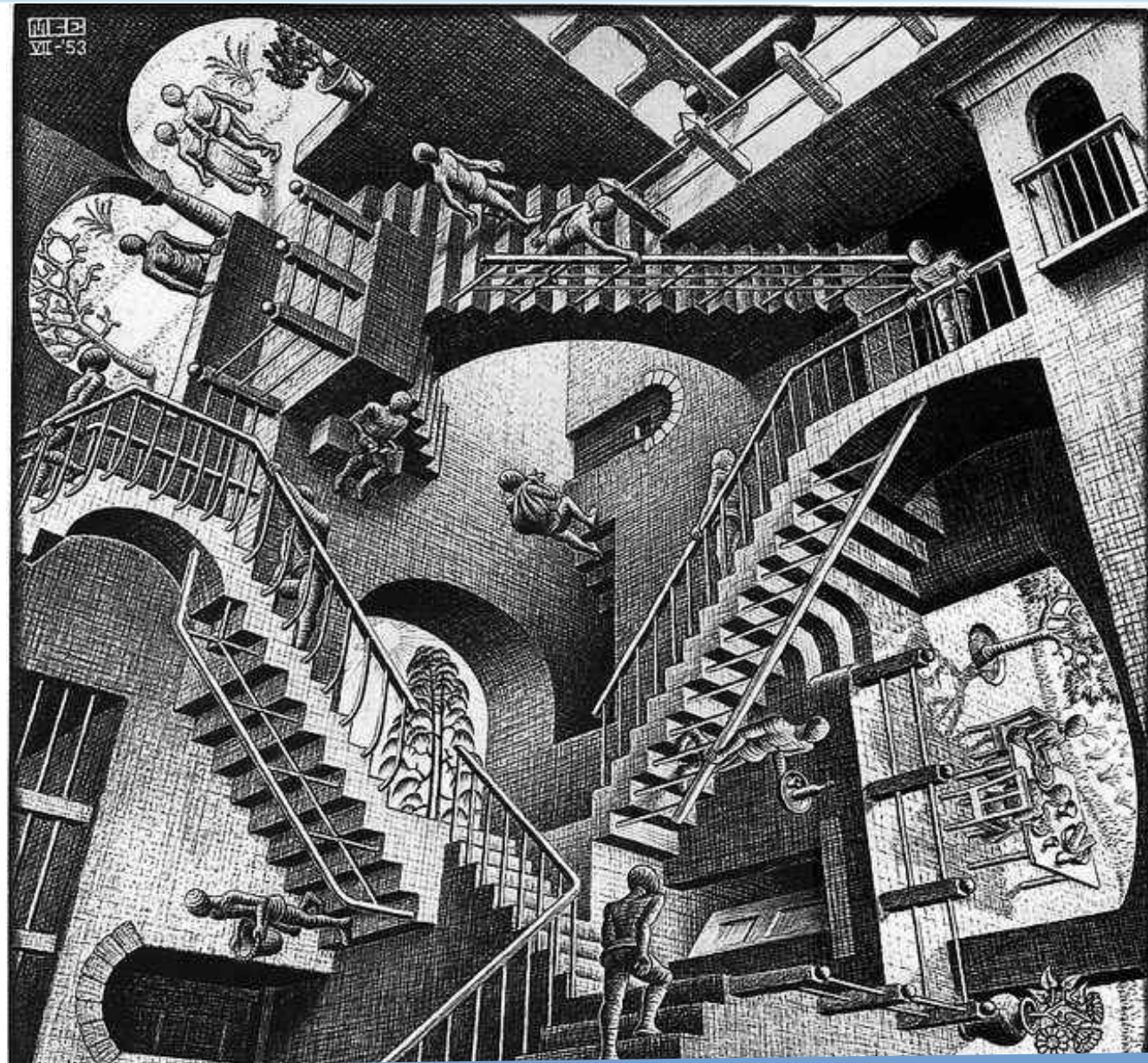


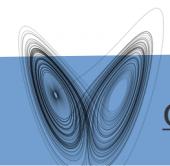
Sociologia dell' Organizzazione

2020-21 II Semestre

**L13 - Opzione 2.2 - Burocrazia,
Managerialismo e
Partecipazione:
ambivalenze del
cambiamento nelle
amministrazioni
pubbliche e nei sistemi di
welfare**



