

**The future of the welfare state: paths of social policy innovation
between constraints and opportunities**

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**“VERY IMPORTANT POLICIES”, or
VALUATION, INTEGRATION, PARTECIPATION:
Regional frames and experiences from the field**

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Introduction.

a. **The premise.** Social policies are important. Very important¹.

They answer, promote, involve, and move: subjects, institutions, voluntary service. Especially in moments of crisis. They create cohesion. They activate resources that go well beyond those economic. They generate relational riches, networks, social capitals; they develop sustainable economies that take the form of services and projects. Thanks to the effort of a myriad of actors, real “craftsmen of welfare” (Sennett, 2008) who are doing their utmost on local, provincial and regional scenes. In short, social politics are a laboratory of construction of a common good. But they continue to suffer of unresolved dilemmas and new issues.

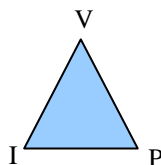
b. **The analysis.** The propose of participation builds a survey carried out during a doctorate in Sociology and developed through activities of training and advice.

Means analyse the normative and organizational *frame* of two Italian regions (Emilia Romagna and Lombardy) through three indicators: the evaluation, the integration and the participation, comparing the regional regulatory frameworks and the different local applications of the processes of *governance*. We anticipate immediately how compared to the evaluation, that both regions and local areas seem proceed to attempts, considering it an optional aspect, scarcely considered and only used with consolidated functions, for clearance.

The integration shows more marked differences: Emilia Romagna moves towards integrated arrangements, both on organizational and economical plan, and uses the lever of the Regional Fund for the Not Self-sufficiency to increase the interactions between social sanitary sector, but the local variants aren't free from being in the processes of integration and in the definition of the roles of the different subjects. Lombardy confirms his option centered on freedom of choice of the costumer and pushes on integration between public and private, with little care of the local arrangements and the role of director of the municipalities (Ferrari, 2005, Gori, 2005, Bifulco, 2008).

We will discuss the theme of participation (Bobbio, 2004, Borghi, 2006, Paci, 2008) thanks to two studies of case: in the first urban district in Emilia Romagna, the practices of participation are confused with those of negotiating, with the presence around the same tables of actors with strong asymmetries and poor clarity on the new role of the public subjects: that's the Lombard model applied in Emilia Romagna. In the second extra urban district, in Lombardy, the third sector searches a recognition of his role, and in particular of his autonomous forms of coordination and delegation; in a slogan: “50 doesn't stays in 25”². About valuation we'll present an experience of participated valuation applied in the province of Parma.

c. **The propose** is that of using the three poles of the *valuation* (who values? How values?), *integration* (who is included - and excluded - in the delivery of services and projects?) and *participation* (who participates? And with which role?) as three vertices of a “triangle of quality” useful to monitor the processes of *governance* of the public politics. We'll introduce briefly the three analytical categories using many insights from ethnographic studies applied to organized contests, to go after the establishment of the variants founded in camps, and finally presenting an analytical and a metaphorical purposes.



¹ Acronym VIP comes from the cartoon “VIP, my brother superman”, by Bruno Bozzetto (1968); in this movie is the weak brother, not the strong one, saving the world. Logo refers at play-bill.

² Where 50 is the number of associations included in “Local Forum of third sector”, and 25 the number of members of institutional local table of third sector.

1. Evaluation, integration, participation. Preambles.

1.1. Social policies and organizations.

Respect to the subject we're interested in, the social politics at the time of plans of zone, we could define the actual as a "generative phase" (or of *institution building*), rich of experimentations also of organized kind. No coincidence Rule nr. 328, 2000 (which has as main purpose the realization of the "integrated system of participations and social services") focuses (art. 22) on the implementation of policies and coordinate benefits in different social sectors, the integration of services to the person and to the family, the definition of active paths to optimize the efficiency of resources, the passing of overlapping responsibilities and framework of responses. L. 328/00 uses the implementation modality of the pluriannual programming, through plans called "of zone", that's to say relating to limited geographic area; it's evident as this modality encourages - at least potentially - the local actor's proximity to the offices in which the programming takes place; in reality some characteristics invalidates the developments; between those a strong regional differentiation (the reform of a part of the Constitution assigns to the Regions the exclusive competence in legislative theme) builds a system "as stain of Leopard"; moreover, the incertitude relative to financings makes precarious the innovative solutions that in some local reality were tested, giving a strong instability to the whole system.

Nevertheless, it's clear the effort to integrate the arrangement of the welfare: it's like if, after the numerous attempts to make efficient a graduated system of provision of benefits (for example through the introduction of company minded criterions in the management of care), you recognize the need to bring to unity. But, if an unstable environment constitutes a "prerequisite to change" (Morgan, 2002, p.346) for organizations, and institutions, that vice-versa would tend to keep themselves, whose main product is to reproduce themselves, the danger is that new institutions add to those existing, that new artifacts join her older, by multiplying the fragmentation instead by favoring the additions. We are however in front of a process of transformation that calls in game new players, or players already present (in particular the third sector) with new roles and formulas (for example through the institution of thematic tables of coordination in which compare the different stakeholder), that urges the participation of citizens-customers in a program post bureaucratic of governance. Integration between old and new institutions and citizens' participation could become a banc of prove for the post bureaucracy in general and in particular for the social politics (Bifulco, 2002, 2009).

