibility of grasping the never-ending silent (or whispered) symbolical movements grounding organizational agencies (Bateson, 1979). Their function is to create a "metaphorical" representation of reality that can help to understand what is imaged as current and future (Morgan, 2006). At the same time, symbolical representations tend to both inherently "solidify" and reify (Bion, 1961; Moscovici, 2005; Foucault, 1966; Salvatore and Venuleo, 2008; Falanga and Antonini, 2013). By translating them into interpretive hypotheses, we can create a symbolical interruption of the ordinary course of action, so as to enable the actors to reflect on their own ways of making sense of their context (Weick, 1997; Carli and Paniccia, 2003). Thus, we need to be provided with theoretical and methodological tools that allow us to understand the features of the cultural patterns characterizing specific local administrations. And towards this aim, as stressed by Olivetti Manoukian and Kaneklin (2011), "*punto di osservazione privilegiato in questo senso sono i ruoli che nel'organizzazione hanno una collocazione ai livelli intermedi*" (*ibidem*: 31, tr_it_14).

We conceive subjects placed between society and politicians, networking with highly articulated bureaucratic structures, intermediating with new actors and symbolically demanded to shape new functions in continuity with their established role of civil servants, as extremely strategic in understanding the role of participation. By observing the way they work and by asking them to narrate their own experience, we intend to contribute to the rich scientific debate concerning participation. As psychologists, this intention owes a deep commitment to the subjects of research, by working with a view to processes of acknowledgment. In the workplace, everyday formal and conversational rules may endorse a stance of not revealing interests and questions about their environment and functions to be displayed. Constructing narratives, in psychological terms, represents a fundamental reflective agency that can suspend organizational routines and allow them flow within their

own symbolical representations about participation. In this way, we focus on the ways functions are played and displayed, rather than a vague, arbitrary and value oriented evaluation of "attachment" to the organization or abstract forms of commitment. It is through compelling their functions in participation, that we are likely to grasp the challenging reframing of their own identities at work within the extensive challenges of administrative change. Towards this aim, we are shifting in the Fourth Part where we will give an account of a case study based on the complex framework originated by the First, Second and Third Parts of the psychosociological approach for organizational cultures, constructed through interactive policymaking processes within public administrations, especially regarding the contribution of civil servants in participatory processes.

FOURTH PART – CASE STUDY, FIELDWORK AND INTERPRETIVE HYPOTHESES

Saper leggere il libro del mondo con parole cangianti e nessuna scrittura

Fabrizio de Andrè, Khorakhané (a forza di essere vento)

Governments at different scales are called upon to effectively respond to rapidly changing scenarios providing variable social and financial demands. Once governments assume the responsibility to develop interactive systems of governance by implementing cross-border and overarching processes, the public sector cannot help but be one of the main actors of the success of political actions. In this respect, the global scenario has showed that local administrations have often played a relevant role in State innovations. Participatory processes have been considered as one of the most appealing new governance actions with the ability to rethink the relationship between political institutions and societies and possibly reorganize administrative machineries. Looking at the ways civil service systems engage with such new policymaking processes represent a theoretical and methodological perspective that we have understood from a psychosociological point of view in dialogue with multiple scientific areas. Indeed, in undertaking the complex mission to understand change, we need to provide ourselves with complex visions of reality.

Towards this aim, we intend to grasp how roles, functions and interactions evolve among civil servants engaged with participatory processes, so as to understand how they symbolically contribute to shaping cultural patterns in public organizations. Such patterns are framed within structural/normative aspects that refer to multi-scale networks of governance as well as to local political projects. Understanding cultural patterns becomes a strategic way to see through envisaged, ongoing or unexpected transformations because civil servants themselves when working for participation are inherently settled between a complex interlacement of changes. In implementing new frontline skills and increasing back-office networks, they are symbolically set between traditional and innovative conceptions of policymaking and, therefore, of public administration. Furthermore, such changes are supposed to occur within new relationships enacted for the implementation of participatory processes when framing interaction with new actors.

As researchers, we assume the opportunity to approach such a worldwide phenomenon in a heuristic way, so as to grasp its inherent polysemy due to the different ways participation itself can be conceived in relation to the characteristics of political systems[111]. Such a perspective is further confirmed by the close connection that local administrations are thought to have with communities. The focus on processes of symbolical sharing as constructions of cultural patterns is a key tool for understanding "paths" of administrative change. Change is here understood as a way to develop new policymaking processes that are not to be taken for granted, but rather as a possibility to develop public administrations. When change is not taken as predetermined, it represents the by-product of collective cultural construction and organizational arrangements in complex relation to both global and local political visions of society.

Psychosociology has been studying cultural dimensions for the last few decades in terms of change, within a never-ending dialogue with other scientific domains. That is the reason why towards the purpose to heuristically approach participatory phenomena, we have taken advantage of a wide range of scientific contributions. As a result, we have acknowledged that there are an intertwined variety of questions surrounding the implementation of these processes which have to be taken into consideration for our action research. In the Fourth Part we will introduce the context of our action research by putting a spotlight on some of the principal political and administrative features at both national and local levels (Chapter VII); describe and relate the experience of fieldwork with four policymaking processes (Chapter VIII); and present findings and outcomes (Chapter IX). In consistence with the exposed intentions of this Thesis, we will conclude in the Fifth Part with integrated interpretive categories concerning the principal issues analyzed in the fieldwork, in connection with the considerations explored in the first six chapters. Indeed, it is our firm conviction that in order to develop public administrations, we have first to explore the multiple meanings of change that, in this case, are grasped through participatory processes.

---

[111] Questions concerning definitions call upon ontological issues: participation turns into a "new" concept once used in order to legitimize certain practices. At the same time, some participatory practices could not be named as such. The polysemy of the term "participation" grounds both experiences and discourses, suggesting the necessity of focusing on the socially constructed meaning at the context level (see also: Cornwall, 2007; Falanga, 2013).

Chapter VII - Portugal and Lisbon

1. Outline

The character of Portuguese national identity is connected with its history and social characteristics, which is very cohesive in cultural terms. The process of "nationalization", promoted worldwide in the XIX century, has revealed the heritage of the colonialist era in the country. Its "semi-peripheral" character has shaped the relations between Portugal and other capitalist countries, especially in Europe. The ambivalent game between dominant and subaltern identities has characterized the vision of Portugal by Northern Europe, sometimes presenting dominant and prevailing attitudes toward the country. Portugal has had weak economic development in the last few decades, often due to forms of paradigmatic "colonization" carried out by "central" European States. This issue - compelling the process of construction of national identity - has become even more visible with the inclusion of Portugal in the EU, which has contributed to strengthening its semi-peripheral identity (Sousa Santos, 2001) [112].

Passing through Constitutional Monarchy (1820-1910), The First Republic (1910-1926), and Dictatorship "Estado Novo" (1926-1974), on April 25th, 1974, the "Carnation Revolution" represented the break-up of dictatorship and political domination in African colonies. The entrance of the third wave democracy expansion at the global level has been characterized by the lack of both strong bourgeois and workers' classes in Portugal and in the other European Countries, which has been argued to be one of the factors causing both a paralyzed and centralized identity of the State (Huntington, 1993; Santos, 2003; Ruivo *et al.*, 2011). The establishment of parliamentary democracy and the opening of the national economy to the Market coincided and had to cope with the global financial depression due

---

[112] The author (*ibidem*) compares the character of the Portuguese (long-lasting and "hybrid") with the English "normative" colonialism, which supported the XIX Century international agreements (Conference of Berlin, 1884) and the widespread establishment of "scientific discourses" about races (see: Fanon, 1975). On being a colonialist power, Portugal has simultaneously been seen as a "colony" by some European "central" countries, like England. By strengthening its semi-peripheral character in Europe, as well as with some of its colonies, like Brazil, Calafate (2008) goes further and delineates the ambivalent Portuguese process of being peripheral to Europe and imaging the "empire" as the centre before the colonies. Resulting in some "distance" from European countries, in the last century Portugal put both Atlantic and African expansions as the main ambitions of the Salazar dictatorship.

to the oil crisis in the 1970s. Europe has represented a political ideal for democracy as well as a source of economical aids after the revolution[113].

Fairly weak participation in political life is generally claimed as one of the characteristics of Portuguese society in the last decades, side by side with decreasing social involvement in representative democracy's mechanisms. Indeed, an overview on the relationship between Portuguese citizenship and the State reveals a pervasive dissatisfaction, stemming from the perception of insufficiently integrated public policies and their outcomes, in terms of effectiveness of their actions (see: Costa Pinto, 2011; Costa Pinto *et al.*, 2010)[114]. In differentiating five citizenry attitudes with political systems - (relationship with political community; relationship with regime's principles; relationship with political system performances; relationship with political institutions; relationship with political actors), Freire (2003) intends to distinguish between widespread support for political principles and specific support to both political parties and leaders in Portugal. As a result, the first aspect is conceived as fairly "healthy" in the country for trust in electoral vote, freedom of speech and protest; whereas it is the second aspect that critically results in increasing political disaffection and electoral abstention:

> […] *a desconfiança nas instituições e a desidentificação com os partidos têm efeitos negativos significativos sobre o apoio dos cidadãos aos valores democraticos fundamentais, para já não falar nos impactos, também negativos, sobre a participação eleitoral* (*ibidem*: 154, tr_pt_12).

Jalali (2005) differentiates between the support to the democratic regime and the support to both political institutions and leaders. As regards the latter, Portuguese citizens become more disaffected. As the author (*ibidem*) puts it, abstention could easily permit the reproduction of a certain establishment and even represent less pressure for accountability, as already highlighted by the so-called "elitist theories" (see: Bobbio, 1995b). However, when politics is inadequately "controlled", it is easier to drift towards either populist or

---

[113] The integration with the European Community became a priority and in 1977 Portugal applied to become a Member State. According to Ruivo *et al.* (2011), adhesion to the EU in 1985 represented: "*um acordo entre forças políticas de peso que defendiam a democracia representativa; a protecçao exterior necessaria para a consolidaçao democratica e um novo posicionamento de Portugal no mundo*" (*ibidem*: 94, tr_pt_11).

[114] The scientific project started in 2010 is the "Quality Democracy Barometer" ("Barometro da Qualidade da Democracia": www.bqd.ics.ul.pt) on the basis of an international academic platform, and reveals that Portugal is one of the Southern Europe countries with the highest level of citizen dissatisfaction towards democratic regime (65% in 2011, in comparison with 51% in 2009), demonstrating also low levels of trust in the EU in terms of the autonomous politics of the country.

demagogic attitudes. Yet something seems to be changing in recent years, due to the pervasive financial crisis that has been challenging Portuguese political, economic and social systems.

Within a worldwide scenario of re-activation of claims for citizenship rights and attempts carried out by political institutions to manage growing intertwined interests that need to be governed (Norris, 1999), Portugal has been demanded to cope with a growing situation of financial and economic crisis, resulting in an economic recession in 2009 (see: Pereira, 2012). Since this recession, several initiatives and self-organized movements as well as informal citizens' networks have mobilized society, in order to contrast the austerity measures being adopted by the national government in accordance with "Troika" directives. In 2010 and 2011, "Geração à rasca", "Indignados" and "Acampadas" have been some of the most notorious spontaneous social initiatives of protest in connection with similar movements in other countries, mainly in Southern Europe. In 2012, some new forms of self-organized initiatives gained more and more importance, from mass protests gathering more than half a million of citizens like that which took place 15th September, 2012, to new networks of intellectuals, researchers and citizens[115]. In contrast with Troika impositions, which have dramatically impacted on national economics, in the last few years there has been a growing claim for a stronger welfare State, effective measures against unemployment and social injustice, as well as growing emigration movements.

2. The Portuguese State

The Portuguese population is approximately 10 million and from the administrative point of view, the 1976 national Constitution instituted the following democratic sovereignty organs: President of the Republic (five year term, elected by direct and secret universal ballot), Legislative Council ("Assembleia da Republica", four year term, elected by direct and secret universal ballot), Government (whose Prime Minister is appointed by the President of the Republic, in accordance with the results of the electoral voting) and Tribunals[116]. Article six of the Portuguese Constitution institutes local governments with formal status for the Regions ("Regiões") and limited power for the Provinces

---

[115] The "Democratic Congress for Alternatives" ("Congresso Democratico das Alternativas") is one of the most interesting cases of that (www.congressoalternativas.org).
[116] The National Institute of Statistics INE (www.ine.pt) has calculated 10.487.289 inhabitants in 2012.

("Distritos"), not directly elected by citizens[117]. Regions have not been concretely constituted − except for the autonomous Regions of Madeira and Azores − so it is the division into eighteen provinces that plays real political relevance at this local scale (see: Corte-Real, 2003). In this respect, the enactment of the Committee of the Regions, and later the Commission of Regional Coordination and Development in substitution of the Commissions for Regional Coordination, created in 1979, is supposed to deal with issues related to the financial autonomy of local authorities (Law 1/1979) and the definition of their political competences (Law 79/77)[118]. At the lower scale of local powers, there are the 308 Municipalities ("Municipalidades") and 4260 Parishes ("Freguesias") governed by elected executive representatives (directly elected City Council and Mayor)[119]. Municipalities, as much as Parishes have progressively received more political competences, though still limited in comparison with the European scenario (Sintomer and Allegretti, 2009). By denoting the Portuguese State as both (1) an overall entity including three subsectors and (2) a subsector itself including integrated services ("direct administration"), such as ministries, State secretaries, general directions, decentralized services, Pereira (2012) stresses that funding and autonomous services have more autonomy than integrated services infrastructures, such as public institutes, hospitals, universities and other entities; and politically and financially independent Regional and Local Administrations compose the spectrum of the Portuguese State. In this way, the

---

[117] Portuguese State is articulated through local powers meant as territorial collective subjects with representative, decisional and executive administrative bodies (see: art.235, 238 and 241 in Portuguese Constitution): Parishes, Municipalities (attributed with more political power in 1999) and Administrative Regions. Parishes are further distinguished by neighborhoods ("bairros") which do not have political powers (see: Costa, 2012). As regards the organization of local authorities and issues of decentralization, some important experiences from 1990s on in Europe have been: Spanish autonomous communities, devolution in UK in 1999, French decentralization in conformity with the Constitutional Law of 2003, and the introduction of the pluralist or majority system according to population of the Municipalities in Italy with the Law 81/93: in big Municipalities political candidates can be associated to different lists in order to fortify political coalitions sustaining their election (Bolgherini, 2007).

[118] The process of "regionalization" was hardly achieved in Portugal resulting into difficult regulatory integration within EU. The creation of the General Direction for Regional Development (DGDR) in 1983, in order to apply to FEDER's funds and then, in 1986, the Regional Development Planning (PDR 1986/90), showed pressures for juridical-institutional decentralization with limited attention to the formation of a new socio-political culture. In 1991, the establishment of administrative Regions was supposed to manage: (1) regional resources' planning; (2) administrative instances' proximity; (3) subsidiarity. According to Salis Gomes (2011), one of the reasons why regionalization did not work out was the choice to not follow territorial division proposed by the Commissions of Regional Coordination in line with the inter-sector productive system.

[119] The binary administrative system is composed by: City Council and Legislative Assembly, both directly elected and politically independent one and other, creating a sort of twofold competing agency when political parties' majorities do not correspond one another.

author draws a scheme of Portuguese public administrations and public sector as showed in Fig. 1:

Figure 1 - The Portuguese State
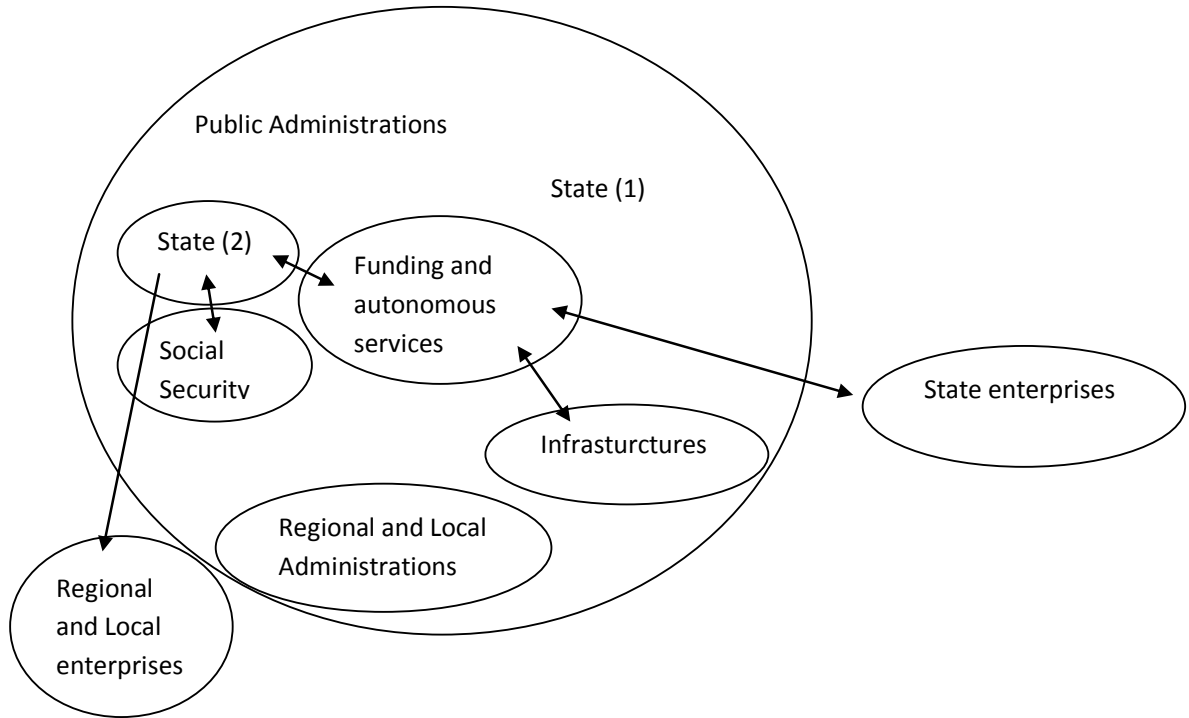
adapted into English from: Pereira, 2012: 44

With regard to Local Administrations, when we look at the co-presence of political and administrative experts, Portuguese Municipalities ("Câmaras Municipais") consist of a Mayor and City councilors elected as members of a political executive program, whereas political advisers are nominated by councilors themselves. In terms of administrative managers, these are often internal civil servants indicated by city councilors, whereas the civil servants are lifelong career officials. In synthesis, we show below the Table 2:

Table 2 - The division of Portuguese Municipalities between political and administrative personnel

Political actors	City councilor	"Vereador"
	Advisor to City councilor	"Assessor"
Administrative actors	Team manager	"Chefe"
	Civil servant	"Funcionario / Tecnico"

163

The Portuguese State has had some difficulties in effectively articulating subsidiarity principles and constituting solid inter-municipality networks. Micro-territorialization and struggles for micro-powers have somewhat fragmented the possibility of inter-institutional agreements or even the reproduction of central State power through local networks, through "relational capital" actions (Ruivo *et al.*, 2011)[120]. In this scenario, the adhesion to the EU is seen as an aporia for not "embodying" a European political project at the national level and an "absence of project" as project itself (Sousa Santos, 2003). The role of the central State has been strengthened, while the dependence of sub-national political bodies has never really been put into question. That is the reason why local power has become such a controversial issue in Portugal: on the one hand, it has been stated as a new essential policy center; on the other hand, it has become a target of growing criticism for the phenomena of corruption needing control of the central State. In this scenario, Ruivo *et al.* (2011) put emphasis on some alterations regarding the impact of local governments on decision-making.

> *O poder de influência destes deve ser agora exercido antes da promulgação das directrizes europeias. Isto significa que os governos locais devem tentar influenciar o Poder Central num estádio inicial do processo de policy-making na UE (ibidem: 99, tr_pt_13)[121].*

The National Association of Portuguese Municipalities (ANMP) has played a relevant role in articulating the competences of local authorities with national and international issues, and it is from the end of the 1990s that most of the new governance opportunities have given local authorities the chance to more visibly emerge within the political scenario (see: Ruivo, 2004).

---

[120] Della Porta (2011) confirms that the widespread phenomenon of personalization and centralization of decisions in the hands of political leaders has had the effect of increasing electoral abstention. Sintomer and Allegretti (2009) looking at both feasibility and the impact of participatory experiences, wonder which differences are to be highlighted according to the different architectures of political systems, acknowledging that participatory devices are generally promoted by the executive power (mainly in order to enhance citizenry trust) and often opposed by the legislative one.

[121] The authors (*ibidem*) focus on the perceptions, interests and limitations of Portuguese local authorities in relation to the EU, resulting into both demanding and challenging socio-economic opportunities, though experiencing the EU as a distant entity. The absence of regional policies and elected representatives for Regions; the overwhelming power of central State; the weak local economy; the difficult communication with the EU and central State, are some of the reasons emphasized by the authors. As a result, Portuguese decentralization shows a gap between "theory" and "practice" affecting principles of subsidiarity.

Nonetheless, new governance concepts have suffered some political predominance, possibly supported by a fairly weak Third Sector. As a result, in some cases social issues have continued to be represented by political institutions at the local level.

> *É o caso das Redes Sociais com actores regionais ou municipais, onde estão sobretudo representados os serviços desconcentrados da administração pública, ou serviços que exigem a presença de vários ministérios, como as Comissões de Protecção de Menores, etc.* (Carvalho Guerra, 2010: 124, tr_pt_14).

As a matter of fact, the author (*ibidem*) argues that new governance cannot help but be influenced by State mechanisms that are likely to make decision-making "opaque" because it reproduces predominant institutionalized organisms and does not solve the emerging conflict between hierarchical and horizontal governing structures. In comparing the Portuguese State to a "labyrinth", Ruivo *et al*. (2011) emphasize the centralized, defensive and resulting opaqueness of political and administrative architecture. Likewise, Pipan (1996) has adopted the same metaphor in order to describe Italian bureaucratic system, as resistant to change because experienced as an obligation to reveal internal and "secret" mechanisms. Labyrinth is an interesting metaphor when public organizations give life to binomial and polarized symbolical dynamics of love/hate or friend/enemy (see also: Carli and Paniccia, 1981). Indeed, what is known comes to be absorbed into "familiar" dimensions, whereas the unknown threatens internal stability. The State is a legitimized set of organizations that in resisting change, also reaffirms its monopoly on society. Altering the system implies experiencing dramatic perturbation of the equilibrium, which is likely to end up (re)producing inertial attitudes. As regards the local scale, governments are more visibly demanded to face emerging territorial issues and claims and, to some extent, are more exposed to the approaches of new institutional designs. As a result, by experiencing new practices and "memorizing" the successful ones (Mintzberg, 1987), local administrations are likely to legitimatize innovative principles for democracies at multiple scales.

3. Reforming public administration in Portugal

In the last few decades, Portugal's central public administration has been the subject of both comprehensive and sectoral reform aimed at integrating new organizational models,

as well as improving public service delivery in accordance with Art. 267º of the Constitution of the Republic (Barreto, 2000; OECD, 2001b). Mozzicafreddo and Gouveia (2011) argue that public administration reforms in Portugal are to be framed within the process of State modernization in the OECD area, which began in the middle of 1970s and whose main concerns have been: costs of administrative apparatus and financial resources for more efficiency; dysfunctions in terms of service organization, civil servants' commitment, responsibility and accountability; and quality of public service. The reorganization of the State after the dictatorial regime has been especially concerned with improving welfare State measures and integrating marginalized social sectors and professional workers' categories. Some of the principal issues were concerned then with labor organization, performance control, coordination of procedures, codified administrative language, influence peddling, and permeating recruitment. The State has first actively intervened by nationalizing enterprises, services and financial entities, as well as partnerships with the private investment sector. Nonetheless, the public sector improved its responsibilities and charges though often narrowly corresponding to politics of internal expertise development. In 1979, the creation of the National Institute of Administration and in 1980 the Center of Administrative Studies and Training (CEFA), showed growing attention towards training administrative staff.

In the 1980s, both a general privatization trend and attention to entrepreneurial realities compelled public administration to adopt measures for de-bureaucratization and agencyfication. On becoming an EU member, Portugal has welcomed some of the NPM principles in that period, especially with regard to public service efficacy in terms of control systems, contracting out and public private partnerships (PPP). Hence, processes of outsourcing and opening to new business initiatives have further rooted reorganizations of public function (Salis Gomes, 2011)[122]. Between the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the Portuguese public sector began to recognize the necessity of proximity with

---

[122] The "Redistributive System of Public Service" in 1989 was concerned with the reorganization of salaries in the public and private sectors; the Decree-Law 86/2003 has opened outsourcing to public administration under State control. This is in line with European trends of privatization of State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) and PPPs as privatization of commercially viable services. In some cases, the "corporatization" of SOEs is an instrument to make them compete with private firms, while in other cases PPPs are used as an intermediate phase in the process of privatizing SOEs or as an alternative to full-scale privatization (Rondinelli, 2007).

citizens, in accordance with OECD indications[123]. The 1990s have represented a crucial phase in the direction of client orientation. When it was realized that State intervention was increasing public expenditure in terms of both infrastructural equipment and human resources, new instances of internal functions and administrative organisms' reorganization took place by means of some public institutes. The Program for the Restructuring of the State Central Administration "PRACE" was launched by means of a resolution of the Ministers' council nº 124/2005, on the 4th of August, aimed at improving efficiency systems for the rationalization of the administrative structures. The new public administration manager statute (Law 2/2004, 15th of January), as well as the enactment of the integrated system for public administration commitment's assessment SIADAP (Law 10/2004 and 66/2007 the SIADAP) aimed at assessing services, managers and workers in correspondence to objectives' achievement; accountability; professional valorization; self-commitment, and motivation, pushed for some profound break-ups with consolidated cultures of career advancement and professional incentives. Organisms are assessed according to the "Principal Indicators of Commitment" ("Indicadores Principais de Desempenho") providing public account about goals accomplishment; as well as charging the managers of administrative units with more responsibility and autonomy[124]. Between 2008 and 2009, a new labor agreement in public service ("contrato de trabalho em função publica") represented an attempt to approximate public and private labor regimes by

---

[123] After establishing the "Secretary for Administrative Modernization" in 1986, it published in 1993 the document "One Thousands Measures for Administrative Measures" ("Mil Medidas de Modernização Administrativa"), the "Quality's Chart of Public Service ("Carta da Qualidade dos Serviços Públicos"), the "Deontological Chart of Public Service" ("Carta Deontológica de Serviço Público") and the "Administrative Procedure Code" ("Código de Procedimento Administrativo") aimed at reorganizing public service roles and careers in consistence with the purposes of citizens' proximity and modernization. Further initiatives include: the creation of the database "Infocid" in 1991 and later extended to numerous sectors of public administration; the Committee for quality and rationalization of public administration in 1992; the creation of "Citizens' Shop" ("Loja do Cidadão", 32 all over the country yet) at the end of the 1990s; the consultative "Forum citizen-administration" ("Fórum Cidadão-Administração") in 1996; the Decree-Law 135/99 for measures of administrative modernization and enhancement of public service; the enactment of the "Citizen card" as eID ("Cartão do cidadão") by Law 7/2007 gathering multiple functions (fiscal number, political election, social security, health system) as a result of joint ministerial analysis managed by the Unity of Coordination for Administrative Modernization (UCMA) and the Agency for the Society of Knowledge (UMIC).
[124] With regard to the new set of laws issued for public administration on 1st September 2004, Valadares (2004) argues that "[o]s processos de mudança cultural são sempre complexos, difíceis e polimórficos, mas no quadro da nossa arquitectura constitucional e legal, não seria possível iniciá-los para a Administração Pública, sem a publicação de um novo Quadro Legal, o que teve lugar no inicio deste ano de 2004. Um quadro legal, qualquer que ele seja, nunca é suficiente para conseguir concretizar o pretendido processo de mudança, mas é, sim, uma condição necessária que também se constitui em desafio e objectivo para todos os que têm responsabilidades no Sector Publico." (ibidem: 11, tr_pt_15)

altering public service career system and recruitment rules, as well as by giving some margins of negotiation to the functions and management of human resources (e.g. 90/240 days probationary periods and up to 3 years open-ended contracts). It also sought to gather the presence of different professions into three professional categories: technical, administrative and operational functions (see: Mozzicafreddo and Gouveia, 2011). As regards the current situation of bureaucrats, it has been defined by Law 2/2004 and the alterations made through the Law 51/2005, which established the statute of administrative organisms at the national, regional and local scales. In these terms, top-level civil servants are distinct from intermediary ones, who, in turn, are placed in compliance with the hierarchical level, in both skills and responsibilities[125].

With regard to the simplification of bureaucratic procedures through actions such as e-government measures, a transparency improvement to enhance political responsiveness, the national program Simplex was instituted in 2006 as a set of measures coordinated by the State Secretary for Administrative Modernization ("Secreteria de Estado da modernizaçao administrativa"), in connection with the Agency for Administrative Modernization (AMA, by the regulation nº39/2006) and the Agency for the Society of Knowledge. After being mentioned by OECD, Simplex has been promoted at the municipal level with the aim of involving Portuguese municipalities (Exportable Portuguese Projects, 2012). Practices for de-bureaucratization and the improvement of technological equipment have been followed by spreading intentions to get political institutions closer to citizens in terms of public service quality and transparency enhancement[126]. In this sense, the public sector has come to be conceived not as a mere support for government actions, but rather as a factor of development that needs to be transformed in both structural and cultural terms (see also: Fonseca and Carapeto, 2006).

---

[125] European top level civil servants are generally indicated by political representatives and play the following roles: (first level) general director; general secretary; general inspector; president of organisms; (second level) joint general director; joint general secretary; joint general inspector; vice-president of organisms; member of the administration. Intermediary civil servants are not politically indicated and play the following roles: (third level) service manager; (forth level) division manager. Portugal holds a career system based on centralized organization of top level bureaucrats who benefit of special conditions' status (Kuperus and Rode, 2008).

[126] On recognizing representative democracy mechanisms (e.g. universal suffrage, party pluralism), popular deliberative forms (e.g. referendum; popular consultation at the local level) and participatory democracy, it is the Art.2 of the Portuguese Constitution (Articles 2, 9/c, 263 – 265, 66, 70 issue 3) that argues that the Portuguese Republic is a democratic State, based upon the rule of law and the sovereignty of the people, aims at the achievement of economic, social and cultural democracy as well as deepening participatory democracy.

4. Participatory processes in Portugal

In the 1990s, some forms of participatory experiences have been carried out by local administrations in partnership with citizens, in order to strengthen connections with political institutions, such as "autarquias participadas", "planos estratégicos" and some first experiences of "Agendas 21" (Mota, 2005). Participatory Budgets (PBs) represent an initiative with a different historical path that in turn, has experienced different degrees of "solidity" and continuity within the political scenario. Except from some isolated experiences, such as Palmela's in 2002, PBs have become a socially well-known phenomenon and have been surprisingly widespread in the country from 2006 onwards (Cabannes *et al.*, 2009). As one of the European countries with the highest number of PBs, both scholars and the Third sector have increasingly interacted with these experiences and public opinion has demonstrated growing interest in their effects. A general trend to establish partnerships, interdisciplinary and multi-organizational networks is one of the main characteristics of Portuguese PBs, while EU programs have often successfully integrated their action, like in the case of Equal and the Project "OP-Portugal" by the InLoco NGO, aimed at spreading PB knowledge and know-how[127].

At the moment, PBs are present in Portugal, with long-lasting, new and some suspended experiences of them, and they are promoted both by the left-wing and right-wing parties. 2012 marked the 10th anniversary of the first Portuguese PB in Palmela, compelling researchers to make a first attempt at capturing the history of PBs in the State. According to Dias (2010), it is possible to distinguish two generations of PBs: between 2000 and 2006 PBs were mostly consultative processes developed by left-wing municipalities with weak intentions to transform decision-making (mainly inspired by the Palmela PB). The main purpose was to get closer to the population through communicative mechanisms that could enable on the one hand, public administrations to understand social needs and on the other hand, to make citizens aware of public resources and constraints. From 2007 on, a second generation of PBs has been characterized by a co-decisional character, i.e. including citizens in decision-making concerning part of the investment

---

[127] The NGO InLoco has promoted the initiative "Portuguese Participatory Budget ("Orçamento Participativo Portugal", www.op-portugal.org), giving a high impulse to the enactment of numerous participatory experiences in the country by implementing workshops and training activities, as well as providing the ICT supporting system "infoOP" (www.infoop.org).

budget (mainly inspired by the Lisbon PB). In this scenario, Dias (2013) argues that there has been a tendency to start with consultative methods and to end up developing co-decisional processes. In these terms, co-deciding potentially implies becoming co-responsible for the process, creating totally different dynamics in the relationship between political institutions and citizens (see also: Allegretti *et al.*, 2011). This point is even more sensitive in current times of crisis and when we acknowledge that PBs have not decreased in the last few years. In re-adapting to new conditions, PBs can represent a way to strengthen social responsibility. In this respect, Dias (2008) has stated that:

> […] *a fraca capacidade de investimento por parte de alguns municípios pode constituir-se como uma oportunidade para promover a pedagogia do orçamento, nomeadamente sobre a proveniência dos dinheiros públicos, a capacidade financeira dos municípios, as regras da gestão orçamental, as competências do poder local e a necessidade de estabelecer prioridades* (*ibidem*: 205, tr_pt_16).

By taking a specific look at territorial distribution, we can deduce that diffusion often follows a territorial criterion of proximity with some copied/pasted models, especially with regard to consultative processes (Vieira and Ferreira, 2013). As a result, the distribution of these experiences looks quite "schizophrenic", in the discontinuous presence in national territory and for the "political factor", which seems to be key for their implementation (and continuity). Most of them have been developed in higher populated cities (between 30,000 and 100,000 or with more than 100,000 inhabitants), as a confirmation that PBs are likely to better respond to the necessity of bringing citizens closer to political institutions. Furthermore, most of the PBs have been supported by local authorities where executive power have had political majority – in most cases represented by the Socialist Party (PS) – though in many cases the executive majority is not the same as the legislative one. In summary, the total number of PBs up to 2012 has consisted of 70 processes: 44 at the municipal level; 19 at the parish level, 7 exclusively directed at children and/or teenagers (18 of them in the Lisbon metropolitan area). 77% of them have been consultative (54 experiences) whereas 23% were co-decisional processes (16 experiences) and around € 35 million is the average budget total disposed through PBs in the whole ten-year period (Dias, 2012). Around 28 PBs have been undertaken in 2012 at both municipal and parish levels, all of them starting from a political will to establish cooperative management of part of the investment budget. Allegretti and Dias (2013) consider Portuguese PBs as rarely

succeeding in transforming the ways the overall municipal budgets are worked out, but rather create new delimited spaces of co-decision on part of the investment budget. Furthermore, PBs still represent devices that are heavily dependent on political intentions, and in many cases it is the same political coalition that decides to both implement and suspend PBs. Lastly, the authors (*ibidem*) notice that there is no correlation between political elections and PB cycles because there is no correlation between suspended PBs and the periods of political elections.

5. The Municipality of Lisbon

According to the administrative architecture of local authorities, the "metropolitan area" is a new element within the threefold configuration of local areas: city, council and municipality ("cidade", "concelho", "municipio")[128]. As regards Lisbon, the city exceeds the council in geographical as well as administrative terms, whereas the municipality represents around 15% of the whole metropolitan area. For these reasons, the metropolitan area of Lisbon has been conceived as a new model of government aimed at including the different local levels, as well as to filter regional directives. The municipality of Lisbon regulates internal administrative competences into five Territorial Units of intervention, in collaboration with the elected parish councils. Like other European capitals, Lisbon has also experienced, in the last few decades, the influx of large numbers from more rural areas and from other countries, and as a result, the government of the city has been increasingly demanded to cope with a wide range of social phenomena.

Figure 2 - Municipality of Lisbon logotype

source: cm-lisboa.pt

---

[128] Lisbon and Sintra represent the most populated councils with respectively 480,000 and 454,000 inhabitants respectively, which corresponds to about at 9% of the Portuguese population (see also: Villaverde Cabral, 2008).

With regard to the government of the Municipality of Lisbon, after a political crisis in 2006 and the subsequent political elections due to the executive power's demise, the PS candidate António Costa – who had already played a relevant role in 1989 as one of the partners of the political coalition "Por Lisboa" (for Lisbon) – became Mayor of Lisbon in August 2007[129]. Despite the fact that this government could not rely on the same political majority in the municipal Assembly for not having had elections for this institutional body, the Mayor managed to get political representatives around the three big houses to take as reference, in order to overtake the financial, credibility and governability crises: (1) recuperate the mess ("arrumar a casa"); (2) make Lisbon work ("pôr Lisboa a funcionar"); (3) get Lisbon for the future ("preparar o futuro"). In leading an executive power composed of minority political representatives, such as the civic list "Cidadãos por Lisboa" CpL and the citizen association "Lisboa é Muita Gente", Costa's mid-term mandate lasted until 2009, when new political elections confirmed him as the Mayor of the Municipality with a renewed executive team and a new five point political program: (1) new opportunities; (2) friendly attitude; (3) sustainability; (4) competitiveness, innovation and creativity; (5) proximity and participation (see: Costa, 2012).

Since October 2008, a big debate has been running involving executive and legislative powers – in collaboration with two research institutes, ISEG and ICS – in order to establish effective reforms of local administration, including interventions for the reduction of the number of parishes and the improvement of their competences[130]. The legislative decree 305/2009 issued on the 23rd of October, established the new juridical regime for the organization of administrative services based on two main criteria embodied by the Territorial Units of intervention: overtaking vertical segmentation through the creation of new transversal units with territorial competences and strengthening horizontal integration

---

[129] With these words the Mayor Costa (2012) put emphasis on the role of civil servants on the day of the new political executive power was established (2007/08/01): "[c]onhecem o estado das coisas e sabem que os tempos são necessariamente de rigor e exigência. Mas tem, também, de ser um tempo de justiça, de devolução à estrutura municipal das suas competências, da eliminação de circuitos paralelos, da introdução de concursos para os cargos de chefia. Pôr a Câmara a funcionar é resolver os problemas da cidade e dos Lisboetas, mas é também prestigiar o trabalho dos funcionários municipais e devolver orgulho a quem cá trabalha" (ibidem: 388, tr_pt_17).

[130] Local Administration Reform was issued on the basis of the agreement between the Portuguese Government, EU Commission, European Central Bank, and IMF and in consistence with four main lines of action: local entrepreneurship; territorial organization; municipal, inter-municipal and financial management; and local democracy. One of the most discussed results has been the reorganization of parishes in terms of numbers (from 53 to 24 as issued by both the Legislative Assembly on 2011 July the 29th and the Decree of the President of the Republic nº 160/2012) (see also: Chapter III in Diário da República, 2012).

of resources with territorial and specialist decentralization of administrative competences[131]. As regards the structure of new administrative services, four guiding principles have inspired the reform: goal-orientation; project management; internal cross-departmental resources; and decentralizing competences to parish councils. In line with this, administrative services have been reorganized into three main groups: (1) whether supportive – urban planning, budgeting, human resources – or operational – urban interventions, security and civil protection – transversal services; (2) specialized sector services: social housing and development; mobility; environment; culture; education; economy; (3) territorial services operating transversally with the administrative services so as to advance interventions such as: public space; equipment; community intervention; proximity urban management.

> *Mas para além da reforma orgânica, é essencial a mudança de cultura de funcionamento quotidiano dos serviços do Município de Lisboa. O modelo preconizado pela presente orgânica assenta numa lógica de cooperação e partilha de recursos entre os diferentes serviços municipais, de funcionamento em modo de projecto, orientada para objectivos de Plano e avaliada pelos resultados* (Notice 5589/2011: 9648, tr_pt_18).

From 2007, the Mayor of the Municipality began to promote interactive procedures, in order to explore new governance tools in an attempt recover the increasing disaffection among citizens, as well as improve effective political actions. Decentralized reunions of the executive power started circulating around the neighborhoods in order to create new spaces for civic involvement. According to local authority norms, these reunions represent opportunities for the executive power to communicate the objectives of government actions. The decision to make these meetings public stems from a first attempt at shaping participatory initiatives[132]. Furthermore, in some cases Municipal Councils have been organized by citizens, in connection with associated movements according to the social

---

[131] The five Territorial Units are: North, Orient, Occident, Center, and Historical Center. They have departmental juridical competence and are responsible for administrative services actions in the correspondent areas (see: Documento Verde da Reforma da Administração Local).

[132] The decentralized reunions are promoted by the executive power (Mayor and City Councilors), as well as by Parish representatives. They take place on the first Wednesday of the month counting on three-minute contributions from around 20 citizens. After exposing their issues, the Mayor indicates the councilor in charge of giving feedback and finally parishes' representatives are also invited to sum up the main questions concerning the governed territories. Furthermore, public reunions take place on the last Wednesday of the month in the municipal space "Paços do Conselho" (Law n. 169/99, n. 2 and n. 5 of the Art. 84).

and local features of the neighborhoods[133]. When the Mayor and two civil servants working for the Municipal Direction of Central Services started studying PB methodologies at the end of 2007, it became quite clear that the mechanisms intended as decentralized mechanisms could advance toward co-decisional procedures. As the Mayor has put it:

> [*a*] *abertura de canais de diálogo e participação é essencial para aproximar os eleitos dos eleitores, focar a ação municipal no serviço aos munícipes, democratizar o conhecimento das questões municipais e o processo de decisão. A participação reforça a confiança e a partilha das responsabilidades* (Costa, 2012: 123, tr_pt_19).

In 2007, the Municipality of Lisbon undertook an online version of the first PB integrated by four consultative meetings addressed to debate on some elements of political intervention. On the 9th of July 2008, the PB Principles' Chart was issued and it was decided to set aside €1 million in order to finance the most voted projects, included in both the Municipal Budget and Municipal Activity Planning (see appendix: PB Principles' Chart). The PB edition of 2008 is considered the first official PB developed for the first time by a European capital at the municipal level. In 2009, the amount of the part of the investment budget for PB was increased to € 5 million[134]. In that period, a joint action between some Portuguese municipalities, parishes, CES, CEFA and the NGO InLoco was also tackling programs of training on participation for politicians and civil servants, and even actors from civil society[135]. In 2010, Lisbon PB set new methodological arrangements as regards the interaction between political institutions and citizenship, organizing territorial assemblies aimed at collecting proposals expressed by resident and non-resident citizens, students, workers, associative movements and representatives of business and

---

[133] Municipal Councils of Lisbon: Education, Youth, Disability and Integration, Gender Equality, City Security, Multiculturalism and Citizenship. In addition, the "Participatory Council" was approved by the City Council in order to follow PB work, though still waiting for the Legislative Assembly approval.

[134] Municipal budgeting concerns annual revenues and expenditures and is divided into two parts: municipality maintenance, and activity' planning, i.e. the strategic lines concerning investments. PB projects regard a section of the forecasted investments up to €5million, according to the regulation n. 833/2008, which is about 1,6% of the total municipal investment and 4,6% per capita investment (Dias, 2012).

[135] In 2009, Un-Habitat recognized the innovative character of the Lisbon PB (Cabannes *et al.* 2009) and Eurocities selected the process as one of the three best participatory practices; in 2011, the European Institute of Public Administration released a Certificate of Best Practice for the Lisbon PB. Meanwhile, other big cities such as Rome, Paris and London were carrying PBs out at the parish level and at the present time, several cities are carrying out PBs at the municipal level, such as Reykjavik, Bratislava and Helsinki (Sintomer *et al.*, 2013).

enterprise bodies. Alongside the territorial assemblies, a number of thematic assemblies were also carried out, specifically regarding the elderly, young people and students. This point was further developed in 2011 by the planning of four extraordinary assemblies directed at: entrepreneurs ("Beta-Talk"); designers and creative people ("Lisboa Ideia"); Boavista neighbourhood; university students. In 2012, thematic assemblies finally substituted the territorial organization of PB meetings. Below we present the Table 3 with a synthesis of the five editions of PB in Lisbon:

Table 3 - The five PB editions in numbers: presented proposals; projects to be voted and total amounts of votes

PB editions	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Presented Proposals	580	533	927	808	659
Projects to be voted on	89	200	291	228	231
Total amount of Votes	1101	4719	11570	17887	29911

adapted from PB reports on lisboaparticipa.pt

With the institution of the Division of Organizational Innovation and Participation (DIOP) at the end of May 2011, the administrative unit managed by Válter Ferreira under the political supervision of Graça Fonseca, included PB, Local Agenda 21 (A21) and Simplis (SL). At an administrative level it has meant the creation of one division addressed to manage, on behalf of the overall mission of governance, initiatives concerning both modernization and participation (see: Chapter II in Art.28, Notice 5589/2011). Such an action cannot be read without acknowledging the growing investment made in political terms towards interactive devices, such as consultative events for public consultation or the implementation of points for citizens[136]. As examples, consultative processes have regarded: Municipal Urban Planning (PDM) and for the Strategic Planning Chart 2010-2024 (six consultative meetings with citizens conducted by the Strategic Planning Chart commissioners in the Municipal Theatre "São Luiz"); the process of revision and

---

[136] Points in Lisbon: Integrated Desk ("Balcão Único Municipal" for Triage, Multiservice, Urban Planning and Rehabilitation; Social Desk ("Balcão Social"); Entrepreneurial Desk ("Balcão Iniciativa Lisboa"); cooperating Services: Emel, Treasury and Municipal Arbitrary Committee.

administrative reorganization of the city through the Territorial Units; and the reduction of the number of parishes. Furthermore, in 2009 the enactment of the Municipality Strategic Chart was supposed to establish the general vision and principles of the themes of urban rehabilitation and social cohesion, under the motto "for a less unequal and more diverse Lisbon" ("tornar Lisboa menos desigual e mais diversa"). Consistent with the 1992 Municipal Strategic Plan, it was the product of different expert committees meeting with sample groups of citizens. In 2009, the Local Housing Program (PLH) managed by Teresa Craveiro and under the supervision of the city councilwoman Helena Roseta (see: Chapter II, Art. 46 and Art. 47 in Notice 5589/2011), formed a team committed to the elaboration of a urban map indicating priority intervention areas of Lisbon, corresponding to both neighborhoods ("bairros") and zones ("zonas"). The BIP/ZIP program (BZ), coordinated by Miguel Brito has been implemented in accordance with the mapped priority areas, since 2011 (see: Chapter XII in Law 56/2012). Inspired by the SAAL (Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local) and the urban rehabilitation actions started after the 1974 revolution, BZ seeks to rearticulate municipal responsibilities concerning urban planning, that from the middle of the 1980s have been provided from the national level. By implementing and financially supporting local partnerships, the BipZip team works in connection with other municipal units placed in different urban areas - the GABIPs.

Before detailing the specificities of the fieldwork on participatory processes in 2012, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the Municipality of Lisbon also hosts participatory processes at the parish level[137]. PBs have often been adopted as a strategic political measure taking advantage of proximity, so as to solve specific problems. The first Lisbon parish to develop a PB has been Carnide, inspired by Palmela's experience in 2002. This parish governed by Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) executive power, has understood this participatory process in consultative terms and as part of an overall participatory governance mission. Carnide PB has been conceived as a space for consensus-building concerned with concrete interventions, as well as with the pedagogic goal to make citizens aware of the competencies of parish councils. When Lisbon began to develop a PB at the municipal level, Carnide dismissed the parish PB by instead promoting local gatherings around specific projects to be voted on (representing around the 15% of the amount of

---

[137] In 2012, four parishes governed by PS executive powers developed participatory budgets: São João, São João de Deus, Penha de França, Benfica.

Lisbon PB participants). Another important parish in these local and micro-local dynamics is Benfica, which started its first parish co-decisional PB in 2012 by providing a budget of €20,000 after including PB in a political campaign. In 2013, the budget has increased to €25,000 and included teenager students in the process. As a result, a total of 177 proposals were transformed into 44 projects (and 7 winning projects) in 2012 and in 2013, the parish council argues that the visible downgrade in terms of proposals is due to the virtuous effect of acknowledgment of the competence of the parish council. As regards the relationship with the Lisbon PB, Benfica has also promoted gathering people around specific proposals and projects to be voted. Another area of the city has also become more and more important in the last few PB editions. Mouraria has managed to move to play a relevant role in the municipal PB through self-organized groups of citizens proposing, networking and voting massively on projects for the area ("Centro de Inovação da Mouraria" and "A Casa da Mobilidade da Mouraria") (see: Baiocchi, 2005; Dias, 2010; Sintomer and Allegretti, 2013).

Chapter VIII - The Participatory Processes of the Municipality of Lisbon in 2012

1. Outline

Participatory processes can represent an innovation for public administration, in terms of internal administrative procedures and interaction with the external environment. As is the very nature of public administrations, participation entails rethinking the mission of effective territorial governance. However, participation calls upon a deep reflection about organizational networks supporting this new type of work and what sort of cultural issues these devices reveal when worked out. Our proposal is precisely then to take into account organizational cultures, constructed and constructing such process from the "within". Towards this aim, we have focused on the new role and transforming the functions of civil servants involved in the implementation of participatory processes. Such a "target" cannot be considered without taking into account the more general networks wherein civil servants are settled, which consist of horizontal relationships with colleagues and team managers, as well as vertical connections with politicians and their advisers operating at the nexus between politicians and career civil servants.

We have chosen to take into consideration the municipal scale because of an interest in the articulation of the concept of participation embodied by different types of administrative actions. In this sense, the analysis of four interactive policymaking processes carried out by the same Municipality has permitted the design of a methodology concerned with both the organizational and cultural dynamics of one context. The interaction assumes different aspects of participation that allows us to define as participatory processes. All of them are open to the participation of new actors and so they are not worked out through sampling methods, such as deliberative methods, but rather focused on opening the door of policymaking. The analysis of participatory processes and the interpretation of the culturally embedded issues expressed by civil servants, are likely to reveal the ways participation is politically framed and pragmatically worked out at the administrative level. Towards this aim we have detailed our action research as described in the attachment "Methodology".

We have identified 2012 editions of PB, A21 and SL – managed by DIOP – and BZ – managed by BipZip team – as our case study. DIOP is inserted in the Department of

modernization and information systems, while politically responding to the political area of "economy, innovation, administrative modernization and decentralization" directed by the city councilwoman Graça Fonseca, member of the same left wing party PS as the Mayor António Costa. DIOP was instituted in late Spring 2011, in line with the overall Municipality restructuring, and aimed at gathering innovative and participatory processes implemented by the Municipality under the same technical supervision and political direction. The DIOP is actually demanded to manage three participatory processes (PB, A21 and SL) and to work for three transversal areas: communication (relatively autonomous from the Department of Marketing and Communication), quality (working on all the administrative procedures), data analysis and secretary functions. Válter Ferreira is the civil servant indicated as manager of the administrative unit and the fourteen civil servants have been both recruited by the DIOP manager and indicated by the directors of municipal services or self-proposed as well.

Table 4 - DIOP organizational chart 2012

Political area: economy, innovation, administrative modernization and decentralization	
Department of Modernization and Information Systems	
DIOP	
Members	**Functions**
1	Team manager
3	PB and A21
3	SL
2	Communication
2	Quality
1	Communication and Quality
1	Data Analysis
1	Secretary

When considering the organizational aspects of the implementation of participatory processes, we cannot help but consider all those engaged in these processes, as directly as indirectly. The DIOP has involved civil servants in the management of transversal areas

for: (1) including participatory processes in their analyses; (2) being part of the DIOP whose general aim is to develop participation and innovation; (3) taking part voluntarily in PB assemblies as facilitators. With regard to the BZ program, it responds to both Local Housing Program (PLH) and Municipal Direction of "Housing and Social Development", as well as politically depending on the political area of "Housing, Social Development, Gebalis, Municipal arbitrary committee" headed by Helena Roseta, a candidate for the civic list "Citizens for Lisbon" (CpL) in coalition with the Socialist Party (PS) for the executive power of the Municipality. Beginning in 2011, BZ aims to recover priority areas in line with a detailed analysis of the territory tracked on an urban map (see appendix: BIP/ZIP Chart).

Table 5 - BipZip team organizational chart 2012

Political area: Housing, Social Development, Gebalis, Municipal arbitrary committee	Municipal direction: housing and social development
	Local Housing Program PLH
Department of Housing Policies	
Division of Planning and Development	
BipZip team	
Members	Functions
1	Team manager
3	BZ
1	Secretary

Thus, in order to negotiate the presence of the researcher, our first step was legitimizing our commitment with the two city councilwomen responsible for the four processes. As for the relationship with the councilwoman Graça Fonseca, our presence passed through the simultaneous work carried on by the project OPtar[138]. As regards the

---

[138] The Project OPtar ("O Orçamento Participativo Como Instrumento Inovador Para Reinventar as Autarquias em Portugal e Cabo Verde: uma Análise Crítica da Performance e dos Transfers") aims at analyzing the evolution of Portuguese PBs and the relation with the excursus of Cape Verde PBs. In 2011 the project has made two inquiries: one in the Participatory Assemblies and one with online voters. In 2012 an inquiry in the Voting Assemblies has been added (see: Reports OPtar 2012, 2013).

BZ agreement, it passed through the counseling relationship between one of the OPtar members, Nelson Dias, head of the NGO "InLoco" and the BipZip team.

2. Analysis of the four participatory processes

As argued previously, the four processes are considered as participatory for opening the door of policymaking to new actors, though conceived, structured and methodologically developed in different ways. For this reason, the very transversal definition of "participation" should start by considering some principal organizational features regarding a number of principal aspects. First, we have to consider that both the administrative teams were created in 2011 in response to overall changes regarding the whole administrative apparatus, i.e. local administration reform. In this sense, the enactment of the units has involved constituting new groups of civil servants working with processes at different "historical phases", i.e. multi-years and new processes. We have also to take into account the fact that both teams have not provided members with specific training courses on participation. In order to better specify organizational characteristics, general aims and methodological aspects of the processes, we present Table 6 which articulates the types of staff and their back-office and frontline functions, so as to facilitate the specification of more detailed information as follows in this paragraph.

Table 6 - Staff and both back-office and frontline functions of civil servants in the four participatory processes

Participatory Processes	Staff	Civil servant back-office functions	Civil servant frontline functions
PB	3 DIOP civil servants + DIOP coordinator; administrative network of interlocutors and collaborators	Processing and filtering of the incoming proposals (both online and assemblies) so as to turn them into projects to be voted.	Coordinating and facilitating citizens' public assemblies

A21	3 DIOP civil servants + DIOP coordinator; hybrid group; academic supporting team	Coordination of the implementation of the projects proposed by the organizing committee and possibly proposed by citizens voting in participatory forums	Monitoring participatory forums coordinated by the academic supporting team.
SL	3 DIOP civil servants + DIOP coordinator; internal committee; hybrid group; marketing agency	Receipt of incoming proposals selected by an internal committee in order to support a hybrid committee to select two winning measures.	Monitoring civil servants' assemblies coordinated by an external marketing agency.
BZ	3 BZ civil servants + BZ coordinator; hybrid group; counseling team	Technical assessment of the projects selected by a hybrid committee	Supporting partnerships for the successful accomplishment of projects

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

The presence of multiple staff collaborating for the implementation of the processes (see column: "staff") needs to be further detailed in terms of: (1) internal administrative resources; (2) external agencies; (3) hybrid groups. In the first category we can include the PB network of interlocutors and collaborators belonging to the different administrative services involved in the implementation of PB projects, as well as the SL internal jury required to select the number of proposals coming from civil servants. External agencies are further differentiated into: academic groups (A21); marketing agencies (SL);

counseling team (BZ). Lastly, as regards hybrid groups, A21, SL and the BZ make up different combinations of hybrid groups formed for the implementation of the processes.

Table 7 - Organizational categories of the agencies and their functions in supporting the four participatory processes

Organizational category	Processes' agency	Functions
Internal administrative resources	PB administrative network of interlocutors and collaborators	Filtering citizens' proposals to be voted as projects by citizens themselves
	SL internal jury	Selecting civil servants proposals to be implemented
External agencies	A21 academic supporting team (Prof. João Farinha)	Managing the process so as to empower civil servants
	SL marketing agency (I-Match)	Organizing the presentation of projects event (IGNITE)
	BZ counseling team (NGO InLoco)	Counseling methodological aspects of the process
Hybrid groups	A21 hybrid committee	Proposing projects to be voted by citizens
	SL hybrid jury	Selecting winning proposed measures
	BZ hybrid jury	Choosing partnership projects to be funded

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

Taking into consideration the Table 7 with the second and third columns of the Table 6, we can see that both back-office and frontline functions are related with the implementation of new interactive settings that tend to reformulate administrative policymaking in a broad sense. For this reason, it is necessary to provide further details concerning the course of action involved in these processes by considering the multiple scenarios that they set up.

Table 8 - Proposal-making, decision-making and objects of participation in the four participatory processes

Processes	Proposal-making by	Decision-making by	Object of participation
PB	Citizens	Citizens	Citizens' proposals filtered by administrative network
A21	Hybrid committee and citizens	Citizens	Hybrid committee's projects and citizens' proposals
SL	Civil servants, citizens and stakeholders	Internal and hybrid juries	Administrative measures
BZ	Local partnerships	Hybrid jury	Projects

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

As a result of the Table 8, it is useful to make a further distinction within the category of participants, meaning the total amount of people participating: (1) proposal-makers, i.e. citizens, stakeholders, local partnerships, civil servants, and committees making proposals that may be included in the process of decision-making; and (2) decision-makers, i.e. citizens and juries making decisions over proposals not necessarily expressed by them. Hence, opening the door to participants means considering the roles they are called to play and in which phase of the process (see: Chapter IV). This is a remarkable distinction in terms of "defining participation" because not all of the processes provide co-decisional spaces, although when they do not, they cannot even be defined as deliberative or consultative processes. Hence, a wide conception of participation can alternatively take actors for either defining (i.e. proposal-making) or enacting (i.e. decision-making) policies. We will use this remark in the following chapters when distinguishing participants into "proponents" and "deciders". As regards our concern with administrative officials engaged in participation, we recognize that this vision does not comprehend all the complex options actually worked out through participation, when considered as not "merely" consisting of new actors proposing or deciding, but also of political institutions. The involvement of new actors provides different sets of administrative actions in the four processes: (1) PB establishes a wide internal administrative network that controls the process and filters the incoming proposals so as to

assess their feasibility in terms of technical evaluations and correspondence with both the Principles' Chart and political programs; (2) A21 essentially relies on the management of the academic team as well as on the decision of the hybrid committee that provides the projects to be voted on, yet leaving space for citizens' discussions and propositions; (3) SL does not provide power of final decision to participants and organizes an internal competition of civil servants' proposed measures; (4) BZ promotes the enactment of local partnerships constructing and implementing their own projects, without providing space for co-decision over their selection.