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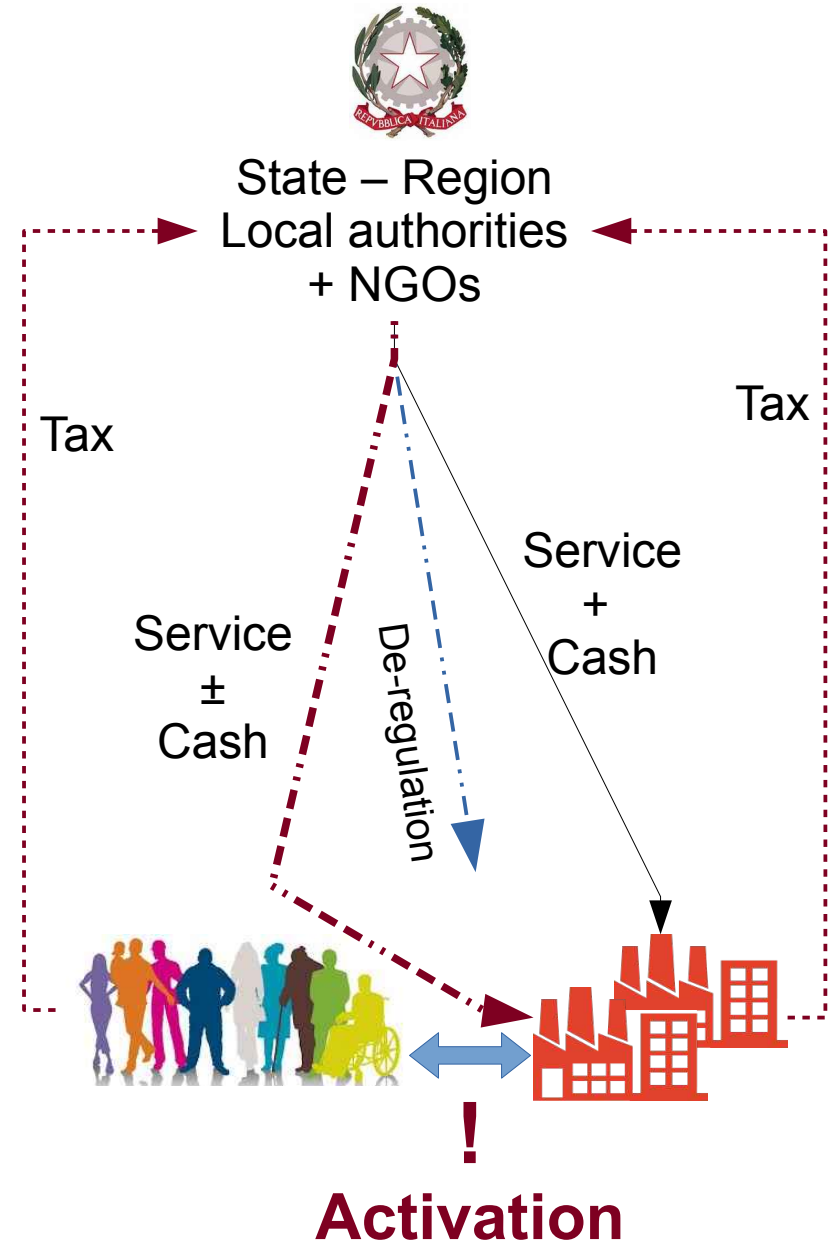
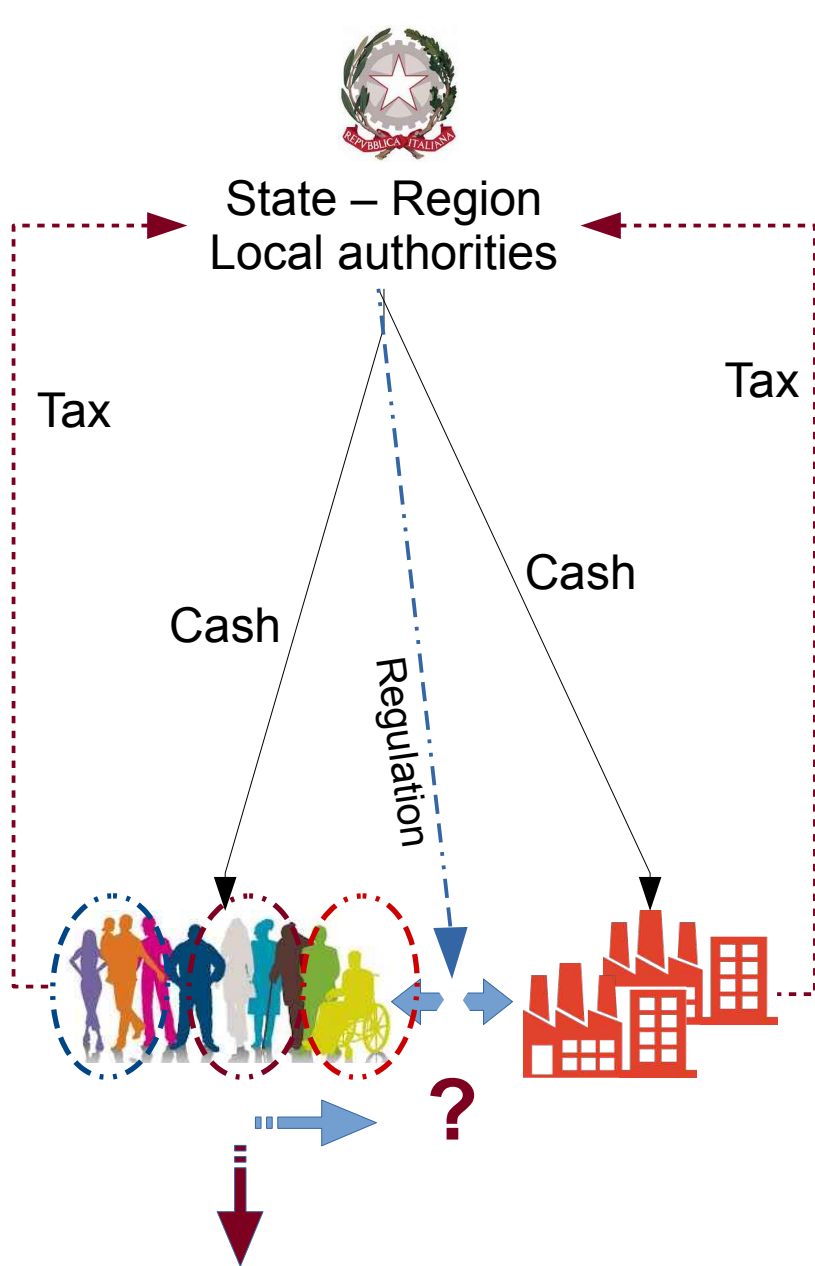


