

Government in Action

RESEARCH & PRACTICE



CONTENTS



EDITOR'S FOREWORD p. 3

Isabelle Huault, President, Université Paris-Dauphine

~



ARTICLE p. 4

PollutionSolutions: how a serious game is teaching players about common-good management

Juliette Rouchier

~



COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS p. 12

The who, what, how and why of co-production of public services

Caitlin McMullin

~



THE RESEARCHER'S VIEW p. 22

Article reviews
Thesis reviews
Forthcoming events



EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Welcome to this second issue of *Government in Action: Research and Practice*, a joint publication by Université Paris-Dauphine's House of Public Affairs and the French Institute for Public Management and Economic Development (IGPDE). As IGPDE Managing Director Virginie Madelin stressed in her foreword to the first issue, published in October 2018, this periodical bridges the divide between public policy researchers and practitioners.

Democratising change

Université Paris-Dauphine and IGPDE share a common belief that comparing and contrasting analytical and empirical perspectives – with a healthy dose of reflective thinking – could well give rise to a new, more enlightened approach to the democratic challenges that come with the changing face of public policy-making.

Placing collective action front and centre

This second issue is designed with precisely that purpose in mind. It looks at the role of collective action in driving change through the prism of multidisciplinary research into economics, including cognitive and behavioural aspects, and drawing on insights from organisational theory and decision-making models. The first article explores how teachers are using a role-playing game to give pupils a firmer grasp – and a shared understanding – of the concept of “common goods”. The second part of this issue takes a more comparative slant, examining how the

concept of co-production is giving citizens a greater say in shaping public services that work for them. True to form, the third and final section reviews a selection of academic articles and theses on themes relevant to government action.

As Université Paris-Dauphine marks its 50th anniversary this year, now is as good a time as any to take stock of where we currently stand on organisational and decision-making theory. Our partnership with IGPDE is a welcome step in the right direction, placing the public sector front and centre in this theoretical framework and underscoring the critical importance of shared, open knowledge.

I hope you enjoy reading this second issue.



Isabelle Huault,
President, Université Paris-Dauphine



ARTICLE

PollutionSolutions: how a serious game is teaching players about common-good management

By Juliette Rouchier

In economics, the concept of common-good management perfectly encapsulates how collective action works – both in terms of its central mechanism, trust (how trust is created, sustained and eroded), and the various forms it takes (such as public policy). In this article, the author draws on American political economist Elinor Ostrom’s Institutional Analysis and Development framework to explore a practical application of “complex system” modelling in the form of a serious game called PollutionSolutions. The game aims to teach players, in an age-appropriate manner, how the process of collective action works and, ultimately, to shape more effective public policy-making around common-good management.



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In 2009, Elinor Ostrom became the first woman to win the Nobel Prize in Economics for her groundbreaking Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework, a theory that tore up the conventional rulebook. She posited that, instead of form-

ing a Leviathan state to manage common goods, they could instead be governed by resource user groups. Ostrom argued that, in a given “action arena” (which invariably differs from one context and community to the next), common goods are managed by means of a polycentric system that operates outside the confines of the law and political authority, and rests instead on complex interactions that can be better understood using new data analysis technologies.

What are common goods?

Elinor Ostrom eschewed abstract economic models that treated human beings as mere *homo economicus*. Instead, she based her ideas on field observations of cooperation in action in Asia, Africa and Latin America, analysing how communities collectively manage a vast number of renewable resources – what she termed “common-pool resources”.

Her creative theory stems from a multi-level empirical analysis. First, she established a typology of collective resource management methods. Second, she examined the systems of rules that govern how complex resources are produced and used – by multiple actors pursuing different objectives and bound by varying constraints. And third, at the same time, she analysed those factors that determine whether or not a resource, and the institution managing it, are sustainable.

French anthropologist and economist Jacques Weber adopted a similar approach. In the 1990s he founded GREEN, a renewable resource and environmental management research unit, at the French Agricultural Research Centre for International Development (CIRAD). The unit gave rise to ComMod, a group of researchers using agent-based models and role-playing games to represent and analyse complex socio-ecological systems.

The term “common goods” has recently gained currency in everyday language. Although it does not necessarily overlap with Ostrom’s work (and her term “common-pool resources”), it has become something of a mainstay of economic discourse – as evidenced by a recent publication entitled *Dictionnaire des biens communs* (in English: Dictionary of Common Goods) (Cornu-Volatron, Orsi and Rochfeld, 2017).

Governments and policy-makers can no longer ignore growing calls for better stewardship of common goods, not least in areas around health and the environment. Yet diverging personal interests and stakeholder priorities pose a serious obstacle to awareness-raising efforts. For instance, while an overwhelming majority of people are in favour of clean air and clean water, they have different priorities depending on factors such as where they live or what socio-professional category they belong to. The resulting deadlock leaves common goods as the biggest loser.

Role-playing and serious games: supporting public policy-making through play

It has long been recognised that role-playing games are a useful way to represent the complex dynamics between individuals with different interests and capacities. Research has also shown how building play into a formal learning process helps to embed knowledge in learners’ minds. Games are widely used in education as a way to make an abstract skill easier for pupils and students to digest, by applying it to a tangible problem. More broadly, play provides a safe, secure setting for learners to test out options and solve problems through a process of trial and error. As a general rule, for a game to be meaningful and to “work”, players must be able to tweak different criteria in pursuit of a particular outcome. That same rule of thumb – allowing players to adjust certain aspects of the game – applies equally to games designed to raise awareness about protecting common goods.

Serious game: a contradiction in terms?

The term “serious game” is an apparent contradiction in terms, containing as it does two words that, at first glance, seem incompatible: “serious” and “game”. Originally known as “simulation games” in the 1970s, they were often used by businesses to tackle organisational questions. Sociologists and psychologists have also used them to study how people react in abstract social situations, while teachers have long used play as a way to get pupils putting what they have learned into practice (for instance, doing arithmetic in more relaxed settings as opposed to formal exercises) or to encourage research and creativity skills among children. Since the 1990s, the ComMod research group (see above) has been co-developing games with users, employing computer-based simulations to enable players to manipulate objects and to foster group conversation and discussion.

With the advent of the digital age, the term “serious games” now tends to refer to educational software programs and apps that draw on the playful tropes of video games to deliver rapid learning outcomes. These games – some educational, others designed to communicate a message or to train a particular skill – are employed in all manner of settings. Airlines use serious games to teach trainee pilots how to take off and land an aircraft. Paediatric wards use them to put children’s minds at ease before surgery. Factories use them to deliver staff safety training. Governments, too, can use them to support participatory public policy-making.

PollutionSolutions: playing seriously with common-good management

PollutionSolutions is a board game consisting of a series of printable PDFs. Anyone can play the game – all it takes is a printer and a set of 24 playing pieces (eight players, three pieces each). The PDFs include rule cards for each player, along with resources, boards and group projects. As with a conventional game, there is a script

outlining the scenario at the start of each turn, plus instructions for the game-master.

The game, which rests on an individualistic vision of the decision-making process, follows the same format as the public goods game, a standard of experi-

mental economics. The idea is that pollution adversely affects well-being, and that the problem

can only be tackled if the players work together.

The aim of the game is for players – each assigned different profiles – to improve their well-being. They have two ways to do that: through individual projects (which improve their personal well-being but, in some cases, produce polluting emissions) (see Figure 1: Resident playing card), or through group projects (which improve collective well-being and, in some instances, reduce pollution). Collective well-being declines as the number of “units” of pollution in the environment increases. In each turn, the players count up the number of units of pollution along with the well-being of all players (see Figure 3: pollution board). The only way to reduce pollution – and, therefore, to prevent a decline in well-being – is through individual and group projects, which are funded using units of time and money (see Figure 4: projects for the first five turns).

The hope is that, over the course of the game, the players come to realise that they win on some occasions and lose on others. Each turn, therefore, is a real-time experiment in which players test a given strategy whose success is measured against the other participants’ strategies. Just as in role-playing games, the debrief – a discussion in which players review the process and share perspectives – is vital to making the game a worthwhile experience for everyone involved.

