CHAPTER 10

Questioning the administrative impact on democratic innovations

Signy Irene Vabo

ABSTRACT

Politicians depend on administrative capacity in order to plan and implement democratic innovations. Democratic innovations are government-initiated participatory processes involving citizens and local officials in policymaking concerning problems that affect them. Based on the literature on democratic innovations – Public Value and New Public Governance – the essay shows how not only politicians, but also administrators are assumed to want to seek out interaction and dialogue with citizens. However, if administrators' approach to citizen interaction is different to and/or in conflict with that of elected representatives, the influence exercised by the administration on public policy may pose a challenge to representative democracy. The question explored in this essay is: to what extent, and under what circumstances, are elected representatives and administrators presumed to have diverging or converging needs when it comes to interaction with citizens? Based on a systematic review of the literature, a framework is presented for analysing the potential for participatory innovations to support the role played by elected representatives. The analytical framework is based on a categorisation of various needs for interaction, combined with considerations about who controls the participatory arenas in question. An empirical example from Danish and Norwegian local governments illustrates the use of the framework for analysing a specific democratic innovation.

Keywords: New Public Governance, public value, democratic innovations, citizen interaction, task committees, administrative capacity.

DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS ON THE AGENDA

To initiate new policy and redefine well-known policy problems, politicians are dependent on administrative capacity. The same is true when it comes to *democratic innovations*. Democratic innovation refers to government-initiated participatory processes involving citizens and local officials in policymaking concerning problems that affect them. Democratic innovations are flourishing nowadays, especially at the local level (e.g., Smith, 2009; Geissel & Joas, 2013; Nabatchi & Leighninger, 2015; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Heinelt, 2018; Hertting & Kugelberg, 2018). It is thought that the need for such innovations stems from the declining support for traditional parties, as well as the need to increase or maintain the legitimacy of the representative democratic system (e.g., Mair, 2013; Sørensen, 2020).

However, in the literature on more recent governance paradigms, societal involvement is taken for granted, and it is not just elected representatives who are searching for interaction and dialogue with citizens. According to Torfing et al. (2020), the two governance paradigms that are especially concerned with societal involvement today are Public Value and New Public Governance. In the literature on Public Value (PV), administrative officers need a direct line to citizens through which they can seek guidance (e.g., Moore, 1995; Nabatchi, 2012; Sancino et al., 2018). Similarly, the New Public Governance (NPG) paradigm focuses on participation in public and private collaborations. There is a need to respond to organisational fragmentation, and to solve complex problems, and to do collaborative governance based on networks and partnerships involving public officials – that is, elected representatives as well as administrators – is necessary (Osborne, 2006; 2010; Rhodes, 2016; Sørensen & Torfing, 2018).

The question explored in this essay is to what extent, and under what circumstances, elected representatives and administrators are assumed to have diverging and converging needs for interaction with citizens, according to this recent body of literature. The aim is to build an analytical framework for analysing the consequences of such differences in needs, in cases when democratic innovations are introduced. Because politicians are dependent on administrative capacity to establish arenas and implement formal types of interaction with citizens, such diverging needs may have very important consequences. For instance, rather than supporting elected representatives' need for interaction with citizens, administrative needs might be prioritised instead – and measures may be introduced to innovate democracy that might not serve politicians well after all. We know very well that bureaucracies influence policymaking. Due to the fact that administrators are normally neither elected nor directly accountable to the citizens they serve, their substantial impact on public policy may turn out to pose a democratic threat. However, the influence exercised by the bureaucracy on public policy is a challenge for representative democracy only when there are significant differences – in attitudes, interest, and values – between administrators and politicians (Jacobsen, 2012).

There are, so far, very few contributions in the literature that empirically investigate the demand for interaction with citizens among politicians and administrators respectively (although see Eckerd and Heidelberg, 2019; Hendriks and Lees-Marshment, 2019). To tap into differences in politicians' and administrators' needs for interaction with citizens, the essay draws on literature on democratic innovations as well as literature on Public Value and New Public Governance since these two governance paradigms are

especially concerned with societal involvement. The literature on democratic innovations is included as a likely source of knowledge about how politicians' needs are met by interaction with citizens. The Public Value and New Public Governance literature is addressed because it places particular emphasis on societal involvement in these public governance regimes (Torfing et al., 2020), and is therefore likely to offer arguments about administrators' needs for interaction with citizens. A review of related concepts, such as "interactive governance" and "participatory governance", was considered. The two chosen governance paradigms are, however, by far the best established in the literature and represent the breadth of arguments about interaction with citizens.

Based on a systematic review of the most frequently cited articles within the above bodies of literature, I elaborate on the degree of divergence and convergence in anticipated needs for interaction with citizens. In addition to politicians' and administrators' needs for interaction with citizens, I searched for further relevant contingency factors defining the context for democratic innovations in the reviewed literature. Based on this, an analytical framework is presented, as well as an empirical example, to illustrate how the framework may be utilised for analysing the prioritisation of politicians' and administrators' needs for interaction with citizens in specific cases of democratic innovation. The empirical example is retrieved from a study of a democratic innovation aimed at strengthening the role of elected representatives in local governments in Denmark and Norway. The essay concludes with a summary of the main conclusions.