In summary, back-office processes are organized as follows: (1) PB filters citizens' proposals; (2) A21 prepares proposals to be voted on; (3) SL decides the measures to be adopted; (4) BZ selects projects to be implemented. At the same time, the four processes also provide space for actors to impact and influence policymaking, opening up degrees of "uncertainty" over implementation. In this sense, frontline functions present the following features: (1) PB provides power of both proposal-making and decision-making to citizens; (2) A21 gives citizens the right to decide the most appropriate project and possibly propose further projects; (3) SL involves civil servants and possibly citizens, in proposing administrative measures; (4) BZ makes local partnerships implement their own projects. By taking into consideration these factors, their connections, their differences as well as their overlapping points of methodological juncture, we intend to frame a deeper understanding of the functions of civil servants. Towards this aim, we will delve deeper into the characteristics of each of the four participatory processes by combining general descriptions with the report of the action research experience carried out in 2012. As a result, we will have sufficient information in order to undertake the interpretative phase elaborated in the next chapters.

3. The Lisbon Participatory Budget

The first Lisbon PB began by taking advantage of both professional and academic experiences set out by two top-level civil servants in 2007, interlaced with a politically-declared "sensitivity" towards participatory themes. A first approach to participation had already been launched by the Left Block party (BE) elected councilman Sá Fernandes – nowadays representative of an independent list of the executive power and committed in the political area "urban and natural environment, public space" – in connection with the

civic list "Citizens for Lisbon" (CpL) elected city councilwoman Helena Roseta. Hence, such a diverse political set up somehow created fertile ground for the embryonic beginnings of participation in 2007 by means of different parties gathered around the "participatory idea". PB was supposed to represent an "independent" process in terms of equidistance from political parties. In order to foster new political convergences, the Mayor played a relevant role towards the aim of getting PB approved by the Municipality executive and legislative organs. In this sense, PB was to be managed by the Municipal Direction of Central Services, and in connection with the financial area, so as to compose a viable methodology.

In 2007, a pioneering experience was carried out by organizing four consultative assemblies around the city. In 2008, the Principles' Chart was issued with the intention to both systematize and enact an organic model based on the idea of open and permanent learning bound to basic democratic principles rather than narrow technical norms (see: appendix PB Principles' Chart). After being approved by the executive power, the first official edition of PB was developed online in the last three months of the year, involving more than 1700 participants over 18 years old, either living in the Municipality of Lisbon or working in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. Proposals were invited for up to three projects (15 days for proposing and 15 days for voting), to be filtered so as to enucleate the most relevant areas of urban intervention: mobility and parking infrastructures; public space and the environment; urban planning and rehabilitation (307 consistent proposals and 273 proposals concerning another 11 areas left aside after this PB technical filtering phase were received). An amount of € 5 million, approved as the part of the investment budget to be provided for participation, was to have an impact on both overall annual budgets and municipal activity planning. Furthermore, in that period a joint action organized by CES, NGO InLoco and CEFA allowed the organization of organic training on PBs for local authority politicians and civil servants. In 2009, the Municipality of Lisbon was called to elect new political representatives, after the two-year political transition due to the 2006 political crisis. The reelection of António Costa as Mayor of the Municipality relied on the coalition "Unifying Lisbon" ("Unir Lisboa") between PS, CpL and the Association "Lisboa é Muita Gente" (headed by José Sá Fernandes, independent BE elected). The "turbulent" electoral period – the European elections in June, the legislative elections in September and local elections in October – saw the PB start after

the establishment of the executive power in November 2009, not allowing outreach to citizens through Participatory Assemblies (PAs) in that edition. With regard to methodological changes, previous limitations concerning key areas of intervention were removed, implying the consideration of all of the 13 areas for PB projects, though this edition has highlighted a key factor concerning the very technical filtering phase carried out by municipal services. Indeed, in response to widespread complaints expressed by citizens, who did not agree with the outcomes due to inadequate correspondence between proposals and projects to be voted, the Mayor suspended the voting phase until January 2010 to demand new technical screening.. From that moment on, a period for citizens' reclamation was established in consistence with municipal norms concerning citizens' right to information and reclamation.

The first PAs took place in the 2010 edition, followed by Voting Assemblies (VAs) at the end of the PB cycle (see appendix: PB Principles' Chart). Distinct from decentralized executive power assemblies, set as a standard model of top-down communication between citizens and politicians, PAs were conceived as a constitutive element for new interaction. PAs also allowed for the inclusion of new social groups' claims, previously absent due to the exclusive online devices, by allowing maximum two proposals per person (plus a third possible proposal made online)[139]. Although under majority voting, each roundtable could possibly sort out an amount of proposals coinciding with the actual number of participants, since there was not any declared limit to the maximum number of proposals. In organizational terms, PAs demanded the organization of new methodological arrangements, in order to engage civil servants coming from different municipal sectors as facilitators of the assemblies. Alongside this frontline

---

[139] PAs have opened a direct dialogue with society, i.e. without intermediary figures like committees or delegates. Some visible effects have been: the introduction of participants over 55 years of age, especially referring to low level education in VAs; most of the proposals are presented in PAs; most of the winning projects are proposals presented in PAs (see: PB Reports in lisboaparticipa.pt). Nevertheless, an issue related with online voting mechanisms concerns the number of projects to be voted on, which is likely to make participation uneasy by being too numerous. In saying that, some concerns about PB methodology have precisely to do with the filtering phase and the resulting criteria of the voting selection often moved by the support of friends, local areas interests, lobbying loyalty. At the same time, several citizens, even though not being "active" political electors, trust in PB as a democratic mechanism (see: Reports OPtar 2012, 2013). The multiplication of public spheres, in facilitating communicative heterogeneity and mushrooming advocacy groups that need questioning, does not necessarily guarantee that top-down decision-making effectively changes (Dahlgren, 2005). In this respect, Coleman and Spiller (2003) highlight precisely the risk of ICT' "technopopulism" (over-determinism about social consequences of technological adoption; theoretical naivety displayed about the scope for transcending representative structures and institutions; narrow preoccupation with few empirical questions).

function, the back-office was organized in terms of technical analysis of the proposals resulting from both PAs and online submission, so as to make public on the PB website, the list of projects to be voted on. Indeed, in March 2011 the interface website "lisboaparticipa" was launched, in order to make proposal-making and voting easier. The website gathers the main participatory initiatives of the Municipality of Lisbon[140]. With the constitution of DIOP, this phase is organized as follows: a first check sent to level II interlocutors, bridging the relative municipal areas demanded to evaluate the viability of the projects. Accepted and possibly aggregated proposals are subsequently sent to level I interlocutors bridging the relative political areas, who evaluate their consistency and feasibility in political terms. Meanwhile, DIOP members continue to analyze proposals, including those refused by administrative services in the first check, so as to review selection criteria.

Table 9 - PB administrative back-office and frontline networks with collaborators and interlocutors

Back-office	Level II interlocutors	Indicated by Municipal Directions in reference to correspondent municipal services.
	Level I interlocutors	Indicated by political areas
Frontline	Collaborators	Volunteer inter-departmental facilitators

Furthermore, the constitution of the DIOP in late May 2011 "crossed" the filtering phase of the 2011 PB occurring between September and October. After this transient organizational stage, the DIOP has worked full-time for the development of the 2012 PB. As highlighted by the city councilwoman Graça Fonseca, four main changes have been provided in 2012: (1) the enlargement of the period for voting on projects from 30 to 45 days, as well as the period for complaints in September; (2) the division of the budget into two areas: €1 million for two projects of a maximum of €500,000 each, and €1.5 million for ten projects of a maximum of €150,000 each; (3) the reduction of the period for the completion of projects: 18 months for the first category and 12 months for the second; (4) the reduction of the budget from €5 million to €2.5 million. Furthermore, in the 2012 PB

---

[140] The web portal lisboaparticipa.pt includes: (1) PB; (2) A21; (3) SL; (4) "Open Data LX" (thought to incentive citizens' knowledge and involvement); (5) academic works concerning public management award "Academia LX".

the decision to change the logotype went through an open competition which closed on 12th of February and to which the winner was awarded €1,000.

Figure 3 - Participatory Budget logotype 2012

source: lisboaparticipa.pt

3.1. The V edition of Lisbon PB: report on the meetings with the DIOP manager

As a member of the project OPtar I took part in the first municipal meeting aimed at brainstorming ideas concerning a PB in the Paços do Concelho area of the Municipality of Lisbon, in the summer of 2011. Critical points and resources to be improved in the forthcoming edition have mainly referred to: (1) getting people informed about PB, its rules and its objectives; (2) improving the articulation between the Municipality and the Parish councils in order to increase PB communication and distribution; (3) increasing internal administrative networks in order to clarify roles and functions committed to PB implementation; (4) strengthening the political intention sustaining the implementation of the PB, in order to make sense of both present uses and opportunities and future chances. Giovanni Allegretti, team manager of the OPtar, has advanced some further ideas: organizing focus groups so as to debate the effectiveness of communication strategies; warding off biannual PB versions, and rather taking into consideration thematic criterion for PAs; implementing supplementary participation for the winning projects, in order to make citizens feel more responsible. The latter point has opened a reflection concerning the phase of filtering proposals, which is likely to elicit some skepticism in citizens if implementing hybrid methods that match citizen involvement with experts' evaluations. Finally, the meeting was the occasion for agreeing with the city councilwoman Graça

Fonseca my commitment with the Municipality of Lisbon for the implementation of the action research.

As a result, I officially began my contact with the DIOP manager Válter Ferreira with the aim of scheduling meetings, in order to agree the steps of the action research. All of the meetings took place in the DIOP workplace, physically structured within a manager's office and an open space for the team. Our first meeting on 25th of July, was concerned with the DIOP's organizational relationships and the overhead reform of the Municipality carried out in the spring of 2011. With specific reference to PB, Válter referred to the imminent "logotype competition" and the possible transformation of the name of PB itself, which in his opinion would be better expressed as a "collaborative budget". As regards the insertion of the complaints/response period for the rejected incoming proposals, he made reference to the possibility of creating an appropriate category defined as "good ideas for Lisbon" ("ideias boas para Lisboa"), in order to appraise both citizens' commitment and the technical work of filtering proposals towards projects. Negotiation has also implied the reciprocal construction of identities, visible when Válter has often referred to his scientific commitment with innovative administrative devices in his academic experience; this is visible in my feedback about the estimated results of the action research in terms of international scientific community diffusion. With regard to my "academic identity" I have put emphasis on my twofold role – as a researcher and OPtar member - in order to highlight the details of their distinct missions.

After planning future meetings and the possible observation of internal team reunions, likely to start in September 2011, my second meeting with Válter took place only on 4th of November 2011. Aimed at exploring the internal organization of the team in connection with the overall administrative reorganization, Válter noted that the National Law concerning administrative restructuring has been largely applied in the Municipality of Lisbon involving all of the municipal units, so as to proceed with personnel mobilization, and theoretically aimed at preventing internal collusions and enhancing officials' motivation. As a result, he outlined the intention to organize interdepartmental meetings in order to understand how to foster the DIOP's internal network. With regard to the recruitment of DIOP members, Válter explained that it was carried out under his instructions in connection with municipal services' managers. Finally, he informed a first

brainstorming meeting with DIOP members that was arranged in order to gather their opinions and sort out innovations for the 2012 PB. Hence, the meeting had the twofold goal of bringing together opinions about PB and sharing conceptions about innovative aspects related to their new functions. As a result of the meeting, Válter pointed out some anxieties regarding the connection between enhancing the quality of participation without losing/decreasing the number of participants. We have tried to make a relation between the importance of quantitative aspects in terms of policymaking effectiveness, with the chance to review some critical aspects that emerged in the previous editions of PBs. Another question refers to the evaluation of proposals consistent (or not) with the overall public service. In this respect, Válter has argued for the opportunity to involve representatives from the five Territorial Unities, so as to better frame problems claimed by participants. In addition, he also argues that as regards the internal organization of work, it could be useful to invert the passages between administrative services and political areas in the filtering phase. In this sense, demanding political areas to first check projects could result in less overlapping items within the projects themselves. We have finally discussed the challenging construction of the DIOP as a new solid administrative team able to have some relevant impact over the local administration. Válter's concern with the complex changes simultaneously occurring at the administrative level and their significance in terms of group identity was also evident. Furthermore, his concern has been directed at the political dimension too, since the very aim of instituting the DIOP and transforming the PB model has definitely meant solidifying these processes, so as to expectantly preserve them from political changes, in terms of a majority (municipal political elections that are to occur in October 2013) as in terms of intentions. After agreeing on a next meeting to take place on 10th of November, we actually met on 30th of November.

In this third meeting, Válter emphasized the political decision for a public competition for the new PB logotype and a possible change of name, in order to make citizens think about participation rather than "merely" budgeting. In order for the competition to result in a new visible imprint for PB, PAs were to start in May and not in March. After that, Válter proposed for me to analyze the first brainstorming meeting, by taking into consideration his report organizing the outputs into general thematic categories. We agreed about the possibility to design future scenarios to be drawn from those results. In this respect, I have seen two basic elements concerning the intentions of my "initial

client" (Schein, 1997): (1) he has started recognizing my professional skills in dealing with cultural dimensions and working with methods of text analysis; (2) he has started assuming a full "function of client" that, by requiring this by-product, is placing a common objective within our relationship (see: Chapter I). The gradual drift towards a conception of step-by-step research resulting in the analysis of the brainstorming is discussed in the next Chapter. To fulfill the opportunity to meet once per month and observe future internal meetings so as to start interviewing DIOP members before the start of PAs, our fourth meeting took place on 30th of January. The meeting dealt with the commitment of Válter in a symposium about participatory democracy in Portugal and international political crisis[141]. As organizer of the symposium, I invited him as the person responsible for the participatory processes carried out by the Municipality of Lisbon. At the same time, I saw it as an opportunity to strengthen our professional relationship in the action research. Finally, we achieved a deeper understanding about interviewing DIOP members and both former and current PB collaborators and interlocutors, by sending an e-mail for voluntary participation. Indeed, the semi-structured interview was conceived as a way to explore the "sensemaking" of participation by civil servants, when compelled to talk about their own experience with participatory processes (see attachment: Methodology). Therefore, the commitment of civil servants not belonging to the DIOP but either previously or currently gravitating around PB as interlocutors or collaborators, fit precisely the goals of the research. The invitation to take part was sent by e-mail by the DIOP team and, as a result of the voluntary choice, eleven civil servants have agreed to be interviewed, divided into interlocutors (ex-interlocutors and those already confirmed after the administrative reform) and ex-collaborators (because the recently implemented reform had not yet permitted the identification of collaborators for the 2012 edition of PAs). The analysis interview process and outcomes are discussed extensively in the next Chapter.

I have had the impression that interviews were more "easily" welcomed because of their recognizable social meaning. Despite an initial feeling of mistrust, perhaps in compliance with sense of bureaucratic duty, the symbolical significance of the interviews has appeared to not be "threatening", permitting an open a space for reflection with all of the interviewees. Conversely, the observation of the daily work of the DIOP, specifically

---

[141] Link of the event "Participatory democracy and the Portuguese crisis":
http://www.ces.uc.pt/eventos/index.php?id=4865&id_lingua=1

their internal meetings, was difficult to realize possibly because of some resistance towards academic action research (indeed, taking into account also the "punctual delays" of the meetings with Válter). As regards our timetable of meetings, my experience with the DIOP has enlightened my understanding of what local administration represents in terms of complex organization. I see two main points that, in psychosociological terms, lie one on the organizational level and the other on the institutional level: (1) timing seems to be subjugated by unexpected events resulting from interdepartmental exigencies and political agendas; (2) the symbolical status of the action research itself in public organizations has directly to do with the imaginaries that scientific actions carry with them. I have experienced the effort to configure my action research as an interactive scientific initiative where both the interlocutors could take benefit in terms of improving knowledge, and result in possible paths of development for the administration. It has meant breaking down the reified symbolical representation of social sciences as "swallowing up", i.e. collecting data without giving feedback. As Peters and Pierre (2012) put it:

> [t]he practitioners have seen academics as hopelessly wound up in theoretical debates that had little or nothing to do with actually making a program run successfully. Academics, on the other hand, have seen practitioners as hopelessly mired in 'manhole counting' and incapable of seeing the larger issues that affect their practice (ibidem: 9).

The emotional factors that lead organizational members to disqualify an external presence can even imply forms of understated delegitimization. Furthermore, in my case the "otherness" has not only dealt with "functions", but also to "nationalities" that, in terms of cultural translation, inevitably creates some additional "gap" (Eco, 2010). Instead of considering this factor as a limitation, it is interesting to see which emotions "fulfill" the gap itself. As a result, I have worked for the enactment of a "minimum basis of accordance", so as to continue sailing on the same ship, as well as deconstructing possible drifts stemming from this resistance towards academic research. This has involved helping Válter to see that cancelled/delayed meetings could probably generate (or be generated by) the mythical idea that researchers are available in any place, at any time. In saying this, I have sought to continuously negotiate with him my "limited resources", in order to establish a horizontal relationship between professionals at work.

Another factor to be taken into consideration is the ways "innovation" has grounded the identity of the team and how it has been symbolically related to the administrative reform. New roles, new functions and new connections have changed the circumstances of civil servants. Sometimes motivating and sometimes disorienting, reforms represent elements of transformation that, in this case, can be increased when thinking about the innovative mission of participation. I have had the impression that the combination of administrative reform and participation has created a "controversial" ground that civil servants have been demanded to walk on: while required to accept top-down decisions, they have also been compelled to adopt an "entrepreneurial" attitude towards new governance initiatives. In other terms, in possibly generating feelings of powerlessness and resignation, public administration has also promoted the idea of investing in careers through innovative processes. In this sense, the fact that the only DIOP member to have constructed a continuous commitment to participation (and being one of the two civil servants collaborating for PB implementation in 2007) has also represented one of my key interlocutors, acquires even more relevance. A factor to be highlighted here is the power of being an expert in a situation of change with non-expert colleagues. The power of being indispensable in terms of knowledge and bridging with administrative areas has represented a unique resource for my action research.

3.2. The V edition of Lisbon PB: the assemblies

On the 12th of April 2012, the city councilwoman Graça Fonseca presented the new PB logotype in a public session hosted in one of the implemented PB projects – the incubator for new enterprises "Start-up Lisboa" – and communicated the changes of the V edition. In referring to forthcoming PAs, four key features need to be emphasized as follows:

1) The "open door" character has seen the integration of thematic criterion complementing and essentially substituting territorial ones (though not exclusive in terms of participation, in compliance with the PB Principles' Chart), except from the PA set in the Parish of Benfica organized in collaboration with the neighborhood association.

2) At the methodological level, "traditional" roundtables have been combined with front-stage presentation of individual proposals, conceived as a short-term way for participants to promote their ideas. In both cases, before the beginning of the

assemblies, participants have been provided with a paper in which to list up to two proposals (plus a third option online).

3) As regards the back-office management, I have noticed a sort of unofficial division of responsibility in organizing PAs between the political entourage (councilwoman and advisers) and the administrative team.

4) The "networking strategy" of territorial agencies for the organization of some of the PAs has resulted in the constitution of different kinds of partnerships.

Table 10 - Participatory Assemblies 2012

PAs	Criterion	Methodology	Responsibility	Partner
Benfica (2012/05/09)	Territorial	Roundtables	DIOP	Neighborhood association
Creative people (2012/05/15)	Thematic	Front-stage presentation	Political part	Informal network
Handicap (2012/05/16)	Thematic	Mix	DIOP	Associação de deficientes
Coworkers (2012/05/22)	Thematic	Front-stage presentation	Political part	Cowork Lx Factory
Foreigners in Lisbon (2012/05/23)	Thematic	Mix	DIOP	Dr. Roberto Falanga
Lisbon travelers (2012/05/25)	Thematic	Front-stage presentation	Political part	Online platform "Portugueses em Viagem"

The DIOP team has also been present at the following public events in Lisbon for the promotion of PB: (1) Open Day Lx Factory (2012/05/18): a one-day event celebrating cultural activities hosted in this space. People were invited to participate by listing their ideas for PBs. (2) Museum MUDE frontage (inaugurated on 2012/05/23): Museum frontage was covered with colored post-its so as to encourage people to list their ideas for PBs.

As a result of the observation of the 2012 PAs, here are some of the main overall highlights:

a) The late publicity of PAs on both online channels and throughout the city is likely to reduce the potential participation of people, as well as decreasing the DIOP members' sense of belonging to the participatory political project.

b) The informal character of participatory debate has been a curious aspect. This strategy seems to be a reaction to the biased idea of PB involvement as too demanding for citizens. As a result, political speeches have also emphasized the local government's commitment in realizing projects. Two possible results can stem from this type of communication: (1) the de-politicization of citizens' participation when configured as informally debating; (2) the de-responsibilization of citizens as regards the accomplishment of public policies, when total delegation empties the meaning of participation.

c) The intention of enhancing new territorial networks has held relevant weight in terms of voting. By mobilizing sectors of society around specific projects in order to persuade people to vote on them, PBs seems to reproduce some mechanism of political parties' campaigns possibly eliciting the prevalence of interest groups and lobbies (see: Chapter V).

d) The unofficial division of responsibilities as to the organization of PAs can possibly result in a coordinated process that is able to capitalize on internal human resources. However, it could also create frustrating feelings reproducing top-down lines of power and drifting into "narrow" forms of cooperation.

e) The Museum MUDE frontage represented a way to provide high visibility to PBs, but seems to also be a way to bring citizens' participation to an individual ideas' competition.

f) The implementation of front-stage presentation in PAs has impacted on both collective involvement and civil servants' engagement. With regard to the first point, although the methodology has been conceived as a way to "amplify voice" – likewise public popular assemblies provided with a megaphone – still it is single voices that have gained attention. On the engagement of civil servants, in acknowledging the facilitation of roundtable in previous PB editions, there has been disappointment in some cases about narrow frontline engagement.

g) The project OPtar, which was intended to continue participants' inquiry as in 2011, was weakly introduced and integrated into the activities of PAs.

Once PAs have concluded, some VAs have taken place throughout the city in order to support people without Internet access[142]. Finally, by involving about 6% of the population, the fifth PB edition has consisted of 659 proposals, resulting in 231 projects to be voted on according to the introduced budget division. In this respect, it is interesting to notice that despite the opportunity to make two votes, the majority voted only for one project. On 7th of November the winning projects were presented in the Municipality space "Paços do Concelho", introduced by spokespeople from the winning projects of two previous PB editions[143].

3.2.1. The Participatory Assembly with foreigners: constructing identities

Between the end of March and the beginning of April, I was asked to co-organize one of the 2012 PAs. My first question was concerned with the symbolical meaning of the proposal, as well as possible effects on my research relationships. Taking into account my twofold identity for the DIOP – as a researcher and as a member of OPtar – a possible third facet would be introduced: as co-organizer. The demand to collaborate in the organization of a PA involving foreigners, added further elements to this complex construction of my identity: as an expert in participation and as a "bridge" to foreigner communities. As a matter of fact, all of these components were at stake and required some kind of coherence. Once I outlined with the DIOP manager these multiple factors of complexity in terms of a challenging mission to be reflected together, I committed myself to the PA co-organization. In doing so, I have included the experience in my field of investigation through altering my function as researcher. I have also turned into partial "object" of analysis for the OPtar project, when considering me as "part" of the PB organizers. In acknowledging such overlapping areas, I have acknowledged the chance to get involved in

---

[142] (1) Parish of Boavista, on the demands of the neighborhood association; (2) Parish of Graça on demand of a citizen living in the neighborhood; (3) Parishes of S. Cristovão and S.Lourenço, on the demands of an informal group of citizens; (4) Parish of Marquesa de Alorna, on the demands of the neighborhood association; (5) Shopping Center "Spazio", on the demands of the citizens' association "Amigos dos Olivais"; (6) Lisbonweek, on the demands of the organizing committee; (7) Parish of Merces on the demands of both Parish government and "Amalia" association.
[143] The 2012 PB winning projects of €500,000 each were the "Centro de Inovação da Mouraria" and new structural barrier-free designs for the city.

the "making of", as well as the both challenging and seductive opportunity of researching "from the inside".

In symbolical terms, becoming engaged as co-organizer could represent a strategy to assimilate my "otherness" that, by its nature, is likely to threaten systems of belonging. Assimilation can result as a way to manage the anxiety generated by the other (Falanga, 2012). Indeed, the assimilation of the "outsider" in the "in-group", could take place either by forms of "fusion" – e.g. by turning people into "undifferentiated colleagues" – or by reflecting on the anxiety generated by the unknown otherness. As a reaction to the fear of being symbolically absorbed, I have proposed to set the assembly in the CES in order to both "organizationally" imprint the PA with scientific character concerning PB debate, and "institutionally" protect my identity by using my "system of belonging" as a safeguard. Along the same lines, it is possible to state that the game was based on "organizationally" keeping me as a researcher and "institutionally" experiencing my presence as internalized. Such an ambivalent and overlapping situation may have colluded with my exigency of a more defined identity. Indeed, until that moment I experienced a sort of isolation and subsequent personalization of my scientific commitment in the fieldwork with the DIOP. In having taken for granted CES as my "system of belonging" and created some distance from the project OPtar in terms of functions, I in some way personalized the relationship with the DIOP, provoking my identity "loss". The negative response provided by CES could be read in terms of preventing collusive outputs that might transform the relationship between CES and the Municipality of Lisbon. Therefore, in answer to my question based on systems of belonging, CES has reframed functions. Multiple identities and systems of belonging call upon deep issues related with the negotiation of functions going beyond the "mere" definition of roles. Belonging to specific systems can be understood as a formal link, though it entails emotional dynamics going through individuals and systems, forming, performing and reforming rules of the game. My engagement with the PA has succeeded in making these complex interacting factors emerge more clearly and demanded profound reflection.

On the 17th of April 2012, I held a meeting with the DIOP manager and the members engaged with PB, in order to define the methodology of the PA with foreigners. The purpose was that of gathering a large section of people living in Lisbon who are

seldom involved in political life. The interest essentially refers to middle class foreigners both studying and working in the city. My twofold contribution – as both expert and foreigner – has been that of co-organizing the assembly, as well as bridging the gap between those networks that were for the communication channels of the Lisbon Municipality to reach. We agreed to contact academic mailing lists, as well as cultural institutes and embassies, asking them to forward on the requests respectively. By accounting for about two hours of time, we planned the PA as follows:

- An introduction with special emphasis on the overall mission of the PB in order to open up the involvement of people who were possibly unaware of the process (about 10 minutes).
- Between 5 and 10 volunteer participants presenting their ideas on the front-stage. Through such "warm speakers", we thought to stimulate further participants (about 50 minutes).
- Roundtable debates and facilitation of proposal-making (about one hour).

Furthermore, I created and managed a Facebook account about the PA, in order to provide a dedicated online platform providing information and clarifications (where required). In terms of the methodology of meetings, we opted for a mix of roundtables and front-stage presentations in both Portuguese and English languages. I was regularly demanded by Válter to supervise the interaction of virtual participants; while on the Facebook page itself an interesting debate was animated days before the PA, when two representatives of immigrant NGOs began to complain about the PB and the modalities of promotion[144]. In this respect, three key questions need to be highlighted:

1) What are the most equal channels for the circulation of participatory processes?
2) Do methodological choices say something about political intentions?
3) How are targeted citizens defined in thematic assemblies?

These are questions that serve to orientate the process of reflection about this PA and to return to the basic question of identity construction, particularly relevant in this experience. In being symbolically conceived as "bearer" of the political project enrooting PB, as well as of more broadly of Lisbon's social policies, the complaints regarding the PA

---

[144] The NGOs had been contacted by journalists that I had been in contact with for the same purpose of circulating information about the assembly. It is important to underline that in the preparatory meeting, there had not been any explicit veto against participation of either immigrants or NGOs for immigrants.

have shown the necessity to reflect on the profound dynamics in course (see: Matte Blanco, 2000). The complaints regarding that PA have actually been addressed to broader questions concerning public policymaking in terms of social justice and rights. When acknowledging the risk of presenting my function as partisan, rather than co-organizer of a PA, I have decided to reframe my frontline identity with those actors, by putting emphasis on the fact that: (1) I have been required to cooperate as a researcher for the PA; (2) the page on Facebook was conceived as one of the channels of communication aimed at making access to information easier; (3) although limited, the fact that the respondents themselves had access to the page on Facebook, has provided the evidence of its partial utility; (4) as regards the character of exclusivity held by online tools, I have more resolutely invited those actors to debate the issue in the PA. With regard to the result of the merging identities at stake, the Fig. 4 sums up their relationship as analyzed by the author of the Thesis.

Figure 4 - Identities in game in the 2012 Participatory Assembly with foreigners
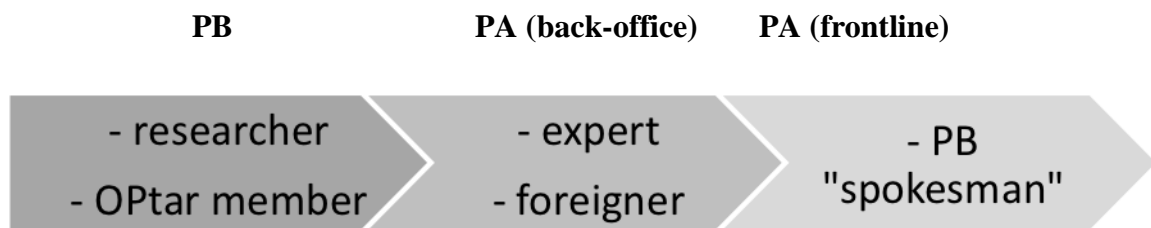
As a matter of fact, the two NGO representatives denied their presence and consequently that of the associated immigrants. I have read this "debacle" as something that reveals possible dynamics instituted by participatory processes when interacting with interest groups, whose purpose is the satisfaction of their interests, as well as the preservation of their rules of the game. When conceived as micro-organizations owning either explicit or implicit rules that regulate the construction of cultural patterns, the reaction of the two NGOs assumes interesting connotations. By perceiving the (symbolical) spaces of PB as "wrong", because originated by the same actor considered as the "enemy", theories-of-action are likely to persist believing this (Argyris and Schön, 1974). As a result, any attempt to establish a two-way communication – i.e. breaking with their one-way dissent *tout court* – has failed. It has involved considering again the power of symbolical representation and the effects of reification, when reading their negative response as a negation of the attributed identity of "foreigners" and not "immigrants": on

one side foreigners (possibly identified as the middle-class) and on the other side immigrants (those subjects demanding policies on social and labor inclusion). A key question is how this distinction is both socially and politically constructed.

Figure 5 - Participatory Assembly with foreigners' flyer 2012

source: lisboaparticipa.pt

The PA with foreigners had one of the highest number of participants, i.e. more than 60 citizens (researchers, students, private and public employees, unemployed) coming from different countries: Turkey, Brazil, Italy, Finland, Belgium, France, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom, United States and Portugal itself, mainly[145]. The setting was not the most suitable in terms of space, and the implementation of the mixed methodology has not resulted as expected: after an introductory phase aimed at explaining the PB mission (around 20 minutes), the time for front-stage presentation exceeded the timetable due to the large number of people who wanted to present their proposals. As a result, the time for a roundtable was reduced and was more realistically transformed into a break where informal conversations among the participants took place without expert facilitation. A

---

[145] The PA aroused curiosity and interest in the Italian Consulate which asked me to provide more specific details about Italian participants, later communicated to the Italian Foreign Ministry.

further reflection could entail the very enactment of a thematic PA and the power of definition over multiple identities: has the category "foreigner" been recognized and symbolically assumed by the participants? Nonetheless, evidence has to be drawn from this experience: there exists a demand for participation from people holding different experiences of life, and who are waiting for public administrations to take care and benefit them.

Lastly, by taking into consideration the multiple identities played in this experience I am now sum up some final considerations:

- As researcher: when employing psychosociological reading models on the relationships that construct the action research, it is possible to design and implement meaningful actions. In these terms, I have played a "catalyst function" with the DIOP, with regard to using both my "otherness" and expertise in a reflective way, by continuously opening settings of discussion about the ongoing actions, their premises and the forecasted results.

- As member of the project OPtar: the PA with foreigners has been the fifth of the six 2012 PB assemblies. In line with the methodological changes of this edition, it has been planned with both front-stage presentation and roundtable debate, resulting in one of the most participative meetings.

- As expert in participation: the complementation of the channels used to promote PB has resulted in a high number of participants and simultaneously highlighted key points to be more critically approached. The sense of disaffection and skepticism towards political institutions is inherently dependent on the type of social texture and interest groups PBs are addressed to. The chance to debate PB rules of the game is a key feature to be studied when focusing on the construction of multiple relationships.

- As foreigner: the feeling of being part of an important experience for the city of Lisbon has hardly matched this social category in terms of personal identity. I also think that the question, "is there a demand for participation by foreigners?" formulated by the Municipality when willing to organize the PA, has been answered affirmatively. The question now is: "how to "construct" and cultivate foreigners' participation?".

- As PB "spokesperson":   the psychological mechanism of projection has transformed me into a sort of "spokesperson" for Lisbon PB and, by generalization, the Municipality of Lisbon. The experience of overlapping identities risks confusing the game, making the necessity to frame and reframe identities a must for meaningful actions.

3.3. The II edition of Lisbon Scholar Participatory Budget

The pivotal experience of Lisbon Scholar Participatory Budget (SPB) took place in 2010 in one school of the neighborhood of Marvila, where students were included in an educational course aimed at explaining the meaning of taking part in participatory experiences[146]. After the pivotal experience, the first edition is considered to have started in 2011 in the primary school of Marvila, providing thirteen years old pupils (8th school year) with the power of decision over a budget of €50,000. The administrative team was composed of civil servants engaged with PB, Education and Youth Department members and NGO InLoco, managing the process at both logistic and pedagogic levels. With the purpose of facilitating students' knowledge of budgetary management by taking examples from their daily and family lives, the team also explained competences and timings of the Municipality of Lisbon for the execution of the project. Students from four different classes were invited to introduce, debate, and finally decide proposals to be submitted and subsequently analyzed by the administrative services (with the winning project: "Paintball field").

Figure 6 - Scholar Participatory Budget logotype 2012

source: lisboaparticipa.pt

---

[146] The first Portuguese SPB is considered to be the "Orçamento Participativo Crianças e Jovens" implemented by the Municipality of São Bras de Alportel in 2007.

The II edition SPB occurred in the spring of 2012 and included five school groups, corresponding to the Territorial Units: (1) Marques de Pombal; (2) Dona Filipa de Lencastre; (3) Padre Bartolomeu de Gusmão; (4) Eiça de Queiroz; (5) Lindley Cintra. The process provided each group with €10,000 each, i.e. an amount of €50,000 taken from the PB fund. By inviting 255 fourteen-year-old students (9th school year) to formulate proposals regarding school infrastructure or activities, as well as neighborhoods, DIOP members engaged with PB worked in partnership with the NGO "Junior Achievement Portugal". By making sure that the projects responded to Municipality competences (e.g. primary schools are the only institutions under total municipal jurisdiction), the managing team worked in order to get five different categories of 30 projects to be voted from an initial 98 proposals, which were finally presented in the conclusive session on 2012/06/01 in the Municipal space "Paços do Concelho"[147].

4. The I edition of Local Agenda 21

Principles of environmental sustainability ratified in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro in terms of efficacy and future efficacy, were to have a global impact on both national and international measures for economic development[148]. A21 has represented a viable action for governments to gather in one program, measures concerning eco-systemic, economic and social equality issues[149].

---

[147] Winning projects: infrastructural intervention in "Casalinho da Ajuda" (Secondary School "Marquês de Pombal"); urban equipment in the park near the church "S. João de Deus"; urban equipment in the park near the scholar group "D. Filipa de Lencastre"; infrastructural interventions in the bathroom of the primary school belonging to the scholar group "Bartolomeu de Gusmão"; childhood equipment in the scholar group "Lindley Cintra"; maintenance system in the urban park "Vale do Silêncio" in the scholar group "Eça de Queirós".

[148] In 1987 the Brundtland Report "Our common future" was published by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development and later, in 1992, the UN Conference "Environment and Development" in Rio de Janeiro took place. It is the latter that defines the Global Agenda 21 as an international agreement based on four principal points: society and economy; environment; citizens' engagement; implementation tools. In 2003, over two thousands cities around the world had signed the Aalborg Chart (1994) and experienced Local Agenda 21. About three hundreds cities later signed the Aalborg commitments during the Aalborg + 10 Conference in 2004 (35 Portuguese cities, mostly small ones) based on ten points: governance; local management towards sustainability; natural common goods; responsible consumption and lifestyle options; planning and design; better mobility and less traffic; local action for health; vibrant and sustainable local economy; social equity and justice; local to global. The EU has often made explicit reference to Local Agenda 21 as an effective tool for sustainability and at the national level have included it as part of their strategic plans for sustainable development (e.g. Denmark and UK in 2000 have arranged normative dispositions mandating local governments to implement Local Agenda 21).

[149] A Portuguese network of big and small cities working with A21 issues CIVITAS (civitas21.pt).

A21 in Lisbon has been a pivotal experience started to be elaborated in 2011 and occurred in 2012 for the promotion of sustainable development integrating environmental, social, cultural, economic and urban planning aspects. Through participatory forums, direct interaction with key community actors and enquiries to the population, A21 decided to work on the northern area of the city. This area (Z21) was chosen by the political entourage and the academic team supervised by the Professor João Farinha from the Faculty of Science and Technology (New University of Lisbon). Five neighborhoods were included in the process (B21): Ameixoeira; Charneca; Lumiar; Benfica; and Carnide. Furthermore, a specific proposal elaborated by either one or a group of citizens (C21) has been incorporated into the plan for the A21 experience. In summary, A21 has identified the following levels of intervention:

- Z21 is the Lisbon area selected for the implementation of A21 through: (i) data collecting; (ii) population enquiries; (iii) interviews to Parish council representatives and key actors; (iv) initial and final participatory meetings aimed at identifying four critical Z21 vectors; (v) municipal services' internal sessions working on the emerging critical vectors; (vi) negotiation of the outcomes; (vii) construction of Z21 sustainability indicators.

- B21 are the five neighborhoods selected for each of the five parishes composing Z21 where sustainable projects have been planned through: (i) calling for neighborhood participation (fourteen received proposals: three in Benfica, one in Carnide, five in Lumiar, two in Charneca, three in Ameixoeira) and selecting one for each of the five parishes; (ii) analyzing the sustainability of the neighborhoods; (iii) carrying out field observation and social interaction; (iv) undertaking one participatory forum for each B21; (v) negotiating between community actors and

local administration; (vi) constituting "thematic groups"; (vii) constructing sustainability indicators for each B21[150].

- C21 is the proponent subject promoting a specific intervention, identified through: (i) calling for citizens' participation (sixteen received proposals) and constituting four thematic groups working on each Z21 critical vector; (ii) directly supporting the thematic groups' analyses; (iii) moderating support to all citizen networks working on the identified critical vectors; (iv) supporting the Lisbon Municipality virtual platform; (v) carrying out one meeting with the constituted citizen networks[151].

As a result, the main purposes of A21 are concerned with the analysis of: limits and resources of the areas; promotion of both institutional networking and citizen participation; shared process of data collecting at the environmental, social and economic levels; definition of strategic planning for the enhancement of communities quality of life through engaging key actors; the facilitation of new interactive forums including stakeholders and citizens; support to higher and sustainable quality of life standards; endorsement of environmental protection, economic competitiveness and local governance; place-based analyses of sustainable development. In detail, it has implied structuring the process throughout fourteen months in four phases:

1) Planning (from January 2011): definition of tasks, methodology, timings and resources.

2) Groundwork (from February 2011): constitution of the internal administrative team whose goal is the integration of A21 with other administrative processes, as well as the enhancement of networks. Call for B21 opened on 1st of July and closed on 30th of September.

3) Z21, B21 and C21 planning (from October 2011): data collecting; selection of four sustainability critical vectors; call for both B21 and C21 participation; A21 action planning. The B21 selection was communicated in December 2011.

---

[150] The amount of budget for each B21 is €20,000, i.e. the condition for the implementation of the projects is not dependent on their number, but rather on their financial consistency.
[151] C21 can apply as local partnerships with territorial NGOs and civil society associations, as well as with Parish councils. The amount of money stored for the implementation of the C21 project is €5000.

4) Getting A21 ready (from January 2012): technical analysis of A21 projects by administrative services; participatory meeting for A21 introduction and participants' consultation.

The hybrid committee in charge of the selection of five B21 was composed of political actors (city council advisers), representatives of environmental and territorial associations, as well as academic researchers. The committee in charge of monitoring and supporting A21 implementation is composed of around forty civil servants working in different administrative departments, so as to supervise sustainability goals in the five B21 participatory meetings' projects. Such projects refer to five main policy lines: (1) mobility; (2) urban agriculture, healthy food and environment; (3) efficient and comfortable housing; (4) security; (5) active citizenship and participation. With regard to back-office functions, DIOP members have been mainly committed with B21 analysis in terms of feasibility and eligibility of the projects in the A21 areas. Frontline activities have seen DIOP members monitoring participatory meetings ("fórum de participação") while conducted by the academic team. Such meetings are aimed at both presenting the projects to be voted on and opening the debate about further questions concerning the neighborhoods. Towards this aim, participants are invited to write down positive and negative aspects of their communities. At the end of the meetings, citizens are asked to suggest complementary A21 projects with further proposals to be voted on and analyzed in terms of sustainability and financial considerations. Lastly, participants are called to vote for their favorite projects which are analyzed again in terms of budgetary costs. When accepted, projects are included in the A21 Action Planning and/or in the Municipality Activity Plan.

Table 11 - The five parishes with both B21 participatory forums and C21 projects respectively

Parishes	B21 participatory forums	C21 projects
Ameixoeira	PER – 2012.11.23	Disability support ("Tratorino de fámilia em fámilia")
Benfica	Quinta do Charquinho – 2012.04.14	Reduction of cost benefits for local trade ("Bilhete do comércio tradicional")

Carnide	Padre Cruz – 2012.07.11	Promotion of Neighborhood historical center ("Entre as ruas do centro histórico")
Charneca	Quinta do Reguengo – 2012.10.20	Open sport equipment ("Jardim do exercício físico")
Lumiar	Telheiras – 2012.05.19	Urban agriculture ("Projeto Augusta")

The observation of the participatory meetings suggests that the methodology provides a limited involvement of participants possibly due to two factors: on the one hand, the predetermined plan of projects to be voted seems to communicate that participation is aimed at (exclusively) voting; on the other hand, though invited to complement the list of projects, there seems to be a perceived cultural gap between "inviting" and considering it as a constitutive element of participation. As a result, participants have frequently complained about the spaces and times provided for public debate. I have specifically noticed three types of claims: (1) critics concerning the projects; (2) questions about maintenance competences and costs; (3) impact of the financial crisis on social needs and priorities. As a general impression, there seems to be quite a lot of attention paid to expert management, possibly reducing active participation in A21.

5. The V edition of Simplis

The institution of AMA ("Resolução do Conselho de Ministros" n° 39/2006) has overseen one of the most important actions that of the enactment of the "Simplex", meant as:

> […] *the central policy programme in Portugal to boost the public services reform. Its core objective is to facilitate the relationship between citizens and enterprises with public administration services, improving, simultaneously, the internal efficiency of the services. The initiatives foreseen in the programme*

envisage changing processes and to simplify or eliminate procedures based on negative evaluations of their impact (Exportable Portuguese projects, 2012, 1)[152].

In 2008, the Municipality of Lisbon decided to implement Simplex through a specific local program aimed at modernizing local administration. Simplis (SL) started by promoting the participation of internal officials and citizen consultation, resulting in two first pivotal measures – "Alvará já" and "Utilização na Hora" – both addressed to more rapid processes of license provision and more solid connections between municipality and local economic activities.

Figure 8 - Simplis logotype 2012

source: lisboaparticipa.pt

The annual program SL was conceived as both a transversal action and juncture point within the local administration. In being led by the Municipal Direction of Central Services, it has entailed Municipal Directions, Departments and Divisions in order to get civil servants committed to SL measures in accordance with their SIADAP profile. Civil servants, citizens, enterprises and any type of public service customers are seen as proper partners of the creation, control and execution of SL measures. The general purposes of the program have been: (1) more efficient public expenditure; (2) taking charge of citizens' complaints; (3) front-office activities' assessment; (4) public service enhancement; (5) democracy improvement; (6) more effective internal management; (7) higher quality of life of citizens and enterprises; (8) constitution of internal SL consultative council; (9) promotion of public consultation; (10) enhancement of interdepartmental network; (11) institution of SL awards (in 2009 the internal award "idei@simpLIS" for civil servants best

---

[152] Since the creation in 2005 of the UCMA in Lisbon, support to and coordination of government policies have been principal concerns for administrative modernization and simplification (see also: Carapeto and Fonseca, 2006; svn.gov.pt)

practice proposals). By actually re-articulating administrative practices, procedures and norms in order to rationalize internal management, as well as bettering public service and incentivizing active citizenship, SL has essentially worked on: (1) simplification and de-bureaucratization of administrative apparatus; (2) publication of both norms and technical criteria adopted in administrative services' urban planning; (3) implementation of measures for open licenses.

Once instituted the DIOP in 2011, SL passed from being managed by the Municipal Direction of Central Services to the administrative division, aiming at accomplishing three key actions:

1) For Citizens: enhancing communication and transparency, as well as consultation and participation to better understand social and entrepreneurial demands.
2) Innovation: new ideas and technologies for better and more rapid public services.
3) Efficiency: optimization of human and technological resources by promoting both specific and transversal administrative services measures.

Around one hundred measures have been carried out by SL and, in 2012, 13 of the 33 planned measures were executed:

1) A new web portal for the Municipality of Lisbon for easier access to information.
2) Online control of the municipality's activities.
3) Geo-referenced platform for internal decision-making as well as both citizen and enterprise support.
4) Online current account for more accountability and reduced multiple citizen requirements to administrative services.
5) "Filming Lisbon" for enhanced quality and timing of administrative services in a strategic economic area of the city (in correspondence with the enactment of the Lisbon "Film Commission").
6) Agency for rapid affairs for new and easier investments in the city by providing useful information for economic activities.
7) Database of empty dwellings available for commercial and entrepreneurial activities.

8) Simplification of licensing procedures in urban planning and public space sectors.

9) Urban planning checklist for effective information aimed at reducing bureaucratic processes.

10) Simplification of document submission in the Municipality in order to reduce overlapping demands to administrative services.

11) Centralization of public space intervention (GOPI) by means of a platform integrating demands.

12) Comprehensive guide to best practices for municipal housing.

13) "We are the Lisbon municipality" as a set of benefit protocols for elected and career officials in Lisbon Municipality.

Civil servants' participation in administrative measures, consisting of internal policies outlining the ways public policies can be worked out, has been enacted by both e-mail and the web-portal "lisboaparticipa.pt". An internal jury composed of the DIOP administrative manager, the DIOP responsible political councilor, and a representative responsible for the marketing and communication area, has analyzed the amount of incoming proposals from civil servants and have come up with 23 measures publicly that, after some internal "guidance meetings", were presented at the participatory event IGNITE on the 19th of April 2012. The event, which was open to civil servants and co-organized with the marketing agency "I-Match", took place in MUDE and was conceived as a meeting where 21 proponents had five minutes to present with technical support, the selected proposals. As a result of my observation, I have noticed the concern with making "things" easier by means of front-stage that has the advantage of making proposals understandable, but that at the same time seems to provide narrow space for debate, confrontation and so participation. The metaphor of the show seems to be fairly appropriate in this case: the "showman" (I-Match responsible) has introduced the "actors" (proponents) performing on the stage and the "public" (participating administrative and political personnel of the Municipality) appreciating or not. The atmosphere of apparent harmony seems to give life to a collective rituality aimed at displaying some function of civil servants' identity. Such a point assumes even more relevance when considering the high amount and subsequent high dispersion of civil servants working for the Lisbon Municipality. Finally, a hybrid jury composed of the DIOP-responsible political councilor, administrative manager of the Municipal Direction of Human Resources, and a representative from the State Secretary

for the Administrative Modernization, selected two winning proposals. In correspondence with SL principles, a twofold criterion was arranged for the selection: (1) the best measure in terms of public service delivery; (2) the best measure in terms of administrative modernization. Once included in the implementation plan of the 2012 SL, the two winning proponents were awarded with a tablet[153].

6. The Lisbon BIP/ZIP

According to the administrative organizational chart, the BipZip team is placed in correspondence with four main units:

1) Political area of housing, social development, Gebalis, municipal arbitrary committee.
2) Municipal Direction of Housing and Social Development, resulting from the union of two areas that had been so far separated – housing and social development – changing the definition of the social element from "action" to "development".
3) Department of Housing Policy.
4) Division of Planning and Development.

Furthermore, the BipZip team is also connected to the "Local Housing Program" PLH because it represents the ground from where the project unity began in 2009. Conceived as a program structuring the urban policies of the Municipality and composed of nine civil servants, PLH is a project bringing together social, economic, urban and environmental urban factors. Its first mission has been the analysis of the urban territory (by also taking advantage of a previous action begun in 2008 concerned with extinguishing shacks/temporary dwellings and resulting in both social and territorial fracture in the city). With some PLH members committed to mapping urban territory in order to identify priority areas, the BZ Chart was issued and approved by the legislative and executive powers on 17th of November 2010 by the municipal resolution 616/2010. The BZ Chart, integrated in the PDM strategic plan, identifies BZ areas according to four categories: AUGI (urban areas of illegal origin, defined up to 1995 as "clandestine areas"); historical areas; municipal neighborhoods; mixed category (see appendix: BZ Chart). First listed as

---

[153] The two winning measures have been: "Conta-Corrente Online" and "Protocolos e Beneficios".

fifty areas, the group later included thirteen further areas and opened a public consultation resulting in 67 neighborhoods and zones defined from "critical" to "priority" areas[154].

As the Mayor António Costa (2012) puts it, the public consultation played a relevant role in enrooting the participatory character of BZ, and likewise the Lisbon PB.

> *Esta consulta pública é só um primeiro passo da metodologia participativa em que assenta o programa BIP/ZIP. Essa metodologia participativa culminará, aliás, com a participação dos cidadãos de cada um dos bairros na escolha de projetos a financiar, como que sendo um orçamento participativo específico para cada um destes bairros* (Costa, 2012: 428, tr_pt_20).

As a result of this work, issued on 1st March 2011 (15/AML/2011), the BipZip team was constituted in order to start the BZ program. The key mission of BZ is the enhancement of local partnerships in order to support and supervise urban regeneration interventions in connection with further actions carried out by administrative services. In this sense, the team has been demanded to both supervise street-level initiatives and articulate administrative resources. The external articulation is essentially played with two entities: the first one is the Gebalis, a municipal enterprise at the neighborhood scale responding to the same political area of BZ; the second one is the network of Gabip offices placed in some areas of Lisbon with the function of coordinating the actions of Municipality and parish councils with neighborhood associations[155]. Each Gabip owns its structure and commissions and, as regards BZ, their proximity and interdepartmental articulation is taken as a support for the supervision of the implemented interventions.

Figure 9 - BIP/ZIP logotype 2012

source: habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt

---

[154] In the same vein, the change improved from "action" to "development" definition by both political area and Municipal Direction, aims to promote a new vision of institutional "social action", less "charitable" and more concerned with social inclusion.
[155] 2012 Gabip offices are placed in the neighborhoods "Pato Cruz", "Boavista" and "Mouraria" plus one AUGIs Gabip (in 2013 an additional Gabip managing ex-SAAL and self-built areas).

In 2011, 77 project proposals were submitted and 33 of them were accepted in accordance with BZ principles (32 were actually carried out). The budget at hand – €1 million – relied on the provision of a range of between €5000 and €50,000 per project. The selection of the projects was done by a hybrid jury which did not include BZ civil servants (see: habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt). The selection was based on BZ program principles, counting on local partnerships constituted by not less than two subjects of different jurisdictional nature: parish councils, neighborhood associations or informal groups (and the BZ team itself is included in the list of informal partners for the implementation of the interventions). The same representative cannot be a proponent in the same Parish of multiple projects, and projects cannot receive overlapping funds. The 2012 BipZip team maintained the same composition of 2011: three civil servants, one secretary and one team manager. The BZ Chart was also unchanged, whereas a few methodological changes were made regarding the analysis and supervision of the projects, by providing more detailed information about the costs of each step/activity and its accomplishment in accordance with each project schedule. The main concerns of proponents have mainly regarded (1) citizenship promotion; (2) skill enhancement and entrepreneurship; (3) community quality of life; (4) social prevention and inclusion; (5) public space rehabilitation and requalification. Hence, in aiming to support projects dealing with social and environmental intervention, as well as regeneration and public use of empty municipal dwellings, in 2012 285 participants, 101 proponents and 184 local partnerships took part in BZ, with a total number of 106 proposed projects and 28 accepted ones. At the end of February, an announcement was published in order to permit local partnerships to submit their projects until March; in April the assessment of projects to be financed took place and between May 2012 and February 2013 they were implemented. In terms of the evaluation of 2012 projects, the team visited all of the areas between spring and summer 2013 in order to issue the final report between September and October 2013 (see: habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt)[156].

---

[156] Concerning the 2013 edition, the BZ team has already met the new proponents in June and agreed about the opportunity to be supervised by sending information about the ongoing processes by August. 2013 BZ registers were assigned on 18th of June in the MUDE with a new logotype and the inauguration of the exposition "Inside of you, city" ("Dentro de ti ó Cidade"). In 2013, BZ also received the international award for best practice in citizen participation from the International Observatory of Participatory Democracy OIDP: www.oidp.net/en/projects/oidp-distinction-best-practice-in-citizen-participation/. For 2013, an overall quantitative consideration on the three BZ editions calculates 291 projects have been received and 110 of them approved; 154 proponents involved; 59 BZ territories of the 67 mapped in the Chart involved in the implementation of interventions (Roseta, 2013 OIDP).

6.1. The fieldwork with the II edition of BZ

The introduction of my action research passed through the counseling relationship between BipZip team and the NGO InLoco. On 21st January 2012 the open workshop aimed at presenting the methodology of the 2012 edition was held in the "Social Services of the Lisbon Municipality" (SSCML) building and conducted by the city councilwoman responsible - the manager of the municipal direction of housing and social development) - the BZ team manager and the NGO InLoco counselor. By highlighting the transparent procedure of proponents periodically submitting reports on ongoing activities, both Municipality and local partnerships are portrayed as co-responsible for territorial interventions. After presenting the methodological steps and administrative procedures for the submission of projects, the BZ team manager discussed the accomplishment of two reference BZ criteria: participation and sustainability. In this sense, projects are demanded to guarantee participation of the partners, as well as the engagement of the community for successful implementation of an integrated vision of community life. In this respect, different strategies were set up: massive release; targeted release; or qualified disclosure through thematic workshop with experts (Brito, 2013). By considering participation as a benchmark of the BZ, and sustainability as safeguarding long-term purposes to be pursued, community life is put at the very center of BZ's concerns.

Following the workshop, I had the opportunity to talk with Teresa Craveiro, manager of the PLH, and later on interview the city councilwoman Helena Roseta. Both of them, when called to express their viewpoint on participation, could not help but make some reference to Lisbon PB. Their responses were especially concerned with long-term actions as the main responsibility of effective political agendas. Widespread disaffection towards political institutions should be treated with the help of civil servants too, who are demanded to communicate with citizens by getting rid of either political or technical rhetoric. The city councilwoman emphasized the fact of her being a candidate of the civic list CpL and, though having a militant career with political parties, she recognized the more "freedom" she consequently has when acting against and with weak political party limitations. However, she has stated that it does not mean being less involved in political life. It is rather the necessary deconstruction of the strict link built in the last few decades, between politics and political parties. Finally, with regard to the work of the BipZip team, she emphasizes the considerable motivation of the members due to the feeling of belonging

generated when working on a project that they themselves can manage. Once agreed on the inclusion of BZ in my action research, the team manager invited me to take part in a number of internal meetings, in order to foresee scientific results and exploitable feedbacks for their work.

On 7th of February 2012, I took part in the first of a series of meetings dealing with the analysis of the projects to be implemented. The team demanded more information about each individual process in order to better exert functions of supervision. In this respect, the proponents were occasionally invited to meet the BZ team in the office, and the BZ team has been allowed to periodically visit the areas of intervention. Proponents are also in charge of asking for official meetings, whenever in need of either logistical support or normative aspects, such as administrative competences or political responsibilities regarding their projects. Some intentions for the improvement of the BZ concerned the arrangement of administrative instruments to give feedback and to keep the "doors open" to those projects that were not included in the BZ program, but that are likely to play strategic functions in terms of political actions. The team highlights the necessity to strengthen the network with administrative services, as well as the enlargement of the team itself. In recognizing the possible "mismatches" between fieldwork and the BZ timetable, the team argued that there were insufficient human resources and a consequent surplus of responsibilities for BipZip team members. As a matter of fact, the Municipality often seems to be organized as a set of "small communities" that do not easily succeed in adopting network strategy as *modus operandi*. As a result, the team is actually demanded to play a twofold function when supporting the implementation of the interventions: firstly, the direct supervision of the work in progress with the participants; and secondly, the articulation of the necessary bureaucratic channels to work the interventions out. In this sense, they have often ordered reflections in terms of "rationales" governing both political action and administrative apparatus: how to combine the inertial character of bureaucracy with the dynamic demanded by new policymaking processes? It is not rare, they have argued, to need to display functions concerned with the "unblocking" of procedures, in order to realize projects. Lastly, with regard to forthcoming editions, they see the necessity to embody sustainability into continuity, i.e. projects demonstrating the capacity to become autonomous from State aids.

On the 14th of March 2012, I was invited to take part in the supervision of fieldwork agreed between the team and the 2011 proponents still managing the implementation of previous edition projects, and following a first series of meetings held in the BZ office at the beginning of the process. The team emphasized two main factors to be taken into account when carrying out fieldwork: (1) the relationship between the local partnership and the local community: what is the sense of belonging?; (2) the impact of the projects in progress on the communities: is it known? Is it visible? Is it participative? Does it provide positive changes?