1. Dalla protezione all'attivazione
2. Dal governo alla governance
3. Dalla burocrazia autoritaria e meccanica al managerialismo

1. Dalla protezione all'attivazione



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Sii autonomo!



Attivazione: se e quali ambivalenze ?

- nei modelli
- nelle pratiche

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.

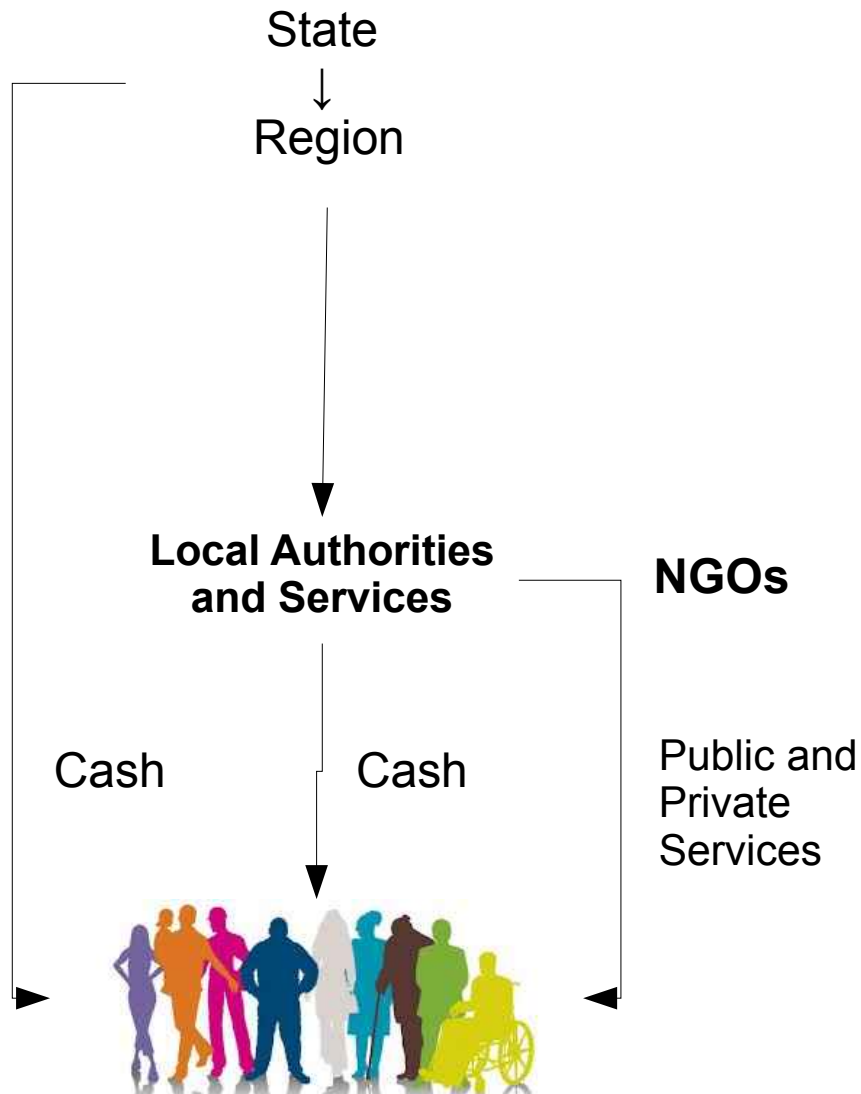
- Forte accentuazione lavorativa delle politiche di welfare
- Aumento della pressione sulle persone ad uscire dalla condizione di “assistito”
- Forte domanda di strutture istituzionali maggiormente competenti, attive e flessibili

