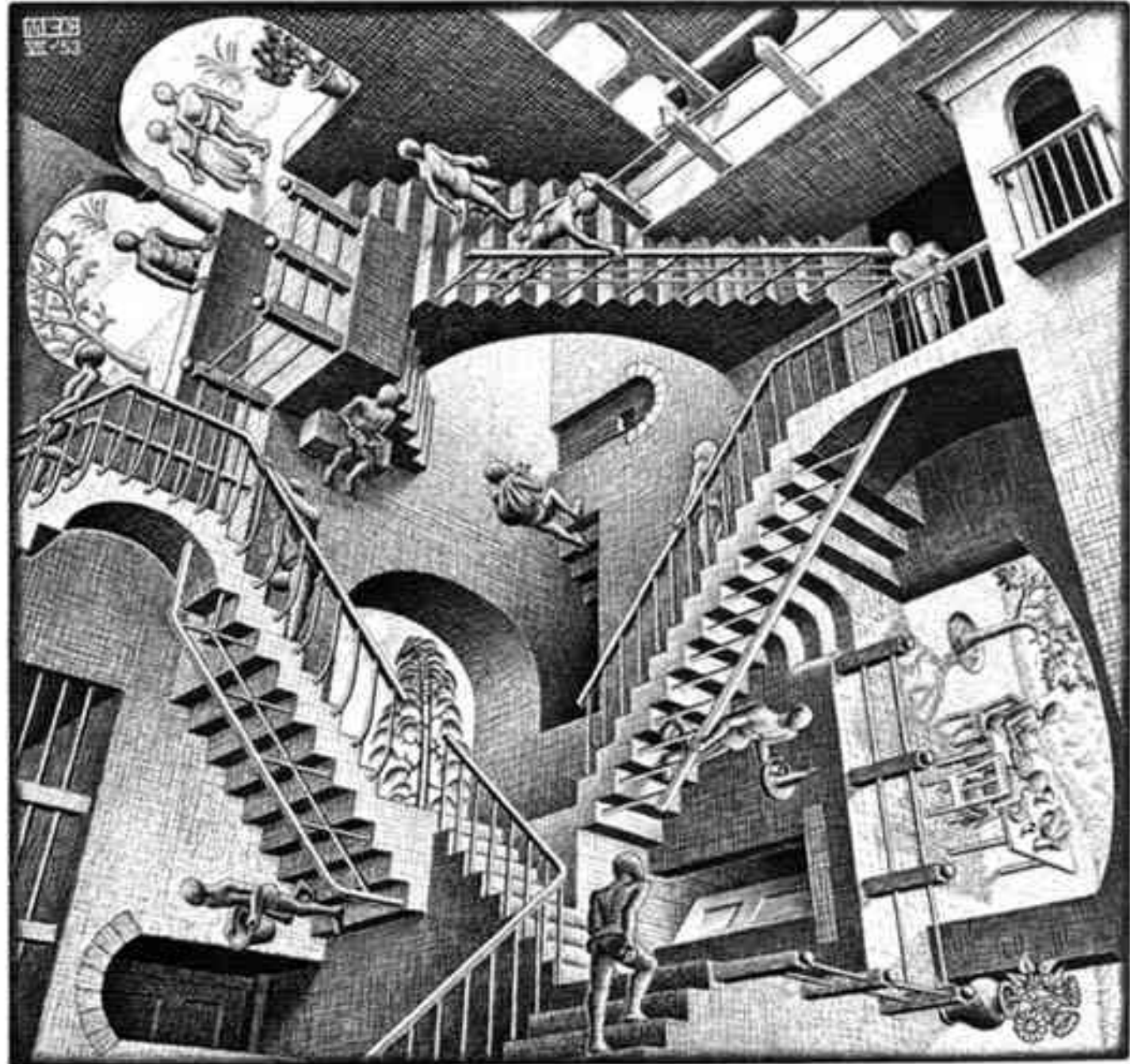


## Sociologia del Lavoro e dell'Organizzazione

2018-19 II Semestre

Op 2.2 – Burocrazia,  
Managerialismo e  
Partecipazione: ambivalenze  
del cambiamento nei sistemi  
di welfare



## Fonti principali:

- M. Bonetti, M. Villa, In the shadow of legalism: understanding community participation in an overly-bureaucratic context, *Critical Policy Studies*, 2014, Vol. 8 No. 4, pp. 447-464.
- S. Sabatinelli, M. Villa, Happy ever after in the quasi-market place? The dowry logic of active labour policy in Lombardy Region, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 2015, Vol. 35, Issue 11/12.
- E. Ongaro, S. Van Thiel (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*, Palgrave, 2017. Solo i capitoli
- 46 "*Public Administration in Europe North and South: Enduring Differences and New Cleavages*"
  - 16 "*Collaborative Governance and the Third Sector: Something Old, Something New*"

1. Dalla protezione all'attivazione
2. Dal governo alla governance
3. Dalla burocrazia autoritaria e meccanica al managerialismo

## Sii autonomo!



0:24 – 1:03

10:20 – 13:...

41:45 – 47:...

1:06:35 – 1:09:...