Besides, there is an intern aspect, that concerns the way to work of the social services (the place in which the social politics are acted in their daily life): their vital status, the shared practice, is to act often

As autarchic places, divided between them and the real life by communicative barriers and blocked relations, and empty spaces of relations in their inside (De Leonadis, 1998, p.124).

That's to say, if on a side the decomposition of the programming per sectors (the youngest, families, disables, ancients, migrants, etc.), that classically happens in the plans zone, maybe consents a better clarification of the objects of the social work, on the other side with the relative attribution to every segment of specialized staff, offices, resources, has probably been underestimated the moment of the rewriting.

It's like if we had supposed that making everybody their piece, their part, "automatically" we could realize an integrated activity inside every service and between the various services (Olivetti Manoukian, 2005, p.71).

It happens so that some organizations are “created” ad hoc to answer the reform that has opened the new century with the integration between the services: at plans of zone, built through offices of plan, consortiums and companies of services to the person follow, with management functions, without the pre-existent institutions - for example, the local sanitary companies - are seriously redefined in their mansions: the elevated variability of the different local systems of welfare combines with some of the typical dilemmas: *be different and integrate* tasks and services; which role to assign to the *citizens* (from time to time defined as clients, or users); at last how equip itself to “measure” what becomes progressively a machine ever more complex and articulate, that can’t repeat established procedures but must move in a prospective of continuous learning, because of the instability of the environment and of its inhabitants (singles and organizations; employees and citizens).

1.2. Exploring the three categories.

With *integration* we can intend one of the two bearing pillars the idea of organization; in the range of the organizational studies, the integration between the different components (between the human resources, between those and the material middles) is represented as the necessary compensation at the process of differentiation of the competences, the specialization of the work, without which an organization is exposed to the danger of the immoderation of fragmentation.

As a system becomes more differentiated increase its need of a way of integration of its different parts in all. The unities specialized need to be coordinated from a system of ordered control (Collins, 1992, p.40)

Applying the category of the integration to the specific range of the social politics means on a side considerate the actors, institutional and non, present in the different local contests (with also reference to the vertical levels of relation between different spatial scales - regional and national), and on the other side the instruments, that means the politics, used to realize it. We’ll intend with integration a process which involves

To do system, to avoid inconsistencies, immoderations of duplication, to recognize emergent problems without adequate institutional answer, to avoid waste of resources, to take care of efficiency and efficacy, to focalize the attention on the final user, in whose experience are integrated at the end, as states of well being, all the specific contributions of the socio-sanitary services (Donolo e Sordini, 2005, p.190).

Aware that the integration between the public politics, and in particular between the social politics, constitutes “a relevant point of observation”

The integration, pushed from Europe and associated to the localization, is a strategy to pursue common objectives to different politics - for example generate or regenerate “social cohesion”; politics regarding the health, the occupation, the living, the social protection, the local development try to combine themselves and, slowly, agree on joints in a common territory (Bifulco and De Leonardis, 2006).

It’s in all evidence an articulate and negotiable approach, in which come in and intertwine matters specifically relating to social politics (employability, fight against marginalization, salute and psycho-physical well-being, disability, families and youngest “at risk”, multicultural integration, dependences) with politics only apparently more distant than this camp: politics of the security, urban, cultural and formative politics, for the cultural and environmental goods, for the occupation of local development. It’s possible at different levels, but taking into account that the “social and

economic local system is the more suitable laboratory for the interaction” (Donolo e Sordini, 2005, p.190), to intend as a strategic, incremental orientation; the role of guarantor unrolled by the public institutions, called to a function of coordination of the different actors presented in a given territory, becomes crucial; the scene in which subscribe the processes of integration is that of the passage from a logic of *government* to one of *governance*, that, in short, characterizes for the implication of a plurality of actors and the decisional head offices in the process of government of the public politics that, in the case of the social politics, focuses on the organized civil society, that’s to say the third sector. It’s, as Bobbio (2005) defines it, a multilevel *governance* (MLG), consequence of the take note of the concurrence of numerous governments in a same territory, each of which with an estate of competences and resources, and whose competences aren’t rigidly fixed but “shared and overlying”; MLG acts as a “negotiated programming”, where

The public choices that come to the citizens are the fruit of a complicated process of mutual adjustment, exchange, negotiation between the governments that operate in different points of the territorial spinneret (Bobbio, 2005, p.56).

