



ETORKIZUNA
ERAIKIZ
think tank

NEW POLITICAL CULTURE
REPORT OF THE 10th MEETING

14/04/2021

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SPACE FOR DELIBERATION ON THE NEW POLITICAL CULTURE

ZOOM, April 14, 2021, 5-7 pm

1. Programme

Theme	Person responsible
Introduction to the working session and reflection on the process	Miren Larrea, Orkestra
Presentation of the contents discussed by the group	Eider Mendoza, Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa Sebas Zurutuza, Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa Goizeder Manotas, Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa Ander Arzelus, Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa Eva Sánchez, Orkestra
Group dynamic	Eva Sánchez, Orkestra
General assessment of the process	Miren Larrea, Orkestra

2. Members of the group

In attendance:

1. Sebastian Zurutuza. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
2. Ander Arzelus. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
3. Xabier Barandiaran. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
4. Ion Muñoa. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
5. Goizeder Manotas. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
6. Eider Mendoza. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
7. Itziar Eizagirre. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
8. Mikel Pagola. **Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.**
9. Miren Larrea. **Orkestra.**
10. Asier Lakidain. **Sinnergiak**
11. Naiara Goia. **Aranzazu Laboratory of Social Innovation.**

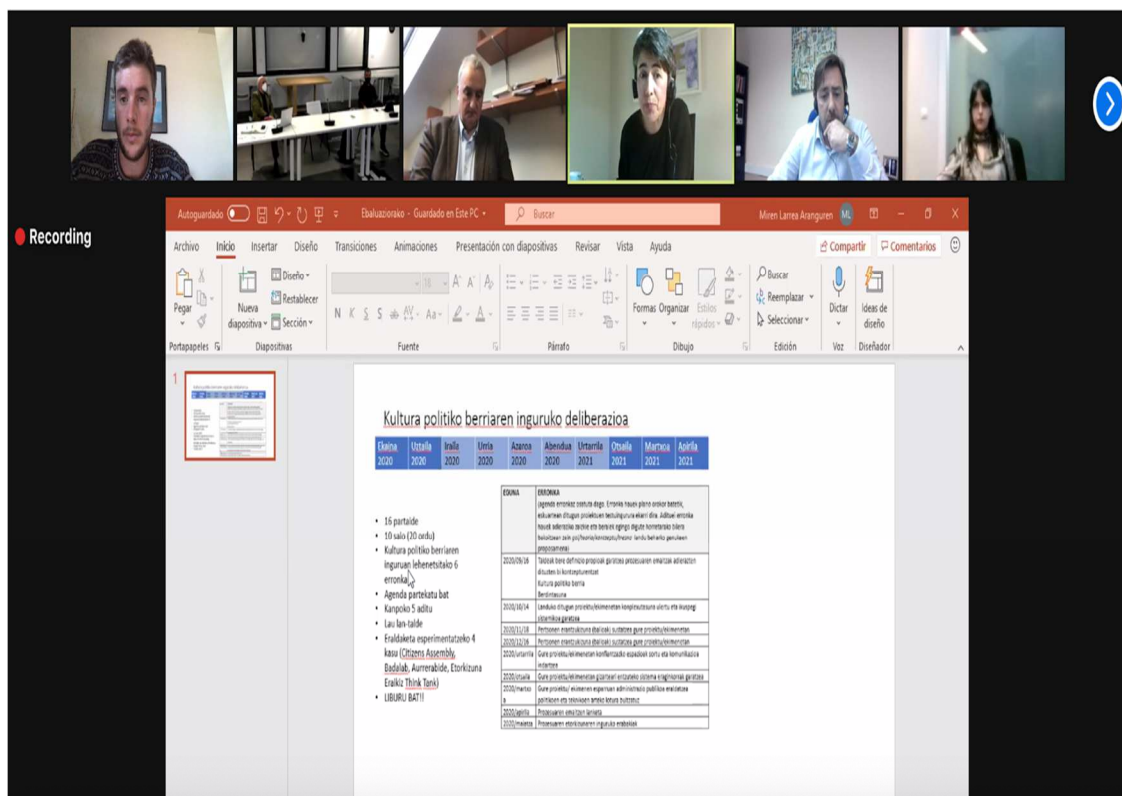
12. Andoni Eizagirre. **Mondragon Unibertsitatea.**
13. Mikel Irizar. **Eusko Ikaskuntza.**
14. Gorka Espiau. **Agirre Lehendakaria Center**
15. Ander Errasti. **Institut d'Estudis de l'Autogovern.**
16. Fernando Tapia. **University of the Basque Country**
17. Eva Sánchez. **Orkestra.**
18. Mikel Gaztañaga. **Orkestra.**

3. Introduction and presentation of the workshop

The Orkestra driver welcomed the group and began her introduction with some reflections on the last session. As a consequence of poor time management and some misunderstandings, a certain amount of confusion and tension ensued between the members of one group. For this reason, she wants to emphasize the importance of managing emotions. As a result of the lessons learned in this process about the emotional dimension, Itziar Eizagirre and Miren Larrea will contribute a chapter on this topic in the book, setting out the lessons learned in the deliberation group.

She then went on to introduce a new member of the group, Mikel Gaztañaga, who is a pre-doctoral researcher at Orkestra. He will be joining the Think Tank as a member of the facilitation team.

The driver then explained that the April session is being organised by DFG6, DFG3, DFG4 and DF1, who are working on administration transformation, with ECO12 acting as a facilitator. She said that the session would combine experiences and concepts, placing complexity and facilitation at the heart of the deliberation. She explained that this session marks the end of the first year of the group's meetings. For this reason, they propose to leave more time for assessments of the first round of meetings.



4. Presentation of the contents discussed by the group

ECO12 took the floor and explained the form her presentation on the topic of facilitation would take: DFG3 and DFG1 will explain their experience as facilitators and working with facilitators; ECO12 will offer an explanation on complexity and DFG4 and DFG6 will show practical application of the theoretical concept in the expansion of Aurrerabide, which is the context chosen for the action. This will be followed by the group dynamics.

DFG3, who shared his experience with facilitation, began the reflection with a question: What is facilitation? *"The facilitator does not make the decisions"*, he said *"but generates the conditions for those responsible for the process to reflect and make decisions."* He said that the facilitator's work is not immediately visible, but it generates possibilities for decision-making. DFG3 stressed the important role played by Orkestra in this whole process, helping to develop the theory behind the concept of facilitation. *"We owe a lot to Orkestra. Miren and Pablo's book has been an importance reference throughout the whole process"*.

He went on to list some of the lessons learned during the process, which has been based on collaborative and multilevel governance, with local development agencies to impact small and medium-sized enterprises. In Etorikizuna Eraikiz's 6 years of experience, he said, some very important foundations have been laid. The first has been *"to involve the Department Economic Promotion, the Cabinet and various development agencies in the process."* Another strategic achievement has been to involve innovation and vocational training centres as well. The overall purpose has been to create spaces for economic promotion linked to work.

The starting point for his reflection on facilitation is that today's political and administrative decisions are made in a context of increasing complexity. That is why it is so important to *"build relationships of profound trust to address situations of enormous complexity"*. These relationships of trust need to be worked on. *"Complexity and trust"*, he said, *"are two key concepts for understanding governance today."* And it is in this space of building trusting relationships in complex situations that the facilitator plays a decisive role. However, in order for the facilitator to play this decisive role, he or she needs to gain the trust of those involved in the process.

DFG3 said that in these processes it is necessary to build a strategy that involves everyone. *"You cannot have a situation where some people decide something and then explain it to others. It is necessary for everyone involved to participate defining the strategy. The strategy should include all the actors involved."* And he said that the work processes *"also entail the task of explanation. The process must be made visible."*

DFG1 then took the floor to continue the reflection on facilitation from the experience of the participants. He began his presentation by providing some context for the reflections made throughout the process on collaborative governance and the new political culture. This reflection on the new political culture is not unique on the international stage; rather it *"is a discussion that is being held throughout the West."* The issue of governance or new governance is one that is being discussed throughout the world. He went on to say: *"the question is: what does governance really mean? What does a new governance involve? How should the new challenges be addressed in this new paradigm? What are the tools that enable this new political culture? When the*

Provincial Government decided it needed to change the way of doing things, it was accepted that new tools were needed. You can't do things differently if you don't change your tools".

"There is a lot of experience here with such initiatives involving multilevel governance. For example, we have the case of the cooperatives and the ikastolas (schools)." He said that such practices were not radically new. "There is a contradiction between the fact that multilevel governance is practised in a number of cases and the lack of institutionalisation of such practices and their poor level of implementation". If we accept the abandonment of "the hierarchical structure of power," he said, we also need to take steps to allow this to happen and to implement new alternative forms of governance.

He also shared his thoughts on the importance of dialogue in multilevel governance, and especially the role of the facilitator in creating the right climate for dialogue: *"The facilitator has to create the climate for a dialogue between all the parties involved, and thus generate bonds of trust that make it possible to take forwards steps."* As regards the process, he said that *"the process is still necessary — A process that engages the people involved and makes them feel they are contributing something to the process, while learning from it."* He has also discussed the need for humility: *"humility is required for the process to be real."*

ECO12 again took the floor. Unlike the two previous talks, she began the presentation on facilitation, not from an experiential perspective, but based on contributions from the academic field, saying that *"facilitation is intrinsically linked to complexity"*. She drew a distinction between three types of situations - simple, complicated and complex - for decision-making. In simple situations, where the solution is obvious, the answer can be based on a *"do as I say"* structure. In complicated situations, where the decision is not as obvious, expert assistance and advice will be required for decision-making. And in complex decision-making contexts, when the solution is not obvious and different actors with different points of view are involved, *"facilitation plays an essential role"*. The solution is not based on a clear order, or on occasional intervention by experts to

improve decision-making, but on building dialogue between the different actors involved. Facilitation *"will create that space for dialogue"*.

DFG4 then took the floor to present the Aurrerabide project, which was launched in 2015 and is the space for action in which the think tank's reflections are being tested out. *"Aurrerabide looks at issues that are not in principle addressed by traditional politics: it seeks to put the new political culture into practice. It was to have been based on a system of good governance and its aim was to transform the administration."* She also highlighted *"the commitment of people with political and technical responsibility to promote a new culture of management and innovation."* Even so, *"the project was not an initial success"* due to *"certain mistakes that occurred during the process"*.



Following DFG4's presentation, DFG6 spoke, reflecting on ways in which the think tank's reflections are influencing Aurrerabide. She began by talking about the comparison made at the beginning of the session with a catalytic element in chemistry, and the role of the facilitator as a catalyst in political decision-making processes. DFG6 said she disagreed with this simile: *"catalysing elements come into contact with the other"*

elements, participating in the process and thus altering their behaviour, causing the elements to bond and split." On the other hand, "a facilitator, although it does trigger bonding between the elements involved in the process, does not participate in it."

DFG6 then took up the reflection on Aurrerabide: *"Aurrerabide has been very positive, but it was not enough."* She explained the role played by the Aurrerabide facilitator *"in influencing every department of the Provincial Government in creating the necessary conditions for reflection, decision and action."* The functions of the facilitator are, inter alia, *"to promote dialogue, aid in conflict management, promote trusting relationships and provide help in the relationship between departments"*. She listed the types of skill that a facilitator requires. The facilitator should *"have an overview of the process, properly manage group diversity, channel reflections, generate a climate of trust and identify the needs of the project."* She concluded by highlighting the necessary impetus received by this process from the Deputy General (first minister).

Following the reflection on Aurrerabide, ECO12 spoke again. ECO12 said that before the participants divided into their separate discussion groups, she had one final reflection: *"creating a new political culture is a very complex challenge."*

5. Group dynamic

ECO12 explained that they will work in groups, and that each group will have to answer one question, for which they will have roughly 30 minutes. She said she wanted to use this question to encourage reflection on the process of the new political culture. She posed the following question: *"What kind of process is the new political culture? Is it simple, complicated or complex?"*. ECO12 said that each group would have to choose a spokesperson to share these ideas with the full group. That spokesperson would have to summarize these ideas in a single sentence. She then divided them into four working groups, which began their separate discussions.

For the following 30 minutes, each group separately discussed the question posed by ECO12. They then returned to the general debate, and the spokespersons explained their groups' conclusions. ECO12 reminded them that the spokesperson should

summarize the ideas in a single sentence, since the last part of the session will be given over to an assessment of the entire process in the Think Tank:

Group 1

ECO9 said that *"the role of the facilitator is as important as it is limited. In this sense we believe that the facilitator needs to gain legitimacy. To this end, it is essential that the role and importance of the facilitator is recognised and legitimised."*

Group 2

ECO3 talked about *"the importance of deliberation. We need to create a system of deliberation based on democratic legitimacy."* He also stressed the need to *"promote collective intelligence"*. According to ECO3, the Think Tank is very important, and Orkestra's role in the process has been essential.

Group 3

ECO11 said that *"the role of the facilitator should be to control the whole process"*. *"It is necessary to have a strategic vision, and to have the ability to understand complexity"*.

Group 4

ECO10 mentioned the relationship between facilitation and complexity. In this sense *"it will be necessary to be able to understand complexity"*. He said, *"knowledge today has become very complex."* On the issue of recognition, ECO10 referred to *"the importance of legitimacy."* He also mentioned the issue of power, saying that it is *"like the carrot and the stick. In other words, many things can and should be debated. But there are others which should not."* Nonetheless, he stressed that *"it is important to find another way of organizing power."*

ECO12 concluded the group dynamic and the presentation of the spokespersons and said that *"all the contributions have been very interesting."*

6. Assessment and end of session

The Orkestra facilitator took the floor to set out some ideas about the assessments of the process. She said that *"this exercise of evaluation is very important, and that is why more time than usual will be provided for completing the forms."*

The Head of Strategy and Research reviewed the group's record over the last year. He said that *"the experience of this last year has been very enriching."* He also stressed that *"self-evaluation is very important. In other words, identifying both the strengths and the weaknesses in the whole process."* He said he wanted to emphasize that in this self-evaluation *"it is necessary to involve not only the organizers, but also everyone who has participated in the process"*. This is *"very important with a view to the coming year, because it will allow us to determine where we need to apply most effort, where we can be more ambitious and what is most suitable."* In this regard, it is also *"very important to make an evaluation every so often."*

The Orkestra driver then took the floor again. She gave a very brief review of the process over the last year, i.e., from June 2020 to April-May 2021. She also mentioned the book she intends to write on the process. *"This is a way of materializing the results of the process,"* she said. Finally, she again highlighted *"the importance of the assessment sheets"* to be completed by each participant.

7. Appendices

a. Presentation used during the session



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Deliberation Group on New Political Culture

14-04-2021

Task for session 14-04-2021



1. Keys to facilitation

2. Aurrerabide and facilitation

3. Group reflection



Situation	Description	Solution
Simple	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Between Towns A and B there is a river. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is obvious to everyone. <p><i>"Do as I say"</i></p>
Complicated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The river is wide The flow is very variable The soil is unstable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not obvious, there are several possible solutions. With the right knowledge, an answer can be reached. <p>Expert knowledge</p>
Complex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build bridge near town square vs. near industrial zone No funding from Provincial Government Town A is willing to finance only 30% of the bridge. WWF and Greenpeace have set up a biosphere protection committee to oversee the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no rational or adequate solution. Expert knowledge is not enough to solve the problem. <p>The solution is negotiated on and built through dialogue.</p>

Snowden and Boone (2007), taken from Costamagna and Larrea (2018)

WORKING WITH FACILITATORS HELPS MANAGE COMPLEX SITUATIONS

Aurrerabide: context



Collaborative governance: The new political culture is a new phase that drives participation from representation to participation and thus collaboration in the development of democracy, based on independent individuals and a living civil society.

4/2019 Good Governance: Using an advanced management model and a series of management tools that respond effectively, efficiently and fairly to the needs of the people and entities receiving the services.

System of Equity: commitment by people with political and technical responsibility to promote a new culture of management and innovation.

AURRERABIDE

1- Strategy; 2- Services; 3- People; 4- Society; 5- Innovation; 6- Results

Aurrerabide Facilitator

In the context of the roll-out of Aurrerabide, the facilitator will be someone who **ensures the right conditions are in place** to enable **each department** of the Provincial Government **to reflect, make decisions and take action**.

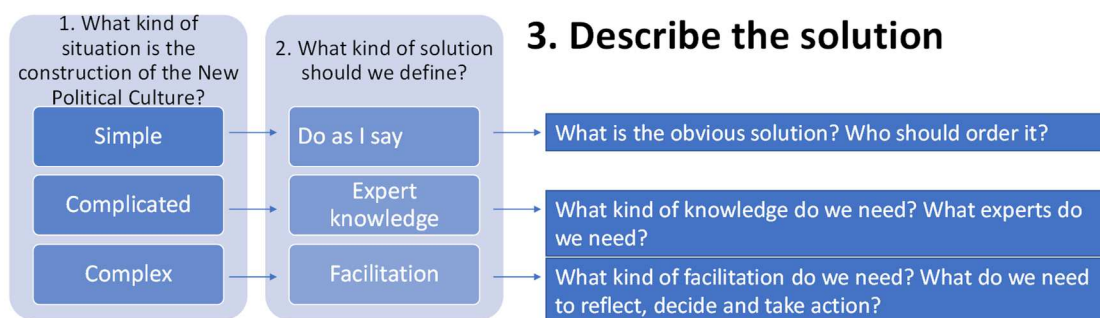
Functions

- Foster dialogue
- Create a shared vision
- Manage conflict
- Foster a relationship of trust
- Work on connections between departments
- Establish links between theory and practice to create collective skills in accordance with Aurrerabide's needs

Capacities

- To have an overview of the process
- To build trust relationships
- To manage diversity in groups appropriately
- To guide reflection
- To identify needs and know how to adapt the project to those needs
- Commitment





Spokesperson: summarize in a single sentence + fill in the template

b. Results of the group dynamic

What kind of situation is the construction of the New Political Culture?

In public administration three different types of situations may arise, depending on which there will be simple, complicated or complex solutions:

1. Simple: people in the institutions know the solution.
2. Complicated: people in the institutions do not know the solution. They require expert personnel.
3. Complex: Neither the institutions nor the experts know the solution. Other actors are required to participate in the solution. The role of deliberation is of key importance.

Building the new political culture is complex. Although administrations, companies and civil society consider that the intervention of expert personnel is sufficient to provide a solution, no one knows what the answer is: the solution must be developed in a framework of experimentation that allows for collaboration.

Within this complexity, there are also complicated situations. The solution, therefore, requires interaction between different elements: "Do as I say", the role of experts and collaboration-based environments. Multiple groups and actors are involved in shaping the new political culture.

- 1) The entrenched political culture (hierarchical, centralized power, etc.) clashes with the new political culture.
- 2) The current conditions and context make transition to a new political culture essential.
- 3) The new political culture is capable of effective structural transformation.

What kind of solution is required to build the new political culture?

“Do as I say”, expert knowledge and type of solution that combines dialogue. It will be a negotiated and constructed solution.

- “Do as I say” means that someone has to have power. To have power someone has to have legitimacy.
- The answer will be developed in specific situations and not in abstract models. Sometimes deliberation will be enough and at specific points expert knowledge will be required. In other situations, someone will need to make the decision. This decision should be taken by those with political responsibility.
- The most innovative solution is deliberation. Faced with complexity, organization does not usually occur automatically or spontaneously. Therefore, someone has to channel the initiative. Someone must stimulate deliberation, generate convergence and guide the process towards results.
- The problem lies in who has the criteria when the problem is complex. The role of experts is not enough. Although sometimes there is a technical criterion, when this solution is extended to society there is a clash. This is the case, for example, with the ecological transition.
- The main challenges are how spaces for deliberation should emerge. Although it often appears necessary to choose between “Do as I Say” and an assembly culture, the answer more usually lies somewhere in between (grey)
- Democratic legitimacy must be maintained, at the very least, or augmented, as there is a risk of “being new” in building a new political culture, but not a democratic one.
- Because the process of creating the New Political Culture is a new one, it will bring new challenges. The people who have to participate must feel empowered and this must be achieved in the processes. The New Political Culture, to prevent disengagement, must enable people to state their opinion as well as empowering them.

What problems have you seen in developing the new political culture that had obvious solutions?

There are issues that cannot be open to deliberation. For example, taxes must be paid, compulsorily. These days the "carrot" is used more than the "stick", in the form of information. In the New Political Culture, for example, dialogue is necessary, and dialogue must follow certain rules. Everyone must have an opportunity.

Who should order it?

The aim is to make collaborative decisions. It is therefore necessary to involve experts and society, although those with democratic legitimacy have the capacity to make the final decision.

What kind of knowledge do we need to develop the new political culture?

We need all kinds of knowledge. This knowledge can be either professorial or vocational. Or it may come from action or academia. We need to develop the idea of collective intelligence: it is a joint process. We also need collective emotional intelligence — that is, having the ability to work and create something with others.

The knowledge of experts, of organized society, but the most important and productive is always the knowledge generated in active action.

What kind of experts should we bring in?

Experts from areas of collaboration. Those who are eager to implement decisions and lessons.

What kind of facilitation do we need to build a new political culture? That is, what do we need in order to reflect, make decisions and take action?

- To a large extent, this is the work that Orkestra performs. We are on the right track, because the work of the facilitators creates a framework. For their part, the Deputy General (first minister) and Etorikizuna Eraikiz lend credibility to the process.
- Given the complexity of the situations, which themselves have both complicated and simple situations, the facilitator must be able to view the complexity in its totality. Furthermore, he/she must also be able to search for complex answers.
- The work of the facilitators must be part of the process. Otherwise, the process will not be real.
- The organisation must recognise and legitimise facilitation. If not, facilitation will not help.
- The facilitator must be committed to the objectives and to the process.
- He/she must be able to build trust between different actors, with clear leadership capacity when required, and finally, to provide facilitation that is capable of recognizing the different participants at all times.

What should the role and capacities of the facilitator be in building a new political culture?

- Functions:
 - Taking control of the whole process and showing a broad, creative and strategic vision.
 - Creating and galvanising spaces for dialogue.
 - Continuous/circular/systematic monitoring and evaluation of the process.
 - Balancing planning/strategy and flexibility/updating.
- Capacities:

- To understand the complexity of the management object.
- To have the ability to resolve conflict, which organically fosters facilitation.
- To show relational (as opposed to hierarchical) leadership.
- Active listening.
- To be credible and transparent, allowing all those involved in the process to accept his/her authority.
- The most important characteristic is the ability to deal with the challenges of different interests and complexity. For this, it is necessary to value and legitimise the role of the facilitator, going beyond the role of the mere moderator.

THINK TANK

Process of deliberation on new political culture: Working Document No. 11

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - STUDIES CARRIED OUT IN THE AURRERABIDE PROGRAMME

(14 April 2021)

Introduction

On 17 February 2021, following a debate on the working methodology, it was agreed to conduct a process of reflection until May on the input from the group members. The second of these sessions was held on 14 April and was facilitated by members of the team who are studying the transformation of public administration within the framework of the Aurrerabide programme.

Taking the experience of the group members as a starting point, they shared their reflections on complexity, as summarized in the following table:

Situation	Description	Solution
Simple	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Between Towns A and B there is a river. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is obvious to everyone. <p><i>"Do as I say"</i></p>
Complicated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The river is wide The flow is very variable The soil is unstable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not obvious, there are several possible solutions. With the right knowledge, an answer can be reached. <p>Expert knowledge</p>
Complex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build bridge near town square vs. near industrial zone No funding from Provincial Government Town A is willing to finance only 30% of the bridge. WWF and Greenpeace have set up a biosphere protection committee to oversee the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no rational or adequate solution. Expert knowledge is not enough to solve the problem. <p>The solution is negotiated on and built through dialogue.</p>

Following presentation of the table, the group's main working hypothesis was set out: managing complex problems requires facilitation, and since transforming political culture is a complex problem, facilitators are needed.

On these conceptual bases, a project was presented to recruit and train facilitators and for them to start working in Aurrerabide. Indeed, this process has been the space for learning about facilitation.

After sharing their experience, the focus group was invited to reflect on the following questions (in order to discuss the working hypothesis):

- a) What kind of problem is the construction of a new political culture (simple, complicated or complex)?
- b) What kind of solutions should we consider ("Do as I say"; based on expert knowledge; based on facilitation)?

The following are the comments made on these issues by the members of the focus group.

The construction of the new political culture is a complex problem/challenge

Building the new political culture is complex. It is true that administrations, companies and civil society often believe that expert intervention will be enough to provide a solution, but in many cases, this answer does not lie anywhere; it has to be constructed and, therefore, the solution has to be developed in an experimental framework that allows collaboration.

However, within this complexity, there are also complicated and simple situations. The solution, therefore, requires interaction between different elements: "Do as I say", the role of experts and collaboration-based environments. Consequently, shaping the new political culture involves participation from multiple groups and agents among which different types of relationships may develop, depending on the nature of the specific problem to be solved. However, it should be noted that:

- a) the entrenched political culture (hierarchical, centralized power, etc.) clashes with the new political culture that it is intended to promote
- b) the current conditions and context make the transition to a new political culture essential
- c) the new political culture must be capable of effective structural transformation

How should we respond to the complex problems that arise in the construction of the new political culture?

The following are some of the issues raised in answer to the second question:

POWER, LEGITIMACY AND THE CLASHES BETWEEN PERSPECTIVES

- "Do as I say" means that someone has to have power. To have power someone must have legitimacy

- The most important challenge is how spaces for deliberation are created. Although it often appears necessary to choose between "Do as I say" and an assembly culture, the answer more usually lies somewhere in between (grey)
- Democratic legitimacy must be maintained, at the very least, or augmented, as there is a risk of "being new" in building a new political culture, but not a democratic one
- The problem lies in who has the criteria when the problem is complex. The role of experts is not enough. Although there is sometimes a technical critic, when this solution is extended to society there is a clash. This is the case, for example, with the ecological transition.

DELIBERATION AND ACTION

- The most innovative solution is deliberation. Faced with complexity, organization does not usually occur automatically or spontaneously. Therefore, someone has to channel the initiative. Someone must stimulate deliberation, generate convergence and guide the process towards results.
- The answer will be developed in specific situations and not in abstract models. Sometimes deliberation will be enough and at specific points expert knowledge will be required. In other situations, someone will need to make the decision. This decision should be taken by those with political responsibility.

EMPOWERMENT

- Because the process of creating the New Political Culture is a new one, it will bring new challenges. The people who have to participate must feel empowered and this must be achieved in the processes. The New Political Culture, to prevent disengagement, must enable people to state their opinion as well as empowering them. These reflections will be fed back into the Aurrerabide programme, in a continuation of the learning process.

d. Session programme

THINK TANK

SPACE FOR DELIBERATION ON THE NEW POLITICAL CULTURE

VIRTUAL MEETING, 14 April 2021

CHALLENGE TO BE WORKED ON IN THE SESSION

On 17 February 2021 the group discussed the working methodology and agreed that, until May, the reflection would be on the contents provided by the members of the group, with the participants acting as "internal experts".

Consequently, in the March session this role was played by the team dedicated to theorisation while the April session was organised by Eider Mendoza, Sebas Zurutuza, Goizeder Manotas and Ander Arzelus, who are working on transformation of the administration, with facilitation provided by Eva Sánchez.

In the session, they will combine **experiences and concepts**, placing **complexity and facilitation at the heart of the deliberation process**.

AGENDA FOR THE SESSION

- Introduction
- Presentation of the contents discussed by the group
- Group dynamic