Table 12 - Fieldwork with 2011 edition BIP/ZIP local partnerships

Date	Fieldwork observed: Neighborhoods and proponents
2012.03.16	Neighborhood "Portugal Novo": raised from the illegal real estate market belonging to a failed cooperative between the 1970s and 1980s, it is an area surrounded by high buildings actually "hiding" it. In 2010, the NGO "Mediar" worked for the project "Há escolas no Bairro" and later benefitted from BZ funds in order to continue cultural and educational activities.
	Neighborhood "Serafina": abusive building originated area where BZ action involved the construction of a children's playground (area near Monsanto park over the highway dividing the Campolide parish). In this fieldwork, two civil servants from the political area of sport have participated to supervise the ongoing process of construction of a football field.
2012.03.23	Neighborhood "Casal dos Machados": implementation of a social laundry suspended because of a technical issue with electricity provision. In order to compensate time, some cultural activities were undertaken by the proponent NGO "Raizes" in alternative spaces. In this fieldwork, a relevant issue has also been displayed by the partnership, in terms of the sense of belonging of the parish inhabitants (Santa Maria dos Olivais) who do not feel comfortable with the forecasted annexing to the parish Oriente, as issued by the territorial reform (see: Law 56/2012).
	Neighborhood "Quinta do Lavrade": paintings in the public spaces addressed to welcome children in their free time, for public parties and events. As

	regards administrative networks, other projects have been simultaneously implemented by PB funds in the same area.
	Neighborhood "Belo Horizonte": restoration and renovation of buildings.
	"Torres Ata Eira" in the parish "Penha da França": from the initial project to develop an anti-fire system within the two high-rise social buildings (under technical demolishment evaluation of the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering, LNEC) to the placement of fire extinguishers, because of technical reasons. Such a project has elicited some questions about Municipality maintenance functions and specific funded projects.
	Neighborhood "Vitoria": the association "Medicos do Mundo", already a member of the EU program "Escolhas" (which consists of more than 100 ongoing projects in the country), has participated in order to increase public sport equipment in the neighborhood.
2012.03.26	Neighborhood "Armador": activation of an entrepreneurial environment in the neighborhood and the involvement of citizens in training courses about unemployment and social issues. Towards this aim, some actions have been objects of analysis: a conference for local entrepreneurship promotion and the creation of a support office, consisting of an incubator in the Lisbon High Engineering School, and the setting up of a website.
	"Beatrix": NGO consisting of social assistants, psychologists and policemen committed against domestic violence. From the focus on the sole victims, the BZ project has aimed to enlarge the target audience by including indirect victims, e.g. children and aggressors.
	Neighborhood "Flaminga": The Centre for Social Intervention Studies (CESIS) developed the project EIS aimed at promoting new local commercial activities.
	Neighborhood "Flaminga": the same CESIS developed the project "time bank".
2012.03.29	Neighborhood "Mouraria": "Largo das Residências" as a host building for artists coming from abroad and intending to develop cultural projects throughout the neighborhood as the new international artistic center of the city.

	Neighborhood "Mouraria": "Casa Comunitária" by the NGO "Renovar a Mouraria" pursuing two objectives: low-cost refurbishment of neighborhood buildings and creating a community center.
	"Pena da França": "Agulha num palheiro", an association of architects intending to both support the rehabilitation of city center dwellings and provide information about bureaucratic procedures for people accessing public funds.
	Neighborhood "Mouraria": "Casa da Achada (Centro Mario Dionisio)" in partnership with the parish council, for the cataloguing of books and a multimedia space "grupo gente nova" implementing, beyond ordinary activities of conferences and film projection.

The fieldwork has played a twofold role: on the one hand it has allowed the supervision of both territorial and social impacts of the projects; on the other hand it has permitted the reconsideration of the proponents' intentions. Indeed, in some cases new issues have emerged through the direct contact between BipZip members and BZ participants. In this interactive scenario, BZ is configured as a process pursuing specific goals of development, attempting at the same time to frame them within a complex vision of territorial and social issues. Such a mission is visible in the way the BZ team takes the work of networking with external agencies and administrative services, in order to accomplish the local partnership projects. Following the fieldwork, we agreed the execution of the action research and scheduled the interviews, as detailed in the following Chapter.

In the last meetings, which occurred in July 2012 we discussed intentions concerning forthcoming BZ editions, mainly envisaging the endorsement of an official internal network with administrative services. Towards this aim, the team manager argues for the necessity to check competences and possible connections with the Department of Housing Policy and the Department of Social Development, as well as to strengthen the connection with Gabips, to articulate the work with Territorial Units, and to reinforce the partnership with Gebalis. New interdepartmental articulations of competences for effective public services have to prevent the isolation of new interactive administrative devices.

Intending to achieve more integrated visions of the territory, there is the necessity to make precisely defined actions and the overall political project match. These intentions need a continuous "meta-work", entailing the proper rationale enrooting governance: when the State is not supposed to own the entire responsibility for political actions, a different symbolical role towards citizens must be established. The risk of incorporating control over political actions in line with a radical welfare conception of the State is likely to lead to the dissatisfaction of participants. In this sense, the team manager has argued the complex feelings of both creating and enhancing expectations, which must correspond to the real possibilities of supporting the implementation of the interventions (see also: Allegretti, 2013). The goal is that of working towards a new integrated vision of the territory, in order to overtake the potential fragmentation within the implementation of single projects. The vision must be followed by the fusion of similar projects in the same territory in order to enlarge the field of action of BZ. As a result, it could be possible to imagine the constitution of micro-local platforms for permanent dialogue between political institutions and citizens.

**Chapter IX - Interpretive hypotheses on cultural patterns**

1. Outline

It is widely acknowledged that face-to-face interactions can help to define what government represents for citizens, and the ways they themselves feel towards it. Yet, less attention has been paid to the civil servants, despite the fact that public administration represents a fundamental element of government's identity and image for citizens. We have argued that it is essential to tackle attentive analyses of the administrative context, in order to grasp the ways traditions and innovations are being matched at the organizational level, as at the cultural one (see also: Falanga and Luiz, 2012). Towards the construction of integrated outlooks on change through participatory processes, we have been approaching contributions coming from different scientific areas, in order to frame an interdisciplinary vision of participation in terms of administrative change. As a matter of fact, participation does represent a unique point of overview on current challenges for governments and provides a richness of nuances and variables that cannot help but make scientific research open to tackling these cross-feeding debates.

By introducing the action research with the participatory processes of the Municipality of Lisbon, we have set the double commitment of observing both back-office and frontline functions, and interviewing their members about their experiences with participation. In doing so, we have formed a basis for new forms of symbolical legitimization for the civil servants' "experiential knowledge", which might result in new information for administrative change. The acknowledgment of their "in-between" position as a possible source for knowledge enhancement about participatory processes (see also: Bhabha, 1996, 2007), has given both CES and the Municipality of Lisbon significant reasons to tackle the action research. The interviews, their analysis and their interpretation, have definitely represented a key feature of the action research. Likewise, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2006a) state that the stories given by workers (frontline workers in their study) can work as a "*microscope for examining minute details and a telescope for scanning the intellectual horizon for themes and patterns*" (*ibidem*: 26). The very character of cross-feeding functions for civil servants engaged with participation could be sketched up as follows: (1) demand to implement new processes in potential discontinuity with their lifelong career

back-office experience; (2) demand to develop new frontline functions with participants. In addition, when considering their environment as the context demanding highlighted functions within a possible intention of overall change, we have to look at the ways organizational models interact: (1) vertical lines of rule; (2) horizontal interdepartmental and functional networks. In summary, the tension between "tradition" and "innovation" that stems from the enactment of participatory processes, demands civil servants to undergo new back-office and frontline functions within a context crossing vertical and horizontal coordinates. Below the Fig. 10 elaborated by the author of the Thesis:

Figure 10 - The dimensions of civil service between tradition and innovation: back-office and frontline functions; vertical lines of rule and horizontal networks
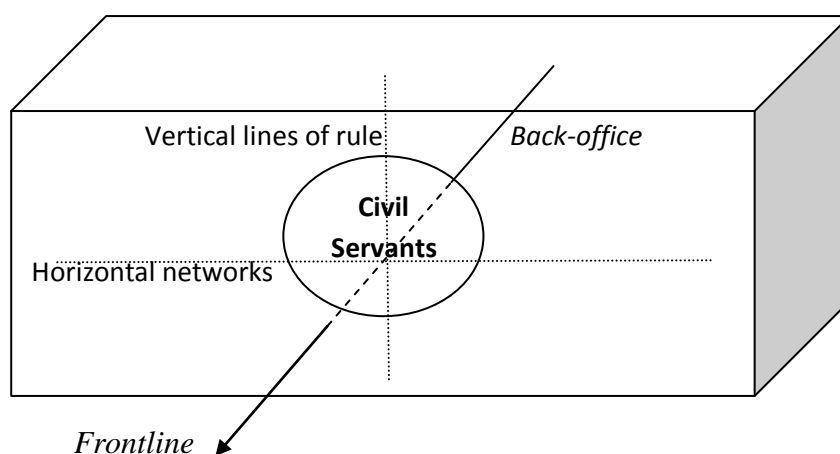
Hence, we have taken into account the multiple "in-between" positions of civil servants engaged with participatory processes, as a gateway for new information about organizational cultural patterns constructed through participation (see also: Falanga and Dolcetti, 2011). In constituting new settings of interaction, we have been committed to understanding the ways such "agents of change" institute the symbolical meanings of participation as a result of new back-office and frontline functions, within an overall setting of intertwining organizational models between verticality and horizontality. By understanding the socially constructed character of this scenario, as psychosociologists we have been especially committed with the analysis of the unconscious dynamics enrooting cultural patterns within a specific political/administrative context (Carli and Paniccia, 2002; 2003; Salvatore, 2003).

Towards this aim, we have taken advantage of our skilled experience in unconscious-level text analysis that has made sense of the interviews' experience (see attachment: Methodology). Complementing this work and central to the overall action research outcomes, we have also tackled content-level analyses of: (1) a film gathering opinions of some civil servants facilitating PAs in the 2010 PB (given to me by the DIOP manager); (2) the outputs of the brainstorming meeting addressed to the 2012 PB model implementation (see: Chapter VIII). In both cases, the text-content analysis has been based on social issues emerging in such findings.

2. The film of facilitators of 2010 Participatory Assemblies

The first PAs undertaken by Lisbon PB occurred in 2010. The film produced by the Division of New Technologies in August 2010 had the purpose of recording that experience reported by civil servants engaged as facilitators. The composition of the speakers according to the 2010 Municipality of Lisbon organizational chart was as follows.

Table 13 - Facilitators in the film of 2010 PAs

Lisbon Municipality unit	Number of civil servants
Municipal Direction of Central Services	4
Division of Information and Reception	2
Division of Social Action	1
Municipal Direction of Projects and Works	1
Department of Housing Patrimony	2
Division of Urban Planning and Financial Control	1
Department of Municipal Units' Support	3
Municipal Direction of Social Action, Education and Sport	1
Department of Strategic Urban Planning	2
Municipal Direction of Urban Planning	1
Municipal Direction of the Urban Environment	1

My contribution in this respect has been founded on the consistency of the findings for the action research, i.e. there has been no feedback about the following hypotheses

abstracted from the vision of the film. I have mapped three principal themes that represent common issues emerging from their speeches as showed in the Table 14:

Table 14 - Principal themes emerging in the film of 2010 Participatory Assemblies

Proximities	Outside: between local administration and citizens allowing civil servants to get a more realistic vision of Lisbon once "out" of the offices.
	Inside: among civil servants.
Crossing lines	Twofold role: being simultaneously civil servant and citizen as a virtuous circle, enabling more sensitivity in understanding others' concerns and resulting in both professional and human gratification.
	Ambivalent space: the setting of participatory assemblies as neutral because physically "outside" the local administration, though politically "inside" its control.
Purposes	Social inclusion: viability of both offline and ICTs tools.
	Social welfare: enhancement of local communities' quality of life.
	Responsiveness: caring for citizens' expectations and satisfaction.
	Empowerment: transference of "political" responsibility.
	Transparency: inherent participatory democracy tool.
	Accountability: respect of the PB "agreement".

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

The three main themes could be read through the scheme proposed by Carli *et al*. (1988) networking: (1) technical expert (civil servants); (2) system of belonging (political/administrative system); and (3) the otherness (participants). In this sense, civil servants are configured as the technical experts demanded to manage the participation of "other" actors, by framing the interaction in accordance with political/administrative system's rules. Figure 11 shows these relationships:

Figure 11 - The relationship between technical expert, system of belonging, and otherness from the principal areas emerging in the film of 2010 PAs
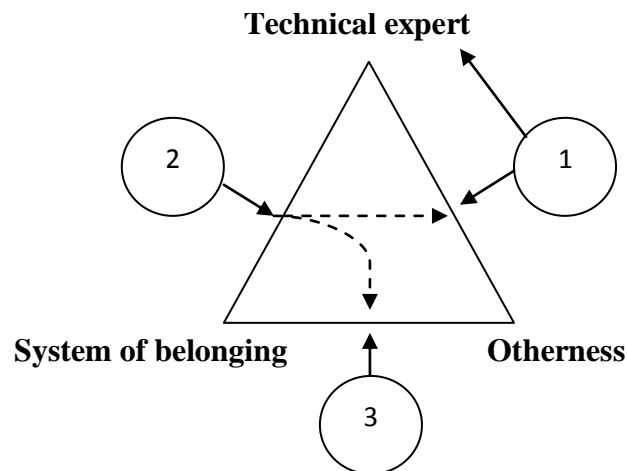
elaborated by the author of the Thesis

In this triangular network we can see that the first theme, in highlighting new forms of "outside" and "inside" proximities, designs both the line between civil servant and participant, as well as the lines constructed between the group of experts. The third theme lists a series of purposes that make reference to the line between their political/administrative system of belonging and the participants. Finally, the second theme seems to color the complex transforming line between civil servants and political/administrative context. The latter introduces nuanced dimensions in terms of experts' identity, as in terms of institutional setting. Questions of twofold identity emerge by filtering the connection between civil servants and participant through the line expert/system of belonging, and so the second theme can be seen as a lens through which to read the other two lines.

As a result, the first PAs experience seems to set basic questions for PB development by making clear the actors of the game: political institutions, civil servants and participants. Political institutions are seen as both organizational and political entities demanding the enactment of crossing-line functions, evoking new connections between the inside and the outside. In this sense, the involvement of new actors demands of political institutions the pursuit of effective goals of governments. What is extremely relevant to underline, is that civil servants feel part of this mission once they themselves are first exposed in PAs as facilitators. Indeed, like in the PA with foreigners (see: Chapter VIII), when being part of political devices directly interacting with participants, civil servants (or

co-organizers) are automatically seen as "spokespeople" of the political institutions. We will see in the next paragraphs the relevance of this and the other symbolical features in the analysis of the four processes.

3. Brainstorming for 2012 Participatory Budget implementation

The involvement of the DIOP team in a first brainstorming meeting addressed to share opinions and ideas about the improvement of new PBs, is likely to have represented an important moment for group making. The team was told that the fifth PB edition had to bring with it new important transformations so, towards that aim, some brainstorming meetings were seen as indispensable. When informed of the first meeting, the DIOP manager proposed that I work on the outputs as a first by-product of the action research. Once provided with a comprehensive file with the ideas that emerged during the brainstorming, classified into six categories (communication; online proposals; participatory assemblies; filtering; reclamations; voting), I first highlighted three main items, which have served to re-categorize the outputs, further articulated into specific sub-dimensions as showed in the Table 15:

Table 15 - The three main items and their articulations that emerged in the brainstorming meeting for the implementation of the 2012 PB

Relationship between civil servants and citizens	Back-office: how to gather technical skills?	
	Frontline: how to implement new functions?	
Reorganizing PB	Methodological aspects	Administrative devices
		Participatory implementation
	Networking purpose	Inside public administration
		Outside public administration
New PB models of communication	Mass communication	
	Targeted communication	Online participants
		PAs' participants

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

In detail, with regard to (1) the relationship between civil servants and citizens has highlighted an emerging need to share skills and competences by making reference to both DIOP internal meetings and specific sessions addressed to debate new forms of administrative interactions. At the same time, skills should be improved in order to provide better outcomes in the filtering phase, where civil servants have felt the necessity to guarantee correspondence between proposals and projects. In this sense, they have identified the filtering phase as a very delicate "prism" of the relationship with the citizen. In addition, they have also argued that new public service delivery should institute permanent PB information points in the Municipality. As regards the (2) reorganization of PB, the idea of developing thematic PAs has prevailed for the 2012 edition model. It has revealed a necessity to look for both new connections and strengthen ongoing connections with social groups, though raising a question of PB identity in terms of continuity with the territorial PAs of previous editions. Lastly, the need to foster administrative networks in order to overtake the risk of participatory initiatives' isolation pervades the narratives of the DIOP members. Concerning (3) new PB models of communication, civil servants have emphasized strengthening the use of traditional communication channels and adequate timetables for effective diffusion. In terms of targeted communication, they have intended this to be directed to people that have already participated in a PB, seeing the web portal "lisboaparticipa.pt" as the most viable ICT tool. Nevertheless, some questions have been clarified, such as the control of users and rules for the online "open door". It is the very connection between PAs and online participation that represents the main concern for PB improvement, as this twofold nature has characterized the Lisbon PB since the very beginning.

From the outlined dimensions emerging from brainstorming outputs, I have designed five possible "future scenarios" as a by-product of the action research on PB. By highlighting resourceful factors that could possibly be developed by the DIOP, this outcome has been drawn as a way to focus on some central and controversial factors that are going to be rearticulated when considering the four processes in the next chapters. In the Table 16 I have summarized the future scenarios:

Table 16 - Five future scenarios emerging from the brainstorming for the 2012 PB implementation

Group making: cultural or individual factors?	Actions addressed at civil servants' sensitivity implies framing a public administration rationale concerned with team making, and not only individual performance assessment. One could consider commitment as an individual variable of motivation; nonetheless, the group is the symbolical and pragmatic ground for civil servants' engagement in participatory processes.
Filtering: loyal adherence or expert reformulation?	Participants are seen as also playing functions of control over government, possibly generating some feeling of pressure in terms of "loyalty" to proposals building citizen "trust" towards PB. As a result, there seems to be some skepticism enrooting participants' agency, which could be eventually treated by symbolically "adhering" to proposals as a way to get rid of their disaffection.
Continuity: which past, which present, and which future?	PB legitimacy is seen as relying on the capacity of matching continuity with innovation. This point does not refer merely to the process *per se*; it is rather a question referring to the overall idea of reform, when taking into account the new functions of civil servants called to both re-think and re-express their status within changing administrative frameworks.
Integration of skills and functions: fusion or gathering?	When integration of skills and functions is not taken into account as something mythical, it does require questioning the ways vertical structure and horizontal networks could be better synchronized for effective policymaking. In this sense, integration calls upon models of organizational functions, competences and skills configuration, in connection with political, administrative, economic and social demands.
Otherness: individuals or collectivity?	Not all participants are either proponents or deciders. Hence, whom does PB have to do with? Is it a matter of defining individuals or can PB plan actions for wider publics, i.e. all citizens?

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

4. The interviews: «What do you think about participation?»

The design of the semi-structured interviews focused on the opportunity to let the interviewee flow throughout the general topic of participation by asking, "what do you think about participation?". On basing the answer on both work and life experiences, civil servants have been introduced to an open question that, according to psychosociology, implies grasping profound processes of sensemaking between individual and collective instances. As a matter of fact, we have set our interest in terms of unconscious meanings elaborated with the four analyzed interactive policymaking processes. Planned as one-hour interviews, interviewees variably employed from 40 minutes up to 1 hour and 40 minutes to develop their narratives.

All of the interviews were introduced by pointing out the agreed mutual interest between the researcher responding to both his scientific and academic commitment with CES, the two political councilwomen responsible for the processes being analyzed, and the two team managers. As regards DIOP members not directly engaged in back-office functions related with participation, as well as with PB ex-collaborators and interlocutors, we have adopted the same formula. Interviewees were also been informed about the general purposes of the Emotional Analysis of the Text (EAT), seeking to understand which cultural patterns in terms of collective issues construct participatory processes (see attachement: Methodology). As a result of the EAT outcomes, we have finally put emphasis on the action aspect of the action research in terms of "feedback" to be planned in 2013. In the table below is the timetable of the 29 interviews:

Table 17 - Overview of the interviewing timetable

Day of the interviews	Interviewees
2012.01.31	3 interviews (PB/A21)
2012.02.01	3 interviews (SL)
2012.02.03	4 interviews (Communication and Secretary)
2012.02.06	3 interviews (Quality and Data analysis)
2012.02.23	1 interview (DIOP team manager)
2012.02.08	2 interviews (interlocutor; interlocutor)
2012.02.09	2 interviews (ex-interlocutor; ex-collaborator)
2012.02.15	3 interviews (interlocutor; ex-collaborator; ex-collaborator)

2012.03.07	2 interviews (ex-interlocutor; ex-interlocutor)
2012.03.12	1 interview (ex-interlocutor)
2012.03.28	1 interview (interlocutor)
2012.04.13	3 interviews (BZ members)
2012.04.16	1 interview (BZ team manager)

By taking into account the variety of interviewees, in the following table we have summed up roles and functions of the civil servants involved in the EAT:

Table 18 - Roles and functions of the 29 interviewees

Roles	Functions	Number
PB; A21; SL; BZ	Back-office and frontline facilitators of participatory processes	11
Communication; quality and data analysis (DIOP)	Back-office staff indirectly related to the four processes and volunteer frontline facilitators	7
Ex and ongoing PB interlocutors	Interlocutors of administrative services	8
Ex PB collaborators	PAs' volunteer facilitators	3

According to the EAT method, we have selected five independent variables possibly relevant in the process of analysis and interpretation: (1) sex; (2) function; (3) area; (4) Municipality career years; (5) participation experience years. Methodological aspects are reported in the attachment "Methodology". As regards the very symbolical meaning of the interview, it could be outlined in two main lines: firstly, it has made the interviewees feel that he/she is the principal owner of his/her knowledge about participation (symbolical legitimization of the civil servants' "experiential knowledge"); secondly, it has made the interviewee feel part of a needed contribution in the field of participatory studies (scientific legitimization of the action research). The involvement of members belonging to two administrative teams involved with the four participatory processes has been characterized by some common factors. Hence, some main observations and impressions concerned with the interviews are necessary in order to

frame the experience and to make a connection with the consequent interpretive hypotheses detailed in the following paragraphs.

1) At the beginning, all interviewees felt fairly constrained in answering the question. The initial impasse is a form to express two levels of psychological "resistance":

   a. The question is planned to generate some anxiety, stemming from its proper character of openness which is supposed to let the narrative flow into the topic.

   b. The question is received as a surprising demonstration of interest when not feeling they have often been asked about their vision of the tasks.

2) In the course of the process, the researcher has adopted different strategies in order to facilitate interviewees' narratives, and the interviewees themselves have generally taken possession of their arguments as time went on (see also: Grasso *et al.*, 2004). Initial hesitancy has in almost all cases "defreezed" into curiosity, possibly stemming from:

   a. Progressive word of mouth among colleagues about the occasion of being spokesmen and spokeswomen of their own job experiences.

   b. Progressive trust in the researcher due to the encouraging emotional tone of the interview aimed at neither "invading" interviewee with lots of questions, nor evaluating his/her performance.

3) At the end of the interviews, three general recurring items have emerged at the content-level:

   a. The variety of participatory processes implemented by the Municipality of Lisbon, possibly relating to their overall context of belonging.

   b. The participatory processes as phenomena impacting both internal and external actors, possibly referring to their direct experience with participation.

   c. The significance of participation in terms of one's own career, possibly referring to their investment in terms of a lifelong career.

As regards the following EAT steps, after having interviewed the 29 civil servants, we have worked on the outcomes in order to set interpretive hypotheses for the resulting four Clusters and their relationship with the three Factorial Axes structuring the Factorial Space

(see: appendix "Factorial Space and Clusters" and attachment "Methodology"). In psychosociological terms, the Factorial Space is the symbolical space where cultural instances are organized. Carli and Paniccia (2002) define this space as "Local Culture" characterized by the presence of specific clustered co-occurring keywords expressing different Cultural Patterns (CPs). The psychosociological interpretation of the statistical occurrences regarding spatial collocation of the CPs, their specific relation to the Factorial Axes (Factors), and their mutual axial correspondences, will be detailed in the next paragraphs. With regard to the interpretation of the four CPs, it has implied analyzing each list of co-occurring keywords by considering both the etymological origins of the corresponding headwords (see attachment: Etymologies) and developing a psychological reading of the co-occurring key-words. At the end of every interpretive hypothesis, we have also made reference to the basic interpretive guidelines proposed by Carli and Paniccia (2003) in considering cultural patterns as expressing the triangular relationship between: (1) sense of belonging (memory of identity towards the future); (2) otherness (symbolical "other" mismatching the self-referential reiteration of the system of belonging); and (3) rules of the game (intermediating sense of belonging and otherness).

Figure 12 - Cultural Pattern: system of belonging, otherness, and rules of the game

graphic solution of the author of the Thesis, adapted from Carli and Paniccia, 2003

4.1. Cluster I: Interpretive hypotheses of the co-occurring keywords

Keywords' Headwords	Interpretive hypotheses
Serv< *To serve* *Service* *Servant*	The term "servant", originally cult-related, made its way into the Portuguese language through juridical use. The verb "to serve" designated at the beginning the condition of "being slave of someone; living in slavery" and later figuratively "being dependent on; being subdued; being at the service of; being devoted to". The delivery of a service designs a standard relationship of dependence between who is supposed to deliver something and who is supposed to receive. Who produces, also exerts some form of control over the service. Public services are likely to be delivered by the State, i.e. the monopolistic dimension has historically made the citizens recipients of unidirectional actions. State reforms, such as NPM, NPS and specifically participation, have to be read as changes in terms of the relationship of servant/served.
Trabalh< *Work* *Job* *Task*	From the initial term's acceptance concerned with suffering and pain, the word has then assumed the meaning of "effort; concentration; work". Servants in charge of service delivery are committed to (by "devoting" their job) someone else: politicians and administrative personnel at the back-office level and interest groups and new actors participating at the frontline level.
Comunic< *To communicate* *Communication*	The term derives from the Latin acceptation "to turn something into common" by accomplishing responsibilities and tasks ("munus") with ("cum") other people. Civil servants' commitment owns a collective dimension: social interest grounds public service delivery and communication becomes the symbolical instrument to both reach participants and develop policymaking within vertical lines of rule and horizontal networking.

Diret< *To direct* *Director* *Right*	In the Portuguese language the cultured form "direto" substitutes the previous "direito", meaning "just, right". The communicability of public service responds to jurisdictional criteria, defining and controlling what is "right" (and what is wrong). In this sense, public administration also serves the law in order to come up with just actions. It compels organizing roles and functions so as to make civil servants respond to equal directions transmitted by top-level managers (or directors) and politicians.
Verea< *City council representative*	Meaning "civil authority", the Portuguese word "vereador" used to identify a city councilor in charge of social control and urban maintenance, later including the meaning of "territory government" ("vereação, vereamento"). The reference to the political aspect seems to be consistent with the dimension of control already inferred in the previous occurrence. There is a pervasive emotional reference to hierarchical structures, possibly both saving and reproducing forms of reciprocal control so as to enable people to work without being immersed by angst generated by organization (see: Chapter I).
Inova< *To innovate* *Innovation* *Innovative*	Deriving from the Latin word "novu(m)", meaning "new; young; novelty; something not usual, different; strange". Innovation seems to mark a turning point for participation in a scenario characterized by traditional division of labor so far. In this sense, we could derive that civil servants are evoking participation as that "something new and young" possibly impacting bureaucracy.
Interior< *Inner* *Internal* *Interior*	From the Latin comparative of the word "interu(m)", it has the meaning of "intimate, inner, internal". The English language acceptation of "interior", on calling upon the spatial dimension, fits with the idea that the first step of innovation is the public administration itself, entailing ongoing relationships.
Colega< *Colleague* *Partner*	Composed by the Latin words "cum" (with) and "legare" (choose), collegiality usually implies different forms of decision-making that, rather than through command, is likely to be run with the others by

Mate	arguing, bargaining or voting (see: Chapter IV). The emotional tone of the collegiality calls upon relationships in search of collaboration, negotiation and partnership, generating empathy and "collusion". In these terms, it is not merely the function to turn a person into a colleague, but rather the emotional link that comes to be instituted with him/her.
Equipa< *Team*	From the ancient Scandinavian "skipa" meaning "boat equipping", the term was initially used for nautical issues and later on acquired other acceptations, like "sporting team" and "group of people working together towards a common objective". Administrative official collegiality is organized into teams, though it can unofficially develop throughout members of the whole organization. The CP confirms the strict connection between participation and organizational structure when demanded to change.
Gabinet< *Office*	In the Portuguese language it holds the meaning of "office; ministry" and in public administration it identifies the places where city councilors and advisers develop political projects. Further confirmation of the organizational dimensions enrooting the CP is provided by the reference to the political area, as an emotional intention to reframe the "innovation" in "traditional" terms by evoking the standard interplay between political and technical expertise.
Tecnic< *Technician* *Official* *Civil servant*	The Latin word "technicu(m)" derives from the Greek "technikós" meaning something that has to do with art ("téchne"), identifying therefore experts in one or some arts. Public administration hierarchy relies on political will and technical expertise. So participation seems to do as well. Innovative devices look like a kind of emotionally challenging "otherness" compelling "known" political and organizational links in order to contain possible angst.
Func< *Function* *Official*	Deriving from the Latin "fungi" (to be functional for something), the term and its derived acceptations have passed through the French acceptation of the word "fonction".

Civil servant	This co-occurring reference to the function, to the performance, to the "discharge", seems to be in line with the need for specification of the technical expertise role, rather than of its contents.
Chef< *Manager*	From the Latin word "caput", meaning "head; boss", in the Portuguese language it identifies the official who is responsible or the manager of some working group. In local administrations, top-level civil servants manage administrative units. This further reference to top-down organizational relationships seems consistent with the emotional tone of the CP.
Exterior< *External* *Outer* *Exterior*	From the Latin comparative of the term 'exterus' with the meaning of "external", it designates something "out there". Last but not least is the vague emotional reference to what there is outside of public administrations: to whom is public service delivered to through participation when the exterior is emotionally configured as a backdrop to the concerns with internal organizational structure?

4.1.1. CP1: organizing participatory processes.

The first CP emphasizes the changing rationales for public service delivery, making clear reference to the bureaucratic model based on the hierarchy and specialized division of labor. Neutral norms and standard behavior codes have been at the center of the public administration establishment in the last few decades. The introduction of reforms at the organizational level such as NPM and NPS, have sought to match impacts on the administrative cultures as well (see: Chapter II). The opportunity to gather technical expertise and skills in order to successfully respond to increasing complex demands of governance, has involved the reconfiguration of some forms of policymaking. The CP actually highlights the challenging re-articulation of internal administrative relationships when demanded to implement participatory processes, emphasizing that both vertical lines of rule and horizontal networking should be conceived as "indicators" rather than opposite models. In realizing the necessary coexistence of hierarchy and "interdepartmentalism", the CP emphasizes that they indicate possible forms of power performance. In this sense, vertical conceptions of working could be expressed in horizontal networks and *vice versa*,

demonstrating the relevance of looking at the institutional dimension of organizational structures.

Participation is seen as the chance for transition, rather than a goal *per se* of public service enhancement. The reference to roles, functions and administrative units looks like the necessity of mapping the organization in order to recollect basic information and elements before change. In this sense, "communication" is likely to play a strategic role when supporting new "collegiality" for internal innovation. However, for the inherent gap between structure and culture, when meaning collegiality as networking, we do not actually know whether, and what kind of horizontal relationships occur within. The kind of relationships established among colleagues is a key factor to explain the "endogamy" process of reciprocal identity definition depending on the characteristic of the system of belonging, i.e. both team and public administration (see also: Goffman, 1988). Hence, being a "colleague" does not necessarily imply working at the same hierarchy level or managing the same functions; it implies rather sharing an emotional complicity resulting in collusive dynamics, similar that what occurred between the DIOP and I for the PA for foreigners (see: Chapter VIII). Whatever organizational structure is adopted, specific organizational cultures will be constructed and, in turn, some definition of the "outside" will be created. In this sense, as researchers we should be attentive when choosing interpretive criteria in our action research and be able to read through what is presented as innovative *tout court*. This "skepticism" involves the critical function aimed at analyzing "habits", in order to understand the construction of their profound meanings (Bourdieu, 1997, 2005). By this perspective then, the CP reveals complex organizational concerns through "plan and safe" descriptions of the *hic et nunc*. Nonetheless, this "two-dimensional" output seems to be a first attempt to contain the potential change and discontinuity called upon by participatory implementation[157].

Looking at the two analyzed administrative teams, we can see two different ways of both conceiving and using internal and external resources. In being both "young" administrative units, groupmaking has followed different criteria: in one case it has been

---

[157] This cluster owns the highest text units of the four CPs, with no independent variables especially contributing to its significance (see attachment EAT Synthesis Report). Furthermore, the cluster presents very few verbs in comparison with the other CPs, possibly understandable as a weak emotional "movement" (Carli and Paniccia, 2002).

grounded on the administrative reform dislocation of administrative personnel resulting in – in almost all the cases – members working for the first time with participation (DIOP). In the other case, the team was born as a unit in continuity with another administrative unit (the PLH), and collecting civil servants were demanded to employ their specific expertise in planning, social development and economy (BipZip). The former seems to point to "innovation", by gathering officials to be part of a unit related with participatory processes, for the first time; the latter seems to count on the "technical" expertise of the members. In terms of "collegiality", the first case is likely to count on long-term learning aimed at growing members' "ownership" of the processes; the second case members are likely to be almost immediately responsible for the process. An expert in marketing manages the first team, while an expert in architecture and urbanism manages the second team. Lastly, both of them are processes subject to close political supervision for the very nature of participation as a publicly-declared and exposed political project. Nevertheless according to both characteristic of the processes and mentioned features of the teams, different dynamics are supposed to be generated in this relationship. The character of discontinuous novelty of the DIOP demands much attention to be paid to group identity making, in order to prevent the "paradoxical" condition of engaging civil servants for interactive policymaking, without providing sufficient discretion for the reconfiguration of their functions, i.e. reproducing the top-down relationship between political and administrative actors by emptying members' contribution. The character of continuous novelty of the BipZip team demands much attention to be paid to groupmaking since highly committed with project implementation, possibly resulting in charging civil servants with political-like responsibilities, i.e. reproducing the top-down relationship between political and administrative actors by fulfilling members' contribution.

Finally, this cultural pattern so inherently concerned with questions of internal relationships, is predominantly concerned with the sense of belonging (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). It highlights the question of participatory processes' collocation within public administration as primarily a matter of organization and, as a consequence, the possible effects on administrative reform.

4.2. Cluster II: interpretive hypotheses of the co-occurring keywords

Keywords' Headwords	Interpretive hypotheses
Vot< *(to) Vote* *Vow*	The Latin word "votu(m)" comes from the past tense of the verb "vovere", meaning "vow, wish, promise, dedication". Vow is initially an intimate and personal act before divine entities in order to prevent sins, e.g. chastity vote. Later, the term assumed the meaning of declaration of will in some elective process, e.g. "vote of trust; vote of preference; secret vote". The first word calls upon the act of completely relying on someone or something. In political terms, it identifies the trust in someone assuming the responsibility of representing wider interests through legitimized mechanisms. In being the principal mechanism of representative democracy, "voting" also becomes the basis for co-decisional processes when aiming at reaching forms of consensus.
Pessoa< *Person*	From the Latin word "persona(m)", derived from the Etruscan "phersu", meaning "mask, false face". The co-occurring word refers to the person invited to express his/her own wish, desire, willingness, "vow" in a large sense. The etymological origin is enrooted in the theatric atmosphere, wherein personages used to play with a mask on their face representing an emotional state, and simultaneously hiding the face of the actor. Participants are ready to act on the front-stage.
Assembleia< *Assembly* *Meeting* *Reunion*	The French word "assemblée" is the past tense form of the verb "assembler", meaning "to gather" and coming from the Latin "assimulare". Standing on the front-stage was rarely a solitary action of the actor; it was rather a collective epiphany where people used to dramatize life and the public would experience some cathartic feeling. The quality and the success of the performance used to depend – and it still does – on the synergy established among the actors and the public. Participation is a

	matter of script "assembling" people and mechanisms to result in some collective play.
Interess *To Interest* *Interesting*	The Latin word "interesse" comes from the junction of "inter-" ("between") and "esse" ("to be"). From being a verb, it became a substantive in the Middle Ages and assumed the current meaning with the influence of the French use of the terms "intérêt, intéressant, intéresser". In the Portuguese language it is used to mean "feeling, advantage, benefit". The word defines here the emotional movement gathering either individual or collective concerns towards goals to be accomplished, likewise for interest groups (see: Chapter IV).
Lisboa *Lisbon*	From the Latin accusative case "Olisipona" ("Ullyysipona") of pre-Roman origin, there is no concordance about the original meaning. as well as about the intermediating passages, though Greek and Roman scholars have registered the name of the city as "Olysipo", "Olisipo", "Ulysippo", etc. and in the Middle Ages, Arabic texts provide the diction "Lixbonâ", where the name "Lisbon" is likely to come from. The reference is to the city as background, object and the setting of the (forthcoming) actions.
Propo *To propose* *Proposal* *Proponent*	From the Latin verb "proponere" composed of "pro-" ("forth") and "ponere" ("put, place"), meaning "propose, advance, suggest". It represents the first of a key emotional co-occurrence of verbs suggesting what is likely to be performed in participatory processes on the "front-stage". Gathered people perform their role by advancing interests.
Projet *(To) Project*	From the Latin verb "proiacere", composed of "pro-" ("forward") and "iacere" ("throw"), it has been transformed in the French language as the verb "projeter" meaning "to blame" and later on "to expose, cast an image". The co-occurring term confirms the emotional tone of the gathering played on the stage, acting the "participatory drama". In this sense all the actors, whether on the front-stage, in the back-stage, or on the seats,

	metaphorically wear their mask so as to play a role according to some script.
Mostr *(To) Show*	From the Latin verb "monstrare" ("to show") derived from "monstru(m)" ("monster") meaning "prodigy; gods' sign". From indicating the divine will, the term later assumed the meaning of "designating; showing; making someone know; reporting; advising" as demonstrated for instance by the XVI Century concept "amostra" that in Portuguese means "sample". The CP keeps shining a light on the front-stage and hiding the back, i.e. the construction of the rules of this game. They only seem to be relevant inasmuch as they serve the description of the play. In this sense participation is configured as a device for problem solving where problems themselves are already defined in the script.
Venc *To win* *Winner*	From the Latin verb "vincere" coming from an Indo-European headword with the meaning of "fighting". The problem solving script becomes here tangible when imaging the co-occurrence in a timeline: the front-stage places a fight where victory will define defeat. Participation is the performance of ancestral aggressiveness sublimated by institutions; it is the show of the brotherhood killing the father in order to constitute a new order. The "participatory order" needs to symbolically defeat representative democracy, and towards this aim the actions evoked hitherto sound like the rhetoric of a war. The play of participation is the drama of the brothers co-deciding on the public good (see: Chapter I).
Gente *People*	From the Latin term "gens" ("people") from the verb "gignere" ("to generate"), identifying groups of people who recognize a common forefather. The term has assumed later the designation of "race; family; specie; nation (e.g. "gens Volsca; gens Sabina"); region; land". The Latin term "gentil" ("gentle") was initially used to refer to someone belonging to some family ("gens") owning the same name and, when regarding slaves, belonging to a specific house. During the Roman Empire, the plural form passed to indicate barbarian people and later, with the

	Christian Church influence, started meaning "pagans" (corresponding to the Greek term "tà éthne", translated from the Hebraic "goi"). Both the French "gentaille" and the Italian "gentaglia" currently designate unappreciated groups of people. Once gathered the brothers, we are likely to see the horde as an undifferentiated set of people (Freud, 1921; Le Bon, 1980). What happens then in the drama? Where are the roles, where are the functions, where are the identities? The only characteristic in evidence is referred to a class distinction, between "entitled" citizens and "outsiders", according to the etymology.
Important< *Important* *Relevant*	From the Latin verb "importare" with the meaning of "carrying ("portare") inside ("in")" and from the XVII Century influenced by the English acceptation "to bring in goods from abroad". It is through XVIII Century French use that the term has taken also the acceptation of "important event, thing or person". The action of bringing into something, whether significant abstract contents or objects, reveals that at the end of the performance, there must be some feedback, on the existence of the actors amidst the people, as on the success of the drama. Who is demanded to assess the importance of participation and according to which criteria? Who is requested to incorporate (i.e. to bring inside) the relevance of participation and towards which aim?
Ader< *To adhere* *Adherent*	From the Latin verb "adhaerere" composed of "ad-" and "haerere" meaning "being attached; being in contact; being connected". The importance of participation seems to pass through unconditioned agreement, i.e. the "adhesion" to the played script. If so, the performance reveals its tremendous disadvantage when concentrated on the play of problem solving without participating new rules of the game. As a result, the legitimization of participatory processes risks being constrained in the false myth of general ("people") and total ("adhere") consensus ("importance").
Idos<	From the Latin "aetas" as contraction of "aevitas", derived from "aevum"

Elder	meaning "duration, time, life, age". In the Portuguese language, the word "idoso" ("idioso" in the XIV Century) is the haplological form of "idadoso" derived from the word "idade" ("age"). On the symbolical level, the reference to time that passes by; on the content level the reference to a specific social category. The reference to elders seems to be the attempt to solve the undifferentiated melting pot stemming from the "fight": who is participating?
Apresent< *To present* *Presentation* *To introduce* *Introduction*	From the Latin "praesente(m)" composed by "prae-" ("pre-") and "esse" ("to be"), meaning "present; immediate; visible; urgent; effective; firm; brave; imperturbable". This last keyword seems to open to some feeling of constriction when adopting scripted models, inevitably counteracting the gap between "theory" and "practice". Being present as both standing in the *hic et nunc* of the process and firmly wanting to carry on implementing the process.

4.2.1. CP2: performing participatory processes.

This CP emphasizes the mechanism of voting and its symbolic weight in terms of an act on behalf of someone or something. Once this first stone is set, the cluster lists a series of actions evoking a sort of celebrative rituality of participation: the collective gathering aimed at giving voice to the drama of the world. Participatory processes are undoubtedly complex devices that need to arrange specific settings, considering the "feeling of participation" as something to be constructed rather than a granted necessity of people (see: Chapter V). The metaphor of the "script" used in the interpretive course of keywords, reveals a competitive model making the evocation of victory the imaged outcome of some antagonistic process (Mouffe, 1999). The scenario seems composed by static characters bearing preformed interests, persuading unspecified people to gather the necessary quantity of votes in order to win. When civil servants evoke this type of participatory implementation, their functions seem to be kept hidden backstage, like observing the play of someone else. As a counterpart, there could be a value-based imagination of citizen competence in terms of more knowledge and power, sounding like some rhetorical claim of superior citizens' expertise undervaluing administrative and political functions. Whatever the option, civil servants do not feel part of the play. As a

result, political institutions may have the intention to set pre-formed models, in order to keep control over potentially innovative devices through mythical discourses about the power of people. The celebration of orthodoxy, such as for standard participatory models, cannot help but reveal static representations of the otherness and "narrow" courses of actions (see also: Grasso and Salvatore, 1997). In this sense, adhesion is a total emotion: one can either agree and stay in, or disagree and stay out. There are no margins of discussion when the goal of interaction shifts the accomplishment of frameworks, rather than reframing frameworks themselves (see also: Schön and Rein, 1994). As a result, both participants and civil servants seem to be emotionally outside the process because, even if allowed to be part of it, they are not allowed to feel part of it[158].

Civil servants interrogate both organizational arrangements – spaces, official mandates, and delegations – and symbolically shared recognitions of their identities (Sainsaulieu, 1988). From being framed as "mere" executors of political projects, participation inexorably puts them under a different light and demands that they get involved in new games. In this sense, when not provided with an adequate setting, they are likely to express some frustration. The profound message carried by the first keyword seems to actually cross the whole CP, when understanding that "voting" sounds like the only emotional option of adhesion. In the same vein, the enactment of models relying on the rational theory based problem solving strategies has been largely questioned by political sciences in the last few decades (see: Chapter IV). The faith in rationality as a gateway to consensus is far from being realized in reality. When participatory processes lack the mission to reframe the diverse conceptions of problems at stake, they are likely to be exposed to the false rhetoric claiming "power to the people" on the front-stage, so as to keep control at the backstage. In this sense, charming promises may collude with citizen mistrust towards political institutions, by imaginatively getting rid of them (i.e. killing the

---

[158] Interestingly, this cluster has seen a high contribution from the ex-collaborators, resulting from the outlook of independent variables. The argued "distance" perceived in this CP, as regards the emotional implication of the civil servants in the "described" methodology, could depend on the characteristics of this independent variable. Furthermore, we should also bear in mind the fact that neither the DIOP nor BipZip team have been involved in training courses, so the contribution of teams' members could be read also along this line. Nevertheless, we have extensively debated the relevance of training in organizational contexts and the focus on their design, in order to understand their action. In other words, the implementation of training courses does not guarantee change, though it could play some important function in terms of group making. Finally, it is important to underline that consistent with the ISO methodology, the interpretation is concerned with the psychological dynamics revealed by the CPs, rather than concerned with identifying their "producers" (see attachments: EAT Synthesis Report and Methodology).

father in psychoanalytical terms) and providing society with total power of decision. The idea of participatory democracy as solving the problems created by representative democracy for not accomplishing its promises, is the price to pay when eliciting this sort of mythical imaginary (see: Bobbio, 2011).

The front-stage is not only a physical place, but also a space of mind. The ways in which civil servants share their symbolical representation about participation, communicate a big concern with the realization of theoretical models. The keywords of the CP show the tension stemming from idealized "best practices", and potential frustration when matched with reality. When the space for backstage is fulfilled by prescriptions, civil servants do not feel like part of the processes and are limited to "vow" themselves to them. As a result, the most probable scenario sees public administrations and citizens feeding short-term dreams made of easy solutions. In these terms, the success of participation is exclusively measured on the results, which, in turn, do not compensate in terms of long-term trust-building. Indeed, when legitimacy prevents step-by-step co-decision concerning problem setting, rules of the game and problem solving, then participants are removed from any responsibility. Such choice reveals the mythical drift of providing power without actually making actors responsible for the outcomes. The risk is the enhancement of out of control expectations because exogenous to the processes themselves (see: Allegretti *et al*., 2011; Della Porta, 2011).

Following Carli and Paniccia (2003), the CP expresses a special concern with the rules of the game, their design and their implementation. In planning specific "participatory actions", some worries about the very power of participation transpire in terms of the destabilization of rules of the game. By acknowledging the deep potentiality of participatory processes when setting co-decisional scenarios, narratives seem to drift toward controllable conceptions of antagonistic interaction, reproducing to some extent representative democracy electoral campaigns.

4.3. Cluster III: interpretive hypotheses of the co-occurring keywords

Keywords' Headwords	Interpretive hypotheses
Poder< *Power*	From the Latin word "potere", originating from the Indo-European term "potis" meaning "owner; landowner; master" and the Latin verb "esse" ("to be"). The first co-occurring keyword introduces the highly emotional dimension of power. In recognizing its polysemy and the extreme relevance that the analysis of power carries to participatory processes' studies, it is necessary to restrict the field of interpretation in order to sketch out pertinent interpretive hypotheses.
Politic< *Politics* *Policy* *Political* *Politician*	From the Latin word "politicu(m)", the origin of the term dates back to the Greek term "politikós" and the substantive "politike" ("political art"), adjective of "polítes" ("citizen"), derived from "pólis" ("city"). The first reference is to the forms of power that are politically owned ("potis") and collectively regulated ("polítes"). The etymology of politics suggests not (re)producing reified conceptions of politics as exclusively owned in the hands of political institutions, but rather as originally expressing the necessity to set shared rules aimed at governing society.
Administr< *To administer* *Administration* *Administrative*	From the Latin verb "administrare" composed by "ad-" with reinforcing grammatical function and "ministrare" ("to manage, govern"). In the Portuguese language the verb ("aministrar"; "menistrar" and "ministrar" in the XV Century) assumes the meaning of "serving; helping; providing; directing", and its juridical acceptation appears in the modern age (in the religious arena, the term still maintains its primitive meaning, e.g. "to administer sacraments"). The need for common rules calls upon administrative functions, understood as the set of skills aimed at bringing together and managing collective issues. As a matter of fact, it is the proper origin of public administration to be evoked in this first sequence and the inner

	connection with the "political" management of public goods.
Govern< *To govern* *Governor* *Government*	From the Latin verb "gubernare" meaning "to steer" ("guberna(m)" is the rudder) which originates from the Greek term "kybernân" and almost immediately included the meaning of the current acceptation of "ruling" ("gubernare rempublicam"). Subsequent to administrative functions, the CP presents government as providing a sort of basic glossary tracking through the main reference of the State. Governmental and administrative functions are called to interplay with political goals.
Cris< *Crisis*	From the Latin word "crisi(m)" originating from the Greek term "krísis" ("separation; choice; judgment"), derived from the Indo-European word "krínein" ("to judge"). Originally meaning "to distinguish; to choose; to decide; to sort out a doubt, a fight, a competition; to solve; to explain", as well as "terminal state of some disease; rapid change occurring in the health condition of a person when getting worse (or better)". Crisis originally refers to the dimension of change, though currently accepted as gateway of "bad times". By taking into consideration that something is likely to change, participation seems to mark a passage in the direction of forthcoming situations.
Principio< *Principle* *Start*	From the Latin "principiu(m)", from "princeps" ("prince") and in the Portuguese language meaning "beginning; source; origin; foundation". In English, it is from XVII Century that the term is used for good or moral principles. The break opened by the "crisis" steps back to the pillars of what is likely to be perturbed and possibly changing. Is participation the motor of new scenarios (i.e. crisis) or does participation rather represent one of the factors demanding new reforms of the State (i.e. effect of the crisis)?
Pior< *Worse*	From the Latin comparative adjective "peiore(m)" ("worse") of "malus" ("bad"), it originates from an Indo-European root meaning "to fall". The emotional tone of the CP communicates a big concern with negative conditions of the political/administrative systems demanded to change because of something getting "worse". Suddenly we think to the aspect

	of social construction concerning current political and financial global crisis. And consequently we think of some rhetorical use of participation when mythically seen as a lifeline, feeding – once again – the relationship between political institutions and citizens of short-term dreams (see: CP2).
Partid< *Political party*	From the Latin verb "partiri" ("to divide; to separate") the term derives from "pars" meaning "part". The political party is considered as the union of people willing to reach common goals concerned with political power exercise. Following the deep ("principle") transformation ("crisis") of some "worse" situation, there are political parties as traditional main characters of representative democratic systems. Participation is likely to stimulate civil servants to reconsider their "political" identity before the complex scenario that they are demanded to cope with. In so doing, they question the very structure of democratic regimes once in progress of possible change.
Reclam< *To claim* *To complain* *To demand*	From the Latin verb "reclamare" from "re-" and "clamare" ("to call") meaning "to call the attention of someone; to call someone back"; "to claim something". In the Portuguese language, the term has assumed the acceptation of "to contest; to protest; to oppose oneself to something". The "political awareness" of civil servants when referring to participation, suggests that their reflection concerning democracy is an inherent part of the never-ending process of democracy enhancement. Claimed by civil servants, the question also compels enhancing function of client within the new interactions, both internal with administrative actors and external with social actors. Furthermore, reclamation also refers to the basic participatory tool for citizens to send disapproval on PB's outputs when seeing weak transparency in the phase of filtering.
Postura< *Position*	From the Latin word "postura" meaning "position, disposition, punctuation". In intertwining actors, participation elicits complex necessities of new identity connections and frameworks. Hence participation, on being

	primarily a matter of interaction, cannot assure the multiple sense and outcomes interactions themselves can assume. Participation is likely to confuse roles and functions when attempting to reframe rules of the game. The reference to "position" plays an interesting emotional role in this sequence because it reveals the necessity (and the chance) to define some starting point for change.
Transpar *Transparency* *Transparent*	From the Middle Ages, the Latin word "transparente(m)" meaning something that "appears" (from the Latin verb "parere") "through" (from the Latin word "trans-") and so something that lets itself be crossed by the light. We understand that the emotional feeling of emerging from confusion is strictly related to the necessity of agreement about the game to be played. Transparency is used when arguing that challenges of political institutions are undertaken with new governance principles. In symbolical terms, the light passing through plays the metaphorical function of persuading people about open data access as both innovation (rather than democratic due) and solution (rather than primary condition) of mistrust. Nevertheless, as Mayo (1949) has already found, more "light" rarely succeeds in increasing "productivity" and we should look rather at the ways relationships develop.
Eleic *To elect* *Election* *Elected*	From the Latin verb "eligere" composed by "ex-" ("out") and "legere" ("to choose"), meaning "to prefer between two or more options". The possibility to choose, to select the good from the bad, to elect political candidates according to one's preferences is the conditional reference for representative systems. In symbolical terms, even participatory democracy often seems to necessarily call upon elective mechanisms, in order to gather collective issues (see: Chapter V). As a matter of fact, participation symbolically rises in the shadow of representative democracy in this CP and gains some relevance depending on its course.
Nacion *Nation*	From the Latin word "natione(m)" from "natus" meaning "to be born". The current acceptation of Nation began to be adopted in Europe during

National	the French Revolution.
	The symbolic idea of something arising suggests the hypothesis that the last co-occurring words may have to do with the image of future possibilities going beyond the crisis. The light ("transparency") over new choices ("election") evokes an interesting connection between participation and changing scenarios, though not configuring participation as a solution *per se*.
Aproxim< *To approach* *To get closer*	From the Latin word "proximu(m)", superlative form of "proque" ("close") originating from the Indo-European word "prope".
	With this last keyword, participation is demanded to endorse not only co-decisional moments, but to rather become a lens through which to shine a new light on the current "health condition" of politics and its capacity to govern societies. Towards this aim, the first goal of participation is basically to re-approximate actors, i.e. to set effective settings of interaction.

4.3.1. CP3: regulating participatory processes.

The first co-occurring headwords make it clear: political power and power of politics are not exactly the same thing. Civil servants refer to both of them by emphasizing that the first form compels State and social actors, whereas the second calls upon governmental and administrative roles and their functional engagement in participatory processes. By sketching out the macro-framework of their collocation in terms of administrative team working for new governance actions, the CP outlines the attention paid to political crisis in terms of rules of the game. Changes regarding the relationship between political institutions and society, as well as within governing systems themselves, "reclaim" the role of participation. In performing such a "political" speech, one could ask whether civil servants are looking for some new identity that drifts towards the emulation of politicians. Notwithstanding this, the question first stems from the assumption that civil servants are to be dedicated to strict technical issues (Weber, 1978), and secondly, is falsified by the sequence of keywords suggesting the assumption of new challenges for their functions in interactive policymaking processes. Their margins of discretion for participatory implementation are likely to make them play new forms of power, by creating

opportunities for adaptation, as well as producing problems of coordination (see: Chapter VI). In addition, due to their public exposition, civil servants end up assuming the symbolical role of political institutions, making the topic particularly sensitive. Technical expertise cannot be considered outside of policymaking design, management and outcome[159].

In psychosociological terms, it implies taking into account the demand for changing functions as administrative personnel (organizational level), as much as the demand of being recognized as new experts in new policymaking processes (institutional level). In this sense, it is the very process of identity construction that is at the center of the CP: how do we reconfigure civil servants' position within political institutions when considering the crisis of trust and the attempts at participation? Where are they collocated in such a tense network linking so many actors in movement? The reference to political parties as realities linked to critical scenarios, suggests awareness about the fact that things are going to change (see: Norris, 1999). As a result, they themselves have to reset their identities once their lifelong career status that has made them both dependent on and protected from executive power changes, is directly involved in participatory processes. Indeed, their identity is strictly connected with the definition of their systems of belonging, which on facing crises and changes, also generate demands to civil servants. Once civil servants are demanded to assume new responsibilities, new equilibriums between "government" and "administration" are needed for successful participatory policymaking processes, as well as for overall political institutions, whose legitimization also depends on civil service performance.

The CP is profoundly concerned with the basic link between administrative and political functions in a scenario of ongoing "critical" transformations for multi-scale governments. When demanded to be involved in new modes of policymaking implementation, civil servants feel the charge of representing political institutions and its ambitions for change, such as "more transparency". However, due to their in-between collocation both inside and outside public administration as regards participatory processes, civil servants tend to grasp the necessity to turn a crisis into an opportunity to

---

[159] In this CP an interesting contribution has been that of team managers and DIOP members committed with PB and A21. The first independent variable could support some concern about deepening the meaning of top-level bureaucrats' discretion in participatory processes (see attachment: EAT Synthesis Report).

understand the changes demanded by representative democratic systems. In other terms, it is not a matter of more light on the *status quo*, but rather the change of the rules to highlight new opportunities for democratic systems. As a result, political projects and correspondent bureaucratic inner workings cannot work as they have been doing hitherto: the CP claims the necessity to foster new equilibriums and new quotas of responsibility of government, since policymaking is likely to come out from bureaucratic boxes and expose civil servants as new key elements of the relationship between citizens and political institutions.

The cultural pattern, according to the theoretical proposal by Carli and Paniccia (2003) seems to balance the three psychological factors shown in the Figure 12, and focusing on the impact that their interaction has in the governing system.

4.4. Cluster IV: interpretive hypotheses of the co-occurring keywords

Keywords' Headwords	Interpretive hypotheses
Sobreviv< *To survive* *Survivor*	From the late Latin verb "supravivere" composed by "supra-" ("over") and "vivere" ("to live") meaning "to live after the death; to come through an accident". The first co-occurring word of the CP projects future action, as a result of something unknown or unsaid that has threatened someone or something risking life.
Ciclo< *Cycle*	From the late Latin word "cyclu(m)", originating from the Greek term "kýklos" ("circle") with the correspondent adjectives "cyclicu(m)" in Latin and "kyklikós" ("cyclic"). In the Portuguese language it has the meaning of "circular object; circular ground; amphitheater; sphere; globe". Taking on the metaphor of life, the cycle appoints the continuity, the eternal return of something. Surviving implies going back to life and then recovering something that was supposed to be lost.