“*PollutionSolutions follows the same format as the public goods game, a standard of experimental economics.*”

PollutionSolutions is designed to teach secondary-school pupils that defining what constitutes the “common good” is a collective process. It was developed by Juliette Rouchier and game designer Miguel Rotenberg (Playtime), with funding from the Human-Environment Observatory of the Mining Basin of Provence (OHM-BMP), part of the Device for Interdisciplinary Research on Human-Environment Interactions (DRIIHM) Laboratory of Excellence (LabEx). The Aix-Marseille local education authority is starting to circulate the game among its schools, and there are plans to hold training sessions to teach educators how to run it. The open-access materials can be downloaded free of charge at:

<https://www.lamsade.dauphine.fr/~jrouchier/PollutionSolutions/PollutionSolutions.htm>

The rules of the game: everyone has their reasons

Players assume one of four profiles: resident, business owner, elected official or farmer. The game designers chose these generic profiles deliberately because school children tend to have a simplistic view of how society is structured. Three of these profiles – business owners, elected officials and residents – are a common feature of empirical fieldwork where pollution

poses coordination problems. The designers added a fourth profile (farmers) to make the game more broadly representative, and in particular to give a voice to so-called “minor” stakeholders

(in this case, those with little money). It is important for children to understand that, in the real world, coordinating the management of common goods is complex because different parties have their own interests and objectives, and because some have more resources than others. Moreover, they need to recognise that pollution (the subject of this game) is not merely an industrial problem, and that everyone – residents, farmers and elected officials alike – is personally responsible for polluting the environment.

The game is played over eight turns. At the start of each turn, players receive a fixed amount of time and money, which they can choose to invest in one or more individual or group projects as the game progresses. Players’ individual projects are detailed on their playing cards and only change once in the course of the game, if at all. At least one new group project is introduced in each turn, and some of the completed group projects are removed from the game.

Each playing card contains one polluting project and two non-polluting projects. Individual decisions therefore affect the overall level of pollution for all players. But the only way to reduce pollution is through group projects. Players therefore have to talk, negotiate and try to convince one another to rally around group projects. Reducing pollution – and, therefore, maximising well-being – depends on the players finding a way to come together and pool their resources. Players typically come to that conclusion after a few turns, once individual projects have caused pollution to rise and well-being to decline. This point tends to involve a heated debate, as players talk among themselves, plead with each other and explain what is at stake to those who have not yet grasped how the game works, before agreeing to fund certain projects.



Figure 1 : the Resident (who receives two units of money and three units of time for each turn)



Figure 2 : players have three resources at their disposal: “time”, “money” and “dishonesty”

	Skull icon	Smiley icon	House icon	Group icon	Factory icon
	♥ -5	♥ -5	👍 -5	👍 -5	
	🟡 -5	🟡 -5	🟡 -5	🟡 -5	
	♥ -4	♥ -4	👍 -4	👍 -4	
	🟡 -4	🟡 -4	🟡 -4	🟡 -4	
	♥ -3	♥ -3	👍 -3	👍 -3	
	🟡 -3	🟡 -3	🟡 -3	🟡 -3	
	♥ -2	♥ -2	👍 -2	👍 -2	
	🟡 -2	🟡 -2	🟡 -2	🟡 -2	
	♥ -1	♥ -1	👍 -1	👍 -1	
	🟡 -1	🟡 -1	🟡 -1	🟡 -1	
	TOUT VA BIEN !				

Figure 3 : the impact of pollution on well-being is known at the start of each turn, and the repetitive nature of that impact places players under immense strain.

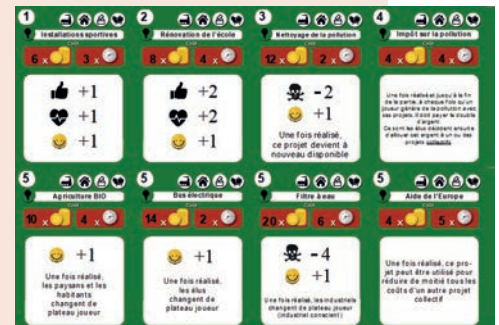


Figure 4 : the game starts with two simple, affordable and universally beneficial “dummy” projects so players can learn how the process works, with the projects becoming more complex as the game progresses.

In pursuit of the common good: teaching children to think critically about collective action

Once that point of common agreement is reached, there is a collective cry of joy and a subconscious shift away from viewing success as a personal pursuit as the players resolve to work as a team to reduce pollution. Yet in the very next turn (usually the last turn), players revert back to their personal interests. That shift – from individual to collective then, in some cases, back to individual again – has occurred every time children have played the game. In one trial run, the group understood what was needed straight away when a leader took charge, spontaneously using words such as “we” and “us” when suggesting ways forward. The players did not even consider acting according to their individual interests and, by the end of the game, the group had earned the maximum possible number of points. In a separate trial run, the group, having dealt with the pollution issue, decided to reward one player (an “elected official”) for the work she had done on everyone’s behalf by pooling their resources to fund a project solely for her benefit (thereby increasing her personal well-being). In this case, despite achieving their collective objective, the players continued working together. Conversely, in trial runs involving adults, some games have ended with universally low levels of well-being because, in every round, mistrust between players has resulted in nobody investing in group projects.

The debrief is a key moment in the game, since it gives players an opportunity to think about how they came to cooperate and build trust, to reflect on the debates and discussions that took place during the game, and to link them to everyday democratic processes. While the debrief is vitally important, children can only draw connections between their experience and how stakeholders interact on common-good management questions in the real world if the game forms part of a wider programme of sustainable development or citizenship education. For that reason, teachers should also touch on broader concepts from politics (decision-making, reasoning, balance of power and collusion), economics (discussion, negotiation and arbitration), and cognitive science (emotions, and virtuous and vicious circles of trust), as well as the processes behind environmental pollution and remediation.

Trust and dishonesty in collective action

Players have two main resources at their disposal: time and money. These same resources underpin how economic and political processes work in the real world. Elected officials invest both time and money, talking to stakeholders before coming to a decision about a project, and paying companies to execute it. In the non-profit sector, meanwhile, money is in short supply and people often volunteer their time for free. The game also features a third resource: dishonesty. This is because, when deciding whether or not to fund group projects, stakeholders cannot always predict how the other parties will act. The “dishonesty” cards look exactly the same as the time and money cards on the back, but their value on the front is zero. These cards allow players to pretend to contribute to a group project when, in fact, they have no intention of doing so. There is no limit on the number of dishonesty cards that players can use, and they can retrieve any that have already been played if they run out. Other than a player clearly stating their objection to funding a group project, retrieving previously used dishonesty cards is the only way for other participants to know that uncooperative conduct is afoot. The time and money units are distributed at the start of each turn according to the values shown on each player’s card.

Under the rules, players can pretend to contribute to a group project without investing either time or money. The designers built this mechanism into the game to mimic common-good experiments where participants cannot see what others are doing, and are therefore free to make decisions without fear of being judged. At the end of each turn, the stack of resource cards is collected, shuffled and counted to see whether, collectively, the players have invested enough to fund the project. The “dishonesty” cards have no value. If there are only a few of them, there should still be enough in the pot for the project to go ahead. But too many of these cards will likely cause the project to be abandoned because not enough time and/or money has been invested. The situation comes to a head when the shortfall is narrow. At that point, players admonish the handful who have failed to contribute and trust between the participants can collapse. Mistrust, as the dominant emotion, sparks a flurry of discussion and debate and forces the players to compromise.

As explained previously, trial runs of the game have shown that, in the end, players almost always come to a position where they trust one another. Sometimes, trust is built right from the first round when players talk through the options and try to work out which is most beneficial for the group as a whole. As a general rule, however, it takes pollution to rise and well-being to decline before the players abandon their mistrust and decide to cooperate with no concern for what others might do – because the fear of pollution trumps the fear of being scammed. The moral of the game, meanwhile, is that players who choose to cooperate emerge as the winners. That is because, according to the economic theory of common goods, cooperation is – relatively speaking – always a better strategy than individualism. Moreover, as modern-day environmental problems show, if nobody cooperates, nothing will happen.

How can a serious game for secondary-school pupils support public policy-making?

The below quote from Elinor Ostrom (Ostrom, 1998) brings into sharp relief the fact that decision-making theory can only usefully inform public policy-making if due weight is given to the conduct of citizens.

