

From representation to participation (and back again): a CLEAR approach to making local democracy work

Professor Lawrence Pratchett

Innovation for good local and regional government:
A European challenge
Workshop 1 – Renewing Democratic Participation

University of Twente
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Local Governance Research Unit

Overview

'Good democracy creates not only good decisions but also good citizens' (J. S. Mill, 1861)

1. The context of democratic change
2. The relationship between representation and participation at the local level
3. The CLEAR diagnostic framework for enhancing local participation



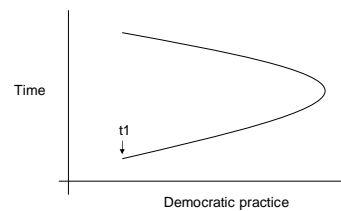
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The democratic paradox

- More countries in Europe are 'democracies' than ever before
 - Representative democracy has never been more contested than it is now
 - Problems for both mature and developing democracies include declining turnout, increasing disengagement and a growing mistrust of both politics and political institutions.
 - This condition is particularly true at the local level
- Have we reached post-democracy?

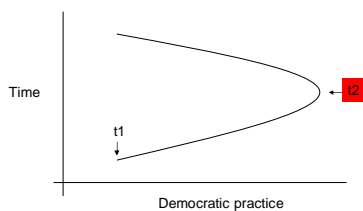
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The democratic parabola (Crouch 2000)



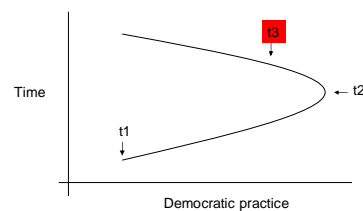
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The democratic parabola (Crouch 2000)



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The democratic parabola (Crouch 2000)



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Trends and challenges to democracy

Council of Europe Green Paper on the Future of Democracy (2004):

1. Governance challenges
 - Globalisation (both economic and social)
 - European integration (and the emergence of multi-level governance)
2. Demographic challenges
 - Aging effects (and the welfare state)
 - Intercultural migration

Trends and challenges to democracy

3. Social challenges
 - Individuation (fragmented and personalised forms of identity)
 - Mediatisation (a dependence on competitive news broadcasters for info)
 - Technological change (new forms of social organisation – web 2.0 etc)
4. Political challenges
 - Economic (competing in a global market)
 - Security (terrorism etc)

Democratic consequences

1. Citizenship
 - Political discontent
 - Contested cultural identities
 - Diverse populations, especially in urban areas
2. Representation
 - Declining party membership but growing single issue engagement
 - Declining electoral turnout / engagement with traditional institutions
 - The challenge to civil society from new forms of social organisation
3. Accountability
 - Growth of non-elected governance
 - Increasing complexity (esp. in the context of multi-level governance)
 - Ongoing problems of corruption
 - Declining pluralism in the traditional media

The rise of participation

- Increase in the interest in participatory mechanisms in developed and developing democracies (Fung and Wright)
- Increase in the range and style of experimentation
- But participation serves a range of different functions and can have different impacts upon democratic institutions.

Participation and representation

- Participation as a **challenge**/alternative to representative institutions (diluting, undermining, confusing)
- Participation as a **complement**/addition to representative institutions (supplementing, supporting)
- Participation as an **essential component** of a healthy democracy (educating, deepening, enriching, authenticating, legitimising)

Modes of participation

- Voicing mechanisms (forums, public meetings etc)
- Listening mechanisms (consultations, panels etc)
- Delegating mechanisms (participatory budgeting, asset transfer etc)

But what works best in what circumstances?
CLEAR helps us to understand why and how participation works

Participation is more likely when citizens:

- Can participate (*resources, skills and knowledge*)
- Like to participate (*sense of attachment*)
- Enabled to participate (*civic infrastructure*)
- Asked to participate (*mobilised in diverse ways*)
- Responded to when they do (*outcomes/feedback*)

From diagnosis to comparison

CLEAR as a diagnostic framework:

- To identify and understand the balance of factors that affect participation in a locality
- To reflect critically upon relative strengths and gaps in participation strategy and practice

Contextually relevant evidence from multiple sources and perspectives

The CLEAR tool

69 generic questions organised around CLEAR

See: www.dmu.ac.uk/lgru

For example, Can do...