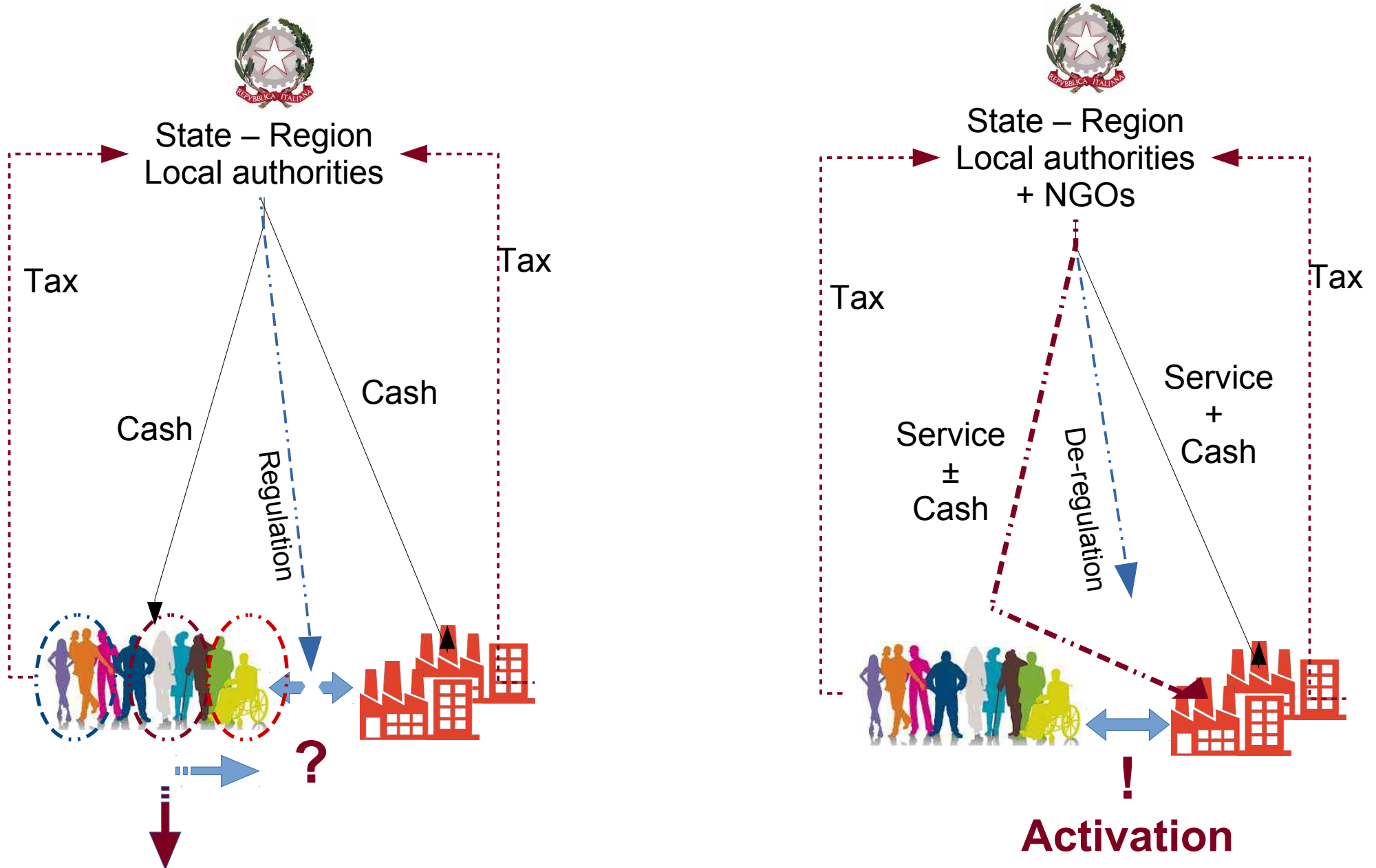
### **Attivazione e managerialismo: se e quali ambivalenze ?**

- nei modelli
- nelle pratiche

# 1. Dalla protezione all'attivazione



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## Modo di concepire le politiche di *welfare*:

IDEA che esclusione sociale, povertà e disoccupazione devono essere affrontati **favorendo o forzando la partecipazione al mercato del lavoro** dei potenziali aventi diritto l'assistenza.

## Secondo i suoi sostenitori:

- inclusione di più persone usualmente destinatarie dei sussidi
- riduzione della spesa pubblica per protezione sociale
- incremento risorse per coloro che non hanno alcuna possibilità "accertata" di accedere a un'occupazione.

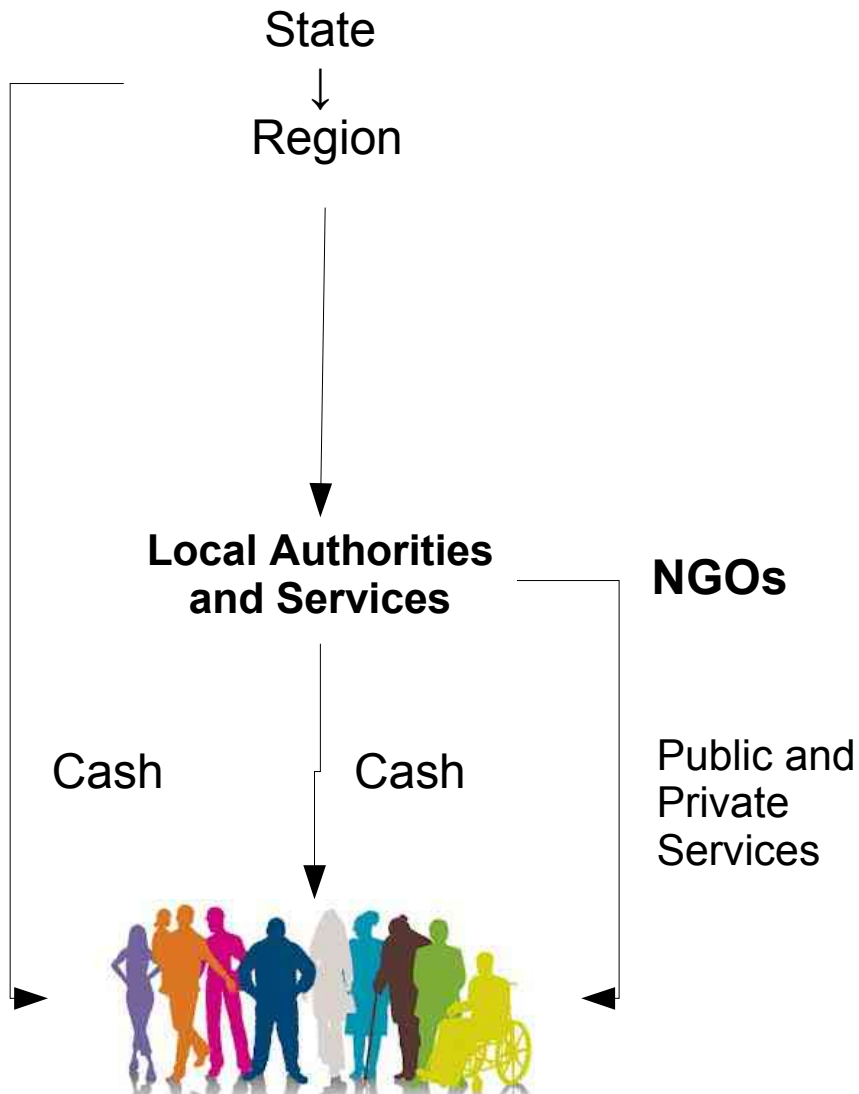
- Forte accentuazione lavorativa delle politiche di welfare
- Aumento della pressione sulle persone ad uscire dalla condizione di “assistito”
- Forte domanda di strutture istituzionali maggiormente competenti, attive e flessibili