“For those who wish the twenty-first century to be one of peace, we need to translate our research findings on collective action into materials written for high school and undergraduate students. All too many of our textbooks focus exclusively on leaders and, worse, only national-level leaders. Students completing an introductory course on American government, or political science more generally, will not learn that they play an essential role in sustaining democracy. Citizen participation is presented as contacting leaders, organizing interests groups and parties, and voting. That citizens need additional skills and knowledge to resolve the social dilemmas they face is left unaddressed. Their moral decisions are not discussed. We are producing generations of cynical citizens with little trust in one another, much less in their governments. Given the central role of trust in solving social dilemmas, we may be creating the very conditions that undermine our own democratic ways of life. It is ordinary persons and citizens who craft and sustain the workability of the institutions of everyday life. We owe an obligation to the next generation to carry forward the best of our knowledge about how individuals solve

the multiplicity of social dilemmas—large and small—that they face.”

The game provides useful insights into stakeholder dynamics around questions of common-good management, and demonstrates that although individual decision-making is a generic process, tension is something that can be considered, recognised and managed. Once players understand that trust is beneficial for collective action, they are more likely to seek to build trust when working with others. Yet planting that initial seed of trust is not as easy as it seems. That is why games like PollutionSolutions can help children to identify the inherent problems in coordinating people and groups with different viewpoints, and to come up with solutions to those problems. The example given previously is a case in point: adults are more reluctant to play and to adopt the mindset that the game is designed to push them towards – and, therefore, are less open to the idea of learning in general. One of the designers’ original intentions was that the game should aid communication between people equally affected by pollution but with different positions in the decision-making process. That objective never materialised because self-image and social status make it harder for players to fully embrace the learning experience.

When children play in an educational setting, they are open to new ideas because that is precisely why they are at school. Moreover, the game is typically framed as an opportunity to learn through trial and error, i.e. pupils are free to test out strategies and options and learn from their mistakes. Surprisingly, adults typically play with personal victory in mind, whereas children are more likely to rethink their goals and pursue the greater good as the game progresses. It is rewarding for teachers to see that eradicating pollution as a group gives pupils greater satisfaction than gaining a few more well-being points than their opponents. Primary-age children tend to struggle more with the game because they lack confidence in mental arithmetic and decision-making. Trials have shown, however, that children between the ages of 10 and adolescence fully grasp and engage with the game, and can think critically and usefully about the experience in the debrief session. Consequently, teachers can use that time to touch on other relevant topics such as collective decision-making and checks and balances on power.

Because players fund projects using time and money, PollutionSolutions very much focuses on the economic side of collective action, omitting another more political yet equally important aspect of the democratic process: voting. In some

cases, however, groups with more than one project awaiting funding have been observed organising a vote to decide on the order of priority. At secondary school, pupils are at just the right age to begin learning about the process of collective action. There are, however, more focused simulation games that practitioners can use to explore how collective decision-making works in specific situations. These games are typically developed

for a specific target audience to shape discussion around, and find solutions to, real-world coordination problems (see ComMod above). It has long been recognised that role-playing games can help participants think dispassionately about real-life collective decision-making processes and embrace views that differ from their own. For that reason, serious games have a role to play in supporting public policy-making.

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Interview

with Juliette Rouchier

Focus on PollutionSolutions,
or how a serious game shines a spotlight
on economic theories and concepts

In this interview, Juliette Rouchier explains how PollutionSolutions, a serious game designed to illustrate the challenges of common-good management, provides practical insights into economic concepts and theories – from common-good provision and game theory to atomistic individualism and reputation effects.

We asked Juliette to tell us more about the thinking behind her game and the theory that underpins it.



You can watch the full interview (in French) here:

<https://www.economie.gouv.fr/igpde-editions-publications/action-publique-recherche-pratiques>



COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The who, what, how and why of co-production of public services

By Caitlin McMullin

The concept of the ‘co-production’ of public services has become increasingly popular in many countries, as governments are grappling with strains to the welfare state and demographic changes due to ageing populations and immigration. Co-production, or the collaboration of citizens and professionals in the design and delivery of public services, has been suggested as a way to address these challenges, by enabling public service professionals and citizens to make better use of each other’s resources and time. Co-production is becoming increasingly prevalent as a model of social innovation in many countries, but are there factors that facilitate or prevent co-production in some contexts more than others?



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This concept was originally developed in the 1980s by Nobel Prize winner in economics, Elinor Ostrom, and her colleagues, as a way to better understand how citizen involvement can lead to better outcomes.

In other words, rather than the traditional model of public services where the professional determines what services are available and how they will be delivered, and the citizen’s only role is as a beneficiary or recipient of that service, co-production reconfigures the process so that citizens are empowered to play a more active role in deciding how services should be run, and contributing in the delivery of the services that they ‘consume’ or otherwise benefit from. For

example, co-production has been used to refer to the involvement of parents in organizational decision-making and providing support to professionals (by volunteering for events or cleaning nurseries) by childcare cooperatives, and the management of tenant-run housing associations where residents and public housing agencies collaborate to plan and manage community housing projects.

In order to consider this question, this article reviews the theory and evidence base regarding the co-production of public services and what can be learned about the experiences of co-production, based on primary research with non-profit organizations in the United Kingdom, France, and Quebec, and some commentary about other co-production research that has been undertaken in the United States, Sweden, and the Netherlands.

Co-production - the concept

Over the last two decades, a growing body of research has helped us to gain a better understanding of the co-production phenomenon. Numerous theories have been developed to categorize the different activities in which public service professionals and citizens collaborate – co-design, co-commissioning or priority-setting, co-delivery, co-assessment and co-evaluation (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012). According to Bovaird’s widely used typology (2007), however, ‘full user-professional co-production’ exists only when professionals and citizens contribute both to design and implementing public services, meaning that traditional consultation, or services that are run only by citizens with no input from the State would not be considered co-production.

Co-production is suggested to result in benefits in two main areas. By services becoming more responsive to the needs of citizens, co-production may reduce the cost of public services, but

“*Co-production may reduce the cost of public services, but also make services more democratic*”

also make services more democratic. Co-produced services may also be cheaper because involving citizens in decision-making about the priorities and design of services means that they will

more accurately reflect needs and desires, and therefore reduce wasted expenditure on poorly designed services. By taking a more holistic and person-centred approach, co-production may also address or prevent more enduring social problems, creating the potential for further cost savings. For example, co-producing reintegration services with former prisoners may reduce their risk of reoffending, thereby reducing the strain on the prison service. Likewise, co-producing the design of a communal space may reduce vandalism, littering and graffiti. Second, co-production can support democratic engagement and reduce the democratic deficit between citizens and the state, by allowing citizens to have a meaningful influence in an area that directly impacts their lives.

However, co-production is not a panacea, and there are also potential downsides. Some theorists argue that co-production can in fact simply reproduce existing power structures and further deepen societal inequalities because imbalances of power in relation to resources, time and expertise serve as barriers to entry to more disadvantaged populations (Steen et al., 2018). Transferring more power to citizens also means blurring the lines of responsibility and accountability – if a service that has been co-produced ultimately fails in some way, it is unclear whether the citizen co-producers or the professionals are to blame. Finally, while some argue that co-production can make services cheaper, the opposite may be initially be true. Organizing co-production activities may involve more investment and may prove to be more expensive.

Despite this burgeoning interest in co-production worldwide, the phenomenon remains little researched in France or literature in the French language. This is, in part, due to the fact that the verbs used to discuss the ‘production’ of services (accueillir, accompagner, animer, mettre en œuvre) make it challenging to discuss ‘co-delivery’ in the same way as in English. French academics have instead prioritized discussion of co-construction (Dubasque, 2017), which refers more to the creation of public policy, rather than implementation.

What we know - the evidence

While there are many theories about the impacts of co-production, these have proven difficult to evidence because, on the one hand, the assumed benefits of co-production (social cohesion, for example) are qualitative in nature, and on the other hand, because the impacts may be found in a different service than the one that was co-produced. For example, co-producing a community development project may result in cost savings to criminal justice and housing services if local people are happier and safer in their neighbourhood. These challenges have meant that researchers have tended to focus more on the processes of co-production rather than the results.

There are a multitude of reasons that citizens may choose to engage in co-production activi-

ties, many of which are similar to the reasons they take part in traditional involvement exercises, such as the desire to make a difference in one's community, or a mix of material rewards (receiving a better service) and intrinsic rewards (Alford, 2002). From the perspective

“ *Co-production requires a (sometimes vast) change in organizational and professional culture* ”

of professionals, the motivations for co-producing may be more complex. Co-production requires a (sometimes vast) change in organizational and professional culture, particularly in services where professional providers have an advanced level of expertise (such as health services). Studies have shown that while professionals may be motivated to ‘do things differently’, they often lack the skills, training and methods necessary to co-produce effectively, but also that they are concerned about the challenge to their expertise and legitimacy by letting citizens into the process (Tuurnas, 2015).

Co-production may be undertaken by citizens and professionals working for the public sector, or for non-profit and social economy (third sector) organizations. There is evidence to suggest that third sector organizations are in fact better positioned to be able to co-produce with service users and citizens, because of their proximity to communities and flexible approach. In a study of childcare provision in eight countries across Europe, Pestoff (2006) found comparatively few examples of co-production between

state providers and citizens, because there exists a ‘glass ceiling’ for citizen participation with public sector providers. Co-production has also been studied in sectors beyond social services, such as transportation projects, which Joshi and Moore (2004) studied in Ghana, the management and maintenance of social housing (Brandsen and Helderma, 2012), and in arts and culture, such as the design of museum exhibitions (Davies, 2010).

Research on co-production has been undertaken in many countries across Europe, North America and Australia, with an increasing amount of research that includes case studies or survey respondents from multiple countries (e.g. Parrado et al., 2013). However, we must be cautious about the policy and practice ‘best practice’ guidance developed as a result of these studies – important differences in public management, the welfare state and the provision of public services from one country to another means that lessons developed in one context may not be fit for purpose in another. While much of the academic literature posits that co-production has developed as a result of an evolution in public administration beyond the ideology of New Public Management in the 1980s and 1990s (Pestoff et al., 2012), we know that many countries – particularly France – did not commit to NPM reforms to the same extent as countries like the UK. As such, co-production practices must be considered in context so that we are better able to learn the lessons of how co-production can be done (and be done better) and what might prevent co-production from being effectively undertaken in one context, but less so in others.



United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, co-production has become something of a popular buzzword, promoted by third sector actors, policy think tanks, and policy-makers alike. In many ways, co-production has cross-party appeal in the UK, originally becoming part of political discourse under Labour Party control in the early 2000s, and gaining a new guise under the 2010 Coalition Government flagship 'Big Society' policy and subsequent Conservative government civil society strategies. The governments of Scotland and Wales have taken particularly proactive steps to promote co-production through partnerships and networks that provide support and training on co-production best practice.

Examples of co-production

Examples of co-production exist across the UK, but vary widely by location and service type. In Sheffield, for example, one social housing provider has developed a project to tackle loneliness and isolation of older people across the city, which they have decided to co-produce at every level of the project. This means that the original project brief as well as the individual interventions were co-designed and written with local

older people, and the interventions are delivered by older people. For example, one of the interventions is a peer mentorship project, where older

“*In many ways, co-production has cross-party appeal in the UK*”

people are paired as mentors for individuals who are currently feeling isolated. Furthermore, older people who have themselves experienced loneliness and isolation, as 'experts by experience', are involved in driving the strategic direction of the project as board members. The project aims to not only reduce older people's loneliness, but also positively impact their health, well-being, quality of life and independence. The project is still ongoing, but an evaluation is being undertaken to assess the evidence and determine the impact on these key indicators.

Obstacles to co-production

The United Kingdom is recognized as one of the countries that most strongly embraced the principles of the New Public Management, which has led to an emphasis of performance management and efficiency, commissioning and contracting out public services. This approach has in many ways created barriers for co-production. Because co-production is by definition a relational process that is often difficult to evidence, services that are delivered according to contract specifications, particularly 'payment by results', often struggle to provide services in more innovative arrangements like co-production. Second, and perhaps even more importantly, austerity policies over the last decade have been a major barrier to co-production. Although an aim of co-production is to reduce the cost of services, there is often an initial investment cost that must be borne and many service providers find this difficult to justify when resources are stretched and the benefits or outcomes of co-production are not guaranteed.



France

In France, studies of democracy tend to pay more attention to representative processes rather than participative democracy, although interest in participative and deliberative approaches has grown. In comparison to the English language literature, there is also less attention paid to collaboration in the implementation stage (i.e. 'co-delivery'). Many French academics are quite sceptical or critical of public authorities' attempts to implement models of participation developed elsewhere. Research on co-production in France has partially been hampered in part by the linguistic challenge of finding a word that similarly denotes involvement in both the design of (or decision-making around) public services as well as their delivery or implementation, as these two aspects are typically conceived separately as 'participation' and 'volunteering'. However, participation exercises by French cities, particularly the participatory budgeting exercise in Paris, and other innovative citizen participation initiatives in Nantes, Bordeaux and elsewhere are on the rise, demonstrating a growing appetite for and openness to these new types of approaches.

Examples of co-production

Like the UK, in practice the introduction of co-production practices is uneven and varies considerably between public service sectors, but is likely to be less widespread than in the UK. In highly professionalized services (such as healthcare), or where the State determines priorities and provision (such as education), the available space for citizens to be able to co-produce is extremely limited. However, in other sectors, co-production between citizens and professionals has been longstanding practice, particularly within the social economy/ associational sector. Indeed, many associations have mainstreamed the ideas of co-production into their very definition, such as ACEPP (*Association des collectifs enfants parents professionnels*) which promotes the collaboration of professionals and parents in organizational governance, day-to-day decision-making in crèches, and in supporting childcare staff by cleaning nurseries, planning social activities and providing snacks. One specific example of co-production undertaken by ACEPP Rhône-Alpes involved the co-design of a game used as part of a participative exercise to identify local needs. Playing pieces were made by a local artisan, game questions were devised by local people and game board photos were customized for each area in which the game was used. Similarly, social centres provide another institutionalized form of co-production (to a varied extent from one to another) by promoting the collaboration of citizens and professionals in implementing social development projects (McMullin, 2018).

Obstacles to co-production

Political and administrative cultures create the biggest barriers to co-production in France. Co-production requires that professionals essentially cede some of their power to citizens (who are by definition unelected, and perhaps less traditionally knowledgeable), which can be difficult to reconcile with more traditional structures of decision-making and bureaucracy. Second, co-producing with citizens means that service provision may be differentiated from one community to another, based on what citizens have decided in each area, which contradicts the notion of *l'intérêt général* (protected by the State) and *le service public*, where equality of access is paramount. These values that meant that the space for co-production (particularly with the State) is often limited in certain service sectors. In others, such as cooperative childcare, social development and some partnership projects, stakeholders have been successful in producing innovative arrangements of citizen involvement in co-production.

“ Political and administrative cultures create the biggest barriers to co-production in France ”



Québec

We might expect co-production in Quebec to look something like a mix between the French and British experiences – like the UK, Canada is typically classified as a liberal welfare state with a relatively high degree of privatization of services, but Quebec is also strongly influenced by French culture. Quebec has followed a model of social development that is unique within Canada, where since the 1990s a large social economy sector and social movements have been brought in as partners in policy-making within the province. The community movement continues to be a strong player in public services – through advocacy of disadvantaged populations, providing a voice in the design of services, and in providing services.

Examples of co-production

In many ways, it is difficult to distinguish examples of co-production in Quebec because the collaboration of citizens and paid professionals, particularly within the large community sector, is standard practice. Co-production takes place within numerous sectors in the province, including social services, environmental programs and community development. For example, the City of Montreal has developed a project called “Je fais Montréal”, which supports citizen-initiated projects that aim to improve the city. Within the program, one of the co-production

activities that has become extremely popular around Montreal is in the ‘greening’ (*verdissement*) of underused city alleyways. The City provides the necessary tools, planning permits and some gardening expertise, and professionals work with local residents in order to turn alleyways into community gardens and public spaces. One of the key enabling features of this form of co-production is that city managers facilitate the process by removing the red tape that often restricts development projects. They recognise the benefit to the community and the fact that involving local residents increases their buy-in, their commitment and their overall satisfaction with projects that improve neighbourhoods, and ensure that the City is a partner rather than an impediment to achieving these goals.

“ *Involving local residents with development projects increases their buy-in* ”

and some gardening expertise, and professionals work with local residents in order to turn alleyways into community gardens and public spaces. One of the key enabling features of this form of co-production is that city managers facilitate the process by removing the red tape that often restricts development projects. They recognise the benefit to the community and the fact that involving local residents increases their buy-in, their commitment and their overall satisfaction with projects that improve neighbourhoods, and ensure that the City is a partner rather than an impediment to achieving these goals.

Obstacles to co-production

While co-production between citizens and professionals continues to be driven by a strong activist tradition, Quebec faces some of the same challenges as other countries. In particular, the restructuring of health and social care services by the province has weakened community control in some areas. Many services that had previously been community-run, and therefore required the active participation of citizens, have now been institutionalized and have become professional service delivery organizations with more tentative co-production activities. Another challenge has been the changes in demographics due to increased immigration, which has led to some tensions in some communities which have strained corporatist partnership arrangements.



Sweden

Several studies have been undertaken about co-production in Sweden, in particular focusing on childcare provision and the differences between private providers, municipal providers and childcare cooperatives, where it was determined that childcare cooperatives offer far more meaningful and more diversified options for parental involvement than the public or private sectors. Pestoff (2009) suggests that social policy in Sweden, which invests widely in childcare provision that is universally accessible to citizens, provides ample opportunities for citizens to engage in collective action, citizen participation and co-production. In other areas such as care for elderly people, however, provision is often provided by relatives with little or no remuneration, which therefore limits the possibility of citizen participation, or co-production with professionals. The differences in the degree of co-production in Sweden between childcare on the one end of the spectrum and elder care on the other demonstrate the role of social policy in opening the space for co-production. This can vary from one service sector to another, or between countries, as a social democratic state such as Sweden will have far more extensive provision available for citizens than will other countries.



United States

In the 1980s, Elinor Ostrom and colleagues sought to analyse why policing was more effective in neighbourhoods where police patrolled by foot rather than in cars. It was deduced that policing was much more effective when citizens were able to interact with police, alert them to any problems or suspicious activity and work together to make the neighbourhood a safer place to be. In other words, citizens were co-producing public safety with police officers, rather than police officers acting alone. They defined co-production as “a mixing of the productive efforts of regular and consumer producers” (Parks et al., 1980, p. 1002). Another example in the United States is a project of co-production which aimed to reduce errors in medical diagnoses (Jo and Nabatchi, 2018). Healthcare consumers engaged in a deliberative workshop with healthcare professionals to discuss ways to reduce diagnostic error, in order to produce recommendations for practitioners.

“*Co-production in the United States takes a much more individualized approach*”

The high degree of privatization of services (and as Parks and colleagues’ definition suggested, the emphasis on citizens as ‘consumers’) in the United States is perhaps the most important factor to consider in the extent and types of co-production that are undertaken. While in the more social democratic states of Europe, co-production is undertaken between (primarily) public sector professionals with citizens, co-production in the United States takes a much more individualized approach where consumer choice trumps voice and collaboration. Here, then, the solidaristic aspect of co-production is less prevalent.



The Netherlands

In the context of the Netherlands, research has been carried out that examines the co-production of social care services, as well as the co-production of public safety. Over the last decade, the Dutch government has introduced several reforms to the welfare system in order to respond to growing demand (due to an ageing population) and in an attempt to improve the quality of care that service users receive.

cost and increase the quality of these services, but with the emphasis placed more on individual responsibility, little importance has been assigned to the democratic potential of co-production.

In regards to public safety, research has investigated the motivations for citizens to engage in neighbourhood watch schemes (Van Eijk et al., 2017). As outlined in the United States case study, co-production of public safety via neighbourhood watch groups has a long history in the United States, but is a more recent phenomenon in continental Europe. Researchers found that citizens co-produce neighbourhood watch schemes in the Netherlands for several reasons. Some co-producers feel a sense of moral obligation that partnering with police are in the interests of society, and others take part because they see the positive results of their involvement both in terms of neighbourhood safety and their own personal development. In comparison with neighbourhood watch groups in Belgium, some slightly different motivations were found, namely that the Belgian co-producers took a more 'protective rationalist' approach whereby they justified their involvement as a way to directly increase their own personal safety.

“In the Netherlands municipalities now design care plans with informal carers and professionals”

The responsibility for care services has been decentralized to municipalities and the government explicitly recognizes the important role that informal carers (such as family members and volunteers) play as co-producers of welfare services (Nederhand and Van Meerkerk, 2018). Municipalities now design care plans with informal carers and professionals – in this context, professionals take a role as partners and providing support to the carers who design and implement the service. Increasing citizen involvement in the delivery of care services is framed as a way to both decrease the

Because co-production research is ongoing in many countries, particularly across Europe, we are beginning to gain a better understanding of the central questions around the notion of co-production – what is co-production? Who participates? How do they participate and in what activities? And why – what motivates individuals? Comparing the types of co-production activities and the answers to these questions in different countries illuminates some important considerations for both policy and practice.

First, organizational culture can be a key obstacle – or facilitator – to co-production. Many professionals are hesitant to co-design or co-deliver services because of the risk this may

“*Organizational culture can be a key obstacle – or facilitator – to co-production*”

involve, because of the potential time and resource commitment or because it represents a new and potentially more difficult way of doing things. Yet ‘organizational culture’ within public management varies widely across departments, levels of government, and especially from one country to another. For instance, a deeply held culture of partnership and collaboration by the Quebec government has supported an approach to co-production, while public administration in France is traditionally recognized as much more hierarchical and bureaucratic, and the notions of *intérêt général* and *service public* that frame service provision delineate the space available for citizens to input into the process. As such, public managers who hope to co-produce with citizens must be cognizant of the particular challenges and opportunities that their political and organizational culture is likely to pose.

Second, a country’s system of welfare services is also likely to provide obstacles and favourable circumstances that are unique to that context. A comparison of co-production research in the United States and Sweden illustrates this point – while co-production in the US is underscored by the fact that public service provision is comparatively weak and the welfare system is highly individualized, the social democratic model of Sweden provides ample opportunities for co-production in the areas of provision where social policy supports the collaboration

between professional public service providers and citizens.

Third, one of the key findings from research worldwide is the difference in co-production between public sector organizations and third sector organizations (associations). As seminal research found in Sweden, the opportunities for co-production offered by state providers is considerably more limited than the opportunities made available for citizen participation and co-production by cooperatives and associations. Despite differences in the types of organizations of the third sector between countries, and their role in delivering public services, this is a finding that has been confirmed in England and France. Associations are recognized as being able to connect with and mobilize citizens in ways that public servants may struggle to do. And in Quebec, for example, associations have been brought into the process of policy-making and the delivery of services in ways that successfully support broader and deeper co-production with citizens.

“*Key findings from research worldwide is the difference in co-production between public sector organizations and third sector organizations*”

Finally and perhaps most importantly, when introducing co-production processes, public managers must ask themselves ‘why’. Although much of what has been written on co-production comes from a normative perspective, promoting the wide ranging benefits of engaging citizens in the design and delivery of services, there are many types of benefits that these activities may result in – and potential downsides. Is the aim to do ‘more for less’ and decrease the cost of public services, improve the quality of services, or to empower citizens and improve the democratic accountability of services?

While it is possible that co-production may do all of these things, it may be necessary to choose an orientation in order to focus on the most relevant activities. For instance, engaging in long-term collaborative design activities will increase opportunities for active citizenship, but may also be costly in the short term. Co-production may also not always be appropriate for all

areas, and must be balanced with a need to protect the equal rights of citizens and the provision available for the most disadvantaged in society. Co-production requires creative thinking and occasionally taking risks. The most successful examples of co-production are often those that embraced the potential for failure and decided to try something that hadn't been done before, and managed to break through the red tape and culture of 'how things have always been done.' To this end, it can be useful to consider principles from asset-based community development, as well as using design principles to develop public policy (for more on public policy

design and co-production, see Durose and Richardson, 2016).

Co-production has the potential to produce widespread and meaningful reform for public services, making them more accountable, more transparent and more responsive to the needs of citizens. But it also has the potential to be just another tick box exercise for public managers if not designed appropriately. Understanding the public management, welfare services and political cultural context in which one is working is key to making co-production a success.

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THE RESEARCHER'S VIEW

The researcher's eye presents summaries of articles published in scientific journals devoted to public action, recently supported theses in the field of public management and forthcoming symposia.

Article reviews

Budget and performance

Tourism performance and management of the French territory: the impact of the NOTRe territorial reform

Aurélie Corne, Assistant Professor, Centre for Research into Societies and Environments in the Mediterranean and Beyond (CRESEM), University of Perpignan, France

Subject

This article explores tourism performance and competitiveness in France, examining the paradox by which the country ranks first worldwide by foreign tourist arrivals yet only fifth by tourism revenue. The author looks at the impact on the tourism sector of the Local Administration Reform Act (or NOTRe), which cut the number of French regions from 22 to 13 when it entered into force in January 2016.

Data

The article employs a systems approach that treats tourist destinations as companies, and sets out a theoretical framework in which the restructuring of regions is likened to a process of business mergers and acquisitions. The author first uses

the data envelopment analysis (DEA) method to obtain efficiency scores for each French region before seeking to determine whether the mergers are efficient or not from a tourist point of view and to identify potential performance gains.

Findings

The analysis shows that, with the exception of the Île-de-France region, the most efficient French regions are not necessarily those that attract the most visitors. The author's findings indicate that, in the short term, the Local Administration Reform Act should not have an impact on the tourism performance of France's regions. On the contrary, the mergers generate potential performance gains through the imitation of best practices.



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The effect of stakeholder inclusion on public sector project innovation

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Jan-Erik Johanson, Professor of Administrative Science, School of Management, University of Tampere, Finland

Subject

Partnership and information-sharing between mixed organisations and stakeholders are often held up as solutions to the supposed innovation deficit in the public sector. Yet research into inter-organisational collaboration and inclusive project partnering strategies has failed to yield any convincing conclusions as to the link between collaborative governance and innovation.

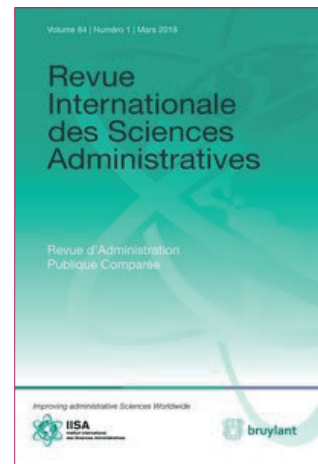
Data

This article examines 275 European Union-funded projects to identify relevant project partners and determine what actions are necessary to encourage innovation, looking in particular at how stakeholders influence innovative practice in these projects. The authors critically reflect on the debate around interactive governance and the process of public service

delivery, aiming to draw conclusions about the extent to which stakeholder collaboration is a prerequisite for innovation and the procedures and actions that serve that purpose.

Findings

The authors find that funding bodies cannot always identify which potential partners are most likely to promote innovation. They also observe that, in many cases, project initiators choose to bring stakeholders on board not in a quest for innovation but instead, as they see it, in order to guarantee the project's legitimacy. The authors highlight the benefits of stakeholder inclusion for innovation in public-sector projects, while stressing the key role that so-called "translational" bodies play in enabling all institutions to formulate their own objectives using the project's shared vocabulary.



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Governance

“Platform-state”: towards a new rationality of public choices?

Marie-Pierre Philippe-Dussine, Assistant Professor of Economics, Visiting Researcher at the European Centre for Research in Financial Economics and Business Management (CEREFIGE), Université de Lorraine, France

Subject

At a time of rising criticism about attempts via the new public management approach to introduce private-sector management practices into the public sector, a new post-bureaucratic model appears to be taking shape in the form of the so-called “Platform State”. That model sees e-government as part of a growing movement towards giving more space to the individual, instituting new information flows and new forms of co-production in public policy-making.

Data

This article examines the Public Action 2022 programme – a sweeping review of the principles of rationality that drive every area of French government business. The author questions the extent to which this reform of the state can contribute to genuine institutional change marked by the search for increased rationality, borrowing from the New Institutional Economics framework to analyse the challenges, objectives and inherent constraints of such a venture.

Findings

The author argues that the “Platform-State” model sets up a conflict between two competing objectives: the need for control (which applies to all organisations), and the desire to allow greater freedom of action so as to unleash innovation. She also observes that the so-called “crowd” on which the model rests is no guarantor of rationalisation, and that a more flexible structure can create areas of uncertainty and lead to a situation in which the organisational benefits accrue to some, but not all, stakeholders. The author further finds that the use of new information and communication technologies can prompt the pursuit of hyper-rationality by bringing about new forms of control that benefit new centres of power. She suggests that the digital revolution – of which the “Platform State” forms a part – requires a new type of “contract” so as to avoid the pitfalls that jeopardise rationalisation efforts. The author concludes by observing that organisational innovation is not the sole preserve of central government, and that the issue must also be “addressed at the local level, where other cultures and rationalities come into play”.



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Between public service value and ethical tool: which place for transparency in the “right” behavior of public sector officials in France (1970-2016)?

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Subject

In France, transparency as a principle in public administration dates back to 1789 and Article 15 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which states that “[s]ociety has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration”. Yet the idea of transparency as a fundamental principle of public service only began to take off in earnest in the 1970s, as France passed a series of laws designed to improve the government-citizen relationship. This article draws on public reports on government reform, as well as archive documents and stakeholder interviews, analysing the role of transparency as a recognised public-service value since the 1970s and placing into context Act 2016-483 of 20 April 2016 on the ethics, rights and obligations of civil servants.

Data

The article examines the tensions between France’s long-standing public administration model and new public

management reforms since the 1980s that establish transparency as a fundamental value of public service. The author observes that, as the movement has gained traction since the 1990s, there has been a growing body of legally non-binding soft law (charters and codes of conduct), while it has proven challenging to bring in new transparency tools and mechanisms to guard against ethical and conflict-of-interest risks such as the so-called “revolving door”.

Findings

The author examines the Act of 26 April 2016 in light of this trend, observing how it marks a symbolic break with past practice whereby transparency was the ideological foundation on which new public management reforms were built. The act strengthens existing institutions such as the Conseil d’Etat and the Civil Service Ethics Commission as guardians of the long-standing principles of good administrative practices.



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Government-citizen relationship

Indicators to explore the effects of participatory settings: the case of the Gard *département*

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Jean-Eudes Beuret, Agricultural Economist and Professor, Agro-campus Ouest, Rennes, France

Audrey Richard-Ferroudji, PhD in Sociology and Independent Consultant in Environmental Sociology and Governance

Subject

Participatory settings have become increasingly commonplace in the public sector since the 1990s. These processes occur at different points in the policy-making process and pursue a range of different objectives, from securing citizen buy-in, to resolving conflict or strengthening democracy.

Data

This article examines what effects these participatory settings have and how they are evaluated, with a view to identifying those factors and drivers that could maximise their reach and impact. The authors set out a system of multi-criteria indicators, which they test on 20 participatory settings implemented by the Gard *département*.

Findings

The authors find that low levels of participation lead to equally low levels of impact, and that outcomes vary according to how these settings are implemented. They further observe that participatory settings promote a greater understanding of needs, create space for dialogue, and help to identify beneficial operational effects for the organisation itself, as well as for citizens and elected officials. The authors split these effects into two categories: those by which participatory settings are “used” as a way to improve decision-making, and those that have more to do with strengthening the functioning of democracy.



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Conditions for putting service users to work: the case of waste management

Kevin Caillaud, Associate Professor of Sociology, Political Science and Planning, Visiting Researcher at the Laboratory of Technology, Territories and Societies (LATTS), Université Paris-Est-Marne-la-Vallée, France

Subject

New public management has brought about major changes in public services since the 1990s. Service delivery has become both commodified and individualised, driven by new instruments designed to increase user participation and, in theory, better serve their interests. That trend has seen users take over some of the tasks previously performed by public officials, thereby reshaping their respective roles and responsibilities

Data

In this article, the authors examine how an incentive fee system for household waste management in the Grand-Besançon metropolitan area characterises this transformation. The new system, under which collection services are charged in part according to how much waste users

produce, is the culmination of a green waste management policy introduced more than 20 years ago. As well as targeting households with environmental messages, the scheme relies on rational-choice theory. The idea is that, when faced with a purely financial decision, users are likely to act in a way that saves them money – in this case, by better managing their household waste.

Findings

The authors nevertheless find that monetary considerations play only a small part in users' decisions to act more productively, and that their choices are more heavily influenced by tighter monitoring and moral pressure from the authority's waste management department. That, in turn, leads to a new performance and surveillance culture that reshapes the very meaning of the concept of public service.



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Public sector employment



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From the sharing economy to the “uberisation” of work: digital platforms as human resource management tools

Sophia Galiere, PhD student in management science, Université de Nantes, France

Subject

Although the sharing economy first raised hopes of alternative ways of working, digital peer-to-peer work platforms are now at the centre of controversies that we can sum up by the neologism “uberisation”. The phenomenon has grown rapidly in recent years as smartphones and apps have become facts of life. More than 65% of online platforms in Europe today were set up in 2010 or later.

Data

The author questions the myth that these platforms have built around themselves as mere market intermediaries or radical technical innovations, which claim to challenge the management forms of conventional corporations and allow users to work according to their own wishes. She deconstructs this myth by analysing a dozen or so peer-to-peer work platforms, developing a typology of the various forms of human

resource management that they mobilise.

Findings

The author distinguishes between “operator” platforms such as Uber and Deliveroo and “marketplaces” like Superprof, as well as characterising platforms according to whether they are more prescriptive or incentive-based. She finds that these platforms offer nothing in the way of radical innovation and that, to a greater or lesser extent, they operate according to the same principles as conventional businesses. The author further observes that such platforms are not “neutral”, but rather designed with the intent of managing workers without the obligations that come with an employer-employee relationship. She concludes by calling for research into cooperative platforms, which could be conceived as alternatives to so-called “platform capitalism”.

The blurring lines between employees and self-employed workers in France

Brigitte Pereira, Professor of Law and Corporate Social Responsibility, EM Normandie Business School, France

Subject

Working arrangements have changed so profoundly in the past 20 years that the Fordist model of rigidly segmented labour and strict reporting lines no longer seems to apply. That transformation is particularly apparent in the changing face of both employment (most workers in France still fall into this category) and self-employment (a status that more workers are embracing). Ongoing reforms to employment law, and the ordinances of September 2017 in particular, have brought about more flexible working arrangements for employees. In some circumstances, meanwhile, self-employed workers are treated more like traditional employees, with a single “client” instructing them how, when and where they should work.

Data

This article explores the scale of these changes, looking in particular at relationships between employers and employees, and between clients and self-employed workers, to identify situations where those relationships are based on subordination, dependence or power dynamics. The author reviews legislation and court records from the past two decades to examine how reporting relationships and

contracts of employment have changed in law, and how judgments from the French Supreme Court of Appeal and elsewhere have treated those relationships in practice.

Findings

The author observes a shift towards greater autonomy and empowerment for employees, not least as changes to working-time arrangements (telecommuting, fixed number of working days per year) have weakened the reporting relationship between employer and employee, while at the same time forcing employees to shoulder more of the “business risk”. Conversely, she finds that a genuine reporting relationship has emerged between self-employed workers and their clients. The institutional dimension of the law, which aims to “give businesses more power to pursue their competitive aims”, is further accentuating these changes. The author concludes, on that basis, that reporting lines – and the associated concepts of authority and subordination – are no longer a useful metric for characterising the nature of these managerial relationships, suggesting instead that they be viewed through the broader prism of power.



The article was published in *Management & Avenir*, 2018/6 (No. 104), pp. 37-56, and is available online at: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-management-et-avenir-2018-6-page-37.htm>

Thesis reviews



The thesis can be viewed online at:

<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01963709>

Corporate social responsibility: normative dynamics and competitive stakes. An illustration of a moving law

Thesis by **Oriane Thibout**, Research Group on Law, Economics and Management (GREDEG), Université Nice Sophia Antipolis, France; supervised by Patrice Reis, Lecturer, Université Côte d'Azur, France. Thesis defence date: 26 November 2018.

Now being an unavoidable concept for companies in managing their, often correlated, legal and reputation risks attached to their economic activities as well as in defining their commercial and competitive strategies, corporate social responsibility (CSR) actively participates in abolishing boundaries, already permeable, between public normativity and private normativity.

This thesis examines how CSR has been incorporated into contemporary law. The author underscores its hybrid normative character and examines its role in a normative framework that stems from both public authorities and the private

sector. She raises questions about the flexibility of the law in a rapidly changing world where rules – from different sources and with different scopes – “evolve and perish over time”.

The author observes that, in a globalised competitive context, CSR underlines the necessary adaptation of classical legal instruments to the evolution of complex normative systems at a global scale. She further posits that CSR is subject to a constantly renewed competitive dialogue between national and international public authorities and private operators and that, therefore, economic law is neither frozen in time nor locked inside national borders space.



The thesis can be viewed online at:

<http://www.theses.fr/2018PSLED002>

Three essays on public sector debt accounting

Thesis by **Marion Sierra Torre**, Dauphine Recherches en Management (DRM), Université Paris-Dauphine, France; supervised by Edith Ginglinger, Professor of Finance, Université Paris-Dauphine, France. Thesis defence date: 17 January 2018.

This thesis deals with the accounting of public debt from three distinct and complementary analytical perspectives.

First, the author studies the accounting standards for retirement obligations, developing a theoretical evaluation grid using a comparative and diachronic analysis based on the review of existing practices. Her analysis highlights that the existing pension schemes in Europe are incompatible with the individual savings model as promoted by the IPSAS 25 standard.

Second, the author analyses the relationship between debt accounting and the political

environment, and tests the hypothesis of an underestimation of debt levels around elections. The results allow her to validate her hypothesis and indicate that developing countries are most affected by this underestimation.

Third, the author examines the impact of the solicitation status of a sovereign rating on the rating itself and on the public debt level assigned by rating agencies. Focusing on Moody's, Fitch and S&P, her findings indicate that agencies favour countries soliciting their rating compared with those who do not solicit them.



The thesis can be viewed online at:

<http://www.theses.fr/2018BORD0164>

The marketing function within artistic and cultural organisations: nature and degree of its effective integration

Thesis by **Élodie Chabroux**, Research Institute on the Management of Organisations (IRGO), University of Bordeaux, France; supervised by Jean-François Trinquécoste, Lecturer, IAE Bordeaux, France. Thesis defence date: 28 September 2018..

This work examines the nature and effects of integrating marketing logic into arts and culture organisations. The research aims to update and extend the knowledge acquired about the “conflict” between artists and managers exposed by Chiappello (1998) while orienting it towards the conflict between artists and marketers.

This work is based on the case method. A qualitative exploratory study consisting of 17 interviews precedes the realisation of five case studies, conducted at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), the Bibliothèque publique d'information (Bpi), the Musée national d'art

moderne Centre Pompidou (MNAM), the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal (MBAM) and the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ). In addition, this research led to a comparative France-Canada analysis.

The author highlights the persistence and weakening effect of artists' criticism of marketing, and shows how opposition to the genre in cultural organisations remains visible in the battle lines between marketing and culture. In addition to examining that conflict, the thesis proposes ways to effectively integrate marketing in cultural organisations.



To obtain a copy of the thesis, please write to Sébastien Dony at: sebastien.dony@univ-ubs.fr

How to reduce costs in local governments?

Thesis by **Sébastien Dony**, Nantes-Atlantique Laboratory of Economics and Management (LEMNA); supervised by François Meyssonier, Professor, Université de Nantes, France.
Thesis defence date: 25 June 2018.

Reducing operating expenses is an imperative today for all French local governments. This need raises new challenges that lead to the question: how to reduce costs in local governments? The literature suggests that this issue can be explored by focusing the analysis on operating expense-reduction strategies (first research question) and on efficiency-improvement approaches implemented in local public services (second research question).

To explore these questions, the author conducted case studies in local governments that have achieved operating savings since 2014/2015. The objective of this research is to produce new academic knowledge regarding strategic and operational cost-reduction levers that can be directly used by local government managers.

Regarding the first research question, three operating expense-reduction strategies are identified. Practical contributions regarding the content, the preparation and the implementation of saving programmes are presented. Regarding the second research question, the analysis of the approaches implemented in local public services point to three efficiency-improvement areas. In the light of these results, a methodology is elaborated to assist service managers in defining and implementing targeted efficiency-improvement actions. Combining theoretical concepts from management control, public management (New Public Management) and service (operations) management, this research provides new insights for the study of cost reduction in local governments.