- Measures of socio-economic status
- Demography
- Physical resources
- Skills and knowledge

Using CLEAR to diagnose participation strengths and weaknesses

Data collection from multiple sources

- Existing secondary source material – statistics etc
- Existing participation information
- Information produced by other tiers of govt, or by third parties
- Interviews/focus groups with employees & politicians
- Surveys of citizens and the organisations of civil society
- Focus groups with citizens or the organisations of civil society

CLEAR as a comparative tool

- Council of Europe sponsored road test
- 5 countries:
 - Finland, Netherlands, Norway, Slovakia and Spain
- 23 municipal governments
 - Varied range of respondents

Conclusions

- Resources, relationships and rules are relative
- Local variation is significant
- Place matters but size does not
- Localities are not islands – they are nested in other polities.



Leicester Business School

Thank you

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Migration, Identification and Citizen Participation: A Case Study of Second Generation Turkish Migrants

E. Ersanilli (Free University of Amsterdam), R. Ossewaarde (University of Twente), S. Saharso (University of Twente)

Theoretical model: identification and citizen participation

- State, citizenship and identification
 - City-state and fatherland identification (patriotism)
 - city-state citizenship
 - Nation-state and national identification (nationalism)
 - national citizenship
 - Good governance and glocal identification (glocalism)
 - citizen participation

Theoretical issues

- Cross-border identifications
- Ethnic identification and citizenship
- Singular identification (limited migrant citizenship prospects!)
- Multiple identification and alienation (J.W. Berry) (more migrant citizenship prospects!)

Case study research design

- Children from Turkish guest worker migrants
- Parents from South-Central and East-Central Anatolia
- Cross-national comparison: F, D, NL
- 795 telephone surveys (2005-2006)
- 57 in-depth interviews

Analysis of identification patterns

- Survey:
 - Ethnic identification stronger than national identification
 - No significant differences between migrant parents and children
 - National differences in identification with the host nation

Analysis of identification patterns

- Interviews (1)
 - Not feeling 'Turkish' (Anatolian) is a denial of your parentage
 - 'Turkish' socialization processes within host nationhood
 - No distinction between family and friends
 - Exclusion from nationhood (foreignness)
 - National differences

Analysis of identification patterns

- Interviews (2)
 - Multiple foreignness: tourists in 'Turkey'
 - Turkey as tourist destination
 - Turkey as fatherland, neighbourhood as home
 - Turkey as 'Heimat', neighbourhood as 'Zuhause'

Policy implications

- Strong ethnic identification
 - Family socialization
 - Family policy
- Strong identification with neighbourhood
 - Citizen participation
 - Building of inclusive local identities
 - More prospects for citizen participation than for national citizenship

Non-Citizen Political Participation for Problem Solving: Models from Germany and the United States

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen · Department of Political Science
Juniorprofessor Scott Stock Gissendanner

What is my talk about?

- I. Council of Europe Recommendations
- II. Importance of Non-Citizens
- III. The Puzzle of Non-Citizen Participation
- IV. Model of the Emergence of Non-Citizen Participation
 - A. Eight Functions of Participation for Non-Citizens
 - B. Examples from Germany and the USA
- V. Talking Points

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Council of Europe Recommendations: Examples

- Provide foreign residents with “a specific and active **information policy**”
- Set “up local service and administrative offices to **facilitate contacts** between local authorities and citizens
- Pay “careful attention” to the “demands and expectations” of citizens so as to be “**responsive**” to their needs
- Encourage local residents to **become involved in the “implementation** of projects [that] have a direct bearing on their environment, such as the...maintenance of green areas...”

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Non-Citizens in the USA and Germany

- About 22 million non-citizens live in the USA (8% total pop.)
- 1 in 5 Americans have an immigration background.
- Most (299 of 474) California cities have a non-citizen pop. of 15% or more.
- Latinos are most relevant immigrant group.

