

## *Abstracts*

### **Anesthetizing the conflict? Shifts in meaning in two Brazilian cases of Participatory Budgeting**

*by Giovanni Allegretti (University of Coimbra), Geraldo Campos (University of São Paulo) e Fabio Siqueira (University of São Paulo)*

The article aims to analyze the transformations of two Brazilian experiences of Participatory Budgeting (PB) following a political change of the governing majority in 2005. The main focus relates to the shrinking of the “potential for conflict” which is usually considered a pivotal element in the success of such a participatory tool.

The essay is based on two well-known case studies – those of the metropolises of São Paulo and Porto Alegre – whose last political period has not been the object of many studies, unlike previous phases during which their Participatory Budgeting practices became a worldwide references. The article highlights the ways such institutional transformations (which modified PB in Porto Alegre, while suspending and substituting it in São Paulo) have been associated with the emergence of a new discourse on participation, more focused on a “partnership-driven” perspective. The results underline that the shrinking of “conflictive spaces” provided by the new participatory arenas is part of a wider significant shift in the relationship established with stakeholders and citizens at large. The shift involves the institutional design of the participatory processes as well as the degree of empowerment fostered by the two experiences.

*Keywords:* Conflict, Participation, Participatory Budgeting, Governance, Social Partnership

### **The citizenship in practice in the processes of participatory democracy: a citizen more amateur than common**

*by Jean-Michel Fourniau (Ifsttar-Dest), Ingrid Tafere (Ifsttar-Dest)*

When it's a matter of qualifying the participatory or deliberative democracy devices and their participants, some continue to oppose their institutional designs

according to whether lay people or concerned citizens – with regard to the issue put under discussion – are taking part. The project of institutionalized resorting to the Consensus Conferences – renamed *Convention de citoyens* by Jacquemot – promoted by some French key academics in deliberative democracy, actualizes this opposition. This paper proposes to go beyond it by considering the citizenship *in practice*. It shows that the question: “which public participates?” cannot be assessed according only to substantial selection criteria, but rather according to what the participants actually do during the discussion. For this purpose, the article compares the discursive activity and the conducting of the debat characterizing two related deliberative arrangements: an open public debate and a consensus conference organized within it.

As a conclusion, the paper shows that the discursive activity expended in the two devices is not so much that of lay persons or concerned citizens but more that of a public of “amateurs”, as Bruno Latour (1993) depicted himself as an *amateur* of sciences: amateurs literally taste, enjoy and assess the strengths and weaknesses of public policies.

*Keywords:* Participatory Democracy, Deliberative Democracy, Public Debate, Consensus Conference, Citizenship

### **Democracy, Participation and Consultations. A empirical analysis of participation in Civil Society Consultation Processes promoted by European Commission.**

*by Emanuela Bozzini (University of Trento)*

Following the White Paper on Governance that put consultation at the heart of EU policy processes, the European Commission set out general principles and minimum standards for consulting the public at the end of 2002 (COM 704/2002).

Since then, over 500 online and written consultation processes have been proposed, unevenly distributed among DGs and attracting a variable number of responses. This article presents empirical data collected on such consultation processes and has two main goals. First, to explain the role of consultation in the context of the wider EU policy process and second, to provide evidence on levels of public participation. In providing empirical evidence the article informs a reflection on some highly debated normative issues related to the European Union and the working of its system of governance.

*Keywords:* European Union, civil society, participation, consultation, governance

## **Deliberative democracy and environmental governance in the EU: the case of the Integrated Product Policy**

*by Irina Tanasescu (Institute for European Studies - Brussels)*

This article aims to bring deliberative democracy back into the study of interest representation, by looking at consultation formats in the policy preparation and in the policy implementation stages of the EU Integrated Product Policy (IPP). IPP is a perfect example of the switch from government to governance in EU environmental policy-making. IPP is based on a Commission Communication and it is implemented exclusively via soft instruments, with strong stakeholders involvement across the policy cycle. All the consultation exercises are investigated through a deliberative lens, based on four criteria: openness and equality of participation; transparency; argumentative communication and binding nature of decisions. The analysis shows that, despite a good steering provided by the Commission, the multiplicity of consultation formats failed to deliver, due to a lack of binding decisions being taken. Thus, extensive and almost-deliberative consultations ultimately lead to limited results and to stakeholders disenchantment with the process. This raises bigger question on the role of both stakeholders and public authorities in multilevel environmental governance.

*Keywords:* Integrated Product Policy, Stakeholders, European Union, Environmental Policy, Deliberative Democracy

## **(Online) Public Deliberation Analysis Comes of Age. A Review of Empirical Research on Public Deliberation**

*by Maja Turnšek Hančič (University of Ljubljana)*

The emergence of new, textual ways of publicly accessible discussions among citizens has sparked increased interest among researchers who aspire to measure, via content analysis, different normative criteria of public deliberation in order to evaluate (online) discussion. There seems to be an emerging consensus among researchers on what will be called here “(online) deliberation analysis” – a specific content analysis employed as a tool for evaluation of public deliberation. (Online) Deliberation Analysis is characterised by a specific selection of unit(s) of analysis, selection of cases, and most of all analysis of specific variables: normative ideals of public deliberation. The aim of this article is threefold: first, to present the normative requirements of deliberation as presented in theoretical thought on the public; second, to provide a review of empirical research aimed to analyse these requirements and finally, to propose some possible improvements for future research.

*Keywords:* Deliberation, Public, Public Sphere, Internet

**For a dialectic theory of the relationships between movements and social system: *communitas*, *immunitas*, individualization and collective action**

by *Loris Caruso (University of Torino)*

The aim of this article is to develop a theoretical basis of the concept of social movement looking outside from the sociology of social movements. The article is set on an epistemological sphere that's close to ontology, and not about causal analysis of social movements. The theoretical question which this paper tries to answer is: "What is a social movement?"

Movements are here defined as social systems, on the basis of the central thesis of the theory of systems, which states that the basis of a system is founded on the differentiation from its environment. The article proceeds with the individualization of fundamental characteristics of movement-systems. First, through the analysis of concepts of *immunitas* and *communitas*, which are correlated with the construction of social order and the creation of social movements. Secondly, analyzing the correlations between social movements and the creation of the individual subjectivity, referring to the theories of philosophical anthropology. At last, the article investigates the forms of relationship between movements and social systems: reaction, change of sign and assumption of generalization.

*Keywords:* Community, Immunity, Subjectivity, Civil order, Social movements