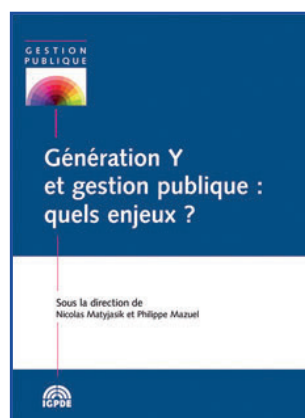
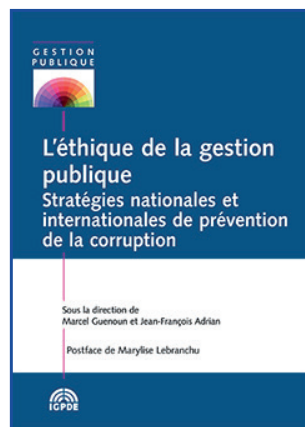


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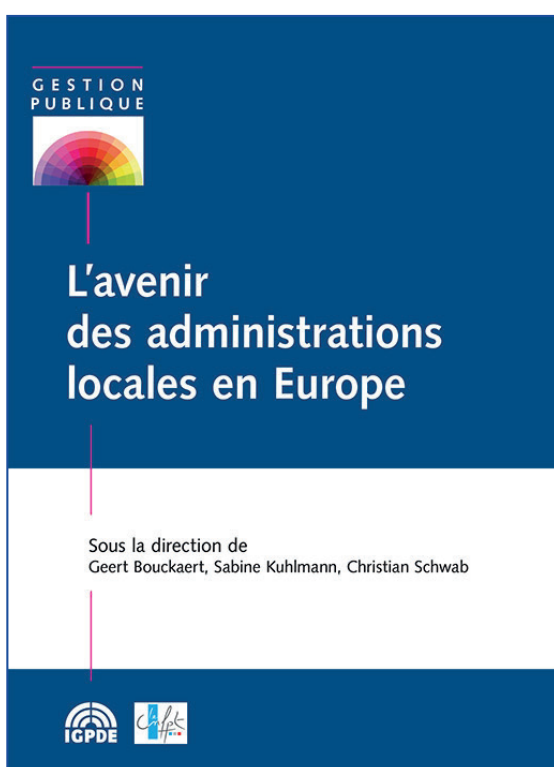


Recent publication

The future of local government in Europe

The COST Local Reform in Europe research programme brought together more than 300 researchers from 31 countries. The programme's findings have recently been published in a new volume entitled *The Future of Local Government in Europe*, edited by Geert Bouckaert, Sabine Kuhlmann and Christian Schwab.

IGPDE has published a French version of the book, translated with support from the National Centre for Local Civil Service (CNFPT), in its Public Management collection. The book is available in open-access format on OpenEdition Books.



The Future of Local Government in Europe: Lessons from Research and Practice in 31 Countries

Over recent decades, local governments in Europe have come increasingly under pressure facing a multitude of challenges. Consequently, a wave of political and administrative reforms aimed at coping with these pressures has changed local governance in many nations. Local governments are not only responsible for efficient administration, high-quality services and a legally correct execution of laws, but also for ensuring legitimacy, democratic participation, accountability and trust – often under the conditions of austerity. This volume presents research findings of an international project on local public sector reforms in 31 countries and derives advice for policy-makers to shape the future of local governments in Europe. The authors address basic reform areas and key features of local governance like autonomy, performance and participation.

The book should be of interest to researchers, students and practitioners concerned with the future of local government.

To read the book in open-access format, go to: <https://books.openedition.org/igpde/5426>

Forthcoming events

Conferences

Smart City and Sustainable Public Management

Panthéon-Sorbonne University,
Paris, 23-24 May 2019

More than 80% of French people live on less than 20% of the national territory. Globally, 2% of the planet's surface hosts more than half of its inhabitants. In these territories, multiple solidarities have now taken place, as well as antagonisms of interests that challenge the good practices of public management. If territories become "smart", should sustainability be placed at the heart of these concerns? A smart territory must be able to understand and adapt to its environment, to be transformed, to be resilient, to anticipate disturbances, to minimise their effects, by implementing means of actions, through learning and training innovation, according to the goals to be achieved, while respecting its sustainability.

These issues will be addressed at an international conference entitled "Smart City and Sustainable Public Management", organised by the International Association of Research in Public Management (AIRMAP) with support from IGPDE.

For further details, go to:
<https://airmap2019.sciences-conf.org/>

15th French Political Science Association Conference

Sciences Po Bordeaux,
2-4 July

This year's 15th French Political Science Association (AFSP) Conference marks 70 years since the association was founded. As well as drawing in 1,000 researchers from around the world to engage in more than 400 hours of debate, the 2019 Conference will also host the 8th International Conference of French-speaking Associations of Political Science (CoSPoF).

This year's conference will feature three separate activities. First, themed tracks will explore the latest developments in French political science research. Second, keynote speeches will cover the big issues of the day, from the changing face of comparative research in today's world to the growth of African studies. There will also be a public keynote on the 2019 European Parliament elections, the results of which will be known several weeks ahead of the conference. And third, there will be a series of poster sessions where researchers will share their insights, in a concise and visually compelling way, on a given research project, methodology question or database.

For further details, go to:
<https://www.afsp.info/congres/congres-2019/>

3rd Annual Conference of the European Initiative on Security Studies

Sciences Po, Paris,
27-28 June 2019

The European Initiative on Security Studies (EISS) is a Europe-wide multidisciplinary network of scholars from over 80 universities that share the goal of consolidating security studies in Europe. Specifically, the aims of the EISS are two-fold. The first is to hold an annual conference with permanent themed tracks to develop and sustain a Europe-wide network in the field of security studies. The second is to give security researchers and academics from across Europe an opportunity to present their current work and to develop new research partnerships.

The EISS Conference is a multidisciplinary, thematically driven event open to all theoretical approaches. This year's third annual conference will feature separate tracks covering issues such as WMD non-proliferation and arms control, defence cooperation and military assistance, terrorism and counter-terrorism, and the past, present and future of transatlantic security.

For further details, go to:
<https://eiss-europa.com/>

Université Paris-Dauphine's 50th anniversary celebrations



Université Paris-Dauphine, founded in 1968, is celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2018, with a special programme of academic conferences and cultural events to mark the occasion.



14 March 2019: Conference: “What horizon for carbon neutrality?”
Following on from the Environmental Responsibility Days, this conference, organised by the Climate Economics Chair, takes a realistic look at the latest report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and progress on implementation of the Paris Agreement. There will also be a photography exhibition in partnership with National Geographic.

<https://www.dauphine.fr/fr/50-ans/detail-de-lactualite/article/conference-la-neutralite-carbone-a-quel-horizon-1.html>



15 May 2019: Study day: “Why do we still need academics in 2018?”
The academic profession, academics’ social role, and their place in society have profoundly changed. After the essential part they played in 1968, what is their role in the development of critical thinking and enablement of public debate 50 years later? What new constraints, and what opportunities, reflect changes in our universities, in politics, and in the media?

<https://www.dauphine.fr/fr/50-ans/detail-de-lactualite/article/a-quoi-servent-encore-les-universitaires-1968-2018.html>



24 May 2019: Science day: “Organization and decision sciences: a comparative approach”. This international science day examines the intersecting views of iconic figures in the research world, such as Pierre-Louis Lions, professor at the Collège de France and holder of the “Equations with partial derivatives and applications” chair; Eve Chiapello, study director at EHESS; Christos H. Papadimitriou, professor at Berkeley; David Cooper, professor at the University of Alberta; Jose Scheinkman, professor at Columbia and Princeton; and Melchior Wathelet, professor at the University of Liège and the University of Louvain.

<https://www.dauphine.fr/fr/50-ans/detail-de-lactualite/article/regards-croises-sur-les-sciences-des-organisations-et-de-la-decision.html>

Save the date

International Public Management Symposium (RIGP) Building trust in society: what role for public services?

22 May 2019

The Institute for Public Management and Economic Development (IGPDE) is pleased to invite you to the 18th International Public Management Symposium (RIGP), which will take place at the Pierre Mendès France Conference Centre, 139 Rue de Bercy, Paris.

Public policy researchers and practitioners from France and abroad will explore “trust” from a range of angles:

- Trust: a matter for government
- Trust and the right to make mistakes
- Trust and fraud
- Trust and user choice
- Trust and distance: between digital technology and participation
- Building trust: supporting service users
- Trust and liberated management.

Speakers include:

Geert Bouckaert, President, International Institute of Administrative Sciences (IIAS)

Thomas Cazenave, Interministerial Director for Government Transformation

Jacques Toubon, French Ombudsman

Charles Duchaine, Director, French Anti-Corruption Agency (AFA)

Janice Lachance, former Director of the U.S. Office of Management (under the Clinton administration) and former President of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA)

Agnès-Christine Tomas-Lacoste, Executive Director, French National Institute for Consumer Affairs

Prof. Cécile Blatrix, Prof. Jacques Chevallier, Prof. Sophie Dubuisson-Quellier, Prof. Romain Laufer, Prof. Sylvie Llossa and Prof. Denise Rousseau.

The event is open to the public, but registration is required.

Refer to the IGPDE website in early April for the full programme and to register.

If you would like to contact us, please write to: recherche.igpde@finances.gouv.fr

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