Filho *Son*	From the Latin word "filiu(m)" ("son"), from the Indo-European headword rooting also the Latin words "femina" ("female") and "fecundus" ("fecund"). The cycle of life gets into dimensions concerning procreation. The cycle is likely to become a generative spiral, opening to the future and talking about generative continuity.
Pai *Father* *Parent*	From the latin word "pater" ("father"), in the Portuguese language it first becomes "padre" ("priest" in the contemporary language), and later "pade"; "pae" and finally, "pai" meaning "father" (and "fathers" or "parents" in the plural form). Going forward in the spiral implies holding backwards: this seems to be the symbolical relevance of the binomial co-occurrence of "son" and "father". The point is: what are the references to continuity, life and family suggesting about participation from the point of view of the civil servants? The first word has put emotional tone based on the opportunity of surviving to some risk that is likely to threaten some "natural" or "naturalized" equilibrium.
Civil *Civil* *Civic*	From the Latin word "civile(m)" derived from "civis" from which also "civilitate(m)" (civility) and "civicu-" meaning something concerning the city or the citizen. The modern acceptation of "civic" comes from the French term "civique" during the French Revolution in opposition to both military and ecclesiastic characters, despite not all of the Romanic languages having adopted the same nuance (e.g. some languages oppose "civic" to "criminal; forensic"). The reference to city and citizenship makes us frame the list of co-occurring keywords under a more understandable light. What is perceived as under attack, and put into risk, is the proper sense of belonging. Social life implies being recognized as social actors. Threatening sense of belonging implies threatening one's identity and therefore removal from the "cycle".
Semabrigo *Homeless*	The keyword joins two headwords: "sem" meaning "without" and "abrigo" coming from the Latin verb "apricari", meaning "to warm

	oneself up at the sun" and "cover oneself from cold", i.e. "to protect oneself". At the content level, the homeless represent the social category at risk of social exclusion because at the margins of civil society. The reference to this part of society reveals the challenge at the bottom of participation when demanded to be inclusive. At the symbolical level, this vision is complemented by the meaning of protecting oneself from some risk, like "social death". Protecting oneself from being marginalized implies fighting to get back into the cycle, being part of the social life and so getting back one's civic identity.
Relig< *Religion* *Religious*	From the Latin word "religione(m)" widely signifying the set of practices, beliefs and moral obligations (the Latin verb "relegere" means "collecting again; ordering" what is referred to gods' cult). In the Middle Ages, religion began to narrowly mean the monastic disciplines though the adjective "religious(m)" has maintained the acceptation of "scrupulous; diligent" alongside meanings referring to gods' cult. The introduction of religion in this sequence tells two things: at the content-level it evokes the role of religious NGOs in communities devoted to those on the "margins" of society; at the symbolical level it draws participatory processes' responsibility in attentive analysis of the territory. If religions may be committed with making single cases "survive" – i.e. get back to the "cycle" of life – politics is demanded to be "religiously" committed to the whole urban situation, in order to maintain people as civic members of social life.
Compra< *To buy*	From the Latin verb "comparare", composed by "cum" ("with") and "parare" ("to prepare") meaning "to collect; to take". The late Latin version of "comperare" ("to buy") has gradually substituted the previous Latin form "emere". If participation has to pay special attention to marginal cases, it cannot help but be addressed to the whole city. The reference to the dimension of goods' exchange, etymologically stemming from the preparation of something in a collective, indicates the action of comparing the value of

	what is held, in order to get what is desired. The "buying power" translates the democratic goal of making people equal through providing civil rights. It is not the metaphor of the market, it is rather the basic characteristic of representative democracy in attempting to accomplish equity in quantitative terms, in comparison with equivalence, demanding more complex evaluations in qualitative terms (see: Urbinati and Agnes, 2013).
Famili< *Family*	From the Latin word "familia(m)" ("family") originating from the Indo-European term "famulus" (servant). In the Portuguese language, it indicates the "set of slaves belonging to the house; house; all the people associated to a big personality" and later figuratively also "body; school". Taking into consideration the term as not strictly meaning the parental links, the inclusion of marginal and marginalized people implies tackling principles of equity, providing society with civil tools. Hence, "family" can be read a metaphor of the community where the sense of belonging works as a binding agent of people.
Viv< *To live*	From the Latin verb "to live" of Indo-European origin, the present continuous tense form "viventes" ("living") has assumed the opposite meaning of "mortui" ("dead"). The numerous derivatives can be grouped into two main categories: the widest one develops the present form root "viv-", whereas the other one develops the past form "vict-". Confirming the emotional tone of the cultural pattern, when talking about participation as allowing people to go back to "life", it is relevant to highlight the passage from the condition of "surviving" to victory of "living". The full meaning of the latter is likely to symbolically refer to inclusion of achieved goals, when people take benefits and accomplish duties of social life.
Media< *Middle*	From the Latin "medium" meaning "in the middle; between two points". The reference to some form of quantitative average looks like the confirmation of the standard goal of equity.
Menin<	A term of creative expression from the same root of the French

Youngster	"mignot" ("beautiful"), Catalan "minyó" ("guy"), and Italian "mignolo" ("little finger"), it means, "noble guy serving the queen or the princes" in the Portuguese court. The current use of the word is generally addressed to identify guys with no social class distinction. The co-occurrence seems therefore to strengthen the idea of social equity by reverting to words of ancient classical meanings.
Classe< *Class*	From the Latin word "classe(m)" ("class"), probably of Etruscan origin; it used to identify the groups into which Roman people were divided. Between the XVII and XVIII Century, the term was used by natural sciences in order to establish ordered scientific systems. Some scholars have adopted the same paradigm for economic studies. The passage from the economic acceptation to the socio-political one is told to be due to French Revolution and Marx. As a matter of fact, in the EAT the word "classe" is followed by different adjectives, not exclusively "media", whereas the latter is always referred to as "classe" (except from one case). It means that we are likely to consider the concept "middle class" as characterizing these two co-occurring terms, divided by "menin<". The concept of welfare has historically been meant as the goal of enlarging the middle bourgeois class as a symbol of equity.
Toxicodepen< *Drug addict*	Here we have the union of two headwords: "toxico" and "dependen<". The first comes from the Latin word "toxicu(m)" originating from the Greek "toxikón" meaning "poison dipping the arrow", from the term "tóxon" ("bow"), probably from the Iranian language since Persian people were known as excellent arrow pullers. With regard to the verb "depender" ("to depend on") it origins from the Latin verb "dependere", composed by "de-" and "pendere" ("hang down"). Like the keyword homeless, the reference to drug addicts suggests the emotional tone of the CP in stressing problems concerning marginal cases, in order to make participation responsive to the principles of social inclusion.

4.4.1. CP4: integrating participatory processes.

The fourth CP puts its hand up and claims participation as a strong commitment to social inclusion. The preservation of life is seen as the complete expression of a human being, in both individual and social terms. Social actors are judged by their integrity and, as a result, the principal concern of political projects should work on this basis. When governments do not take human integrity as a priority (civil rights), social exclusion is likely to represent one of the main risks for democracy. As a matter of fact, participatory experiences have held in many cases, social justice and inclusion as master references, and we have highlighted some of the different conceptions carried with these goals in different parts of the world and at different times (see: Chapter V). In this CP, civil servants underline that working for marginality reduction is not only a priority in terms of civil society rights, but also in terms of attentive participatory processes. This represents the turning point emphasized as regards the mission of participation. Furthermore, the accomplishment of such a mission requires a relevant cultural effort in terms of governance when considering that it cannot rely on individual "sensitivity", but rather on an integrated political project. As a result, participatory processes should be part of political and administrative networks aimed at supporting intervention on specific cases of marginality, as well as upholding the integration of cases in the social fabric. In other terms, social integration is meant as the recognition of human integrity within comprehensive visions of urban territory, provided by integrated networks of policymaking[160].

It should not be surprising that such a cultural pattern interrogates the proper pillars of participation when questioning administrative goals and capacities. Civil servants allow some inquietude to emerge as a by-product of profound self-reflection on their skills and functions. Are they required to be religious "firemen" of urgent singular cases, or are they demanded to implement complex political actions of integration? Are these two excluding options or is it possible to think about participation as the adequate set of devices, taking into account both single participants and the whole territory? Towards this aim, participation is demanded to be part of stable political and administrative networks preventing the possible isolation generated when framed as "best practices" not entailing

---

[160] BZ has particularly contributed to the formation of this cluster, possibly suggesting further considerations about the specific mission carried out by this participatory process in Lisbon (see attachment: EAT Synthesis Report).

the whole administrative apparatus. As a consequence, participation could be seen as the "just" technique expected to solve social "dysfunctions". When, on the contrary, political institutions enact participation with goals of integration, it is likely to assume a clearer role in democratic enhancement (Sousa Santos, 2003). Indeed, democracy is seen as concerned with promoting social equity, and participation as one of its tools. The never-ending effort to preserve equal and equivalent rights, i.e. guaranteeing minimum equality to everybody (e.g. freedom of expression and vote) and promoting attention to specific categories by looking at the real conditions of people is inherent to democracy[161].

When civil servants are not seen as the firemen of urgent problem solving, they themselves shine a light on possible development courses for participation. On the one hand, participatory initiatives should not be isolated within the political systems since they need adequate networks so as to work out their goals; on the other hand, the proper mission cannot help entailing goals of equity, integration and therefore social inclusion. Pursuing new organizational and institutional forms (and reforms) does represent the most challenging aim in terms of policymaking because it requires integrated political planning and upsetting the administrative rationale.

The CP is especially focused on the relationship with the outside (the "otherness") which possibly has a transformative impact on policymaking (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). The integrated vision of function of external client is inherently connected with self-reflection on the role and potential development of the function of internal client. Therefore, there is no external impact of participation without internal jumble.

5. Interpretive hypotheses about factorial axes

When considering the statistical dimension of the EAT outcomes, we see the factorial space divided in four portions, by the junction of the horizontal with the vertical factorial axes, representing the two-dimensional aspect of the space. By considering the number of clusters, we must always consider that the number of factors match the number of the

---

[161] In this sense, short-term and long-term policies could hopefully be integrated in synergy. It is interesting to notice how in this respect, Portuguese public policies are often considered as still too segmented and in some cases narrowly directed to some marginal categories, missing a wider vision of the social fabric (Costa *et al.*, 2010).

clusters, minus one. As a result, the four clusters have to correspond to three factorial axes. The first and second factorial axes correspond to the horizontal and vertical axes; the third factorial axis relies on a tridimensional space, imaginable as coming out from the factorial space plane. Resulting from the higher interconnection between both second and third clusters, if looking at the factorial space, we can imagine a line joining the two clusters in a third dimension. Hence, we can see the statistical connection with the two clusters, in one case negative (underneath the two-dimensional space) and in the other case positive (on top of the two-dimensional space). In summary, each Cluster represents a specific CP concerning participation and the three factorial axes organize them according to the ways they relate among them (see attachment: Methodology). In psychological terms, we interpret these axes as Factors condensing some main features of the more highly-related clusters and bringing a more organic hypothesis on their meaning. The following hypotheses represent an articulated result from clusters' interpretive hypotheses in terms of "space" organization with the factors.

5.1. The first Factor: the function of client

The polarization between the Clusters I and IV, where the latter has a large presence in a statistical sense, is supposed to synthesize some primary cultural dimensions introduced by these CPs. We have seen that the main argument of the first cultural pattern is essentially concerned with a new idea of public service, possibly attaining new organizational forms of the administrative structure. In the fourth cluster, the list of keywords says something similar to this necessity of global vision, by bridging the external role of participation with the internal impact on political and administrative equilibriums. The need for processes integrated with administrative units is seen as functional for integrated political projects, i.e. visions of the urban territory as a whole and, as a result, of the social actors as integral subjects.

It seems reasonable to think that the factor linking the two clusters in terms of common psychological instances, is the "function of client" constructed by internal personnel (CP1), as well as co-constructed with external actors (CP4). When public administrations organize their internal environment and interact with external actors, specific ways of carrying on relationships ground the internal relationships. It is clear in

the CP1 when emphasizing the internal dimension (internal client as both political actors and colleagues); it is also clear that in the CP4 the light is shone on the social actors playing the potential function of client with respect to participatory processes and impacting on internal clients.

Table 19 - The first Factor

Clusters	Factor	Characteristics
CP1	Function of client	Function of internal client
CP4		Function of external and internal client

5.2. The second Factor: the rules of the game

The polarization between two "groups" of Clusters involving the four CPs makes this axis particularly complex to read. On one side, the group formed by the first and the fourth Clusters, and on the other side the group formed by the second and the third Clusters, sketch out basic common instances concerning the proper "rules of the game" enacted when implementing participatory processes. As a result, we can see that the first group especially refers to the administrative context, whereas the second group is more clearly addressed to political issues. Though understanding the politics and administration as intrinsically connected when pursuing participatory goals in terms of policymaking design and management, they still have distinct characters and functions in terms of governance.

Hence, rules of the game are meant as the set of formal and informal norms regulating participatory processes. On the one hand, the idea of an administration concerned with internal changes (CP1) that, when impacted by the work with society, possibly generates new demands of integration (CP4); on the other hand, the different political projects enrooting the ways participatory processes are methodologically articulated (CP2) and the ways such processes carry out political projects (CP3).

Table 20 - The second Factor

Clusters	Factor	Characteristics
CP1 – CP4	Rules of the game	Administrative system
CP2 – CP3		Political project

5.3. The third Factor: the dimensions of power

The third factorial axis is characterized by the polarized relationship between the second and third Clusters. With regard to the first, we have highlighted the tension between the idea of some easy application of participatory theory and the impact on reality. The latter is concerned with the capacity of political institutions to face changes and crises through participatory processes. In this sense, the polarization seems to highlight the "dimensions of power", understood as the ability to analyze clients' demands so as to adequately expose political actions.

As a matter of fact, power is conceived in the CP2 as the expression of effective processes that could hopefully solve social problems. Nonetheless, power seems to be basically characterized by the inverted connection between demand and technical competence when technical arrangements are not function of client-oriented, but rather defensively settled. In the CP3, power is more generally concerned with changes at different government scales. It is the legitimization of political power to be questioned in terms of competence to provide effective governance measures in new scenarios.

Table 21 - The third Factor

Clusters	Factor	Characteristics
CP2	Dimensions of power	Analysis of demands
CP3		Governance competences

6. The conclusive phase of the action research: the feedback meetings

The four CPs neither identify any of the four processes, nor cluster single subjects or groups. We have argued that CPs emerge comprehending the whole sample in analysis

as possibly signifying participation. Nevertheless, the administrative teams involved in the action research are likely to identify their own "status" with one, some or even all the cultural patterns, as they actually highlight different aspects of their engagement with the processes. We will report now on the ways the DIOP and BipZip teams have received and negotiated meanings in the feedback, accordingly scheduled in the action research plan. In the hands of the researcher, actors are neither framed as "objects" nor as passive subjects. When psychosociology emphasizes the "active" role of staff/subjects for the feedback, it implies creating a space that subjects can use for their thoughts to go through, in response to the interpretive hypotheses. Once the collected findings from the observation of both internal and external meetings of the teams, as well as analyzed and interpreted interviews with their members are completed, the feedback designs the possibility for the subjects to propose new acknowledged visions on their experiences (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). Such interaction, played at the level of the deep, shared psychological instances constructed through CPs, can elicit the configuration of insights for the development of the processes and the cultural reform of public administration.

We have organized the feedback meetings on 6th of May 2013 with the DIOP and on the 7th with the BipZip team. As for the DIOP, the setting for the feedback was a hall of the Municipality of Lisbon, which contained a big screen where we had the chance to play a digital slideshow concerning: (1) the steps taken together; (2) summarized details about the methodological process; and (3) the interpretive hypotheses concerning CPs. The team manager and almost all of the members took part in the meeting, while some civil servants missed it due to: (1) health reasons; (2) commitments in the form of other meetings; (3) displacement to other administrative units (two members: one working for communication and the other one working for data analysis). As for the latter, the 2013 DIOP has changed its composition as regards the PB and A21 members: one has been absent from the workplace for a long period due to health reasons; two have changed DIOP areas, substituted by two new members. In relation to the feedback with the BipZip team, the setting provided by the manager was a room within the open space office of the team. Sitting on chairs around a big table, we used a laptop to present a digital slideshow concerning: (1) the steps taken together; (2) summarized details about the methodological process; and (3) the interpretive hypotheses concerning CPs. The team has also undergone some changes in terms of the composition of officials, by the addition of two civil servants

who are experts in the architecture and interior design areas. Lastly, as a final commitment of the action research, we sent the presentation file to the two teams, as well as to the respective city councilwomen, opening up possible further actions to be undertaken for the development of the processes.

6.1. The feedback with DIOP

The spatial disposition may not have been the most interactive setting for the feedback phase. The feeling has been rather, that of presenting outcomes "outside" of their implications. The emotional difficulty experienced in sharing the interpretive hypotheses has been evident in the relatively icy reaction, as well as in some disappointed claims regarding theoretical assumptions of the action research. One of the claims has referred to the limited sociological character of the research; a second claim has gone deeper and found there to be "not enough" psychological psychology because it was not regarded as a study of personal motivation and commitment. Such "un-recognition" can be read as the result of the ambivalent character of our relationship, balanced between personal sympathy and professional skills. In the feedback meeting, professional skills represented an obstacle in terms of "otherness" impacting the "system of belonging". The feeling of distance between the DIOP members and I has produced some difficulties in abstracting interpretive hypotheses as indicators of shared cultural instances. As a result, some of the hypotheses have been taken as referring to some concrete situation, i.e. making the concepts adhere to the reality with few chances of seeing their character of "transversality". This point is fundamental for this type of psychological work because when subjects decide, "things are like that" it is hard to see beyond what is taken for granted, and subjects are likely to sit outside of the setting. This powerful attitude toward the "other" can even drift into a subtle aggressive reaction towards proposals concerning self-reflection. In delegitimizing the theoretical pillars of the action research, another aggressive attitude could be that of projecting aggressiveness itself: is the researcher trying to evaluate the way we work? At the same time, if the researcher is not evaluating, what is he actually doing?

This feedback meeting represented the opportunity for team members to experience the strength of sense of belonging. When roles become the key feature through which civil servants construct narrow identities, it is necessary to open spaces of new "thinkability" concerning what has been psychologically reified or even denied. Emotional distance does

not allow subjects to react to the objects of discussion, but rather to concentrate on the (de)legitimization of the "other", as if it were the real issue. Finally, DIOP members have pointed to CP1 and CP3 as the Clusters they have felt more immediately concerned with in their work. As for CP4, it has been "liquidated" as exclusively "belonging" to BZ; whereas CP2 has been interestingly considered as a generator of confusion.

6.2. The feedback with BZ team

The practical conditions of the setting for this feedback may have helped produce a different interaction among the officials as well with the researcher. As a first consideration, it implies that subjects have positioned themselves as active interlocutors about outcomes regarding their own functions and identities, played within the administrative context. In this case, we have had the chance to turn the presentation into a dialogue enacting lively exchanges of ideas aimed at understanding the horizons of the interpretive hypotheses. In these terms they have not only commented on each CP so as to find out their "truths", but have also legitimized themselves to take it as a product of their commitment to the action research.

CP1 has been firstly connected to new conceptions of organizational models. Neither vertical nor horizontal structures can exhaustively explain the necessities emerging when developing participatory processes: it is not a matter of choosing which the best option is, but rather to point out the hybrid conditions their functions are played within. In recognizing the indispensability of the work of the team, BipZip members highlight the tense games at the administrative level aimed at solving bureaucratic bounds and impasses. By working for the creation and strengthening of interdepartmental connections, the question refers less to the types of "organizational chart", but rather to the agreement existing (or not) among the parts about models of working together. Furthermore, at the political level they might suffer the situation of being set within very "defined" lines of rule due to the nature of participatory processes, stemming from specific political intentions. In recognizing the vertical connection between politicians and civil servants as the basic way for public administration to work, there is the necessity to be supported by more adequate administrative networks that could solve the "isolation" of the processes relying solely on political willingness.

CP2 is seen as the other face of this question. If the point entails the overall provision of cultural and organizational instruments for public administration to support participatory processes, the emphasis must go on the availability of using either theoretical models or best practices as instruments of reference for problem solving. BipZip members concentrate on the continuous risk of feeling outside the process whenever indications are experienced as an "interference" to their work, because perceived as a mistrust of their skills. The emotional "absence" of the civil servants in the CP2 has called upon the ways such exclusion could result from methodological arrangements or being produced by the defensive feelings of the civil servants. In summarizing then, are participatory processes designed so as to allow civil servants to feel part of them? By being "political projects", such processes can rely on some "preferential" ways to be worked out, though it also implies the undefined administrative network in which they are settled. However, it is likely to generate some pressure when compared with standard administrative processes. As a result, the political dimension ends up being assumed by civil servants. Their exposure to participatory processes cannot help but be related to the general status of political crises, in terms of the legitimization of political institutions as suggested by the CP3. At this point, BipZip officials start to question what a global crisis could mean for the relationship between State and society, and to what extent the State is likely to carry out either centralized or decentralized reforms. What sort of consequences can the different options carry with them? What kinds of societal dynamics are more likely to react? And what kind of current mobilization are they facing? Is it less, is it more or is it essentially different form the mobilizations experienced in the last few decades? In conclusion, they agree about the need for analysis of the social textures within the territories where participatory processes are based.

The latter question has been at the center of the reflection concerning the CP4: the necessity of understanding the territory as a multiple converging sets of demands. Participatory processes aimed at both involving and including the whole society should take into account the different positions from which people can access and use their voices. As for BZ, it means not reducing the work to "emergency" cases, to be solved to the detriment of integrated visions of the urban context. They defend how since the very beginning they have been confronted with the dimension of urgency and crisis. In this sense, the very first choice has been renaming "critical" as "priority" areas, in order to

deconstruct possible bias intertwined with reified ideas of marginalization. In emphasizing the dimension of priority, the goal has been that of paying attention to the role of the local government, implying at a more general level, the ways participatory processes can either take charge or aim to make actors co-responsible for territorial development. Participation cannot be meant as mere provision of decision-making power. It should rather promote activities so as to activate citizens.

FIFTH PART – DEVELOPING CHANGE

Em cada esquina, um amigo
Em cada rosto, igualdade

Zeca Afonso, Grândola Vila Morena

In this conclusive Part, we intend to collect the interpretive hypotheses elaborated throughout the Thesis in order to draw four comprehensive indicators of organizational development in accordance with the ISO methodology (see attachment: Methodology). The development refers to participatory processes when considered as organizational devices and implemented through specific political visions of governance. In this sense, we are assuming that Indicators of Development (IDs) may play a threefold function (Fig. 13). Indeed, we are concluding the action research with the four participatory processes observed and analyzed in the Municipality of Lisbon. They represent the final outcome of the place-based scientific experience addressed to provide guidelines for future development. We are also assuming the case study and fieldwork as gateway experiences which suggest cultural issues that are potentially in common with other administrative realities. Therefore, IDs are likely to represent a source of reflection for other cases. Finally, we are aware of the limited character of the exploration carried out in the Municipality of Lisbon and, despite recognizing its potentiality as described in the previous point, we intend to use the indicators as a "start-up" for further action research, as will be argued further. We show it in synthesis in the Fig. 13:

Figure 13 - The threefold function of the IDs
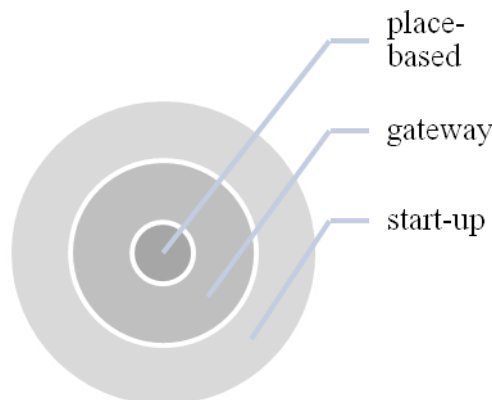
We will refer to the previous Chapter for concerning the outcomes of the EAT, in order to integrate the CPs with the findings of the whole empirical experience carried out with the Municipality of Lisbon. Such an overview will be complemented by the multiple and resourceful theoretical proposals and debates that have framed our work, purposely articulated in the first three parts. Hence, by passing through theoretical views produced in various scientific fields and concerning the complex set of issues highlighted in this work, we will systematically:

- adopt a psychosociological perspective on the organizational dynamics of public administrations brought out by participatory processes (see: Chapters I and II).
- take into account the challenges of the broad political context in terms of new democratic tools for policymaking (see: Chapters III and IV).
- deepen perspectives on the role of civil servants employed in participatory processes as subjects of analysis and reflection for multiple changes (see: Chapters V and VI).

We recognize the Municipality of Lisbon as a key experience in the field of participatory studies (see: Chapter VII). With the executive power engaged in a varied set of participatory processes, supported by a lively co-presence of political commitments, methodological architectures and administrative engagement, we have pointed out how the transforming scenario of this Local Administration should be analyzed by, and rely on the analysis of the construction of multiple relationships. This involves considering the intertwining relationship that participatory interactions entertain with the system of rules set up by political and administrative systems. Accordingly, when called upon to express their experience with participation, interviewees have actually referred to the expression of this context articulated as: (1) the political and administrative system implementing municipal policies alongside participatory processes (this relates to all of the subjects of the action research); (2) membership to a team working with participation (empirically for DIOP and BZ members); (3) professional engagement as an area of emotional investment in connection with other actors. As a matter of fact, at this point of the analysis we can see the clear correspondence between these themes and the areas of theoretical debate provided in the first three parts of the Thesis as showed in the Fig. 14:

Figure 14 - The threefold articulation of the system and correspondences within the structure of the Thesis
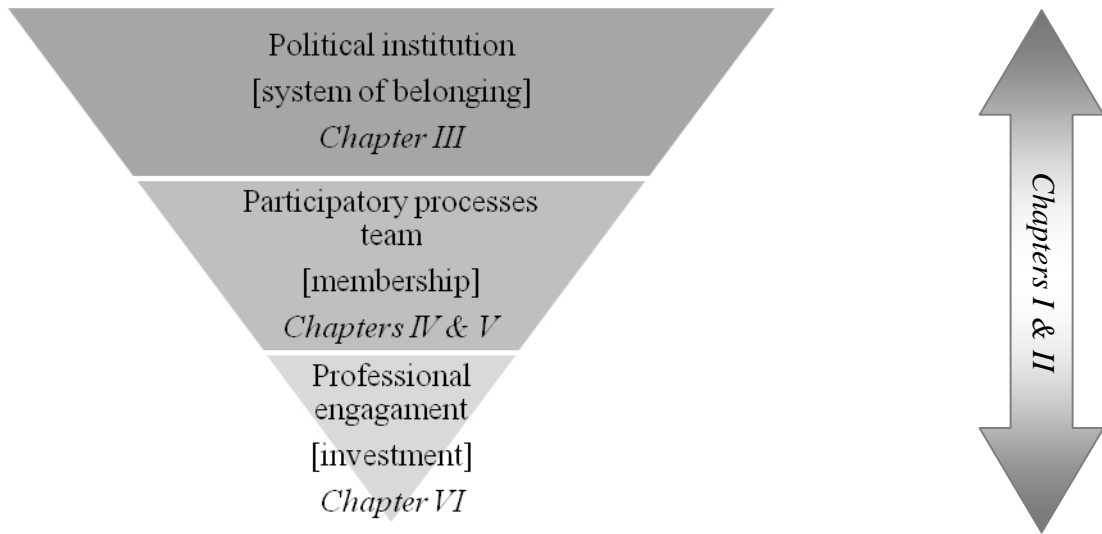
In being demanded to both implement new back-office functions in potential discontinuity with their lifelong careers, and to employ new frontline skills with participants, civil servants are inherently settled within a context where the interaction between organizational and political rationales, makes the tension between models concerning vertical lines of rule and horizontal interdepartmental networks emerge. The tension between "tradition" and "innovation" that stems from the enactment of participatory processes when undergoing new functions cannot help but be considered within crossing vertical and horizontal models of working. This point makes clear the reasons why we have chosen to begin by reflecting on the wide political context in which democratic regimes currently sit, so as to better understand what challenges are actually on the tables of public administrations. When deciding to implement interactive policymaking processes, public administrations receive complex demands and formulate a necessity of change at once. The question is what this change is potentially made of. Once change is assumed as not predetermined, but rather as co-constructed by the actors sharing the same system of belonging, as extensively argued in the First Part, as well as promoted at the normative level in compliance with political intentions, our scientific commitment is to understand, analyze and finally interpret the change. That is the reason why in scientific terms and for our purposes, change is not sufficient *per se*. Along these lines, we have tried to accomplish the aspect of "research" with the four participatory processes of Lisbon (see: Fourth Part) and what we intend to do now is to give voice, open access, and set

comprehensive considerations concerning the aspect of "action". In other words, once we have analyzed and interpreted the characters of the change sought through participation, we are more specifically committed with its development, involving: (1) political and administrative systems in terms of sense of belonging; (2) participatory policymaking processes in terms of the membership of teams governed by specific rules of the game; (3) professional engagement in terms of civil servants' emotional investment, inherently in relation to the dimension of "otherness" (see also: Carli and Paniccia, 2003)[162].

The development of the change is the core challenge for public administrations whose aim is to set in place change, and finding ways to develop these changes is the final purpose of our action research. We conclude this exploratory work aware that this field of investigation needs to be improved and more broadly discussed. Our work and its outcomes represent hopefully, a contribution for new reflections, studies and debates.

---

[162] The model "Sense of belonging / Rules of the game / Otherness" (Carli and Paniccia, 2003) has already been used in the previous chapter for the interpretation of the CPs. We are now basing our methodological proposal on reading the four IDs through the articulation of the three elements, in terms of administrative system, team membership and relationships generated by models of professional engagement.

Chapter X - The Indicators of Development

1. Outline

Gathering findings, recollecting interpretive hypotheses and making reference to the theoretical paths opened throughout the Thesis, is the specific goal of this last Chapter. The process of knowledge undergone with the four participatory processes of Lisbon opens up profound questions of meaning, and demands comprehensive reflections in order to: (1) effectively conclude the action research aimed at developing the processes within local administration; (2) suggest common issues elaborated by other political/administrative contexts; (3) open up to further applications based on these outcomes (see: Fig.1). As a matter of fact, the process of knowledge is neverending. Consistent with our theoretical and methodological perspective, it implies staying with the problems and trying to suggest ways to deal with them by setting specific models of action/ research (see attachment: Methodology). In order to start understanding the change, and before outlining possible IDs, we analyzed first the dynamics constructed within the relationships and secondly, proposed interpretive hypotheses of reading. In this sense, we have shone a light on the relevance of methodologies concerned with providing interpretive keys, in order to understand social and organizational environments. As a result, we are neither concerned with assessing the quality of the participatory processes, nor with judging the good or bad intentions of the city councilwomen, nor even with evaluating the overall experience of participation in the city. Rather, we are interested in making questions emerge and providing points of view on the development of the contexts in analysis. In other words, the following IDs are not concerned with proposing "best models for participation", but rather providing comprehensive indicators about the questions considered as relevant for the development of the processes. We are actually aiming to put additional emphasis and making further sense of the studied relationships.

The following IDs take the four CPs that emerged from the EAT (see: Chapter IX) as a basis for deepening the interpretive hypotheses drawn out hitherto. The references to authors, debates and reflections structured in the previous chapters aim to configure indicators that can open areas of reflection about possible development of the participatory

processes[163]. In this sense we have articulated a correspondence between: (1) the vision of change entailing the whole administrative system; (2) the function of participatory processes carried out by the administrative teams; (3) the type of relationships set through the engagement of the civil servants. In the Table 22, we sum up the three themes by making reference to interpretive categories detailed in the next paragraphs.

Table 22 - Three themes and interpretive categories of the four IDs

	ID1	ID2	ID3	ID4
Belonging: what change?	Tridimensional	Re-inversion	Critical	Democratic
Membership: what function?	Seismic	Realistic	Political	Karst
Engagement: what relationships?	Internal client	Insider	Co-responsible discretion	Empathic commitment

elaborated by the author of the Thesis

2. Indicator of Development 1

The first ID identifies participation as an opportunity to make public administration reflect profoundly on its mechanisms, devices and structure. Participation plays a perturbing role aimed at establishing some degree of confusion in the "organizational chart": which roles, which functions, which relations are supposed to govern the interaction with new actors of policymaking? The element of "otherness" is introduced in the imaged *status quo* planned in both organizational and cultural terms, as a potential generator of anxiety, for the very nature of public administrations is so intimately related to bureaucratic models. As a result, civil servants see the potentialities of change, though referring to them through a "two-dimensional vision", probably due to the necessity of

---

[163] In this respect, we will also mention small parts of the interviews carried out with the civil servants engaged with the four participatory processes. Each quote will be identified by CS (Civil Servant) and a number which identifies the interview in a numbered list owned by the author of this text, which is not publicized in accordance with the agreement about the ethics of privacy of the action research.

framing it within "familiar scenarios" and therefore, making change a not-too-threatening object in psychological terms. Nevertheless, if change brought about by participation was left to go through organizational relationships, it would probably have the effect of destabilizing the "plan", and metaphorically transforming it into a "three-dimensional" perspective on development. The force of participation could have a "seismic" function in this ID and be likely to open up new scenarios when sustained by a diffuse reflection on its meanings and impact. Otherwise, mythical imaginaries and collective dynamics of resistance are likely to become the outcome of the change itself.

2.1. System of belonging: the tridimensional change

Public administration is committed to firstly thinking about and applying change with regard to internal organization. In this sense, the ID combines the sense of belonging towards the administrative system and the concern with the rules of the game governing personnel's internal relationships (see: First and Second Factors, Chapter IX). Indeed, participatory processes demand the (re)organization of administrative levels, systems and connections in order to sustain their implementation. The question is crucial, inasmuch as it reveals what type and degree of change is conceived in terms of public service (see: Normann, 2004). As argued by CS5 "*só mesmo quem tem de falar com diversas unidades que vai vendo o quão difícil é a participação interna e tem que dar volta à imaginação de como ir para as outras pessoas participarem daquele programa que acha que é importante*" (tr_pt_21). Hence, the point is not to imagine new models of organization, but rather to make the vertical and horizontal ways of working consistent with the new exigencies of effectiveness demanded by new policymaking. Carli and Paniccia (1981) highlight the difference between acting moved by "affiliation/power" and "realization/otherness", as likely to make organizations emancipate themselves from self-referential to "function of client-oriented" strategies. The relevance of considering the cultural factors is testified by the non-coincidence between normative intentions and actual accomplishment, possibly deriving from or resulting into forms of resistance (see: Argyris, 1976, 1994; Jaques, 1976; Kaës *et al.*, 1998). The change does not rely on the organizational chart (and its reproduction), but on new agreements between the administrative units that could metaphorically transform the plan into a three-dimensional

change. In political terms, the "revision" of the ways power is publically managed does not necessarily imply its "horizontal coordination" since the proper exposition of power can still reproduce top-down connections (see: Kets de Vries, 1993; Quaglino, 1996, Bobbio, 2011). The necessity to check competences and possible connections implies "meta-working" on the proper State rationale demanded to play a different role with society. Therefore, general reforms of public administrations have to be interpreted in connection with the attempts of modernization in response to local and global claims and pressures (Majone, 1994; Rondinelli, 2007). As a matter of fact, reforms could "easily" reproduce the neverending bureaucratic ideal of well-conformed bureaucrats responding to constraining top-down political intentions (Mozzicafreddo, 2011a; Mozzicafreddo and Gouveia, 2011). When looking at the internal dynamics enacted through reforms, we should understand whether they are really tackling the complex effort of reframing public service and compelling profound reflection on public administration's cultures.

2.2. Team membership: the seismic function

With regard to administrative teams working with interactive policymaking processes, the question is: does participation manage to mobilize, destabilize and eventually open up new scenarios for public administration? At the level of design and implementation, we should look at the forms in which these processes are conceived in connection with the whole administrative architecture, as well as at the ways they either produce new models of work or reproduce "familiar" schemes. In these terms, we should also pay attention to the ways political institutions normatively frame participatory processes: what degrees of flexibility and margins of maneuver are provided for interaction and decision-making (see: appendixes PB Principles' Chart and BZ Chart)? The change promoted through participation could also set mutual obstruction, preventing and possibly boycotting the realization of the processes themselves from the inside (see: Navarro *et al.*, 2006). And even where participatory processes take place, they could persist in leaving the citizen "outside" in terms of an endogenous reception of demand, for example if participants were beneficiaries of some new political "good intention" (see: Cornwall, 2001; Della Porta, 2011). When we understand where participation is placed in the administration and its methodological characteristics, we are likely to understand where

participation is placed in the mind of the political institution. In psychoanalytical terms, the connections between internal and external world are deeply embedded within dynamics of projection (see: Chapter I). In these terms, the myths that found the organizational working models could play a relevant role in the configuration of participation with the otherness (see: Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian, 2011). When participation manages to "seismically" impact on the whole organizational system, then change could assume the form of "participatory modernization" for public administration (see: Sintomer *et al*., 2005). As stated by CS20, "*isto significa de facto deixar de ter a estrutura assim mas passar a ter uma estrutura que sendo assim, é atravessada em todas as formas efetivas por processos de inovação e portanto as pessoas estão dentro e estão fora e de acordo com a matéria, a natureza dos temas são trabalhadas com a comunidade*"(tr_pt_22).

2.3. Professional engagement: the internal client

The interaction with non-governmental actors for policymaking has been broadly interpreted as the biggest challenge for current democratic regimes (see: Rhodes, 1996; Schmidt, 2006; Peters and Pierre, 2007, 2012). The inclusion of participatory procedures and devices does not only require a redefinition of who the "subjects out there" are, but also a change in how civil servants see themselves and their responsibilities, in terms of functions, purposes, and legitimacy of their actions (see: Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007). In this sense, the ID1 puts a big emphasis on the importance of the internal client for the implementation of change and the pursuit of development. The question then is how the "function of client" is experienced by civil servants when engaged with participation, and why it represents such a relevant issue for them (see: First Factor and outcomes from the film of 2010 PB facilitators' analysis, Chapter IX). It seems that such concern reveals the gradual assumption of a change that, although still framed within "familiar" categories, also indicates new potential courses. It could be due to a structured self-image that, as argued by Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2006a, 2006b), makes civil servants engaged with street-level functions rarely describe themselves as policymakers, decision-makers or even government workers. It could also be due to the ways political intentions succeed in rendering civil servants as part of the change. In this respect, Kaneklin and Olivetti Manoukian (2011) have interestingly stressed the difference between "being part" and "taking part", in terms of owning a position and being recognized in change. Making civil

servants take part means opening a space for negotiation and reformulation of identities. When this space is not provided, civil servants are likely to experience distance and feelings of frustration towards the political projects sustaining the processes, even if they are part of them. As stated by CS6 "*não consigo definir nem tentar, nos técnicos é muito difícil para vermos e investirmos num caminho qualquer. É muito difícil porque muda o presidente, muda a cor politica e tudo acaba e começa de novo*" (tr_pt_23). In these terms, we should look at the ways team making is politically framed, supported and made part of the change (see also: Brainstorming outcomes for 2012 PB, Chapter IX). In the case of Lisbon, it means understanding the ways local administration reform has impacted differently on the formation of the two teams and the dynamics generated by that. In one case, the character of discontinuity has probably strengthened the need for well defined and inclusive/exclusive sense of belonging, even when inspired by a "stimulant" otherness (see: The participatory assembly with foreigners, Chapter VIII). In another case, the continuity in terms of function has permitted to transformation of the otherness in professional terms, i.e. recognizing the outside as non-threatening for their identity (see: The feedback meetings, Chapter IX). As summed up by CS13 "*a restruturação que teve o ano passado teve muitas vantagens e muitas desvantagens. A vantagem foi que as pessoas já estavam habituadas a trabalhar naquele posto da fábrica, no fundo esta é uma fábrica em que um põe o selo, outro escreve, outro mete o envelope. Mudou. A desvantagem foi que se perderam os contactos de como isso funcionava. Nós temos de saber onde é que estão os contactos para irmos diretos aos assuntos. É difícil nos chegarmos ao organigrama e dizermos o que é que queremos, onde é que isto está*" (tr_pt_24).

3. Indicator of Development 2

The second ID sets out the imaginary of participation where the encountering of individuals is planned and regulated through problem solving practices. In this sense, variability stemming from the encountering itself, such as strategies and conflicts, are seen as under control. It may be due to its concern with unpredictability that participation ends up being caught within a framework of best-practice, "rational choice" principles, i.e. decision-makers first empirically assume the existence of a problem and then formulate goals for the optimal solution after determining the consequences and probabilities of

alternative means (costs and benefits). In this sense, the ID emphasizes the omnipotence of the belief that social relationships could be regulated through rational and antagonistic patterns of behavior. It also highlights the emotion of impotence of civil servants seeing themselves delegating their skills in managing real situations, to the advantage of abstract models of working. However, reality itself puts public administration before complex demands articulated through participatory processes, creating an interesting tension. As a result, the ID shows the way towards reformulated conceptions of participation when taking in charge the very construction of the process, before concentrating on the "best outcomes".

3.1. System of belonging: the re-inversion of change

The relationship between citizen and political institutions has often come to be inverted and perverted in terms of demand/supply. When the expertise aims to contain demands within self-referential frameworks – in terms of contents, language or even intentions – then it cannot be considered as serving someone else, but rather reproducing its power. On the other hand, the "elimination" of the expertise and the mythical rise of "non-expert" knowledge (see: Sintomer, 2010) seems to make clear the basic question concerning how to improve function of client-oriented skills in public administrations. For the very nature of the public organization, this point is particularly crucial, since it implies reconfiguring the distribution of power in decision-making. As stated by CS16 "*nós trabalhamos em função de interesses e logicamente temos de ver também os interesses dos cidadãos mas também defendemos muito os interesses da Instituição pela qual trabalhamos e os projetos que estamos a desenvolver de momento muitas vezes não são compatíveis com o que o cidadão pretende*" (tr_pt_25). When public administration does not manage to articulate the multiple interests on the table – including those of the political institution itself (see: Lindblom and Woodhouse, 1993) – a possible outcome could be the overestimation of the "power of decision-making" to be given to the highest number of participants, as the sole criterion of effectiveness. Nevertheless, when decision-making is not sustained by actions aimed at sharing responsibility and improving citizens' involvement in political life, participation is likely to be still a too cautious action. As clearly stated by CS17 "*não há uma continuidade, as pessoas não percebem porque é que*

279

dão essa ideia, desta ideia agora recebo este dinheiro para alguém desenvolver esta minha ideia e ficam com esse louro, ficou o louro o premio e teve a ideia sou um idiota e acabou. Depois não há um envolvimento, não há uma continuação. A meu ver enquanto este salto não for dado a participação vai ficar sempre como um conceito gasoso. Tudo o que é gasoso, despuma-se e desaparece e não fica na pele" (tr_pt_26). Civil servants see a risk of reproducing strict bureaucratic models with participation, because when aiming at "re-inverting" changes, they come to be placed in-between tradition and innovation, compelling a complex revision of their identity at work (see: Sainsaulieu, 1988). They recognize the "borderlines" of their systems of action when recognizing participatory spaces as physically "outside" local administration, though politically "inside" its control (see: Film of 2010 PB facilitators' analysis, Chapter IX). This metaphorical "spatiality" of participation informs the process of either internalization or externalization of the definition of social interests and identities (Della Porta, 2011). The narrow "normalization" of variability and unpredictability of participation within compact institutional structures, raises questions about the "quantity" of participants and "quality" of participation (see: Farrington and Bebbington, 1993; Fischer, 2006).

3.2. Team membership: the realistic function

When power inverts the connection between external demand and internal expertise, technical arrangements aim to provide the right answers, instead of being self-reflectively at the service of the otherness. The result of this, as with participation, could be an emphasis on power of decision provided to participants by leaving the policymaking process unaltered (see: Film of 2010 PB facilitators' analysis and Brainstorming outcomes for 2012 PB, Chapter IX). Indeed, when conceiving policymaking as not merely implementation, but rather as a "political" action (see: Chapter VI), we understand that decision-making is one part of the complex game of policymaking. In this sense, the development of deliberative mechanisms within participatory processes has become one of the most debated issues in the scientific field because it highlights questions related to power distribution and opportunities for change (see: Bobbio, 2006; Ganuza, 2011a). Once participation is aimed at making people participate, agonistic interaction seems to be the most verisimilar pattern of behavior (see: Moscovici and Doise 1992; Laclau and Mouffe,

2001). When, on the contrary, participation is almost exclusively addressed to show the "best outcomes" without understanding that it is the debate about the rules of the game which is part of the game itself, the idiosyncrasy of narrow representative democracy mechanisms are likely to be reproduced in participatory settings. Contradictions and mismatches between the "theory" and "reality" of participation are likely to emerge when adopting simplistic visions of its complexity aimed at hiding or displacing problems. When expressing both socio-centric – by promoting abstract equality for citizens – and egocentric attitudes – by responding to particular interests – it becomes easy to conceal intentions of maintenance of the *status quo* (see: Ruivo *et al*., 2011). This is the reason why the claim for more "power to the people" must be approached critically, in order to see the realistic margins of debate over the rules of the participatory game. When the space for participation is emptied of its political character and fulfilled with the anomic dynamics set by one-to-one proposal-making, the "consumer of participation" is taken to concentrating on the outcomes by concealing the relevance of the process. However, the de-politicization of citizen participation and the de-responsibilization of participants, as for the whole cycle of policymaking opens a "paradox": if it is merely outcomes that matter, one could question whether political institutions are not responsible with or without participation to both execute and implement policies and interventions for their political mandate. In other words, the meaning of participation ends up being questioned. In this respect, CS8 says, "*a Câmara tem obrigação de fazer manutenção desses serviços e portanto entra-se um bocadinho no espaço, no quadradinho em que cada um mora e cada um quer as suas melhorias independentemente dos outros*" (tr_pt_27).

3.3. Professional engagement: the insider

Civil servants point out the tensions emerging when participation is not conceived as a space for profound reflection over the proper rules of the game. And they do it by referring to their "in-between" experience, risking being a sort of "bi-polar" condition when not seeing a correspondence between theory and reality, principles and outcomes, theories-of-action and theories-in-use (Argyris and Schön, 1974). In terms of the internal context, it implies recognizing the discrepancy between innovative ways of working for public service, and the overall traditional machinery. CS20 argues, "*a maior luta não é vender*

ideias ao cidadão, é vender ideias internamente" (tr_pt_28) and CS25 adds "*no front office temos de vender aquela ideia que é o melhor produto que nos temos, e no back office é para chatear os nossos colegas para que a nossa cara não fique machada*" (tr_pt_29). When the system of belonging is not perceived as sustaining the change they have been demanded to manage, civil servants are likely to feel isolated. The methodological design of the participatory process could be aimed at taking them outside, by requiring them to be responsible for effective implementation (see: Feedback with BipZip team, Chapter IX). The vision of civil servants as mere executors cannot help but create a biased perspective of the real resources and impacts of administrative engagement in implementing processes. If "at the mercy" of all-inclusive formats designed to sponsor "power to the people", they could feel that their skills are placed behind the scenes. Moreover, if psychologically embodying the accusation of inverted relation between political institutions and citizens, as argued in the previous paragraphs, civil servants could feel their contribution is nullified by generalized skepticism and mistrust (see: Brainstorming outcomes for 2012 PB, Chapter IX). When participation does not allow the civil servants to apply their skills and feel like "insiders", abstract models of participation could imply a disinvestment in their involvement, learning and training (see: Olivetti Manoukian, 2007). The frustration originating from potential self-commitment to change and the feeling of neverending reproduction of "castrating" bureaucratic rationale, represents a central question of this ID.

4. Indicator of Development 3

Participation is seen as one of the political devices aimed at rendering the State "public". As a result, not only politicians with their representative mandate, but also civil servants with their career mandate are demanded to expose their "faces". Such a situation is at the centre of their reflection and it seems to worry them in terms of the mistrusted political institution. Indeed, public administration's and therefore civil servants' legitimacy at work depends on the overall legitimization of the political institution, and *vice versa*. We can see that there exists a complex network of relationships grounding the proper legitimacy of participation, when framed within the whole commitment of political institutions in new governance actions aimed at strengthening or even recovering citizens' trust. The ID makes it clear: these relationships are not to be treated as separate, but rather it is necessary to think about their reciprocal and mutual influence within a systemic vision

of participation. In this way, we could gather the elements of both horizontal and vertical working, as well as the interactions within public administrations and between political institutions and society, towards new paths of development.

4.1. System of belonging: the critical change

Participatory processes differ from ordinary administrative work, not only in terms of bureaucratic procedures, but firstly because they originate from an exposed political willingness and intention. Such a condition makes these processes particularly reliable on political connections and demands and, as a result, the distinction between policy as political input and implementation as administrative outcome becomes blurred, because civil servants are directly called upon to assume new responsibilities for the enhancement of democratic citizenship (Lindblom, 1993; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007). This special "status" could provide participatory processes with "easier" ways to solve policy impasses in the middle of the bureaucratic passages, and strengthen some form of top-down dependency on the political power (see: Feedback with BipZip team, Chapter IX). As a matter of fact, while civil servants and team managers are more "politicized" and potentially given more discretion, they are also likely to be more controlled by the elected officials (see: Aberman and Rockman, 1998; Peters and Pierre, 2004). In this sense, when looking at the way these processes are implemented, we should first consider the overall political project which is the basis of the administrative "whereabouts" of participation and therefore, the specific sets of connections between the processes and the political representatives. One of the possible finding could be, for instance, the rhetoric of changing everything and the intention of changing anything at all (see: Ganuza, 2012). When the overall apparatus remains almost identical to what it had been hitherto, possible mismatches between participation demands and political institutions' supply could become evident. What type of interdepartmental connections and what degree of shared cultural involvement exist for their implementation? Is there any attempt to make participation a transversal policy for public administration, or is it rather confined to sector policymaking dependent on circumscribed political projects? In other words, we should look at the overall intention to change public administration and the ways participatory processes are implemented, to understand what sort of "systems of actions" are actually endeavoring

change (see: Lewin, 1948; Crozier and Friedberg, 1981). In these terms, the system of belonging is called upon to sustain participatory processes as democratic tools owning a high potential of broader internal reform too (see: Film of 2010 PB facilitators' analysis and Brainstorming outcomes for 2012 PB, Chapter IX). The perception of mistrust towards political institutions makes the civil servants from the Municipality of Lisbon worry about the negative impacts of the pervasive crisis (see: Freire, 2004, Jalali, 2005; Costa Pinto et al., 2010; Costa Pinto, 2011). A Crisis that in compelling the "promises" those democratic regimes have not maintained so far, ends up impacting on the collective reference to common institutions and political parties as effective intermediating agencies (Pagés *et al.*, 1998; Norris, 1999; Bobbio, 2011). As stated by CS27, "*as pessoas estão fartas do politiques ou seja não veem os seus representantes hoje a olhar para a resolução dos seus problemas. Eu falo por mim, não vejo e não me revejo em qualquer dos dirigentes, eu tenho votado mas não me revejo, é um vazio*" (tr_pt_30). At the same time, the civil servants also see the crisis as a possible turning point for new paths of changes. As stated by CS12, "*por um lado as pessoas estão muito em baixo porque de facto é complicado, mas por outro lado pode puxar possibilidades, juntam-se, aprendem a fazer coisas e para poder ultrapassar, deste ponto de vista até penso que possa ser saudável se é que se pode dizer que uma crise possa ter uma perspetiva saudável*" (tr_pt_31).

4.2. Team membership: the political function

Participatory processes take in charge the wider responsibility of enhancing citizens' trust towards political institutions. When conceiving institutions as systemic networks of relationships that have an impact on the overall legitimacy of government, the effective implementation of participation becomes a key political issue, because it is inherently concerned with legitimizing new governance actions (see: March and Olsen, 1995; Olsen, 2005). As a result, political orders should put at the centre of broad political concern and place-based analysis the very variability of the social environment, in order to match democratic principles and demands of reality (see: Mouffe, 2000). The governments of pluralistic societies are not only based on internal networks, but are also required to cope with new complex systems of interactions that demand and potentially serve to increase the effectiveness of policies (Bobbio, 2005b). In saying this, the ID clearly frames

legitimization as not merely derived from trust on norms and rules (Weber 1947; 1978), but rather as relying on new opportunities and limits stemming from transforming scenarios. Hence, when thinking about the profound meanings of participation, we cannot help but think about the symbolical function of the State for society. The ways "ancestral ghosts" are regulated through representative mechanisms and, in consequence, the ways mutual identification through participation is collectively signified, leads potentially, to claims of equality and justice psychologically carrying ghosts of "State dissolution" arising (Enriquez, 2003; Kaës *et al*., 1998). The exposition of civil servants as symbolical bearers of the State in participatory processes must take into consideration this complex set of psychological factors that are like to play edgily with mutual identity recognition (see: Matte Blanco, 2000). For example, CS8 grasps it when says that "*o ser da DIOP ou o ser de outro serviço qualquer ao munícipe não interesse, ele é o funcionário da Câmara e portanto o trabalho dele de alguma forma mais direta ou mais indireta há-de se refletir no munícipe*" (tr_pt_32).

4.3. Professional engagement: the co-responsible discretion

The rules of the game established for the implementation of participatory processes cannot be understood without taking into account the political projects at their root, as well as the ways dynamics of power occur when multiple actors move onto the scene (see: Second and Third Factors, Chapter IX). Such rules of the game compel competences that do not merely refer to administrative performance in terms of effective policy implementation, but are rather connected with the skills to bridge the interests at stake. As a result, firstly managers, and then civil servants are demanded to assume some quota of political responsibility in these processes. This point calls upon the construction and evolution of the relationship between political and administrative parts, in ways that go beyond the "politicization" in terms of political affiliation, loyalty, and commitment to political representatives (see: Suleiman 2003; De Montricher, 2008). As stated by CS20: "*se os Executivos nas suas personalidades percebessem que o que têm verdadeiramente é ter uma equipa dirigente completamente alinhada com aquilo que é o programa de governo da cidade e deixassem espaço, criassem espaço na sua agenda para trabalhar com os dirigentes e pilotar de forma alinhada essas prioridades, teriam muitas mais*

vantagens em termos operacionais, teriam mais resultados para demonstrar e conseguiriam passar uma mensagem durante as épocas eleitorais aos cidadãos que não soasse demasiado a plástico" (tr_pt_33). The opportunity to seek compatibility between politicians and civil servants (see: Van der Meer and Frits, 2002) involves understanding political "discretion" as inherently concerned with the interplay of responsibilities. This "co-responsible discretion" compels, at a more general level, forms of agreement about the reciprocal commitment with new democratic tools, once civil servants are demanded to take on "participatory missions". Alongside this required institutional engagement, the contact with participants is likely to result in a more realistic vision coming "out" from the back-offices, when civil servants themselves are seen also as citizens exerting their citizenship (see: Cornwall 2001; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007; Carvalho Guerra, 2010). The result of this complex interaction has to be taken into scrupulous consideration when external agencies work both with and for the implementation of these processes, because it simultaneously frames and directs their actions. It is by setting reflective and self-reflective functions as legitimized elements of the process that the management of the course of action is likely to become meaningful (see: The participatory assembly with foreigners, Chapter VIII).

5. Indicator of Development 4

Participation is demanded to cope with issues related to integration that, in terms of governance, involve working towards social inclusion and development. The question is firstly, is this mission part of the participatory mission, and secondly, what are the possible ways to pursue the mission? Civil servants make reference to marginality as a matter of democratic systems and civil society enhancement. The fragmentation of society and the subsequent isolation of some sectors of society require us to critically approach the whole system and simultaneously intervene in urgent cases. As a result, the individual case should not substitute the integral vision of the territory and the overhead view should not end up reinforcing mainstream policies to the detriment of marginality. This point is directly dependent on the ways participation is worked out, i.e. it is the organization of the processes inside public administration that informs the visions and missions of participation. Indeed, participation can rely on either circumscribed political intentions or

broad political projects involving all of the actions of public service. In this sense, internal connections and relationships constructed towards implementation say something about the risk of isolation of the processes in the administrative apparatus.

5.1. System of belonging: the democratic change

Regulatory bureaucracies must structure new levels of flexibility and accountability when implementing participatory processes. "Tradition" and "innovation" match within new processes and agencies playing new rules of the policymaking game. As a result, different models of public organizations can sustain the administrative work transforming the connection among units and between elected and career officials (see: Mintzberg, 1987). The effort seems to be concerned with overtaking isolation at the institutional level, as well as the consideration of successful processes (best practice) as "islands of success". As evidenced by CS8, "*eu acho que esta casa sofre muito disto: há muita gente a fazer a mesma coisa em sítios diferentes, porque não se conhece aquilo que está a ser feito*" (tr_pt_34). Political institutions must be provided with sufficient flexibility and open-ended approaches, by opening the degree of participation and increasing inter-institutional collaboration (see: Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007). The capacity of public administration to identify and transform contingencies into innovations demands a vision of society that has the ability to take into account both individual cases and the overall territorial situation (see: Enriquez, 2008). Thus, the coordination of vertical lines of rule and horizontal networks for effective policymaking, calls upon the reconfiguration of broad governance missions and actions (see: Film of 2010 PB facilitators' analysis and Brainstorming outcomes for 2012 PB, Chapter IX). Civil servants see the relevance of internal coordination and integration as key issues for participatory processes. The transformations of public administration have to be read in connection with the challenges of democratic regimes, as well as with the commitment to enhancing quality of life, including that of the marginalized sectors, to provide measures and tools for an active society. CS29 puts it clearly when they argue that: "*a linguagem da Câmara é uma linguagem hermética muitas vezes propositadamente para não possibilitar grandes hipóteses das pessoas, se alguém diz alguma coisa mas como não diz naquela linguagem fica fora, portanto servir como*

ponte, poder fazer de tradutor de algumas coisas, sinalizador de outras, por um lado e por outro" (tr_pt_35).