## 2. Dal governo alla governance

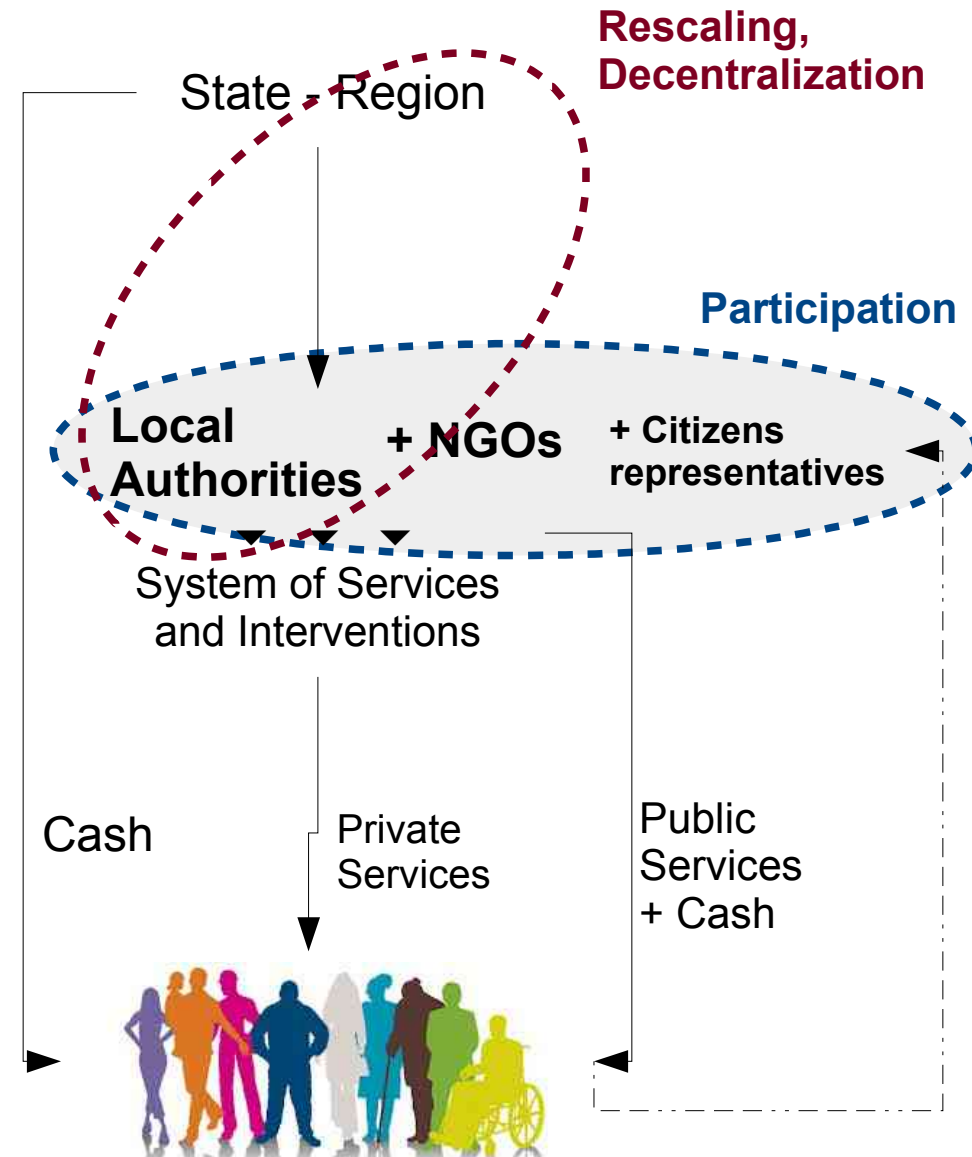


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**Top-down**



**Top-down ↔ Bottom-up**





## Cambiamenti di paradigma

- Government → governance
- Managerialismo
- Separazione funzioni di governo: programmazione, finanziamento, controllo, erogazione
- Mutamenti di scala territoriale (rescaling)
- Mutamento ruolo attori e rapporti pubblico-privato
- Mutamenti disegni istituzionali e modelli organizzativi (es. Aziendalizzazione)
- Mutamenti strumenti di scambio, accesso, erogazione
- Audit e Accountability, Risultati e Valutazione

# **Santa Pazienza e il Tempo Per le Famiglie**

### **Daniel Blake e Santa Paziienza**

Riflettere sui meccanismi della relazione cittadini – istituzioni e provare a identificare presenza e funzionamento del management:

- Pratiche
- Funzioni e Ruoli
- Effetti diretti e indiretti
- Ideologia e Modelli

Ma.... se pensiamo la relazione cittadini – istituzioni come un circuito cibernetico dotato di feedback ....