METHODS AND DATA

The literature review is based on a search conducted in the ISI Web of Knowledge, Web of Science Core Collection (1900–present). The most frequently cited English language articles within the subject areas "public administration" and "political science" are included. To cover both classic and the more recent contributions in each field, separate searches were carried out for the period 2019 and before; and for the five-year period 2015–2019. Review articles were excluded as these do not fully represent the original contributions and tend to be disproportionately frequently cited. Further details on the literature search may be found in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1   Details on the six literature searches in ISI Web of Knowledge

Topic[1]	Period	Number of articles
democratic AND innovation*	1993[2]–2019	275
democratic AND innovation*	2015–2019	156
public AND value	1933[2]–2019	4153
public AND value	2015– 2019	1814
new AND public AND governance	1994[2]–2019	1453
new AND public AND governance	2015–2019	700

[1] Topic (TS), search the following fields within a record: title, abstract, author keywords, keywords plus
[2] First publication registered in the ISI Web of Knowledge database.

From each field of literature, the most cited articles for the two selected time periods were assessed, and ten relevant articles from each field were chosen. The most cited articles were chosen to represent the predominant arguments about needs for citizen participation referred to in the literature. The articles that formed the basis for the analysis are listed in Table 2. Because some of the articles are among the most frequently cited in two of the three fields of literature, a total of 24 articles was identified once the duplicates were removed.

TABLE 10.2: The 24 articles included in the analysis, as per field of literature
(duplicates indicated with *)

Democratic Innovation – 2019	Democratic Innovation 2015–2019	Public Value – 2019	Public Value 2015–2019	New Public Governance – 2019	New Public Governance 2015–2019
Goodin & Dryzek, 2006	Fung, 2015*	Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000	Fung 2015*	Stoker, 2006*	Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015
Fung, 2015*	Osborne, 2018	Stoker, 2006*	Osborne et al., 2016*	Bingham et al., 2005	Sørensen & Torfing, 2017*
Osborne et al., 2016*	Hendriks, 2016	O'Flynn, 2007*	Hardyman et. al., 2015	Vigoda, 2002	Rhodes, 2016
Lowndes, 2008	Sørensen & Torfing, 2017*	Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007	Bryson et al., 2017	O'Flynn, 2007*	Sicilia et al., 2016
Wampler & Avritzer, 2004	Torfing & Ansell, 2017	Fishkin & Luskin, 2005	O'Toole, 2015	Osborne, 2012	Hong, 2016

Utilising the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo, the selected body of literature was coded according to whether the needs for interaction with citizens described in the text concerned politicians or administrators respectively. The three sources of literature were not separated, since the body of literature was analysed as a whole.

The democratic innovation used as an example in the essay is retrieved from a research project carried out in 2018 on Norwegian and Danish local governments that investigated democratic innovations. Data from the two municipalities in question, which both implemented task committees – Gentofte in Denmark and Svelvik in Norway – consists of 47 semi-structured interviews with 26 different councillors. In addition, the examples draw on evidence from the final evaluation reports on the workings of the task committees (Sørensen & Torfing, 2016; 2019).

ON THE THREE BODIES OF LITERATURE ANALYSED

Democratic innovations refer to government-initiated participatory processes involving citizens and local officials in policymaking about problems that affect them. Democratic innovations – for example citizen juries, deliberative polls and participatory budgeting – are also sometimes termed *participatory innovations* (Fung, 2015). The literature is relatively limited and young, with the first publication registered in 1993. *Public Value* refers to the governance paradigm first put forward by Mark Moore in his seminal book, *Creating Public Value,* published in 1995. Public value refers to the positive impact that public interventions may have on societal problems and social needs. Responsibility for public value production is placed on public managers. To gain support for the social purpose they want to pursue, however, they need legitimacy, which can be garnered by involving social and political actors in discussions about what public value is, as well as in its production (Torfing et al. 2020:105). Public value is registered as a topic in journal articles as far back as 1933, and the literature is extensive, reflecting the fact that "public value" is also a general term that has been debated for as long as public administration has existed. Only in recent years has the term been associated with Public Value in connection with the governance paradigm created by Mark More. In the other governance paradigm included in the review, *New Public Governance,* mutual dependence on and collaboration with public administration are stressed, especially between public and private actors in networks and partnerships. The basic premise is trust-based steering and considerable room for administrative discretion allowing for

dialogue with users, citizens and stakeholders to mobilise resources (Torfing et al. 2020:125). Like "public value", "new public governance" emerged as a topic in the literature after 1994 – years before the field expanded as a result of Osborne's definition of New Public Governance as a paradigm in 2006 (and 2010).

The governance ideas cited in the reviewed literature on Public Value and New Public Governance proliferated as a reaction to the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm of the 1980s. Contesting the classic public administration ideas associated with Wilson and Weber, NPM focused on users' needs and satisfaction, and put pressure on public authorities to become more responsive to citizens as clients. However, the reviewed literature maintains that NPM encourages passivity among the citizenry. The focus is, moreover, intraorganisational, and NPM does not reflect the increasingly interorganisational and interactive way in which administrative agencies operate and public services are provided (Vigoda, 2002; Osborne, 2012; Torfing et al., 2020). Osborne et al. (2016, p. 640,641), for example, emphasise that public value is more than the sum of public service producers' or users' individual preferences (see also Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000; Vigoda, 2002; Bingham et al., 2005; Stoker, 2006; O'Flynn, 2007; Fung, 2015; Rhodes, 2016).