Even in this passage, it’s evident the recall to the system of relations between organizations and environment (Weick, 1997), that it’s stronger when the environment is instable (multiplicity of actors and interests at stake, incertitude on the resources, etc.) and inevitable mutuality rises between who are not closed by pre-defined borders. The process of integration is also a process of organized learning (Argyris and Schon, 1998): to switch on a negotiable model means “to renounce to the impartiality” for the administrations, in the sense of non-exclusion of partial points of view rather than the inclusion of all the points of view, conducted through the assumption of contextual information, which subjects “extern” the administration are bearers:

The role of the arrays of implementation, of the public administration, that must include capacity and professional competences of a negotiable kind, changes drastically, so it must enrich of mediators and facilitators of the comparison (Donolo e Sordini, 2005, p.198);

That’s to say, it must know how to give voice to all the composite and different interests, a all the positions in the game. It’s a passage that sees the public administrations protagonists in the creation of “regulative contests” in which could happen the chaffer, understood as consensual agreement between the parts (Donolo, 2005, p.44). So interaction and integration between politics, interaction and integration between actors. It’s what confirms the 1.328/00 in Italy, that pushes to the integration and the territorialization; where the integration is the case on three dimensions:

Inter-institutional, in the sense that the process of administrative decentralization (...) is strengthened in this reform through an establishment of vertical subsidiariness (...); between politics on different fronts: integrating the politics and the socio-auxiliary services with the sanitary, educative, of the formation and of the work politics; (...) between public and private (the subsidiariness in its horizontal dimension) (Centemeri, De Leonardis, Monteleone, 2006, p.147).

The territorialization brings against to operate on local graduation incrementing the processes of exchange between subjects. The local dimensions becomes the kingdom of the experimentation, incrementality, processuality. But it is, precisely, of a restricted, localized dimension, precious for the exhibitionism of the present actors, at the same time differentiated from zone to zone, from region to region (so threatened by an excess of “localism in the rights”, besides strongly influenced by the regional choices). In addition to the dangers already reported, with also that of exceed in the localism, that can become the local arenas places of an useful and necessary experimentation, but

then confined, not sufficient, in absence of personal, of points of reference, of more far-reaching to make significant (in the sense of “exportable”) the experimentation. The integration must be understood, it can unravel, therefore, also in the vertical dimension, that’s to say between the different levels of government (at least between the three levels *local*, or better, *sovracomunal*, of district ambit, of actuation; *regional*, of programming, or better, of definition of the normative and strategic cornices, of the relations between the actors, of the definition of the resources and the modalities of utilization; *national*, with functions of universalistic address - so as to compensate the regional differences with valid criteria on the national territory), updating the vocabulary of the politics of welfare hitherto attested on the category of the subsidiariness, and probably putting with bigger incisive the accent on the exhibitionism and the autonomy of the different subjects in the different places and at the different levels.

With reference to the theme of *participation*, we can affirm that in the guiding principles of the law-square on a side the role of the civil society and the citizens, whose active presence could represent an indicator of the goodness in the processes in act, becomes central:

The role of the citizens constitutes (...) a bank of test of the merits that the post bureaucracy promises to have and a decisive element to discriminate between its concrete possible realizations (Bifulco, 2002, p.119);

From another side, instead, this is to certify a return of exhibition by the politic level, represented by the local administrators, after the “company minded turning point” of the 90s. With the combinations of the case between technical competences and political competences, so that in the new participative modalities, and in the new organizations,

Forms of technicization of the choices (and relative vocabularies and justificatory arguments), forms of politic-party occupation of spots of technical-managerial responsibilities, conflicts and compromises between technical competences in competition between them in the definition of the problems (for example between economic-financial vocabularies and vocabularies of the professions of care), forms of politicization of the matters and of the different actors who have, or could have, voice to tract them, including the technical, cohabit. These forms are variably combine a different declinations of the administrative responsibility and authority, including forms of exhibition of the local administrations that make politic, and different modalities of presence and organization of the professional bodies and of the direct and indirect interests of which are the bearers (Bifulco and De Leonardi, 2006).

So the processes of participation introduce another element of complexity. But participate also means to join a cooperative approach, this requires an effort of different activation from that instrumental, that’s to say of an aggregation aimed at the control of the resources; so integration also means to participate to the elaboration of projects: again elaborated instruments and put to point by the administrations and will of the citizens to participate can find in the district head office an opportunity of mutual meeting in a process at the same time integrative-interactive.

At the end, it seems useful to introduce some reflections on the *valuation*. First why it was of a present element *motu proprio* both in the journey of research and in that of guidance (every interlocutor represents its evaluations relative to the assets, strategies, projects in camp); so the research is become, in many cases, a reflective evaluation of the processes in the course. So we could affirm that we concord with some definitions of constructivist school, that see in the evaluative process applied to the public policies not yet an approach face to adhesion or less with objectives or prefixed standards, but the attention to the implication of the subjects, to the sharing of the meanings, to the transparency of the procedures and the communication, to the availability by the organization, to accept unexpected outcomes, so to learn. This consideration refer to the

organizational studies, and specifically at the category of *learning organizations*; if we can generically consider valuation like a production of informations finalized to express opinions and judgments for improving them, we could consider the consequences of it, that's to say the fact that who starts a valuation process have to become available to receive their conclusions (vice versa, the full process could be deprived). But especially the topic of participation of subjects involved in a particular type of public policies (in our case, administrators, managers, referents, workers, users, citizens) is pointed like an indispensable element for a

process of collective growth (...), like interaction, a moment of reciprocal acknowledgment, intersubjective construction, moment of powerful relation between actors (including users), and also like a significant process on behalf of subjects who at different levels works to realize a social intervention (De Ambrogio, 2004, p.31).