- About 8% of the German population is non-citizen.
- This includes 1.7 million non-citizen *natives*.
- Almost 1 in 5 Germans (18,6%) have an immigration background.
- Almost 1 in 3 (29%) kids under 10 have an immigration background.
- Turkey is most important origin-country.

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Puzzle of Non-Citizen Participation

- All of the forms of participation recommended by the Council of Europe are already being used by non-citizens.

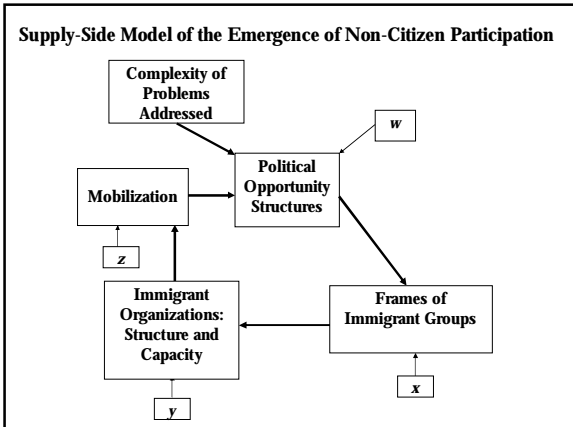
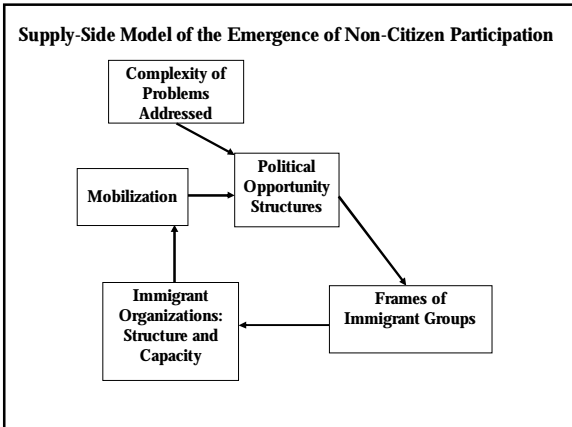
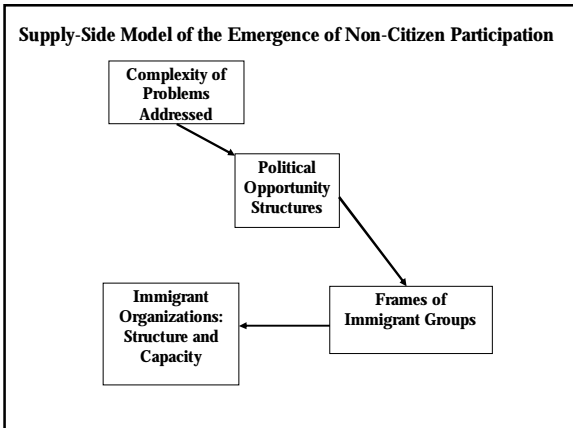
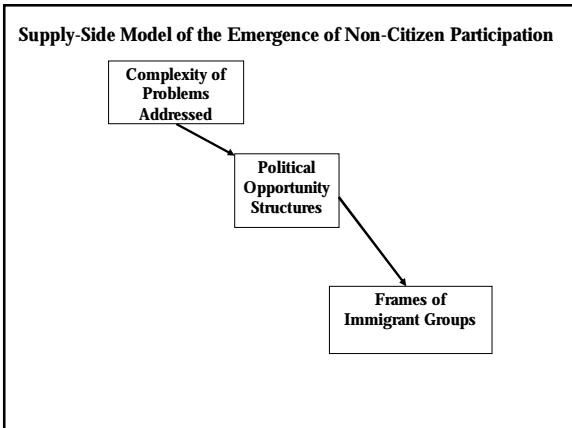
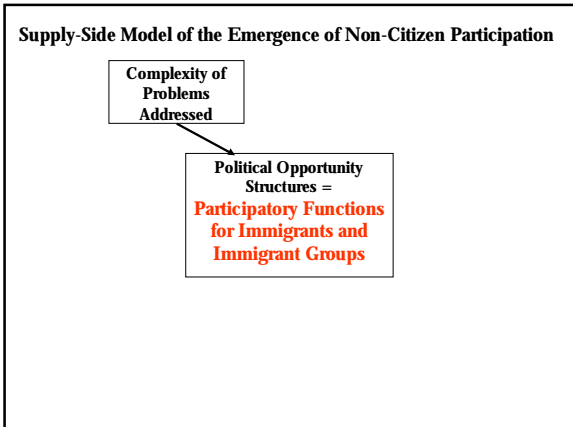
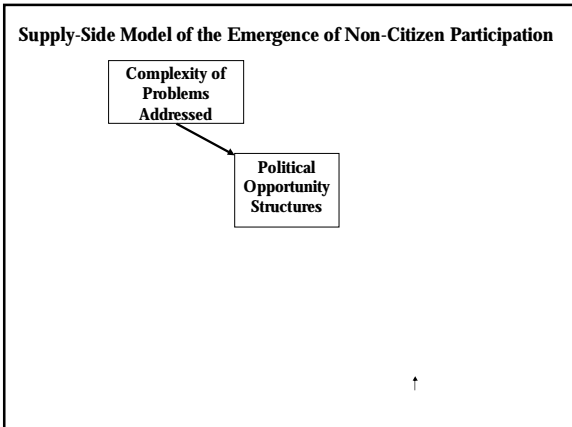
- Our current explanations for the rise of participatory democracy focuses on the value-shift thesis of Ronald Inglehart: Younger generations **demand** more direct say in politics.