THE VARIOUS NEEDS FOR CITIZEN INTERACTION IDENTIFIED IN THE LITERATURE

In the following, needs for citizen interaction identified in the three bodies of literature – democratic innovations, Public Value and New Public Governance are discussed. Thus, this summary of the most-cited literature is intended to represent current academic arguments concerning politicians' and administrators' need for citizen participation.

A first theme in the literature is the variation in democratic innovations; that is, the many kinds of citizen participation that exist. Bingham et al. (2005), for example, draw attention to public agencies engaging in activities ranging from the legislative or quasi-legislative to the judicial or quasi-judicial. "Quasi-legislative processes in the new governance include deliberative democracy, e-democracy, public conversations, participatory budgeting, citizen juries, study circles, collaborative policymaking, and other forms of deliberation and dialogue among groups of stakeholders or citizens. Quasi-judicial processes include alternative dispute resolution such as mediation, facilitation, early neutral assessment, and arbitration" (Bingham et al. 2005, p. 547).

In the literature examined, the predominant argument for inviting citizens into such different participation arenas is that this may increase *legitimacy*.

By introducing citizen participation into the policymaking process, *perspectives that are more closely aligned with those of the general public will be taken into account.* Citizens generally seek pragmatic flexibility between the role of clients/customers and the position of equal partners, and they resist being treated as subjects or as simple voters (Vigoda, 2002; Fung, 2015). The present complexity in governance is acknowledged, and it is accepted that government activity is interconnected and interdependent and, as such, may require more collaborative effort when it comes to pursuing public value (Hirst, 2000; Vigoda, 2002; Stoker, 2006; O'Flynn, 2007; Lowndes, 2008; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; 2015; see also Hirst, 2000). In the literature examined, mini-publics and participatory budgeting, in particular, are discussed as relevant ways of including the public in policymaking. As for participatory budgeting in Brazil, where this democratic innovation was first introduced in the 1980s, citizen participation was also essential in pressuring traditional local politicians to *combat clientelism, patronage, and corruption.* Here, civic society organisations and social movements promoted open meetings, public deliberations, and transparent implementation processes to overcome the enduring political legacies of military authoritarianism (Wampler & Avritzer, 2004). Participatory processes may also promote *empowerment*, at least in a psychological or sociological sense, if not in a legal or political sense (Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; Hendriks, 2016). In addition, the fact that *citizens learn and develop* through contact with the public sector is essential (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007, p. 268, 369).

The message is that democratic innovations are necessary to counteract the severe problems facing representative democracy. Given that elections do not encourage dialogue between governors and governed, organised publics can serve as arenas for dialogue with government, and for holding government to account, or so the argument is stated (e.g., Hirst, 2000; Stoker, 2006; Lowndes, 2008; Fung, 2015, Ansell & Torfing, 2015; Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). Thus, the basic argument in the literature is that citizen participation is needed to rescue representative democracy; people need to be brought closer to the political processes affecting them. The question, then, is how elected representatives and administrators are assumed to gain from the participatory efforts organised.

ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES' ANTICIPATED NEED FOR INTERACTION WITH CITIZENS

The role of elected representatives is not grounded in any of the literature reviewed. It is emphasised, however, that politicians and administrators "live in a closed world of overlapping roles and responsibilities" (Rhodes, 2016, p. 644), and are therefore dependent on one another to carry out their roles. This is regarded as an important acknowledgement. Denying that politics – understood as something apart from party politics – forms part of the management system is regarded as a failure in former public administration regimes (Stoker, 2006, p. 46). Interestingly, the literature gives the impression that many kinds of participatory measures started out as administrative initiatives and were subsequently taken over by politicians. Fung (2015), for example, suggests that just a decade ago different kinds of "mini-publics" emerged as venues for direct citizen participation, instigated primarily by administrative agencies or actors outside the government. Today, however, we see that important mini-publics are also created by politicians.

Although few contributors explicitly address the kind of promising gains that elected representatives will obtain from citizen participation, Goodin & Dryzek (2006) reflected more specifically on how the output of mini-publics might be taken up in, or inform, the policy process. Mini-publics could, for example, connect with legislative committees, as an institution of *public deliberation* and therefore an important site for policy work undertaking much of the *"creative, cooperative work"* of legislatures (Hendriks, 2016). For elected representatives who want to *"market-test" their proposals,* mini-publics might answer the question about whether a proposal can be "sold" or not. In the latter case, mini-publics serve the same role as much of the consultative apparatus that was traditionally used by governments, for instance public inquiries and Green Papers in the United Kingdom, and remiss procedures in Scandinavia (see also Bingham et al., 2005).

