Building a New Political Culture in Gipuzkoa
Concepts, methodology and experiences

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ETORKIZUNA
ERAIKIZ

— **Think Tank**
New Political Culture

PREAMBLE

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Donostia-San Sebastián, 4 March 2022.

In her latest book, entitled *The Twilight of Democracy*, American writer Anne Applebaum warns that the democratic world is growing old, cold and tired. She says that the trend has become more pronounced in the last decade, since neither public institutions nor political agents are at their best moment in terms of legitimacy. We are experiencing democratic fatigue; citizens are increasingly distanced from democratic values and institutions; and to a great extent, the Covid-19 pandemic has only served to increase this alienation.

Even in the maelstrom of a complex and changing world, this situation should lead us to reinforce and experiment with new models for promoting public policies. It is a challenge we cannot avoid for those of us who believe in the need to reinforce democracy. For those of us who believe that it is necessary to make a firm, structural effort to bring politics closer to society. Empowering citizens and opening spaces for debate and decision making is an essential step for ensuring the future of democracy.

Gipuzkoa has an internationally recognised track record in this area, working hand in hand with a committed and dynamic civil society. In 2016 the Provincial Government launched the Etorkizuna Eraikiz programme, aimed at creating a new political agenda for Gipuzkoa and developing its own model of collaborative governance. Since then, we have managed to bring together the most important agents in the province to promote transformative initiatives.

Five years after laying the foundations of Etorkizuna Eraikiz, it is now a very vital reality. There is no turning back; in this province, it has transformed the Provincial Government itself and the very relationship and form of government between the society of Gipuzkoa and the provincial institution.

As a sign of this vitality, over the last five years we have jointly promoted 125 citizen projects with the participation of more than 200 agents; 32 pilot projects in the areas of care, co-responsible reconciliation, equality and digitalisation, among others; nine strategic projects developed through an innovative model of collaborative governance to address the major challenges of our society, such as healthy aging, cybersecurity, new mobility, climate change, the future of language and integration of the most vulnerable members of society into the labour market.

Institutions, universities, third sector associations, companies and social and economic agents have managed to reach a consensus and develop a common agenda on the major problems and challenges facing the province. Almost 30,000 people have taken part in these dynamics and, together, we have configured our own model for jointly creation public policies. A model based on active experimentation, on the aim of creating a competitive economy and on the firm will to build a territory with less dispersion of social inequalities.

Collaborative governance, in my opinion, must pursue two fundamental objectives: on the one hand, the integration of organised society into the public policy deliberation process to make popular policies more democratic and effective. On the other hand, the incorporation of the citizen into the political community, favouring participation in deliberative processes.

When it comes to fulfilling these aims, the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank is carrying out fundamental work as a community space for reflection and experimentation that sets the course for the province as a whole. It has not addressed all areas of work, focusing on the economy and the work of the future, climate change and the green economy, the future of the welfare state and care

models, and the new political culture. However, it has not only devoted its work to reflection and to generating advanced knowledge; it has also fostered cooperative experimentation, as the participants have carried out collaborative initiatives to transform the territory.

For all these reasons, it has become a point of reference in our territory, as a collective beacon in the face of the uncertainty generated by the social and economic transformation, made even worse in today's turbulent world by the pandemic.
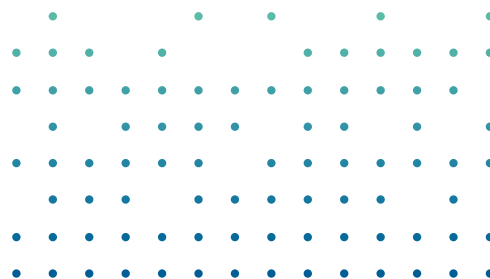
We live in a situation of immediacy, we are immersed in an individualistic society; in the political space (one need only look at the international stage), it seems that political action is guided by confrontation and short-termism. What we are proposing is the exact opposite; we want to agree on collective response processes, responding effectively to the challenges facing the province. Etorkizuna Eraikiz is the way we propose to channel this collective effort.

If we do not make progress in meeting this goal, then the consequences could be serious. If mutual trust between institutions and citizens cannot be restored, we could be facing a dark future. Without wishing to repeat the dichotomy raised in other fields, I believe that the fundamental debate of our times is this: democracy based on cooperation or authoritarianism. If we do not

succeed in reinventing the foundations of our democracy and rebuilding bridges with society, then we will see the arrival of xenophobic populism and authoritarianism, and they will damage democracy and the very democratic coexistence between different people.

I would like to thank all the representatives and experts who have participated in the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank. My recognition and gratitude goes to them for having set multiple and valuable examples in the shared effort of working for the future of Gipuzkoa.

We must not stand still. Let us continue to work together for a better future, for a more just and democratic society. The Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa is sincerely committed to continuing with this endeavour. And we shall do so with humility, but putting all our effort into it. Thank you.

CONTENTS
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INTRODUCTION

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Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank is a space for co-generating knowledge that will enable a greater awareness and understanding of the major challenges facing the province of Gipuzkoa, and will facilitate the identification of the best processes for improving the ecosystems linked to the Provincial Government's policies to tackle these challenges, starting from a philosophy of collaborative governance.

What will the future of our work be and how can we address it in a way that ill have the best outcome for competitiveness and individual well-being? How can we halt environmental degradation and climate change? What will our future welfare and care model look like? What can we do to build more open and participatory institutions? In order to respond to these four major challenges, not only through reflection, but also through experimentation and working collaboratively, the Think Tank is structured around four deliberation groups: The Work of the Future, Green Recovery, The Futures of the Welfare State and New Political Culture. These groups form a forum for deliberation and collaboration amongst a broad range of representatives from different departments at the Provincial Government and more than 60 agents from the province.

The think tank also includes and promotes activities related to research, knowledge dissemination and methodological development, under the coordination of its management team. This facilitates shared learning amongst the four groups, which are addressing interconnected challenges, and also between them and the initiatives undertaken by Etorkizuna Eraikiz and the Provincial Government. It also generates learning experiences and activities that enable society as a whole and the academic community to become involved in building answers to the big questions to which the Think Tank wishes to contribute.

This book presents the results of the working group which deliberated on the construction of a new political culture from June 2020 to April 2021, as part of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank.

The mission of Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank is to co-generate knowledge in order to influence the transformation of the policy ecosystem of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa. This ecosystem is made up of several organisations outside the Provincial Government but which are linked to its policies. Cogeneration, therefore, has been developed through dialogue between different people working in these institutions and different PGG policy makers. Since the knowledge cogenerated is targeted at a transformation in the ecosystem, this knowledge has been used within the PGG and several participating ecosystem organisations.

The following members of the PGG participated in the work team: Xabier Barandiaran, Eider Mendoza, Sebas Zurutuza, Goizeder Manotas, Mikel Pagola, Ander Arzelus and Ion Muñoa. Representing the vision of the Provincial Government's policy ecosystem were Naiara Goia (Arantzazulab), Mikel Irizar (Badalab), Gorka Espiau (Agirre Lehendakaria Center), Daniel Innerarity, Juan José Álvarez and Ander Errasti (Globernance), Asier Lakidain (Sinnergiak), Fernando Tapia (University of the Basque Country), Andoni Eizagirre (University of Mondragon), Ainhoa Arrona and Eva Sánchez (Orkestra, Basque Institute of Competitiveness, University of Deusto). In addition, Mikel Gaztañaga and Miren Larrea (Orkestra, Basque Institute of Competitiveness) also participated as facilitators. And to assist in this dialogue process, the members of the group also worked with a number of experts: Danniel Innerarity (Globernance), Angela Hanson (OPSI-OECD), Manuel Villoria (Universidad Rey Juan Carlos), Josep Lluís Martí (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) and María José Canel (Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

The work of all these people has been shared, step by step, through the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank website[1], in the form of two types of document. On the one hand, the session reports, in which we have tried to record the process of dialogue as accurately as possible. And on the other hand, the working documents, where an attempt has been made to summarise the debate and establish criteria for action.

In writing this book, some of the members of the group have taken on authorial roles, sometimes to share what we have learned in the process and sometimes to bring to the process elements that we saw were missing. With these two objectives in mind, we have divided the book into three sections.

The first has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it further explains the conceptual framework we had at the beginning of the process. In June 2020 we started work, taking as a reference point the framework presented by Xabier Barandiaran in a working document. That working

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[1] https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/eu/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/-/nueva-cultura-politica.

paper described the crisis in liberal democracies and the need for a new political culture to respond to that crisis. After a year's work to reflect in greater detail on this new political culture, in Chapter 2 of the book Xabier offers an in-depth analysis of this framework. However, when it came to writing the book, the group wanted to go beyond the initial framework. Consequently, in Chapter 3, Xabier Barandiaran, Andoni Eizagirre and Ion Muñoa make a proposal that moves forward from the initial framework, delving deeper into the new political culture.

The second part of the book is methodological. At the beginning of the process, together with the conceptual framework, a working methodology was proposed to the group consisting of action research for territorial development. This methodology has three elements at its core. On the one hand, research, for which the process has continuously sought to generate new knowledge. On the other hand, action, which is why the participants have been continuously invited to share their research and to experience in their daily lives what they have worked on in the reflection. Finally, participation, understanding knowledge creation as co-creation. The application of this methodology has not been easy and several methodological discussions have taken place during the months that the process has lasted. In Chapter 4, which is included in the methodological section, Xabier Barandiaran and Miren Larrea, after presenting the methodology, share what they have learned in these debates.

The third part of the book is based on practical experiences. The members of the group have worked in three experimental spaces related to the deliberation process. The first of these was the PGG, where Eider Mendoza, Sebas Zurutuza, Goizeder Manotas and Ander Arzelus, with the collaboration of Eva Sánchez, worked on the process of improving the Aurrerabide programme. Chapter 5 is based on their experience. In addition, another of the spaces we have chosen to learn from the experience is Arantzazulab, whose aim is to promote collaborative governance within the ecosystem. In chapter 6, Naiara Goia writes about the impact the lessons learned at the Think Tank deliberation group have had on this centre of reference. Finally, the third space to learn from the experience was Badalab, a reference centre that promotes experimentation in the field of the Basque language. In Chapter 7, which concludes the book, Mikel Irizar sets out their learning process.

CHAPTER 1[2]

General framework for transformation of the political culture: Etorkizuna Eraikiz

XABIER BARANDIARAN

INTRODUCTION

The book sets out the results of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank deliberation group for the transformation of the new political culture, but these results cannot be understood as a general framework of the Think Tank without understanding the Etorkizuna Eraikiz initiative. This chapter, therefore, is meant to explain Etorkizuna Eraikiz.

Etorkizuna Eraikiz is a strategy of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa for addressing the new political agenda and the most relevant strategic challenges facing the province through collaborative governance.

From an open and participatory vision, the aim is to develop public policies with society in a shared manner. Etorkizuna Eraikiz is also a way of involving citizens; an invitation to jointly design the future based on the premise that tomorrow begins today. This strategy forces politicians to relearn and to abandon theory and bureaucracy and instead apply real solutions in real scenarios. It forces us to go about managing in a different way, with a new model of open and collaborative governance that involves organisations, companies, associations and universities working together towards a more egalitarian future for all. It is the configuration of a model that listens to each citizen's voice and deploys the necessary structures to interact with them. In short, it is a model that works to find new answers, based on the values of cooperation and teamwork that characterise the province of Gipuzkoa and have allowed it to become what it is today. The Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa defines this strategy as follows:

"Etorkizuna Eraikiz is intended as a specific model for understanding, applying and representing open and collaborative governance, a way of "making politics". Its purpose is to work collectively to detect the future challenges facing the province of Gipuzkoa, design the best means of addressing them, experiment with possible responses in real contexts with the aid of different agents and apply the results in the ecosystem of the provincial government's public policies" (Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, 2019).

Etorkizuna Eraikiz was born out of the idea that the way in which we tackle the magnitude of the demographic, economic, social and environmental challenges that society will have to face in the future will lay the foundations of the social and economic model in Gipuzkoa's medium and long term future.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ETORKIZUNA ERAIKIZ

Etorkizuna Eraikiz is based on four principles that give meaning to all its subsequent development:

1. **Institutional leadership:** The programme is promoted and led by the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, which acts as the agent that proposes and finances it, as well as actively participating in its development. The Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa has shown its commitment to the programme not only by facilitating articulation and interaction between the different agents, but also by committing itself to ensuring that the various deliberative processes are linked to the development of the institution's public policies. Institutional commitment is expressed not only in the vocation and exercise of leadership, but also in a belief in the transformational capacity of the programme and in the commitment to its medium and long term sustainability. Thus, institutional (political) agents of enterprise must promote systemic change, and this requires creating

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[2] The content of this chapter has been previously published in Barandiaran (2021). Gobernanza colaborativa para la innovación pública y social, el caso de Gipuzkoa, País Vasco, European Public & Social Innovation Review, 6, 2.

structures and platforms to redefine the relationships between institutions and society — in other words, to promote the transformation of the institutional system towards new governance models.