2. Dal governo alla governance

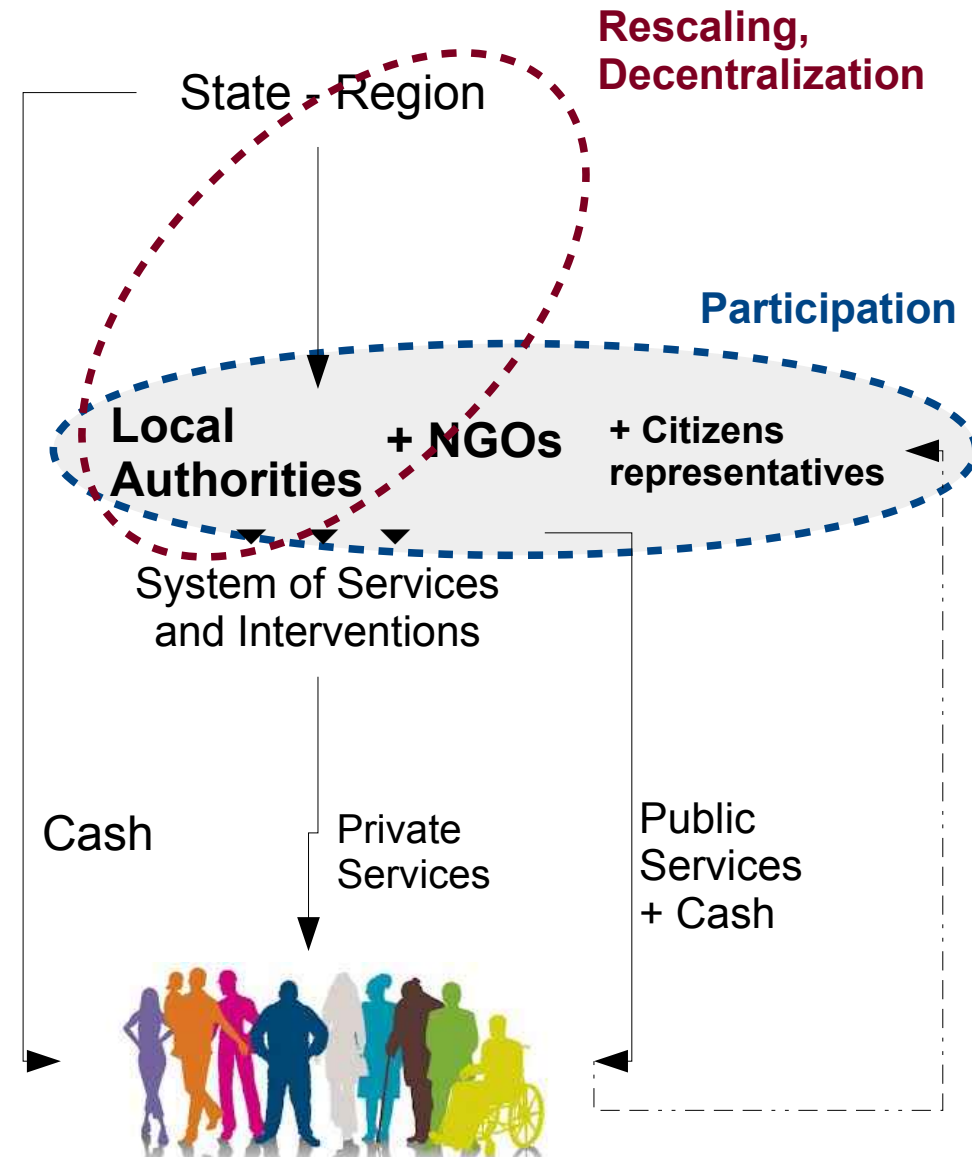


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Top-down



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

Dinamiche di cambiamento:

- 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:

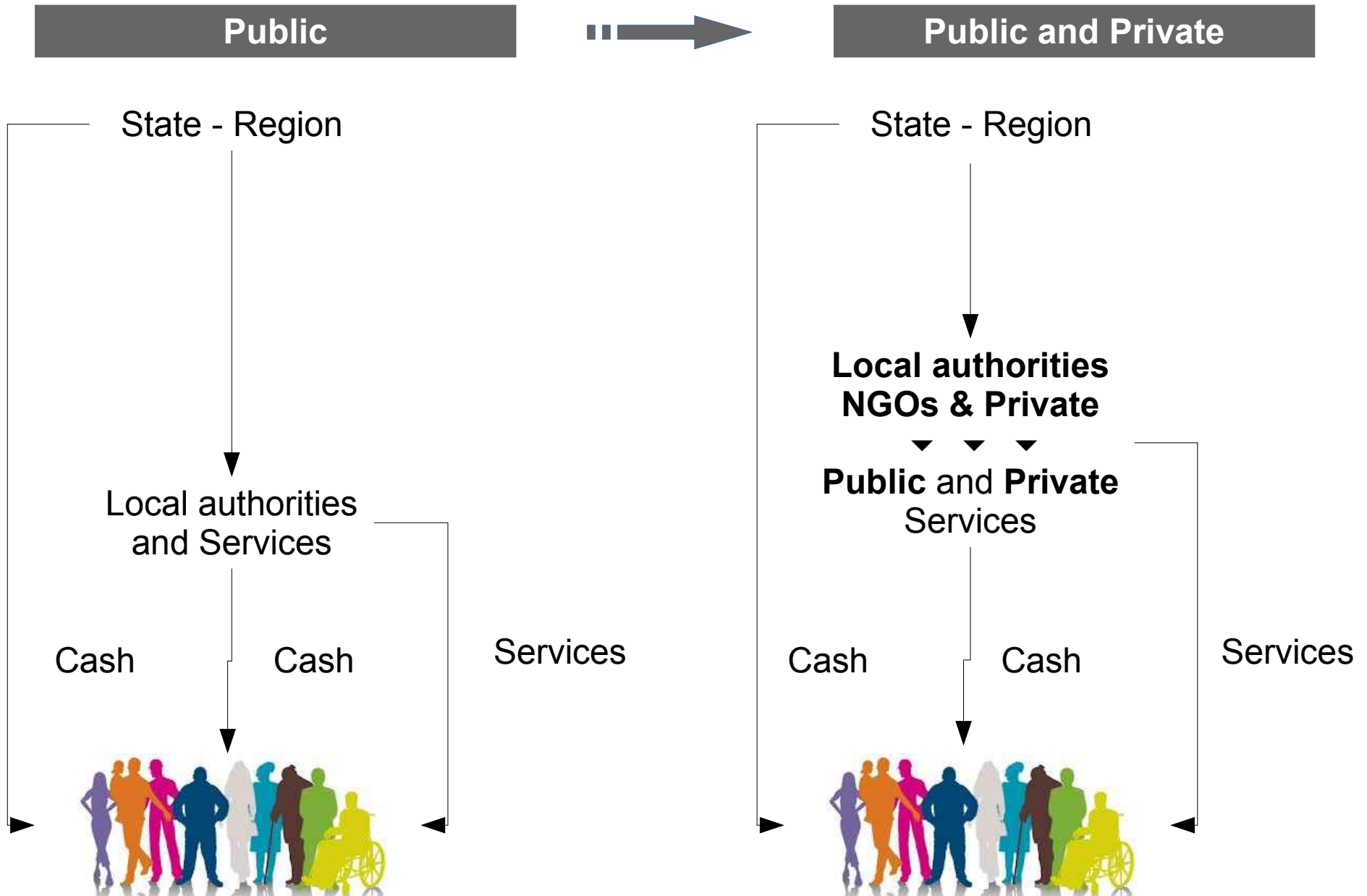
- **Sussidiarietà;**
- **Centralità della persona e Libertà di scelta;**
 - Strumenti ispirati al c.d. “New Public Management”;
 - Quasi-mercati (processi di accreditamento + voucherizzazione misure)