5.2. Team membership: the 'karst' function

The ID highlights the commitment of participation in enhancing democratic principles through solving problems of social injustice. Towards this aim, it is by fostering collaborative interactions rather than competitive one-to-one relationships that participation is likely to accomplish this mission. Gathering people around the same object of debate – and possibly the same objective – means empowering actors before providing powers of decision-making (see: Freire, 1996; Cornwall 2001). The question is: do political institutions deal with society as recipient of confined actions aimed at solving some "urgency", or do they enact integrated long-term policies? Hence, on the one hand we can have processes working on single projects relying on circumscribed political intentions, and on the other hand, processes that even when working on single projects, are framed within an integrated political action of long-term governance strategies of the territory. In this respect, CS26 states, "*não vale a pena estarmos a recuperar um bairro ou um espaço público se não há sentido de pertença, para não ser no dia seguinte destruído, esbanjar dinheiro. Não havendo sentido de pertença, tem que haver ponto final*" (tr_pt_36). Though grounded in promoting the active role of participants as a way to provide power, the two visions inform the possible "karst function" of participation, whether it manages to have a pervasive impact in the administrative machinery or not. Power is thus imaged as the way through democratic life, not the objective *per se* of participation (see also: Gaventa, 2006; Schmidt, 2006). As a result, it is not the "quality" of participation, but rather the quality of integrated designs and effective results in terms of social activation that is the main concern of the ID. As stated by CS1, "*é importante haver uma articulação porque não devemos cair no extremo oposto, no exagero, todas as iniciativas de participação devem ser integradas ou pelo menos articuladas*" (tr_pt_37). In turn, the implementation of processes where the quality of the interaction is based on criteria of justice could require the articulation between open door and selective criteria, participatory and deliberative principles and mechanisms (see: Blondiaux and Sintomer, 2002; Ganuza and Francés, 2011a).

5.3. Professional engagement: the emphatic commitment

The ID shines a light on new actors playing roles of interest in participatory processes and having an impact on public administration that may generate new instances of coordination and integration (see: First Factor and Second Factor, Chapter VIII). With regard to the engagement of civil servants in this type of process, the demand of adjusting administrative work to new governance devices makes them play new roles within contested sites for policies. There is a call for new frontline work aimed at engaging marginalized groups in community resources for mutual beneficial outcomes between government and community (Durose, 2009, 2011). In this sense, civil servants are also demanded to capitalize on the situated and interactively constructed knowledge to the advantage of public service delivery (see: Leadbeater and Goss, 1998; Lowndes, 2005). The question is how to manage the borderlines that are supposed to be created when standard professionalism is to match degrees of discretion deriving from the nature of the participatory employment (see: Lipsky, 1980; Crozier and Friedberg, 1981). Civil servants express their in-between condition in terms of being simultaneously public administration officials and citizens, which is even likely to foster virtuous circles of empathy and human gratification (see: Film of 2010 PB facilitators' analysis, Chapter IX). Therefore, participation points out the limits of referring to strict bureaucratic rationale because it is rather the complex mission of interactive policymaking that civil servants are demanded to cross. As a result, it is neither by employing narrow technical nor "nullified" skills that engagement in participation can be worked out. Rather it is the combination, the coordination and the integration of these aspects within new functions that is the challenge as perceived by civil servants. When forms of "empathic commitment" become the point of junction of professional engagement with participation, civil servants are demanded to gather tradition and innovation. As expressed by CS28, **"*há uma participação que está condicionada, não um condicionar porque coitados, é um condicionar porque há especialistas para cada área. Eles têm que fazer um levantamento, precisam os técnicos mas depois têm que ter as pessoas certas para os aconselharem as coisas, nos pagamos para a consultoria e temos certos conhecimentos técnicos e há outra coisa que a gente não sabe*"** (tr_pt_38). In this sense, the rules of the game of participatory processes could have an impact on the whole administrative apparatus, so as to promote integrated political

visions of governance and provide civil servants with the adequate tools to reformulate their functions in public service delivery.

6. Future steps of the research

The conclusion of our action research has outlined four IDs where multiple issues have been synthesized, in connection with some primary bibliographical references that have been used throughout the text. In addition, we have also given some general references to the case study to which the IDs refer. The four IDs are conceived as a way in which to focus on the principal aspects that have emerged in the analysis, in order to potentially individuate future ways to develop experiences of change. The IDs are place-based, i.e. they respond to the specific action research worked out with the four participatory processes of the Municipality of Lisbon. However, we are convinced that the many questions opened up through this case study are likely to be experienced, either in total or in part, by other political institutions "struggling with" the design and implementation of interactive policymaking processes. In this sense we feel quite confident about placing the innovative method and results of our analysis in the scientific debate, so as to enhance the knowledge about potentialities and limits of new forms of organizing and delivering public service.

From these outcomes we see two possible interlaced actions that could be carried on in the future in compliance with Fig. 13: (1) place-based action research, i.e. it would imply the continuation of the action research with both political and administrative subjects involved in this research; (2) the second option is to use these outcomes to enlarge both the research and sample in order to construct new methodological steps. The definition of the IDs has functioned as the gateway to construct models of understanding the change occurring in public administrations that are implementing interactive policymaking processes. In this sense, we need to understand the case study not only through its "modes" of regulation and advancement, but also as a "model" valid at a more abstract level, and therefore relatively transferable[164]. Accordingly, we assume the use of models as

---

[164] In this respect, different criteria are used in order to assess validity in psychology, such as: (1) construct validity (operational measures corresponding to the theoretical assumptions); (2) internal validity (causal relations showing the co-conclusions of specific conditions); (3) external validity (the transferability of the

"applicable knowledge" (Argyris, 1991) in future steps of research concerning interactive programs at both the general level (e.g. public administration reforms) and policymaking processes. In saying this, by taking into account the relationships that interpretive hypotheses have to entertain with the characteristics of specific contexts, it could be possible to extend the field of study in terms of objects of study and subjects of analysis.

---

conclusions to other cases); (4) guarantee (the repetition of the operations bringing us to the same conclusions).

Conclusion

International, national and local scenarios present an increasing complexity in terms of governance, due to the multiple issues coming from society and pressures from political and financial entities. As a result, governments are demanded to provide new policy instruments which in turn, require a response to profound worldwide challenges to political and administrative rationales (Sousa Santos, 2006; Raadschelders *et al.*, 2007; Peters and Pierre, 2012). We have proposed a path through the dimensions of change in public administrations, by intercepting specific "symbolical objects" such as the implementation of new interactive policymaking processes that can be seen as one of the possible expressions of change in political institutions (Fischer and Forester, 2003; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007; Allegretti, 2013). Grounded on political intentions and being articulated through specific organizational models, the involvement of new actors requires political institutions to pursue effective goals of governance. The analysis of change has represented the *leitmotiv* of the Thesis, and the interpretive analysis of participatory processes, our scientific contribution towards its understanding. By looking specifically at participation as a varied set of initiatives that are committed worldwide to dealing with scenarios in transformation, we have taken into account the ways administrative personnel engaged with management and implementation of new interactive processes construct cultural meanings of participation itself. Indeed, the challenging and overlapping interaction between dimensions of tradition and innovation, involves setting new back-office and frontline functions within transforming organizational models, in compliance with changing political rationales. Such "in-between" conditions can be studied by psychosociology, when adopting methodologies that can integrate the observation of normative and organizational mutations with the expressed and unexpressed knowledge and know-how carried by civil servants, and signifying changes themselves.

In order to provide evidence of the plural contributions developed by different fields of study framing the interdisciplinary investigation, we committed the First Part to grounding our theoretical and methodological approach. By making reference to the contributions of psychosociology with regard to organizational contexts, and exploring the vivacious debates in the area of organizational studies, we gave special relevance to the

approaches concerning organizational cultures. The development of qualitative approaches aimed at analyzing cultural aspects of public administrations, is one of the results of the diffuse debate that in the last few decades, has particularly involved social sciences. In order to frame our reflection inside identifiable contexts, we proposed in the Second Part to focus on new democratic issues compelling political institutions and impacting on new conceptions of governance in Europe. Indeed, the widespread promotion of innovative policymaking processes can be considered within a multi-scale scenario questioning the very rules of the policymaking "games", and entailing the organizational and cultural dimensions of public administrations. When acknowledging the intertwined and profound ground in which participatory processes are set, we committed the Third Part to exploring the historical route and contextual application of participatory principles and devices in Europe, by highlighting different significations of change revealed when considering their interactions with administrative apparatuses. Hence, we have reflected on some features of participation and identified the interesting meanings of deliberative aspects for processes involving debates about the rules of the policymaking game. We have finally given relevance to the role played by civil servants when demanded to interact with new actors in managing and implementing participatory processes. We have stressed the importance of considering the changes concerning back-office and frontline functions, within new relations between organizational models and political intentions. Having defined the topic of our action research, we proposed the Fourth Part as our way to articulate a process of place-based knowledge, aimed at opening further questions and possibilities of research. This Part has been divided into three chapters committed to: exploring the Portuguese context and more specifically that of the city of Lisbon in terms of public administration changes; proposing a general overview of the participatory processes implemented by the Municipality of Lisbon and reporting our fieldwork carried out in 2012; presenting the action research based on the Methodology ISO *Indicatori di Sviluppo Organizzativo* ("Indicators of Organizational Development") with the civil servants engaged with four participatory processes of the Municipality of Lisbon: the Participatory Budget at its fifth edition; the process of administrative simplification and de-bureaucratization named Simplis; the first experience of Local Agenda 21 concerned with actions of environmental sustainability; the second edition of the BIPZIP program aimed at intervening in priority areas of the city ("Priority intervention neighborhoods and zones"). The action research

has taken advantage of our experience with some of these participatory processes from 2009, as testified by the establishment of the action research itself through membership to the project OPtar[165]. Furthermore, it has gained increasing complexity over the course of the Doctorate thanks to the lively scientific exchanges developed with some academic and counseling institutes, such as the Center for Social Studies in Portugal; the Latin America Center for Social Studies in Brazil; the Laboratory for Social Change in the Université Paris 7; the School of Psychosociology, the Studio RisorseObiettiviStrumenti, the Studio of Psychosociological Analysis, and the Department of Political Sciences of the University of Turin, in Italy; the School of Social and Political Science in the University of Edinburgh; the Institute of Advanced Social Studies in Spain. The ambition to produce a complex view of the multiple phenomena framing our topic of investigation has resulted in the complex design of the structure of the Thesis.

With regard to the fieldwork, we have studied the Municipality of Lisbon as a key experience at the international scale because it sets a dynamic interaction between political intentions and administrative architectures for new interactive policymaking. We have outlined the principal characteristics of both national and local political systems by especially referring to the historical course of reforms that have been implemented for public administration. This framework has permitted us to focus on four participatory processes implemented in 2012 by two administrative units and responding to two different city councilors. The year 2012 has permitted us to take into account two "new" administrative units working with different editions of the four processes: Participatory Budget, Local Agenda 21, Simplis, and BIPZIP. By acknowledging the different political designs and methodological arrangements of these four policymaking devices, we have gathered findings from the fieldwork carried out over the past two years and analyzed the interviews with civil servants engaged with their management and implementation. The interpretive analysis of their narratives has resulted in four Cultural Patterns that inform the ways changes are perceived and put into action through the processes (Carli and Paniccia, 2002). In this sense, we have pointed out four different cultural ways to signify the proper experience of participation: (1) the attention paid to internal organization as a self-centered

---

[165] The Project OPtar ("O Orçamento Participativo Como Instrumento Inovador Para Reinventar as Autarquias em Portugal e Cabo Verde: uma Análise Crítica da Performance e dos Transfers"), financed by the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, aimed at analyzing the evolution of Portuguese Participatory Budgets and the relation with the excursus of Cape Verde versions.

emotion of the sense of belonging; (2) the emotional concern with the rules of the game of participatory methodologies; (3) the reconsideration of the function of participation in connection with the overall role of political institutions in society; (4) feelings about the commitment of participatory processes with social inclusion revealing the agency with the "otherness". The relationships between the Cultural Patterns have highlighted the interplay between three main Factors: the sense of belonging expressed through the definition of the internal and external "function of client" of the processes, i.e. civil servants and participants; the "rules of the game" articulated in both political and administrative terms entailing changes at the level of general rationales, i.e. administrative reforms and political legitimization; the dimensions of "power" set up through participation aimed at analytically considering the demands of the participants, as well as assuming broader governance responsibilities.

Therefore, the implementation of new functions within administrative contexts that seek possibly (or not) to match dimensions of tradition and innovation, is an exceptional source of knowledge. In assuming change as culturally co-constructed by the administrative actors within specific political and administrative contexts, our scientific purpose has been that of passing from interpretive hypotheses concerning Cultural Patterns, to opening areas of reflection concerning the development of the processes. On this basis, the definition of four indicators gathering the most relevant cultural instances that emerged through the action research and from the interpretive analyses of the narratives of the civil servants, has taken extensive advantage of the plural scientific contributions presented all through the Thesis, as well as of the characteristics of the context studied and which emerged in the fieldwork. The first Indicator of Development puts an emphasis on the necessity to set profound reflections about administrative structures, procedures and relationships, in order to make participation a device for better public service. The second Indicator of Development advises on the opportunity to arrange and perform effective methodologies that can call upon technical expertise, in order to set achievable goals for the processes. The third Indicator of Development specifically highlights the character of political interface displayed by civil servants when required to be involved in participatory processes. The fourth Indicator of Development recuperates the democratic features of participation when working for social integration, and bridges this issue with the enhancement of administrative resources and internal connections.

The four Indicators of Development articulate the intertwining relationships constructed through the participatory processes within three identified themes: the visions of change involving the political and administrative system implementing innovative municipal policies; the functions of participation managed by the members of the administrative teams; and the types of professional engagement in terms of shared emotional investment. With regard to possible ways to develop the change concerning the overall system of belonging, we have spotted in the four Indicators the opportunity to: (1) reinvent organizational charts by overtaking constrained conceptions of participation included in standard structures and rather, making it the starter for tridimensional changes; (2) consider technical expertise as oriented to analyze participants' demands for effective policies, in order to re-invert the possible technocratic relationship between political institutions and societies; (3) grasp the critical potentiality of participatory processes in examining the meaning of broad political trust towards political institutions; (4) (re)set the democratic mission of participation by methodologically establishing goals of social integration.

In terms of membership of teams working with participation, we have revealed the following possible traces of development deriving from the interaction between such units and the overall apparatus: (1) the possibility to represent a seismic element for administrative standardized structures and connections; (2) the necessity to recognize the highly complex commitment of participation with governance, resulting in a realistic articulation of theoretical models and place-based analysis of social demands; (3) the political relevance of the administrative units for the achievement of new governance goals; (4) the opportunity to turn specific responsibilities of these processes into a wider commitment to administrative change and *vice versa,* by imaging participation as playing a karst function all through public administration.

The last theme refers to the collective engagement of civil servants with participation, involving the emotional investment that is done in the intertwined connection between colleagues and managers. We have put an emphasis on the following aspects: (1) the necessity to give serious consideration to the construction of new relationships among civil servants by fostering the function of internal client-orientation; (2) the meaningful objective of making civil servants feel part of the processes and therefore, insiders, by

enabling effective contributions in terms of management and implementation; (3) the reconsideration of the internal distribution of responsibilities and interactions between politicians and civil servants, in order to think of possible forms of <u>co-responsible discretion</u> played by civil servants in participatory processes; (4) the acknowledgement of the convoluted social situations that civil servants are demanded to work with, in direct contact with citizens who are likely to demand <u>empathic commitment</u> beyond "mere" technical expertise.

We think that these four indicators can represent an effective way to open new areas of reflection for participatory processes and public administrations that are aiming to change. We have highlighted the necessity to integrate the knowledge deriving from understanding normative and organizational transformations, with the interpretive analysis of the ways civil servants engaged in the management and implementation of participation construct change. The possible development of participation needs to be critically based on the characteristic of the social, political and administrative context, rather than claimed as abstract and universal models for all seasons. Indeed, we understand that the challenges of new interactive policymaking processes are complex and anything but easy to undertake.

In conclusion, we argue that the hypotheses presented in the Introduction and articulated all throughout the Thesis can be assessed as follows. (1) The contribution of psychosociology intersecting the commitment with organizational development and new interactive policymaking processes, has managed to draw together new knowledge concerning participation, stemming from new methods and interdisciplinary perspectives in this field of study. Indeed, the design of the action research sets new elements of methodology and knowledge for further studies concerning participatory processes, policy innovations and public administration changes. (2) With regard to the cultural aspects embedded in participation as revealing processes of change within public administrations, we can affirm that the analysis has extensively demonstrated the wide and multifaceted concerns existing at this level. Indeed, we have carried on the purpose to underline the relevance of cultural aspects, embedded in both the management and implementation of participation. In addition, we have also advanced the analysis of the cultural patterns towards the opening of areas of reflection about the development of the changes possibly implemented through these processes. (3) Our third hypothesis concerns more specifically,

the scientific consistency and relevance of the subjects involved in the study. The civil servants engaged with participatory processes have been considered as exclusive sources of knowledge about public administration changes and, at the same time, their narratives have helped to trace new cultural indicators for the development of the processes. Also in this case, we consider that the hypothesis has been accomplished when taking into consideration the whole design of the action research and its multiple outcomes. (4) As regards the involvement of the two administrative teams of the Municipality of Lisbon working with the four participatory processes, and the aspect of action/counseling played by psychosociology in this context, our considerations are fairly heterogeneous. In fact, the different histories, evolutions and political designs of the two teams have evidently influenced the chances to institute meaningful spaces of reflection and self-reflection. However, the very open character of the action research, which is likely to set new further steps with the Municipality of Lisbon, does not permit us to articulate this hypothesis more exhaustively yet. In other words, in order to assess the long-term impact of the action research, we should both arrange and be provided with new and further steps with the subjects involved in the investigation. (5) With final regard to the scientific relevance of the study in the diverse scientific areas that we have dialogued with, and the role that psychosociology can play in the enhancement of a new interdisciplinary field studying participatory processes, policy innovations and public administration changes, we are confident that these results can open new debates and commitments about the challenges that demand worldwide democratic regimes to develop new changes.

Bibliographical References

ABERBACH Joel D., PUTNAM Robert D., ROCKMAN Bert A. (1981) *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*. Massachussets: Harvard University Press.

ABERBACH Joel D., ROCKMAN Bert A. (1995) "Engaging the Periphery. More Busywork for Political Scientists" *Political Science and Politics*. 28 (3), 476-478.

ABERBACH Joel D., ROCKMAN Bert A. (1988) "Mandates or Mandarins? Control and Discretion in the Modern Administrative State" *Public Administration Review*. 48 (2), 606-612.

ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2005) "Dagli assessorati alla partecipazione e al bilancio partecipativo, alla partecipazione strutturata nelle politiche ordinarie degli enti locali" *in* Osvaldo, Pieroni; Alberto, Ziparo *Rete del Nuovo Municipio: Federalismo Solidale e Autogoverno mediano*. Bari: Cantieri Carta Edizioni Intra Moenia, 105-144.

ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2013) "Os orçamentos participativos sabem escutar? Reflexões para reforçar a sustentabilidade dos orçamentos participativos" *in* Katia Lima; Cleyton, Boson (eds.) *Orçamento Participativo olhares e perspectivas*. São Paulo: Livraria Paulo Freire Ed.

ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2006a) "Participation in urban planning decision-making: new challenges for the italian context", *in* Betânia, Alfonsin; Edésio Fernandes (eds.) (2003) *Memorias del IX Seminario Internacional "Derecho y Espacio Urbano"*, IRGLUS Cuaderno de Trabajo, 101.

ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2006b) "Politiche di partecipazione in Venezuela: tra discorso costituzionale e pratiche sperimentali" *Democrazia e diritto*. 3, 42-69.

ALLEGRETTI Giovanni, GARCIA Leiva P., PAÑO Yañez P. (2011) *Viajando por los presupuestos participativos: buenas praticas, obstaculos y aprendizajes*. Malaga: CEDMA.

ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni; HERZBERG, Carsten (2004) "El 'retorno de las carabelas': los presupuestos participativos de América Latina en el contexto europeu" *Transnational Institute y Fundación de Investigaciones Marxistas*. 5, 1-28.

ALLEGRETTI, Umberto (2006a) "Basi giuridiche della democrazia partecipativa in Italia: alcuni orientamenti" *Democrazia e diritto*. 3, 1-16.

ALLEGRETTI, Umberto (2006b) "Verso una nuova forma di democrazia: la democrazia partecipativa" *Democrazia e diritto*. 3, 7-13.

ALVESSON, Mats (1993) *Cultural Perspectives on Organizations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

ALVESSON, Mats (1990) "On the Popularity of Organizational Culture" *Acta Sociologica*. 33 (1), 31-49.

ARGYRIS, Chris (1976) "Single-Loop and Double-Loop. Models in Research on Decision Making" *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 21 (3), 363-375.

ARGYRIS, Chris (1991) "The Use of Knowledge as a Test for Theory: The Case of Public Administration" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 1 (3), 337-354.

ARGYRIS, Chris (1994) "Initiating Change That Perseveres" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 4 (3), 343-355.

ARGYRIS, Chris; LINDBLOM Charles E. (1994) "A Dialogue with Professors Lindblom and Argyris" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 4 (3), 357-366.

ARGYRIS, Chris; SCHÖN, Donald (1974) *Theory in Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

ARGYRIS, Chris; SCHÖN, Donald (1978) *Organizational learning: a theory of action perspective*. London: Addison-Wesley.

ARNSTEIN, Sherry (1971) "A ladder of citizen participation" *Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute*. 1(6).

ARRISCADO NUNES, João (1998/1999) "Para alem das «duas culturas»: tecnociencias, tecnoculturas e teoria crítica" *Revista de Ciências Sociais*. 52/53, 15-60.

ASCH, Solomon E. (1995) "Opinion and social pressure" *Scientific American*. 5, 31-35.

AVRITZER, Leonardo (2006) "New public spheres in Brazil: local democracy and deliberative politics" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 30 (3), 623-37.

AVRITZER, Leonardo; NAVARRO, Zander (eds.) (2003) *A inovação democrática no Brasil*, São Paulo: Cortez.

AZEVEDO, Sérgio de; SANTOS JR, Orlando A.; RIBEIRO, Luiz C. Q.(2009)"Mudanças e Permanências na Cultura Política das Metrópoles Brasileiras", *DADOS – Revista de Ciências Sociais*. 52 (3), 691-733.

BAIOCCHI, Gianpaolo (2003) "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment", *in* Archon Fung; Erik Olin Wright (eds) *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso, 45-76.

BAIOCCHI, Gianpaolo (2005) *Militants and citizens: the politics of participatory democracy in Porto Alegre*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

BALINT, Michael (1957) *The doctor, his patient and the illness*. London: Churchill Livingstone.

BAREL, Yves (1984) *La Societé vide*. Paris: Le Seuil.

BARNARD, Chester (1938) *Functions of the Executive*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

BARRETO, Antonio (ed.) (2000) *A situação social em Portugal, 1960-1999*, Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa.

BARRETT, Susan (2004) "Implementation studies: time for a revival?" *Public Administration*. 82, 249-262.

BARUS-MICHEL, Jaqueline, ENRIQUEZ, Eugène, LÉVY, André (2002) *Vocabulaire de psychosociologie. Références et positions*. Paris: Edition érés.

BATTISTI, Nadia; DOLCETTI, Francesca (2012) "Emozioni e testo: costruzione di risorse per il tagging automatico" in *11es Journées internationales d'Analyse statistique des Données Textuelle*. Paris: France.

BAUMAN, Zygmunt (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

BECCARIA, Gian Luigi (2008) *Tra le pieghe delle parole. Lingua storia cultura*. Turin: Einaudi.

BECK, Ulrich; GIDDENS, Anthony; LASH, Scott (1994) *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

BEKKE, Hans A.G.M.; PERRY, James L.; TOONEN, Theo A.J. (1996). *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.

BENEDICT, Ruth (1961) *Patterns of culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

BERGER, Peter L.; LUCKMANN, Thomas (1971) *The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

BHABHA, Homi K. (1996) "Culture's In-Between" *in* Stuart Hall; Paul du Gay (eds.) *Questions of cultural Identity*. London: SAGE Publications, 53-60.

BHABHA, Homi K. (2007) *O local da cultura*, tr.pt The location of culture (1994). Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.

BILLIG, Michael (1997) "Lo sviluppo dell'argomentazione e della repressione dialogica: un approccio retorico", *Rassegna di Psicologia*, 14 (1), 9-30.

BION, Wilfred (1961) *Experiences in group and other papers*. Brunner Routledge, New York.

BLAKE, Robert R.; MOUTON, Jane S. (1969) *Building a Dynamic Corporation Through Grid Organization*, Reading. MA: Addison Wesley.

BLONDIAUX, Loïc; SINTOMER, Yves (2002) "L'impératif délibératif" *Politix*. 15 (57), 17-35.

BOBBIO, Luigi (2002) "Le arene deliberative" *Rivista italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 3, 5-29.

BOBBIO, Luigi (ed.) (2004) *A più voci: amministrazioni pubbliche, imprese, associazioni e cittadini nei processi decisionali inclusivi*. Rome - Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane.

BOBBIO, Luigi (2006) "Dilemmi della democrazia partecipativa" *in* Democrazia e Diritto. 4, 7-26.

BOBBIO, Luigi (2007) *Amministrare con I cittadini. Viaggio tra le pratiche di partecipazione in Italia*. Turin: Dipartimento di Studi Politici Università di Torino.

BOBBIO, Luigi (2010) "As especificidades do debate público sobre as grandes innfraestruturas. O caso de Génova" *in Seminarios CES* 2010/06/08. Coimbra: CES.

BOBBIO, Norberto (1995a/1984/) *Il futuro della democrazia*. Turin: Einaudi.

BOBBIO, Norberto (1995b/1985) *Stato, governo, società*. Turin: Einaudi.

BOBBIO, Norberto (2011) *Democrazia e segreto*. Turin: Einaudi.

BOHMAN, James (1991) *New philosophy of social science: problems of indeterminacy*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

BOHMAN, James (1996) *Public deliberation. Pluralism, complexity, and democracy*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

BOHMAN, James (1997) "Reflexivity, agency and constraint: The paradoxes of Bourdieu's sociology of knowledge" *Social Epistemology*. 11 (2), 171-186.

BOLGHERINI, Silvia (2007) "Os presidentes de camara italianos: uma revolução de compromisso" *Revista de ciências sociais*. 77, 81-100.

BOLOGNINI, Bruno (1986) "Il mito come espressione dei valori organizzativi e come fattore strutturale" *in* Pasquale Gagliardi (ed.) *Le imprese come culture. Nuove prospettive di analisi organizzativa*. Turin: Isedi.

BOLTANSKI, Luc; THÉVENOT, Laurent (1999) "The Sociology of critical capacity" *European Journal of Social Theory*. 2(3), 359-377.

BONAZZI, Giuseppe (2002) *Come studiare le organizzazioni*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

BOURDIEU, Pierre, (1997) *Razões práticas: sobre a teoria da acção*, tr.pt Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action. Oeiras: Celta Editora.

BOURDIEU, Pierre (2005/1991) *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge : Polity Press.

BOURGON, Jocelyne (2007) "Why should governments engage citizens in service delivery and policy making?" *in* OECD (2009) *Focus on citizens: public engagement for better policy and services, Public governance and territorial development directorate*, 171-177.

BOVENS, Mark; ZOURIDIS, Stavros (2002), "From Street-Level to System-Level Bureaucracies: How Information and Communication Technology Is Transforming Administrative Discretion and Constitutional Control" *Public Administration Review*, 62 (2), 174-184.

BRITO, Miguel (2013) "Programa Bip/Zip" *in INURA Urban (ir)rationalities: Between global dynamics and local collective actions* 2013/06/26. Lisbon: CES.

BRUNER, Jerome S. (1986) *Actual minds, possible worlds*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

BRUNOD, Marco, D'AGOSTINO Cinzia (2007) "Esperienze di consulenza organizzativa" *Spunti*. 10, 45-70.

BRUNSSON, Nils (1990) "Deciding for responsibility and legitimization: Alternative interpretations of organizational decision-making" *Accounting, Organization and Society*. 15 (1-2), 47-59.

BRUNSSON, Nils; OLSEN, Johan P. (1993) *The Reforming Organization*. London: Routledge.

BRYNER, Gary C. (2008) "Public Organizations and Public Policies" *in* Guy B. Peters; Jon Pierre (eds.) *Handbook of public administration*. London: Sage, 300-309.

BURNS Tom; STALKER George M. (1961) *The management of innovation*. London: Tavistock.

CABANNES, Yves (2004) "Participatory budgeting: a significant contribution to participatory democracy" *Environment and Urbanization*. 16 (1), 27-46.

CABANNES, Yves *et al.* (2009) *72 Perguntas Frequentes sobre Orçamento Participativo*. Série Caixa de Ferramentas de Governação Urbana, UN-HABITAT/ Iniciativa Comunitária EQUAL,
http://opac.iefp.pt:8080/images/winlibimg.exe?key=&doc=78228&img=1156
[2010/11/02]

CALAFATE RIBEIRO, Margarita (2008) "Una storia di ritorni: impero, guerra coloniale e postcolonialismo" *in* Margarita Calafate Riberio; Roberto Vecchi; Vincenzo Russo *Atlantico periferico: il postcolonialismo portoghese e il sistema mondiale*. Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 91-135.

CALVINO, Italo (1988) *Six Memos for the Next Millennium*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

CALLON, Michel; LASCOUMES, Pierr; BARTHE, Yannick (2001) *Agir dans un monde incertain. Essai sur la démocratie technique*. Paris: Le Seuil.

CAPLOW, Theodore (1968) *Two against one. Coalitions in Triads*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

CARLI, Renzo (1976) "Trasformazione e cambiamento" *Archivio di Psicologia, Psichiatria e Neurologia*. 1-2.

CARLI, Renzo (1987) *Psicologia clinica: Introduzione alla teoria e alla tecnica*. Turin: UTET.

CARLI, Renzo (1996) "Lo psicologo clinico e le organizzazioni. I suoi committenti, i suoi utenti. Obiettivi e verifica dell'intervento" *Rivista di Psicologia Clinica*. 3.

CARLI, Renzo (2006a) "La collusione e le sue basi sperimentali", *Rivista di Psicologia Clinica.* 2-3, 179 – 189.

CARLI, Renzo (ed.) (2006b) *La scuola e i suoi studenti: un rapporto non scontato / L'école et ses élèves: des rapports à ne pas tenir pour acquis / La escuela y sus estudiantes: una relación que no se da por descontado*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

CARLI, Renzo (2007) "Punchinello or 'on ambiguity'" *Rivista di Psicologia Clinica.* 3, 376-389.

CARLI, Renzo; BUCCI, Fiorella; DOLCETTI, Francesca; GIOVAGNOLI, Fiammetta (2008) "Riflessioni sulla metodologia utilizzata nella ricerca" *in* Renzo, Carli; Paola, Pagano (eds.) *San Lorenzo. La cultura del quartiere e i rapporti con la psicologia*, Rome: Edizioni Kappa.

CARLI, Renzo; PANICCIA, Rosa M. (1981) *Psicosociologia delle organizzazioni e delle istituzioni*. Bologna: Il Mulino

CARLI, Renzo; PANICCIA, Rosa M. (2002) *L'analisi emozionale del testo. Uno strumento psicologico per leggere testi e discorsi*. Rome: Franco Angeli.

CARLI, Renzo; PANICCIA, Rosa M. (2003) *L'analisi della domanda. Teoria e tecnica dell'intervento in psicologia clinica*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

CARLI, Renzo; PANICCIA, Rosa Maria; LANCIA, Franco (1988) *Il gruppo in psicologia clinica*. Rome: NIS.

CARVALHO GUERRA, Isabel (2010) "Participar porquê e para quê? Reflexões em torno dos efeitos da democracia local na equidade e na legitimidade dos eleitos" *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*. 91, 121-134.

CASTELLS, Manuel (2002) *A Era da Informação: Economia, Sociedade e Cultura: A Sociedade em Rede*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

CASTORIADIS, Cornelius (1995) *L'istituzione immaginaria della società*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

CASTORIADIS, Cornelius (1998/1965) *L'enigma del soggetto: l'immaginario e le istituzioni*. Bari: Dedalo.

CHAMBEL, Maria J.; CURRAL, Luís (2000) *Psicossociologia das organizações*. Lisbon: Texto Editora.

CHAPMAN, Richard A. (2000) *Ethics in Public Service for the New Millennium*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

CHEEMA, Shabbir (2007) "Linking governments and citizens through democratic governance" *in* UN 7th *Global Forum on Reinventing Government Building Trust in Government. Public Administration and democratic governance: Governments Serving Citizens*, Vienna: Austria. 29-51.

CHONG, Vincent. K., EGGLETON, Ian R. C.; LEONG, Michele K. C. (2006) "The Multiple Roles of Participative Budgeting on Job Performance" *in* Philip M. J. Reckers, *Advances in Accounting*. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 67-95.

COGNETTI, Francesca; COTTINO, Paolo (2009) *Partecipazione oltre la parola: Quando esperienze nel mondo si confrontano*. Milan: ICEI GEO.

COLEMAN, James S. (1990) "Norm-generating structures" *in* Karen Schweers; Margaret Levi (eds.) *The Limits of Rationality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

COLEMAN, Stephen; SPILLER, Josephine (2003) "Exploring new media effects on representative democracy" *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. 9 (3), 1-16.

COOPER, Emmeline; SMITH, Graham (2012) "Organizing Deliberation: The Perspectives of Professional Participation Practitioners in Britain and Germany" *Journal of Public Deliberation*. 8 (1), 1-39.

CORNWALL, Andrea (2001) *Beneficiary, Consumer, Citizen: Perspectives on participation for Poverty Reduction*. Gothenburg: Sida Studies 2.

CORNWALL, Andrea (2003) "Making spaces, changing places: Situating participation in development" *Institute of Development Studies Working paper* 170. Brighton University.

CORNWALL, Andrea (2007) "Buzzwords and Fuzzwords: Deconstructing Development Discourse" *Development in Practice*. 17 (4/5), 471-484.

CORNWALL, Andrea (2008) "Unpacking 'Participation': models, meanings and practices" *Community Development Journal*. 43 (3), 269–283.

CORNWALL Andrea; GAVENTA John (2000) "From Users and Choosers to Makers and Shapers: Repositioning Participation in Social Policy" *IDS Bulletin*. 31 (4), 50-62.

COROMINAS, Joan (1954) *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

CORTE-REAL, Isabel (2003) *Descentralização e reforma administrativa*. Oeiras: Celta Editora.

CORTELAZZO, Manlio; ZOLLI, Paolo (1999) *Il nuovo etimologico*. Bologna: Zanichelli.

COOKE, Bill; KOTHARI, Uma (2001) *Participation. The new tyranny?*. London/New York: Zed Books.

COSTA, Antonio (2012) *Caminhos abertos*. Lisbon: Quetzal.

COSTA PINTO, Teresa (2011) (ed.) *Contemporary Portugal: politics, society and culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

COSTA PINTO, Teresa; CARVALHO GUERRA, Isabel; MARTINS Marta; ALMEIDA, Sara; GONÇALVES, Alda (2010) "Quotidianos invisíveis: retratos de um Portugal em mudança" *in* Tersa Costa Pinto; Isabel, Carvalho Guerra; Marta, Martins; Sara, Almeida *À tona de água: Necessidades em Portugal tradição e tendências emergentes*. Lisbon: Tinta da China, 209-270.

CROUCH, Colin (2010) "Democracy and the economy" *in* Alessandro Pizzorno (ed.) *La democrazia di fronte allo stato democratico*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 181-192.

CROZIER, Michel (1975) "Western Europe" *in* Michel Crozier; Samuel Huntington; Joji Watanuki *The crisis of Democracy*. New York: New York University Press, 11-57.

CROZIER, Michel (1997/1963) *Le phenomena bureaucratique. Essai sur les tendances bureaucratiques des systèmes d' organisation modernes et sur leurs relations en France avec le système social et culturel*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

CROZIER, Michel; FRIEDBERG, Eherard (1981/1977) *L'acteur et le système*. Lonrai: Éditions du Seuil.

CYERT, Richard M.; MARCH, James G. (1963) *A behavioral Theory of the Firm*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

CZARNIAWSKA-JOERGES, Barbara (1992) *Exploring complex organizations: a cultural perspective*. Newbury Park: Sage.

CZARNIAWSKA-JOERGES, Barbara (1997) *Narrating the Organization: Dramas of Institutional Identity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

D'AGOSTINO, Cinzia; OLIVETTI MANOUKIAN, Franca (2009) "Gestire le organizzazioni: dal malessere organizzativo alla costruzione di senso". *Spunti*, 12, 51-72.

DA CUNHA, Antonio Geraldo (1997/1986) *Dicionário Etimológico da língua portuguesa II edição*. Rio de Janeiro: ed. Nova Fronteira.

DAGNINO, Evelina (2001) "Sociedade civil, participação e cidadania: do que estamos falando?" *in* Daniel Mato (ed.) *Políticas de ciudadanya e sociedad civil en tiempos de globalización.* Caracas: FACES, 95-110.

DAHL, Robert A. (1989) *Democracy and its critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

DAHL, Robert A.; LINDBLOM, Charles E. (1953) *Politics, economics, and welfare: Planning and politico-economic systems resolved into basic social processes*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

DAHLGREEN, Peter (2005) "The internet, public spheres, and political communication: dispersion and deliberation" *Political Communication*. 22 (2), 147-162.

DAVIS, G. (1997) "Rethinking policy making: a new role for consultation?" *Administration*. 45 (3) 26-47.

DE GAULEJAC, Vincent (2005) *La société malade de la gestion: idéologie gestionnaire, pouvoir managériale et harcèlement social*. Paris: Seuil.

DE GAULEJAC, Vincent; BONETTI, Michel; FRAISSE, Jean (1995) *L'ingénerie sociale*. Paris: Alternatives Sociales Syros.

DE MONTRICHER, Nicole (2008) "Politics and Administration" *in* Guy B. Peters; Jon, Pierre (eds.) *Handbook of public administration*. London: Sage, 293-299.

DE OLIVEIRA, Francisco (2004) "O capital contra a democracia" *in* Ana Claudia Chaves Teixeira (ed.) (2004) *Os sentidos da Democracia e da Participação*, São Paulo: Polis.

DE TOCQUEVILLE, Alex (1969) *Democracy in America*, New York: Anchor Books.

DELLA PORTA, Donatella (2011) *Democrazie*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

DENHARDT, Robert B.; DENHARDT, Janet V. (2000) "The New Public Service: Serving Rather Than Steering" *Public Administration Review*. 60 (6), 549-559.

DENHARDT, Robert B.; DENHARDT, Janet V. (2007) *The New Public Service: serving, not steering*. New York/London: M.E. Sharpe.

DENZIN, Norman K.; LINCOLN, Yvonna S. (eds.) (2011) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

DIAMOND, Larry J.; MORLINO, Leonardo (2005) *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

DIAS, Nelson (2008) "Uma outra democracia é possível? As experiências de Orçamento Participativo" *E-cadernos CES*. 1, 183-205.

DIAS, Nelson (2010) "Orçamentos Participativos em Portugal" *Vez e Voz*. 97, 5-10.

DIAS, Nelson (2012) "Uma década de orçamentos participativos em Portugal: números, modelos e trajectórias" *in I Encontro Ibérico de Orçamento Participativo* 2012/11/16-17. Odemira: EIOP.

DIAS, Nelson (ed.) (2013) *Esperança Democrática. 25 anos de Orçamentos Participativos no Mundo*. São Brás de Alportel: Associaçao InLoco.

DIJKSTRA, Gerrit S.A. (2007) "Civil Service Systems and Responsibility, Accountability and Performance: a Multi-dimensional approach" *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

DOLCETTI, Francesca; BATTISTI, Nadia; CASUCCIO, Fabrizio (2008) "Text construction: analysis of a training process to interview in psychology", *9es Journées internationales d'Analyse statistique des Données Textuelle*. Paris: France.

DONOLO, Carlo (1989) "Apologia della Pubblica Amministrazione" *Politica ed economia*. 7-8.

DONOLO, Carlo (2005) "Dalle politiche pubbliche alle pratiche sociali nella produzione di beni pubblici? Osservazioni su una nuova generazione di policies" *Stato e Mercato*. 73, 33-65.

DONOLO, Carlo (2006) *Il futuro delle politiche pubbliche*. Milan: Mondadori.´

DONOLO, Carlo; MATTEI, Ugo (2013) "La condivisione della conoscenza" *in Biennale Democrazia* 2013/05/13. Turin: Biennale Democrazia.

DOTTORINI, Daniele (ed.) (2000) *Estetica ed infinito. Scritti di Matte Blanco*. Rome: Bulzoni.

DOWBOR, Ladislau (2008/1994) *O que é poder local?*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.

DRYZEK John S. (2002) "Policy Analysis and Planning: From Science to Argument" *in* Frank Fischer; John Forester (eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

DRYZEK John S.; LIST, Christian (2003) "Social choice and deliberative democracy: A reconciliation" *British Journal of Political Science*. 1, 1-28.

DU GAY, Paul (2000) *In Praise of Bureaucracy*. London: Sage.

DUNN, William N. (1981) *Public Policy Analysis*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

DUNN, William N. (2002) "Policy Reforms as Arguments" *in* Frank Fischer; John Forester (eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

DUROSE, Catherine (2009) "Front-line workers and "local knowledge": neighbourood stories in contemporary UK local governance" *Public Administration*. 87 (1), 35-49.

DUROSE, Catherine (2011) "Revisiting Lipsky: Front-Line Work in UK Local Governance" *Political Studies*. 1, 1-18.

ECO, Umberto (2010) *Dire quasi la stessa cosa. Esperienze di traduzione*. Milan: Bompiani.

EDELMAN, Murray (1952) "Governmental Organization and Public Policy" *Public Administration Review*. 12 (4), 276-283.

EDELMAN, Murray (1960) "Symbols and Political Quiescence" *The American Political Science Review*. 54 (3), 695-704.

EDELMAN, Murray (1977) *Political Language. Words That Succeed and Policies That Fail*. New York: Academic Press.

EDELMAN, Murray (1985a) "Political Language and Political Reality" *American Political Science Association*. 18 (1), 10-19.

EDELMAN, Murray (1985b) *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

EGEBERG, Morten (1995) "Bureaucrats as public policy-makers and their self-interest" *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 7, 157–67.

EGEBERG, Morten (2008) "How bureaucratic structure matters: An organizational perspective" *in* Guy B. Peters; Jon Pierre (eds.) *Handbook of public administration*. London: Sage, 116–26.

ELSTER, Jon (1979) *Ulysses and the sirens: Studies in rationality and irrationality* Cambridge: University Press.

ELSTER, Jon (1998) *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ENRIQUEZ, Eugène (1983) *Dall'orda allo Stato. Alle origini del legame sociale*, tr.it De la Horde à l'État. Bologna: Il Mulino.

ENRIQUEZ, Eugène (2003/1992) *L'organisation en analyse*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

ENRIQUEZ, Eugène (2007) "L'etica dell'operatore" *Animazione Sociale*. 2, 11-17.

ENRIQUEZ, Eugène (2008) "Prospettive e blocchi della società occidentale" *Spunti*. 11, 23-49.

ESCOBAR, Oliver (2009) "The dialogic turn: dialogue for deliberation", *In-Spire Journal of Law, Politics and Societies*. 4 (2), 42-70.

ESCOBAR, Oliver (2011) *Public Dialogue and Deliberation. A communication perspective for public engagement practitioners*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Beltane -UK Beacons for Public Engagement.

EVERDELL, William R. (1997) *The first moderns: Profiles in the origins of Twentieth-century Thought*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

EXPORTABLE PORTUGUESE PROJECTS (2012) "Administrative Simplification". Secretario de Estado adjunto do Ministro adjunto e dos assuntos parlamentares http://www.portugal.gov.pt/media/434523/book_viena.pdf [2013/01/30]

FABIAN, Johannes (2002/1983) *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

FALANGA, Roberto (2012) "Lógica e ilógica das democracias. Uma reflexão à margem de Sociologia crítica e Psicanálise" *Cabo dos Trabalhos*. 7, 144-162.

FALANGA, Roberto (2013a) "A psychosociological reflection on the Back Offices of local participatory processes" *in* Graça Índias Cordeiro; Gonçalo Gonçalves; Inês Pereira; João Pedro S. Nunes; Lígia Ferro; Patrícia Pereira and Rita Cachado (eds.) *SICYUrb Second International Conference of Young Urban Researchers*, Lisbon: ISCTE-IUL.

FALANGA, Roberto (2013b) "Dividi et impera. A psychological approach to the social construction of Otherness", *in* Carla Sarmento; Victoria Oliveira (eds.) *Intercultural communication, representations and practices: a global approach*, Porto: CEI – ISCAP.

FALANGA, Roberto, ANTONINI, Matteo (2013) "Transforming cities, societies and policies. Psychological reflections on participatory processes' experiences" *CES Contexto Debates: Rethinking Urban Inclusion Spaces, Mobilizations, Interventions*. 2, 572-587.

FALANGA, Roberto; DOLCETTI Francesca (2011) "Ipotesi psicosociali sulle nuove frontiere dell'urbanistica", *Abitare l'Italia. Territori, Economie, Disuguaglianze*, www.societaurbanisti.it, Turin: Italy.

FALANGA, Roberto, LUIZ, Juliana (2012) "Um olhar sobre os aspectos culturais dos processos participativos: quais mudanças a partir dos funcionarios e técnicos?" *Sociedade, Crise e Reconfigurações,* www.aps.pt, Porto: Portugal.

FANON, Frantz (1975) *Pele negra, mascaras brancas*. Porto: Paisagem.

FARRINGTON, John; BEBBINGTON, Anthony; WELLARD, Kate; LEWIS, David J. (1993) *Reluctant Partners: Non-governmental Organisations, the State and Sustainable Agricultural Development*. London: Routledge.

FAYOL, Henri (1918) *Administration Industrielle et Générale*. Paris: Dunod.

FIORE, Innocenzo (2008) "The psychological dynamics that make people xenophobic" *Rivista di Psicologia Clinica*. 3, 251- 274.

FISCHER, Frank (2003) *Reframing Public Policy. Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. New York: Oxford University Press.

FISCHER, Frank (2006) "Participatory governance as deliberative empowerment. The cultural politics of discursive space" *American review of Public Administration*. 1, 19-40.

FISCHER, Frank (2009) *Democracy and expertise: reorienting public policy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

FISCHER, Frank; FORESTER, John (eds.) (2002) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

FISHKIN, James S. (2009) *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FISHKIN James S.; LUSKIN Robert C. (2005) "Experimenting with a democratic ideal: Deliberative polling and public opinion" *Acta Politica*. 40 (3), 284-298.

FLEISHMAN, Edwin A.; HARRIS, Edwin F. (1962) "Patterns of leadership behavior related to employee grievances and turnover" *Personnel Psychology*. 15, 43-56.

FONSECA, Fátima; CARAPETO, Carlos (2006) *Administração Pública: Modernização, Qualidade e Inovação*. Lisbon: Edições Sílabo.

FONSECA, Fátima; CARAPETO, Carlos (2009) *Governação, Inovação e Tecnologias: o Estado Rede e a Administração Pública do Futuro*. Lisbon: Edições Sílabo.

FONT, Joan; BLANCO, Ismael (2005) "Que hay detras de la oferta de participacion? El rol de los factores instrumentales e ideologicos en los mecanismos espanoles de participacion" *Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia*. 31.

FORESTER, Frank (1999) *The deliberative practitioner: encouraging participatory planning processes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FORESTER, Frank (2002) "Learning from Practice Stories: the Priority of Practical Judgment" *in* Frank Fischer; John Forester (eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

FORNARI, Franco (1979) *I fondamenti di una teoria psicanalitica del linguaggio*. Turin: Boringhieri.

FORNARI, Franco (2011) *Scritti scelti*. Milan: Raffaello Cortina Editore.

FOUCAULT, Michel (1966) *Le mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines.* Paris: Gallimard.

FOUCAULT, Michel (1975) *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard.

FOUCAULT, Michel (1997) *Il faut défendre la société*. Paris: Seuil-Gallimard.

FOUACULT, Michel (2008) "Che cos'è un autore?" *in* Vincenzo Sorrentino (ed.) *Michel Foucault Antologia: L'impazienza della libertà*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 61-78.

FOULKES, Siegfried H. (1973) *Introduction to group-analytic psychotherapy: studies in the social integration of individuals and groups*. London: Heinemann.

FREIRE, André (2003) "Desempenho da democracia e reformas polítícas" *Sociologia, problemas e pratícas*. 43, 133-160.

FREIRE, Paulo (1996) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin.

FREUD, Sigmund (1913) *Totem e Tabù*. Turin: Boringhieri.

FREUD, Sigmund (1915) *L'interpretazione dei sogni*, tr.it The interpretation of dreams (1900). Turin: Bollati Boringhieri.

FREUD, Sigmund (1921) *Psicologia delle masse e analisi dell'Io*, tr.it Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. Turin: Boringhieri.

FREUD, Sigmund (1929) *Il disagio della civiltà*, tr.it Civilization and its discontents. Turin: Boringhieri

FREUD, Sigmund (2005/1970) *Psicologia e metapsicologia*. Rome: GTE Newton.

FROST, Peter; MOORE, Larry F.; LOUIS, Meryl Reis L.; LUNDBERG, Craig C.; MARTIN, Joanne (eds.) (1985) *Organizational Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

FUCHS, Dieter; KLINGEMANN, Hans-Dieter (1998) (eds.) *Citizens and the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FUNDENBERG, Drew; LEVINE, David K.A (2009) *Long Run Collaboration on Long Run Games*. Singapore: World Scientific.

FUNG, Archon (2006) "Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance" *Public Administration Review Special Issue: Collaborative Public Management*. 66, 66-75.

FUNG, Archon (2008) "Participate, but do so pragmatically" *in* OECD (2009) *Focus on citizens: public engagement for better policy and services, Public governance and territorial development directorate*, 193-194.

FUNG, Archon; WRIGHT, Erik Olin (2003) *Deepening Democracy. Institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance*. London/New York: Verso.

GACCI, Grazia; D'AGOSTINO, Cinzia (2008) "Le organizzazioni alla prova del futuro: rappresentazioni, costruzioni, distruzioni, rimozioni" *Spunti*. 9, 67-86.

GALE Scott A.; HUMMEL, Ralph P. (2003) "A debt unpaid – Reinterpreting Max Weber on bureaucracy" *Administrative Theory & Praxis*. 25, 409-18.

GANUZA, Ernesto (2012) "El giro participativo de la administración: desafíos en la globalización de los presupuestos participativos" *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social*. 25-2, 333-343.

GANUZA, Ernesto; FRANCÉS, Francisco (2011a) "The deliberative turn in participation: the problem of inclusion and deliberative opportunities in participatory budgeting" *European Political Science*. 4 (2), 283-302.

GANUZA, Ernesto; FRANCÉS, Francisco (2011b) "The virtuous circle of democracy: participatory budgeting in Spain". *IESA Working papers*, Cordoba.

GAVENTA, John (2006) "Finding the spaces for change: a power analysis" *Ids Bulletin-Institute of Development Studies*. 37 (6), 23-33.

GHERARDI, Silvia (1985) *Sociologia delle decisione organizzative*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

GIGERENZER Gerd; GOLDSTEIN, Daniel G. (1996) "Reasoning the fast and frugal way: models of bounded rationality" *Psychological Review*. 4, 650-669.

GILL, Merton M. (1994) *Psychoanalysis in Transition*. New Jersey: The Analytic Press Inc.

GINSBORG, Paul (2006) *La democrazia che non c'è*. Turin: Einaudi.

GOFFMAN, Erving (1974) *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience. Cambridge*. MA: Harvard University Press.

GOFFMAN, Erving (1988) *Il rituale dell'interazione*, tr.it Interaction Ritual (1967). Bologna: Il Mulino.

GOSS, Sue (2001) *Making Local Governance Work: Networks, Relationships and the Management of Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

GOULDNER, Alvin W. (1959) "Organizational analysis" *in* Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom; Leonard S. Cottrell (eds.) *Sociology today: Problems and prospects*. New York: Harper Torchbook, 400-428.

GRASSO, Massimo; CORDELLA, Barbara; PENNELLA, Angelo R. (2004) *Metodologia dell'intervento in psicologia clinica*. Rome: Carocci.

GRASSO, Massimo; SALVATORE, Sergio (1997) *Pensiero e decisionalità. Contributo alla critica della prospettiva individualista in psicologia*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

GUIMARÃES, Roberto P. (2008) "Estado, mercado y democrazia: oportunidades y limites de la participacion ciudadana en el fortalecimiento dela gobernabilidad democratica" *Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia*, 40.

HAAS, Peter M. (1992) "Epistemic communities and international policy coordination", *International Organization*. 46 (1), 1-35.

HABERMAS, Jurgen (1996) *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

HABERMAS, Jurgen (2008/1971) *Storia e critica dell'opinione pubblica*, tr.it Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit (1962). Bari: Laterza.

HALL, Peter (2010) "The Political Origins of our Economic Discontents" *in International Conference The Revival of Political Economy* 2010/10/21-22-23. Coimbra: FEUC.

HEALEY, Patsy (2002) "Planning through debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory" *in* Frank Fischer; John Forester (eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

HELD, David (1996) *Models of democracy: Second Edition*, Bodmin: Hartnolls Ltd.

HELD, David (1998) "Democracy and globalization" *in* Daniele Archibugi; David Held; Martin Köhler (eds.) *Re-imagining Political Community-Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 11-27.

HERACLEOUS, Loizos; MARSHAK, Robert J. (2004) "Conceptualizing organizational discourse as situated symbolic action" *Human Relations*. 57(10), 1285-1312.

HIRSCHMAN, Albert O. (2002/1982) *Shifting Involvements. Private Interest and Public Action*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

HOOD, Christopher (1991) "A public Management for all Seasons", *Public Administration*. 69 (1), 3-19.

HOOD, Christopher (2001) "Relations between Minister/Politicians and Civil Servants: Public Service bargains Old and New" *in* Guy B. Peters; Donald J. Savoie (eds), *Governance in the Twenty-first Century*. Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 178-208.

HOWLETT, Michael; RAMESH, M (1995) *Studying public policy: Policy cycles and Policy subsystems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (1975) "The United States" *in* Michel Crozier; Samuel P. Huntington; Joji Watanuki *The crisis of Democracy*. New York: New York University Press.

HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (1993) *The third wave: democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

HUPE, Peter; HILL , Michael (2007) "Street Level Bureaucracy and Public Accountability" *Public Administration*. 85 (2), 279-99.

JALALI, Carlos (2005) "Nova governação, nova cidadania? Os cidadãos e a política em Portugal", *Tékhne*. 4, 29-38.

JANIS, Irving L. (1972) *Victims of groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

JAQUES, Elliot (1976) *A General Theory of Bureaucracy*. London: Heinemann.

JASANOFF, Sheila (2003) "Technologies of Humility: Citizen Participation in Governing Science" *Minerva*. 41(3), 223-244.

JOHNSON, Phillip; LEVINE, David K.; PESENDORFER, Wolfgang (1998) "Evolution and Information in a Prisoner's Dilemma Game" *in* David K. Levine, *Levine's Working Paper, Archive*, 2138.

KAËS, René; PINEL, Jean-Pierre; KERNBERG, Otto F.; CORREALE, Antonello; DIET Emmanuel; DUEZ, Bernanrd (eds.) (1998) *Sofferenza e psicopatologia dei legami istituzionali*. Rome: Borla.

KANEKLIN, Cesare; OLIVETTI MANOUKIAN, Franca (2011/1990) *Conoscere l'organizzazione.* Rome: Carocci.

KAPLAN, Joan W. (2002) "Reading Policy Narratives: Beginnings, Middles, and Ends" *in* Frank Fischer; John Forester (eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

KATAROBO, James (2007) "Decentralization and Local autonomy for participatory democracy" *in UN 7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Building Trust in Government: Public Administration and democratic governance: Governments Serving Citizens*, Vienna, 238-267.

KATZ Daniel; KAHN, Robert L. (1966) *The Social Psychology of Organizations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

KETS DE VRIES, Manfred F. R. (1993) *Leaders, fools and impostors: Essay on the psychology of leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

KLEIN, Melanie; HEIMANN, Paula; ISAACS, Susan; RIVIÈRE, Joan (1985/1952) *Developments in Psychoanalysis*. London: Hogarth Press

KOHLER-KOCH, Beate (1998) "A evolução e transformação da governação europeia" *Análise Social*. 23, 659-684.

KOOIMAN, Jan (2003) *Governing as Governance*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

KUHN, Thomas (1962) *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University Press.

KYKYRI, Virpi-Liisa; PUUTIO, Risto; WAHLSTRÖM, Jarl (2010) "Inviting Participation in Organizational Change Through Ownership Talk" *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*. 46 (1), 92-118.

KUPERUS, Herma; RODE, Anita (2008) "Hauts Fonctionnaires en Europe: Gestion et conditions de travail des cadres supérieurs de la fonction publique dans les Etats membres de l'Union européenne". Maastricht: Institut Européen d'Administration Publique.

LACLAU, Ernesto; MOUFFE, Chantal (2001) *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. London: Verso.

LAPASSADE, Geroges (1974) *Groupes, organisations et institutions*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars.

LASSWELL, Harold D. (1963) *The Future of Political Science*. New York: Atherton Press.

LASSWELL, Harold D.; LERNER, Daniel; DE SOLA POOL, Ithiel (1952) *The Comparative Study of Symbols*. Stanford: The Hoover Institute.

LATOUR, B. (2004) "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern" *Critical Inquiry*. 30, 225-248.

LEADBEATER, Charles; GOSS, Sue (1998) *Civic Entrepreneurship*. London: DEMOS.

LE BON, Gustave (1980/1895) *Psicologia delle folle*. Milan: Longanesi.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude (1958) *Anthropologie structurale*. Paris: Pion.

LEVY-LEBOYER, Claude (1974) *Psychologie des Organisations*. Paris: PUF.

LEWIN, Kurt (1948) *Resolving Social Conflicts: selected papers on group dynamics*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

LEWIN, Kurt (1972/1951) *Teoria e sperimentazione in psicologia sociale*. Bologna: Il Mulino

LINDBLOM, Charles E. (1965) *The Intelligence of Democracy: Decision Making through Mutual Adjustment*. New York: The Free Press.

LINDBLOM, Charles E.; WOODHOUSE Edward J. (1993) *The policy-making process*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

LINDER, Stephen H. (2001) "An inquiry into dialogue, its challenges and justifications" *International Journal of Public Administration*. 24, 652-78

LIPSKY, Michael (1980) *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in Public Services*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

LOCKE, John (1997) *An essay concerning human understanding*. London: Penguin.

LORENZANO, César (2000) "Wittgenstein y los paradigmas de Kuhn", *Episteme Filosofia e História das Ciências em Revista*. 11, 57-67.

LOWI, Theodore J. (1972) "Four systems of policy, politics, and choice" *Public Administration Review*. 32, 298-301.

LOWNDES, Vivien (1997) "We are Learning to Accommodate Mess: Four Propositions about Management Change in Local Governance" *Public Policy and Administration*. 12 (2), 80–94.