Moreover, Denhardt and Denhardt (2000, p. 555) emphasised the need for political leadership, arguing that policies and programs *meeting public needs most effectively and responsibly* can be achieved through collective efforts and collaborative processes. Similarly, in contrast to the network management literature, which is primarily interested in how public managers can get things done by creating well-functioning networks, the influence of elected representatives as "metagovernors" is introduced into debates about how networks can contribute to *interest mediation and the achievement of overall political goals* (Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). Lastly, when discussing the need for *innovation* in the public sector, Torfing and Ansell (2017) maintained that in Western democracies, the range of actors who provide input to pol-

iticians tends to be limited to executive administrators, policy experts and lobbyists. More open and systematic collaboration with and between public and private actors can, they argue, "…enrich politicians" *understanding of policy problems*, help them to challenge reigning policy paradigms, stimulate *creative problem-solving*, facilitate a comprehensive *assessment of risks and gains* of new and bold solutions, provide *complementary resources*, and help build common ownership that *ensures implementation*" (Torfing & Ansell, 2017, p. 38).

ADMINISTRATORS' ANTICIPATED NEED FOR INTERACTION WITH CITIZENS

According to the reviewed literature, public administration enhances *democratic legitimacy*. The basic argument is that public values, political legitimacy and responsible government are mutually reinforcing (Stoker, 2006; Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Bryson et al., 2017). Public Value Management provides a framework for building more extended exchanges between governors and governed than is possible in formal representative democracy with its occasional elections. Other actors also having valid claims to legitimacy include business partners, neighbourhood leaders, those with knowledge about services as professionals or users, and those in a position of oversight as auditors or regulators (Vigoda, 2002; Stoker, 2006; O'Flynn, 2007; Osborne et al., 2016; Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). Participation is not simply good in and of itself, the argument is stated, but *carefully crafted* citizen participation can underpin the values of *good governance* (Fung, 2015). Indeed, considerations of *fairness and equity* play an important role in public service delivery, and in many cases are more important considerations than the desires of the immediate customer (Bingham et al., 2005).

The literature suggests that administrators' interaction with citizens, in addition to enhancing democratic legitimacy, may make government more *effective* (e.g., Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015; Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). Stoker (2006) drew attention to the fact that democracy may help to *provide solutions* by enabling actors to exchange and learn from one another; and the literature offers various instrumental arguments in favour of citizen participation and cooperation with stakeholders. Fung (2015) showed that greater citizen participation increases the effectiveness of government agencies by providing *more information* and insight into the *distinctive capabilities and resources of citizens*. More specifically, he stated that citizens can make several important contributions to solving complex problems, like

helping to frame a given problem in more accurate and viable ways than professionals acting alone could do; and *adjudicating* decisions involving ethical or material trade-offs. Representing the most affected group, citizens may also be well placed to *provide information relevant to devising solutions and evaluating implementation and* – if directly engaged in solving public problems – to *contribute with additional resources through co-production* (see also O'Toole 2015).

The literature examined also includes articles specifically on the co-production of public services. Some scholars, like Osborne et al. (2016), emphasized the individual dimension of co-production, arguing that co-production leads to the *co-creation of value for the service user*, comprising their satisfaction with the service, the impact of the service experience upon their well-being, and the extent to which it meets their social, health or economic needs. However, the role of user is regarded as based in the broader societal role: exploring value co-creation through, for instance, patient engagement at the micro level, is regarded as important for health care practice and policy, and presents opportunities to enhance initiatives to interact at the meso and macrolevels (Hardyman et al., 2015, p. 93, 94; Osborne et al., 2016, p. 245). Other scholars address the wider role of citizens in the co-production of public services, involving not only service users, but also citizens, volunteers, non-governmental partners, or other groups of people. In the latter case, public meetings, advisory committees, focus groups, and surveys might be used in different phases of the public services cycle for *obtaining more information, sharing decision-making powers, and/or co-delivering better public services* (Hong, 2016; Secilia et al, 2016). Hong (2016) argued that when bureaucrats and the public share experiences and values, clients are more willing to contribute too. This, in turn, makes it *easier for organisations to meet their goals*. Moreover, Secilia (2016) showed how co-production may be used not only as a way to *cut costs* by bringing in users' expertise and networks, but also to *improve service quality*; moreover, the public services provided may be *better targeted and more responsive to users.*

DEVELOPING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Politicians' and administrators' presumed needs for citizen interaction, as identified in the most-cited literature presented above, are summarised, sorted and listed in Table 10.3. The three categories are deduced from the different types of needs suggested in the literature.

TABLE 10.3: Politicians' and administrators' presumed needs for interaction with citizens

Politicians' needs for interaction with citizens	Administrators' needs for interaction with citizens
Arguments concerning the policymaking process	
understand policy problems	help in framing particular problems
innovation/creative problem-solving/risks and gains	adjudicate decisions
"market-test" proposals/ensure implementation	
Arguments concerning the core purpose	
meet public needs most effectively and responsibly	improve service quality/co-create value
provide additional resources	cut costs
achieve political goals	provide additional resources
	increased effectiveness
	meet organisational goals
Arguments concerning the broader public	
public deliberation	increased democratic legitimacy
interest mediation	good governance, incl. upholding fairness and equity
strengthening of citizen responsibility	
groups and individuals building community bonds	

As illustrated by the keywords summarising the needs expressed in the literature, both administrators and politicians are regarded as needing interaction with citizens during the *policymaking process*. For administrators, help in framing particular problems is mentioned explicitly. Whilst for politicians, the term "innovation" encompasses "…engagement in processes of collaborative interaction with public and private actors holding different ideas, competences and resources and by giving politicians a prominent role as sponsors, conveners, facilitators and catalysts of creative problem solving" (Torfing & Ansell, 2017, p. 38).