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**”).

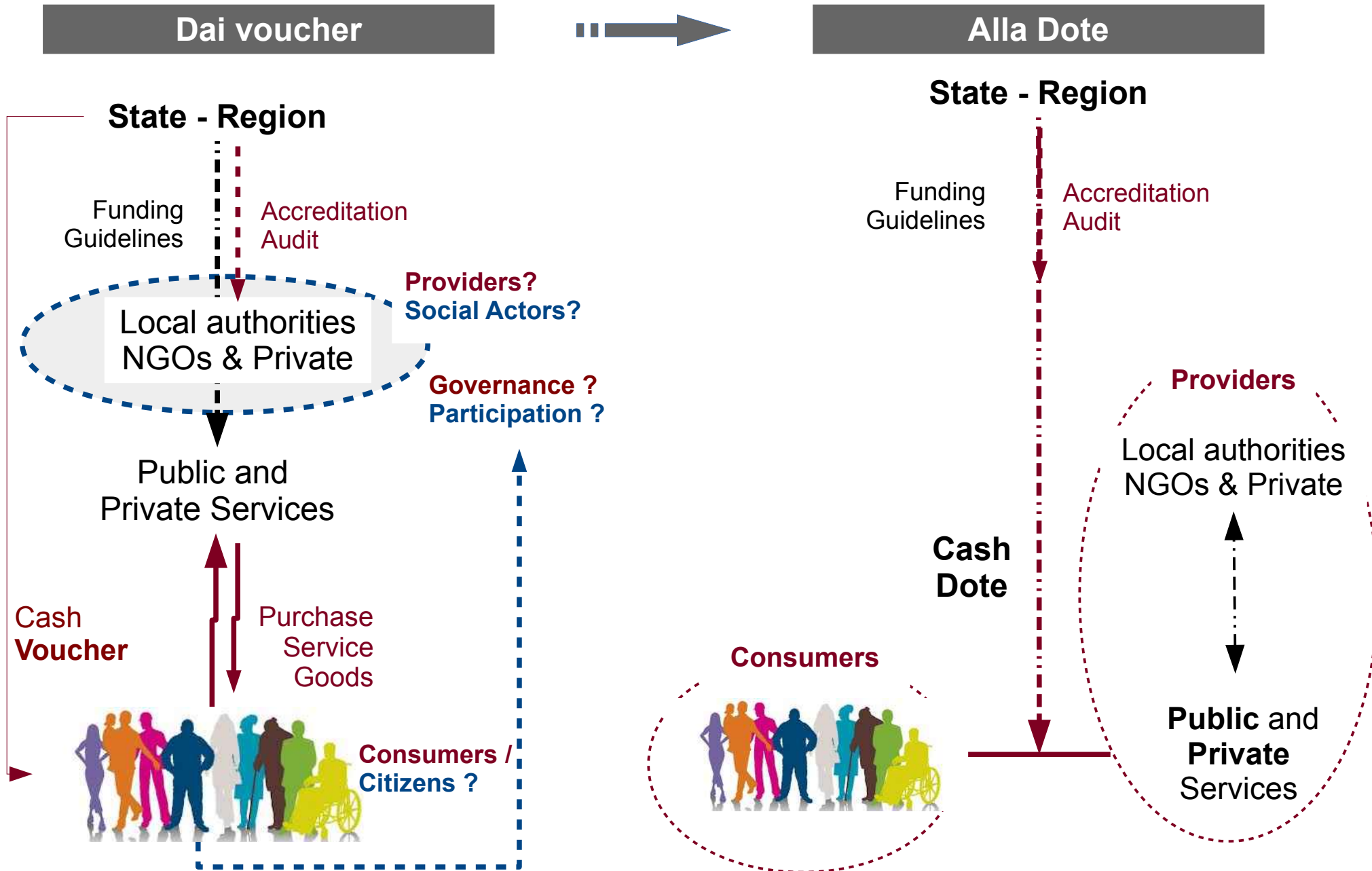
3. Dalla burocrazia al managerialismo... Verso i quasi-mercati