LOWNDES, Vivien (2005) "Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed ...How Institutions Change (and Stay the Same) in Local Governance" *Policy Studies*. 26 (3/4), 291–309.

LYOTARD, Jean-François (1979) *La condition postmoderne*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

MACHADO, José Pedro (1959) *Dicionário Etimológico da língua portuguesa I edição*, Lisbon: Editorial Confluência.

MACHADO, José Pedro (1993) *Dicionario Onomástico Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa, segundo volume E-M*. Lisbon: Horizonte/Confluência.

MANNARINI, Terri (2009) *La cittadinanza attiva. Psicologia sociale della partecipazione pubblica*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

MARCH, James G.; OLSEN, Johan P. (1984) "The new institutionalism: organizational factors in political life" *American Political Science Review*. 78 (5), 734-749.

MARCH, James G.; OLSEN, Johan P. (1989a) *Rediscovering institutions*. New York: Free Press.

MARCH , James G.; OLSEN, Johan P. (1989b) *Reforming Institutions: The Organisational Basis of Politics*. New York: Free Press .

MARCH, James G.; OLSEN, Johan P. (1995) *Democratic governance*. New York: Free Press.

MARX, Karl; ENGELS, Friedrich (2009) *Manifesto del Partito Comunista*, tr.it Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (1848). Milan: BUR.

MAJONE, Giandomenico (1994) "The rise of the regulatory State in Europe" *West European Politics*. 17 (3), 77-101.

MARKOVÀ, Ivana (2003) *Dialogicidade e representações sociais: As dinamicas da mente*. Petropolis: Editora Vozes.

MATTE BLANCO, I. (2000) *L'inconscio come insiemi infiniti: Saggio sulla bi-logica,* tr.it The Unconscious as Infinite Sets: An Essay in Bi-Logic (1975). Turin: Einaudi.

MATTE BLANCO, I.(2005) *Pensare sentire essere: Riflessioni cliniche sull'antinomia fondamentale dell'uomo e del mondo*, tr.it Thinking, Feeling and Being: Clinical Reflections on the Fundamental Antinomy of Human Beings and World (1988). Turin: Einaudi.

MAURER, Michaela (2010) "Administration and introduction of participatory budgets Participation of the citizens in preparing the municipal budget – Utopia?" *in Dialog Global: international Congress on models of Participatory Budgeting*, Bonn: InWEnt gGmbH, 54-55.

MAYNARD-MOODY, Steven (1989) "Beyond Implementation: Developing an institutional Theory of Administrative Policy Making" *Public Administration Review*, 49 (2), 137-142.

MAYNARD-MOODY, Steven; MUSHENO, Michael (2006a) *Cops, Teachers, Counselors: Stories from the Front Lines of Public Services*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

MAYNARD-MOODY, Steven; MUSHENO, Michael (2006b) "Stories for Research" *in* Dvora Yanow; Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.) *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*. New York: ME Sharpe.

MAYNTZ, Renate (1998) "New Challenges to Governance Theory" *Jean Monnet Chair Paper RSC* 98/50. Florence: European University Institute.

MAYNTZ, Renate; SCHARPF, Fritz W. (1995) *Gesellschaftliche Selbstregelung und Politische Steuerung*. Frankfurt: Campus.

MAYO, Elton (1949) *Hawthorne and the Western Electric Company. The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. London: Routledge
McCLELLAND, David C. (1961) *The achieving society*. New York: Free Press.

MEAD, Geirge H. (1934) *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

MEAD, Margareth (1928) *Coming of age in Samoa; a psychological study of primitive youth for western civilization*. New York: William Morrow and & Co.

MERTON, Robert K. (1938) "Social structure and anomie" *American Sociological Review*. 3: 672–82.

MERTON, Robert K. (1952/1940) "Bureaucratic structure and personality. Social Forces" *in* Robert K. Merton; Alisa P. Gray; Barbara Hockey; Hanan C. Selvin (eds.) *Reader in bureaucracy*. Glencoe IL: Free Press.

MESSINA, Patrizia (2012) "Interpretare la governance dello sviluppo locale. Modi di regolazione e produzione di beni collettivi per la competitività: per una tipologia", Working Paper, XXVI Convegno SISP, Rome

MILLER, Hugh T. (2002) *Postmodern Public Policy*. Albany, NY: Suny Press.

MINTZBERG, Henry (1987) *La progettazione dell'organizzazione aziendale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

MOORE, Mark (1995) *Creating public value: strategic management in government. Cambridge*. MA: Harvard University Press.

MORENO, Jacob L. (1934) *Who Shall Survive?*. New York: Beacon House.

MORGAN, Gareth (2006) *Images of organization*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

MORLINO, Leonardo (2011) *Changes for Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MORO, Giovanni (2005) *Azione civica*. Rome: Carocci.

MORO, Giovanni (2009) "Partecipare a cosa? Per una riconsiderazione del nesso tra democrazia partecipativa e attivismo organizzato dei cittadini in Italia e in Europa" *XXIV Convegno SISP*. Rome: Italy.

MOSCOVICI, Serge (1961) *La Psychanalyse: son image et son public*. Paris: Presses Universitaries de France.

MOSCOVICI, Serge (1980) "Toward a theory of conversion behavior" *in* Leonard Berkovitz (ed.) *Advance in Experimental Social Psychology*, New York: Academic Press, 209-239.

MOSCOVICI, Serge (2005/1989) *Le rappresentazioni sociali*, tr.it Les Représentations Sociales (1984). Bologna: Il Mulino.

MOSCOVICI, Serge; DOISE, Willem (1991) *Dissensi e Consensi. Una teoria generale delle decisioni collettive*, tr.it Dissensions et Consensus: Une théorie générale des décisions collectives. Il Mulino, Bologna.

MOTA, Arlindo (2005) "Governo Local, participação e cidadania: o caso da área metropolitana de Lisboa" *Ciências sociais e Políticas*. Lisbon: Vega Universidade.

MOUFFE, Chantal (1999) "Deliberative democracy or agonistic pluralism?" *Social Research*. 66, 745-758.

MOUFFE, Chantal (2000) "Wittgenstein, Political Theory and Democracy" *in* Chantal Mouffe (ed.) *The democratic paradox*. London: Verso, 60-79.

MOZZICAFREDDO, Juan (1992) "O Estado-Providência em Portugal: estratégias contraditórias" *Sociologia problemas e práticas*. 12, 57-89.

MOZZICAFREDDO, Juan (2011a) "Cidadania e Administraçao Publica em Portugal" *in* Juan Mozzicafreddo; João Salis Gomes (eds.) *Administraçao e Politica. Perspectivas de reforma da Administraçao Publica na Europa e nos Estados Unidos*, Oeiras: Celta Editora.

MOZZICAFREDDO, Juan (2011b) "Modernização da administração Publica e poder político" *in* Juan Mozzicafreddo; João Salis Gomes (eds.) *Administração e Politica. Perspectivas de reforma da Administração Publica na Europa e nos Estados Unidos*, Oeiras: Celta Editora.

MOZZICAFREDDO, Juan; GOUVEIA, C. (2011) "Contextos e etapas de reforma na administraçao publica em Portugal" *in* Juan Mozzicafreddo; João Salis Gomes (eds.) *Projectos de inovaçao na gestao publica*. Lisbon: Editora Mundos Sociais.

MOZZICAFREDDO, Juan; SALIS GOMES, João (2011) (eds.) *Projectos de inovação na gestão publica*. Lisbon: Editora Mundos Sociais.

NAVARRO, Isidoro M.; RAMIREZ, Javier H.; MANJAVACAS, Juan M. (2006) "El tercer pilar: Los tecnicos municipales en los presupuestos participativos" *in* Tomas Villasante (ed.) *La pedagogía de la decisión. Aportaciones teóricas y prácticas a la construcción de las democracias participativas*. Sevilla: CIMAS.

NEISSER, Ulric (ed.) (1987) *Concepts and Conceptual Development: Ecological and Intellectual Factors in Categorization*. Cambridge: University Press.

NEUMANN, Jean E. (1989) "Why people don't participate in organizational change" *in* Richard W. Woodman; William A. Pasmore (Eds.) *Research in organizational change and development*. New York: Elsevier, 181-212.

NIE Norman; VERBA, Sidney (1975) "Political participation" *in* Fred Greenstein; Nelson Polsby *Handbook of political science*. Addison-Wesley: Reading, 1-74.

NORMANN, Richard (2004) *La gestione strategica dei servizi*, tr.it Service management: strategy and leadership in service businesses (1984). Milan: Etas.

NORRIS, Pippa (ed.) (1999) *Critical Citizens: Global support for democratic governance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

OECD (2009) "Focus on citizens: public engagement for better policy and services". Public governance and territorial development directorate.

http://www.sourceoecd.org/governance/9789264048867 [2013/01/05]

OECD (2001a) "Citizens as Partners: Information, Consultation and Public Participation in Policy Making". Paris: OECD.
http://www.ezd.si/fileadmin/doc/4_AKTIVNO_DRZAVLJANSTVO/Viri/Citizens_as_partners_hanbook_oecd.pdf [2013/01/30]

OECD (2001b) "Government-Citizen relations. Country profile: Portugal":
http://www.oecd.org/governance/public-innovation/2538004.pdf [2013/01/30]

OLIVETTI MANOUKIAN, Franca (2007) "Formazione e Organizzazione" *Spunti*. 10, 107-144.

OLSEN, Johan P. (2005) "Maybe It Is Time to Rediscover Bureaucracy" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 16, 1-24.

OLSON, Mancur (1965) *The logic of collective action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

ORSENIGO, Achille (2007) "Premesse teoriche e scelte operative per una consulenza psicosociologica" *Spunti*. 10, 7-44.

ORSENIGO, Achille (2009) "Senso e valore politico dell'agire nelle organizzazioni" *Spunti*. 12, 13-42.

OSBORNE, David; GAEBLER, Ted (1992) *Reinventing government: How the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

OSTROM, Vincent; OSTROM, Elinor (1977), "Public Goods and Public Choices" *in* Emanuel S. Savas (ed.) *Alternatives for Delivering Public Services: Towards improved Performance*. Boulder (CO): Westview Press, 7-49.

OUCHI, William (1981) *Theory Z.* Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

PACI, Massimo (2008) *Welfare locale e democrazia partecipativa*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

PAGE, Edward C. (2007) "Middle Level Bureaucrats: Policy, Discretion and Control" *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

PAGÉS, Max (1968) *La vie affective des groups*. Paris: Dunod.

PAGÉS, Max; DE GAULEJAC, Vincent; BONETTI, Michel; DESCENDRE, Daniel (1998) *L'emprise de l'organisation*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

PAPADOPOULOS, Yannis; WARIN, Philippe (2007) "Are innovative, participatory and deliberative procedures in policy making democratic and effective" *European Journal of Political research*. 46, 445-472.

PARRADO DIEZ, Salvador (2008) "The Senior Civil Service in National Governments of OECD Countries" *in* OECD *Working Papers on Public Governance*. Paris: OECD

PARSONS, Talcott (1961) *Theories of Society: foundations of modern sociological theory*. New York: Free Press.

PAZÉ, Valentina (2011) *In nome del popolo: il problema democratico*. Roma: Laterza.

PELLIZZONI, Luigi (ed.) (2005) *La deliberazione pubblica*. Roma: Meltemi.

PEREIRA, Manuel (1994) "O problema da racionalidade: Um confronto entre as perspectivas da Economia e da Sociologia" *SOCIUS Working Papers* , 4.

PEREIRA, Paulo Trigo (2012) *Portugal: divida publica e défice democratico*. Lisbon: FFMS.

PETERS, Guy B. (1987) "Politicians and Bureaucrats in the Politics of Policy-making" *in* Jan-Erik Lane (ed.) *Bureaucracy and Public Choice*. London: Sage.

PETERS, Guy B. (1997) "Policy transfers between governments: the case of administrative reforms" *West European Politics*. 20 (4), 71-88.

PETERS, Guy B. (2001) *The Future of Governing*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

PETERS, Guy B.; PIERRE, Jon (2001) *Politicians, Bureaucrats and Administrative Reform*. London: Routledge.

PETERS, Guy B.; PIERRE, Jon (2004) *The Quest for Control: The Politicisation of the Civil Service in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.

PETERS Guy B.; PIERRE Jon (2007) "Governance and Civil Service Systems: From Easy Answers to Hard Questions" *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

PETERS, Guy B.; PIERRE, Jon (2012) "Introduction: The Role of Public Administration in Governing" *in* Guy B. Peters; Jon Pierre (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Public Administration*, 1-12.

PETERSON, John (1995) "Decision-making in the European Union: Towards a Framework for Analysis" *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2 (1), 69-93.

PETIT, François; DUBOIS, Michel (1998) *Introduction à la psychosociologie des organizations*. Paris: Dunod.

PETTIT, Philip (2001) "Deliberative democracy and the discursive dilemma" *Philosphical Issues*. 11, 268-299.

PIPAN, Tatiana (1996) *Il labirinto di servizi. Tradizione e rinnovamento tra i pubblici dipendenti*. Milan: Raffaello Cortina Editore.

PIRES, Valdemires (2001) *Orçamento participativo: O que é, para que serve, como se faz*. São Paulo: Manole Barueri.

PRESSMAN, Jeffrey L.; WILDAVSKY, Aaron (1973) *Implementation: How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.

PRETTY, Jules N. (1995) "Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture" *World Development*. 23 (8), 1247–1263.

PRZEWORSKI, Adam (2010) *Democracy and the limits of self-government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

PUTNAM, Robert D. (1992) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

PUTNAM, R. D. (1993) "The prosperous community: social capital and public life" *American Prospect*. 4 (13), 11-18.

PUTNAM, Robert D. (2004) *Democracies in flux: The evolution of social capital in contemporary society*, Oxford Scholarship online.

QUAGLINO, Giampiero (1996) *Psicodinamica della vita organizzativa*. Milan: Cortina

RAADSCHELDERS, Jos C.N., BEMELMAS-VIDEC, Marie-Louise (2007) "Political (System) Reform: Can Administrative Reform succeed without?" *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

RAADSCHELDERS, Jos C.N.; TOONEN, Theo A.J.; VAN DER MEER, Frits M. Van (eds.) (2007) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

RAHMAN, Muhammad A. (1995) *People's Self-Development: Perspectives on Participatory Action Research*. London: Zed Books.

REICH, Robert B. (1990) *Public Management in a Democratic Society*. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

REINERT, Max (1995) "I mondi lessicali in un corpus di 304 racconti di incubi attraverso il metodo "Alceste"" *in* Roberto Cipriani; Sergio Bolasco (eds.) *Ricerca qualitativa e computer*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

REPORT OPtar on Lisbon PB 2011 (2012), Centro de Estudos Sociais. Coimbra: Portugal.

REPORT OPtar on Lisbon PB 2012 (2013), Centro de Estudos Sociais. Coimbra: Portugal.

REPORTS PB Lisbon, http://www.lisboaparticipa.pt/pages/orcamentoparticipativo.php [2013/03/01]

RESTREPO, Dario I. (2003) "Las practicas participativas: entre la socializacion y la privatizacion de las politicaspublicas" *CLAD Reforma y Democracia*. 25, 1-22.

RHODES, Raw A.W. (1996) "The New Governance: Governing without Governance" *Political Studies*. 44, 652-667.

ROCHA, J. A. Oliveira (2009) *Gestão Pública e Modernização Administrativa*. Oeiras: INA.

ROCKMAN, Bert A. (1998) 'The Changing Role of the State" *in* Guy B. Peters and Donald J. Savoie (eds) *Talking Stock: Assessing Public Sector Reforms*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 20–44.

ROE, Emery M. (1991) "Development narratives or making the best of blueprint development" *World Development*. 19(4), 287-300.

RONDINELLI, Dennis (2007) "Governments Serving People: The Changing Roles of Public Administration in Democratic Governance" *in UN 7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Building Trust in Government: Public Administration and democratic governance: Governments Serving Citizens*, Vienna, 1-28.

ROSANVALLON, Pierre (1995) *La crisis del Estado Providencia*. Madrid: Editorial Civitas.

ROSETA, Helena (2013) "Programa BIP/ZIP parcerias locais: a energia dos bairros em tempo de crise" *in OIDP Conferência internacional Cidadania para a sustentabilidade* 2013/05/05. Cascais: OIDP.

ROUBAN, Luc (2007) "Political-Administrative Relations" in Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques (2006/1997) *Il contratto sociale*, trad it. "Du contract social", Bari: Laterza

RUIVO, Fernando (2000) *O Estado Labirintico: O poder relacional entre poderes local e central em Portugal*. Porto: Afrontamento.

RUIVO, Fernando (2004) "A Reforma administrativa territorial de 2003" *Cadernos do Observatorio dos Poderes Locais*, www.opl.com.pt.

RUIVO, Fernando ; FRANCISCO, Daniel; GOMES, Catarina (2011) *O poder local português e a construção europeia: o Estado labirintico revisitado*. Coimbra: Edições Almedina.

SAINSAULIEU, Renaud (1987) *Sociologie de l'organisation et de l'enterprise*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques & Dalloz.

SAINSAULIEU, Renaud (1988) *L'identité au travail*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

SALIS GOMES, João (2011) "Perspectivas da moderna gestao pública em Portugal" *in* Juan Mozzicafreddo; João Salis Gomes (eds.) *Administraçao e Politica: Perspectivas de reforma da Administraçao Publica na Europa e nos Estados Unidos*. Oeiras: Celta Editora.

SALVATORE, Sergio (2003) "Psicologia postmoderna e psicologia della postmodernità" *in* Gino Dalle Fratte, *Postmodernità e problematiche pedagogiche. Modernità e postmodernità tra discontinuità, crisi e ipotesi di superamento*. Rome: Armando, 65-98.

SALVATORE, Sergio; VENULEO, Claudia (2008) "The unconscious as source of sense: A psychodynamic approach to meaning" *in* Brady Wagoner (ed.) *Symbolic Transformations: The mind in movement through culture and society*. London: Routledge.

SAMUELSON, Paul A. (1954) "The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure" *Review of Economics and Statistics*. 36, 387-389.

SATTERTHWAITE, David; BOONYABANCHA, Somsook; D'CRUZ, Celine; CABANNES, Yves; MITLIN, Diana; PATEL, Sheela; STEIN, Alfredo (2007) "Participatory governance in cities" *in UN 7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Building Trust in Government: Public Administration and democratic governance: Governments Serving Citizens*, Vienna, 268-312.

SCHEIN, Edgar H. (1992) *Lezioni di consulenza*, tr.it Process Consultation (1987). Milan: Raffaello Cortina.

SCHEIN, Edgar H. (1997) "The concept of "client" form a process consultation perspective. A guide for change agents" *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. 10, 202-216.

SCHEIN, Edgar H. (2000) *Culture d'impresa. Come affrontare con successo le transizioni e i cambiamenti organizzativi*, tr.it The Corporate Culture Survival Guide. Milan: Raffaello Cortina Editore.

SCHMIDT, Vivien A. (2006) *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Polities*. New York: Oxford University Press.

SCHÖN, Donald A. (1983) *The reflexive practitioner*. New York: Basic Books.

SCHÖN, Donald A. (2002) "Reframing Policy Discourse" *in* Frank Fischer; John Forester (eds.) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

SCHÖN, Donald A.; REIN, Martin (1994) *Frame Reflection: Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy Controversies*. New York: Basic Books.

SCHUDSON, Michael (2006) "The trouble with experts – and why democracies need them" *Theory and Society*. 35, 491–50.

SCHUMPTER, Joseph A. (1967) *Capitalismo, socialismo, democrazia*. Milan: Etas.

SCHWARTZMAN, Helen B. (1989) *The Meeting: gatherings in organizations and communities*. New York: Plenum.

SCOTT, Richard W. (1965) "Field Methods in the Study of Organizations" *in* James G. March (ed.) *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

SELZNICK, Philip (1957) *Leadership in administration*. New York: Harper and Row.

SELZNICK, Philip (1984) "Guiding Principles and Interpretation: A Summary" *in* Philip Selznick *TVA and the Grass Roots*. Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 249-266.

SEN, Amartya (1992) "Comportamento econômico e sentimentos morais" *Lua Nova*. 25, 103-130.

SEN, Amartya (2010/2000) *Lo sviluppo è libertà. Perché non c'è crescita senza democrazia*. Milano: Mondadori.

SIMON, Herbert A. (1960/1947) *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization*. New York: The MacMillan Co.

SIMONSEN, Arne (2008) "And the winner is trust and credibility" *in* OECD (2009) *Focus on citizens: public engagement for better policy and services* 188-191.

SINTOMER, Yves (2005) "Los presupuestos participativos en Europa: retos y desafios" *Revista del CLAD Refroma y Democracia*. 31.

SINTOMER, Yves (2007) *Le pouvoir au peuple. Jurys citoyens, tirage au sort et démocratie partecipative*. Paris: La Découverte.

SINTOMER, Yves (2010) "Saberes dos cidadãos e saber político" *Revista Critica de Ciencias Sociais*. 91, 135–153.

SINTOMER, Yves (2013) "Democratizar a democracia. 25 anos de orçamentos participativos no mundo: Europa" *in OIDP Conferência internacional Cidadania para a sustentabilidade* 2013/05/04. Cascais: OIDP.

SINTOMER, Yves; ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2009) *I bilanci partecipativi in Europa. Nuove esperienze Democratiche nel vecchio continente*. Rome: Ediesse.

SINTOMER, Yves; ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni (2013) *Os Orçamentos Participativos na Europa. Entre democracia participativa e modernização dos serviços públicos*. Coimbra: Almedina.

SINTOMER, Yves; ALLEGRETTI, Giovanni; HERZBERG, Carsten; RÖCKE, Anja (2013) *Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an Invitation to Global Cooperation*. Bonn: InWEnt gGmbH.

SINTOMER, Yves; GANUZA, Ernesto (2011) *Democracia participativa y modernización de servicios públicos: los presupuestos participativos en Europa*. Amsterdam: TNI.

SINTOMER Yves, HERZBERG, Carsten, RÖCKE, Anja (2005) *Participatory Budgets in a European comparative approach, Volume II*. Berlin: Centre March Bloch / Hans-Böckler-Stiftung / Humboldt University.

SNOW, Charles P. (1995) *As duas Culturas*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença.

SOKAL, Alan; BRICMONT, Jean (1999) *Imposturas intelectuais*, tr.pt Impostures intellectuelles (1997). Lisbon: Gradiva.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (1990) "O estado e o direito na transição pós-moderna: para um novo senso comum sobre o poder e o direito" *Revista Critica de Ciências Sociais*. 30, 13-43.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2000) *A crítica da razão indolente: contra o desperdício da experiência*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2001) "Entre Prospero e Caliban: colonialismo, pós-colonialismo e inter-identidade" *in* Maria I. Ramalho; António Sousa Ribeiro (eds.) *Entre ser e estar: raízes, percursos e discursos da identidade*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2002) *Democracia e Participação: O Caso do Orçamento Participativo de Porto Alegre*. Porto: Afrontamento.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (ed.) (2003) *Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2006) *A gramática do tempo: para uma nova cultura política*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2007) "Para além do pensamento abissal: das linhas globais a uma ecologia de saberes" *Revista crítica de ciências sociais*. 78, 3-46.

SOUSA SANTOS, Boaventura (2009) "Os deafios da Democracia Participativa" *in* Nelson Dias (ed.) *Actas de Lisboa - III Encontro Nacional sobre Orçamento Participativo*, 19-25.

STONE, Deborah (1997) *Policy Paradox: The art of political decision making*. New York: W.W. Norton.

STONER, James A. (1968) "Risky and cautious shift in group decisions" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 4, 442-459.

SULEIMAN, Ezra A. (2003) *Dismantliang democratic States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

TAVARES, Luís Valadares (2004) *O novo quadro legal da Administração Pública: Inovação e Mudança Cultural*. Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Administração.

TAYLOR, Frederick W. (1923) *Scientific Management*. New York: Harper and Row.

THIBAUT, John; WALKER, Laurens (1978) "A theory of procedure" *California Law Review*. 1, 541-566.

THEODOULOU, Stella Z.; KOFINIS, Chris (2004) *The Art of the Game: Understanding Policy Making*. Belmont CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

THOENIG, Jean-Claude (1987) "Pour une approche analytique de la modernisation administrative" *Revue Francese de Science Politique*. 37 (4), 534-536

THOENIG, Jean-Claude (2008) "Institutional Theories and Public Institutions: traditions and appropriatness" *in* Guy B. Peters and Jon Pierre (eds.) *Handbook of public administration*, London: Sage, 127-137.

THOMPSON, James D. (1967) *Organizations in Action: Social Science Bases of Administrative Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

THOMPSON, John (1995) "Participatory approaches in government bureaucracies: facilitating the process of institutional change" *World Development*, 15 (4), 1521-1554.

TNS POLITICAL & SOCIAL (2013) "European Citizens' engagement with Participatory Democracy, Flash Eurobaormeter 373". European Commission: Directorate-General for Communication,
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_373_en.pdf [2013/04/10]

TOULMIN, Stephen (1990) *Cosmopolis: the hidden agenda of modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

UN (2000) "United Nations Millennium Declaration, Resolution A/55/L.2". New York: United Nations.
http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000908.ga9758.doc.html [2013/04/10]

UNDESA (2005) "6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government: towards participatory and transparent governance". Seoul, Korean Republic 2005/05/24-27. New York: United Nations.
http://www.unpan.org/dpadm/globalforum/6thglobalforum/tabid/602/default.aspx [2013/04/10]

UNDESA (2007) "7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Building Trust in Government. Public Administration and democratic governance: Governments Serving Citizens". Vienna, Austria 2007/06/26-29. New York: United Nations,
http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan025063.pdf [2013/04/12]

UNDP (1993) "Human Development Report". Oxford: Oxford University Press,
http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1993_en_contents.pdf [2013/04/12]

UNDP (1997) "Governance for Sustainable Human Development". New York: UNDP,
http://gis.emro.who.int/HealthSystemObservatory/Workshops/WorkshopDocuments/Reference%20reading%20material/Literature%20on%20Governance/GOVERN~2.PDF [2013/04/12]

URBACT (2008) "European Handbook for Participation: Participation of inhabitants in integrated urban regeneration programmes as a key to improve social cohesion". Rome: URBACT, www.urbact.org/partecipando [2012/07/01]

URBINATI, Nadia; DASTOLI, Virgilio, PASSERINI, Luisa (2013) "Democrazia e cittadinanza culturale in Europa" *in Biennale Democrazia* 2013/04/12. Turin: Biennale Democrazia.

VAN DEN BERG, Caspar F.; TOONEN, Theo A.J. (2007) "National Civil Service Systems and the implications of Multi-level governance: Weberianism revisited?" *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

VAN DER MEER, Frits M. (2002) "Civil Service Reform in Western Europe and the rise of the enabling State", Working Paper, Paul van Riper symposium ASPA Conference, Phoenix Arizona, *apud* Van der Meer Frits M., Steen Trui, Wille Anchrit (2007) "Western European Civil Service Systems: A comparative analysis", *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

VAN DER MEER, F.M.; STEEN, Trui; WILLIE, Anchrit (2007) "Western European Civil Service Systems: A comparative analysis", *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

VERHEIJEN, Tony J.; RABRENOVIC, Aleksandra (2007) "Civil Service development in Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS: Swimming with the Tide?" *in* Jos C.N., Raadschelders; Theo A.J. Toonen; Frits M. Van der Meer (eds.) *The Civil Service in the 21st Century. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

VIEIRA Alvaro; FERREIRA, Lurdes (2013) "Orçamentos Participativos. Projectos autarquicos estao a mudar de pele e tendem a crescer em Portugal" *Publico* 2013/04/28, 4-10

VILLAVERDE CABRAL, Manuel (2008) "Efeito metropolitano e cultura política: novas modalidades de exercício de cidadania na metrópole de Lisboa" *in* Manuel Villaverde Cabral; Filipe C. Silva; Tiago, Saraiva (eds.) *Cidade e Cidania: Governança urbana e participação cidadã em perspectiva comparada*. Lisbon: ICS – Imprensa de Ciéncias Sociais, 213-242.

VODUSEK, Neza; BIEFNOT, Annie (2011) "Report on the CDLR survey of the role of central/regional government in participatory budgeting at local level. Legal framework and current practice in member States". Strasburg: Council of Europe.

VON BERTALANFFY, Ludwig (1950) "The theory of open systems in physics and biology", *Science*. 111, 23– 29.

VON NEUMANN, John, MORGENSTERN, Oskar (1944) *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*. Princeton: University Press.

VYGOTSKY, Lev S. (1986/1934) *Thought and Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel (1993) "Encontros: 1492 e Depois; Descobertas: 1992 e Antes" *Revista Critica de Ciências Sociais*. 38, 41-48.

WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel (1995) "Mudança Social? A mudança é eterna. Nada muda, nunca" *Revista Critica de Ciências Sociais*. 44, 3-23.

WAMPLER, Brian (2008) "A difusão do Orçamento Participativo brasileiro: "boas práticas" devem ser promovidas?" *Opinião Pública*. 14 (1), 65-95.

WATZLAWICK, P., BEAVIN, J.H., JACKSON, D.D., (1967) *Pragmatic of human communication. A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes*. New York: Norton & Co.

WEBER, Max (1947) *The theory of social and economic organization*. London: The Free Press of Glencoe.

WEBER, Max (1970) "Politics as a vocation" *in* Hans H. Gerth; Charles Wright Mills *Max Weber: Essays in sociology.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 77–128.

WEBER, Max (1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline Interpretative Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

WEICK, Karl (1997) *Senso e significato dell'organizzazione*, tr.it Sensemaking in Organizations (1995). Milan: Raffaello Cortina Editore.

WRIGHT, David J. (1996) "Exposing the chameleon: response to «Accountability and public administration»" *Canadian Public Administration*. 39 (2), 226-234.

YANOW, Dvora (1994) "Silences in Public Policy Discourse: Organizational and Policy Myths" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 2 (4), 399-423.

YANOW, Dvora (1996) *How Does a Policy Mean? Interpreting Policy and Organisational Actions*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

YANOW, Dvora (2000) *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. London: Sage.

YANOW, Dvora (2003) "Practicing Discipline" *Political Science and Politics*. 36 (3), 397-399.

YIN, Robert K. (2003) *Applications of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

ZAGREBELSKY, Gustavo (2007) *Imparare democrazia*. Turin: Einaudi.

ZAGREBELSKY, Gustavo (2010) *Sulla lingua del tempo presente*. Turin: Einaudi.

Mentioned Portuguese Legislation

Portuguese Constitution:
http://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/constpt2005.pdf [2012/07/08]

Law 56/2012: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 216, 2012/11/08 [2012/01/13]

Notice n.º 5589/2011: Diário da República, 2.ª série nº 39, 2011/02/24 [2012/01/13]

Documento Verde da Reforma da Administração Local: Gabinete do Ministro Adjunto e dos Assuntos Parlamentares:
http://www.portugal.gov.pt/media/132774/doc_verde_ref_adm_local.pdf [2012/12/13]

Law 1/1979: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 1, 1979/02/01 [2011/09/16]

Law 79/77: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 247, 1977/10/25 [2011/09/16]

Decree-Law 135/99: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 94, 1999/04/22 [2011/09/16]

Law n. 169/99: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 219, 1999/09/18 [2011/09/17]

Decree-Law 86/2003: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 97, 2003/04/26 [2011/09/17]

Law 2/2004: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 12, 2004/01/15 [2011/11/05]

Law 10/2004: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 69, 2004/03/22 [2011/11/05]

Law 51/2005: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 166, 2005/08/30 [2012/04/03]

Law 7/2007: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 25, 2007/02/05 [2012/06/06]

Law 66/2007: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 250, 2007/12/28 [2011/07/09]

Decree of the President of the Republic 160/2012: Diário da República, 1.ª série nº 216, 2012/11/08 [2013/02/07]

Mentioned European Acts

Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government (CETS 207), http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/207.htm [2013/02/01]

Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the participation of citizens in local public life,
https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?command=com.instranet.CmdBlobGet&InstranetImage=871858&SecMode=1&DocId=234770&Usage=2 [2013/02/11]

Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States about evaluation, auditing and monitoring of participation and participation policies at local and regional level,
https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1418893&Site=CM [2013/01/14]

Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate [COM(2005)494],

http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2005&nu_doc=494 [2012/11/13]

White Paper on a European Communication Policy [COM(2006)35], http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com2006_35_en.pdf [2011/07/13]

White Paper on European Governance, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf [2011/07/13]

Action Plan for Better Regulation, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2002&nu_doc=278 [2013/03/03]

European Transparency Initiative, http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/eti/index_en.htm [2012/08/04]

The Active Citizenship Initiative (European Youth Portal), http://europa.eu/youth/archive/active_citizenship/index_eu_en.html [2013/06/14]

Aarhus Convention, http://ec.europa.eu/environment/aarhus/ [2012/08/07]

Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the participation of citizens in local public life at local level, https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1871285&Site=CM [2013/05/14]

Relevant Websites

Associação InLoco: www.in-loco.pt

Centro de Estudos Sociais (Portugal): www.ces.pt

Centro de Estudos Sociais (Latin America): www.cesamericalatina.org

Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche Università degli Studi di Torino: www.scipol.unito.it

Etymonline: www.etymonline.com

European Values: www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu

"InfoOP": www.infoop.org

Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados (Cordoba): www.iesa.csic.es

Laboratoire de Changement Social in the Université Paris 7: www.univ-paris-diderot.fr

Municipality of Lisbon: www.cm-lisboa.pt

Network "Civitas": www.civitas21.pt

"OP Portugal": www.op-portugal.org

Participatory Budgeting: http://www.participatorybudgeting.org/

"Participatory democracy and the Portuguese crisis":
www.ces.uc.pt/eventos/index.php?id=4865&id_lingua=1

Pelouro da Habitaço de Lisboa: www.habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt

Public Administration open access source code: www.svn.gov.pt

School of Social and Political Science University of Edinburgh: www.sps.ed.ac.uk

Simplex: www.simplex.pt

Scuola di Psicosociologia (Rome): www.spsonline.it

Studio di Analisi Psicosociologica (Milan): www.studioaps.it

Studio RisorseObiettiviStrumenti (Rome): www.studio-ros.it

Website for participation of the Municipality of Lisbon: www.lisboaparticipa.pt

<center>**Attachment – Methodology**</center>

1. Designing the action research

What areas of reflection can be opened in order to think about the development of participatory processes when analyzing the complex construction of change from the perspective of the civil servants?

The design of the action research can function as an element to be pursued, according to the characteristics of the context. Once the demand of the research has been defined, the design can be set in dialogical connection with the object of analysis. From an overhead theoretical and methodological reference point, the design must both respond to the main demand of research, and set scientific issues of interest to be worked on throughout the field-study experiences. Hence, it is for the empirical experience to suggest which problems are to be explored within specific historical and contextual frameworks (see: Scott, 1965). The construction of the hypotheses concerning the problems emerging from the action research, cannot help but provide a fairly confused plan in the first moments of the research. That is the reason why action research is based on theories and methodologies of reference to potentially be implemented or complemented with the final results. In these terms, Pagés et al. (1998) have highlighted the necessity of managing areas of research where the recognition of main theories have to match provisory relations with progressive findings, and generally result in open conclusions for their further and future re-elaborations.

The debate around what quantitative and qualitative methods should be implemented in action research has a long history. Beyond the debates concerning the peculiar features of each method, some scholars have proposed extensive reflections about rationales and paradigms sustaining the election of either quantitative or qualitative methods (see: Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Ethnographical studies in the anthropological field, as well as the School of Chicago in the sociological field have given broad impulse to qualitative methods. Since the middle of the XX century, social sciences have more and more, opted for qualitative approaches, so as to better respond to their variable scientific issues that hardly fit strict quantitative criteria. There is no chance that one can understand

<center>335</center>

human behavior without taking into consideration the ways subjects experience their contexts and express their own experiences. Therefore, by including the study of both processes and contents of human experiences, social sciences have gradually acknowledged the relevance of symbolical representation and signification of the reality.

Qualitative methodology involve different approaches that Chambel and Curral (2000) have classified as follows: (1) Grounded theory: development of a theory according to findings and data collected in place-based experiences, mostly used in the case of limitedly explored scientific issues in order to construct specific topics to be further analyzed[166]. (2) Critical theory: the inclusion of scientific issues generally excluded by scientific discourses aimed at "democratizing" science itself[167]. (3) Constructivism: a focus on the processes of sharing meanings, to be grasped through the analysis of communication and language. In the past few decades, social and political sciences have approached new qualitative methods and pilot empirical studies in order to design appropriate qualitative research strategies. As Fisher (2003) puts it, especially referring to public policy analysis, it also represents a reaction to neo-positivist approaches creating biases within social sciences studies. In these terms:

> [...] *while empiricists have sought to restrict the focus to the observable dimensions of social reality, the interpretive orientation on meaning requires the social scientist to pursue the unobservable as well. Because language is able to carry and transmit meanings among people, access to the realm of meaning often can be gained through the study of communication, both spoken and written. But such meanings are generally only indirectly made available through such communications. Thus it is necessary for the analyst to move beyond*

---

[166] The case study can be instrumental, i.e. analyzed in order to increase knowledge around a scientific issue and/or better a scientific theory. In this sense, there can be either an explorative or descriptive purpose. In the first case, the aim is to undertake a pivotal study to be used as a basis for hypotheses to be tested; in the second case, there are neither predictions nor prescriptions but rather descriptions of the case. With regard to the sample, it is not demanded to have statistical relevance, since the research refers to a specific context (see: Yin, 2003). Quantitative methodology is concerned rather with the exact definition of the hypotheses, predicting the relationships between two or more phenomena and specific indicators basing the action research. The sample responds to criteria of representativeness, and the collection of data and the relationships among them is followed by the assessment of the outcomes on the basis of the hypotheses.

[167] Accordingly, the French School of Clinical Sociology proposes a methodology for projects of social development concerned first with the analysis of the economic and political context in which organizations are set. Social Analysis is followed by Institutional Analysis focused on the very characteristics of the organization in terms of history, structure and professional relations. As a result, the enactment of the projects, the organization of the devices and the choice of the methods should be followed by forms of "dynamic assessment", i.e. neither external nor internal, but rather processes composed of continuous feedbacks concerning organizational systems rather than individual performances (De Gaulejac *et al.*, 1995).

In line with this perspective, Yanow (2000) suggests we identify: (1) the artifacts (language, objects, acts) that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issue, as perceived by policy-relevant actors and interpretive communities; (2) communities of meaning / interpretation / speech / practice that are relevant to the policy issue under analysis; (3) the relevant discourses and their specific meanings being communicated through specific artifacts and their uses (in thought, speech and act); (4) the points of conflict and their conceptual sources (affective, cognitive, and/or moral) that reflect different interpretations by different communities. The question is: how do we grasp social meanings? Storytelling is likely to grasp a variety of information and thoughts by weaving them into a plot-making sense of complex situations. It is different from chronicle, for it does not merely list events according to space/time coordinates; rather it orders experiences through constructing reality (see: Bruner, 1986; Weick, 1997; Kaplan, 2002). In this respect, whereas prepared policies may obscure considerations within the process of construction, narrative-in-making permits us to better understand the ways policies can comprise a sequence of ambiguous claims (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1997). In the critical task of interrupting the "closed cycle" of defensive reasoning and behavior, the researcher can interrupt limits to learning and reflect on the meanings of change (Argyris, 1994).

Kykyri *et al.* (2010) argue that discursive approaches to organizational change have highlighted the central role of conversations in producing and managing changes. Rather than seeing change as a shift from one stable State to another, discourse-oriented views have defined it as a locally and socially constructed interaction where momentary changes within conversations are constantly created. In this sense, "*organizational discourse analysis is not simply an intellectual luxury but can have pragmatic, relevant implications*" (Heracleous and Marshak, 2004: 113). Such a perspective carries conceptions consistent with Lewin's proposal (1948): action research is both an instrument to better understand the changes going on in a system, and a way to perturb the system itself. As Schein (1992) makes clear, it is impossible to think about research as clearly delimited by action, and not interfering with the context to be explored.

> *Nella misura in cui la consulenza comporta un lavoro attivo con il cliente iniziale e gli altri partecipanti interessati, il consulente in effetti esegue un*

intervento per il solo fatto di porre domande o di sollevare questioni. Persino la presenza stessa del consulente costituisce di per sé un intervento: si tratta di un messaggio all'organizzazione: c'è qualcuno che percepisce un problema che richiede la presenza di un consulente" (*ibidem*: 29, tr_it_15).

To cope with uncertainty involves designing research that is driven by problems, rather than narrow methods and techniques. In this sense, the "client", as described by Norman (2004), becomes a valid construct when considering the orientation of the relationship between researcher and subject. The "generative" function of research when also playing a counselling function, is inherent to this perspective because it helps the subjects to self-reflect on the change. However, Schein (1992) recognizes that the relationship between counselor and subject creates an asymmetric relation and demands deep reflection on both hierarchies and functions. Therefore, the author proposes the "process consultation" method as aiming to solve possible impasses stemming from differences in power[168]. With regard to the psychosociological approach, Brunod and D'agostino (2007) argue that counseling is essentially addressed to support processes of organizational change by potentially involving the top manager, as well as the whole personnel. Towards this aim, there is a necessity to establish an "alliance" based on the mutual recognition that there is an interest in dealing with the same objects and potentially sharing the same objectives. In these terms, alliance does not necessarily imply agreement because rather, it sets dynamics of power and reciprocal influence. As a matter of fact, it is through the very construction of the relationship between the researcher/counselor and the subject/client that the field-experience is likely to build its own meanings (see also: Petit and Dubois, 1998). The initial steps instituting the relationship between researcher and subjects have to be grounded in the analysis of their "demand", through reformulating the implicit instances within, in order to set the first "interpretive actions" (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). In this sense, within the interactive setting researcher and subjects are to agree on

---

[168] The author (*ibidem*) proposes different types of counseling: giving information; analyzing information; diagnosis process; teaching; listen, sustain, give comfort and advice; help in making decisions; rewarding or punishing; releasing or activating information fluxes; making decisions and ruling; assuming responsibilities in order to decrease anxiety generated by uncertainty. The author also defines three main categories of demands for the counselor/researcher: when the problem seems to be already identified the counselor becomes the "container"; the subject delegates to the counselor the responsibility to make diagnosis and give solution; process consultation - the active inclusion of the subject in all of the steps of the process. Process consultation can be between: (1) manager and counselor; (2) manager with counselor and a team; (3) managers and counselors working with a business body for strategic planning; (4) counselor and an organization for wide restructuring.

the data to be analyzed and returned. By employing the analysis of the connections among the different organizational elements, the researcher is demanded to elicit reflection on the processes of subjects' sensemaking, by formulating interpretive hypotheses concerning the progressive process of action research. Such interpretive keys have to be progressively proved with the subjects themselves in a dialogical way, rather than aiming at implementing strict problem solving techniques towards pre-determined changes[169]. D'Agostino and Olivetti Manoukian (2009) argue that:

> [*l*]*a centratura sulla costruzione dei legami organizzativi, come "luoghi" metaforici in cui costruire il senso dell'agire e del cambiamento organizzativo rende anche possibile sottolineare l'importanza di riscoprire il ruolo delle formazioni intermedie, dei sottosistemi in cui il singolo é concretamente inserito* (*ibidem*: 71, tr_it_16).

Therefore, according to the psychosociological approach, the counseling character of research is essentially grounded in the analysis of the whole organization, in terms of relationships constituting it, in both structural and emotional terms (see: Orsenigo, 2007).

As a result, the change of organizations is strictly related to the change of the symbolical representations intertwiningly constructed by "organizing" the organizations themselves. For the representations, cross standard and exploratory strategies of organizational setting and managing and solving problems, the function of psychosociology is concerned with the passage from repetitive forms of organizing towards generative complexity, i.e. from the narrow relations stated by paradigms of "stimulus and reaction" towards the dialogical project-making aimed at providing adequate knowledge and know-how for contextual development (see also: Carli and Paniccia, 1981)[170]. The relationship between the psychologist and the organizational members taking part in the action research necessarily generates new demands and questions because it

---

[169] In this respect, Yanow (2009) lists different "hermeneutic" phases: "*The first hermeneutic belongs to those we are studying – the so-called actors in the situation: their interpretations of their firsthand experiences. This is the initial interpretive moment. The second hermeneutic is the researcher's: the interpretations we make of situational actors' interpretations as we participate with them, talk with them, interact and observe them, and read (literally or figuratively) their documents and other research-relevant artifacts. Collectively, these make up the second interpretive moment. The third interpretive moment also belongs to the researcher's hermeneutic but takes place at a remove from fieldwork activity, during deskwork phase, as she reads and rereads fieldnotes and analyzes them, and during the textwork when crafting a narrative that presents both fieldwork and analysis*" (*ibidem*: 278).

[170] De Gaulejac *et al*. (1995) distinguish between projects of "adaptation", aimed at modifying organizations in conformity to the evolution of the social context, from projects of "innovation" aimed at creating new structures or policies.

reframes the context subjects belong to. By opening new paths of knowledge, psychosociology is likely to open new possibilities for organizational change and finally experience new "thinkable" organizations.

2. Towards the definition of the action research methodology

The focus of our action research is on civil servants engaged with participatory processes. Such an election should be meant as an interpretive action of the research, stemming from both analysis of and reflection on the existing scientific literature, as well as its relevance at the empirical level. We consider civil servants as people set between multiple changes (see: Chapter VI and Chapter VIII) and sharing a common symbolical experience signified in different ways. It does not involve having incommensurably idiosyncratic symbolical representations of participation, but rather recognizing the variability of shared representations concerning the same object. It is through social relationships and interactions that subjects can share representations and make sense of their context, through aggregating and distinguishing their cultural issues. As a result, we have been committed with exploring the meanings attributed to their own experiences, in order to make sense of the cultural patterns organizing their work (see: Weick, 1997; Carli and Paniccia, 2002). In the same vein, Pipan (1996) argues for the importance of:

> [...] *dare rilievo alle persone e ricostruire insieme la loro realtà sociale, a partire dalla convinzione che, essendo il mondo sociale costruito intersoggettivamente i ricercatori possono capire i significati attribuiti al proprio lavoro da parte degli intervistati attraverso la rappresentazione che essi danno di sé e della propria organizzazione* (*ibidem*: 42, tr_it_17)[171].

Through negotiating the steps for action research, the researcher starts the experience of the fieldwork by epistemologically establishing an interactive process, based on the continuous analysis of the demands elaborated by subjects, at both explicit and implicit levels (Carli and Paniccia, 2003). The initial phase of "negotiation" regarding the presence of the researcher committed with the action research development within the administrative apparatus, is crucial because: (1) it involves considering what are the different functions of client played by the subjects for the action research; (2) and it

---

[171] The author (*ibidem*) has used open interviews through the technique of both "laddering up" and "laddering down", i.e. asking the relevance of the "constructs" adopted by the interviewee in order to enucleate the most important which is likely to reveal the profound organizational experience. The result is a set of interpretive hypotheses about frameworks of the daily experiences in the organization.

involves setting the adequate methods in order to obtain outcomes consistent with their possible demands of development (see also: Schein, 1992). With regard to the aspects of action, psychosociology involves a counseling function intervening in the sets of relationships and their symbolical significations (Carli and Paniccia, 2003; Brunod and D'Agostino, 2007). In line with this, Argyris (1994) also highlights the importance of enabling subjects with emerging knowledge, as a potential factor of change when considering the role of feelings. "*Progress toward change requires expressing those feelings as well as respecting them. It is important for organizational participants to explore the reasons for their feelings*" (*ibidem*: 353). The author makes an argumentative link between thought and action in opposition to the sharp differentiation between scientific and useable knowledge, when colluding with a self-fulfilling prophecy consistent with the *status quo* (Argyris, 1991).

Hence, our intention has been that of involving civil servants in a piece of research aimed at making their symbolical representations of the engagement with participation emerge, by framing our presence within a consistent approach concerned with change, and aimed at developing change itself. The usability of the knowledge constructed throughout the action research, as well as the interpretive hypotheses sustaining the analysis of the outcomes have been thought of as the pillars of our commitment with the Municipality of Lisbon. Towards this aim, we have negotiated the action research with the city councilwomen responsible for the four participatory processes. The "initial clients" have been identified in the team managers, whereas the "clients" of the action research have been the sample composed of team managers, team members, and civil servants involved in the PB process (interlocutors and collaborators). Then we have articulated the methodology through: (1) the collection of data regarding the four participatory processes (and the overall situation of the local administration in terms of reform); (2) the observation of the design, management and implementation of the participatory processes has regarded the administrative teams officially created for this goal; (3) the interviews undertaken with the sample of 29 civil servants; (4) the moments of feedback regarding the administrative teams (see: Chapter VIII). We have taken advantage of a larger sample of interviewees, by including PB ex and current interlocutors and ex-collaborators, in order to have a wide basis of data sustaining our hypotheses about the role of participation within

local administration[172]. However, the development of changes enacted through participation has been essentially referred to the work done by the administrative units implementing the processes. As a result, to denote the process of feedback as an aspect of counseling, we have planned two specific meetings with the two administrative teams.

Table 23 - The methodology: actions, subjects and times

Methodology		
Actions	**Subjects**	**Times**
Data collection	Four participatory processes	Throughout the action research including findings derived from previous observations in 2009, 2010 and 2011.
Observation	- Internal team reunions	July 2011 / July 2012
	- External meetings with participants	March / May 2012
Interviews	29 civil servants	January / April 2012
Feedback meetings	Team managers and members	May 2013

The process of action research has been supervised through specific meetings with the "initial clients" and, when practicable, with team members, as detailed in Chapter VIII (see also: Grasso *et al.*, 2004). The whole process has been systematically reported after each meeting, in order to implement the self-reflective function of the researcher involved in the action research, who is required to use psychosociological expertise for meta-knowledge in the field-experience. Furthermore, the action research has taken advantage of previous observations carried out within the processes, especially in the case of the Participatory Budget, in 2009, 2010 and 2011. During 2013 we have also been following the implementation of the processes, especially regarding the Participatory Assemblies of

---

[172] The invitation to take part was sent by e-mail by the DIOP team and, as a result of the voluntary choice, eleven civil servants have agreed to be interviewed, divided into interlocutors (ex-interlocutors and those already confirmed after the administrative reform) and ex-collaborators (because the recently implemented reform had not yet permitted the identification of collaborators for the 2012 edition of participatory assemblies).

the Participatory Budget and the realization of some workshops organized by the BipZip team with local partnerships. Finally, we want to underline that the entire process of reflection, analysis and interpretation has been supported by the indispensable and dynamic exchanges had with academic and counseling entities at the international level: the *Centro de Estudos Sociais* ("Center for Social Studies") in Portugal (www.ces.pt), which is our PhD academic institution of reference; the *Centro de Estudos Sociais America Latina* ("Latin America Center for Social Studies") in Brazil (www.cesamericalatina.org); the *Laboratoire de Changement Social* ("Laboratory for Social Change") in the Université Paris 7 (www.univ-paris-diderot.fr); the *Scuola di Psicosociologia* ("School of Psychosociology") (www.spsonline.it) and the *Studio RisorseObiettiviStrumenti* ("Studio Resources Objectives Tools") (www.studio-ros.it) in Rome, as well as the *Studio di Analisi Psicosociologica* ("Studio of Psychosociological Analysis") in Milan (www.studioaps.it); the *Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche* ("Department of Political Sciences") in the University of Turin (www.scipol.unito.it); the School of Social and Political Science in the University of Edinburgh (www.sps.ed.ac.uk); and the *Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados* ("Institute of Advanced Social Studies") in Cordoba (www.iesa.csic.es). The possibility to make psychosociology dialogue with such a varied set of institutes has undoubtedly represented an indispensable support for the scientific interdisciplinary framework of this action research, especially referring to the areas of critical sociology, organizational studies, political sciences and public policy analysis in the field of participatory studies.

Such a composed set of interactions constructed throughout the action research has permitted us to both construct the hypotheses and assess their validity along the steps of the investigation. Such a function is meaningful when constantly supervised by both researcher and complementary supportive actors, towards the aim of making sense of the whole action research[173]. In this case, we have taken advantage of the expert support given by the tutor of the Thesis Giovanni Allegretti. The usability of the knowledge has a

---

[173] In this respect, it is useful to remark that the psychological setting is meant as the combination of structural and dynamic elements, i.e. the scenario and the relationships occurring within. Hence, we have been committed to understanding the rules of the game framed and re-framed through the action research, by connecting the meanings attributed by the actors with the general norms and rules of the context. In this sense, the setting allows the actors to keep and reframe rules of the game of the process by simultaneously questioning the ways they do that. At the same time, the meta-reflection on the setting involves considering the role of the researcher, his/her theories-in-use and theories-in-action (see: Argyris and Schön, 1974) and the set of space/time factors.

psychological relevance because it orientates the interpretive actions of the action research to be undertaken in the construction of the relationships themselves. In these terms, we have identified five principal hypotheses that simultaneously create evidence of the aspects of originality of the study:

1) New areas of knowledge stemming from the contribution of psychosociology when intersecting the commitment with organizational development and new interactive policymaking processes, by planning an interdisciplinary action research in the field of participatory studies.

2) New elements concerning the approaches with participation as expression of multiple changes demanded and/or occurring in public administrations, especially when focusing on their cultural aspects.

3) The key role played by civil servants in terms of development of the changes that are managed and implemented by public administrations, with particular attention to participatory processes.

4) The possibility to enhance the knowledge and the acknowledgment about the dimensions of change carried by participation in order to plan future steps for their development with the Municipality of Lisbon.

5) The scientific contribution that such interdisciplinary study can provide for policy innovations and public administration changes in respect o the complex challenges that democratic regimes are currently demanded to respond to.

3. The ISO Methodology of the action research

The main methodological reference for the action research has been the ISO Methodology (*Indicatori di Sviluppo Organizzativo*, "Indicators of Organizational Development") (Carli and Paniccia, 2002). The principal method of this methodology is the employment of a specific approach with texts – written and spoken – called Emotional Text Analysis (EAT). The use of EAT must be consistently anchored to the whole process of construction of the action research, and in terms of collusive processes referring to specific problems, clients and objectives. For this reason, we have complemented the interviews with the observation of the implementation of the processes at both internal and external levels. In addition, and consistent with psychosociological principles, observations

have been carried out by undertaking continuous self-reflection on the observed relationships, i.e. we have assumed ourselves as one of the "poles" of the relationship and explored the ways we have been elaborating emotions and facts occurring within (see: Chapter VIII)[174].

With regard to the interviews, they have been semi-structured and planned based on the same question which was asked to 29 civil servants: "<u>What do you think about participation?</u>". The purpose of this evocative question, possibly initiating emotional confusion, has been that of opening a setting for reflection where the interviewer and interviewee can construct their own rules of that "dialogical game"[175]. Such a goal is consistent with the exploratory goal of the action research concerning the recognition of the ways civil servants engaged with these processes perceive participation. Considering the collective and collusive dimension of the perceptions and owning methodological tools addressed to cluster them, we have made the basis for the assortment of different Cultural Patterns refer to the common symbolical object "participation". Finally, considering participation as an expression of change, we have been provided with data informing us about the different ways change is likely to be socially constructed by civil servants within the administrative framework. Therefore, interviews have been conducted so as to let feelings and thoughts flow without a pre-determined script (see also: Goffman, 1988). At the same time, it has involved employing psychological skills in both reflecting on the contents of the speech, and self-reflecting on the course of the relationships. In this sense, the psychologist is required to pay attention to both the message and the *hic et nunc* framework of the relationship. The different types of intervention made by the interviewer make sense only when framed within this double reference that informs the respective emotional impacts caused by the question, as well as the psychological dynamics of the interviewee towards the interviewer (Grasso *et al.*, 2004).

---

[174] Such a function is called "contra-transfer" in psychoanalysis because it involves the self-observation and reflection of the emotions generated throughout the relationship with the client. At the same time, the criterion of "freedom" in the interviewee's speech calls upon the psychoanalytical principles of "free associations", derived from an evocative stimulus provided by the questions of the psychologist. In these terms, the observation implemented in the action research is distinguished by the "participatory observation" when implying the ethnographic method aimed at making the observer part of the group of study.

[175] This type of interview is aimed at deepening the meanings deriving from the symbolical construction of the reality. It can also be shaped as: (1) structured or standardized and planned; (2) semi-structured or standardized and non-planned; (3) individual or group focused; (4) specialized; (5) non-structured and non-standardized.

Both observation and interviews have been complemented by data collecting that has taken place throughout the whole process of action research. By consulting online and material documents concerning the four participatory processes and their relationship with the overall administrative apparatus, we have intended to integrate such information with the findings emerging from observation and interviews. The analysis of these data has to be understood as strictly intertwined with the formulation of the demands of the research, the theoretical references, and the implemented methodology (see: Carli, 2006b).

3.1 EAT: steps of the analysis

EAT is a method included in ISO Methodology in order to both understand and support the development of the relationships within specific social and organizational contexts (Dolcetti *et al.*, 2008; Battisti and Dolcetti, 2012). Assuming that texts produced by more than one person and referring to the same object can be meant as associated to a common symbolical stimulus, we have planned semi-structured interviews based on the same question "what do you think about participation?". The transcription of the interviews has put all of the interviews into a sole corpus of text via the text analysis software "Alceste" (Analysis of Lexemes Co-occurring within Simply Textual Enunciations") (Reinert, 1995). This software manages the segmentation of the whole corpus of text into Unities of Elementary Context (UCE), i.e. statements or paragraphs, and the definition of categories of words with their lexemes. Before detailing the process of analysis, we must specify that the gathering of the interviews within the corpus has been realized through the identification of five independent variables: (1) sex; (2) function; (3) area; (4) years of work for the Municipality; (5) years of experience in participation[176]. Independent variables aim to show their possible relevance *a posteriori* in the formation of one or more clusters.

---

[176] The fourth variable serves to specify possible differences resulting from the status of lifelong career that all the civil servants taking part to the action research are carrying on. The fifth variable is conceived as a way to differentiate years of engagement in participatory processes and see possible effects on the process of clusterization.