2. **Consistency with the Gipuzkoa model:** The programme is based on those characteristics of the territory that contribute to favouring its development. Gipuzkoa is a territory made up of very dynamic and advanced regions in terms of socioeconomic resources and infrastructures, with a dense associative fabric. It is an example of the capacity and culture of participation and exchange that exists in the province. It is also a territory with a great deal of social initiative. It is highly developed within the province and historically, one of its most important manifestations has been the cooperative movement. Social initiatives continues to be seen today in the cultural, social and economic spheres; a territory in which attitudes and experiences of citizen collaboration and interaction, the ability to face and solve challenges in a shared manner and a high level of social capital are all quite widely recognised.

3. **Open contexts for learning and experimentation:** The idea of open context entails the involvement of a broad group of agents and agencies that give meaning to the cooperation processes and also shape the results that can be obtained. This open concept requires learning and the ability to orient, distribute and expand collective experiences. By its very nature, public-private collaboration involves interaction between different organisational cultures and experiences. It thus becomes a learning process that has to overcome barriers and make cooperation between different people a routine task.

4. **Generation of democracy, trust and public value.** The Etorkizuna Eraikiz programme, as a generator of democracy, trust and public value, must necessarily be placed above political partisanship. It must propose a model of administrative management and political governance capable not only of stimulating but also of stabilising a new relationship of cooperation and proximity between citizens, intermediate social agencies and public institutions that will strengthen democracy and public trust. It must produce results capable of generating (tangible and intangible) public assets and, in this sense, public value. And finally, it must generate the capacity to transform the conception, gestation and development of public policies.
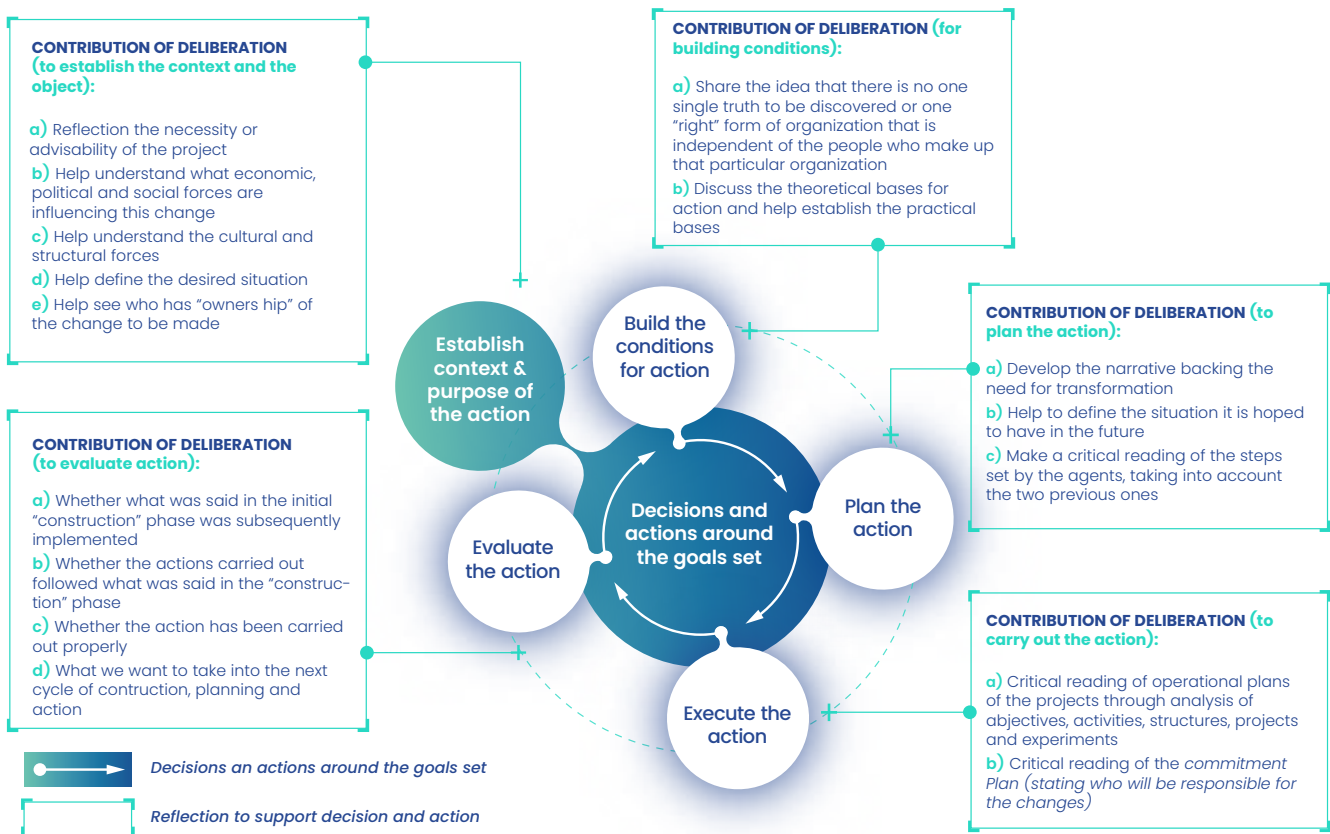
THE STRUCTURE OF ETORKIZUNA ERAIKIZ
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Etorkizuna Eraikiz is built around three fundamental spaces: Gipuzkoa Taldean, Gipuzkoa Lab and the Centres of Reference.

Gipuzkoa Taldean:

Gipuzkoa Taldean is a space for active listening, for deliberation through the research-action methodology with the aim of influencing the public policy ecosystem, both in terms of the contents and of the forms and methodologies used in implementing the action. It comprises several programmes, but one of the most significant is Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank, which we present in the introduction to this book. The mission of this programme is —through collaborative governance— to co-generate transferable and applicable knowledge that will help to shape a new agenda and political culture to modernise the ecosystem (actors, contents and processes) of the Provincial Government's public policies. The methodology used for cogenerative development based on collaborative governance is action research. Action research is a way of solving a particular problem or challenge agreed upon by the participants in a process. In this process, methodological knowledge, knowledge based on experience and theoretical knowledge converge. The organisation in charge of leading the facilitation and methodological development of this Think Tank is Orkestra, the Basque Institute of Competitiveness, as shown in Figure 1. Within this framework, Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank operates using the referential methodological arrangement proposed by Coghlan and Branick (2001).

The Think Tank is structured into four reflection/action groups: the Work of the Future, Green Recovery, the Futures of the Welfare State and New Political Culture The participants in these groups include political and technical leaders of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa and also stakeholders from organised society in a range of fields.

Figure 1. **Think Tank methodological/referential arrangement.**

CONTRIBUTION OF DELIBERATION (to establish the context and the object):

a) Reflection the necessity or advisability of the project
b) Help understand what economic, political and social forces are influencing this change
c) Help understand the cultural and structural forces
d) Help define the desired situation
e) Help see who has "owners hip" of the change to be made

CONTRIBUTION OF DELIBERATION (for building conditions):

a) Share the idea that there is no one single truth to be discovered or one "right" form of organization that is independent of the people who make up that particular organization
b) Discuss the theoretical bases for action and help establish the practical bases

CONTRIBUTION OF DELIBERATION (to plan the action):

a) Develop the narrative backing the need for transformation
b) Help to define the situation it is hoped to have in the future
c) Make a critical reading of the steps set by the agents, taking into account the two previous ones

CONTRIBUTION OF DELIBERATION (to evaluate action):

a) Whether what was said in the initial "construction" phase was subsequently implemented
b) Whether the actions carried out followed what was said in the "construction" phase
c) Whether the action has been carried out properly
d) What we want to take into the next cycle of contruction, planning and action

CONTRIBUTION OF DELIBERATION (to carry out the action):

a) Critical reading of operational plans of the projects through analysis of abjectives, activities, structures, projects and experiments
b) Critical reading of the *commitment Plan* (stating who will be responsible for the changes)

Establish context & purpose of the action

Build the conditions for action

Decisions and actions around the goals set

Plan the action

Evaluate the action

Execute the action

Decisions an actions around the goals set

Reflection to support decision and action

Source: Orkestra-Instituto Vasco de Competitividad, source: Coghlan and Branick (2001).

The Think Tank combines its activity with a range of activities aimed at dissemination, such as research on matters related to the political agenda.

The Gipuzkoa Taldean workspace also develops other activities that strengthen the process of listening, deliberation and shared action with society:

• The EKINEZ IKASI programme, which through the Action Learning methodological process implements several projects involving active listening to society and internal groups from the Provincial Government.

• The PARTICIPATORY BUDGET project, in which citizens set their priorities for shaping the institution's budget.

• The call for CITIZENSHIP PROJECTS in which citizens propose and develop social innovation projects.

• The UDAL ETORKIZUNA ERAIKIZ programme, in which twelve town councils in the territory of Gipuzkoa are developing collaborative governance projects in their municipalities using Etorkizuna Eraikiz as a reference.

• THE PANEL OF POLITICAL PARTIES, in which all parties represented in the provincial parliament participate to deliberate on the political agenda of the future and adopt decisions on a shared basis.

All of these programmes show an important structure of shared deliberation between the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa and the institutional, political and social stakeholders of the territory.

Gipuzkoa Lab:

This is the space where active experimentation projects are implemented to incorporate a new political agenda into the development of the Provincial Government's public policies. More than 40 experimental projects are enabling experiments in artificial intelligence, employee participation in the company, work-life balance, social exclusion, diversity, community involvement in the care system, etc. The 2030 agenda, the missions established by the European Union and the Basque Government's RIS III smart specialisation strategy, expressed through the Science and Technology Plan, are the main reference frameworks for establishing the new political agenda and the proposed projects.

Each project links four key players: civil society (representative stakeholders from the respective sectors), the university (or stakeholders linked to the fields of knowledge generation), the public administration (the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, city councils, the Basque Government, etc.) and agents with the capacity to produce or generate knowledge internationally (OECD, Climate Kic, etc.).

The experimentation process is carried out using the action research method, which has four fundamental steps: shared design of the targets; agreement on the contents and methodology to be developed in the experimentation process; execution of the research and assessment of the process and results. The aim of the experimentation projects is to learn and draw conclusions in order to incorporate improvements in public policies.

Among others, the projects developed within the framework of this space include: Adinkide, Bizilagun Sarea, Sports Talent Support Centre, Chatbot, Citizen Commitment for the Climate, Work-Life Balance and Equality, Elkar-Ekin lanean, Employee participation in companies, Affective/sex education, Emakumeen etxeak, Etxean Bizi, Gazteon Sarelan, Gipuzkoa CITYGML, promotion of women on company boards.

The development of these projects shows that Gipuzkoa Lab has become an important space for building relationships of trust between different actors, a factor of acceleration and experimentation of advanced content and a source of learning to link the results of experimentation with public policies.

Etorkizuna Eraikiz Reference Centres:

The Reference Centres are public-private-social work spaces for strengthening certain sectors considered strategic for the future of the territory. In legal terms, these spaces can take the form of foundations, but also consortia or other institutionalisation forms included in other larger organisations by means of an agreement. Regardless of the legal formula, the Reference Centres are ways of institutionalising collaborative governance.

The starting point for the Reference Centres is the strength of Gipuzkoa's society in addressing the strategic challenges facing the province. Through the RIS III smart specialisation strategy, the Basque Government sets out the fundamental guidelines that must be focused on in order to build the future of the Basque Country as a whole and Gipuzkoa more specifically. In line with the RIS III strategy, the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa has decided to focus on strengthening certain sectors, taking into account the conditions and potential already existing in the territory. In this line of work, the following reference centres have been created:

- **Mubil:** We want to make the province a benchmark for new mobility and electrification. As well as being technically prepared for this goal, through the Living Lab model it must also be a showcase for new research and developments in the industry. In this regard, the province must be prepared to make the most of the new business that may emerge in relation to this transformation, offering new opportunities for diversification in a range of companies currently manufacturing auto components.

- **2deo:** The aim is to increase the output and consumption of audiovisual products in Basque, promoting new creative contexts, experimenting with production models and new formats, and multiplying the channels of dissemination. all in collaboration with players in the audiovisual industry and the wider public.

- **Adinberri:** The AdinBerri Reference Centre aspires to instil healthy living habits among older people in order to take precautions and extend their independence. It also strives to provide any support they may need to enable them to retain control of their everyday lives and to continue living a meaningful life in accordance with their own values and preferences within the framework of an inclusive and cohesive society for all generations.

Adinberri›s purpose is to develop and promote an economy around aging which will cater to seniors.

- **Arantzazulab:** This is a laboratory of social innovation that aims to be a space for reflection and innovative experimentation on the challenges of the future in Gipuzkoa and Basque society more widely. The aim is to be a centre of social innovation and a meeting point for citizens to achieve a more just, cohesive, competitive and humane society.

- **Elkar-Ekin Lanean:** This is a strategy for improving employability and combatting social exclusion. The aim is to provide better guidance to people in seeking better employment. It is also intended to foster policies that bring decent employment to people are risk of suffering social exclusion.

- **Labe:** From a professional perspective, the purpose is to develop a digital cuisine business accelerator and to experiment and test out the idea of the Restaurant 4.0. From a citizen perspective, the aim is to promote new systems for preparing food and smart management of products and stock.

- **Naturklima:** designed as a public multidisciplinary centre for generating institutional, technical and social capacity. The centre›s mission is to address the impact of climate change, contributing knowledge, value and wealth to society and the business sector, and to become an accelerator of the social/ecological transition. Naturklima will help centralise policies for combatting global warming and will promote the circular economy. It will help Gipuzkoa to align its strategy with those of other European centres of excellence.