## Ancora coppie di opposti?

- Mutamento rapporti di potere: Bottom-up / Top-down
- Individualizzazione, sussidiarizzazione, partecipazione
- Mutamento rapporti cittadini – istituzione: es. utente, cittadino, consumatore ?
- Innovazione / conservazione

## Italia, molte ambivalenze:

- Notevoli diversità di modelli e applicazioni
- Passato e presenti controversi (troppo stato e poco stato)
- Novità sarebbe governmnet **con** governance

## ANCORA NEO-LIBERISMO?

La questione centrale dell'autonomia / interdipendenza

## 2 Studi di caso:

**1. Dote in Lombardia e funzionamento dei quasi-mercati**

**2. Società della Salute in Toscana tra partecipazione e  
managerializzazione**



# 1. Dote – modello lombardo di welfare

## **Caratteristiche di lungo periodo**

- Contesto economico ricco
- Forte tradizione di politica sociale

**Continuità di maggioranza politica** (1995 – 2011) promuove modello di welfare “originale”

**Le parole chiave sono:**

- **Sussidiarietà;**
- **Centralità della persona e Libertà di scelta;**
  - Strumenti ispirati al c.d. “New Public Management”;
  - Quasi-mercati (processi di accreditamento + voucherizzazione misure)

**Implementazione del modello piuttosto controversa:**

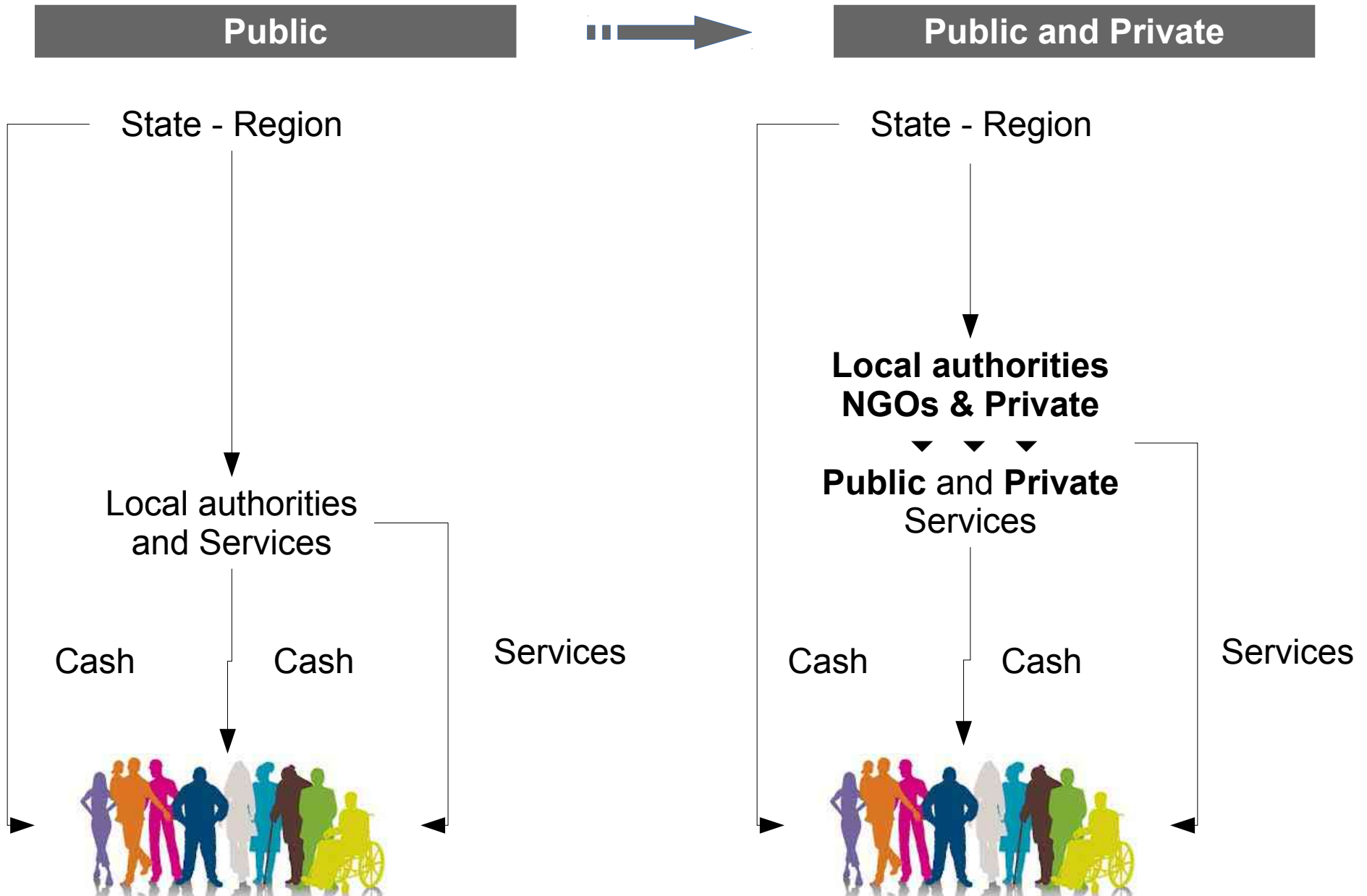
- Centralismo vs Decentralizzazione Regionale
- Gerarchia vs. Mercato e Sussidiarietà

- **Nuovo strumento istituzionale** introdotto dalla Regione **per – allo stesso tempo –** fornire misure ai beneficiari e finanziare gli enti pubblici e privati
- **Titolo economico individuale.** La persona che ha i requisiti può spenderlo per acquistare un pacchetto di misure strettamente predefinite, fornite da enti accreditati
- **La persona che soddisfa i requisiti *sceglie*, tra gli enti accreditati** quello con cui presentare una domanda.
- **L’offerta è rigidamente prestrutturata dalla Regione,** che definisce precise linee-guida su quali tipi (e quantità) di attività possono essere finanziate e fornite.
- **La domanda deve essere presentata on-line** direttamente alla Regione durante un breve intervallo di tempo (generalmente aperto una volta all’anno).
- **La quantità di risorse** da distribuire per ogni scadenza è **predeterminata.**
- Le domande sono accettate fino a esaurimento delle risorse predeterminate in base all’ordine temporale di presentazione e a requisiti di correttezza formale (c.d. “**click day**”).