It's an occasion for learning organization, founded on participative modality; so valuation can constitute a factor of integration between subjects, holding relation and developing sense of membership, giving possibility to add subjects and their different representations, about projects, services and on their operating way, then it can be an enrichment relatively to specialist knowledge and to threat of self-reference. Finally, a way of valuation, especially if participated, involve activation of a learning process that give the subjects protagonist of all productive chain of social politics: from signaling new social phenomena, programming, valuating of projects and of services while they are in course of realization. It's a great opportunity for expanding organizational borders, involving citizens (final users of welfare) like an active part. That's the way to consider the three vertices of triangle like rearranged, "vibrating" together.

2. Experiences from the fields.

2.1. Integration: organizational variables.

Resuming the stream of organizational studies applied to social policies, now we'll analyze empirical material; by this contribute we'll can go into some well-known categories³, and we'll identify others, new, like; particularly we'll isolate three general categories: *integration between politics; relation between projects and services; relations between institutions and other subjects.*

Besides we'll present three original, specific categories, distinguished during the research way: *integrations into subjects (between different sectors in the same organization); integrations between subjects (collective actors in the same territory); interactions between subjects ((between actors who are members of different organizations).*

We've said that frame-law 328/00 and regional laws consider social politics like spaces of activation of competences, experimentation of participative practices, learning ways for organizations; they're promoters of arenas capable of express important inferences on quality, envelope, on interactions that happen in a specific local context; in other words, how in the passage from an approach of government to another of governance there's a challenge that have at the centre a process of social construction of the welfare. We'll treat about a field metaphorically crossed by different local hypothesis of cultivation techniques, in which variables like organizational density, and actors rules and representations urge on issues that attempt either at specifically matter then general dilemmas of organizational act.

³ The reference is to the purpose, among the others, by Monteleone (2007), who so synthesize:

- Vertical, referred at process of localization of public policies;
- Horizontal, about relation between (institutions) public and private (particularly no profit organizations);
- Transversal, referred at different "politics" (social, sanitary, scholars, and so on);
- Promotional, referred at processes of participation.

We'll treat the theme of integration inter and intra organizations for what concern organizations that are interested in "zone plains", with references at social work and specifically at social work and organizational replies when the users are migrants (Ferrari, 2007, 2008).

- i. *Regional frames condition, but not conform, local welfare:* in both Regions we've frequented municipalities governed by political majorities different from that regional. Different regional frames, after reform of a part of Italian Constitution, contain clearly elements of trend and funds – so for example Lombardy emphasize freedom of choice for users, and binds a part of social expense at the utilize of social titles, while Emilia Romagna fixes times and ways of reform realization in a very accelerate way, pushing a large number of operators to putting to the test with ever new tasks (a clearly example of turbulent environment); but this legal frames don't stop, in case make more difficult, locale welfares to express their strategies: so Parma city, in Emilia region, insist on crediting and externalization of services (so making applying a sort of "Lombard model"), while Brescia, in Lombard region, in defect of regional indications about migration politics, utilize self resources and European funds for manage directly "service for integration and citizenship", a service known in all the Country for innovation and experimentation of good practices (applying a sort of "Emilia model");
- ii. *Dilemma of integration presents itself in a different ways for urban and extra-urban districts:* in the two urban districts there's a very high level of complexity of administrative apparatus, versus a relatively simple institutional organization in extra-urban districts: it's like a confirm of Durkheimian postulate, when the Author connects a greater division of labour with a greater social density: "division of labour change in relation with volume and density (...); in fact the functions can be specialized if there's a big number of cooperators, besides they must be enough near to become cooperation possible" (Durkheim, 1996, ppp.262-263). Increase and concentration of social organizations seems like a necessary condition for a greater labour division. But this extreme form of specialization has two kind of consequences, in a greater distance between different sectors, and moreover between central apparatus and peripheries in the same organization. In the case of Brescia we can define this form of separation like a "consensual separation", because it's the result of different representations on behalf of staff who refers at different sectors, like is between service engaged in minors and service engaged in migrants. We add the consideration that all services dedicated to migrants are posted in the peripheries of the towns, in decentralized seats, and in the totality of the cases the workers are employed with temporary contracts (in the case of Parma, the service is externalized to a social cooperative); so we have the second pole of the same question. We've defined like a central question, for those institutions, the theme of integration *into* subjects. In the two extra-urban districts, vice versa, the lack of a strong central body in terms of number of members and of differentiation of competences into the staff make more exhausting to legitimize of the role of new institutions (they're named "plain offices"), but at the same time the more horizontal scheme make possible relations with other social actors present in the local scene. So, in these districts relations between different institutional and non-institutional subjects are more fluent; but in the same time they suffer for a difficult process of legitimizing, and an elevate instability of worker employed in them. In these cases we'll talk of questions of integration *among* subjects. Moreover, in all he districts (urban and extra urban) projects dedicated to migrants are discontinuous, sporadic, and are often the expression of experimentations without continuity (we'll see very soon how projects don't become services);
- iii. *From Regions to Districts: local scale and progressive dis-integration of politics:* with the shrinking of the spatial dimension we've noted that, in specific case of migration politics, the integration among politics disperse itself, notwithstanding the presence of numerous spurs to pursue a synergy among segments of social policies (especially in the case of Emilia Romagna region there are lots of documents encouraging interaction between social

policies and culture and performances, employment, scholar policies). The introduction of “project work” like a method for increase interaction has produced an undesirable effect: a multiplication of projects, and, especially in case of migration politics, has created an implementation for overlap: each subject (association, syndicate, social cooperative) has presented peculiar project, so became very difficult to synthesize the general system of local politics, with the further result of a fragmentation of economic and human resources (for example: in an extra-urban district, in the same information office for migrants were involved three subjects – an association, an institution, a social cooperative - in different hours, with different form of financing, different workers, but with the same task).

- iv. *“Operators unify what politicians divide”*: when local scene is dominated by political conflicts between public bodies (between politicals), like in the case of Parma, between Municipality and Province, the effect is to inhibit opportunities of exchanges and frequentations; at this question provide operators, which means the technical level. They keep open, not without difficulty, the channel of comparison about disposable data, about projects in being, and opportunities of collaboration. But this “weaver-work” between operators is very difficult, because its characteristic of fragility – it isn’t possible stabilize collaborations - and of invisibility – the relations are escaped from public scene. In this case too the question of migration politics presents like a catalyst of tensions, with not positive effects on the local system at all; or rather, we can note that are confirmed significant ambivalences, like double projects on same matter (like in the case of interventions on refugees in Parma);
- v. *There’s a diffuse tendency to utilize project work also when projects features like services*: especially in the case of actions addressed to migrants we’ve notes the presence of “services named projects”. Don’t exist, also in local realities more engaged on this theme, (like in the case of Brescia), services collocated in permanent way in organization strategies, but rather temporary activities, defined each year for each year, and acted by temporary operators, often migrants. It’s a dramatic phenomenon, on a symbolical plane but also in its practical consequences – because at the same time it confirm a temporary status for operators (often migrants, employed like socio cultural mediators), for users, for the question of migration and of integration politics in Italy. It’s the transposition in social politics of what’s happening in social, juridical and economical conditions of migrants in our Country: a condition that share users and operators, and also confirm the division of work between central state and local autonomies (at the first are up to external borders and international agreements, at the seconds integration politics and local security), always maintaining in the same frame two types of precariousness. We’re belief on project work like a good practice for introducing characteristics of experimentation, adaptability, transparency, valuation, in ordinary work of administrative apparatus; but is necessary favor a transition “from projects to services” to give project that are realized for many years a stable context. If this passage will not happen, these projects will continue to misappropriate resources and stop the realization of new projects. In the case of migrants (we repeat, users and operators) there’s also a question of full citizenship for both.
- vi. *Places*: we add that isn’t indifferent, about organizations, consider their physical artifacts places where them express themselves in everyday life. We can find a confirm of the assumption that consider the places like “organizational sediments”: so the services, and their report with their organization, are also identifiable with by their location (so there are services in the peripheries into readapted buildings, versus new buildings for central offices), or by furnishings (recovered or purchased ad hoc), by organization of working spaces (single rooms or open space) and for waiting (where often there mono lingual signs for a multi cultural public), up to services for migrants users in the two towns, localized near to the stations (“near their users”), far and separate from the centre of their organization. Places tell about services, identify organizations, classify their operators and who attend

them (Alvesson, Berg, 1993). Challenge of integration goes by physical location of places where services are acting, too.

2.2. Participation: ambivalences and role negotiations.

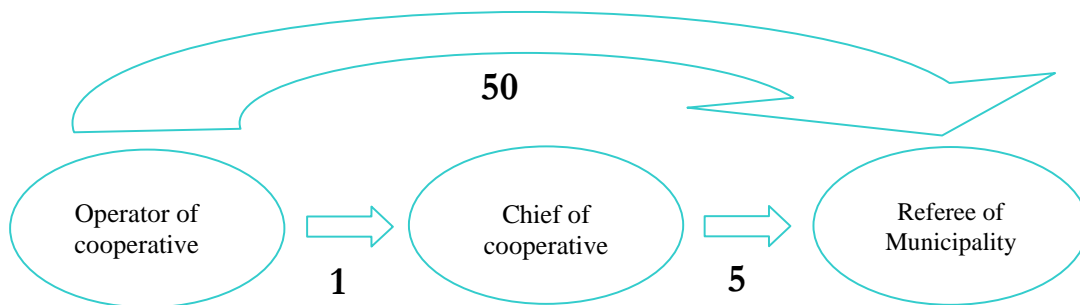
Participation like discovery: in all the districts we've investigated participation of non institutional subjects to local planning has started, or has consolidated, by frame-law 328/00. A lot of institutional subjects (from sanitary and hospital agencies, school) has began to frequent same tables with non institutional subjects (third sector associations, social cooperatives, syndicates, catholic charity agencies). More rarefied is participation of body of users: for them audience, notwithstanding recent solicitations from European and national levels, there aren't investments, neither a particular attention is dedicated in planning documents and in practice Realization of social services. The danger in this Italian way to participation is to emphasize an interested participation, more negotiating than deliberative (Bobbio, 2002, 2004, 2005; Paci, 2008), in which can be prevalent composite interests represented by potential service managers: they can be present like representative of no-profit world, but may condition decisional processes that happen into planning tables at their own advantage. This unbalancing could be rebalances by a more conviction in activation of citizens' role, but all the empirical evidences about Italian case clearly tell of a "participation deficit" (Bifulco, 2005, 2009), and of a difficult admission of partiality by public subjects (La Valle, 2006), less disponsible to accept other interpretation of what they're doing. We know that public administration turn to no-profit organizations for realize a lot of services (AUSER, 2008, 2009), but this can be considered like an instrumental use of the third sector, not like a way for give voice to the users.

Besides, participation is surely a cost (Centemeri, 2005): in terms of availability, time to study documents, motivations; so what's happen is that participate only greater and more interested among third sector organization (IRS, 2008): so, dilemma from negotiating and deliberative seems to resolve in favor of the first term of the couple. So is very plausible that around the "thematic tables" will debate on planning and valuation only subjects very involved in service organization: at one side public subject for their role of planning, at the other third sector subject like managers. It's a dilemma that we'll present in the case of one district, and that have like consequence a pernicious superimposition of rules, or whose consequence can be a process of negotiating of projects, services, resources but especially of rules, with results always more satisfactory for both.

2.2.1. Participation and contracting: the case of district of Parma.

To exemplify dangers that comes from superposition of rules acting by different subjects in course of interaction that contribute to construe local welfare systems, we'll use a scheme, elaborated after an interview to the referee of migration politics of that Municipality. The two questions - that of participation and of contacting - aren't so analytically separated like that Municipality says in its "exhibit theory" (Schein, 1990). In his opinion the supplier of the services aren't simple information bearers for Commune and into the thematic tables. What's happening is that often - for example in the case of migration - the subjects that manage services on account for the public institution represent themselves and act like its "improper employees". Services are managed with logic of "global service", according whose whole service goes out by contract, while at the Municipal offices remain a function said "IVC" (direction, verify and control). In every day life reality the things goes in other ways. When operator of the social cooperative who manage the service have any doubt about the choices he has to carry out, doesn't call his responsible - the chief of the cooperative - but he calls the referee of the Municipality for having a consultation. The consequence is that the internal referee comes back to his "old rule" involved in the managing of the service, not being in condition for practicing "new rule", at the same time new and undefined. In the scheme below we have exemplify the flux of the contacts between an operator of the cooperative who manage

a nomad camp and his interlocutors. In a day-type, for every contact between the operator and his president for explanations, there are fifty contacts between him and the referee of the Commune. In other words, and by facts, that of new functions assigned to referee of public institution seems like a bad managed rhetoric.



So on one hand we find the option presented in official documents approved by that Municipality, but on the other the story seems to assume other aspects; for what take care of us, the relapses on the field of participation, we want to underline how, if the relations inside the thematic tables take place not among co-planner but between supplier and contractors the rule among subjects presents at different tables will be inevitably an ambivalent relation. From an analytical point of view we can distinguish that this model involve three order of questions:

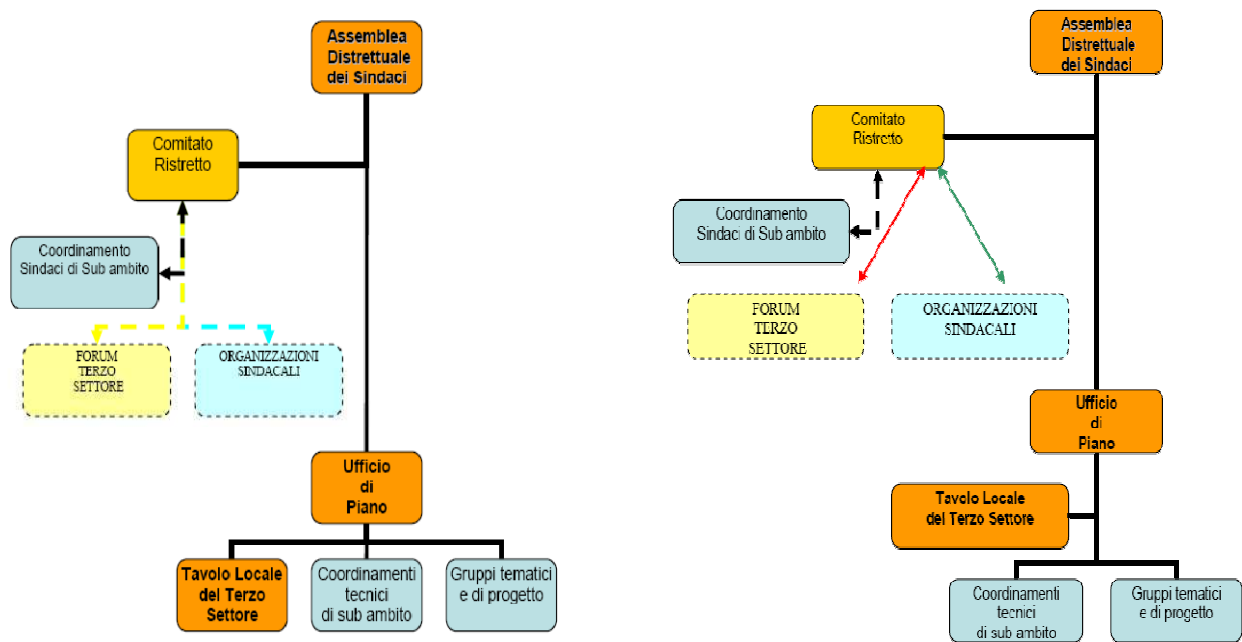
- *asymmetric participation*, because exist the real possibility that be established a direct relation between referees of the Municipality and chiefs of cooperative, and that this relation goes into the tables;
- *asymmetric information*, because the information disposable for supplier could be strongly oriented to keep contracts, and especially could be the only disposable;
- *asymmetric rules*, because who manage the service knows more many things, has the rule of control him, and this question puts off to the general question of contracting out, but in our interest area increase the distances among the rule of the actors.

The contamination between participation and contracting finds in this model of contracting out an acceleration that can compromise exactly the rule of warranty of public institutions in the phase of governance. If in the space dedicated to participation are elaborated contracts and not meanings, the participation of contractors will be necessary, for being visible and for acquiring legitimation; but all the other subjects (here including also others internal actors of the Commune) the scene of thematic tables could be empty of sense.

2.2.2. Participation and rule negotiation: the case of relations between Forum of Third Sector and Plane Office in the District of Crema (CR).

In this case we'll analyze, using two schemes, the evolution of relations between Forum of third Sector (a form of coordination among fifty no-profit organizations of that territory) and the plain office, that's "direction booth" of local social programming. The document for preparation of New Zone Plain, in December of 2008, emphasize the recourse at participating programming; last chapter, titled "invite to the participating programming", invites all the components of local community to take part at conclusive work for redaction of Zone Plain. But, notwithstanding these premises (exhibit theories), the thing goes to divergent ways. Particularly, a series of organizational dysfunctions (later or lack of convocation close to moments of important decisions) demonstrated a different vision of the rules on behalf of plain office to third sector forum: from here begin an intensive phase of discussion and production of documents by Forum, with the intention of urge on the "third sector table" (foreseen by Lombardia Region in her new law) and on his own rule like representative of a large number of associations. The scheme of governance of zone plain take and change form after this debate. The most significant signal that we can grasp in the passage from the

first to second scheme is in a sort of “rule passage”: so from the first hypothesis in whom Forum compares in a position linked to coordination of majors of little areas of that district, in the second it’s more solidly referred to the “restrict committee” (a strategic coordination made of a little number of majors), then analogous at strategic level. At the same way, the sort of third sector table, in a first time in hierarchic suborder to plain office, is now at a similar level, like e moment of participation with the acknowledgement of a different status in relation at other institutional subjects involved in participation practices. Notwithstanding it, some knots are not resolved: generally we can affirm that a so complex whole of proceedings, tables, if on one hand acknowledges of willing to mobilize all disposable resources, on the other it will become very difficult to manage, especially in those critical and cyclical moments, when short time expiries, will impose an acceleration to keep on urgent decisions, and some consulting passages will be jumped: with no doubt this can procure a damage in the process of participation. Beside, in the schemes below remain some ambivalences: third sector table is convened by office plain, , but it’s yet sub ordered, when it had to be at the same level, placed side by side without be involved in managing services; at the same time, rule of third sector forum is equivalent at rule of the syndicate: so is underlined a function more centered to an advocacy rule, and not with a representative tout court of the instances of third sector, that could be purposing subject, not only one to fear for its claiming.



In fact, no-profit associations can take place a multiplicity of rules: advocacy, direction, consulting. And can take the voice of citizens that inhabit their social base, contributing to value services, projects, and functioning of public offices, with an interest and an attention similar at protection and develop of a common good.

Nevertheless, the fact that subject were involved in a clear, public discussion around respective rules is the most important premise of all local process; now local actors will have to full of contents the starting process.

2.3. Valuation participated: using SWOT method in Parma province.

Finally, we refer about the theme of valuation telling the activity developed for the Province of Parma. How is possible express opinions able to improve public politics when the dimension of observation regards whole provincial territory (and not a single district, rather the space of

programming), besides knowing that all the district there are in it scarcely use valuation processes? For answering to this question the first decision has been to proceed on two levels. At the first, the reinforcement of a provincial office, called “Provincial Plain Office”, composite by internal referees on social politics (operators involved in project regarding elders, young, disables, families, migrants, drug addicts) and with the objective, between the others, to give support to the programming processes in the districts; at the second, the choice of a qualitative methodology, to consent a large comparison among the social actors. The methodology we’ve used is “SWOT analysis”⁴, useful for its non jargon language, so able to include also people with a scarce confidence with valuation (and, we add, useful to engage operators with no aptitude in it). By this method were been analyzed projects in two dimensions: the first, at a district level, by valuing projects on young people in each of the four districts. For each of them a “valuation table” has been convened, including in a sort of more wide thematic table all the subjects that were involved in programming (plain offices, sanitary agencies, schools), managing (social cooperatives, catholic associations), and non institutional subjects (no-profit associations, syndicates). At the second level the referees of each thematic area of each district were convened in provincial offices to debate and value “state of art” of the different areas (young, disables, and so on). In this case the referees were the institutional responsible that “govern” the areas (members of plain office of the districts and members of sanitary agencies). So making finally product (Ferrari, 2008) was a provincial report titled “Province and local welfare”; presented in February of 2008, it’s been used by the programmers for new triennial planning of social service and projects. This experience learn us that a participative valuation process is possible, advantage, and welcome by the stakeholder, who can use it without the reservations that usually take valuation. Nevertheless we cannot forget the limits of this experience: the co presence of subjects who managing services with others don’t resolve the question of asymmetric positions that we’ve seen back; besides, the absence of users representatives has limited the debate. A third order of dilemma regards the only use of a qualitative methodology, when we know that programming processes - and valuation processes, too - need to be conscious of relapses, aggregate costs and cost for each one user. But it was a beginning: it was a good experience of training in valuation, in prospective of a more continuative and systematic utilize.

3. Conclusions

We’d like quickly conclude with two purposes. The first analytical and the second metaphorical. The first. We’ve encountered different experiences form different fields, all in the macro area of social politics. If we consider the dimension of participation, we can construct a “box of variables”, in relation at the rules played by the different actors involved in. We have talked about the inevitability, irreversibility of governance process, and in a certain way we can consider it like a necessary - and difficult – process of integration among different actors; institutional and non institutional subjects; programmers, managers and users. Even if it’s the consequence of a necessity state (because institutional subjects cannot provide to all the actions requests by contemporary society) this is a fact. But we’ve seen that there the actors can present themselves in the public scene of the programming spaces in different ways. We can synthesize them in order to two variables: a negotiating or a deliberative approach; a exhibit or a hiding modality. In the first case we’ll have a tendency to a negotiating approach for those subjects who are involved in managing projects and services, or to receive benefits from their participation (for example, some teachers who take part at the table to keep contribute for projects of scholastic integration for migrant students); while a deliberative approach is relative to all the subjects non involved in it. The second axis regards a

⁴ SWOT is the acronym of “Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats”, and it’s finalized to find points endogen and hexogen that can improve (or damage) projects and services. In our case we’ve utilized it referring to projects included in the Zone Plains.

question that we've encountered in some districts, but not reported in detail in the case studies presented here, and it's the axis of the couple exhibit-hiding. So we have greatest cooperative, or biggest associations, that don't take part to thematic table in the districts, because arrive directly – and hiddenly – to the politician or technician deciders. Also users, and their representatives, are hiding, but this time because their voice don't arrive in the public sphere of the participative tables. So the tables risk to be deprived, and with them the future of participation: then the question becomes how increase the utilize of the public sphere in a deliberative way, opening spaces for the more fragile stakeholders. This objective of a re equilibration is one of the most difficult tasks for public programmers, politicians and technicians, whose collocation is – not only symbolically - in the center of the square, in consequence of their rule of guarantee.

	Deliberative participation	Negotiating participation
Exhibit	<i>No-profit associations</i>	<i>Social cooperatives</i>
Hiding	<i>Users</i>	<i>Big cooperatives</i>

The second. We're using the "quality triangle" of the welfare, notwithstanding the limits that we've seen in the different case studies, able to keep together the three poles of valuation, integration and participation. This can be an exemplificative model for the construction of useful, generating assets in local welfares. The picture below exemplify it: the input is a monochromatic ray, entering from left in the prism – our quality triangle – and thanks to him – thanking to all the actors that constitute him – it can transform itself, and exit like a rainbow ray. This is the best exemplification we've found of the outcome in processes of valuation, integration and participation. By them the actors can contribute to create new citizenship, for themselves and for who are not included in.

Construe, generate common goods may be kind.

Agreeable.

Can light up the dark side of the moon.