The need for politicians to "market-test" proposals among affected citizens reflects a long tradition of consultation used by many governments. Interestingly, we find a need for administrators to adjudicate decisions among citizens in cases where ethical or material trade-offs are at stake. That is, instead of letting elected representatives take the stand in value-loaded questions, the

need to define priorities in public policy is regarded as an argument for why administrators should interact with citizens.

As for the arguments concerning *core purpose*, logically, these are somewhat different for politicians and administrators. Achieving organisational or political goals are important for both. But the needs listed for administrators are typically oriented towards service delivery, efficiency and resources, whilst the main argument for citizens' involvement with politicians is to meet public needs more generally, in an effective and responsible way.

Turning to the last group of arguments in favour of citizen participation, regarding *the broader public*, good governance and increased democratic legitimacy are the two administrative needs mentioned in the literature. Conversely, for politicians, accommodating general democratic norms like public deliberation and interest mediation are regarded as valid arguments, as is the need to strengthen citizen responsibility and for groups and individuals to build community bonds.

In sum, the need for citizen involvement described in the literature reviewed is logically determined by the different roles played by administrators and politicians in representative democracies. The diverging needs are typically related to politicians' and administrators' core purpose as public officials; other needs converge. Informational input into the policymaking process, for example, is an assumed need for both groups of actors. Another area of convergence detected in the literature has to do with administrators' need to adjudicate among citizens in decisions involving ethical or material trade-offs. Although needs may converge, it seems likely that administrators' broader need to legitimise their public value proposition among users, stakeholders and citizens might come into conflict with a similar need among politicians. Indeed, this particular need competes directly with what is usually regarded as the core purpose of elected representatives (Stoker, 2006; Rhodes, 2016).

However, to discuss how convergence and divergence might prioritise political or administrative needs it is necessary to consider an additional variable, namely the arena in which interaction takes place. *Arenas organised for citizens to interact with public officials* should also serve as a contingency factor in a framework designed for analysing the degree to which administrative needs are prioritised at the expense of political needs or not. Here, arenas are broadly defined, referring to formally organised arrangements for interaction on policy development, problem solving and/or service delivery with societal actors such as citizens, stakeholders and/or non-governmental organisations (Sancino et al., 2018). The literature review reveals no difference in the kind of arenas for citizen involvement that are utilised by administrators and politicians. Mini-publics and public meetings, for example, are

depicted as arenas for interaction with citizens that are just as relevant for administrators as they are for politicians. On such common arenas, the literature leaves it as an open question whether citizens' views are turned into administrative arguments in the policymaking process, or whether citizens' views are transformed into arguments that politicians can use. Thus, *control over this arena* seems important. Administrators or politicians may control the participatory arena by enabling citizens to become involved primarily in the administrators' or the politicians' arguments, respectively. In addition, administrators may control the arena purely by virtue of the fact that as professionals, they have more knowledge and capacity to pursue specific arguments on the participatory agenda, compared to elected representatives. Independently of whether administrative dominance of the participatory arena results from opportunistic behaviour or not, such dominance will determine whether the need politicians have for interacting with citizens in innovative arenas will be prioritised or not.

In some instances, participatory arenas differ between politicians and administrators. As shown in Table 10.3, while the need to improve service quality is a core purpose for administrators, politicians must meet broader public demands. Citizen participation oriented towards quality improvement will have to be organised in a different way than interaction aimed at meeting broader public demands. Thus, in cases where citizens are invited into primarily administrative processes, their involvement is likely to support the administrators' arguments – but will not necessarily serve the need for citizen involvement among politicians. On the contrary, when politicians' have a pressing need to invite citizens to participate, interaction is more likely to enrich political discourse and arguments.

The two variables identified above – the need for citizen interaction and control over the participatory arena – form the basis of the analytical framework proposed for analysing the potential benefits of politicians' interaction with citizens. The core question is the degree to which politicians' or administrators' needs for interaction with citizens are prioritised in democratic innovations. The analytical framework is presented in Figure 10.1.

Politicians' needs

(1)
Politicians' needs
prioritized

(2)
Administrators
enter politics?

Politically-
controlled
arena

convergence

Administratively-
controlled
arena

(3)
Administrators
take over the
arena?

(4)
Administrators'
needs prioritized
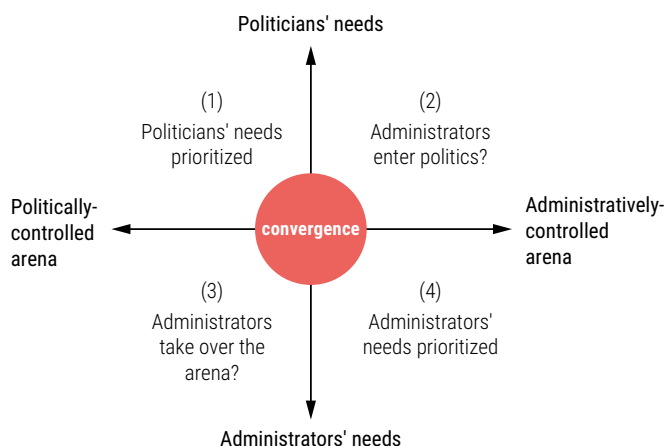
Administrators' needs