### 3. Dalla burocrazia al managerialismo... Verso i quasi-mercati



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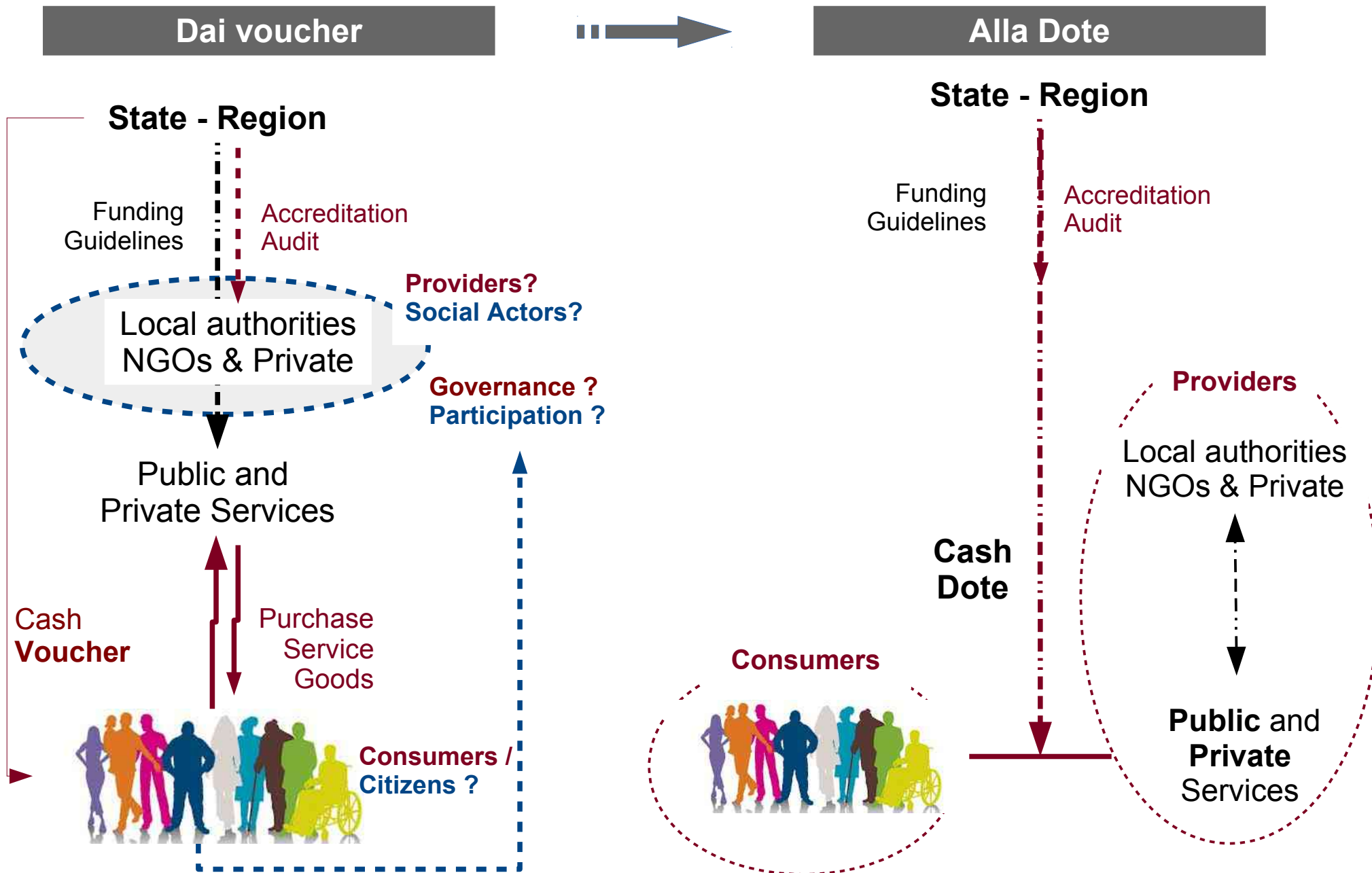




### 3. Dalla burocrazia al managerialismo... Verso i quasi-mercati



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## **Implicazioni di policy: qualcosa di nuovo?**

**Programmazione:** amministrazioni locali e enti accreditati sono esclusi dal processo di programmazione → rafforzato il potere centrale regionale.

**Il contesto e gli stakeholders:** aziende, altri attori e caratteristiche socio-economiche del contesto / mercato del lavoro sono scarsamente considerate e coinvolte

**Categorizzazione:** La dote esclude molti cittadini, indirizzando tutte le attuali risorse a misure il cui accesso è strettamente predefinito su basi categoriale.

### **Individualizzazione:**

- da paradigma che qualifica la relazione tra mezzi, contenuti, processi e scopi
- a rigida regolazione amministrativa, finanziaria e relazionale
- combinazione paradossale di **individualizzazione senza personalizzazione**

**Nella forma di equivalente universale e unico strumento di politica la Dote rischia di fallire nel rispondere ai bisogni delle persone e alle istanze del mercato.**

## 2. SDS – Participatory turn

**Participatory democracy** in the EU (Treaty of Lisbon). 4 dimensions: expression and exchange of views, dialogue, consultation, citizen's right of initiative

**Participatory turn:** towards a dynamic welfare system to deal with:

- The legitimacy crisis of the previous order
- The new societal, political and economic challenges

**New** governance arrangements focused on:

- 'Getting closer' to the citizen
- Endorsing (or exploiting) the informal resource of grass-roots society
- Ameliorating institutional building and policy implementation

**Rhetorics:** e.g.: Activation, Subsidiarisation, Social Investment, Big Society, ...

*Which meanings? Possible gaps between rhetoric and practices?*

# The SDS structure and functions



**Governance:** planning, integration, coordination, control, promotion  
**Possible: Management**

**Local Health Authorities:**  
 Resp. for Health Assistance Policies



**Municipalities:**  
 Resp. for Social Assistance Policies



Assembly of SDS

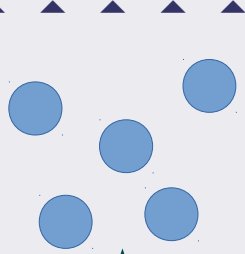
Board

Chief Executive

Proposals, opinions, evaluation, info. and reporting on planning / needs

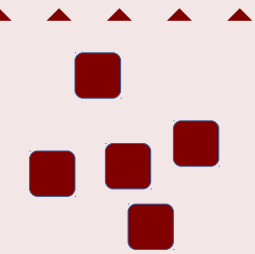
**Participation Committee:**

representatives of service-users and associations: advocacy and promotion, not service supplier



Expressing proposals for actions to be included in the Planning Acts

**Third Sector Advisory Board:**  
 representatives of voluntary and third sector organizations who work as service suppliers



Arenas for debates disconnected from specific decision-making procedures



**Health Forum:**  
 non-organized citizens

# Effective interactions between the actors

**Local Health Authorities:**  
Increasing managerial power on the system



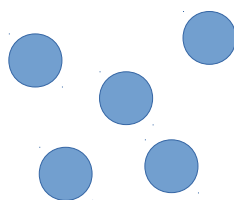
SDS: very limited connection between assemblies, boards and participatory bodies (e.g. invitation to talk: 1 / 22 - 4 / 22)