- **Ziur:** Gipuzkoa has a large number of cutting-edge firms specialising in cybersecurity, leading technology centres, and universities providing major academic coverage in this area. The aim is to promote a solid project, where knowledge and technology will be at the service of industrial competitiveness.

- **Badalab:** This is a public/social consortium formed by the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, the Town Council of Rentería and social organisations and institutions related to the Basque language, with the aim of promoting social use of the Basque language.

## HOW THE ETORKIZUNA ERAIKIZ MODEL WORKS

Figure 2 shows how Etorkizuna Eraikiz works. Proiektuen Bulegoa is the body in charge of guaranteeing the connectivity and relational logic between Gipuzkoa Taldean (space for deliberation and proposal) and Gipuzkoa Lab (space for experimentation and learning). It analyses proposals for experimental projects and decides whether to approve and implement them.

The strategy is operated by a stable core of people who are appointed at the behest of the Deputy General of Gipuzkoa. Its functions and its importance lie in guaranteeing connectivity between Gipuzkoa Taldean and Gipuzkoa Lab; monitoring the activity carried out in the two areas; assessing the proposals and if it deems fit, implementing the Think Tanks and experimental projects; preparing the Annual Report of Etorkizuna Eraikiz's activities; and implementing and preparing its Biannual Assessment Report.

Application of Etorkizuna Eraikiz is supported by three cross-cutting lines —Research, Internationalisation and Socialisation— which must be actively present as frames of reference and shared perspectives of the deliberation and experimentation practices implemented in the existing spaces. They are fundamental for producing information, knowledge and learning that help to build concrete approaches and solutions to the present and future challenges facing the province.

There are also three support processes —Management, Socialisation and Communication— which must at all times provide the service and complement in order to ensure that the activities developed by Gipuzkoa Taldean and Gipuzkoa Lab have support tools (management), frameworks to interact and share with people and groups (socialisation) and a wider scope and dissemination (communication).

Figure 2. How the Etorkizuna Eraikiz model works
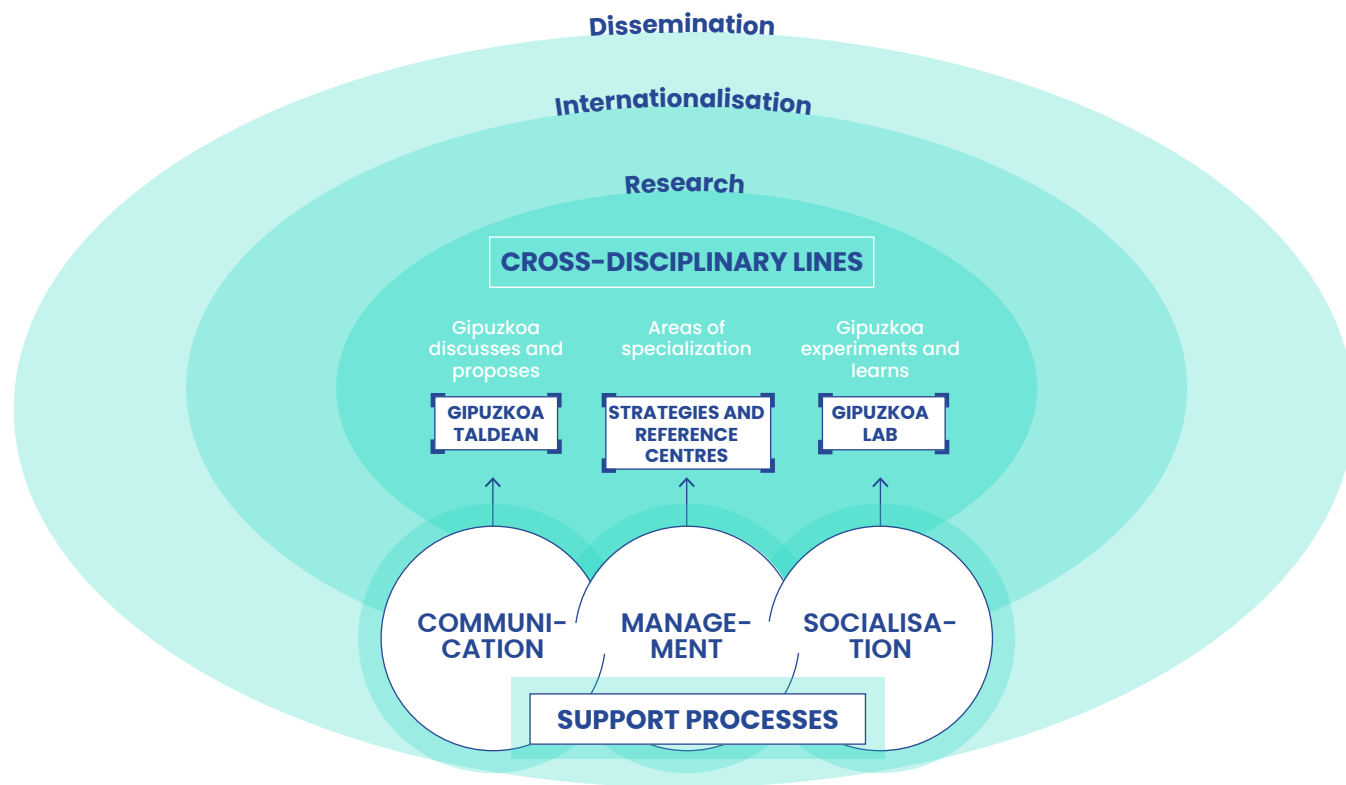
Source: Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa (2019).

WITHIN ETORKIZUNA ERAIKIZ THINK TANK
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As mentioned in previous sections, Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank is an initiative that is being developed within Gipuzkoa Taldean and it is within this perspective that the contributions to be found in the following chapters should be viewed.

PART I
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 2[3]

Crisis of liberal democracy and collaborative governance: framework inspiring the deliberative process

XABIER BARANDIARAN

INTRODUCTION
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This book describes the creation of the deliberation group on New Political Culture of Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank. When it started in June 2020, the group agreed that its mission would be to contribute to the transformation of the political culture through deliberation.

In order to achieve consensus on this objective, as the author of this chapter and person in charge of this Think Tank deliberation group, I shared my diagnosis of the problem we were seeking to address. Readers will find this diagnosis in the first working document of the process. My main argument was that we are experiencing a crisis in liberal democracy, and that in order to combat it we need to develop a new political culture. At the heart of this new culture is collaborative governance. When the group decided to work on this problem, it decided to centre its deliberation on the new political culture and collaborative governance.

In this first phase of the Think Tank's activity we have striven to reach consensus on the meaning of these concepts and to build a shared space for deliberation. In some cases we have discussed contributions from experts; in others we have addressed interpretations taken from the participants' own experience. However, after a year's work, when they assessed our activity to date, the group stressed the need to clarify these concepts. In the three chapters in this section, we want to provide that clarification. In this first chapter, I will detail and amplify the proposal I made in June 2020.

The chapter consists of two sections. First, it examines the context of the crisis of liberal democracy; a crisis that manifests itself in the increasing weakness of political

structures to respond to the economic, social and political challenges posed and in the disaffection among citizens with regard to the system, institutions and actors. Secondly, it addresses the concept of collaborative governance as a mechanism for institutionalising the construction of political reality by incorporating organised society and civil society into the system of public deliberation; a public governance mechanism to address political disaffection and to respond, from a systemic vision, to the needs of the various ecosystems behind the design and implementation of public policies.

GLOBALISATION AND THE CRISIS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY
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Economic, social and political changes are taking place at an enormous pace throughout the world, including Western societies. There are two major issues behind this transformation. Firstly, scientific and technological development and its application to knowledge generation and production systems. Secondly, the "model" of development of the free market capitalist system, which is, in turn, closely linked to the system of liberal democracies.

Economic growth driven by the countries with the greatest capacity to produce knowledge, processes and products has generated new ways of thinking, feeling and acting, feeding a model of globalisation. In this context, Ulrich Beck (1998) defines globalisation as "the processes through which sovereign national actors are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects for power, orientations, identities, and networks" (Beck, 1998: 29). According to Giddens

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(2007), globalisation is a multidimensional concept that integrates political, technological, cultural and economic elements that have been strongly influenced by communication systems (Giddens, 2007: 7). It necessarily involves the integration of processes that take place on a global scale, going beyond the scales of life that originate in the context of nation-states or at smaller scales in other historical periods, thus configuring a new space.

The configuration of this new space inevitably involves the opening up of a new world (with its relational conditions) and the modification of previous living spaces due to the influence of the globalisation process. Ulrich Beck (1998) notes that today's global society is conditioned by a set of social and power relations organised in a non-national-state context. This feature makes it possible to act across borders and dilutes the unity of the state, society and the individual (Beck, 1998: 146). Similarly, Simone (2016), in an interesting analysis of the frustration generated by the false expectations of democracy, highlights the way globalisation has erased the concept of the border (Simone, 2016: 163).

However, global society does not replace societies that operate at a national, regional or local level. Likewise, Beck (1998) argues that this relationship can be conflictive, since the global society can orient forms of exclusion towards behaviours and reduce tolerance by entering in a conflictive manner. However, one must recognise that such forms of society are part of the current reality and that populations that call themselves compact cultures will face difficulty in integrating into a lifestyle that has been created and normalised within the context of the global society (Beck, 1998: 130). However, it is true that the fear of globalisation pushes people to seek refuge in the nation. Fear of terrorism paves the way for calls for state protection. Multiculturalism and immigration, two fundamental dimensions of globalisation, leads to a call for identity community (Castells, 2018: 35). There are plenty of examples of such reactions in the most advanced countries.

Together with this reality, the driving force of globalisation lies with economic agents, who need to build spaces and markets that transcend state frameworks for their development. The process of economic globalisation weighs down on and conditions the political system, leads to the generation of certain social conditions in many countries. Above all, it creates a transnational culture with content from those countries that lead the global processes and influence all others. Beck (1998) speaks critically of "globalism", in the sense that the global market supplants the political task, imposing a market ideology or liberalism, reducing the globalisation

process fundamentally to an economic dimension that addresses in a linear way dimensions related to ecology, culture, politics and social issues (Beck, 1998: 27). Along similar lines, Augusto de Venanzi (2002) sees the term globalisation as "the process of deregulated expansion of the system of the large private corporation" (De Venanzi, 2002: 46). This approach not only links the economic dimension to globalisation processes, but also adds other dimensions that are strongly influenced by the framework in which the system of the large private corporation operates. These dimensions are related to social aspects, from the perspective of the reconfiguration of the social division of labour; to cultural aspects, through the universalisation of Western values; to political aspects, through the integration of a supranational regulatory system; and to ecological aspects, through the appropriation of nature and the deterioration of the environment (De Venanzi, 2002: 51).

From the point of view of the economic dimension, the process of globalisation transforms the rules of the domestic economies of member states and means that the financial economy prevails over the productive economy. This requires economic agents to implement a tremendous transformation, reversing the concepts of work, company and the labour relationship, and establishing a series of norms that create new working and cultural conditions. It has also been shown that economic globalisation has led to the integration of large corporations in the sphere of social and cultural life and is conditioning the development of local economic agents. As a result, the latter have less and less capacity for influence. In this sense, the current model of economic globalisation based on market freedom (which is very difficult to control by political and democratic structures) is generating an enormous disparity between those who have the capacity to access global life through technological and knowledge resources and those who do not. Above all, it is generating new situations of domination without the intervention of any democratic counterweight.

In this framework, Thomas Piketty (2021) warns of the structural differences between countries that have the capacity to access the global area and those that do not. Other authors also highlight the structural differences that are emerging between the large metropolises and the small cities and hinterland regions of Western countries. Guilluy (2019), for example, notes the disappearance of the middle class and the abandonment of the most disadvantaged by the upper classes. The author shows that the open and globalised society in which we live today has moved away from the needs of the people in general. As a result, those with greatest capacity

have retreated to their strengths, their jobs and their wealth (Guilluy, 2019: 96). Therefore, inequality and the social, political and economic conditions in which the current model of globalisation is developing constitute the main factor in the crisis of liberal democracies.

For his part, sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2017) has made an in-depth analysis of the effects of the market and the logic of consumption on the social construction of reality. His studies support the thesis that globalisation works on the basis of growth in production and consumption. For Bauman (2017) the market and consumption have become central in shaping our social life; the logic of relationship that we establish in relation to the satisfaction of our needs is not limited to primary products; on the contrary, it corresponds to other logics of political and social relationships (such as electoral behaviour and couple relationships, for example). These relationships occur in a social context in which individualism, which is very strong, breaks with communities, and there is a transition from communities of real commitment to aesthetic communities. Robert Putnam (1993) stresses the same idea when referring to community social capital. For Putnam (1993), this is an individualistic society, with weak community ties, with diverse and complex mentalities and behaviours, in which happiness is related to market-imposed conditions.

To return to Bauman (2017), the responses to these issues arising from globalisation can be grouped into two categories. The scope of the first category is to boost community trends to provide lost confidence and security. Solidarity, which comes ahead of the political process and its uncertain outcomes. The second category is once more related to the idea of bringing economic forces back under democratic control, from which they have escaped, and so human solidarity has been weakened (Bauman, 2017: 110).