FIGURE 10.1:   Analytical framework

As illustrated, we are likely to find variation in the degree to which interaction with citizens meets politicians' or administrators' in the degree to which interaction with citizens meets politicians' and administrators needs for such interaction, as well as the degree to which the interactive arena is controlled by politicians or by administrators. Convergence in terms of needs and arenas is depicted in the middle of the figure. Logically in such situations, the needs of politicians and administrators for interaction with citizens are likely to be equally prioritised. Whether converging needs have any impact on the way politicians' needs for interaction with citizens are prioritised depends on who controls the participatory arena. Following the horizontal continuum to the left, when the participatory arena is controlled by the politicians themselves, the latter's needs are likely to be prioritised. Moving towards the left along the continuum, when the participatory arena is administratively controlled, the expectation is that administrators' needs for interaction with citizens will be prioritised.

Furthermore, in situations where politicians need interaction with citizens, those needs are likely to be prioritised if they themselves control the participatory arena (1). If, on the other hand, the participatory arena is administratively controlled, the question is more open (2). Although administrators do not need to interact with citizens in the actual arena in question, they may enter into political discussions with them. Alternatively, the involved politicians may become inactive, and the needed interaction with citizens may not support the role they play as elected representatives.

Alternatively, in situations where administrators need interaction with citizens, they will be in charge and their needs will be prioritised when they control

the participatory arena themselves (3). If this arena is politically controlled, on the other hand, the question about whose need for citizen participation is prioritised becomes more open (4). The arena might then be taken over by administrators, due to their sovereign administrative capacity. Alternatively, the strong presence of politicians in the arena may disturb the interactive process with citizens, undermining administrators' interactive efforts.

TASK COMMITTEES AS AN INNOVATION FOR STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

To illustrate how the suggested framework may be used to analyse the prioritisation of politicians' needs for interaction with citizens, a specific democratic innovation – task committees – introduced in Danish and Norwegian local governments will serve as an empirical example. Task committees convene a group of citizens and politicians who come together to develop a policy on a given topic that is defined by the council. The committees submit their policy proposals to the council, which in turn votes on the suggested proposals. Task committees are dissolved as soon as the proposal is submitted, and new committees tasked with new issues may be appointed by the council.

Thus, the main idea behind task committees is to establish arenas for direct dialogue between politicians and citizens. In Gentofte (2015–present) and Svelvik (2017–2019) municipalities, the publicly stated reason for establishing task committees is that policies developed in cooperation with citizens will be more innovative and respond more efficiently to citizens' demands than policies developed within the municipal organisation alone. With reference to the needs listed in Table 10.3, this postulated demand for citizen interaction touches on politicians' core purpose – meeting public needs and achieving political goals. The main aims, however, are to strengthen the role politicians play in developing policies, and to "market-test" proposals. Here, politicians share the need for citizen interaction with administrators. Therefore, the first analytical point to make according to the above analytical framework is that although the task committees are set up to serve politicians' needs for interaction with citizens, some of their needs are different from, and some converge with, the needs that administrators are assumed to have for interaction with citizens.

Evaluations of the two local governments where task committees have been introduced clearly conclude that this participatory innovation supports politicians in their role as policy developers. Instead of the standard procedure in which administratively developed, ready-made proposals are offered for discussion and decision in formal political meetings, politicians also play an active role in the preparatory phase of the policy cycle due to their many

discussions with citizens in the task committees. That is, politicians' needs for citizen involvement seem to be prioritised. At the same time, and "as usual", the involved administrators prepare all parts of the interactive process. Administrators suggest themes for the task committees to discuss, list the characteristics and competences that the non-political participants should possess, and draft the mandates given to the task committees. The policy proposals submitted by the committees to the council are also administratively assessed, with fiscal consequences calculated, leaving a prominent role for administrators. The data also reveal that the involved politicians and citizens would have liked to be more actively involved in proposing their mandate, and they call for procedures to follow up the work they carried out in the task committees. This all shows that although politicians' need for citizen interaction is at the front on a participatory arena, interaction with citizens takes place within an administratively controlled context.

Addressing the question about control over participatory arenas, emphasis is placed on the interaction between politicians and citizens when and where they actually meet. Evidence from the task committees in both municipalities shows that the involved politicians find it hard to settle on how to play out their role vis-a-vis citizens, and they tend to "hold back" in discussions with citizens. Administrative facilitation during meetings between citizens and politicians is, moreover, an essential part of how the task committees are run, leaving it very much up to the involved administrators to decide what kind of information to present, which visits to make, which innovative processes to organise, etc. Thus, the arena is administratively controlled to a large extent, and the premises for discussions between citizens and politicians are primarily defined by administrative officers.

Summing up, even though the explicit aim of task committees is to establish an arena for direct dialogue between politicians and citizens in order to strengthen the role politicians play in developing new policies, administrators' needs for citizen interaction may also be served by, and even prioritised in, the committees. This analysis of task committees is just an example and is therefore trivial. Yet it provides valuable insight into how well citizen interaction serves the involved politicians. The example also confirms the relevance of the analytical framework suggested: pursuing the degree of difference in needs for interaction with citizens as an important context variable, but in combination with the degree to which politicians or administrators control the participatory arena.

ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES' NEED FOR INTERACTION WITH CITIZENS IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT

The essay highlights the pivotal role played by administrators in initiating, describing and implementing *democratic innovations*, which are defined as government-initiated participation involving citizens and local officials in policymaking concerning problems that affect them. From the literature on governance paradigms, more specifically *Public Value* and *New Public Governance*, we know that it is not only elected representatives who are searching for interaction and dialogue with citizens – administrators are as well. So, while elected representatives and administrators clearly share an interest in interaction with citizens, the question is to what extent, and under what circumstances, they are presumed in the literature to have diverging or converging needs for interaction with citizens. Because politicians are dependent on administrators to prepare all kinds of public policy, including democratic innovations, it is pivotal to determine whether, and under what circumstances, politicians' and administrators' needs for interaction with citizens are prioritised. If administrative needs are prioritised, measures introduced for innovating democracy might not serve politicians.

With this as its point of departure, the essay discusses the extent to which elected representatives and administrators are assumed to have diverging or converging needs for interaction with citizens in the relevant literature on democratic innovations, Public Value and New Public Governance. In this systematic review of the most frequently cited references within these three bodies of literature, the main finding is that the supposed needs for citizen participation among politicians and administrators differ somewhat, but also partly overlap. For example, only administrators are assumed to need citizen involvement in order to improve service quality and cut costs, and only politicians are assumed to need citizen involvement in order to mediate interests and make deliberations public. In analysing how convergence and divergence in needs might result in the prioritisation of politicians' or administrators' needs for citizen interaction, the arena where interaction with citizens takes place should also be considered. The pivotal context variable of whether a given participatory arena for citizen interaction is administratively or politically controlled is therefore also included in the analytical framework. In situations where citizens are invited to participate in primarily administrative processes, their involvement is likely to benefit the administrators – not necessarily supporting politicians' needs for interaction with citizens or serving the latter in their role as elected representatives. It is vice versa in situations where politicians dominate the participatory arena, then their needs for interaction with citizens are likely to be prioritised.

Finally, the literature review shows very clearly that although broad arguments in favour of citizen participation are flourishing, and that administrators' need for contact with citizens is recognised as essential in public governance paradigms, the elected representatives' demands for citizen participation are only sporadically and often indirectly expressed. Given that democratic innovations are introduced to reinforce representative democracy, this is a paradox. It seems essential to clarify why, and in which ways, elected representatives need interaction with citizens. As we have seen, there has been some work on this in recent literature, notably by Sørensen and Torfing (2017) and Torfing and Ansell (2017). The latest conceptualisation of interactive political leadership also placed emphasis on the interaction between elected representatives and citizens (e.g., Lees-Marshment, 2015; Sørensen & Torfing, 2018; Sørensen, 2020). However, the literature on politicians' needs for democratic innovations to strengthen their interaction with citizens is still sparse and calls for further research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barber, B.R. (1984). *Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics For a New Age.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bingham, L.B., Nabatchi, T. & O'Leary, R. (2005). The new governance: Practices and processes for stakeholder and citizen participation in the work of government. *Public Administration Review*, *65*(5), 547–558.

Bryson, J., Sancino, A., Benington, J. & Sørensen, E. (2017). Towards a multi-actor theory of public value co-creation. *Public Management Review*, *19*(5), 640–654. DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2016.1192164

Denhardt, R.B. & Denhardt, J.V. (2000). The new public service: Serving rather than steering. *Public Administration Review*, *60*(6), 549–559.

Denhardt, J.V. & Denhardt, R.B. (2015). The new public service revisited. *Public Administration Review*, *75*(5), 664–672.

Eckerd, A. & R.L. Heidelberg. (2020). Administering public participation. *American Review of Public Administration*, *50*(2), 133–147. Doi: 10.1177/0275074019871368.

Edelenbos, J. & van Meerkerk, I. (Eds.). 2016. *Critical Reflections on Interactive Governance. Self-organization and Participation in Public Governance.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Fishkin, J.S. & Luskin, R.C. (2005). Experimenting with a democratic ideal: Deliberative polling and public opinion. *Acta Politica*, *40*(3), 284–298. Doi:10.1057/palgrave.ap.5500121

Fung, A. (2015). Putting the public back into governance: The challenges of citizen participation and its future. *Public Administration Review*, *75*(4), 513–522. DOI: 10.1111/puar.12361.

Geissel, B. & M.J. (Eds.). (2013). *Participatory Democratic Innovations in Europe. Improving the Quality of Democracy.* Barbara Budrich Publishers.

Goodin, R.E & Dryzek, J.S. (2006). Deliberative impacts: The macro-political uptake of mini-publics. *Politics & Society*, *34*(2), 219–244. DOI: 10.1177/0032329206288152

Hardyman, W., Daunt, K.L. & Kitchener, M. (2015). Value co-creation through patient engagement in health care: a micro-level approach and research agenda. *Public Management Review*, *17*(1), 90–107. DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2014.881539

Hertting, N. & Kugelberg, C. (Eds.). (2018). *Local Participatory Governance and Representative democracy. Institutional dilemmas in European Cities.* London: Routledge.