**Municipalities:**  
Decreasing power in many context where the management is shifted on the SDS



13/22 have played a consultative role

**Participation Committee:**  
not service supplier

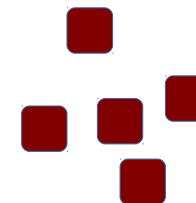


In 17 / 22 SDS the 2 bodies collaborate.  
Declining trend

Arenas for debates:  
Very seldom organized in very few contexts

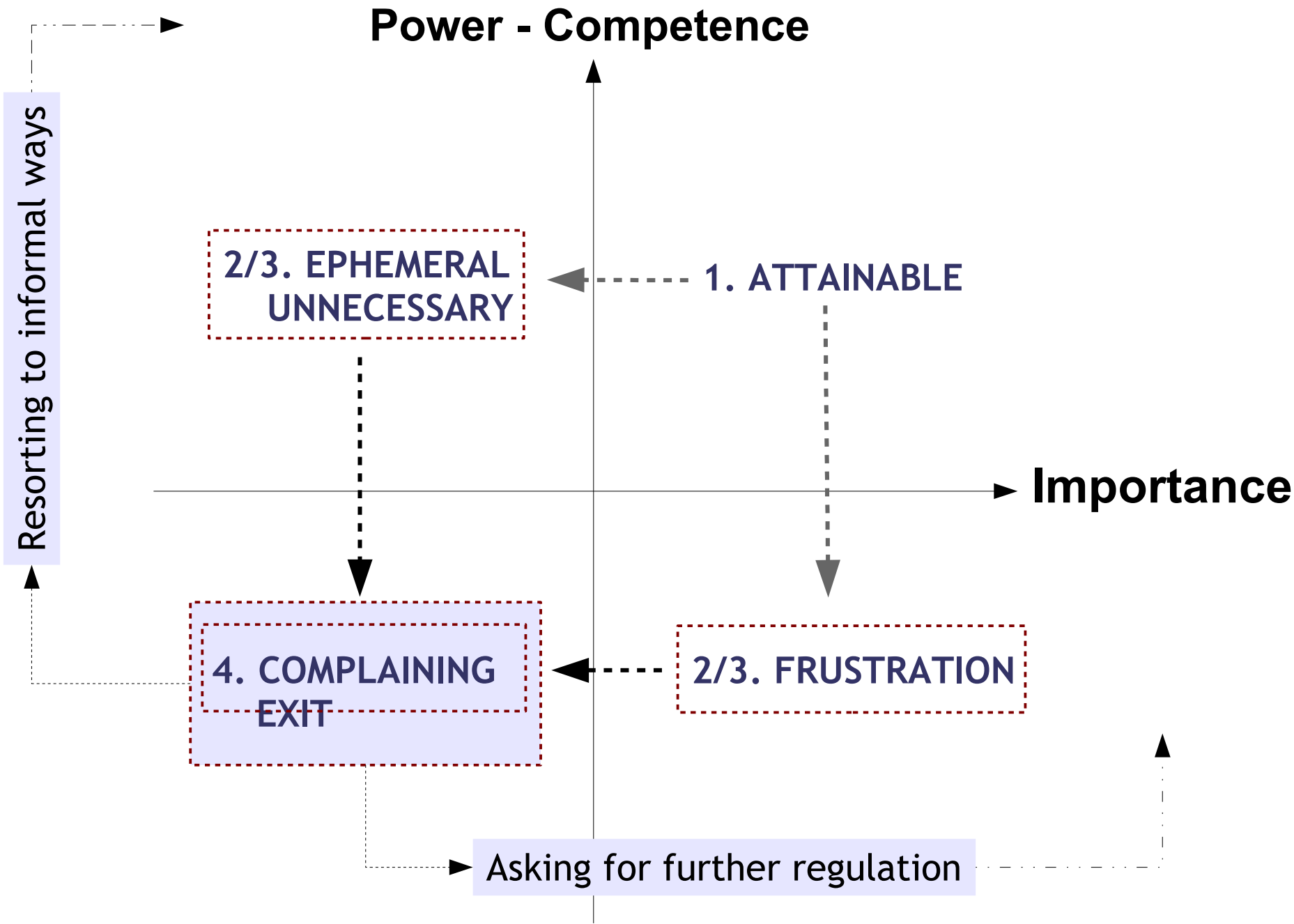
12/22 have played an advisory role

**Third Sector Advisory Board:**  
service suppliers



**Health Forum:**  
non-organized citizens

# A vicious circle (what social actors feel/express)



## Participation in the SDSs fell in a vicious circle

- Reform hardly able to change the system's habits
- SDSs prone to bureaucracy, increasingly rigid and separated from the context or obliged to spend resources to meet with complexity and unpredictability
- Social actors still interpreted and faced failures through legalism / familism:
  - Facing any uncertainty through further regulation or discretionary
  - Complaining and exit, little confidence in their own ability to change
  - Paradoxical circuits: asking for further regulation and fearing for autonomy
  - Growing sense of futility and learned helplessness (Zimmerman 1990)

**The system** ends up to be locked by its own characteristics, unable to change itself without further reducing its flexibility

Following Bateson (1963): a classic problem of **economics of flexibility**, or in other words, of production and protection of “uncommitted potential for change”

## Understanding the context of the Italian welfare reform

**Southern Europe:** an overly-bureaucratic style which impacts on management and implementation, policy and institutional reform, institutional learning

**Italian institutions** do not seem accustomed to make it own a more procedural, pragmatic and experimental view of law (Ferrarese 2002).

“Too state too little state”, centralization without stateness (Cassese, Bifulco)

**Legalism:** an excessive and fragmented interpretation of the principle of legality; a tendency to view things through the lens of provisions of law (Sotiropoulos 2004)

It is strictly connected with **familism**, the informal discretionary, and their further degenerative version usually named clientelism (ways to circumvent the legalism)



**SDSs failed** to blend / integrate their managerial structure and procedures with the ones of municipalities and NGOs, contributing to view participation as a bureaucratic fulfillment (See also Newman, Clarke 2009)

**Considering 5 essential conditions for participation** (Branca 1996):

1. Being able (power, opportunity, legitimation, etc.) to voice felt problems
2. Feeling to have the power of tackling them
3. Feeling they are important
4. Feeling the importance of the place, the situation, the context
5. Having or identifying the necessary capabilities and resources

**When these conditions are lacking, weak or frustrated, it becomes really difficult for people to get involved. What happened?**

D.A. Sotiropoulos "*Public Administration in Europe North and South: Enduring Differences and New Cleavages*"

### North and South European governments and public administrations:

- **Similar** external stimuli (e.g. globalization and Europeanization), and managerial trends (e.g. New Public Management)
- But still many **different** relations between bureaucrats and politicians and organizational aspects
- After 2008: **convergence**
- But **parallel** evolutions and no common model

Differences between 3 groups: Scandinavian, West, Southern PA  
**Southern: Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain**

**France** apparently similar to them, but:

- **never authoritarian rule**, nor alien to **patronage** practices,
- but **never** primarily as a **depository of redundant labour**, hired through political **patronage networks**.

**GIPS**: delayed consolidation of democracy

**But:**

- Stereotypes (risks of)
- PA of EU 28 Member States participate in a loose common European administrative space

## State dimension, role and public employment

**Scandinavian states:** very long tradition of welfare state development and state intervention in the economy.

- Not as consistent patterns in the West and South European states.

## Distinguishing feature of South European states:

- Not number of public employees
- But the comparatively **large share of compensation** of public employees in total government expenditure (see tables 46.1 and 46.2)

**Table 46.1 Public employment** as share of total labour force (% of labour force)

	2001	2011
<i>Western Europe</i>		
Germany	15.6	14.3
Netherlands	21.3	21.4
UK	19.5	20.0
Ireland	17.9	16.3
France	25.6	24.4
Average Western Europe	20.0	19.3
<i>Northern Europe</i>		
Denmark	33.1	32.2
Finland	24.6	24.4
Sweden	29.0	26.2
Norway	35.2	34.3
Average Northern Europe	30.5	29.3
<i>Southern Europe</i>		
Greece	19.7	20.7
Italy	No data	No data
Portugal	No data	No data
Spain	14.1	13.8

**Table 46.2 Compensation of public employees** as share of total government expenditure (% of total government expenditure)

	2000	2012
<i>Western Europe</i>		
Austria	13.2	13.14
Germany	5.6	5.63
Netherlands	8.4	7.32
UK	13.9	14.0
Ireland	14.0	24.64
Belgium	7.02	6.12
France	23.3	19.9
Average Western Europe	10.7	13.0
<i>Northern Europe</i>		
Denmark	13.8	12.05
Finland	10.5	9.18
Sweden	10.06	10.60
Norway	10.79	17.17
Average Northern Europe	11.3	12.3
<i>Southern Europe</i>		
Greece	21.7	20.64
Italy	15.5	14.7
Portugal	32.3	18.44
Spain	10.8	7.49
Average Southern Europe	20.1	15.3

## Socio-historical context:

**North** and **South** European PA: built at different time points of modern European history, under different social conditions.