Table 24 - EAT independent variables

Sex	Function	Area	Years of work for the Municipality	Years of experience in participation
Female	Team member	PB and A21	29	5
Female	Team member	SL	10	1
Male	Team member	PB and A21	27	1
Female	Team member	Quality	20	1
Female	Team member	SL	10	
Female	Team member	Communication and Quality	18	1
Female	Team member	Secreteary	10	1
Female	Team member	Quality	21	1
Female	Team member	Communication	10	1
Female	Team member	SL	7	1
Female	Team member	Communication	8	1
Female	Team member	PB and A21	18	1
Male	Team member	Data Analysis	24	1
Male	Team manager	DIOP	8	1
Female	Ex-collaborator	PB	13	1
Female	Ex-collaborator	PB	11	4
Female	Ex-interlocutor	PB	8	3
Female	Interlocutor	PB	3	3
Female	Ex-collaborator	PB	8	4
Female	Interlocutor	PB	19	3
Female	Interlocutor	PB	10	4
Female	Ex-collaborator	PB	9	2
Female	Interlocutor	PB	25	5
Female	Interlocutor	PB	15	4
Male	Ex-interlocutor	PB	12	2
Male	Team member	BZ	13	1

Male	Team member	BZ	23	1
Female	Team member	BZ	12	2
Male	Team manager	BZ	10	2

With regard to the EAT steps of analysis, after having interviewed the 29 civil servants, actions undertaken were:

1) Transcription of the 29 interviews gathered in the same text-corpus and differentiated by the five independent variables.
2) First text processing by means of Alceste, in order to obtain the complete vocabulary of the corpus of text.
3) Checking of the words listed in the vocabulary and cleaning of the non-relevant ones.
4) Second text processing by means of Alceste, in order to implement two statistical operations: multiple correspondences and cluster analysis of the keywords.

In our case, the first outcome of the analysis has been the full vocabulary of words present in the text with few identified lexemes, due to the limitedly-implemented Portuguese language dictionary in the database of the software. Nonetheless, we have decided to use this software due to the specific statistical operations on the text that it provides, and that matches the design of our psychosociological approach[177]. As a result, the first step of the analysis has been the checking of all words within the corpus of text. The handmade construction of the lexemes has been addressed to join the words that refer to the same headwords (e.g. "to serve", "service", "servant"). Such a phase has also identified ambiguous acceptations of some words in the written forms or in the cultural use, as well as detected words that when joined together express precise concepts (e.g. "sem abrigo" transformed into "sem_abrigo", meaning "homeless"), and then transformed them into "multi-words". Finally, we have read through the whole vocabulary in order to check the emotional "density" of the words and when necessary, eliminated the non-

---

[177] We are specifically referring to the crossed detection of multiple correspondences among the UCE and the clusterization of the co-occurring words within the text as responding to the criterion of analysis of the "free associations" derived from the evocative stimulus provided by the questions of the psychologist (Carli and Paniccia, 2002; Freud, 2005).

relevant ones[178]. With the final vocabulary of the corpus of text including all of the potential keywords, we have used Alceste for the realization of the cluster analysis of all the UCE and multiple correspondence analyses of the keywords present in the text (and in accordance with the vocabulary). The outcome of this step is the formation of clusters of co-occurring keywords, i.e. listed according the frequency they have in relation to one another.

According to the psychosociological approach, the clusters enlighten us about different modalities through which the sample of subjects symbolically represents participation. The clustered keywords are analyzed starting from their headwords and representing their lexeme. The four Cultural Patterns resulting from the analysis do not identify specific participatory processes because, according to the ISO Methodology, EAT is not supposed to cluster single subjects or groups. Rather, EAT is aimed at helping transversally cultural issues emerge around some common symbolical object. It is merely a coincidence that the outcome here has been of four clusters for four participatory processes. The data about the statistical "weight" of the UCE in each cluster and the correspondent relevance of some specific independent variables are shown in the Table below[179].

Table 25 - Text UCE and independent variables

Cluster	Classified UCE	Relevant independent variable
I	772 (52%)	
II	399 (27%)	function ex-collaborator (0.13)
III	187 (13%)	area PB and A21 (0.11); function coordinator (0.11)
IV	123 (8%)	area BZ (0.35)

The spatial organization of the clusters within the factorial space and their relationship to the factorial axes represents a further source of information. Indeed, from

---

[178] The elimination of the non-relevant words implies criteria consistent with the whole design of research, i.e. with theories and methods employed in the specific case study. Moreover, we have also eliminated words holding pure syntactical functions, such as articles, prepositions, etc. Finally, we have also eliminated the words sharing the lexeme referring to "participation", because it is present in the question of the interview. Indeed, the invitation to talk about participation implies considering the speech originated by the stimulus, not the stimulus itself, because it does not contribute to defining different ways of perceiving it.
[179] The total percentage of classified UCE in the corpus of text represents 63% of all the UCE.

the psychosociological perspective, the factorial space identifies the Local Culture surveyed by means of EAT. At the statistical level, the relationships among Cultural Patterns is read through the relationship with the factorial axes which, in psychosociological terms, means considering them as Factors condensing specific issues emerging from the Cultural Patterns that are most highly related with them (see also: attachments EAT Factorial Space and Clusters and EAT Synthesis Report).

Table 26 - Factorial axes and related Clusters

First factorial axis	Polarization between the Cluster I (+0.314) and the Cluster IV (-1.532)
Second factorial axis	Polarization between the group of Clusters I / IV (-0.313 / -0.600) and the group of Clusters II / III (+0.571 / +0.534)
Third factorial axis	Polarization between the Cluster II (-0.414) and the Cluster III (+0.917)

3.2 EAT: Cultural Patterns, feedback, and Indicators of Development

The psychosociological perspective on communication as an act, involves a consideration of the interplay between the unconscious and conscious dimensions producing texts. In accordance with psychoanalysis, every human act has a twofold structure since the intended meaning is likely to differ from the symbolical meaning (see also: Fornari, 1979). Recognizing the degree to which language structures the understanding of our experiences, it becomes a medium of symbols referred to reality. In these terms, as psychologists we are compelled to read text as the product of this complex connection[180]. EAT is a method that deconstructs the intentional links among the words in order to pass through their intentional character. This operation can be made when the texts are produced in reference to a common symbolical object: "[*è*] *necessario trattare la*

---

[180] EAT is based on the analysis of the symbolical construction of the reality, and it is a method particularly used by the School of Psychosociology of Rome (see also: Carli *et al.*, 2008). Text analysis can be also based on the: (1) understanding of the common language adopted by a community (e.g. ethno-methodology concerning the social knowledge of subjects); (2) illustration of the content by either decomposing the text into micro-units or analyzing its passages concerning the theme of investigation; (3) analysis: of the discourse, of the interpersonal construction of a theory, of the content by matching sociolinguistic and rhetorical components (e.g. see Pagés et al., 1998). The latter has been the gateway for the interpretive analysis of the Brainstorming outcomes with the 2012 PB and the film recording with 2010 PB facilitators (see: Chapter IX).

parola entro la dinamica collusiva che conferisce senso emozionale alla parola stessa, se iscritta entro un gruppo di parole a significante emozionale coerente" (Carli and Paniccia, 2002: 50, tr_it_18)[181]. With regard to our action research, we have made reference to the psychosociologist theories and have sought to bridge the interpretive hypotheses with the multiple scientific contributions presented throughout the text (see: Chapter IX). We have also made reference to the etymologies of the keywords, as a way to provide the interpretation of their historical background. We have necessarily been demanded to develop a deep reflection concerning the resources and limits of cultural translation that has characterized the whole process of action research, and that has especially been evident in this phase. The multiple levels of translation including the different steps and different functions of the researcher, have represented a challenging issue that we have tried to experience in the most satisfactory way.

In this sense we have constantly questioned the cultural meanings emerging from the fieldwork carried out in Portuguese language and taken benefit from the continuous exchanges with native speakers. At the same time, we have also regularly made reference to English native speakers, in order to both improve our skills in the language used for this Thesis, and to sort out the most correspondent ways to express the significations of the interpretive analysis. This twofold concern has been further included in the permanent self-reflection on psychological and cognitive frameworks adopted in the advancement of the action research itself, as an Italian. Such operations remind us of some striking reflections concerning the "orders" of things in the world and the attempts to express them, as exposed by Foucault (1966).

> *Forse è tempo di studiare i discorsi non più soltanto nel loro valore espressivo o nelle loro trasformazioni formali, ma nelle modalità della loro esistenza: i modi di circolazione, di valorizzazione, di attribuzione, di appropriazione dei discorsi variano con ogni cultura e si modificano all'interno di ciascuna* (idem, 2008: 77-78, tr_it_19).

With specific regard to the interpretation of the Cultural Patterns, based on the interpretation of each keyword according to their co-occurring order, we have decided to

---

[181] The authors (*ibidem*) indicate three basic models founding the symbolization of the individual in the context, revealing correspondent symbolical dynamics: inside/outside; front/behind; top/down. The articulation of these models shape different ways individuals signify system of belonging, rules of the game and otherness towards the construction of social relationships.

ground this multiple work of reflection by utilizing plural etymological sources, so as to have the tools to better cope with this complex task (see: attachment Etymologies). Moreover, since the goal is that of understanding and reducing the psychological polysemy of the words, we have dealt with the testing aim to make sense of the cultural use of the concepts in connection with the psychosociological models. Indeed, as argued by Carli and Paniccia (2002), "*il primo passo, nella "riduzione" della polisemia, è dato dalla trasformazione della polisemia fantasmatica in dinamiche culturali coagulate attorno alle parole dense*" (*ibidem*: 25, tr_it_20).

This involves focusing not only on the multiple intended meanings of the words, but rather looking through them in order to understand which specific emotional dynamics they refer to. Indeed, polysemy represents the infinity, and not the "mere" multiplicity of meanings that are simultaneously present in the symbolization of an object. This feature relies on the way unconsciousness works in the human mind (Matte Blanco, 2000). However, we are not put before infinity *per se*, because the display between unconsciousness and consciousness provides psychological tools that make words and language into an intelligible medium of symbols. Moreover, the demands of reality coming from the context, influence the collusive dynamics and "tie" the construction of the Cultural Patterns. As a result, the interpretation of the co-occurring keywords has founded the overall interpretive analysis of each Cultural Pattern and finally, their relationship with the factors.

The purpose of the interpretive analysis of the Cultural Patterns has been that of providing the subjects with access to an implicit sense of their own speeches, revealing the shared symbolical construction of the object "participation". Participation generates different symbolical representations of change which are supposed to be pursued through different typologies of policymaking processes. The function of feedback on the interpretive hypotheses is an inherent and progressive part of the ISO Methodology, since the very nature of the action research is the interactive construction of the process, and represents the aspect of counseling. By sharing the EAT outcomes with the team managers and members, we have finally set two specific meetings for a dynamic assessment of the hypotheses, as well as stimulated the production of new issues and ideas related to the Cultural Patterns. When considering the psychological impact of new knowledge brought

by this type of action research, subjects are enabled to be made aware of the individual and social significances of participation, and possibly act towards the development of their contexts. We have not founded the counselling on expected outcomes or reactions; rather we have looked at the processes and elicited a setting of reflection for new steps for the action research itself.

> *Il prodotto di AET trova una sua prima espressione nel riconoscimento da parte del cliente, dei propri Repertori Culturali e della loro relazione dinamica entro lo Spazio Culturale* […]. *L'analisi di tale relazione individua Indicatori di sviluppo traducibili in successive iniziative destinate ad attuarlo* (Carli and Paniccia, 2002: 313 tr_it_21).

Consequently, as suggested by the authors above, the final outcome of the action research has been the elaboration of Indicators of Development aimed at gathering the most relevant hypotheses concerning the Cultural Patterns with: (1) the results of the moments of feedback; (2) both field-notes and interpretive hypotheses produced all throughout the action research; (3) the characteristics of the context in terms of both political intentions and administrative reforms, as well as the different methodological aspects of the processes; (4) and the multiple contributions coming from different scientific fields collected in the first three Parts of the Thesis. This conclusive work has been presented extensively in the Fifth Part of the Thesis, in order to give an effective response to the demands of our research. Indeed, we have opened up areas of reflection concerning the development of participatory processes, by presenting four Indicators that have in turn identified three general themes of development entailing: (1) the vision of change involving the whole administrative system; (2) the function of participatory processes carried out by the administrative teams; (3) the type of relationships created through the engagement of the civil servants.

As a result, we feel reasonably confident when affirming that in responding to the demands of our action research, we have managed to make sense of the five hypotheses constructed throughout the investigation. In detail: (1) we provide a new interdisciplinary approach based on the innovative contribution of psychosociology, resulting in new elements of knowledge and further questions that open up to new possibilities of development for participatory processes. (2) We place specific focus and evidence on the role of participation, in terms of change that public administrations are demanded to foster

by necessarily entailing a profound reflection on the cultural aspects. (3) We demonstrate that the role played by civil servants in terms of development of change is crucial, because it reveals the multiple and overlapping dimensions of tradition and innovation in which they are placed when managing and implementing new interactive devices. (4) We have created new spaces for reflection aimed at legitimizing the possibility of enhancing both knowledge and acknowledgment concerning cultural aspects constructed by civil servants in the four participatory processes. Future steps of this action research, as well as further experiences in other contexts will possibly give us more details about the impact of this pivotal study. (5) The scientific contribution that this investigation can offer to the scientific community relies strictly on the evident interconnections emerging between the outcomes argued throughout the Thesis, and the plural reflections elaborated in different scientific fields. What is more is that the knowledge deriving from this investigation could effectively be used to better understand and develop the challenging changes that are being put in front of democratic regimes worldwide.

Attachment – Etymologies

The following list is organized according to the co-occurring keywords emerged by the EAT and clusterized in four Cultural Patterns. The column on the left numbers the headwords of the corresponding keywords; the column on the right mentions parts of etymological explanations in different languages. For each language we have consulted the respective Etymological Vocabulary. They are:

1) PT: Portugues of Portugal: Machado (1959). With regard to the etymology of Lisbon: Machado (1993).

2) PTB: Portuguese of Brasil: Da Cunha (1997/1986).

3) ES: Spanish: Corominas (1954).

4) IT: Italian: Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999); Beccaria (2008).

5) ENG: English: Online Etymology Dictionary (www.etymonline.com).

We have consulted these languages for specific reasons. (1) By taking into account the transformations of the Portuguese language in the world, Portuguese spoken in Brazil has been consulted in order to grasp possible nuances of the historical evolution in the use of the keywords. (2) Spanish etymology has been an additional source of reference for the historical characterization of the keywords in the Iberic peninsula. (3) As regards the Italian etymologies, they have been used in order to facilitate the understanding of the key-words thorugh self-reflecting on both historical and cultural background of the author of the Thesis. (4) Finally, the reference to English etymology has been employed in order to better express the interpretive analysis of the Cultural Patterns and simultaneously reflect on the irreducible gaps created by cultural translation (see: Foucault, 1966; Beccaria, 2008; Eco, 2010).

1. CP1

SERV<	**PT:** Servo: trata-se de voc. muito vulgar nos textos redigidos em Latino Bárbaro, donde se deduz que este voc. Deve ter entrado em Port. por via jurídica isto é, servo tem, originariamente, carácter culto. Serviço do lat. Servitiu- "servidão, condição de escravo, escravidão". Servir do lat. servire "ser escravo, viver na escravidão; fig. estar na dependência de, ser escravo de, estar submetido a; colocar-se ao serviço de, ser devotado a".
	PTB: "Viver ou trabalhar como servo" "prestar serviço como" "auxiliar, ajudar" XIII. Do lat. Servire, Desserviço XIV, Desservir XIII, inservível 1899. Lat. Serviens no port.med documentam-se ainda serventa, sergenta e sergente, XIII; os dois ultimos são de imediata procedência francesa (fr. Sergent, cp. Sargento). O adverbio servilmente já ocorre no sec. XIV (seruylmete). Servilha "ant. Vasilha" seruiela XIV; barco para pesca de sardinhas XV; sapato de couro XVI. Do cast. Servilleta com extensão de sentido.
	ES: P. 591 Haedo, a.1612, dice xerecuilla (que deberá leerse xereuilla) son «servillas a la morisca», lo que parece indicar que el vocablo será en cast. De origen mozárabe, y esto (más bien que un tratamento semiculto) es lo que explicará la –ll- castellana; de ahí el ár. Magrebí sebril o sebrilla, empleado en Marruecos y Argelia. […] B.Navarro en su ed. Del Arte Cisoria de Villena, p.171, servilleta es palabra moderna en cast., que falta en APal. Nebr., PAlc., etc.; las Partidas las llaman tovajas (II, vii, 5), en el S. XV tohallas de manjar, y el próprio Villena (cap. V, p. 36) les da el nombre de paños. Sin duda el modo de formacion del fr. Serviette (de donde el it. Salvietta, desde princ. XVII) no es enteramente claro, pero la terminación –eta ya da por si sola presunción de origen francês, en este idioma e documenta el vocablo mucho antes que en cast., en 1393, y del oc. Ant. servieta, que também vendrá del fr., hay ya une j. del S. XIV (Verfeuil, Ht. Garonne) y dos del XV. Quizá en

	definitiva está en la lengua de OC el punto de partida, pues ahí se concibe que se formara un feminino sérvia "sierva, esclava", tal como existia cérvia "cierva".
	IT: Lat. servu(m) 'schiavo', in orig. 'guardiano' (dalla radice indeur. *swer- 'osservare'), coi der. servile(m) 'da schiavo', servire, servitore(m) (lat. tardo), servitute(m), servitiu(m) 'schiavitù' (vc. dotta). Servo muto ricalca l'ingl. dumb-waiter (1775): Benedetti Scott 156. Servilismo ricalca il fr. servilisme (1794). Servita è formato sul modello di cenobita ed eremita. Servire e servizio (nel tennis) ricalcano l'ingl. to serve (1647 in questa accez.) e service (1611 in questa accez.).
	ENG: celebration of public worship, from Old French servise, from Latin servitium "slavery, servitude", from servus "slave".
TRABALH<	**PTB:** Ocupar-se em algum mister" "exercer o seu oficio", XIII. Do lat. Vulg. tripaliare "torturar derivado de tripalium "instrumento de tortura composto de três paus"; de ideia inicial de "sofrer ", passou-se à de "esforçar(-se), lutar, pugnar" e, por fim, "trabalhar".
	ES: Es posible que esta evolción del sentido se anticipara algo en el sustantivo trabajo («el grand trabajo todas las cosas vence» dice ya J. Ruiz, 611d) pero más bien está la diferencia principal en el sentido de que trabajo há conservado mejor hasta el dia sua c. originaria de "sufirmento, pena". […] Com cronologia no muy diferente la evolcuión semantica há sido más o menos la misma en todos los romances: port. Trabalhar "esforzarse, laborar, …"
COMUNIC<	**PT:** Comunicar: sec. XVI «O que a outrem nam ousais communicar nunca lho façays soo...», Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos, Euforisma, p.24, ed. De 1919, mas comunicação (do lat. Communicatione), "acto de comunicar, de dar parte; ret. Comunicação, figura com que se pede a opinião do auditório") ainda no séc. XV «…algũs delles sabem algũa pouca d arravia polla continoa comunjaçã que tem com elles» Diario da

	Viagem de Vasco da Gama, fl. 34, ed. De 1945.
	PTB: Do lat. Communis comua "latrina" 1813. Do lat. Comunicare comungatorio XVIII, comunhão comoyon XIII, comunhõ XV. Do lat. Ecl. Comunio comunicabilidade 1858 comunicação comunjcaça XV. Do lat. Comunicatio comunicado communicado communicador 1813. Do lat. Comunicator comunicante 1844 comunicar "tornar comum, fazer saber".
	IT: Vc. dotte, lat. commune(m), propr. 'che compie il suo incarico (munus) insieme con (cum) altri', coi der. communale(m) (lat. tardo), communicabile(m) (lat. tardo), communicare, communicativu(m) (lat. tardo), communicatione(m), communione(m), communitate(m). Comunardo, comunismo, comunista, comunitario sono il fr. communard (1871), communisme (1840), communiste (1769 nel sign. di 'comproprietario'; 1834 nel sign. polit. moderno), communitaire (1842). Anche comune nel sign. polit. è un francesismo (commune révolutionnaire dal 1793) e questo spiega perché in questa accez. (a differenza che negli altri casi) sia femminile. Su comune V. R. de Mattei, LN XII (1951) 1-5 (e anche ibid. 54). "Il caso di la comune è un esempio di transcategorizzazione, ovvero di sostantivazione di un aggettivo, a partire dal sintagma la porta comune > la comune. Ed in effetti il sintagma l'uscio comune è frequente e alterna, come si è accennato, con la comune"(S. C. Sgroi in LN LIII [1992] 87).
	ENG: from Latin communicationem (nominative communicatio), noun of action from past participle stem of communicare "to share, divide out; communicate, impart, inform; join, unite, participate in", literally "to make common", from communis.
DIRET<	**PTB:** Direito "justo, correto" XIV direito XIV, dereyto XIII "justiça, razão". Diretiva XX do fr. Directive, femin. De directif. Direto 1844 do lat. Directus: forma divergente culta de direito. Diretor XVII adapt. Do fr. Directeur, deriv. Do lat. Tardio director. Diretoria 1844 do lat. Med.

	Directrix.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. directu(m), part. pass. di dirigere; come t. del pugilato è un calco sull'ingl. direct. Direttivo e direttiva sono il fr. directif (fine sec. XIII) e directive (1890). La (via) direttissima del ling. alpinistico "ha conosciuto il periodo di maggior popolarità negli anni Sessanta, ma si può affermare che la moda dell'arrampicata libera ha reso un po' démodé questo tipo di via, che nel periodo dell'evoluzione tecnologica (ma della stasi tecnica) dell'alpinismo erano sembrate l'unico sbocco evolutivo possibile. Ora l'espressione è caduta un po' in disuso senza però scomparire del tutto" (B. Moretti in LN XLVII, 1986, 78).
VEREA<	**PT:** Vereda do lat. Vereda, de veredu- "cavalo de posta; cavalo de viagem; cavalo (para caça)" pelo cast. […] O mesmo lat. Vereda originou regularmente em port. Vereia, documentavel em 1288 [...] daí : vereação em 1422: «...na Camara da Vareação da mui nobre, e sempre leal cidade de Lisboa…» em Descobrimentos Portugueses, I, suplemento, p.99.
	PTB: "membro da câmara municipal, edil" XIV Do arc. *VERE – A, por vereda + -ador. Vereação XIV, verear 1813. Cp. Vereda Vereda "caminho estreito, atalho" fig. "rumo, direção" XV Do b.lat. vereda, do lat. Veredus "cavalo de posta", enveredar 1899.
	ES: Vereda "orden que se despacha a un numero determinado de lugares que están en un mismo caminho", "via tradicional de los ganados trashumantes", "caminho viejo e angosto", tomado del b. lat. Vereda íd., que es derivado del lat. Veredus "caballo de posta" y veredarius "correo o mensajero del estado". También se trata de la autoridad civil (también Amengual). Con este sentido, tan semejante al que alude Covarr., el vocablo passó a parte de America, pues en Colombia se llaman veredas casa una de las fracciones más periféricas en que se divide un término municipal […]. Las fracciones menos apartadas se llaman

	corregimentos. Y se compreende que la s otras recibieran aquel nombre, pues era forzoso avisar a la gente de allá por medio de una "vereda" (en el sentido definido por Aut.). De ahí también el portugués antcuado vereador "membro do concelho que tem a seu cargo cousas de policia, como os concertos das estradas, a abundância dos mantimentos" (ej. Sel S. XVI en D. Vieira), verear "gobernar un lugar, un país, etc." (ej. De 1352 en Viterbo), y analogamnte vereação, vereamento. Es decir, verear era propiamente enviar mensajeros con órdenes a través del país. Ahora bien, si en castellano estos mensajeros se llamaban veredores, ya en latin clásico recibian el nombre de VEREDARII, que con este valor figura en la Vulgata, en San Jéronimo, en Sidonio Apolinar y en muchos autores de la Alta Edad Media.
INOVA<	**PT:** Novo "novo, jovem; coisa nova, novidade, qualquer coisa a que ainda não se está habituado; estranho, singular; novo, que se renova, variado; novo = outro, segundo". Inovar do lat. Innovare, «renovar»; sec. XVI "O Governador ... inovou que tirou os pagamentos dos mantimentos da gente, dizendo que o vencimento do pagamento se juntasse ao soldo", Gaspar Correia, Lendas da India, IVC, p. 256; nova de novo, isto é, está por (noticia) nova.
	PTB: Novo "moço, jovem" "original" "de pouco uso" XIII. Do lat. Novus. Inovação ennouação XV innovação XVI do lat. Innovatio. Inovador innovaodor 1813 do lat. innovator. Inovar jnouar XIV, ennouar XIV, emnouar XIV, innovar XVI do lat. innovare.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. innovare 'rinnovare' (da novu(m) 'nuovo'), da cui anche innovatione(m) e, più tardi, nelle glosse, innovatore(m).
	ENG: "restoration, renewal" from Latin innovationem (nominative innovatio), noun of action from past participle stem of innovare.
INTERIOR<	**PTB:** "intimo, particular, interno" "aquilo que está dentro" XV. Do lat. Interior, comparativo de interus. Interioridade 1881. Interno "que está no

	interior de" "aluno que reside no colegio " XVIII do lat. Internus. Internação 1873, internamento 1873, internar 1813, internato 1881 do fr. Internat.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. interiore(m), comparativo (-iore(m)) di *interu(m) 'interno'. Dal neutro plur. sostantivato interiora 'le parti più interne' provengono le interiora.
	ENG: late 15c., from Middle French intérieur and directly from Latin interior "inner, interior, middle", comparative adjective of inter "within" (see inter-). Meaning "of the interior parts of a country" is from 1777; meaning "internal affairs of a country or State".
COLEGA<	**PT:** Do lat. collega, "colega (numa magistratura); companheiro, camarada, confrade, co-herdeiro; companheiro de escravatura; membro de uma corporação" por via culta.
	PTB: Colegio "orig. reunião, associação, corporação" "ext. estabelecimento de ensino" do lat. Collegium. Colega "companheiro" 1813 do lat. Collega. Colegiada XV. Colegial 1813 do fr. Collegial.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. collega(m), comp. di cum 'con' e legare 'incaricare, mandare'.
	ENG: from Latin collega "partner in office" from com- "with" (see com-) + leg, stem of legare "to choose" (see legate). So, "one chosen to work with another" or "one chosen at the same time as another".
EQUIPA<	**PTB:** Equipar "orig. Guarnecer ou prover uma embarcação do necessário para a manobra, defesa, sustentação do pessoal" ext. preparar, prover 1858 do fr. Equiper. Equipagem 1813 do fr. Equipage. Equipamento 1873 do fr. equipement. Equipe equipo 1899 do fr. Equipe cp. Esquipar.
	ES: Equipar, tomado del fr. Équiper id., procedente del escand. Ant. Skipa "equipar un barco", derovado de skip "barco", 1ª doc.: Aut., como

	«voz moderna». Entró en calidad de voz náutica, única ac. Que registra Aut.; después há ido tomando otras acs. De la voz francesa. Anteriormente se habia empleado esquipar "tripular, dotar de personal una embarcación" (1587, G. de Palacio, 153 rº; A. De Herrera, 1601; Argensola, 1609; vid. Aut.).
GABINET<	**PTB:** "camarim, escritório" "ministério" XVII do fr. cabinet.
	ES: "aposento íntimo", del fr. Medio gabinete íd. (fr. Cabinet), diminutivo del fr. Cabine, ingl. Cabin, "choza", "cuarto pequeño", de origen incierto; si tiene que ver con el lat vg. capanna (vid. cabaña), tendría que ser alteración inglesa de esta palabra, luego transmitida a Francia. 1ª doc.: gabineto, 1702, Cienfuegos; gabinete, Aut.
TECNIC<	**PT:** Tecnico "relativo a uma arte, próprio de uma arte, técnico; industrioso, hábil; feito com arte; artificial" pelo lat. Technicu-, que, no entanto, só se documenta como s.m. ("especialista, técnico numa arte"); por via culta.
	PTB: Técnica "conjunto de processos de uma arte" "maneira ou habilidade especial de eexecutar ou fazer algo" 1890. Técnico "peculiar a uma determinada arte, oficio, profissão ou ciência technico 1844 "especialista, perito" XX do fr. technique deriv. Do lat. technicus e este do gr. technikos.
	IT: Vc. dotte; il lat. technicu(m) dipende dall'agg. gr. technikós 'relativo all'arte (téchne)', entrato nella lingua elevata assieme a qualche tardo comp. apertamente gr., come tecnographu(m) 'scrittore di un trattato' o technopaegnion 'gioco d'arte'. Dell'agg. si sono impossessati nell'età moderna i coniatori di nuove parole, ora risalendo direttamente al gr., come per technología e technologikós, ora combinando tecno- con altri elementi. Così W. H. Smyth, esperimentando la razionalizzazione della democrazia industriale, le diede, nel 1919, il n. di technocracy.
FUNC<	**PT:** Função do lat. functione-, "cumprimento, execução: fim, morte;

	satisfação de taxa". Séc.XVII «Pondera a natureza, as qualidades, a forma, o sitio, e as nobilíssimas funcções do coração recolhido no mais precioso gabinete daquelle Palacio», Brás Luis de Abreu, Portugal Medico, p.90.
	PTB: Função "exercício de órgão ou aparelho" "pratica, uso, cargo" "espetáculo, solenidade" funcção XVIII do lat. functio. Funcional funccion 1873. Funcionalidade XX do fr. Fonctionnement. Funcionar funccion 1858 do fr. finctionner. Funcionario XVIII do fr. fonctionnaire.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. functione(m), da functus, part. pass. di fungi 'fungere': la vc. ci è giunta prob. attrav. il fr. fonction (1539). I der. provengono tutti dal fr.: fonctionnel ('relativo alle funzioni organiche': 1845; 'che adempie alle funzioni per cui è stato costruito': sec. XX; non si capisce su quali fondamenti G. Rando, LN XXX, 1969, n. 7 sostenga che si tratti di un anglicismo e non di un francesismo), fonctionnement (1842), fonctionner (1637, ma diffusosi nel sec. XVIII) e fonctionnaire (1770) e come francesismi queste vc. vennero registrate e condannate dai puristi (cfr. Ugol., D'Ayala, Fanf.-Arlìa e Zolli Saggi, passim.).
	ENG: 1530s, "proper work or purpose" from Middle French fonction (16c.) and directly from Latin functionem (nominative functio) "performance, execution" noun of action from functus, past participle of fungi "perform, execute, discharge".
CHEF<	**PTB:** "dirigente, diretor" XVII do fr. chef, deriv. Do lat. caput "cabeça" "chefe". Chefatura chefia "dignidade de chefe " "repartição onde o chefe exerce suas funções" 1813. Chefiar "dirigir" XX. Subchefe 1881. Subchefia XX.
EXTER<	**PTB:** "que está da parte de fora, externo" XVI do lat. Exterior. Exterioridade 1813. Exteriorizar 1899. Extero 1899 do lat. Exter. Externo "que está por fora ou que vem de fora" XVIII do lat. Externus. Externar 1899 do lat. Tardio externare. Externato 1899 do fr. Externat,

	derv. Do lat. Externatus.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. exteriore(m), compar. di exterus 'esterno'. Esteriorità, esteriorizzare, esteriorizzazione sono il fr. extériorité (1549), extérioriser (1869) ed extériorisation (1843).

2. CP2

VOT<	**PTB:** "orig. Promessa, oferenda em paga de promessa" "ext. Votação" XIV do lat. votum. Votação "ato ou efeito de votar" "o conjunto dos votos de uma assembleia eleitoral " 1844 adapt. Do fr. votation. Votar "orig. Prometer solenemente" "ext. Aprovar ou eleger por emio d evoto" XVI do lat. Votare iterativo de vovere; na 2ª acepção deriv. Do fr. Voter. Votivo uotivas XV do lat. Votivus. Vovente "que ou quem faz votos ou promessas" 1899 do lat. vovens part. de vovere.
	ES: voto, tomado del lat. votum "promesa que se hace a los dioses", "ruego ardiente, deseo", derivado de vovere "prometer", "formular ruego a un dios". 1ªdoc.: Berceo.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. votu(m), dal part. perf. del v. vovere 'fare un voto' e, fig., 'augurare, desiderare', di orig. indeur. I sign. lat., testimoniati anche in it., sono quelli di 'promessa solenne agli dei' e di 'augurio, desiderio'; la tarda accez. di 'promessa di matrimonio' e il 'matrimonio' stesso non sembra attestata successivamente. Il den. *votare non è documentato, mentre è di età classica l'altro der. votivu(m). Nella storia di voto bisogna distinguere i sign. più ant. da quelli rec., propri delle assemblee rappresentative. L'ingl. vote è attestato, in quest'ultimo senso, dal 1533 ed anche il fr. vote, nelle sue prime apparizioni (agli inizi del sec. XVIII), si riferisce esclusivamente all'Inghilterra e solo col Rousseau avrà un impiego slegato dall'isola. Questa dipendenza è confermata anche dalla loc. voto di fiducia, che traduce l'ingl. vote of confidence (1955, per il precedente – dal 1846 –

	vote of want of confidence, lett. 'voto di mancanza di fiducia').
	ENG: from Latin votum "a vow, wish, promise, dedication", noun use of neuter of votus, past participle of vovere "to promise, dedicate".
PESSOA<	**PT:** Do lat. Persona "mascara de actor; papel, caracter, personagem; caracter, individualidade, personalidade; pessoa gramatical". […] Pessoa a partir do séc. XV «…e o Comde bem emtemdia que de taaes pessoas nom era mui seguro, nom damdo porem a entemder nada», Fernão Lopes, Crónica de D. João I, cap.I, p.5, ed. De 1945.
	PTB: "homem ou mulher" "personagem" XIV persoa XIII pessoa XIII persoa XIV do lat. Persona. Pessoal do lst. Tardio personalis. (600-601) Personagem "pessoa notavel, importante" "cada um dos papéis que figuram numa peça teatral e que deve ser encarnados por um ator ou por uma atriz" XVI do fr. Personage.
	IT: Vc. dotte, lat. persona(m) (dall'etrusco phersu 'maschera'), coi der. tardi personale(m) e personalitate(m). Per la rec. loc. in prima persona 'direttamente' V. quanto è detto sul modulo analogo sulla propria pelle s. v. pelle. Molte vc. di questa famiglia ci sono giunte dal fr.: personnage ('persona importante': 1220-30; 'persona rappresentata in un'opera artistica': 1403), personnel ('che riguarda la persona': 1190; 'insieme degli addetti a un ufficio': 1835), personnalisme (1737 nel sign. di 'egoismo'; dal 1903 come vc. filosofica: dall'ingl. personalism [1846]), personnaliste (1887, come vc. filosofica), personnalité (1762, come 'caratteristica d'una persona'), personnifier (1673), personnification (1772). In riferimento alle tre persone divine l'uso di questa vc. risale a Tertulliano (Migl. Onom., che rinvia ad H. Rheinfelder, Kultsprache und Profansprache in den romanischen Ländern, Ginevra-Firenze 1933, p. 16).
	ENG: from Latin persona "human being, person, personage; a part in a drama, assumed character", originally "mask, false face" such as those

	of wood or clay worn by the actors in later Roman theater. Of corporate entities from mid-15c. The use of "person" to replace "man" in compounds and avoid alleged sexist connotations is first recorded 1971 (in chairperson). In person "by bodily presence" is from 1560s. Person-to-person first recorded 1919, originally of telephone calls.
ASSEMBLEIA<	**PT:** Lat. Assimulare, "pôr em conjunto, juntar", de simul, "juntamente". Séc. XVII. [...] o arc. Ensembra do lat. In simul sec.XIV «...eu Dom Denis pella graça de Deus Rey de Portugal e do Algarue emsembra com a raynha Domna Ysabel…».
	PTB: "reunião de pessoas para determinado fim" "sociedade, corporação" "congresso" XVII do fr. Assemblée, part. Pass de assembler deriv do lat. Assimulare. No port. Med. Ocorre assembrar no sec. XIII na acepção de "reunir", deriv. Também do klat. Assimulare "reunir".
	IT: Fr. assemblée (1155), part. pass. f. di assembler 'mettere insieme, riunire' (V. assemblàre).
INTERESS<	**PTB:** "lucro, proveito, vatagem, sentimento" XV do lat. Med. Interesse, que é substantivação do lat. Class. Interesse "importar". Desinteressado XVI. Desinteressante XX. Desinteressar XVI. Desinteresse XVII. Interessado XVII. Interessante 1813. Interessar 1569. Interesseiro XVI.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. interesse, propr. un v. (comp. di inter- 'fra' ed esse 'essere') sostantivato in età mediev. Se ne trasse il den. interessare con tutti i suoi der. Interessante risente dell'influenza fr. (intéressant, 1718): Migl. St. lin. 577; e perciò è osteggiato dal Cesari (Zolli Saggi 8); interesse, interessante, interessare "sono voci derivate da assai tempo dal francese intérêt, intéressant, intéresser; ma sono così usate e pronte che è vano condannarle non che discuterle" (Panz. Diz.).
	ENG: mid-15c., "legal claim or right; concern; benefit, advantage",

	earlier interesse (late 14c.), from Anglo-French interesse "what one has a legal concern in" from Medieval Latin interesse "compensation for loss" noun use of Latin interresse "to concern, make a difference, be of importance" literally "to be between" from inter- "between" + esse "to be". Financial sense of "money paid for the use of money lent" (1520s) earlier was distinguished from usury (illegal under Church law) by being in reference to "compensation due from a defaulting debtor". Meaning "curiosity" is first attested 1771. Interest group is attested from 1907; interest rate by 1868.
LISBOA<	"Do caso acusativo lat. Olisipona = Ullyysipona de origem pre-romana, não se sabendo ao certo a significação original do voc. não sabemos se entre o idioma primitivo e aquele de que os romanos aceitaram este top. houve uns mais intermediários. Sabemos que autores como gregos e romanos (sobretudo Estrabão, Varrão Mela e plínio) registam a cidade com os nomes de Olysipo, Olisipo, Ulysippo, etc. […] Na Idade Média, os textos arábicos já nos oferecem a forma lixbonâ. Há uma var. introduzida escusadamente neste top. ár. e ainda hoje por muitos utilizada. Refiro-me ao suposto ár. Axbonâ (quase sempre escrito Aschbona por motivos óbvios), admitido por vezes como origem do nosso Lisboa. Ora nem axbonâ pode explicar a nossa ant. Lixboa, directa antepassada da moderna Lisboa (topónimo, evidentemente…), nem as formas romanas revelam qualquer possibilidade de por elas se progredir até axbonâ. Para mais as possibilidades de relações entre lixbonâ e axbonâ são nulas." (885) "de lisibona passou-se a lisbona, para depois a especial entoação do –s- justificar a grafia lixbonâ dos escritos arábicos. Depois, o –n-intervocálico caiu por infl. Do port. dos reconquistadores nortenhos, nasalizando a vogal anterior, isto é, lixbonâ originou Lixboa" "se este nome Lisboa representasse um vestígio, um resíduo do de Ulisses, não teríamos a forma Lisboa porque, em tal caso, ele não assentaria naquele Olisippo, mas estaria relacionada com o nome grego homérico

	de Ulisses que era Odysseos."
PROPO<	**PT:** Pôr do lat. ponere, "colocar, pôr; depor, estender em leito fúnebre; depor, depositar, entregar; abandonanr; colocar (bens, dinheiro, fundos); instalar, estabelecer; pôr em, fazer consistir em; apresentar, expor; estabelecer, pôr em principio". Propor do lat. Proponere, "colocar diante dos olhos, expor, apresentar; fazer uma exposição sobre; anunciar; oferecer, propor; apresentar um tema para discussão; propor-se qualquer coisa (desígnio, projecto); estabelecer uma proposição (maior dum silogismo)"; séc. XVI: «…os antgos | Reis nossos firmemente propuserão | De vencer os trabalhos, & perigos…», Camões, Lusiadas, VIII, 70.
	PTB: "submeter à apreciação" "requerer em juizo" XIII do lat. Proponere. Proponente 1881, proposição 1813 do lat. Propositio. Proposta XVII. Proposto XVI do lat. Propositum. Proposito "intenção, deliberação, intento XV.
	IT: Lat. proponere 'porre davanti' (comp. di pro 'davanti' e ponere 'porre'), col part. pr. proponente(m), il part. pass., usato anche come nt. sost. propositu(m) e il der. di questo, giunto per via dotta, propositione(m). Alle volte proposizione assume il senso di 'proposte', che "risente dell'omologa voce francese proposition (opera forse anche il concomitante influsso dell'ingl. proposition)" (V. Orioles in IL VII [1982-83] 138).
	ENG: mid-14c., from Old French proposer "propose, advance, suggest", from pro- "forth" + poser "put, place". Meaning "make an offer of marriage" is first recorded 1764.
PROJET<	**PT:** Do lat. Projectu-, "que se lança sobre proeminente, saliente; transbordante, sem medida, desenfreado; abatido" certamente pelo fr. Projet, que sofreu influência formal do cit. Voc. Lat; por via culta. [...] projecção do lat. Projectione, "arremesso para a frente; acto de

	avançar, de alongar, de estender, alongamento; avanço, saliencia; o direito de construir em saliência".
	PTB: Projeção "ato ou efeito de lançar" 1813 do lat. Projectio. Projetar projectar 1844 do lat. Tardio projectare. Projeto projecto 1844 do lat. Projectus. Projetura projectura 1858 do lat. Tardio projectura.
	IT: Fr. projeter (1400 ca.) dal lat. proiectare 'biasimare', poi 'esporre', ints. di proicere 'gettare avanti', comp. di pro 'avanti' e iacere 'gettare', col dev. projet (1460 ca. nella forma pourget; projet: 1549).
	ENG: from Latin proiectum "something thrown forth" noun use of neuter of proiectus, past participle of proicere "stretch out, throw forth" from pro- "forward" + combining form of iacere (past participle iactus) "to throw". Meaning "to cast an image on a screen" is recorded from 1865. Psychoanalytical sense, "attribute to another (unconsciously)" is from 1895 (implied in a use of projective). Meaning "convey to others by one's manner" is recorded by 1955.
MOSTR<	**PT:** Do lat. monstrare, "mostrar (a alguém o caminho, um objecto), indicar; fig., fazer ver, dar a conhecer; denunciar, indicar; advertir, aconselhar".
	PTB: "expor à vista" "indicar" XIII do lat. Monstrare. Amostra "ato ou efeito de amostrar" 1500. Entremostrar 1881. Mostra "ato ou efeito de mostrar" XIII. Mostrador XIV do lat. monstrator. Mostramento XIV. Mostrança XV. Mostrante XIV. Mostruario "vitrina" 1899 adapt. Do cast. Muestrario.
	IT: Lat. monstrare, den. di monstru(m) 'prodigio, segno (degli dei)', col sign. orig., quindi, di 'indicare la volontà divina', ma passato ben presto nella lingua familiare col sign. generico di 'designare'. Già i Romani ne avevano tratto l'agg. verb. monstrabile(m), col sign. più vicino di 'notevole, cospicuo', e il n. d'agente monstratore(m). Di form. moderna sono gli altri der., compreso mostra (con i suoi dim.

	mostrina e mostrino), dev. di mostrare. Mostravento appartiene ad una serie non esigua di comp. in uso spec. nel ling. marinaresco (mostrarombi, -tempesta).
VENC<	**PT:** Do lat. vincere, "vencer em guerra, ficar vitorioso; vencer em lutas diversas; vencer em leilão; triunfar de, ultrapassar, ficar por cima; vencer, ultrapassar; demonstrar vitoriosamente que, conseguir provar que; triunfar, ter razão, ganhar uma causa".
	PTB: "conseguir vitoria sobre, triunfar, obter vantagem" XIII do lat. Vincere. Evencer "despojar, desapossar" 1881 do fr. Avincer deriv do lat. Evincere. Invincibilidade 1844. Invencivel XVI. Invicto "não vencido, que nunca sofreu derrota do lat. Invictus. Vencedor XIII. Vecimento XIV. Vencivel 1813 do lat. vincibilis. Vincendo "diz-se de juros, dividas etc. Que estão por acabar" XX do lat. vincendus part. de vincere.
	ES: Hay varias acs. secundarias, p. ej. la antigua "declarar traidor o culpable" (Cid; Mil., 901d), y la moderna intransitiva "cumplirse un plazo, hacerse exigible una deuda u otra obligación" (Acad. Ya 1817), que es peculiar al cast. Entre las lenguas romances. comp. cej. IV, 507.
	IT: Dal lat. vincere, da una rad. indeur. col sign. di base di 'combattere', col part. pres. vincente(m) e il part. pass. victu(m) (sul quale si è innestata, in it., la n di vincere) e di qui victoria(m), propr. f. sostantivato di un agg. *victoriu(m) (da victore(m), come uxoriu(m) da uxore(m)), e victorosiu(m). Gli altri der. sono di formaz. it. Sono rimaste nell'uso alcune loc. d'impiego fig., di cui si è perduto il senso orig.: gli Antichi erano soliti celebrare le loro vittorie con numerosi trionfi, cioè cantare vittoria. Ad un aneddoto sul re dell'Epiro, che avendo vinto i Romani ad Ascoli nel 278 a.C., con gravissime perdite, avrebbe esclamato: "Si denuo sic vincendi sunt Romani, peribimus" ("Se ancora una volta avremo da vincere i Romani così, saremo perduti"), risale l'espressione vittoria di Pirro (G. Fumagalli, Chi l'ha

	detto?, Milano 1904 4, p. 502), la quale, pur diffusa internazionalmente, non è molto ant.
GENTE	**PT:** Do lat. gente-, "raça, cepa; familia (com todas as suas ramificações); descendente; raça, espécie (de animais); raça de um povo; povo, nação (gens Volsca, gens Sabina); a população de uma cidade; região, terra, território, país; no pl. os bárbaros" [...] gentil do lat. Gentile, " que pertence a uma familia (a uma gens), relativo a uma familia; parente (em linha colateral); que tem o mesmo nome; que pertence à casa de um senhor (falando de escravo); que pertence a uma especie; que pertence a uma nação, nacional; compatriota; na decadencia, no pl., os bárbaros, os estrangeiros; pagão".
	PTB: "quantidade de pessoas, família" "alguém de importância" XIII do lat. Gens. Gentalha XVIII. Gentil XIII do lat. Gentilis. Gentileza XIV. Gentilicio XX do lat. Gentilicius. Gentilico XVI do lat. Gentilicus. Gentilidade XVI do lat. Gentilitas. Gentio "grande quantidade de gente" XVI. Gentio "pagõ" XIII do lat. Genetivus.
	IT: Lat. gente(m) (dal v. gignere 'generare'), propr. 'gruppo di coloro che riconoscono un proprio capostipite comune', poi, con restrizioni ed estensioni progressive del sign., 'famiglia, discendenza, razza, nazione'. In epoca imperiale le gentes designavano i 'popoli stranieri' (E. Löfstedt, Syntactica, II, Lund, 1933, pp. 464-467) e, più tardi, per la Chiesa, i 'pagani' (secondo l'es. del corrispondente gr. tà éthne, a sua volta trad. dell'ebr. goi). Gente di lettere è trad. del fr. gens de lettres (come registrato dal Panz. Diz.), mentre gente di teatro si affianca ai sintagmi, cronologicamente precedenti; gente di campagna, di città, di corte, di piazza, di mercato (tutti registrati dal Petr.). Gentaglia, come riconosce l'Alessio Postille, è il fr. ant. gentaille.
IMPORTAN<	**PT:** Portar do lat. Portare, "levar, transportar (às costas de homem ou de animais; em carros ou em barcos)". Importar do lat. Importare,

	"trazer em, importar; fig. Introduzir; suscitar, atrair".
	PTB: "causar, produzir" "ter importância, custar" "convir, ser útil, valer, ter consideração" XVI; "introduzir num país produtos estrangeiros" 1813 do lat. Importare. Na última acepção o termo sofre influência do ingl. To import do lat. Importare "trazer para dentro". Importancia XVII. Importante XVI do lat. Importans part. pres. de importare.
	ES: Importar («no importa que sea verdad con tanto que se judgue verosímile», APal. 384d; Quijote, etc.; en la ac. "introducir mercancías en un país", Acad. 1884, no 1817, en fr. Ya en 1669; ASNSL CLXXV, 132), tomado de importare, "introducir, llevar adentro" (el sentido figurado debió de aparecer en b. lat. Y es común a todos los romances: en r. Desde 1536).
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. importare 'portare (portare) dentro (in-)', anche nel senso di 'introdurre merci da fuori', assunto dall'ingl. to import (1508, col der. importation, 1601) e trasmessoci attrav. il fr. (Schiaff. '57). I sign. più ant., invece, dipendono dal lat., ma, nel senso di 'fatto, persona, oggetto d'importanza', importante è francesismo del Settecento (Migl. St. lin. 571). Importo è dev. di importare, come 'aver importanza', e nel senso di 'spesa, costo' è assolutamente respinto dai puristi (Serianni Norma 170).
	ENG: "consequence, importance" 1580s; sense of "that which is imported" is from 1680s; both from import: "convey information, express, make known, signify" from Latin importare "bring in, convey" from assimilated form of in- "into, in" + portare "to carry". Sense of "bring in goods from abroad" first recorded c.1500.
ADER<	**PT:** Do lat. Adhaerere, com mudança de conjugação, "estar ligado a; aguentar-se" (de ad + haerere). Cf.: aderência, aderente, adereço, adesão, adesivo e adeso. O sentido em port. de "ser (ou passar a ser) do

	partido de, da opinião de", deve ter origem fr.
	PTB: "estar ligado" "abraçar (partido, ideia, seita, etc.) adherir XVII do lat. Adhaerere. Adesão adesão XVII do lat. Adhesio. Adesismo XX. Adesico adhesivo 1871 do fr. Adhesif provavelmente.
	IT: Vc. dotte, lat. adhaerere (comp. di ad e haerere 'stare attaccato': di etim. incerta), col part. pr. adhaerente(m). Il lat. tardo adhaerentia(m), registrato nei lessici, non pare attest. nei codici, né il LEI I 652 gli assegna un lemma, ma solo un rinvio al lat. parl. *haerentia.
	ENG: "follower, associate, supporter" early 15c., from Old French adherent or directly from Latin adhaerentem. Meaning "adhesive substance" is from 1912.
IDOS<	**PT:** Idade do lat. Aetate, "o tempo de vida, vida; época da vida, idade; mocidade, velhice; tempo; epoca, seculo, geração".
	PTB: Idade "número de anos de alguem ou de alguma coisa" "epoca da vida, epoca historica, tempo" xiv, ydade XIII, jdade XIII do lat. Aetas. Idoso idioso XIV forma haplologica de idadoso < idad (e + -oso.
APRESENT<	**PT:** Do lat. praesente-, "presente, que está pessoalmente: presente, actual; no pl., circunstâncias presentes, a situação presente; o presente; imediato, que está vista; urgente; que age imediatamente, eficaz; senhor de si, firme, imperturbável, intrépido".
	PTB: Presente "que assiste pessoalmente" XIII do lat. praesens. Apresentação XIII. Apresentador 1844. Apresentar XIII. Apresentavel 1844. Presença XIII do lat. Praesentia. Presenciar XVIII. Presentar apresentar XIII do lat. praesentare. Presente "dono, regalo" XIII. Presentear presentar XIV.
	IT: Vc. dotte, lat. praesente(m) (da prae- 'pre-' sul modello di absens, genit. absentis 'assente'), coi der. pr(a)esentatione(m) (1198-1214 nel

	lat. mediev. di Venezia: S. Lorenzo, a cura di F. Gaeta, Venezia, 1959, p. 89) e praesentia(m) (lat. class.). Alcune vc. e loc. ricalcano il fr.: présent 'regalo' (non 1130 ca., ma sec. XIII: Travaux de Ling. XXIII [1985] 25-26), présentable 'che si può presentare' (1530 ca.), 'che si può esibire senza vergognarsene' (1530 ca.), présenter les armes (1753; V. Alfieri ne respingeva l'uso, proponendo l'italianissimo arme innanzi al posto di présentez vos armes: GSLI CLXX [1993] 221), faire acte de présence (1835), présence d'esprit (1660).

3. CP3

PODER	**PT:** Do lat. vulgar potere, que substituiu o lat. Classico posse, "poder, ser capaz de; ter poder, ter influência, ter eficácia". A cit. forma potere foi criada pela linguagem popular a partir de formas como potens e potui.
	PTB: "direito de deliberar" "faculdade" XIII de poder. Poderio XIII. Poderoso XIII. Podestade XIII forma divergente popular de potestade. Potencia "poder, autoridade, vigor" potença XV do lat. potentia. Potenciação 1881. Potentado XVI do lat. Potentatus. Potente 1572 do lat. potens. Potestade "poder, potencia" XIV do lat. potestas. Potestativo XX.
	ES: En latin clásico la conjugación del verbo "posse" resultaba de una complicada combinación de reacciones analógicas enre las formas de un antíguo verbo simple "potere", conservada en lengua osca, y la combinación potis esse "ser capaz", contraída en posse. Del antíguo verbo simple se conservaron el particípio activo "potens" y el tema de perfecto "potui", partiendo de los cuales la lengua vulgar recreó una conjugación regular, en su mayor parte com un núveo infinitivo "potere": de éste proceden las formas de todos los romances. En lenguas hermanas se han conservado, más o menos alteradas, formas del

	presente procedentes de las clássicas, mientras que el cast. Y el port. Fueron radicales en la regularización de este verbo.
	IT: Lat. parl. *potere, rifatto su potens, genit. potentis 'potente' e sulle altre forme (potes 'tu puoi', potui 'io potei' ecc.), inizianti per pot-, del verbo posse: quest'ultima forma è comp. di potis 'signore, che può', d'orig. indeur., ed esse 'essere'. Potente e potenza sono vc. dotte che si rifanno al lat. potente(m) e potentia(m).
POLITIC<	**PTB:** "relativo à, ou próprio da politica" XV do lat. politicus deriv gr. politikos. Apolitico XX. Politica XVII do lat. tardio politica deriv. Gr. politike. Politicagem XX. Politicoide XX. Politiqueiro 1899. Politizar XX do lat. med. politizare.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. politicu(m), dal gr. politikós (col f. sostantivato politike 'arte politica'), agg. di polítes 'cittadino', der. di pólis 'città' (V. poleografìa), mentre la rec. espressione politica politicante ricalca il fr. politique politicienne, che "vuol sottolineare gli aspetti deteriori e meno nobili della politica" (LN LVII, 1996, 57). Politicizzare è formato sul modello dell'ingl. to politicize.
	ENG: "pertaining to a polity, civil affairs, or government" from Latin politicus "of citizens or the State". Meaning "taking sides in party politics" (usually pejorative) is from 1749.
ADMINISTR<	**PT:** Do lat. administrare (de minister, q.v. ministro), "servir; ajudar, fornecer, dirigir", chegado até tarde (Souter); por via erudita; o sentido jurídico aparece modernamente; a língua religiosa guardou o primitivo em: administrar os sacramentos. […] administração, do lat. Administratione-, mesmos sentidos; mais trade "deveres de diacono", sinonimo de diaconatus.
	PTB: "gerir, dirigir, governar" XV, aminstrar XV, menistrar XV, ministrar XV do lat. Administrare. Administração mjstração XIII, aministraçon XIV, mjnjstraçõ XV, aministraçom XV do lat.