In any case, the current model of globalisation extends beyond and weakens the framework of the nation-state and, with it, democracy. The state is not only in crisis in terms of space, but also in terms of identity; on the one hand, political structures do not control the economic and social reality and, on the other, the political identity of citizens is being profoundly transformed, conditioning the reality of the political structures of representative democracies. According to Yascha Mounk (2018), the inability of states to provide a definitive response to the challenges posed by citizens in the current context is leading to an active loss of legitimacy. Liberal democracies have become less adept at delivering for citizens and have consequently entered a deep "performance crisis." (Mounk, 2017: 136), and in advanced democracies citizens have moved away from national politics (Mair, 2017: 59), which has weakened democracy.

In this context, there are three central issues that need to be taken into account when analysing the crisis of liberal democracy. First, the consequences of overcoming the framework of the nation-state. Second, the emergence of individualistic and consumer societies that transform the social construction of political reality. Third, new forms of social production of reality, through new information and communication technologies.

The transformation of social reality and the generation of public conditions for democracy depends to a large extent on economic, political and social actors who do not interact within the conditions of the nation-state; This means a reduced capacity to transform the political structures of the state, but also shows the emergence of unbalanced political, social and economic scenarios typical of a deregulated context in which the conditions of development imposed by the actors with the greatest capacity for influence are those that prevail.

At the same time, the fragmentation of structures of political socialisation, combined with an individualistic consumer-oriented society is generating fragmented social interactions that hinder the construction of shared social narratives. Today, in Western societies, citizens increasingly tend to view politics as an alien phenomenon which is, in many instances, consumed as a media product in response to the stimuli established by the electoral agenda. To some extent, states have less capacity to influence and citizens are increasingly acting like customers expecting service rather than as citizens subject to a political community with rights and obligations. The change in the position and role of the agents in the political system (citizens, parties and institutions) is motivated by an economic and social change that generates a different political reality.

In Western countries, for example, opinion polls show that citizens have little interest in politics and little knowledge of the political reality, the political community, the public opinion space and the elements that make up the political and institutional system. Political actors compete for political adherence and the content of this competition are highly conditioned by two major elements. Firstly, because of the way in which citizens consume the political event (scenarios of audiovisual production and consumption) and, secondly, because of the structural relationship citizens have with politics (huge distance, superficial relationship, etc.). The debate and the political relationship between political actors centres on a consumerised dispute for headlines. This relationship

logic also significantly conditions the political agents in the political management of the administration and of public policies. Thus, transformation of the conditions of legitimisation of the citizenry with respect to political actors is transforming the function and political meaning of their public activity in the institutional system (a good example is the time devoted to political communication and the construction of communication scenarios).

One final point should be noted with regard to the development of this context. Globalisation and its conditions of development have brought a new political agenda characterised by a need to tackle social challenges such as climate change, diversity, the fight on inequality, security of public spaces, new individual and collective living conditions brought about by digitalisation, etc. We face a new political agenda and, in addition, conditions of development conditioned by uncertainty, disruption and a lack of stability. The pandemic has come as a shock to all societies; public officials, different economic and social sectors and, in general, the public sat large have been hurled into a new scenario characterised by fear, insecurity and uncertainty. The pandemic has sped up economic, social and political trends that were already taking place within the context of globalisation. Above all, because of the strength of its impact, it has become a major force of resocialisation. The pandemic is affecting our condition as human beings and disrupting diverse realities of collective action.

One of the big issues that must be faced is therefore how to address this new situation. In this regard, collaborative governance can contribute to a certain reestablishment of public conditions for the construction of democracy in the current global context.

COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE AS A RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS IN DEMOCRACY
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The crisis in liberal democracy has led to a search for new models for managing the public space and public policies. Forms of action and models that re-establish democracy and incorporate society into the deliberative space.

The concept of governance emerged in Western countries in the 1990s as a paradigm that reflects the changing role of the state and the way it governs the relationship with stakeholders from organised society, civil society and the market. Starting from a reflection that governments rely heavily on the cooperation

and resources of society at large to respond to public issues (Kenis & Schneider, 1991: 36), the concept of governance has transitioned from a bureaucratic and hierarchical model to a more cooperative one in which complementarity is established between the public sector, the private sector and the groups and citizens that constitute civil society (Conejero, 2016). There have been different approaches to the concept, depending on the discipline by which the term is used and the role attributed to the state; this gives rise to definitions centring on the State or actors interacting in the system (Whittingham, 2010).

As Antonio Natera (2005) notes, the value of governance lies fundamentally in its ability to establish a framework for understanding the analysis of the relationship between the state and society. Governance refers to a new way of establishing political direction and managing public policies. A new form of communication between policy makers and organised or individual civil society actors. And although different terms are used to incorporate society into public deliberation, such as "collaborative citizenship" (Smith, 2010), "community engagement" (Head, 2008), "citizen-focused public management" (Cooper, 2005); collaborative governance in particular is aimed at sharing public decisions with society.

From this perspective, the work presented here does not seek to set out the state of the art of the theoretical conceptualisation of collaborative governance, but rather to present the fundamental references in which the construction of the governance vision is framed within the context of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz strategy programme, which will be presented below.

In this context, it is worth noting that to speak of collaborative governance is to speak of the establishment of structural and cultural conditions that guarantee the democratic quality of deliberation and action by public, private and social actors interacting in a given public policy context.

Specifically, Sirianni (2010) defines collaborative governance as the context in which public administrators interact with society as a whole to stimulate collective deliberation processes that make it possible to identify priorities and generate courses of action, in the face of various situations, based on the existing strengths of communities and individuals.

The polycentric perspective on which collaborative governance is based views governance itself as a process linking the state or public structures, civil society (in its various manifestations depending on

the public interest) and private actors (Whittingham, 2010). In this regard, it is important to emphasise that the reason why this perspective is of interest is because, as Aguilar (2020) explains, in the context of the changes that have taken place in politics as a result of globalisation, the debate is focused on the insufficiency of democratic governments to direct and influence their respective societies through public policies. Hence the full identification with Aguilar's statement (2020) that today more than ever there is a need for a new way of governing, guiding and coordinating society.

Government alone cannot define and develop society's agenda, much less provide answers to the many public issues of concern to contemporary society (Aguilar, 2020: 72). Moreover, in the current global reality, situations and issues of collective interest cannot be determined, addressed or directed by a single actor or a single structure of action (Aguilar: 2008: 24). Sonia Ospina (2006) notes that the public sphere is no longer the exclusive responsibility of the state, but rather a space for interaction among diverse actors.

The current development model brought about by globalisation has significantly limited the capacity for transforming political structures. The construction of a political community is conditioned by multiple factors. Moreover, the logic of today's society is immersed within the patterns of consumption and individualism. The degree of community strength and cohesion in today's societies has declined and the conditions for the development and legitimisation of public space pose enormous challenges from the perspective of democracy and efficiency. Thus, if the factors, structures and agents of the transformation of the political community proliferate, the public policy framework required for exercising governance of the public space must inevitably be redefined and empowered in order to increase democratic legitimacy and transformative power. In this regard, there is a fairly wide consensus that government action by public administrations is insufficient, a view particularly taken by authors who have worked on collaborative governance from the point of view of networks (Kooiman, 2000; Sorensen & Torfing, 2009; López & Lavié, 2010).

In this regard, this work is developed from the perspective of networks and from a vision in which the public administration plays a fundamental leadership role (Peters & Pierre, 2005). From this stance, it should be noted that Rhodes (2007) defines governance as the process of governing with and through networks. This approach, based on the promotion of interaction and networking

dynamics, has also been highlighted by other authors such as Ilyin (2013) and Atkinson and Coleman (1992).

The perspective introduced by Rhodes (1999) proposes interdependence between organisations, interaction for the exchange of resources, and negotiation to share objectives and build interactions of trust based on game rules that are agreed upon by the actors involved. It is therefore from this approach of network governance that the concept of collaborative governance also emerges.

Ansell and Gash (2008), referring to the concept of collaborative governance, stress the importance of interaction between public and non-state actors through the establishment of a collective process of formal decisions, aimed at consensus and deliberation with the aim of implementing public policies and developing public programmes. This governance model links multiple stakeholders with public agencies through common spaces that enhance participation and consensus in decision making (Ansell & Gash, 2008). As these authors note, this process requires a drive by public institutions, the inclusion of non-state actors in the process, and that the process should not be exclusively consultative but also decision-making, that it should be a formally established deliberative process in which consensus is achieved and the focus of deliberation is centred on public policies.

At the same time, insofar as Ansell and Gash's (2008) definition incorporates formally instituted processes, Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2011) expand the concept of collaborative governance by defining it as those processes and structures of political and public decision making and management that constructively connect people across different spheres and departments of public agencies, levels of government, and/or public, private or civic spheres to carry out or respond to a solution that is difficult to achieve through other channels (Emerson, Nabatchi & Balogh, 2011: 2). Likewise, Arellano, Sanchez and Retana (2014) define the concept of democratic governance as "a process in which government, private organisations and civil society interact to decide, coordinate and carry out the direction and governance of their community" (Arellano, Sanchez & Retana, 2014: 121). Calame and Talmant (1997) also add the capacity of collaborative governance to conceptualise new systems of representation and to institute new forms of action in a process of adaptation.

In this framework, collaborative governance has become a common term in the literature on public administration (Ansell & Gash, 2008; O'Leary & Bingham, 2009; Cooper, Bryer & Meek, 2006; Fung, 2006), as a

concept that is notable for increasing the capacity of public administration as a result of the weakening derived from the economic, political and social transformations of today's world. As a contribution to these theoretical frameworks, this paper defines collaborative governance as the process of deliberation and shared action that links public institutions, organised society and civil society in order to strengthen, through the generation of social capital, a new political culture in the public policy ecosystem (in its design and implementation processes) in the context of a shared public space.

To return to Aguilar's approach (2020), it is worth noting the distinctive characteristics of network governance this author sets out. Firstly, the author highlights the plural nature of the actors participating in the network ecosystem, and secondly, the interdependence of the actors, the establishment of forms of collaboration and the co-responsibility that this implies. Thirdly, the piece emphasises the commitment to share resources and risks to achieve the proposed goals and the rules that will establish the conditions governing the relationship in the deliberation and execution process.

Subirats (2010) also points to some basic premises identifying the concept of governance, emphasising the recognition and incorporation of complexity as a consubstantial element of the political *res*, the participation of actors in the framework of plural networks and, above all, the acceptance of a new position in the processes of government. This line is also followed by Cantó (2012) who reflects on the loss of power of administrations, insofar as it is not only the government that administers and executes but also self-organised networks and the market. He also stresses the importance of the participation of civil society and the private sector in decision-making, co-creation, co-responsibility and increased efficiency and democratic legitimacy in collaborative governance processes.

Based on these precepts, starting from the general framework of what is meant by collaborative governance, we need to highlight three fundamental implications of this concept. The first is related to the redefinition of the deliberative space through the incorporation of new actors and the transformation of the logic of power into a shared power. The second has to do with the need to generate social capital to activate a new political culture that will make it possible to respond to an institutional structuring in terms of collaborative governance. Finally, the third implication relates to the generation of conditions for social innovation from the point of view of co-creation and active experimentation

in order to respond to the multiple needs that arise in a context of complexity and uncertainty.

REDEFINING DELIBERATIVE SPACE AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER
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Incorporating diverse actors in public deliberation inevitably leads us to reflect on how this new space is configured in democratic terms. Who do the various *stakeholders* participating in the deliberative process represent? Here, Aguilar (2020) notes that the directive role of government does not disappear, since it is the legitimate authority of political association and the guarantor of preserving the public nature of the process while respecting fundamental democratic values and principles. However, the political role is exercised through coordination and not through hierarchical imposition. Aguilar's vision maintains the pre-eminence of the public structure, but introduces the post-governmental concept of public governance to redefine the new policy space. Thus, the incorporation of different kinds of social, economic and political actors involves an element of redefinition of the public space, in that to the public space, as derived from the public structure, it adds other spaces that do not derive from the public structure but instead correspond to the general interest and have a clear social function. The state and the public administration do not absolutise or exhaust the entirety of the reality constructed in the public space. This issue raises obvious problems that need to be addressed through dialogue and negotiation. These problems are framed by issues such as diversity and frequent antagonisms in the conceptualisation and significance of political objects, conflicting visions, imbalances in capacities, skills and opportunities, unequal conditions of power and authority as a starting point, the difficulty of developing a shared deliberation but also of the implementation processes, etc. However, as Aguilar (2020) states, these problems cannot lead us to accept the thesis that the incorporation of private and social actors distorts the public objective of governing.

Redefinition of the deliberative space that shapes collaborative governance has sparked an important academic debate on the significance of power, its distribution and the way in which asymmetries or imbalances of power affect the degree of effectiveness of the development of collaborative governance. Ansell and Gash (2008) warn of the risk of manipulation of the deliberative process by the most powerful actors.