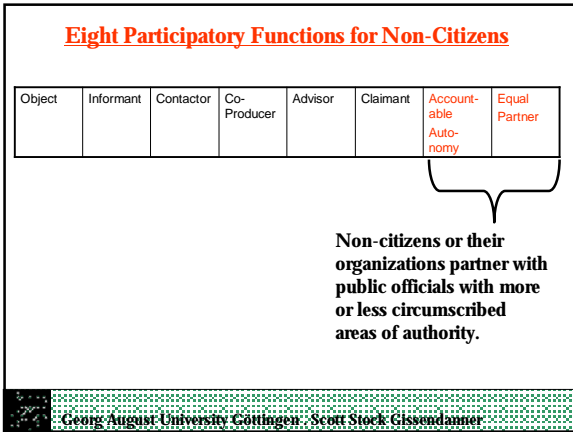
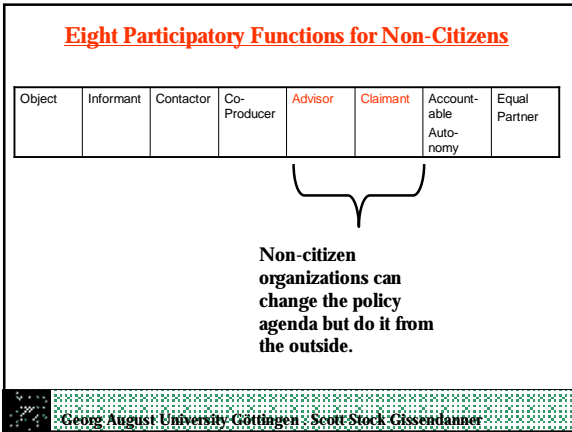
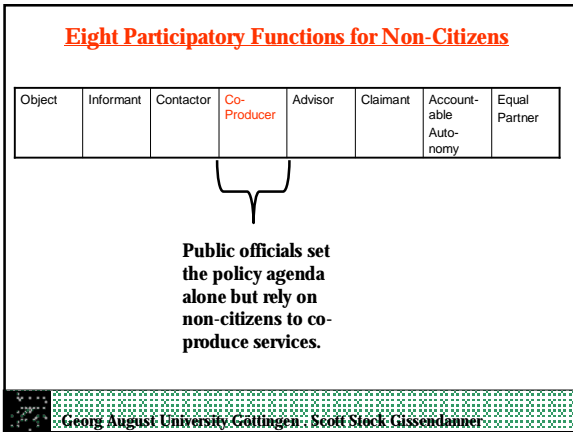
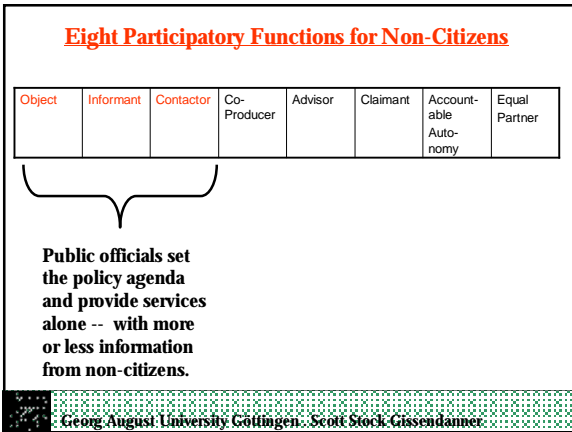
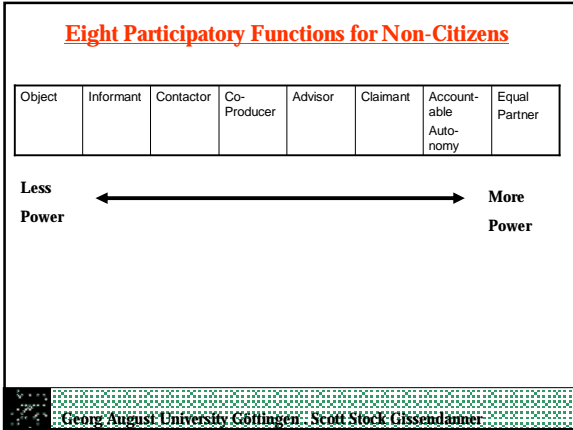
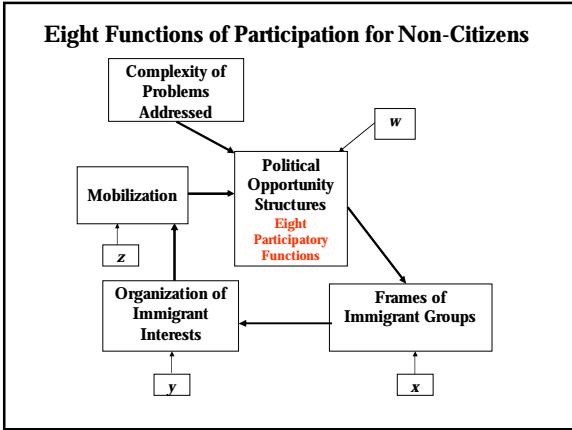
- But non-citizens participate at lower rates than citizens of similar ethnic background.