	Administrativo. Administrador XIV, amijstraador XIII, aministrador XIV, ministrador XV do lat. Administrator. Administrante XVIII. Administrativo XVIII do lat. administrativus com provavel interferencia do fr. administratif.
	ES: Del lat. ministrium "servicio", "empleo", "oficio", derivado de minister, -tri, "servidor", "oficial".
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. administrare (comp. di ad- raff. e ministrare 'servire, governare'), coi der. administrativu(m), administratore(m), administratione(m).
	ENG: mid-14c., "act of giving or dispensing"; late 14c., "management, act of administering" from Latin administrationem (nominative administratio) "direction, management" noun of action from past participle stem of administrare. Early 15c. as "management of a deceased person's estate". Meaning "the government" is attested from 1731 in British usage. Meaning "a U.S. president's period in office" is first recorded 1796 in writings of George Washington.
GOVERN<	**PT:** Do lat. Gubernare, "dirigir um navio, aguentar o leme; fig. Dirigir, conduzir, governar".
	PTB: "dirigir, administrar, reger" XIII do lat. gubernare. Desgovernar desguovernar XV. Desgovernavel XX. Desgoverno XVII. Governação governaçon XV do lat. gubernatio. Governador XIV do lat. gubernator. Governamental 1881 do fr. gouvernamental. Governamento XIV. Governança XV. Governanta 1881 do fr. gouvernante. Governante XVIII do fr. gouvernant. Governativo 1881 do lat. gubernativus. Governatriz 1813 do lat. gubernatrix. Governavel 1899. Governo XIII deverbal de governar.
	ES: El Sentido en la Edad Media es todavia el marino, com particular frecuencia (Apol., APal.), aunque el ampliado se halla también desde

	Berceo, y ya en latin se decia gubernare rempublicam.
	IT: Lat. gubernare 'reggere il timone' (sec. VI a.C.) col suo den. guberna(m) 'timone', di provenienza gr. (kybernân, di orig. oscura: O. Castellani Pollidori in "Colombaria" XXII, 1957, 254-264 e BALM VIII-IX, 1966-67, 61-63). Già in lat. i due termini avevano allargato i loro sign. (G. Petracco Sicardi in BALM XVIII-XIX, 1976-77, 31-32). Il senso mar. di governo 'timone' è presente in Dante (Convivio), che accoglie, però, ampiamente anche tutti i sign. da quello dedotti (Enc. dant.).
	ENG: late 14c., "act of governing or ruling, system by which a thing is governed" (especially a State), from Old French governement (Modern French gouvernement), from governer. Replaced Middle English governance. Meaning "governing power" in a given place is from 1702.
CRIS<	**PT:** "acto ou faculdade de distinguir; acto de escolher, escolha, eleição; acto de separar, dissentimento, contestação em justiça, processo; acto de decidir; decisão, julgamento (de uma questão, de uma dúvida); julgamento de luta, de concurso; concurso, decisão judiciaria, julgamento, condenação; o que resolve qualquer coisa, solução, decisão, resultado (de guerra); fase decisiva de doença, crise; explicação, interpretação de sonho", pelo lat. Crisis, usado sobretudo em sentido medico; houve certamente intervenção do fr. crise, séc. (1813), Morais.
	PTB: "alteração, desequilíbrio repentino" "estado de dúvida e incerteza" "tensão, conflito" crysis 1813do lat. crisis deriv. gr. krisis. Critico "pertencente ou relativo à critica" "que encerra critica" "ext. grave, perigoso" XVII do lat. criticus deriv do gr. kritikos. Critica "arte ou faculdade de julgar produções de carater literário, artístico, etc" "apreciação, julgamento" 1813 do fr. critique deriv. do lat. critica do gr. kritike. Criticar 1813 do fr. critiquer.
	ES: "mutación grave que sobreviene en una enfermedad para mejoría o

	empeoramiento", "momento decisivo en un asunto de importancia".
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. crisi(m), dal gr. krísis 'separazione, scelta, giudizio', der. di krínein 'giudicare' (d'orig. indeur.).
PRINCIPIO<	**PT:** Principio do lat. principiu-, "começo; inicio de obra, entrada na materia de um discurso, exordio; o que começa, fundamento, origem ; no pl. Principia, os fundamentos, os princípios; a primeira linha a frente do exercito; o quartel general no acampamento; os oficiais do estado-maior".
	PTB: Principar "iniciar, começar, abrir" XV do lat. tardio principiare. Principiante XVI. Principio XIV do lat. Principium.
	IT: Vc. dotte, lat. principiu(m) (da princeps, genit. principis 'principe': V. prìncipe), col der. tardo principiare.
	ENG: late 14c., "origin, source, beginning; rule of conduct; axiom, basic assumption; elemental aspect of a craft or discipline" from Anglo-French principle, Old French principe "origin, cause, principle" from Latin principium (plural principia) "a beginning, commencement, origin, first part" in plural "foundation, elements" from princeps (see prince). Used absolutely for (good or moral) principle from 1650s.
PIOR<	**PT:** Do lat. peiore, comparativo de malus. As formas antigas eram peior e peor. A primeira já existia no séc. XIII.
	PTB: "comparativo de superioridade de mau" "aquilo que é inferior a tudo o mais" XIV, peyor XIII, peor XIII do lat. Pejor. Piorar peiorar XIII. Pioria XIII.
	IT: Lat. peiore(m), col der. tardo peiorare: da una radice indeur. che significa 'cadere'.
PARTID<	**PT:** Parte do lat. parte-, "parte, porção; especie (em relação ao genero); ponto no espaço, parte, local; causa, partido, facção; partido politico;

	papel de actor".
	PTB: Partida "divisão" XIII; "despedida" XIV. Partidário XVIII. Partidarismo 1899. Partido XVI do part. partitus deriv do lat. partire "dividir em partes" "proceder" "ir embora".
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. partiri 'dividere, separare' (da pars, genit. partis 'parte'), coi der. partitore(m) (lat. tardo) e partitione(m). Partita doppia e partita semplice ricalcano il fr. partie double (1679) e partie simple (1673), ma si tenga presente che libro semplice e doppio è già nel 1585, T. Garzoni. Partitismo è una traduzione del "russo partijnost, che indica l'esclusivo orientamento secondo l'interesse del partito, caratteristico della cultura proletaria e contrapposto alla oggettività (o pretesa oggettività) della cultura borghese" (1950, Migl. App.). Partitivo è il fr. partitif (fine sec. XIV nella forma partitis).
RECLAM<	**PTB:** "fazer impugnação ou protesto, verbal ou por escrito" "opor-se" recramar XV do lat. reclamare. Reclamação reclamaçon XV do lat. reclamatio. Reclamante 1813. Reclame 1899 do fr. Reclame. Reclamo XVI.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. reclamare, lett. 'richiamare', 'gridare contro' (da re- e clamare), col der. reclamatione(m), al quale si sostituì in it. il più rapido dev. reclamo. Il passaggio semantico del v. è palese in questo passo di Salimbene da Parma, 1281-88: "Et patienter sustinuit nec reclamavit". Non è necessario far dipendere reclamo e richiamo 'lagnanza' dallo sp. reclamo, come vorrebbe Zacc. Ib. 343.
	ENG: late 15c., "a revoking" (of a grant, etc.), from Old French réclamacion and directly from Latin reclamationem (nominative reclamatio) "a cry of 'no,' a shout of disapproval" noun of action from past participle stem of reclamare "cry out against, protest" (see reclaim). From 1630s as "action of calling (someone) back" (from iniquity, etc.); meaning "action of claiming something taken awat" is from 1787.

POSTURA<	**PT:** Do lat. Postura, de positura, "posição, disposição, arranjo; sinais de pontuação, a pontuação"; em 1267: «… sobre todolos preitos e todalas pusturas que foron postas e scritas…», no Livro dos Bens de D. João de Portel, doc. N.º 31, p.41 da separata; ao contrario do que acontece em cast., este voc. continua em uso no Port.
	PTB: "Acordo, convénio" "ext. posição do corpo, aspecto fisico" XIII, pustura XIIIdo lat. Positura.
TRANSPAR<	**PT:** Transparencia é adaptação do fr. transparence; em 1813 Morais; trasparente do fr. Transparente, etse do lat. Medieval transparente- , composto de trans-, e de parens, do v. parere, "aparecer"; no séc. XVI: «Mando mostrarlhe peças mais somenos | Contas de Christalino ransparente», Camões, Lusiadas, V, 29.
	PTB: "que se deixa atravessar pela luz" XVI do lat. Med. transparens. Transparência 1813 do fr. transparence. Transparecer 1813 adapt do fr. transparaitre.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. mediev. transparente(m) 'che appare (da parere) attraverso (trans-)'. Da qui, sia trasparenza, che trasparire. Per una rec. accez. di trasparenza v. glasnost.
ELEIC<	**PT:** Eleger do lat. eligere, "arrancar colhendo, tirar; escolher, apartar, seleccionar; fazer escolha feliz"; por via culta. [...] eleição do lat. Electione-, "escolha"; séc. XVI: «...assim aconteceu que o provincial casou a eleição», Frei Luis de Sousa, Historia de S. Domingos, II, I, cap. 16, p.53; eleito do lat. electu-, "escolhido, excelente, superior»; séc. XVII, segundo Morais […] elite do fr. elite, "d'après un anc. Part. Eslit, signifie aussi «action de choisir» jusqu'au XVI s.; séc. XIX, D.V.
	PTB: "escolher, preferir entre dois ou mais" XV elleger XIV, enleger XIV, eliger XIV do lat. eligere. Eleendo 1844 do lat. eligendum gerundivo de eligere. Elegibilidade 1844 do fr. eligibilité. Elegivel 1813 do fr. elegible deriv do lat. eligibilis. Eleição XVI ellecço XV, enliçom

	XIV do lat. electionem. Eleito XIII eleyto XIII, enleyto XIII do lat. electus. Eleitor eleidor XIV. Eleitorado 1813. Eleitoral 1813. Eletivo electivo XVII do lat. tard. electivus. Inelegibilidade 1881. Inelegivel 1881. Reeleição 1813. Com troca de prefixo, documentam-se no port.med. esleçõ, esleedor e esleer (por eleição, eleitor e eleger) todos no sec. XIV e esleyto (por eleito) no sec. XIII.
	ES: De electo "elegido para la bienaventuranza" se pasó a "arrobado en éxtasis religioso" y de ahi eleto "pasmado", "espantado".
	IT: Lat. eligere 'scegliere', comp. di ex 'da, fra' e legere 'scegliere'. Eleggibile ed eleggibilità sono calchi sul fr. éligibile ed éligibilité.
	ENG: late 13c., from Anglo-French eleccioun, Old French elecion "choice, election, selection", from Latin electionem (nominative electio), noun of action from past participle stem of eligere "pick out, select" from ex- "out" + -ligere, comb. form of legere "to choose, read". Theological sense is from late 14c.
NACION<	**PT:** Nação do lat. natione-, "nascimento; raça, especie, tipo; tribo, nação; povo, raça; no pl., nationes, os gentios, os pagãos, nos autores cristãos»; […] certamente por influência de nascer, houve uma forma nasção, usada pelo menos neste texto de 1691: «… ordeney que de todos os que V.M. em prol da Nasção Portugueza obraçe me desse particular conta …», em Portuguese Records on Rustamji Manockji… por Panduranga S.S. Pissurlencar, p.3; nacional do fr. national, de nation, em 1813, Morais; nacionalidade é adaptação do fr. nationalité.
	PTB: "agrupamento de seres, geralmente fixos num território, ligados por origem, tradições, costumes comuns e, em geral, por uma língua" XVI naçõ XIV do lat. natio. Desnacionalização 1899. Internacional 1858. Internacionalização 1899. Nacional nascional 1782 do fr. National. Nacinalidade XIX do fr. nationalité. Nacionalismo XIX do fr. nationalisme. Nacionalização XX. Nacionalizar nacionalisar 1844 do fr.

	nationaliser.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. natione(m) 'nascita', poi 'popolazione', da natus 'nato'. "Il termine Nazione, impiegato negli stessi contesti significativi in cui viene abitualmente usato oggi, cioè riferito alla Francia, alla Germania, all'Italia, ecc., incomincia a comparire nel discorso politico – in Europa – nel corso della Rivoluzione francese, anche se il suo uso era lontano, in quell'epoca, dall'essere univoco; mentre appare nella letteratura con il romanticismo tedesco, in particolare nelle opere di Herder e Fichte, dove peraltro è usato esclusivamente in un'accezione linguistico-culturale (...). Il contenuto semantico del termine, malgrado la sua immensa forza emotiva, rimane tuttora tra i più vaghi e incerti del vocabolario politico" (F. Rossolillo, in N. Bobbio-N. Matteucci, Dizionario di politica, Torino, 1976). Nel 1943, Migl. L. c. 94 a proposito di nazionale scriveva: "Trovare in due edizioni successive del medesimo libro che patriottico è sostituito da nazionale, mostra come il primo termine sia leggermente decaduto di fronte al nuovo, per effetto del nuovo vigore acquistato dal concetto di nazione e della polemica contro certi aspetti del Risorgimento". I der. ci sono giunti per lo più attrav. il fr. nationalisme (1798), nationaliste (1830, forse dall'ingl. nationalist, 1715), nationalité (av. 1778), nationaliser (1793; dal 1842 come termine economico), nationalisation fine sec. XVIII.

"Nazione […] si fa termine rilevante nella seconda metà del Settecento, quando le nazioni già si producono come soggetti storici dotati di identità forti. Prima di allora era un concetto intermittente e contraddittorio, ancora vago nel Quattrocento, più vago ancora nel Medioevo, età permeata di tradizione universale" (Beccaria, 2008: 198). |
| | **ENG:** from Old French nacion "birth, rank; descendants, relatives; country, homeland" and directly from Latin nationem (nominative natio) "birth, origin; breed, stock, kind, species; race of people, tribe" literally "that which has been born" from natus, past participle of nasci |

	"be born" (Old Latin gnasci; see genus). Political sense has gradually predominated, but earliest English examples inclined toward the racial meaning "large group of people with common ancestry". Older sense preserved in application to North American Indian peoples (1640s). Nation-building first attested 1907 (implied in nation-builder).
APROXIM<	**PTB:** Proximo "que está perto, a pouca distância no espaço ou no tempo" "vizinho" prouximo XIV do lat. proximus. Aproximação XVIII do lat. tardio approximatio. Aproximado XVII. Aproximar 1813 do lat. tardio approximare. Aproximativo 1858. Proximidade XVI do lat. proximitas.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. tardo approximare, comp. parasintetico di proximus 'vicinissimo' (V. pròssimo). Vc. dotte, lat. proximu(m) (sup. di *proque, forma originaria di prope 'vicino', d'orig. indeur.), col der. proximitate(m). Prossimale, è l'ingl. proximal (1803 in questa accez.), opposto a distal 'distale'.

4. CP4

SOBREVIV<	**PTB:** Sobreviver 1813. Sobrevivente 1850 do lat. super-vivere
	IT: Lat. tardo supravivere, comp. di supra- 'sopra-' e vivere 'vivere', per il prec. supervivere.
CICLO<	**PT:** "circulo; qualquer objecto circular; plano circular, anfiteatro; esfera, globo; no pl., círculos concêntricos de bronze num escudo redondo, escudo; coroa; bracelete; no pl., globo do olho; mas no sing., o olho de Zeus; roda; círculo do Sol e da Lua; abobada do ceu; a via Lactea; círculo astronómico; zonas da terra; pano das muralhas de uma cidade; lugar circular fortificado, no centor das linhas de fortificação; movimento circular; dança circular; evolução dos corpos celestes; donde evolução do ano, ano; evolução dos

	acontecimentos; ret. Período; período que começa e acaba com a mesma palavra", pleo lat. Cyclu-, "circulo, ciclo (periodo de anos); med. Tratamento por periodos"; por via culta.
	PTB: Do gr. kyklo de ky'klos "círculo", que se documenta em alguns compostos formados no proprio grego (como ciclico) e em muitos outros introduzidos a partir do sec. XIX na linguagem erudita.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. tardo cyclu(m), dal gr. kýklos 'cerchio' (d'orig. indeur.), col der. cyclicu(m) (gr. kyklikós). Cicloide è il fr. cycloïde, dal gr. kykloeides: la curva fu "definita e designata dal padre M. Mersenne (1639)" (migl. onom.). Ciclometria è comp. con -metrìa, ciclotimia col gr. thymós 'animo, sentimento' (di orig. indeur.). Ciclostomi è il fr. cyclostomes (1807; cfr. stoma-).
FILHO<	**PT:** "filho; no pl., crianças; descendentes; crias (de animais)". Sec. XIII (1265) […] Afilhado de filho, isto é, que foi tomado como filho; sec. XI […] filhar de filho; primeiramente significou "atrair, chamar a si, tomar como filho "; depois, "tomar conta de, apossar-se", tendo chegado enfim, à significação de "roubar, raptar".
	PTB: "individuo em relação aos pais, descendente" XIII do lat. Filius. Afilhado 1813. Filharada 1873. Filhote 1813. Filhotismo XX. Filiação XVII. Filiado XX. Filial 1813. Filiar 1881. Perfilhação XVIII. Perfilhamento porfillamento XV. Perfilhar porfillar XIV.
	ES: Un importante calco semântico. En árabe era muy corriente emplear 'ibn "hijo" (o su feminino bint), seguido de un substantivo, como mero elemento gramatical para expressar persona caracterizada por la idea que este substantivo expressa, y aun para adjetivar esta idea: 'ibn as-sabil (hijo del camino) "viajero", 'ibn al-alhâk (hijo de perdición) "condenado", 'ibn as-sae atih "instantâneo, que sólo dura un istante" (propiamente "hijo de su momento"), 'ibn

	eisra "hombre amable en sociedad" (eisra "companhia"), 'ibn fákih "galante, vivo, robusto" (="hijo de jovialidad"), 'ibn yaumih "efimero" (= "hijo de su dia"), bint al kitâb "estudianta" (="hija del libro") (Dozy, Suppl. I, 120), etc. Esta curiosa peculiaridade sintática, que no era ajena a otras lenguas semíticas, aunque en ninguna parte tan desarrollada como en árabe, pasó del hebreo al linguaje bíblico y religioso de otros romances; pero la frecuencia de expresiones de este tipo en textos medievales, sobre todo moriscos, y aun en el vocabulário y fraseologia del español general, denota que en la Peninsula Iberíca hubo más bien calco del árabe.
	IT: Lat. filiu(m) (dalla stessa radice indeur. da cui derivano anche femina 'femmina' e fecundus 'fecondo'), col dim. filiolu(m) (pronunziato filiolu(m) nel lat. parl.) e il der. tardo filiastru(m). Figlio della serva è il milan. fioeu de la serva (Cherubini). Sull'alternanza figliolo/figliuolo V. Patota 26.
PAI<	**PTB:** "genitor, progenitor" pay XIII do lat. pater port. Padre, pade, pae, pai. Padre XIII do lat. pater. Padroado XIII do lat. ecl. patronatus. Padroeiro XIII do ant. padrom "protetor". Paternal paternall XV do lat. Med. Paternalis. Paternidade XVI do lat. Paternitas. Paterno 1572 do lat. Paternus. Patrimonial XV do lat. Tardo patrimonialis. Patrimonio patrimonyo XIII do lat. patrimonium. Patristica termo da teologia que indica a coleção dos documentos dos Padres da Igreja 1873.
CIVIL<	**PT:** Civico do lat. civicu-, "relativo à cidade ou ao cidadão, cívico, civil"; por ia culta; sec. XVII […] o sentido moderno veio pelo fr. civique, que o tomou durante a Revolução; civil do lat. civile-, "do cidadão, civil; relativo ao conjunto dos cidadãos, a vida politica, o estado; que convem a cidadãos, digno de cidadãos; popular, afável, meigo, doce, benevolente, por via culta; séc. XVI « … quando Augusto | Nas ciuís Actias guerras animoso, | O capitão veceo

	Romano injusto», Camões, Lusiadas, II, 53.
	PTB: "relativo às relações dos cidadãos entre si" "que não tem carater militar nem eclesiástico" "social, civilizado" "cortês, polido", ciuys XIV, ciujl XIV, cyvel XIV, ceuil XIV do lat. civilis. Civico "relativo aos cidadãos como mebros do Estado "1873do lat. civicus. Civilidade XVI do fr. civilité deriv do lat. civilitas. Civilsmo XX. Civilização 1833 do fr. civilisation. Civismo 1858 do fr. civisme. Incivil 1844 do fr. invicil. Incivilizado 1873. Supercivilizado XX.
	ES: Aunque ya APal. 92b, opone civil a militar en términos administrativos, Aut. observa todavia que en el sentido de "sociable, urbano" o "civilizado" no tiene uso en castellano, sólo admite civil como opuest a criminal en el estilo forense (id. covarr.), y advierte que el significado corriente es «desestimable, mezquino, ruin y de baxa conidción y procederes» ac. Que actualmente ya se há anticuado, pero de la que hay multitude de ejemplos.
	IT: Vc. dotte, lat. civile(m) (der. di civis: V. città), col der. civilitate(m); civilizzare e civilizzazione sono il fr. civiliser (1568) e civilisation (1734). "Sono molto più numerose le voci che rispecchiano le idee dei cittadini che quelle nate secondo il punto di vista dei contadini: si pensi a civile, urbano e simili, di contro a rustico ecc."
	"È il cittadino dunque che conia, per chi viene fuori, dalla campagna, dalla provincia, appellativi di spregio. La stessa parola cittadino è nata appunto in contrapposizione a paesano e villano. Soprattutto nell'italiano dell'Ottocento cittadino viene a opporsi a popolano, con il senso implicito che non eprderà più, sia di superiorità culturale, sia di raffinatezza nei costumi, nel vestire" (Beccaria, 2008: 136-137).
	ENG: late 14c., "relating to civil law or life; pertaining to the

	internal affairs of a State" from Old French civil "civil, relating to civil law" and directly from Latin civilis "relating to a citizen, relating to public life, befitting a citizen" hence by extension "popular, affable, courteous" alternative adjectival derivation of civis "townsman". The sense of "polite" was in classical Latin, from the courteous manners of citizens, as opposed to those of soldiers. But English did not pick up this nuance of the word until late 16c. "Courteous is thus more commonly said of superiors, civil of inferiors, since it implies or suggests the possibility of incivility or rudeness". Civil case (as opposed to criminal) is recorded from 1610s. Civil liberty is by 1640s. Civil service is from 1772, originally in reference to the East India Company.
SEMABRIGO	**PT:** Abrigar do lat. apricari, "aquecer-se ao sol", donde "abrigar-se do frio". Abrigo deve ser derivado regressivo deste v., e não resultante do lat. apricu-.
	PTB: Abrigar "resguardar, proteger" XIII do lat. apricare. Abrigo XIII. Desabrigo, desabrigar, desabrigado XVI.
RELIG<	**PT:** Do lat. religione, "atenção escrupolosa, escrupulo, delicadeza, consciência; escrúpulo religioso, sentimento religioso, receio piedoso; sentimento de respeito, veneração, culto; crença religiosa, religião; práticas religiosas, culto; respeito (veneração), caracter sagrado; o que é objecto de veneração, de adoração, de culto; escupulo de não estar em regra com a divindade, a consciência de estar em falta com os preceitos religiosos; estar em falta, de culpabilidade religiosa que só se apaga pela expiação; consagração religiosa, que faz qualquer coisa pertencer à divindade e não ter uso profano".
	PTB: "crença na existência de uma força ou forças sobrenaturais, considerada(s) como criadora (s) do Universo, e que como tal deve(m) ser adorada(s) e obedecida(s)" religion XIII, religiom XIV,

	religiõ XIV, relijon XIV do lat. Religio. Irreligião 1813 do lat. tardio irreligio. Religiosidade 1813 do lat. religiositas. Religioso XIII do lat. religiosus.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. religione(m), che dal suo sign. più ampio ('complesso di pratiche, credenze, obblighi morali' e per questo spesso collegata col v. relegere 'raccogliere di nuovo, ordinatamente' tutto ciò che si riferisce al culto degli dèi), passò, nel Medio Evo, a quello più ristretto di 'disciplina monastica', come il der. religiosu(m), propr. 'scrupoloso, diligente', assunse in età cristiana il sign. di 'monaco' per un passaggio semantico che conobbe anche devotu(m). In sostanza, anche se qualcuno fra i moderni ha difeso la spiegazione tradiz., espressa da Cicerone e da altri autori, l'orig. della vc. resta ancora incerta (da religare 'legare strettamente', riferendosi al legame, che, attraverso la religione, si stringe con gli dèi?: cfr. De Felice Parole). Molto tardo (817 d.C.) l'astr. religiositate(m). Dei t. religione e religioso (carattere religioso, idea religiosa) si appropriò il ling. pol. fin dal primo dopoguerra: "il maltrattamento della dottrina e della storia è cosa di poco conto, in quella scrittura [cioè, il manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti], a paragone dell'abuso che vi si fa della parola 'religione'" (Manifesto degli intellettuali italiani antifascisti, Il Mondo, 1 magg. 1925).
	ENG: According to Cicero derived from relegere "go through again" (in reading or in thought), from re- "again" + legere "read". However, popular etymology among the later ancients (Servius, Lactantius, Augustine) and the interpretation of many modern writers connects it with religare "to bind fast" (see rely), via notion of "place an obligation on" or "bond between humans and gods". In that case, the re- would be intensive. Another possible origin is religiens "careful" opposite of negligens. In English, meaning "particular system of faith" is recorded from c.1300; sense of "recognition of and allegiance in manner of life (perceived as justly

	due) to a higher, unseen power or powers" is from 1530s.
COMPRA<	**PTB:** "adquirir por dinheiro" "subornar" XIII do lat. vulg. comperare (class. comparare). Compra XIII der. regress. de comprar. comprador conprador XIII.
	ES: Del lat. vg. comperare íd. Lat. comparare "proporcionar, adquirir", derivado de parare "preparar", "proporcionar, adquirir". 1ª. Doc.: 1095 [...] Sustityó en todos los romances al lat. emere "comprar", desaparecio en todas partes.
	IT: Lat. comparare 'procurare, raccogliere' (comp. di cum e parare 'preparare'), col der. tardo comparatore(m). Compra (e compera) è un dev. a suff. zero; compravendere è rifatto su compravendita.
FAMILI<	**PT:** Do lat. familia, "o conjunto dos escravos da casa, os escravos; a casa, todas as pessoas ligadas a qualquer grande personalidade; casa de familia; fig. corpo, sita, escola"; por via culta […] familiar do lat. familiare, "qu faz parte dos escravos da casa; da casa, da familia, domestico; amigo da casa, familiar, íntimo; amigável, confidencial, íntimo; habitual; relativo ao estado, à terra, à casa (em oposição a hostilis, inimicus, "relativo ao inimigo, ao adversário").
	PTB: "grupo de pessoas do mesmo sangue" "(Hist. Nat.) unidade sistemática constituída pela reunião de gêneros" XIII do lat. família. Familiar XIII. Familiaridade XVI. Familiarzar XVI.
	IT: Lat. familia(m) (da famulus 'servitore', d'orig. preindeur.), col dim. *familiola(m) lat. parl. per il tardo familiola(m); le altre sono vc. semidotte che si rifanno al lat. familiare(m) e familiaritate(m). Familiarizzare è prob. il fr. familiariser.
	"Giacomo Devoto ci ha permesso di compiere un salto di cinquemila anni quando, partito dalla terminologia della famiglia, ha indicato quale poteva essere la struttura patriarcale della società indoeuropea.

	Ci ha fatto notare che pater vuol dire "il protettore", che *dhugh(e)ter (la figlia) contamina una radice che indica l'azione del mungere con la forma pater (equivarrebbe a "la mungitrice"); il fratello, barate (scr. Barata, gr. Phrater, lat. Frater, got. Bropar, ingl. Brother, irl. Brathir ecc.), è una contaminazione tra la forma pater e la radice *bher-, che significa "portare", poiché il fratello è colui che "porta a casa" i frutti, il raccoloto (altri pensano al "portatore di fuoco", se si ipotizza che nella vita familiare il suo compito fosse quello di conservare ul fuoco)" (Beccaria, 2008: 16-17)
	ENG: In English, sense of "collective body of persons who form one household under one head and one domestic government, including parents, children, and servants, and as sometimes used even lodgers or boarders" is from 1540s. From 1660s as "parents with their children, whether they dwell together or not" also in a more general sense, "persons closely related by blood, including aunts, uncles, cousins" and in the most general sense "those who descend from a common progenitor" (1580s). Meaning "those claiming descent from a common ancestor, a house, a lineage" is early 15c. Hence, "any group of things classed as kindred based on common distinguishing characteristics" (1620s); as a scientific classification, between genus and order, from 1753. Replaced Old English hiwscipe. As an adjective from c.1600; with the meaning "suitable for a family" by 1807.
VIV<	**PT:** Do lat. vivere, "viver, ter vida, estar vivo; encontrar-se ainda vivo; gozar a vida; viver, durar, subsistir; viver de, alimentar-se de; passar a vida com, ocupar-se com".
	PTB: "ter ou estar com vida, existir" XIII
	IT: Lat. vivere, di orig. e larga espansione indeur. Il part. pr. pl. viventes fu usato, come s. per indicare i viventi in opposizione ai mortui, i 'morti'. I suoi molti der. si possono raggruppare in due

	categorie: una, la più ampia, che si sviluppa dalla base viv-, l'altra dalla base vict-. Appartengono alla prima, innanzitutto l'agg. vivu(m), opposto a mortuu(m), di cui ha preso la terminazione, anche sostantivato; poi vita(m), l'agg. vitale(m) e l'astr. vitalitate(m), per cui V. vìta e vitalità, vividu(m), proprio piuttosto della poesia, come vivace(m) col suo astr. vivacitate(m), ed anche vivariu(m), dapprima agg. ('di luogo dove si conservano i pesci vivi'), poi s. nt. ('vivaio').
MEDIA<	**PTB:** "que está no meio ou entre dois pontos" XIV do lat. Medius.
	ES: El port. Meio parece presentar una evolución normal, pese a mejar mejare, comparése la oposicion entre peia e pejar (vid. pihuela); per es notable que los demás romances que han conservado mejare, sin reemplazarlo por el tipo pisciare "orinar", presenten de este modo una forma irregular de medius, pues en Cerdeña y en Veglia tenemos mesu "medio", que suele explicarse como forma osca (observación de Skok, ZRPh. LVII, 476-8).
MENIN<	**PT:** Menino é palavra de criação expressiva, do mesmo radical que o fr.ant. mignot, «lindo», cat. minyó, «rapaz, menino», it. mignolo.
	ES: La palabra menino, -na, muchachito, -a és arraigada, antigua y general en el idioma portugues que en tiempo de unión con Portugal, pasó a Castilla con el sentido especial de doncel o doncella noble que entraba en palácio a servir a la reina o a los príncipes niños. La aplicación al dedo meñique se comprende por sí sola dado el origen expresivo y acariciativo del término, y se comprendería también por una de las personficaciones de que los dedos son objeto en las canciones infantiles.
CLASSE<	**PT:** Do lat. classe-, "divisão do povo romano, classe; divisão (em geral), classe, grupo categoria; arc., exercito; frota, esquadra; poet. barco"; por via culta.

	PTB: "grupo ou divisão que apresenta caraterísticas semelhantes" XVII do lat. classis. Classico "relativo à arte, à cultura dos antigos gregos e romanos" "da mais alta classe" XVII do lat. Classicus. Classificação 1858 do fr. Classification. Classificador 1873 do fr. Classificateur. Classificante XX. Classificar "distribuir em classes" 1813 do fr. Classifier. Classificatório X. desclassficiação, inclassificavel 1899.
	IT: Classe è vc. dotta che si rifà al lat. classe(m) 'gruppo in cui era diviso il popolo romano', 'flotta' (prob. di orig. etrusca). "Dichiarata insoddisfacente la tesi che del fondamentale significato moderno di classe («gruppo sociale») sia stato artefice primo il Marx, e l'altra, che questo significato risalga al latino attraverso il solo intermediario degli economisti del Settecento, il De Mauro [Storia e analisi semantica di «classe», in "Rassegna di filosofia", VII (1958) 309-351] osserva che il primo momento di crisi nella storia moderna del termine lo si ebbe quando, nell'ambito del linguaggio delle scienze naturali, tra il sec. XVII e il XVIII, esso fu assunto alla funzione di distinguere vari gruppi di cose o animali in un sistema scientifico. Di qui gli economisti settecenteschi lo trassero, in conformità allo scopo da loro perseguito di fondare una scienza delle relazioni economiche che avesse i fondamenti di una scienza naturale
TOXICODEPEN<	**PT:** Dependere do lat. De-pendere, "estar suspenso de, pender de; fig., depender de; ligar-se a, derivar de".
	PTB: Toxico "que ou o que envenena" XVII do lat. Toxicum deriv do gr. Toxikon (pharmakon"veneno para flechas", de toxon "arco de atirar". Depender "estar sujeito, derivar, proceder" XIV do lat. Dependere "pender de", de pendere "estar pendurado". Dependência XVI. Dependente XVII do lat. dependens part. Pres. De dependere.

	Independencia 1813. Independente XVI. Interdependência 1873.
	IT: Vc. dotta, lat. toxicu(m) 'veleno', dal gr. toxikón, orig. 'veleno di cui s'intingono le frecce dell'arco' (toxikón, da tóxon 'arco', prob. prestito iranico, dal momento che i Persiani erano noti, come provetti tiratori d'arco). L'uso aggettivale è piuttosto tardo e può dipendere dall'agg. fr. toxique (dal 1584), che per primo ha anche introdotto toxicité (1872), toxicologie (dal 1803: V. -logìa), toxiologue (dal 1842: V. -logo), toxicomane (dal 1923), toxicomanie (dal 1923: V. -mania), toxine (dal 1896: V. -ina). Tossicosi, invece, pare usato dapprima dagli Inglesi (toxicosis, 1857). Lat. parl. *dependere, per il class. dependere, letteralmente 'pendere in giù', comp. di de- e pendere.

Appendix – EAT Factorial Space and Clusters

```
Axe horizontal : 1e facteur : V.P. =.2498 (   41.60 % de l'inertie)
Axe vertical   : 2e facteur : V.P. =.2025 (   33.72 % de l'inertie)


   +-----|---------|---------|---------+---------|---------|---------|-----+
20 |                                   *anc_18                            |
19 |                                      |                               |
18 |                       *area_diop     |                               |
17 |                                      |             *anc_8            |
16 |                     #02*fun_coord     |                               |
15 |                                      |                               |
14 |                       *area_opa21   *anc_11*anp_4*anc_15             |
13 |                                      |                               |
12 |                                      |    *anc_23 *anc_20            |
11 |                                      |                               |
10 |                     #03  |           *anc_25                         |
 9 |                          |              *fun_excol                   |
 8 |                          |                  *anc_10*anp_5|
 7 |          *anc_27         |                      *area_op
 6 |                          |
*area_simp
 5 |                                      |              *area_qual*sex_f
 4 |                                      |                               |
 3 |                                      |                *anc_3 *fun_int
 2 |                                      |                               |
 1 |                                      |            *fun_exint |
 0 +----------------------------------+-------------------------*anc_21-+
 1 |                                  |                                   |
 2 |                     *area_comqual |                                  |
 3 |                                  |          *anc_29 |
 4 |                                  |              *anc_7|
 5 |   *anp_1                         |           *area_secr
 6 |   *sex_m                         |             *anc_9 |
 7 |   #04                            |                                   |
 8 |       *anc_24                    |        *area_com*anp_3  |
 9 |       *area_andad                |                                   |
10 |                                  |                                   |
11 |      *anc_13                     |                                   |
12 | *area_bz     *fun_tec*anc_12     |                *anc_19 |
13 |                                  |                                   |
14 |                                  |              #01        |
15 |                                  |                                   |
16 |                                  |                                   |
17 |                                  |            *anp_2      |
   +-----|---------|---------|---------+---------|---------|---------|-----+
```

Fact. 1 Fact. 2 Fact. 3 Fact.

	Fact. 1	Fact. 2	Fact. 3
#01	.314	-.313	.008
#02	-.075	.571	-.414
#03	-.179	.534	.917
#04	-1.532	-.600	-.083

Rapport de synthèse

Texte analysé :   lisbona_new

Lundi 07 Janvier 2013 à 18 h 20

Le corpus lisbona_new a été analysé à l'aide du logiciel Alceste
Le schéma ci-dessous montre que 63% des unités de contexte élémentaires (unités textuelles du corpus) ont été classées avec une répartition en 4
classes comme le montre l'arbre de classification. Le carré des spécificités nous indique que la classe 4 est la plus spécifique, c'est la
première à s'être démarquée dans l'arbre de classification, elle représente 8% des unités textuelles classées, elle est caractérisée par des
formes telles que ' sobreviv ' ' ciclo ' ' filho ' ' pai ' ' civil ' ' semabrigo ' .La classe 1 se démarque en deuxième position, elle représente 52% des
unités textuelles classées, ses formes significatives sont ' serv ' ' trabalh ' ' comunic ' ' diret ' ' verea ' ' inova ' .Elle est suivie en troisième
position de la classe 2 qui représente 27% des unités textuelles classées, ses formes significatives sont ' vot ' ' pessoa ' ' assembleia ' ' interess '
' lisboa ' ' propo ' , puis de la classe 3 qui représente 13% des unités textuelles classées, marquée par les formes ' poder ' ' politic ' ' administr '
' govern ' ' cris ' ' principio ' , la consultation détaillée des résultats de ce rapport permet de se faire une idée plus précise sur le corpus
analysé.

63% des unités textuelles classées
63% classées

classe 1 - 772 unités (52%)
classe 2 - 399 unités (27%)
classe 3 - 187 unités (13%)
classe 4 - 123 unités (8%)

Élevée

Spécificité

Faible

Taille en % d'uce

Nombre d'individus	29
Nombre de variables	5
Nombre de modalités	40
Formes analysées	958
Formes supplémentaires	627
Indice de richesse	63%
Taille du corpus	575 Ko
Nombre total de mots	101544
Nombre de mots distincts	7351

Classe 1	Phi		Classe 2	Phi		Classe 3	Phi		Classe 4	Phi
serv	0,23		vot	0,29		poder	0,27		sobreviv	0,29
trabalh	0,23		pessoa	0,24		politic	0,26		ciclo	0,28
comunic	0,18		assembleia	0,17		administr	0,20		filho	0,28
diret	0,17		interess	0,15		govern	0,18		pai	0,27
verea	0,15		lisboa	0,15		cris	0,17		civil	0,25
inova	0,14		propo	0,15		principio	0,17		semabrigo	0,24
interior	0,14		projet	0,15		pior	0,16		relig	0,23
colega	0,13		mostr	0,14		partid	0,15		compra	0,22
equipa	0,13		venc	0,14		reclam	0,15		famili	0,22
gabinet	0,13		gente	0,13		postura	0,15		viv	0,22
tecnic	0,13		importan	0,12		transpar	0,15		media	0,21
func	0,12		ader	0,12		eleic	0,13		menin	0,21
chef	0,11		idos	0,12		nacion	0,13		classe	0,21
exter	0,11		apresent	0,12		aproxim	0,13		toxicodepen	0,21
*sex_f	0,15		*anp_4	0,17		*area_opa21	0,11		*anc_13	0,40
*anp_3	0,13		*fun_excol	0,13		*fun_coord	0,11		*area_bz	0,35
*anc_19	0,12		*anc_11	0,11		*sex_m	0,9		*sex_m	0,32
*area_com	0,9		*anc_25	0,10		*area_diop	0,8		*fun_tec	0,19

Ci-dessus le carré des spécificités, l'arbre de classification, les classes et un extrait de leur contenu en fonction du coefficient Phi (bonne contribution si Phi supérieur ou égal à 0,3).

Appendix – Participatory Budget Principles' Chart

Carta de Princípios do Orçamento Participativo do Município de Lisboa

Source: www.lisboaparticipa.pt

A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa reconhece que os orçamentos participativos são um símbolo da importância da participação dos cidadãos na sociedade democrática. Os primeiros passos dados em 2007, com as Reuniões Públicas Descentralizadas do Executivo Municipal, vieram comprovar o interesse dos cidadãos em participar activamente na resolução dos problemas da cidade, e permitiram extrair algumas lições quanto ao caminho a prosseguir rumo a um modelo alargado de participação cidadã que seja emblemático de uma nova forma de governar a cidade.

Através desta Carta, a Câmara Municipal de Lisboa identifica os seguintes princípios do orçamento participativo na cidade e assume o compromisso de os trabalhar progressivamente com os cidadãos, na sua aplicação e na sua adequação às necessidades do governo da cidade.

Princípio 1

A democracia participativa

A adopção do orçamento participativo em Lisboa inspira-se nos valores da democracia participativa, inscrito no artigo 2º da Constituição da República Portuguesa.

Princípio 2

Os objectivos

1. O orçamento participativo visa contribuir para o exercício de uma intervenção informada, activa e responsável dos cidadãos nos processos de governação local, garantindo a participação dos cidadãos e das organizações da sociedade civil na decisão sobre a afectação de recursos às políticas públicas municipais.

2. Esta participação tem como objectivos:

a) Incentivar o diálogo entre eleitos, técnicos municipais, cidadãos e a sociedade civil organizada, na procura das melhores soluções para os problemas tendo em conta os recursos disponíveis;

b) Contribuir para a educação cívica, permitindo aos cidadãos integrar as suas preocupações pessoais com o bem comum, compreender a complexidade dos problemas e desenvolver atitudes, competências e práticas de participação;

c) Adequar as políticas públicas municipais às necessidades e expectativas das pessoas, para melhorar a qualidade de vida na cidade;

d) Aumentar a transparência da actividade da autarquia, o nível de responsabilização dos eleitos e da estrutura municipal, contribuindo para reforçar a qualidade da democracia.

Princípio 3

A partilha do poder de decisão

1. O Orçamento participativo é um processo de carácter consultivo e deliberativo, através da instituição progressiva de mecanismos de co-decisão.

2. Na dimensão consultiva, os cidadãos são consultados sobre a definição de propostas de investimento para o orçamento e plano de actividades da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.

3. Na dimensão deliberativa, os cidadãos podem votar projectos de investimento resultantes de propostas apresentadas.

4. Anualmente é definida pelo Executivo municipal uma parcela do orçamento a afectar ao processo de co-decisão.

5. A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa assume o compromisso de integrar na proposta de plano de actividades e orçamento municipal os projectos votados pelos cidadãos até ao limite da parcela referido no número anterior.

Princípio 4

Mecanismos de participação

1. O orçamento participativo promove um muito amplo debate sobre Lisboa, devendo, para isso, conter um leque diversificado de mecanismos de participação.

2. O debate e a participação devem ser assegurados por mecanismos on-line, promovendo a utilização das tecnologias de informação e comunicação, e por mecanismos presenciais, nomeadamente através da realização de Assembleias Participativas promovidas pela Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, em estreita colaboração com as Juntas de Freguesia, envolvendo, para o efeito, os cidadãos, as universidades, as empresas, o movimento associativo e todas as instituições empenhadas na vida da Cidade de Lisboa.

3. Através da diversificação de mecanismos de participação deverá ser assegurado que todos os que queiram participar na vida da Cidade de Lisboa tenham ao seu dispor os meios adequados e o apoio necessário para o efeito, quer para a apresentação de propostas, quer para a votação de projectos.

Princípio 5

O ciclo da participação

O orçamento participativo envolve um ciclo anual em várias fases:

- 1.ª fase: avaliação do ano anterior; preparação do novo ciclo com a definição da verba a afectar ao OP, dos procedimentos e critérios do OP e do quadro de mecanismos de participação, em colaboração com as Juntas de Freguesia.

- 2.ª fase: divulgação pública do processo; consulta alargada para recolha de propostas concretas, através da internet e por meios presenciais, nomeadamente Assembleias Participativas.

- 3.ª fase: análise técnica fundamentada das propostas pelos serviços da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa; elaboração e apresentação pública dos projectos a submeter a votação; reclamação e resposta.

- 4.ª fase: Votação dos projectos.

- 5.ª fase: apresentação pública dos resultados; incorporação dos projectos mais votados na proposta de plano de actividades e orçamento da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.

Os meses e o período de duração de cada das fases do ciclo anual serão definidos prévia e publicamente em cada nova edição do Orçamento Participativo.

Princípio 6

A qualidade e acessibilidade da informação

A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa assegura o recurso a diversos meios de divulgação de forma a garantir o acesso à informação e a possibilidade de participação alargada dos cidadãos. A informação a disponibilizar deve ser completa e compreensível.

Princípio 7

A prestação de contas aos cidadãos

1. A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa compromete-se a informar os cidadãos sobre os contributos acolhidos e não acolhidos e as razões do não acolhimento, nomeadamente através de um relatório anual de avaliação do orçamento participativo.

2. A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa compromete-se, igualmente, a informar periodicamente os cidadãos sobre a execução dos projectos vencedores do OP, inscritos no plano de actividades e orçamento.

Princípio 8

A avaliação e o aperfeiçoamento

Os resultados do orçamento participativo são avaliados anualmente e são introduzidas as alterações necessárias ao aperfeiçoamento, aprofundamento e alargamento progressivo do processo.

Appendix – BIP/ZIP Chart

Source: habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt

Translated References

Translation by the author of the Thesis

Portuguese (tr_pt):

1. With time we acknowledged that, if we do not convince the technicians of the municipalities, nothing will move forward; to me, in my actions, right now technicians are the target audience, once they have a greater knowledge of the municipal reality, there is huge added value behind their work and, sometimes, they have the notion that any institutional motion is created at their expense, and that overall, the work and the experience they gathered over the years is neither valued nor rewarded.

2. Culture has, within human systems, a function addressed to stabilize and reduce uncertainty and, consequently, anxiety. Inside an organizational context where the most visible features are constant, innovation, adaptation and change, culture becomes the main obstacle for the organization's survival, unless this culture is built around innovation and change.

3. The power held by individuals and groups is the main driving force of a coalition. Without power there is no negotiation, for all of the elements of an organization have some kind of power.

4. Cultural resistances are the most important and the hardest to overcome. We know that the prevalent administrative culture in this or in that system, in one or another type of administration, affects, and sometimes determines, the impact of changes that are being introduced.

5. To consider public administration transformation, meant as concept and as society's management structure, as an institution that adapts, transforms and accompanies the evolution of both the society and its institutions, from one side, and as an entity characterized by a close relationship with the State and the State model it coexists with, from the other.

6. Politics, in this case, necessarily becomes a show, and is no longer operated by citizens. We are not talking about individualism, but atomization. Social classes fall apart in the dense mist of recombination that seems random but is, in reality, driven by the "autopilot" of capital.

7. From one side, in neglecting the importance – whether it is support or opposition to reforms – of its own agents in the evolution of reform initiatives, and from the other, in thinking that the administration dysfunctions are limited to the absence of market logic, in the matter of public services.

8. The whole of the 1980s were marked by an intense debate on the role of government in the economy, with a blunt advantage for the anti-interventionist thesis, which benefited not only from the welfare-State crisis, but also from the failure of the socialist experiences and from the strengthening of the economic theory on the offer side.

9. If the decentralization of powers is not followed by the reformulation of the logics of working, and relationships with political, economic and social worlds that characterize every local context, the global benefit of territories in terms of autonomy and power is likely to be threatened.

10. Dealing with the complexity of public services, namely Europeans, and with various objectives and conflicting situations, citizens are both users (casual ones) when they use a product or a service, and clients when they pay the counterpart for a choice; at the same time, they are beneficiaries, when holders of specific rights within the logic of redistribution they are taxpayers and, last but not least, they are electors and elected when observed from the public participation point of view. However, it is still necessary to point out that the circulation of the notion of client has some important consequences for public administration. This is especially due to the fact that the notion of client means, from one side, the taxpayer, in other words he/she who contributed to public service maintenance and therefore, is the owner of reciprocity rights and, from the other side, the idea that

administration needs to satisfy its users and citizens in the same way private organizations satisfy their clients.

11. Participative democracy considers citizens not as consumers, but as society producers, which is a shift in logic, full of meaning and practical impact.

12. Distrust in institutions and misidentification with parties have significant negative effects on citizens' support for fundamental democratic values, not to mention the impact, also negative, on participation in elections.

13. Their influence of power must now be exercised before the promulgation of European guidelines. This means that local governments have to try and influence central power at an early stage of the EU policymaking process.

14. It is the case of the Social Networks with regional or municipal actors, where the most represented themes are the decentralized services of public administration, or services in need of the presence of several cabinets, such as the Commission for the Protection of Minors, etc.

15. Cultural change processes are always complex, complicated and polymorphic, but, within the framework of our constitutional and legal architecture, it would not be possible to introduce you to Public Administration without publishing a new Legal Framework, and that is what happened in the beginning of this year, 2004. A legal framework, whatever that is, is never enough to succeed in putting into practice the requested change process, but yes, it is a necessary condition that became a challenge and a target for those who have responsibilities in the Public Sector.

16. The low investment power of some municipalities can become an opportunity to promote the pedagogic of budgeting, namely regarding the origin of public money, municipalities' financial capacity, the rules of budget management, local power's competencies and the need to establish priorities.

17. They know how things are and they know that these are times of rigor and requirement. But it must also be a time of justice, when municipal structure gets its competencies back, when parallel routes are eliminated, when tenders for managerial roles are introduced. It is about setting the Municipality to work and solving the problems of Lisbon and its citizens, but it is also about acknowledging the work of municipal workers and making them proud to be working there.

18. But besides the organic reform, it is essential to change the culture of the day-to-day service functioning of the Municipality of Lisbon. The model recommended by the present structure is based on a logic of cooperation and resource distribution among the several municipal services, on a project-like way of functioning, oriented to planned targets and evaluated upon results.

19. Opening networks of dialogue and participation is essential to bring together electors and the elected, to focus municipal action on serving municipalities, to democratize knowledge of municipal issues and decision-making processes. Participation strengthens trust and the sharing of responsibilities.

20. This public consultation is just the first step in the participatory methodology that the BIP/ZIP program is based on. This participative methodology will furthermore culminate with the participation of citizens coming from every single neighborhood about the choice of projects to fund, as if it was a participative budgeting specific to each of these neighborhoods.

Interviews (CS_)

21. It is only he who has to talk to different units who will see how difficult it is to get internal participation, and has to stir the imagination to get other people to participate in that program he thinks is important.

22. This practically means giving up the existing structure and adopting a structure that, being like this, is pervaded by innovative processes in all effective forms, and therefore, people are inside and out and, according to the matter, the nature of themes is worked with the community.

23. I cannot define nor try, it is very hard for us technicians to see and invest in any path. It is very hard because the president changes, the political hue changes, everything ends and starts again.

24. Last year restructuring had many advantages and also many disadvantages. The advantage consists in the fact that people were already used to working in that factory, in the end this is a factory where one puts the stamp, another one writes, and another one places the envelope. It changed. The disadvantage was that we lost the contacts of how this worked. We have to know where the contacts are in order to get straight to the point of the matter. It is hard to get to the organizational chart and ask what we want, where that is.

25. We work for interests and clearly we have to look after citizens' interests, but we also strongly defend the interests of the Institution we're working for, and the projects we are developing at the moment are at times not compatible with what the citizen is looking for.

26. There is no continuity, people do not perceive why they give this idea, from this idea I now get this money in order for someone to develop this idea of mine, and they stick with this laurel, the laurel becomes the prize, and I had the idea, I'm an idiot and it is over. When there is no engagement, there is no continuity. In my opinion, until this leap is not made, participation will always be a gaseous concept. Everything which is gaseous, vanishes and disappears and does not stick to the skin.

27. The Municipality is obliged to provide maintenance to these services, and in this way there is a little more room, in the "backyard" where everyone wants private improvements, apart from the others.

28. The biggest challenge is not selling ideas to citizens, it is selling ideas to oneself.

29. In the front office we have to sell that idea which is the best product we have, and in the back-office it is to annoy our colleagues so that we save ourselves.

30. People are fed up with politicians, in other words they do not think their representatives are working to solve their problems. I speak for myself, I do not see and I do not identify with any of the leaders, I voted but I do not identify, it is a shame.

31. On one side people are very demoralized, because it is truly complicated, but from another perspective it can create possibilities, bring people together, they learn to do things and to overcome, from this point of view I even think that it could be healthy, if one can say that a crisis has a healthy side.

32. Coming from the DIOP or coming from whatever department, it does not matter to the citizens, he is a civil servant and for that his job must be reflected in the city, whether in a direct or more indirect way.

33. If the Executives in their personalities perceived that what is really needed is to have a leadership team completely aligned with what the government's plan for the city is, and they left space, they created space in their agendas to work with managers and handle these priorities together, they would have much more advantage in operational terms, they would have more results to show, and they would succeed in communicating a message during elections to citizens that doesn't sound fake.

34. I think this house suffers a lot from this: there are many people doing the same thing in different places, as nobody knows what is being done

35. The language of the Municipality is hermetic many times and that is deliberately done not to let big hypotheses flow from people. If somebody says something but not in that language, he is excluded, therefore serving as a bridge, acting as a translator of some things, and put some light over some others, from one side and the other.

36. It is not necessary to recover a neighborhood or a public space if there is no sense of ownership, not to be destroyed the next day, or waste money. With no sense of ownership, it has to have an end.

37. It is important to have a linkage because we should not go from one extreme to the other. By way of exaggeration, all the participatory initiatives must be integrated or at least articulated.

38. There is conditioned participation, not a way of conditioning, because, poor them, it is a way of conditioning since there are specialists for each area. They have to do a mapping, they need technicians but then they have to have the right people to give them advice on stuff, we pay for the consultancy and we have some technical knowledge and there are other things that we do not know.

Italian (tr_it):

1. Indeed, the whole is not "more" than the sum of its parts, but it has different properties. It should be said: "the whole is different from the sum of its parts")

2. Since the beginning, individual psychology is, at the same time, social psychology.

3. Since individuals are found in groups (or communities) located in confined places, with a common task to be carried out together, having to define connections between each other and also with the setting around them, a process of matching, similarity and, at last, homogenization of personal ghosts and behaviors starts. So everyone becomes the place (bodily and physically) in which the results of social interactions are visible, and every "social body" faces the same matters, anxieties and joys the self does.

4. The isolated self, or the massified one (or both), is not a real subject. For it to be a real one, it is necessary, as in the Greek polis, that the self is part of a group in which everyone has the same right to speak and is responsible for speaking.

5. The social structure, therefore, can be organizationally and institutionally analyzed. The symbolic level, as it has been developed within the framework of psychoanalytic theory, may account for these two modes of operation in transformative systems.

6. The formula deals with the justification (my thoughts justify the words I mentioned earlier), the choice (I choose which words to focus on and which thoughts are going to explain my words), the retrospective sensemaking (I take into account what I have been saying at a later time, when the speech stopped), the discrepancies (I feel the need to see what I am saying when something does not make sense), the social construction of justification (I start mentioning those thoughts my social sense makes me label as acceptable) and the action as an opportunity that generates sensemaking (my act of speaking begins the process of sensemaking).

7. If a person does not make decisions, he/she will only have a very vague sense of his/her personality. That is the same for organizations: an organization that does not make decisions is a non-organization: it is disorganized.

8. Culture, as such, is not directly observable: it is better to think of it as a set of fundamental and unconscious assumptions that are taken for granted and have been evolving over time to solve the various internal and external issues that human groups have been facing. However, culture is reflected in the open and visible behavior that can be analyzed through a process of joint research between the consultant and the internal members of the group.

9. In the movement from liberalism to democracy, since some liberties are needed for the proper exercise of democratic power, and in the opposite movement from democracy to liberalism, in the sense that democratic power is important to ensure the existence and the persistence of essential freedoms.

10. The acts of people in power that control them, also because advertising is already in itself a form of control: it is a device that helps to distinguish what is lawful, by what it is not.

11. Listen to the reasons of citizenship, to use an understandable language when speaking, to account for personal decisions. This is not a less revolutionary result.

12. The face-to-face-interaction at the public desk legitimates public employees as protagonists of an event and actors in a ritual. The public desk is the venue in which the war metaphor can be celebrated. [...] And the face-to-face-interaction at the public points is not only a public setting, it is also a behind-the-scenes-activity, where the work can remain an individual matter or become teamwork.

13. Team members are such, not for their status as members of the organization, but for the co-operation that is put in place to support a given definition of the situation. Being a team implies the possibility of breaking the friend-enemy frame through the transition from "me" to "us", and the emergence in the background of a management that can redirect public employees to work, no longer understood as bureaucracy, but as a service.

14. In this sense, roles that have an intermediate level position in the organization are a favorite point of observation.

15. To the extent that counseling entails active work with the client and the other participants involved, the consultant actually undertakes an intervention for the mere reason of asking questions or raising issues. Even the presence of the consultant is an intervention itself: it is a message to the organization that someone has perceived a problem that requires the presence of a consultant.

16. The focus on the construction of organizational ties, such as metaphorical "places" in which to build the sense of organizational action and change, also makes it possible to emphasize the importance of rediscovering the role of the intermediate formations and the subset in which the individual is actually involved.

17. To give relief to people and together rebuild their social reality, starting from the conviction that, as the social world is intersubjectively constructed, researchers can understand the meanings interviewed people attribute to their work through the representation they have about themselves and their organization.

18. It is necessary to treat the word in the collusive dynamic that gives emotional meaning to the word itself, if the word is registered within a group of emotionally congruent words.

19. The first step in the "reduction" of polysemy is given by the transformation of the fictional polysemy in cultural dynamics that are coagulated around dense words.

20. The EAT product finds its first expression in the client recognition, in its Cultural Repertoires recognition and in their dynamic relationship within the Cultural Space recognition [...]. The analysis of this relationship identifies development indicators that can be translated into subsequent efforts to implement it.

French (tr_fr):

1. The project of studying social interaction within the organization's specific and daily framework includes the implicit recognition of the influence of organizational factors on social behaviours. This means that such a project cannot be brought to a successful conclusion without an analysis of the structures and of the organization functioning and therefore, without the solid references to sociology of organizations.

2. The amputation (or canalization of sexual and aggressive urges) must not be felt as such. It has to be accepted and even wished. This renunciation to instinctual satisfactions results from the anxiety towards the authority, and gives birth to a sense of guilt, a sense strengthened by the anxiety towards the super-ego (heir of the cultural and parental prohibitions). If civilization starts within the crime, it ends up with the renunciation to impulses.

3. Institutions and psychological structures will then match like the pieces of a socio-mental system that mutually strengthen, so that one is the reading of the other in another language.

4. If the institution brings the need for alienation and for cleavage mechanisms, the organization will translate that into a style of division of work. If the institution is the place of power, the organization will be one of the authority systems (of the reparation of the presumption of competence and of the responsibility) implemented. If finally the institution is the place of the political and of the attempt at global regulation, the organization is one of the connections of the day-to-day forces, of the implicit and explicit fights, and of the actors' strategies.

5. The State power, while invading not only the organizations, but also all sectors of social life, divides the members of society.

6. Can increase fast adaptations to changes, making up for the insufficiency of formal structures or also contributing to creating cohesions or antagonisms, starting from bundles of relationships founded on multiple values (availability, cooperation, cordiality, constraint…).

7. The fight, most of the time, consists not really of an open discussion on costs and advantages, it is a fight about the definition of the problem, about the rationality that will apply.

8. The effectiveness of the structures of power lies in this action of adjustment of the different elements, of connection but also of constant separation.

9. However, whatever is the sense in which they use the rules and the artificial zones of uncertainty that they create, the individuals or groups will always tend to lean on them in their action, and, in doing so, they will continue or even increase their influence as essential regulators of their interactions.

10. Since the central sector of technical experience is the one of complete change, it is necessary to introduce a new representation of culture to better evoke the sense of this experience. Since there is movement, why not consider that mobility could develop its consequences outside a two-dimensional space, whose evolution processes are those of the departure from a social environment, to reintegration into another social environment, itself defined by reference to the first?

11. As society seems ready to implode because of the exclusion of a constantly growing number of people, it is time to redefine the institutions' forms of intervention on crisis-hit territories, to reduce the gap between social demand and institutional answers.

12. That some organizers or theorists still believe nowadays that operating some «structures reforms», facilitating the transition from a bureaucratic way of functioning to a participatory way of functioning, the essential problems of organizations (and consequently of social organization) can be raised, faced and solved. For each of them, the organization is a machine, with a simple or a complex regulation system, consisting, according to the authors, of individuals with hands, hearts, or brains, but, as every machine, it can be made, renewed or regulated without the necessity to verify or control the «environment» which, for sure has effects, but always minor.

13. The balances of power are transformed when a better capacity starts making its forecasts through a new form of organization. But a change in the balances of power does not necessarily lead to the development of a new capacity, and a change in the nature and rules of the game: it might be a simple reversal of elites.

14. Put in place some reform processes and have to manage the organizational evolution of public administration with effectiveness. They consequently have to prove intuition and strategy, have strong management and people leading skills, in addition to a wide knowledge of politics and of their environment.

15. This phenomenon of bureaucracy invaded by formalism in human relationship,s and by ritualism of procedures, opens a big interrogation of the reasons for the adoption of an altogether stressful rule.

16. Starting from this moment, every collective demand becomes impossible for those who left the race. The individual feels himself manipulated because he has no hold over the mechanisms that capture him.

17. One consequence of this constant change in work teams, of their territories and functions is the impossibility of building up stable cores, groups having their own dynamics and able to formulate their collective demands and requirements.

Spanish (tr_sp):

1. From the point of view of the administration, the incorporation of participation has been made without modifying either the forms or the organization of the management.

2. The natural flux of the deliberative turn – first the informal deliberation, and second the debates enacted within social organizations to be transmitted to the political system in charge to either create or modify the positive right in citizen collective life – turned into a formal deliberation (through the procedures of Participatory Budget) within public space and had a direct influence on political management, bound to the definitions of the budgetary law.