- E.g. **before or after the party political system**. If after, more easily permeated by political party factionalism
- **Kind of logics of origin** shape/affect the later emerging institutions. E.g.:
  - **patterns of behaviour and culture** reflecting political party, region or family-based social interaction between citizens and administration
  - and would function in a **particularistic** rather than universalistic fashion

## The Napoleonic Model:

- **reliance on legality**, conceived in terms of constitutional and administrative law
- in economy and society, state clearly **interventionist**
- prototype **centralized and hierarchical**
- staffed by a tenured and trained **civil service**,
  - enjoyed a distinct status
  - divided along the lines of professional qualifications

## The Napoleonic Model:

### Southern PA in XIX and XX sec. variations of 4 main elements:

1. Central state perceived to enjoy the status of **semi-supernatural entity**.
2. Centralized decision-making > very **little room for discretion to local authorities**
3. **Little autonomy** for state agencies and public bodies > fuelled **patronage**
4. Meritocratic **recruitment** of civil servants limited to tenure-track posts often curbed to serve the interests of political patrons and clients

→ Challenges of post crisis 2008 to Southern PA



## Main features (traditionals and ongoing modification:

1. **Legal formalism** (solving problems by law reforms) and informal arrangements.
  - limited economic and industrial development
  - logic of rationality, uniformity and impartiality +  
logic of family, community, region-based and political party allegiances
2. Division into **Corps** of Civil Servants and **Lack of an Administrative Elite**.
  - Low status, level, competence, self-defence / survival strategy
  - No attractive for graduates (also for authoritarian past and political power)
3. Political and social **values**
  - Continuities with authoritarian regimes
  - Indifference to citizens, distrust and suspicion, affecting citizen–administration relations
  - Uniform application of law rather than problem-solving
  - Formality and informality
4. **Dependence** of bureaucracy on political power
  - Italy: tacit agreement: power in exchange of good conditions (salary, etc.)

## Main features (traditionals and ongoing modification:

### 5. Administrative development or welfare policy?

- conception of **civil service police as social policy**:
- **absorbing redundant labour**: recruitment as a way to curb unemployment and offering salary increases to civil servants regardless of job performance
- Role of pensions
- Some reduction after the 2008 crisis

### 6. Problem not in size but in the **profile and qualifications** of recruited administrative personnel and the **allocation** of public employees.

- Decision by short term political considerations
- limited effects of innovations (including NPM digitalization)
- Further agencification (controlled by ministers)

## Conclusions

### The distance between South and North European administrations:

- may have become **shorter**,
- but is still **visible**,
- changes **not necessarily cumulative or unilateral**.

## 4. Collaborative governance and third sector



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Taco Brandsen and Karen Johnston

*"Collaborative Governance and the Third Sector: Something Old, Something New"*

### **Object:**

- Third sector one of the main **partners** for European governments in policy development and implementation.
- Often a **delicate relationship**: issues of autonomy and legitimacy.

### **Here an overview of**

- **how** third sector has been **involved** in the public sector
- what are the **key points of contention**.

**1980s:** increased use of **market** to provide service delivery solutions

## **But failed to address:**

- increasing **complexity** of social problems
- increased **demand** for social care and welfare services.

## **Recognition that:**

- **collaborative** working provides more sustainable and effective means
- **command-control** relationships and hierarchical modes of delivery are more and more ineffective

## Collaborative Governance: Advantages and Disadvantages

### Advantages

- **Exchange and pooling of resources** and scaling of economies: + quality?
- **More knowledge** of all affected by a service and a collective ownership.
- **Responsiveness** > improve delivery through collective wisdom and effort.

### Also

- **Always** some involvement, but differences by country
- **UN. Comparative advantage** in relation to government agencies:
  - innovative, flexible and responsive program design and implementation,
  - often rooted in/interact with constituencies poorly served and connected
  - more efficient, flexible, personal and higher quality



MITO ?

## Governance paradigms:

from a **hierarchical** towards a **collaborative** approach? **3 types:**

- **Classic public administration:** rule of law, split between politics and administration, dominant role for professionals in public service
  - **New Public Management:** control and measurement of output, possibly with a stronger role for the market mechanism.
  - **New Public Governance:** multiple interdependent actors to deliver public services, pluralist state and multiple policy-making processes
- **The last one** is viewed as a **post-bureaucratic perspective** with a more open system of inter-organizational and governance relationships

## Governance paradigms:

from a **hierarchical** towards a **collaborative** approach?

## Reality is much more complex:

1. Relationships between governments and third sector is much more **contested** and much **less predictable**

Ans a possible vehicle for **state control rather than partnership.**

2. **Vast differences** between European countries in modes of relationships between state and non-profit sector have

## The conceptual perspectives: some dimensions:

- Actors, negotiation, institutionalized framework, self-regulation, public purpose
- Identity, mutuality, membership, authority



## Various theoretical perspectives explain motivations for collaboration:

- 1. Network theory:** willingness to cooperate, history of collaboration, need for shared expertise and to adapt to changing circumstances.
- 2. Resource dependency theorists:** environmental constraints and need to secure resources which drive collaborative endeavours  
>>> reducing uncertainty and risk
- 3. Institutional theoretical perspective:** need to develop shared response to problems facing an organization
- 4. Cross-theoretical perspective:** strategy through which organizations allocate resources towards a joint, co-produced service, output or outcome

## Different Traditions of Collaboration:

- 1. Anglo-saxon country:** mainly through contracts, both negation and affirmation of NPM: not only market but inclusion of third sector in market mechanisms
- 2. Corporatist welfare countries:** non-profit organizations an established order, with privileged relationships >>> competition from self-organized citizens and/or businesses, lost privileged position
- 3. Central Eastern and Scandinavian countries:** state agencies continue to be the prime vehicles for delivering public services and the third sector remains marginal (but more NPM)

**Risks: collaboration also carries several risks.** Three basic kinds: high transaction costs, fragmentation, loss of autonomy.

## **1. More effort than it is worth:**

communicating across different languages, organizational cultures, modes of operations, power balances, logistics of working in different locations

## **2. Fragmentation of accountability.**

The number of members and actors involved in collaboration could result in diffused and opaque roles and responsibilities.

## **3. Third sector organizations lose some or all of their identity.**

Potential loss of autonomy; formalization resulting in institutionalization, goal displacement and focus on survival; becoming isomorphic of “dominant” governmental organizations. Decision inertia. Government manufacture III sector

## Conclusions

**Public and third sector collaboration** is complex and **not** necessary a linear trajectory of :

- Form classic public administration
- to new public management
- to new public governance
- Differences among the countries
- In the future: more complexity and nuances, declining of traditional divisions in some countries.
- Future and current challenges difficult to be dealt with alone