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Supply-Side Model of the Emergence of Non-Citizen Participation

Complexity of Problems Addressed





Examples

Object	Informant	Contact	Co-Producer	Advisor	Claimant	Accountable Autonomy	Equal Partner

Germany

Turkish Parents' Association provides training for school principals, teachers, parents, and pupils.

United States

Many after-school programs run by community-based Latino organizations, funded by a mix of public funds and charities.

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Examples

Object	Informant	Contact	Co-Producer	Advisor	Claimant	Accountable Autonomy	Equal Partner

Germany

Not wide-spread. Example: Federation of Spanish Parents' Associations

United States

Very wide-spread. Example: National Council of La Raza. Also litigation.

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Talking Points

- Does the use of participatory arrangements lead to strong democracy or a stronger state?
- Meta-structures of governance in integration policy: Strong or weak immigrant organizations?


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PICTURING LOCAL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION FROM THE CITIZEN'S PERSPECTIVE ...

... the Eeklo case


*Friday 3 April 2009
Enschede, the Netherlands*

Jo Van Assche
Centrum voor Duurzame Ontwikkeling (CDO) en
Centrum voor Lokale Politiek (CLP),
Universiteit Gent




Research project on local participation

1. Local public participation: from concept to indicator
 - Definition
 - Translating into a double set of indicators
2. Question about data collection:
 - In need of data, because of lack of relevant existing data
 - DIY collection of primary data:
 - Quantitative : survey in each municipality
 - Qualitative: reliable, but not representative data
 - Conclusion: conversation guides about a diversity of aspects
3. Test in Eeklo
 - Individual participation: in six age categories of the population
 - Collective participation: with 12 key persons out of civil society
4. Conversation guides about local participation?