Heinelt, H. (Ed.). (2018). *Handbook on Participatory Governance.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Hendriks, C.M. (2016). Coupling citizens and elites in deliberative systems: The role of institutional design. *European Journal of Political Research*, *55*(1), 43–60. Doi: 10.1111/1475–6765.12123

Hendriks, C.M. & Lees-Marshment, J. (2019). Political leaders and public engagement: The hidden world of informal elite-citizen interaction. *Political Studies*, *67*(3), 597–617. doi: 10.1177/0032321718791370.

Hong, S. (2016). Representative bureaucracy, organizational integrity, and citizen coproduction: Does an increase in police ethnic representativeness reduce crime? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *35*(1), 11–33. DOI:10.1002/pam.21876

Jacobsen, D.I. (2012). Local authority bureaucracies: responsible, representative, or divergent. Evidence from small political systems in Norway. *Public Administration*, *90*(4), 1067–1087.

Jørgensen, T.B. & Bozeman, B. (2007). Public values. An inventory. *Administration & Society*, *39*(3), 354–381. DOI: 10.1177/0095399707300703

Lees-Marshment, J. (2015). *The Ministry of Public Input. Integrating Citizens Views into Political Leadership.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lowndes; V. & Sullivan, H. (2008). How low can you go? Rationales and challenges for neighbourhood governance. *Public Administration*, *86*(1), 53–74. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467–9299.2007.00696.x

Mair, P. (2013). *Ruling the Void. The Hollowing of Western Democracy.* Verso.

Moore, M.H. (1995). *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in government.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nabatchi, T. & Leighninger, M. (2015). *Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy*. Hoboken, NJ: Jossey-Bass.

Nabatchi, T. (2012). Putting the "public" back in public values research: Designing participaqtion to indentify respons to values. *Public Administration Review*, *72*(5), 699–708.

O'Flynn, J. (2007). From new public management to public value: Paradigmatic change and managerial implications. *The Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *66*(3), 353–366. Doi:10.1111/j.1467–8500.2007.00545.x

O'Toole, L.J. (2015). Networks and networking: The public administrative agendas. *Public Administration Review*, *75*(3), 361–371. DOI: 10.1111/puar.12281.

Osborne, S.P. (2006). The new public governance? *Public Management Review*, *8*(3), 377–388.

Osborne, S.P. (2010). *The New Public Governance?* London: Routledge.

Osborne, S.P. (2018). From public service-dominant logic to public service logic: Are public service organizations capable of co-production and value co-creation? *Public Management Review*, *20*(2), 225–231. DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2017.1350461

Osborne, S.P., Radnor, Z. & Nasi, G. (2012). A new theory for public service management? Toward a (public) service-dominant approach. *American Review of Public Administration*, *43*(2),135–158.

Osborne, S.P., Radnor, Z. & Strokosch, K. (2016). Co-production and the co-creation of value in public services: A suitable case for treatment? *Public Management Review*, *18*(5), 639–653. DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2015.1111927

Pateman, C. (1970). *Participatin and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rhodes, R.A.W. (2016). Recovering the craft of public administration. *Public Administration Review*, *76*(4), 638–647. DOI: 10.1111/puar.12504.

Sancino, A., Meneguzzo, M., Braga, A. & Esposito, P. (2018). The relationship between politics and administration. From dicotomy to local governance arenas. In R. Kereley, J. Liddle and P.T. Dunning (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of International Local Government* (pp. 70–81). London: Routledge.

Sicilia, M., Guarini, E., Sancino, A., Andreani, M. & Ruffini, R. (2016). Public services management and co-production in multi-level governance settings. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, *82*(1), 8–27.

Smith, G. (2009). *Democratic Innovations. Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stoker, G. (2006). Public value management. A new narrative for networked governance? *American Review of Public Administration*, *36*(1), 41–57. DOI: 10.1177/0275074005282583

Sørensen, E. & Torfing, J. (2016). *Samlet valuering av den nye politiske arbejdsform i Gentofte kommune.* Roskilde: University of Roskilde.

Sørensen, E. & Torfing, J. (2017). Metagoverning collaborative innovation in governance networks. *American Review of Public Administration*, *47*(7), 826–839. DOI: 10.1177/0275074016643181

Sørensen, E. & Torfing, J. (2018). The democratizing impact of governance networks: From pluralization, via democratic anchorage, to interactive political leadership. *Public Administration, 96*(2), 302–317. doi.org/10.1111/padm.12398

Sørensen, E. & Torfing, J. (2019). *Slutevaluering af forsøg med opgaveudvalg i Svelvik Kommune.* Roskilde: University of Roskilde.

Sørensen, E. (2020). *Interactive Political Leadership. The Role of Politicians in the Age of Governance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Torfing, J. & Ansell, C. (2017). Strengthening political leadership and policy innovation through the expansion of collaborative forms of governance. *Public Management Review*, *19*(1), 37–54. DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2016.1200662

Torfing, J., Andersen, L.B., Grava C. & Klausen, K.K. (2020). *Public Governance Paradigms. Competing and Co-Exisiting.* Cheltenham. Edward Elgar.

Vigoda, E. (2002). From responsiveness to collaboration: Governance, citizens, and the next generation of public administration. *Public Administration Review*, *62*(5), 527–540.

Wampler, B. & Avritzer, L. (2004). Participatory Publics: Civil Society and New Institutions in Democratic Brazil. *Comparative Politics*, *36*(3), 291–312.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS