

Globalisering og lokaldemokrati

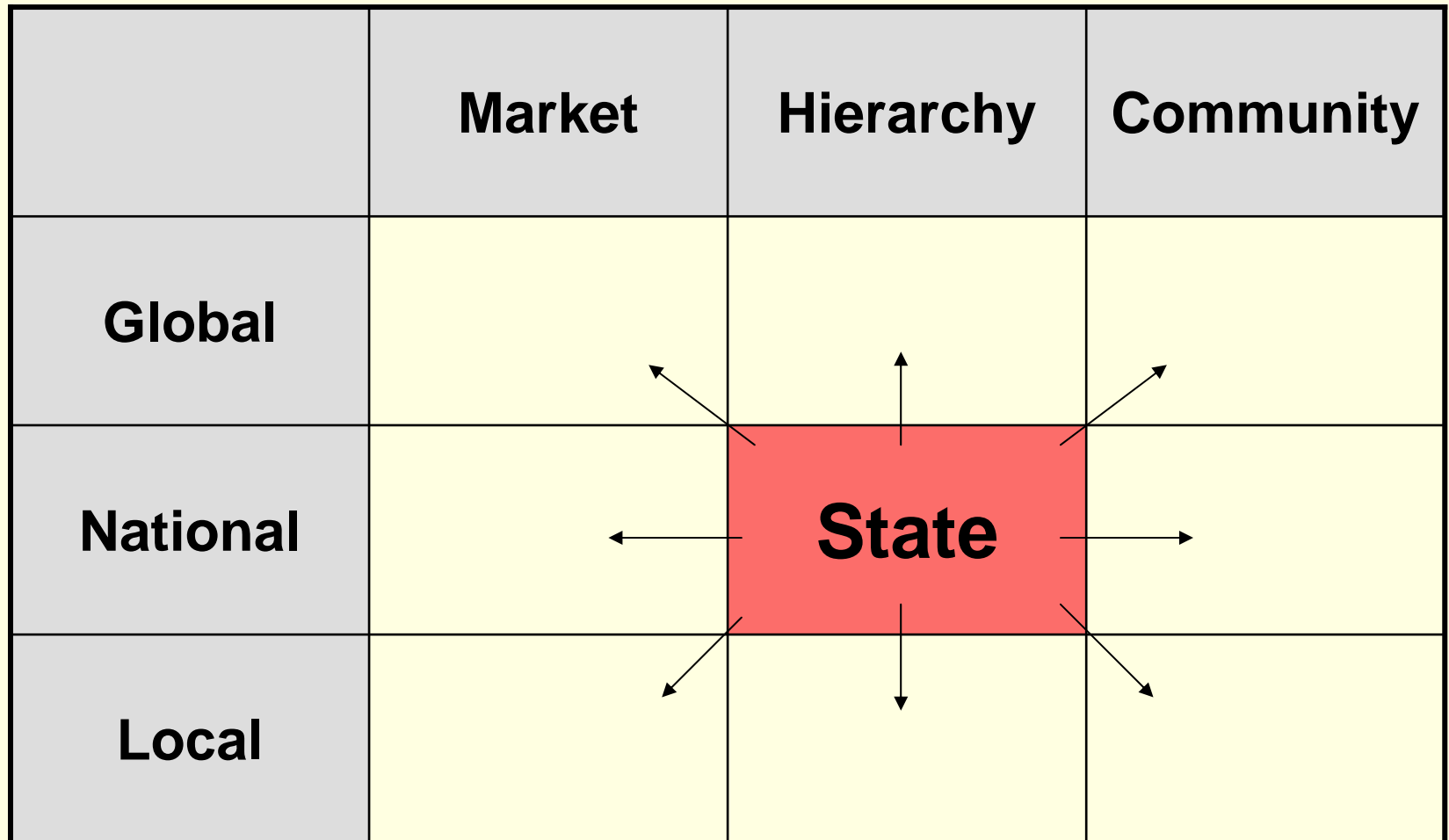
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Multi-scale and Diffuse Governance



Forms of Decentralisation

■ Privatisation

- Transfer of functions from state to market

■ Deconcentration (administrative decentralisation)

- Transfer of functions from national to local institutions for public administration

■ Devolution (democratic decentralisation)

- Transfer of functions and authority (decision-making) to local government

■ Federation

- Power sharing between national and regional units.

Periods of Decentralisation

(in Afrika)

- **Golden Age of Local Government (1945 - early 60s)**
 - Indirect rule (Mamdani: decentralised despotism)
- **Decolonisation & state building (early 60s - late 70s)**
 - State, party and nation-building. Centralised development planning
- **Liberalisation & decentralisation (late 70s - late 80s)**
 - Privatisation and administrative decentralisation in context of structural adjustment
- **Democratisation & good governance (1990s - present)**
 - Discourse and attempts at democratic decentralisation (participation in 'good governance')

Robert Putnam on Italy

- ◆ Dependent variables:
 - ◆ Government performance / socio-economic development (Virtuous North / Vicious South)
- ◆ Independent variable:
 - ◆ Civic engagement / social capital (Political participation, newspaper readership, voluntary associations)
- ◆ Basic explanation:
 - ◆ Historical path dependencies in civic engagement (institutional history moves slowly)

Social Capital

- Trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordination
- Bonding social capital: strong ties between immediate family members, neighbours, close friends, and business associates sharing similar demographic characteristics;
- Bridging social capital: weaker ties between people from different ethnic, geographical and occupational backgrounds but with similar economic status and political influence;
- Linking social capital: ties between poor people and those in positions of influence in formal organisations such as banks, agricultural extension offices, schools, housing authorities, or the police

Depoliticising Development

- Depoliticisation: "A 'development' project can effectively squash political challenges to the system, not only through enhancing administrative power but also by casting political questions of land, resources, jobs, or wages as a technical 'problem', responsive to the technical 'development' intervention" (Ferguson and Lohman 1997:232)
- Decentralisation: absolving central government of responsibility, fragmentation of political opposition; penetration and co-optation of local political society in order to govern more effectively; elite capture and patronage politics
- Social capital: shifting responsibility from the state; construction of civil society in non-conflictual and technocratic manner; depoliticising political community
- Neo-liberal use of 'the local' enhance administrative rationality, promote an individualising self-help mentality, and fragment political opposition

Local Bossism

- Strongmen, bosses, patrons, mafias, warlords, chiefs are not traditions that will disappear with modernisation, liberal democracy, western bureaucracy (against Migdal)
- Rather, they are created as much by the nature of the state as by that of society
- Decentralization may lead to local substantial democracy, but also decentralized despotism
- Bossism reflects the subordination of the state apparatus to *elected* officials in the context of *primitive accumulation*
- Primitive accumulation; loss of control over means of production / subsistence, prevalence of economic insecurity (scarcity of wage work), considerable economic resources remain within the "public domain"
- Thus, many voters are susceptible to clientelism in a situation where state offices are crucial for capital accumulation

Institutionalised Popular Local Democracy

- Experiments in institutionalized local popular democracy: decentralized planning in Kerala (India) and participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre (Brazil)
- Common characteristics
 - A strong 'practical orientation' with an emphasis on concrete socio-economic development needs.
 - Extensive popular participation, enabled through devolution of policy-making and institutionalization of new arenas for democratic participation.
 - Policy-making within these new local arenas is based on deliberative processes.

Politics of Popular Local Democracy

- How do such institutional arrangements for local deliberative democracy come about?
- Existing literature tends to focus on institutional design and ignore the political interests, strategies and relative strengths of state, elite and popular forces involved in the making of local popular democracy
- Participatory budgeting has functioned as a successful political strategy for PT in Porto Alegre:
 - (i) by responding to demands from neighborhood leaders who would otherwise rely on clientelistic networks within the opposition party
 - (ii) by politically mobilizing and integrating activists from popular movements
 - (iii) by delivering accountable and efficient local government that especially appeals to the middle classes
 - (iv) by strengthening local state capacity and coordination in the interest of the bureaucracy
 - (v) by addressing the prioritized needs of poor people.