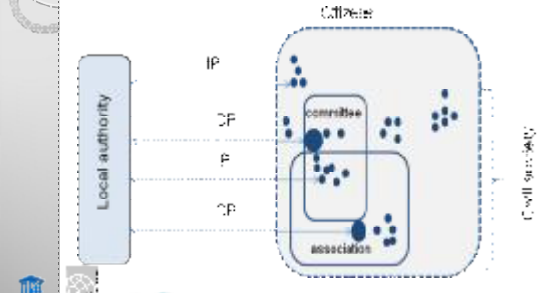


Approaching 'local public participation'

- Reversal of perspective:
 - Managerial perspective on participation: public support
 - Perspective of citizens: taking initiatives in meeting their needs and asking how to involve local government people?
- 'urban citizenship': (Bas Denter)
 - = whole of attitudes and competences (= civic-mindedness) and behaviour and activities (= citizen participation) of individual citizens and citizens from the civil society, in relation to local government people
 - = 'local citizen participation'




Local citizen participation



Individual participation: concrete

Preconditions	Pride in the town and neighbourhood
	Involvement with the local community
	Confidence in the local authority
Information	Experience with the distribution of information on the town
	Need for information on the town
	Quality of the information on the town
Contacting the municipality	Search for information
	Experience with contributing to the town or neighbourhood
	Need to contribute to the town or neighbourhood
	Quality of the contact with the local authority
Active participation	Preparedness for more active participation
	Assessment of the effectiveness of the say of the citizen
	Active involvement in town or neighbourhood
	Preparedness to be actively involved in town or neighbourhood
	Engagement in the local community

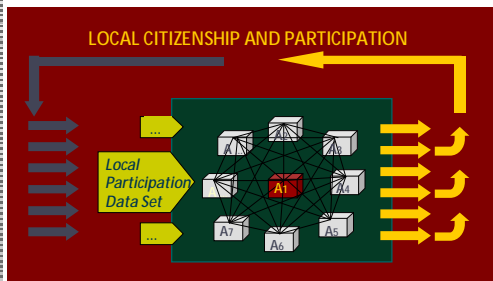


Collective participation: concrete

Preconditions	Access to information
	Confidence in the local authority
	Means of checking the local authority
	Support of civil society by the local authority
Contacting the municipality	Nature of the relationship with the local authority
	Assessment of interest of local authority in civil groups.
	Assessment of the effectiveness of participation
Quality of collaboration	Extent of consultation in the collaboration
	Involvement of actors in the collaboration
	Information exchange in collaboration
	Determining priorities together in collaboration
	Setting firm actions in collaboration
	Distribution of work in collaboration
	Conflict-resolving capacity of the collaboration
	Coordination in the collaboration
	Evaluation of the results of the collaboration
	Communication of the results achieved from the collaboration



Local citizen participation instrument



Question about data collection

- Given: indicators in need of data
- Solution: in different steps
 - Existing sources of data: nihil
 - DIY collection of primary data:
 - Representative data: practical barriers
 - Qualitative research approach:
 - Actual reliable results,
 - But no representative data
- Conclusion: no barometer but conversation guides



Test in Eeklo: individual participation

- Conversation guide with 'open questions'
- Defining target groups
- Random sampling
- Training the interviewers
- Contacting the respondents + interviewing them
- Reports + analysis
- Results: 8 till 10 R's in every target group
- Presentation in Eeklo city authority:
 - recognizable results
 - policy relevance



Test in Eeklo: collective participation

- Second conversation guide with 'open questions'
 - Selection of 12 key persons
 - Researchers: Contacting + interviewing them
 - Reports + analysis
 - Results: // goal oriented selection of key persons
- Presentation in Eeklo city authority:
 - recognizable results
 - policy relevance



Research project + test: conclusions

- Basis has been laid down for measuring, learning and communicating about local citizen participation:
 - Approach of 'local public participation' from the point of view of the needs of citizens and civil society
 - Double set of indicators/aspects
 - Linking up with the sustainability strategy
- Two conversation guides:
 - Valuable alternative for a local participation barometer
 - Reliable knowledge and insights about local citizen participation
 - Geared towards the possibilities of Flemish local governments



Conversation guides: to be clear ...

- No measuring device and contain no indicators about citizenship and public participation in Flemish municipalities
- Actual communication- en learning instrument about strategic aspects of local citizen participation meant for all actors or stakeholders involved in the local community and its government
- Integration of that knowledge improves quality of relevant local public policy (communication, participation, information)



Suggestions

- At Flemish government level:
 - Developing further governmental and public support for the use of the double set of indicators/aspects on local citizen participation
 - Continue testing the implementation (other municipalities/ target groups/ other aspects/ ...)
 - And elaborating policy support mechanisms

- At local government level:
 - Input of external expertise is needed
 - Learning from experiences in Eeklo and other cases (handbook)



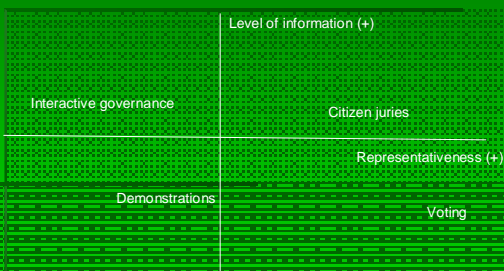
Turnout in local elections: a comparative perspective

Henk van der Kolk (University of Twente)
Angelika Vetter (University of Stuttgart)

Questions to be addressed

1. Is high turnout in local elections important?
2. Is local electoral turnout in the EU declining (compared to national electoral turnout)?
3. What are the causes of changes in local electoral turnout?
4. What can be done about it?

Voting and other forms



Is high turnout important?

High turnout ...

§ as an indication of

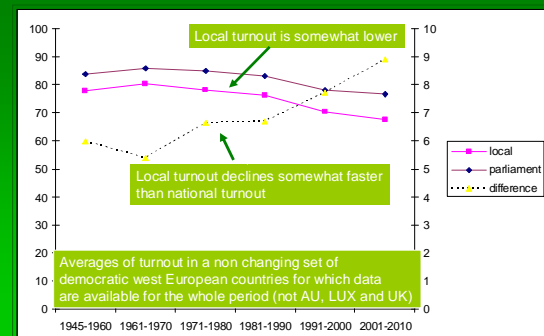
- Equality of interests (representation)
- Equality of development (involvement)
- Legitimacy

§ as a *cause* of legitimacy contributing to the 'strength' of collective decisions

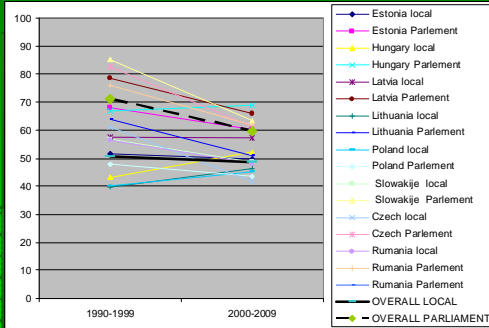
Is local turnout declining?

Some data limitations:

- § What is local: lowest level or all levels?
- § Not all local elections within a country are held on the same day (examples: UK, Germany)
- § Registered voters or Voting Age Population?
- § Valid votes or all votes?
- § Only official data or also news paper clippings (with all aforementioned mistakes thinkable)?



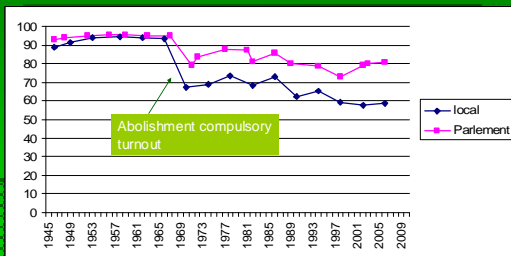
Eastern Europe



What may cause *decline*?