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

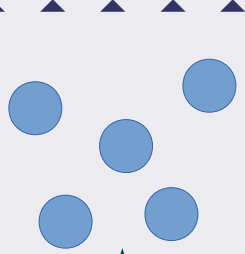
Board

Chief Executive

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

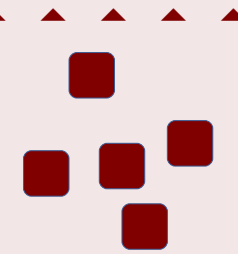
Participation Committee:

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



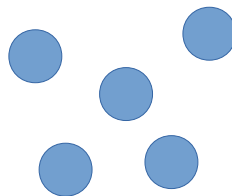
SDS: very limited connection between assemblies, boards and participatory bodies (e.g. invitation to talk: 1 / 22 - 4 / 22)

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

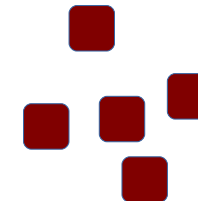


In 17 / 22 SDS the 2 bodies collaborate.
Declining trend

Arenas for debates:
Very seldom organized in very few contexts

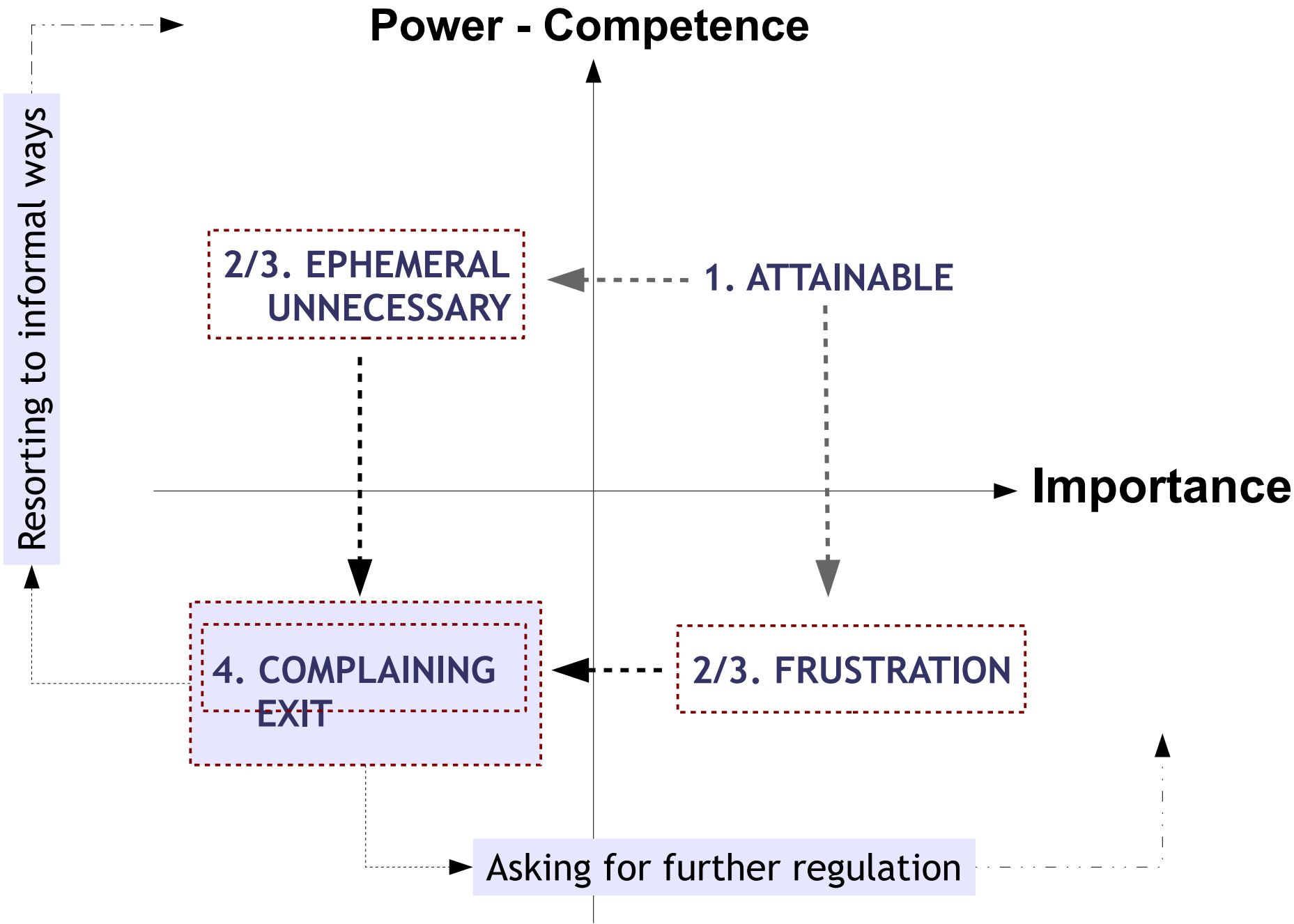
12/22 have played an advisory role

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) ²¹

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?

Managerialism and Managerialisation

Managerialism: ideology central to the reform process of the 1980s and 1990s in the UK

- Translation of a **private sector business ethos into the state and public sector.**
- Public services required:
 - to perform as if they were in a **competitive marketplace**
 - to become **'business-like'**

Ethos embodied in the manager opposed to politician, professional or administrator:

- virtue, innovation, externally oriented and dynamic, customer centred, realists, strategic
- Freedom to manage, doing the right thing

Logics of decision-making privilege economy and efficiency over other public values:

- New organisational settlement partly displacing the bureau-professional regimes
- Forming a Professional bureaucracy (Mintzberg 1983)

- Managerialism:**
1. ideology (legitimate power)
 2. Calculative framework (means and goals)
 3. Series of overlapping - even conflicting - discourses

3. What is managerialism



Managerialisation, process of:

- Establishing managerial **authority** over corporate resources and decision-making.
- Establishing the **calculative frameworks** of managerialism.
- **Creating forms** of 'managing' and **types** of managers.

Managerialism: different variants. Two particularly significant:

- 1. Transactional - Sometimes termed 'neo-Taylorism':** rational, means-ends pragmatism: efficiency and productivity, transactional relationships of exchange and contract.
+ tight systems of control, defined targets and close monitoring of performance.
- 2. Transformational - known in the 1990s as the 'new managerialism',** more 'people-and customer centred', oriented to quality and 'excellence'; 'set the workforce free' to innovate and improve services, and outward facing organisations.

Organisations **combine elements of both**; compromises between their different logics.

'New managerialism' dominate management text-books: Ideas of transformation, revolution, reinvention, and culture change in management texts, training programmes and MBA courses.

3. What is managerialism



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Managerialismo: la mano visibile del mercato.

Quali implicazioni su:

- welfare state
- politica economica
- processo democratico

The various attempts to 'live with' neo-liberalism as a global economic strategy have continued to fail as national and regional political regimes in Europe, at least, fail to domesticate the contradictions and suffer political turbulence – manifested in varieties of political disaffection, dissent, cynicism, withdrawal and the rise of ethno-nationalist politics in many European countries (Newman and Clarke 2013).

Cfr. La grande trasformazione (Polanyi 1944)

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)

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 (traditional 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**.