Therefore, is mere institutionalisation of a formal and stable interaction between public, social and private actors constitute collaborative governance?; is it enough to formally follow a process of collaborative governance, for example, through a process of co-creation and shared action among stakeholders, to speak of collaborative governance? Collaborative governance requires taking into account the expression of the conditions of power distribution and a collaborative political culture internalised by the actors involved in the processes in order to establish an effective governance mechanism based on collaboration. Run, Huiting and Oszlak (2018) therefore consider it necessary to establish a framework that enables the relations of power that occur in a collaborative governance framework to be understood. Similarly, Hardy and Philips (1998) identify three key elements: formal authority, control of critical resources and discursive legitimacy. In addition to these factors, there are others such as the social and institutional context that condition these power relations.

Run, Huiting and Oszlak (2018) consider it essential to evaluate the level of effectiveness of collaborative governance processes through different forms of measurement such as degree of collaboration, results of the action and the measure of stakeholder satisfaction. Several authors note the benefits of sharing power, but Run, Huiting, and Oszlak (2018) find that an adequate contingent framework for analysing the relationship between power sharing and affectivity in collaboration is still lacking. This is a central issue in collaborative governance, for which these authors propose six elements that allow such a relationship to be addressed (Run, Huiting & Oszlak, 2018: 61–74).

1. The stronger the institutional context for cultivating collaboration, the more beneficial power sharing is for effective collaborative governance.

2. The less demanding the mission of collaborative governance, the more beneficial power sharing is to the effectiveness of collaborative governance.

3. The more voluntary the type of collaborative governance, the more beneficial power sharing is for more effective governance.

4. The less the participants' experience of power sharing, the less beneficial power sharing will be for the effectiveness of collaborative governance.

5. The more widely diffused the sources of power, the greater the benefit of power sharing for the effectiveness of collaborative governance.

6. The more acceptable the cost–benefit calculation is to the participants, the more beneficial power sharing will be to the effectiveness of governance.

THE GENERATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL
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Social capital is closely linked to collaborative governance processes insofar as the incorporation of private, social or any other type of actors into the deliberative system involves the creation of new networks and also the possibility of generating rules and values that redefine new high-quality social interactions that make co-creation and public policy action systems possible. Robert Putnam (1993) defines social capital as a set of institutionalised or formalised social interactions (including values and social norms of reciprocity and trust) that influence community development. Putnam (1993) stresses civil society and differentiates between the market and the state. Social capital favours cooperation; interaction becomes a resource because the structure of this interaction makes reciprocity necessary.

Social capital comprises the connections between people, social networks, rules of reciprocity and the trust that is built in these relationships (Putnam, 2000). To the extent that certain contexts internalise attitudes and values that lead to coordination and cooperation of social actors, the capacity to generate networks or processes of formal and informal institutionalisation increases, enabling an environment to respond to any needs that arise. At the same time, the existence of a networked environment leads to a process of socialisation of cooperative values within an environment. This is a self-nourishing spiral, positive or negative (i.e. a virtuous or vicious circle).

From another approach, according to Coleman (1988), social capital can take many forms, including obligations within a group, the rules and the sanctions. For Bourdieu (1983), the concept of social capital emphasises the social relations that increase an actor's capacity to promote his or her interests. Again, we have the idea that social capital allows a specific individual to go beyond him/herself insofar as it facilitates collaboration and commitment, as well as the flow of information. Through a sense of belonging and social obligation, he or she can exert influence on others (Saffer, 2016). Accepting the concept of social capital means understanding that relationships are a source of development.

Bourdieu (1983), Coleman (1988, 1990), Fukuyama (1995), Putnam (2000) and other social scientists stress that the level of interpersonal trust, civic engagement and organisational capacity in a community are developmental factors. Establishing a clear link between social capital and governance. Similarly, Whittingham (2010) considers that a group or community with a large capacity to act as a coherent and cohesive system will favour relationships of governance.

GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL INNOVATION
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The third key concept that needs to be linked to collaborative governance systems is that of Social Innovation. We view the need for collaborative governance as an alternative to the crisis of liberal democracy, to bring society into the process of deliberation and to develop new spaces for creation, deliberation and action. In other words, we need new governance to ask new questions, to seek new answers to meet new demands. Collaborative governance for social innovation. The hierarchical and functionalist vision of public administration needs to give way to a mode of governance in which collaboration, creativity and social innovation are networked in order to seek new answers to the needs that arise.

As Conejero (2016) states, the interaction between actors involved in processes of Social Innovation requires reconsideration of the model of governance; "the values of authority and hierarchy that have traditionally presided over government relations with society must, in a social innovation model, be replaced by the principles of collaboration and horizontal cooperation between actors" (Conejero, 2016: 17). Along the same lines, and in consonance with the central thesis of this article, Conejero (2016) considers that the crisis of legitimacy can only be overcome with new mechanisms of participation and deliberation. Anshell and Gash (2008) argue that the model of governance, viewed as the organisation of collective action through formal and informal institutionalisation, is one of the core elements of Social Innovation processes, because it affects social relations and the satisfaction of unmet basic needs.

In an interesting paper, Francisco Longo (2020) argues that public administration faces two major challenges: to progress (i.e. to improve public policies, meet the demands of citizens increasingly accustomed to operating in market interactions, to try to make huge gains in efficiency and activate economic growth and prosperity) and to protect (from the opacity of the international financial system, from the consequences of strong corporate concentrations at global level, from unemployment caused by technological progress, from technological vulnerability, from the inequalities that are being generated in society). However, the traditional bureaucratic paradigm of public administration cannot address these challenges because it assumes the existence of stable contexts and linear developments and an understanding of the subject matter to be regulated; it is based on the remoteness of the supervised as a requirement for the impersonal application of the rule (Longo, 2020).

According to Longo (2020), the State is obliged to overcome its traditional vision and innovate through exploration and experimentation. The author believes exploratory governance can address the agenda of innovation that needs to be adopted by the public administration in a context of complexity and uncertainty. Longo (2020) notes that this exploratory governance should incorporate certain characteristics such as focusing on strategy to lead change, stimulating intelligence by concentrating the best talent in society, with the administration acting a network of knowledge hubs rather than in a vertical process, promoting heterogeneity and decentralisation to reconcile growing diversity, guaranteeing rigour in the evaluation of processes of change and promoting openness and connectivity.

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CHAPTER 3
An examination of the political culture

**ANDONI EIZAGIRRE
ION MUÑOA**

INTRODUCTION
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The general goal of our working group has been to understand and interpret the need to explore the political culture in greater depth. The exercise is, in part, a theoretical, conceptual, and sociological one. However, given the diversity of experiences, professional fields and expectations of the group members, the end result has been somewhat heterodox, with a clearly practical orientation. We have been brought together by an express desire to innovate and strengthen the strategic capacity of the people and institutions in this territory and its democratic culture. We based our theoretical and interpretative task on active listening and mutual learning, drawing on all aspects that seemed reasonable and plausible to us in each other's arguments.

We were also assigned the task of socialising that work that renovation of the political culture and deploying it in our respective fields and areas of relationship, as members of and participants in different organisations and networks of associations in the province. Between May 2020 and July 2021, this was one of the participants' most important activities. The results have shown that it has also served as a fertile germ of reflection and conceptualisation, helping us to be aware of the limits, possibilities, difficulties and strengths of the cognitive, moral and emotional capacities for politics amongst the people and institutions of our province.

This chapter sets out a series of ideas and general results on political culture that were discussed in the working group, though naturally, this is done from the perspective of the two authors.[4] The text is divided into four parts. First, we present the document we took as our starting point and meeting place. We then introduce the principal theoretical and conceptual ideas related to political culture. Thirdly, we identify and elucidate certain discussions relating to the political crisis and consider the possibilities of revitalising harmonious coexistence and mutual responsibility. The final section offers a series of conclusions intended to clarify the meaning and purpose of the remaining chapters in this book.

OUR INITIAL DOCUMENT ON POLITICAL CULTURE
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The first working document was presented by Xabier Barandiaran at the June 2020 meeting.[5] It can be viewed as a summary, a preliminary diagnosis of the crisis in liberal democracy, establishing the need to query our democratic culture.

The document reveals that one of the factors that best defines the current historical context is the crisis in liberal democracy. This is manifested both in public disaffection with the political actors, institutions and system and a weakening of the political structures of representation and management of public policies. In the symptoms of the crisis affecting our representative democracies, subject to the party system, we identify both a subjective and an objective dimension. There is a crisis of legitimacy amongst political authorities and a major deterioration in the cognitive, technical and moral capacity of public institutions, affecting the exercise of their legitimacy and any effective response to citizens' challenges and needs.

In this initial document, our diagnosis of the crisis in the institutional democratic system also included

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[4] The reports and working documents of the monthly meetings of the working group are available in the New Political Culture library. See https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/eu/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/biblioteca-nueva-cultura-politica
[5] "The Crisis of Liberal Democracies and the Need for a New Political Culture: bases for reflection and action in Gipuzkoa Think Tank": *Process of deliberation on new political culture: Working Document No. 1,* June 2020.

other diverse explanatory factors: the prevalence of an individualistic culture and a progressive breakdown in community values; a progressive social disengagement with public and collective issues and a lack of knowledge of, interest in and a sense of belonging to institutional politics; a political style that spurns agreement and is subject to continuous confrontation and a desperate quest to attract media attention; the global integration of financial, technological, economic and cultural activity, which undermines democratic authority and the value and scope of its response. The document includes one passage, that is somewhat ambiguous, insofar as it plays down many of the contradictions we will try to explain in the fourth section, but which distils the message of our initial diagnosis: 'there is a significant mismatch between the actions and expectations of political actors and institutions on the one hand and citizens on the other'.

The relevance of this issue is shown by the importance and significance of the questions arising from that diagnosis: 'Can we afford to maintain the public social welfare policies we have created?; Do the public institutions have sufficient capacity to intervene in order to guarantee the liberty and equality of citizens?; Are today's political systems capable of articulating the political legitimacy and representation of the citizenry?; How is the culture of consumer societies affecting the quality of democracy?'. All of these questions challenge our condition and responsibility as citizens.

In the working sessions of autumn and winter 2020, the group members and guest experts discussed and expanded on these different ideas. However, we believe that the initial document is sufficient for our general purpose of providing an opening diagnosis of the most significant aspects facing politics in our current societies.

POLITICAL CULTURE
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The initial document accepts a classic conception of political culture. We prepared it to share in the working group and it helped us to understand its meaning and purpose. This third section summarises the notion of political culture and explains its importance for political analysis and management.

Political culture, or the importance of the subjective dimension

Political culture is viewed as the stock of subjective perceptions and psychological orientations towards different political issues that individuals take on and let go of.[6] In this regard, as well as the formal, organisational, functional and institutional dimensions of politics, there are also those opinions that we use for interpreting what is happening or what we wish to happen in relation to politics, public institutions, political agents, the ways in which politicians proceed and act, and their decisions and results. Political culture is concerned with these subjective perceptions, maintaining that it is a very relevant intangible asset in the viability and legitimisation of democracy.

Of course, our subjective perception and psychological orientations with regard to politics are mediated by the different experiences we accumulate in our daily lives. Moreover, our membership of a social class, profession or faith can lead to different psychological effects vis-à-vis the same political stimuli (for example, unequal societies with weak and fragile rates of personal and social trust show a greater social tolerance to corruption);[7] there are general political circumstances or aspects relating to the historical context that shape subjective attitudes; the public agenda and systems of communication and social interaction affect our predispositions towards politics; no less important is the political socialisation on issues related to our understanding of reality and the role we give or attribute to ourselves in social and public life.

This is the reason why subjective orientation towards political issues appears diverse, plural and even dynamic and changing. As individuals, we cultivate and remake our knowledge, values, behavioural patterns and political identity in societies that deploy life experiences sustained by transmission, continuity and change or renewal. This virtuous tension means that our ways of interpreting, understanding and valuing politics, and our forms of political participation in society (seeking information, voting in elections, providing ourselves with the skills to develop in the community), is more than a mere economic calculation,[8] and that we enjoy rules and values that identify us to a greater or lesser degree with certain behaviours, groups and projects for coexistence in society.

[6] Almond, G. and S. Verba (1963): *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[7] Rothstein, B. and A. Varraich (2017): *Making Sense of Corruption*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[8] Arrow, K.J. (1951): *Social Choice and Individual Values*. New York / London: J. Wiley / Chapman & Hall; Downs, A. (1957): *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper; Olson, M. (1965): *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

In addition to the mutable nature of those attitudes that predispose and orient us towards knowing, being interested in, understanding and participating in politics, another factor of influence is that the intensity of our political attitudes also varies as a result of factors such as our life cycles or the political context. Our societies are characterised by very changing forms of organisation and orientation, subject to a continuous re-emergence of different agents and codes of socialisation[9], which sometimes predispose us to attitudes of dejection or submission (limited cognitive resources for understanding our surroundings, distrust and suspicion, or a diminished strategic capacity to address new social challenges). One variant of this uncertainty, lack of belonging and security consists of the echo chambers and information bubbles that reaffirm our position with our peers and bolster the growing incongruence between our different attitudes in different spheres of social life.