- § Social factors
 - Modernization, post-materialization and the declining relevance of (party) politics for citizens
 - Decreasing social cleavages (decreasing conflict)
- § Political factors
 - Changing party mobilization (canvassing)
 - Declining (party) competition in local elections (visibility)
 - The declining relevance of the state more generally (importance)
- § Institutional factors
 - Abolishing compulsory voting (1970: the Netherlands, 1993: Italy)
 - Increasing size of municipalities (growth and amalgamation)
 - Changing levels of 'centralization'
 - Separating local, regional and national elections

Example: abolishing compulsory voting



Other examples: Belgium, Italy (until 1993), Cyprus, Greece (not enforced), Austria (abolished)

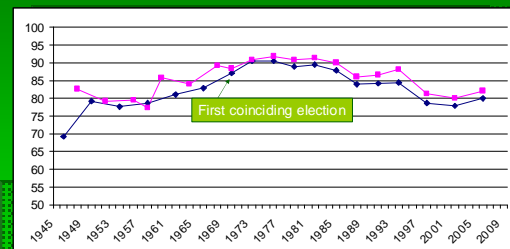
What causes decline?

- From the literature the main causes seem to be:
- Social modernization (fragmentation, decline of party attachment etc.)
 - Declining party mobilization (decline of canvassing)
- § These factors are hard to manipulate.

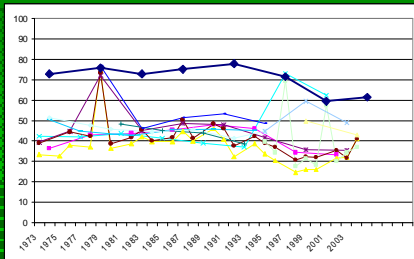
What can maybe be done?

- § Coinciding elections (national/local/European)
- § Reducing voting costs (postal, internet, proxy)
- § At least not increasing the size of municipalities
- § Mobilization by the state (campaigns, lotteries, tax deduction)
- § Decentralize
- § New electoral systems (personalized voting)
- § Introducing new democratic instruments (referenda)
- § Direct election of mayors (if not existent already)

Coinciding elections I: Sweden

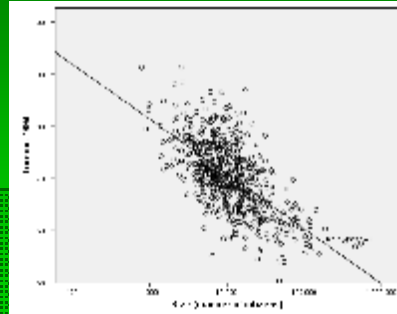


Coinciding elections II: United Kingdom



Some other examples: Germany (several), Denmark (2001)

Size and local turnout: the Netherlands



Will this work?

- § Coinciding elections: **yes, definitely (but ...)**
- § Reducing costs: **yes (but ...)**
- § Municipal size: **yes, although maybe only 'at the bottom' (< 70.000) and also because of composition**
- § Mobilization activities by the state: **unknown**
- § Decentralization: **only if perceived (probably)**
- § New democracy: **yes, maybe**
- § New electoral system: ...
- § Direct election of mayors: ...

Local electoral systems in Europe: some options

- § Districts: one district or several districts.
- § Formula: plurality, majority, STV, list-PR.
- § Ballots: (in PR -> number of votes, panache and cumulation, list-stv).
- § Selecting individual MP's in PR: Closed, semi-open, open list system.

Germany as a unique case

- § About a dozen different systems
- § Introduction of predominantly List-PR systems with various types of ballot structures
- § Gradual introduction of the directly elected mayor in the 1990's and thereafter

Results (see Vetter 2008)

Constant	51.2**
National turnout 1998	.71/.38**
Size (log.)	-4.88/-.81**
Elect. system (3 votes)	-7.21/-.37**
Elect. system (max. votes)	-4.78/-.24**
Council vs. mayor	n.s.
Simult. election EP/loc. Council	-.67/-.03*
Strength of nat. parties	-.01/-.04**
Adj. R ²	0.56
N	10,411

Some conclusions

- § Voting still important
- § Local turnout is not completely separated from national turnout
- § Institutional changes so far did not result in an increase of turnout
- § Other considerations should be taken into account as well (democracy)
- § No systematic experiments available for the effects of institutional changes, more research needed.