The particular distribution of our patterns of subjective orientation towards politics, as reflected in surveys, enable us to identify and understand the social plurality and draw comparisons with other regions. In this regard, statistical analyses of political culture show a heterogeneity of relatively stable and enduring attitudes, values and behavioural patterns on issues such as feelings of belonging, ideological tendencies, attitudes towards immigration and affinities, which offer a good indicator for determining shared and dissenting attitudes within a society. The quality of democracy and indexes of legitimacy and performance also play an important role in this subjective dimension of politics and those intangible variables that make up civil society.[10]

One of the virtues of political culture is to highlight the close relationship between the institutional functioning of the political system and the rules and cultural dispositions of different groups in society. In this regard, the hypothesis behind the interest in political culture holds that democratic political systems are shielded from unforeseen events or historical discontinuities if the populace has democratic attitudes and values based on a sense of freedom and are familiar with cultural habits which enable them to demand accountability from their rulers and to debate common problems.

Analysis of political culture

Political culture can be defined as the prevailing set of perceptions, interpretations and behaviours in response to a series of political circumstances and events, and the unit of analysis therefore tends to be individuals' political attitudes. Surveys tend to distinguish between four categories (or forms of orientation) of measurement and analysis: cognitive (levels of knowledge and interest in issues, institutions, policy actors); affective (reactions and emotions that inspire affection, support or indifference towards circumstances and operations related to democracy); evaluative (value judgments on political issues, the political system and its components); and intentional (intentions that incite us to act or react in one way or another).

Combining these four main categories usually leads to a peculiar and singular reaction, valuation, emotion or political attitude in the citizen. As we shall see below, the stimuli (or political issues) that provoke this series of attitudes, affinities or emotions, are usually analysed in four different dimensions or spheres.

a] Recognition of the political community

The first set of questions refers to the formal and general characteristics of the political system (rules, institutions, symbols, collective actors, leaders and public authorities). Indeed, this understanding of the feelings, affective and cognitive links and/or expectations associated with the political regime and its game rules or political community allows us to predict the medium-term legitimacy and viability of the political system. The first dimension denotes the extent to which the political regime (in our case, the democratic system) is capable of securing the trust and allegiance of citizens whatever the composition of the government or the economic situation. This suggests that the political system has a certain autonomy over our affective feelings and political loyalties and that those rules, conventions and norms of reciprocity with which we provide ourselves in order to generate mutual trust and revitalise political and civil associations strengthen the sense of community and the quality of the political system.[11]

Formal democracy tends to stabilise in more or less orderly contexts through regular, transparent and

[9] Archer, M.S. (2007): *Making Our Way through the World: Human Reflexivity and Social Mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[10] Acemoglu, D. and J.A. Robinson (2012): *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. New York: Crown Publishers.
[11] Acemoglu, D. and J.A. Robinson (2019): *The Narrow Corridor. States, Societies, and the Fate of Liberty*. New York: Penguin Publishers.

effective elections; institutional functioning based on a separation of powers; formal channels that enable and promote channelling of the plurality of social interests and demands; pluralism of information; effective capacity to create a responsible civil society through political parties, interest groups and other mediating institutions that cultivate and express its voice. Nevertheless, contexts of uncertainty, perplexity or change remind us that the consolidation of political systems must rely on cultural habits leading to reciprocal understanding, equanimity of judgments, assumption of responsibilities and the widening of circles of sociability. Coupled with the game rules and cultural orientations that govern such guidelines, the main achievement of electoral democracy is to provide a peaceful mechanism for political parties to alternate power through free, regular and competitive elections.[12]

b] Political demands

A second dimension of political culture is concerned with our individual or subjective attitudes towards the existing ways of structuring and orienting citizen demands. Amongst the sources used to determine our levels of commitment and affection towards our personal capacities in the development of politics are questions related to the electoral system and general politics, or rates of democratic participation in its different conventional and non-conventional manifestations.

Such surveys also address other aspects that build a picture of the solidity, consistency and density of our participation and belonging, such as values and ideologies. The political culture enables us to segment and systematise by groups the ideological orientations, feelings and political and cultural identities of a society or territory. Questions of this kind, which position us vis-à-vis the public and normative issues that constitute society and mediate between citizens and other political agents enable us to determine levels of coexistence, stability and democratic maturity. Questions related to this second dimension of political culture address, inter alia, issues of ideological self-positioning, feelings of belonging and national identity, or our priorities regarding the territorial and administrative organisation of political power.

The nature and meaning of different identities are subject to a changing socio-economic structure and changing values and demands, which modify the axes of conflict and political stimuli and our psychological and subjective dispositions. This is why new citizen surveys extend questions on political culture to new areas such as public morality, reproductive health, globalisation and immigration. In all cases, the second dimension presupposes that political values and identities mediate the various political stimuli that permeate society.

c] Allegiance and trust

Thirdly, the activities, processes and decisions of the authorities are also an important dimension and source of subjective perceptions. To what extent, for example, do we trust in the functioning of democracy and its results? What is our assessment of policy measures in the areas of infrastructure, finance, economic promotion and education? When we talk about the functioning of the political system, we are also referring to public policies and the capacity or possibility of influencing their cycle of formation and configuration. In many cases, the effectiveness, legitimacy or credibility of policy and of the political system depends on the attitude of the citizenry towards the authorities' behaviour and decisions.

Whereas analyses of public opinion investigate specific and circumstantial support for a decision, political culture measures and explores diffuse support for authority, related to the medium term, which is not subject to circumstantial fluctuations and evaluations thereof, and which orients our social perceptions, attitudes and even behavioural patterns; one variant involves the default level of distrust of political authorities. In such cases, the trust and credibility we have in those in power tends to have a variety of origins (ideological affinity, willingness to comply with the rules, personal qualities of the authority, efficient political results). Not questioning the intentionality of the governors (whether or not they are aligned with our identity or interests) and trusting their actions —without renouncing vigilance and criticism— is another complementary variant of the diffuse support that benefits the cultural habits of democracy.

d] Political self-efficacy

Fourthly, and finally, political culture is also concerned with our attitudes and behaviours towards politics, which can range from submission and subservience to

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[12] Przeworski, A. (2018): *Why Bother with Elections?* London: Polity Press.

a disposition to engage in friendly and civic behaviours of responsibility and reciprocity; from allegiance to the elites or counter-elites to solitary behaviours and lifestyles displaying an indifference to the community at large.

Analysis of these different orientations —passive, aligned or active role— examines participation in political life as an index of our affective orientation towards politics:

- One indicator for measuring this is subjective political interest. Here we can distinguish or operationalise orientations of different levels or intensities, such as curiosity, motivation and involvement in political issues. There are variables such as educational levels, feelings of political efficacy and strategic capacity and habits of participation, that condition our attitudinal positions. At the same time, interest in politics is a controversial issue and cannot simply be reduced to the sentiment that institutional politics inspires in us; there are people with responsible, consistent and reflective political attitudes —which should not be equated with passivity, indifference or apathy—that show high levels of disinterest, fatigue and detachment from formal politics.

- Subjective political efficacy is another indicator for determining and distributing our orientations as to the roles we assume in politics. Studies show that the greater our subjective political capacity or the greater our feeling of intervening and influencing common life, the more participation in politics expands and becomes generalised. This effectiveness may be due to our cognitive capacity or our capacity for mobilisation, or to a greater or lesser openness of deliberative channels to organise and articulate our demands.

- Socio-economic, educational and cultural transformations have led to a strong degree of political scepticism and a growing privatisation of our lives, but also to the emergence of new demands and the mobilisation of cognitive and cultural skills to influence politics with repertoires, forms, resources and modes of participation that sometimes differ from conventional ones. This hypothesis highlights the importance of asking about issues, demands, channels, and

alternative or innovative practices in order to determine and understand our political culture.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS
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Questionnaires and surveys on political culture and politics generally reflect high levels of legitimacy of democracy in Western countries.[13] Nevertheless, there is a progressive political disaffection, a growing mistrust of the functioning of democracies, a notable decrease in the levels of political interest, and critical subjective perceptions as to the affection towards political authorities and the quality, efficiency and consistency of political systems. Nonetheless, comparative studies indicate that there are major differences between different countries and regions. For example, in the Nordic countries and in Germany, the results for interest, general valuation and political self-efficacy are comparatively good and improving. In southern Europe, on the other hand, in addition to the usual incidence of economic cycles on the fluctuating disaffection of citizens, the political variable (corruption, alignment, lack of protection) has increased in a structural and prolonged manner, as an explanatory factor, with a relatively strong weight.

One of our workshops was devoted to understanding this political disaffection, and we tried to distinguish superfluous and repetitive variables from those that allow us to elucidate the issue with greater complexity and insight.

The political supply side

Although the list is not exhaustive, some of the main explanations given for the crisis in politics are as follows:

- The current functioning of the political party system tends to isolate authorities and elected politicians; corruption corrodes politics; news stories try to find eye-catching topics that incite a morbid interest in political life; political parties are guilty of tactical approaches, opportunism

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[13] This issue is the subject of debate and discussion. See, for example, Foa, R.S. & Mounk Y. (2016): "The democratic disconnect". *Journal of Democracy*, 27 (3): 5-17; Alexander, A.C. and C. Welzel (2017): "The Myth of Deconsolidation: Rising Liberalism and the Populist Reaction". *Journal of Democracy*, Web Exchange; Norris, P.: (2017): "Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosis the Risks". *Journal of Democracy*, Web Exchange; Voeten, E.: (2017): "Are People really Turning away from Democracy?". *Journal of Democracy*, Web Exchange; Foa, R.S. and Y. Mounk (2017): "The End of the Consolidation Paradigm: A Response to Our Critics". *Journal of Democracy*, Web Exchange.

and overacting; closed and locked electoral lists undermine accountability and subordinate the elected representatives to the dictates of their political leader; new political styles favour tension; politics is subordinated to opinion polls. These considerations lie at the origin of political disaffection and a deterioration in the quality of democracy.

- In formal democracies there is a strong monopolisation of public affairs by political parties and interest groups. This is compounded by the privatisation of life and a generalised social interest in exclusively personal, family and professional affairs. The consumerist culture encourages ephemeral pleasures and accommodating logics to the detriment of life experiences that cultivate responsibility and reciprocity.

- There is a strong supply crisis among the traditional political parties: Some consider that the reason lies in dysfunctional process of selection and internal promotion, which have led to a crisis in leadership and traction capacity; Others suggest that the crisis is due to a lack of ideas and the absence of clear objectives; It is also argued that the convergence of multiple institutions, agents and interests in decision-making processes undermines the autonomy of political parties and political institutions.

These different considerations suggest that there is a problem on the political supply side that undercuts the search for agreements and common interests. Among the responses to this crisis is the promotion of incentives that encourage an exchange of ideas and negotiation; a new electoral law; mechanisms of participation, transparency and accountability; competent politicians with a vocation for public service. The crisis in political supply also explains the interest in new political marketing strategies, panels of experts on the design of political and electoral programmes, and public ethics commissions that ensure compliance with codes of conduct.

These initiatives and strategies, while reasonable, may provide a very limited explanation for the problems causing the crisis in political representation.

The political demand side

Although political polls have long been highlighting the rise in political disaffection, ¡it has only recently aroused much interest in the public conversation. One plausible explanation for this greater public attention might lie in the reconfiguration of the party system and the continuous partisan realignments in Western countries in general. In this section we argue that the major social, economic and cultural transformations that began in the 1970s are generating new, diverse and concurrent expectations and demands in societies with growing differences and inequalities. This is making it difficult to understand, interpret, formulate, channel and transform the different and divergent interests in an optimal way for society as a whole.

a] New socioeconomic structure

We shall start by listing very briefly some of the transformations that are affecting our modern societies:[14]

- A series of structural phenomena (technological and financial globalisation, expansion in education, loss of employment in heavy industry, greater weight of the tertiary economy, greater incorporation of women and immigrants into the labour market) are transforming our socio-economic structure and altering our ways of understanding, feeling and organising politics and changing the political agenda and the social composition of the electorate. Among the horizontal inequalities generated by the new economy are generational inequality and regional disparity, with a high concentration in rates of segregation.

- A more complex social and economic structure affects the nature and meaning of the new demands, which are growing, differentiated and concurrent. The sphere of employment exemplifies the fact that integration into international trade in a context marked by technological convergence, the emergence of new political and economic actors and a strong mutation in employment has a very unequal impact on the trajectory and intensity of labour and wages amongst different strata and groups in a society. In addition to purely economic considerations, there are also legislative and cultural issues (protectionism vs. international trade, xenophobia vs. interculturalism) that are gaining importance in

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[14] For an exhaustive analysis of this issue, see: Eizagirre, A. and A. Udaondo (2020). *Eraldaketa globalari neurria hartzen: Euskal gizartea aro ekonomiko berrian*. Arrasate: Mondragon Unibertsitatea.

the political and media agenda and leading to a fragmentation in the preferences of the citizenry.

- The growing difficulties faced by the Eurozone economy (¡endemic???¡ stagnation, new demographics, macroeconomic imbalances),[15] in a context of plural social interests and booming private income sectors, are directly affecting the direction of welfare policies. Contributory social policies, founded and designed in contexts of continuous, secure and well-paid employment are encountering serious difficulties in addressing new social inequalities (vulnerable households, precarious employment conditions, social segregation). All the indications are that current welfare policies may be further entrenching these disparities, although the political incentives for change are lacking because of the social make-up of the electorate and its unequal levels of participation.

- The digital, energy and ecological transformation has traumatic and asymmetric effects, at least in the short and medium term. New employment in Industry 4.0 is concentrated in higher-income positions, and while the income effect offsets the loss of employment, new care, consumption and leisure services differ in quality, intensity, security and employability, leading to major disparities in society. At the same time, the response to the ecological crisis has been managed using the lever of price (urban tolls, low emission zones) and the closure of mature and obsolete productive sectors. The net losers in this model of transition are the lower classes who feel the most vulnerable and unprotected.

b] Plurality and social fragmentation

The socio-economic structure indicates that the effects of the new transformation are very unevenly distributed among the different groups (generations, regions and counties, strata) within any given society. These horizontal inequalities generate very disparate expectations and frameworks of opportunity and lead to competing interests and demands, which aggravates the fragmentation of society and reduces the chances for common and shared experiences.

In addition, there this a growing sense of vulnerability among certain segments of society which causes them to distance themselves from politics and undermines their interest, affection and appreciation of it. Electoral behaviour —and especially a strong concentration of abstention in certain social groups, confirming a major distrust of elections as a useful mechanism for channelling demands— is a good indicator of a fragmented society and of the disintegrating effects of the new economy. Studies on political culture confirm that subjective orientation and levels of political self-efficacy are very unevenly distributed and segmented in society. The problem is often aggravated by the limited incentives generated by this combination of electoral, political and subjective variables in the party system, and it amplifies the sense that public policies are ineffective in correcting the causes of disaffection and compensating the losers with opportunities and certainties. The bottom-up, heterogeneous and volatile nature of the demands is making it difficult for mediation institutions to articulate and organise conflicting interests and there is a greater chance of dissatisfied, disgruntled or resentful social groups becoming entrenched. This sense of profound vulnerability is augmented by difficulties in understanding what is happening and in making sense of and controlling even everyday experiences.

There are strong correlations between levels of trust and credibility and socio-economic indices, occupational structure, quality of governance and the robustness of civil society and its social capital. Variables such as a country's position in the global distribution of labour and production chains, the size and ownership of companies, the trade balance and financial dependence, all influence the fiscal margin of governments and their capacity to decide and implement new social policies and other measures intended to generate wealth, cohesion and life opportunities. We should not be surprised by the unequal perception and assessment of the strategic capacity (or the effectiveness of the political system) in response to social and economic needs in the different regions of the European Union. In some countries, the political institutions that regulate our coexistence face strong conditioning factors that limit their self-government and the design of policies. This breakdown in the social contract increases the feeling of isolation and helplessness, and this vulnerability generally increases a trend towards survival-based egotism. Some of the effects are manifested in the limitations of electoral democracy to guarantee the basic rules of the game electoral defeat generates intolerance towards political alternation and a strong polarisation that by default rejects undesired decisions adopted by the adversary in government. On

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[15] Eizagirre, A. (2020): *Europaren geroa. Geldialdi sekularreko eskenatokia*. Arrasate: Mondragon Unibersitatea.

the contrary, in many European regions, the growing difficulties of electoral mechanisms to channel social demands have been accompanied by a generalised acceptance of the basic rules of the democratic game, regardless of the results at the ballot box, together with institutions of mediation capable of articulating and organising disputed interests, and even innovative and differentiated political agendas accompanied by the civic activation of society and amicable networks of sociability.

Democracy has worked relatively well in egalitarian societies and in frameworks of opportunity that responded to rising expectations, with political alternance between democratic parties, differentiated agendas and high rates of social tolerance of election results. It can be assumed that the asphyxiating polarisation, the propensity to shift responsibility from one to the other, and other problems on the supply side are partly explained by the difficulties in channelling the demands of contemporary democracies. Societies with high levels of social inequality and disintegrated frameworks of opportunity have serious difficulties in consolidating a cultural inclination towards trust and cooperation. Civic amicability and political trust deteriorate, and attitudes of suspicion, powerlessness, cynicism and indignation emerge in an indistinct and volatile manner.[16]

c] New systems of social communication

Technological disruption also affects the systems of communication, socialisation and social interaction, and by extension the means of capturing political attention. The self-referential nature of politics, the generalization of behavioural patterns that regulate politics as a mere game of power, status and prestige, the polarising political styles and identity confrontation accompanied by moral exhortations that seek to find a scapegoat to blame for unresolved —and sometimes unsolvable— problems and the volatility of political cycles and of projects, leaders and discursive repertoires, are —we believe— indicative of the rules, formats and conditioning factors imposed by the new digitalised communications through which messages are transmitted and where there are ever fewer incentives for negotiation and agreement. New competition in the media offers few incentives for conversations and discussions that match reality, check facts, ensure the equanimity of judgments, listen with interest and diligence, seek to

persuade by incorporating the arguments of others, and are oriented towards the evaluation, improvement and promotion of public policies. Those segments that are more inclined towards tension —even if they are in a minority and are rarely successful— upset the social and media environment. Their limited scope is combined with noise, gesticulations and verbal lynching. As a result, one peculiarity and paradox of our societies is that a greater consumption of political information on many occasions generates a lack of understanding of the political reality and disturbs the foundations of coexistence and connivance.

- The Internet has transformed the paradigm of social communication systems by breaking the axes of space and time and facilitating and accelerating information flows. The Internet has not only created an exclusive third virtual space (with its own singularities and dynamics); it has also transformed the social communication system which was consolidated throughout the twentieth century (mainly a mediatised public space 'occupied' by the media).

- It is a technological transformation whose origins lie outside the communication system and one that has modified the conditions for the construction of public space and mediated reality. It affects at least three areas directly related to politics: the media system, political communication and public opinion.

- Conventional media have lost the monopoly they once enjoyed in shaping and constructing the public space, while at the same time they face a dual crisis: in credibility and in their business model. Moreover, their function of generating shared or common frameworks and cohesion in society has been weakened, and differentiated versions of social and political reality have multiplied.

- Political communication has been subjected to the logics imposed by the attention market and the new perception of time, taking on the conditions of 'politainment': inter alia, speed, simplification of messages and hegemony of audiovisual content. Thus, political communication subordinates the classic functions of information, legitimisation and persuasion to the sophistication of those

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[16] Rothstein, B. (2011): *The Quality of Government: Corruption, Social Trust and Inequality in International Perspective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

techniques that benefit the occupation of the public space, while transforming the ways of thinking, understanding and doing politics.

- On the side of public opinion, our audience-based democracy has enabled access to unlimited and differentiated versions of reality and a multiplication of audiences, in which opinion equates to freedom, but which make it difficult to know the truth, improve the quality of democracy and consolidate common public spaces.

- On the other hand, socio-technical transformations alter our systems of socialisation and social interaction (consumption and leisure habits, symbolic references, linguistic uses, collective identities, etc.). This is no small matter: our values, norms and behavioural patterns are transmitted, governed and operate through these different and changing forms of social interaction.[17]

The new logics of media competition instituted by communication systems, and the forms of socialisation and social interaction, are revolutionising those conditions and norms that constitute social reality, in such a way that they are dimensions that must be retained in our understanding of political culture and political life in general.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS
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The various transformations affecting the socio-political supply and demand sides require us to consider democracy and politics in conditions (and with conditioning factors) that alter the rules of the game. No less important for understanding the variations in indices of political legitimacy and trust and in political culture is the convergence of decision-making processes. On the one hand, we are seeing the widespread emergence of coordinated actions and shared responsibility between different tiers of government. On the other, this very approach tends to delay decisions or hinder their social support in societies where sectoral demands and calculations differ and mediate (promoting or encumbering) forms

of local governance.[18] Two other important aspects are the existence of a public administration that has been exhausted by being taken over by union, corporate and political interests that slow or paralyze the transformation of cultural, institutional and organisational patterns and affect its quality and efficiency; and sceptical lifestyles and aspirations (citizens do not allow themselves to be distracted by moral illusions and exhortations to politicians) coupled with a growing sense of helplessness and resignation that increases the suspicion and distrust in trials and experiments.

However, studies of political culture reveal that there is also a civil society that knows how to cultivate and express its voice, is self-confident, willing to make free decisions, develops and projects itself with democratic backing in the public space, and brings its conscience and its voice to bear in responsible action.[19] One might see a different picture if one were to assess the direction and inclination of this civil society; not all voluntary associations and social movements are driven by a reasoned passion to rebuild the community and a common sense open to responsibility, sociability, commonality and reciprocity based on freedom and justice.[20] The three experiences set out in the second part of this book are all intended to reinforce these rules and cultural dispositions with a view to collective action.

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PART II
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK
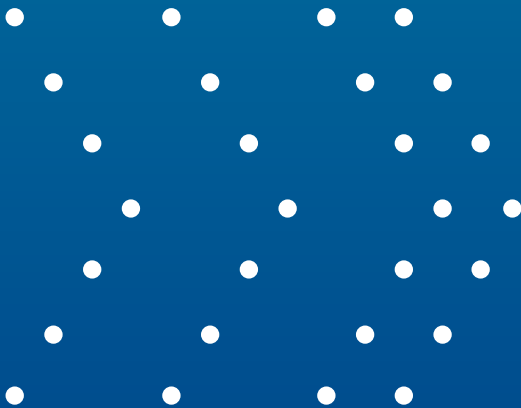
CHAPTER 4.

Action research for territorial development as a Think Tank methodology: discussions and lessons learned

XABIER BARANDIARAN
MIREN LARREA

INTRODUCTION

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Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank differs from other more traditional models of Think Tank because it has opted to generate participative processes of deliberation (reflection for decision-making) oriented towards action, in addition to carrying out (as is more usual), analyses and studies aimed at influencing policies. Two of the mainstays of this Think Tank, therefore, are deliberation and action.

To address the connection between these two dimensions of the Think Tank, it was decided that the Think Tank should use action research as its methodological framework, and more specifically, an approach to action research called *action research for territorial development* (ARTD). This decision was taken after a joint work process between the political heads are Etorkizuna Eraikiz and the research team from Orkestra / the Basque Institute of Competitiveness between September and December 2019. ARTD has been developed since 2008 in four territories, the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (ACBC), Agder in Norway, and Rafaela (Santa Fe) and Tierra del Fuego in Argentina. In the Basque Autonomous Community it has been used to a large extent in the context of programmes of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa (PGG).

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. On the one hand, to present ARTD and its model of cogeneration, which was shared with the four deliberation groups at the beginning of the project and inspired the methodological proposals of the first stage of the Think Tank. The second objective is to consider a series of dilemmas that implementation of this methodological framework has generated. Although there was initial consensus on the methodology, in practice it has led to different interpretations of the process. Successive decisions related to the Think Tank

have been taken within a debate between these different interpretations. We have summarised the lessons learned from this debate in the form of questions and hope to be able to make progress in building answers to them in successive stages of the Think Tank.

It is also relevant in this introduction to establish the position of the author of this chapter. Xabier is the head of the Think Tank, while Miren is the researcher in charge of the methodology. During the period covered in this book (June 2020 and April 2021) our dialogue has taken place in weekly coordination meetings and biweekly management team meetings. In all of them, the theoretical and conceptual reflections have influenced specific proposals which the management team and the deliberation groups have been considering and deciding upon.

The chapter is structured as follows. In the first part we present the ARTD cogeneration model, its epistemological bases and the initial methodological proposal of the group promoting the Think Tank. In the second part we address the methodological lessons learned from the process, structured around the three axes of action research: reflection, action and participation. We conclude the chapter with a brief list of conclusions.

GENERAL FRAMEWORK: THE COGENERATION MODEL

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The cogeneration model, presented in Figure x, is the framework that was used for discussions between the PGG policy makers and the research team on the Think Tank's working methodology. Through this discussion it was agreed to use ARTD as the methodology of the Think Tank, at least in its initial phase. The following sections explain each of its constituent elements.

a] Territorial complexity

The first element considered in the framework is territorial complexity. A context of territorial complexity is considered to exist when there are several autonomous but interdependent actors in a territory, who may have different interpretations of the main problems of the territory and the possible solutions to these problems. Moreover, none of these actors has a hierarchical position that allows them to instruct the others on the way forward. In other words, command and control for collective action is not possible and there is no other choice but to explore ways of defining problems and seeking solutions through dialogue. The ARTD makes sense in contexts of complexity, which are very frequent in territorial development.

This interpretation of complexity makes sense in the Think Tank given that the way of working of Etorkizuna Eraikiz is a collaborative governance proposed and led by a government, but encompassing other territorial actors (policy ecosystem) which are autonomous and interdependent in their day-to-day work in the territory.

b] Dialogue between stakeholders and researchers

Another feature of the cogeneration model is that it proposes a dialogue between stakeholders and a research team. In the Think Tank, the stakeholders are the members of the PGG policy ecosystems and, above all, the Provincial Government itself.

We use the word stakeholder here, rather than territorial actors because the model clarifies that both the policy makers and the research team are territorial actors.

Figure 1. **The ARTD cogeneration model**
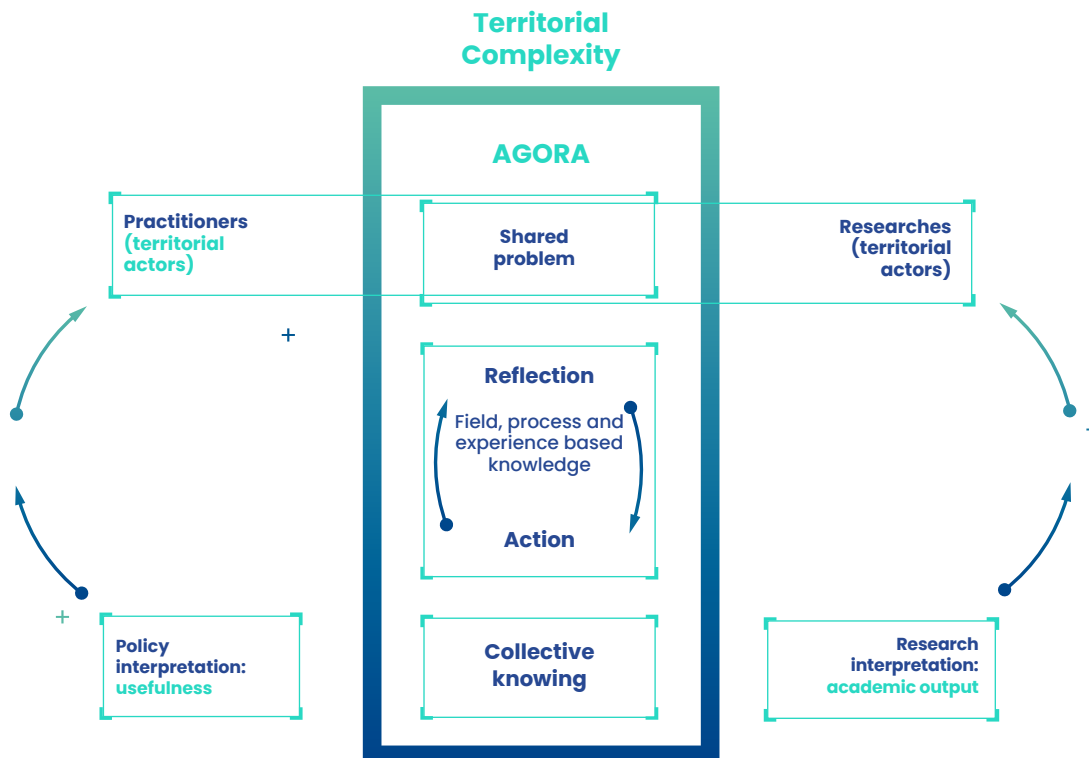
Source: Karlsen and Larrea (2015).

c] Agoras

The space shared by the stakeholders and the research team is the agora. In its broadest sense, an agora is a common space where different actors meet. But within this methodological framework, it has a more specific meaning: it is the public space in which science meets the public and in which the public responds to science. It is the domain (or rather, many domains) in which knowledge is constantly tested and, in the process, becomes more robust. The agora is a space in which social and scientific problems are framed and defined and in which negotiations take place on what will ultimately be accepted as a solution. The Think Tank's agoras are both the management team and the four deliberation groups.

d] The shared problem

The first step in the agora is to define the shared problem. The problem shared in the space of deliberation on new political culture was posed in terms of the crisis of liberal democracies. It was proposed by the representatives from the PGG and accepted by the other participants, thus becoming the problem that the Think Tank activity should seek to solve. In agreeing on the problem, it was also agreed that the solution must through a new political culture and that collaborative governance is part of that culture. In their general approach, these bases were accepted almost immediately by the participants in the Think Tank.

e] Praxis

Once the shared problem is agreed upon, *short* cyclical processes of reflection and action begin, oriented towards solving the problem. In keeping with the cogeneration model, three types of knowledge are combined in these cycles of reflection and action. Theoretical knowledge (this is normally shared by the research team, but in this case, due to the nature of the Think Tank, it has been mainly shared by the guest experts); practical knowledge of the problem, which is shared, above all, by representatives of the policy ecosystem; and process knowledge, which is mainly included in the facilitation practice and which has been explained in less depth due to the lack of time. The combination of these three types of knowledge allows participants to detect areas in their practice that can be improved in order to have a positive effect of the solving of the problem.

In referring to the cycles of reflection and action, we have emphasised that these are short cycles. The idea is to plan small experimental steps that help to understand the problem from the position of practice, rather than theory. If the praxis works, the cycles not only accelerate, moving with increasing fluidity from reflection to action and from action to reflection, but also take in reflections of increasing complexity and actions of increasing impact.

One of the difficulties in the deliberation group was that only a small number of participants managed to link the problem posed and the reflections made in the Think Tank with actions in their daily lives. This has made praxis —or overcoming the division between reflection and action— difficult.

f] Collective knowing

The term "knowing" is used to describe knowledge in action, as opposed to the more general "knowledge". Knowledge is a noun, while knowing is a verb. As a noun, knowledge is understood as stock, while, as a verb, knowing is viewed as an action or process (Karlsen, 2007). The term knowledge is often used to refer to theoretical, conceptual knowledge. Theoretical knowledge is declarative knowledge, which has often been categorised as know-that (Ryle, 1949) or know-what (Polanyi, 1966). Ryle (1949) drew a distinction between this type of knowledge and knowing how). The concept of knowing-how arises from applying knowledge in a given context. For Ryle, intelligence manifests itself to a greater extent in the way people act, and to a lesser extent in the way they think. He thus proposes a knowing-how in action, which inspires our notion of knowing in action.

The adoption of these concepts in ARTD is based on the experience of its proponents, who noted that, in the academic debate, when a problem is solved in a theoretical article, the discussion moves on to the next problem, but can we assume that this problem is also solved in practice? Having *knowledge* about a problem does not imply having *knowing*, i.e., it does not mean being able to solve the problem in action. What we need to generate in the Think Tank, therefore, if we want the Think Tank to have an impact on transforming reality, is not *knowledge*, but *knowing*.

Another important element of this concept that allows us to understand the subsequent debate is that the way to generate knowing is not to first generate knowledge and then apply it in action. Based on Polanyi (1966, p. 7) we assume that "we can know more than we can say". Tacit knowledge is an integral part of every action. This implies that we cannot explicitly and exactly describe every part of an action, but we can perform it. That is, we can build knowing about collaborative governance or the new political culture without having explicitly and accurately

described each part of that action, even if we are not able to describe each part of the action *a posteriori*. According to Polanyi, it is not possible to distinguish knowing from action itself, that is, it is not possible to separate the knowing from the subject that performs it.

The aim of ARTD is collective knowing. We define collective knowing as a capacity, a learned pattern of collective action, whereby the actors in an agora systematically modify their actions over time, through the learning process. Collective knowing is a capacity that can only be developed over time through the process of learning in the agora, among stakeholders who meet regularly and interact with each other. This is pursued through dialogue between different stakeholders. Through dialogue, connections are made between theoretical concepts, discourses and real situations that create the basis for action and for changing a given situation in a territory. In the agora, theoretical concepts are submitted for discussion and converted into concrete actions. Dialogue is a means of bringing about changes in language, behaviour and organisational and institutional structures.

g] Interpretation of the process

Cyclically, both the stakeholders and researchers participating in a process must step back from it and make an explicit interpretation of the process. This interpretation will allow us to assess whether the process is working from each of these perspectives and to discuss it again, in order to define a new objective, reformulating the previous one on the basis of the lessons learned. This book is the result of this exercise, carried out by the participants in the deliberation group.

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL DEBATE
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In the discussion generated in the Think Tank on action research, there has been repeated mention of the potential differences in the epistemological framework of the participants. In this section we share the methodological framework of ARTD with regard to the integration of positivist, interpretivist and critical influences.

Delantry & Strydom (2003) interpret methodology as the systematic investigation of the rational and procedural principles that guide research; ontology as being the theory about the nature of reality; and epistemology as the possibility, limits, origin, structure, methods, and validity of knowledge. The combination of specific positions in these three areas gives rise to different paradigms. In this section we share the way in which ARTD has been influenced by three paradigms that propose different ontological, epistemological and methodological combinations: positivism, interpretivism and critical social research.

ARTD emerged in the field of territorial development a decade ago in a context where positivist principles had been taken for granted. The ARTD was the result of self-criticism by a number of researchers who had built a career as external observers of regional innovation systems providing policy makers with analysis, explanations and recommendations. Their self-criticism first gave rise to a debate on the positionality of the researchers and the (lack of) interaction with the "objects of study". Subsequently, over the past decade, ARTD has taken on interpretative and critical dimensions.

We consider it relevant to share the information in Table x because the validity, reliability, objectivity and generalisability of the research results only makes sense within the framework of the specific paradigm that is taken as a reference at any given time. In the case of ARTD, its validity is understood mainly within the framework of the interpretivist and critical paradigms.
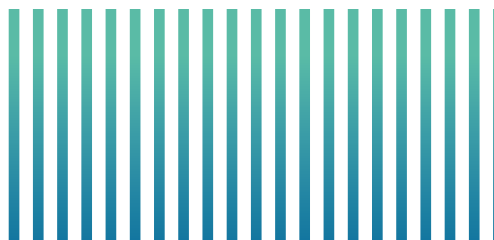
Table 1. **Main features of positivism, interpretivism and critical social science**

	Positivism	**Interpretivism**	**Critical social science**
Objective	Explaining, predicting and controlling	Understanding, meaning, and acting	Generating self-reflective understanding for action
Positionality	Observer	Mutual influence between researchers and stakeholders	Participation of researchers in the social action they are studying
Method	Experimenting, measuring, and quantifying, usually with the support of statistical techniques	Transformative practice	Transformative practice that addresses ideology
Relationship between theory and practice	Practice is interpreted as technical solutions informed by facts rather than value-based considerations; theory is related to practice through technical control	Theory affects practice by revealing the context that defines the practice and generating self-reflection	Theoretical ideas and interrelated practical requirements

Source: Carr and Kemmis (1986) adapted by Karlsen and Larrea (2021)

ARTD AS AN INSPIRATION FOR THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING A NEW POLITICAL CULTURE
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Building on the cogeneration framework presented above, the management team agreed on a six-step process for the first phase of the Think Tank:

1. Open a space for dialogue between the political actors and researchers who will participate in the process

2. Define the shared problem

3. Define the territorial complexity and build a shared narrative about it.

4. Understand the different interpretations of the problem, develop a shared vision and promote reflection to build minimum consensus around feasible actions at any given time

5. Develop negotiation processes on the issues discussed in the reflection in order to make decisions and decide

6. Moving from decisions to actions

Another feature of the Think Tank that was taken from the cogeneration model was the combination of three types of knowledge: Theoretical-conceptual knowledge in the fields related to the problem to be solved, experiential knowledge of the participants and process knowledge or methodological knowledge.

Following these criteria[21], individuals linked to a range of organisations in the PGG policy ecosystem were invited to participate in the Think Tank. This opened up a dialogue between local stakeholders and researchers. Although with some adaptations, during the phase analysed in this book, around fourteen people, half from the PGG and half from other organisations in the ecosystem, have participated regularly. The PGG shared its perspective of the problem to be solved in Working Document No. 1[22], and the deliberation group agreed to work to contribute to the development of a new political culture in Gipuzkoa to face the crisis in liberal democracies. During a period of one year, in monthly deliberation sessions whose contents were agreed upon in a participatory manner, the group reflected on the axes it considered relevant to contribute to addressing this challenge.

[21] The description and contents of this process have been published in a research journal at https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/es/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/biblioteca-nueva-cultura-politica.
[22] The proceedings and working papers for all sessions are available at https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/es/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/biblioteca-nueva-cultura-politica.

In order to have actions in which to generate new knowledge, participants were invited to use one of the projects they were working on as an experimental space. Starting from a broad list in which each participant had made a proposal, it was decided to work in groups around four projects that have been used as the basis for the different chapters in this book: (a) preparation of a conceptual theoretical framework for the deliberation group; (b) reinforcement of the PGG's Aurrerabide programme, (c) strengthening of Arantzazulab to promote citizen participation; and (d) design of Badalab's collaborative governance.

Two levels of reflection-negotiation-decision-action were thus constituted. On the one hand, each working group reflected on each project outside the Think Tank deliberation sessions. In some cases, e.g. Aurrerabide, the participants in the deliberation process were decision-makers in the project, so the deliberation was directly integrated into the decision-making process. In other cases, e.g. Badalab, one of the people in the deliberation group was responsible for communicating their thoughts to the project's decision-making bodies. These processes are described in the final section of the book.

The second level of reflection-negotiation-decision-action took place in the deliberation group, which designed and adapted its own cogeneration process. In this process, different ways of approaching the generation of new knowledge and of understanding its link with action were explained. These positions could be simplified by noting that some participants suggested the need for shared conceptual frameworks in order to move to action and others suggested learning by doing in order to build shared conceptual frameworks. The process facilitators worked to enable the group to understand the different interpretations of the link between reflection and action, develop a shared vision and build a minimum degree of consensus around feasible actions at any given time. The result of this process was that, after addressing the first half of the process, inviting external experts to share their knowledge on governance, complexity, deliberative processes, collective intelligence or trust, the group decided to devote the remainder of this first phase to sharing the knowledge that was being generated in each working group.

METHODOLOGICAL LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE PROCESS
—

As shown in Figure x, the cogenerative model is not a linear model that ends with the construction of collective knowing, but rather, cyclically, it is proposed that researchers and stakeholders take a step back from the process and reflect on it. After this reflection, they meet again in a new process of problem-defining.

The authors of this chapter initiated the methodological discussion on ARTD as a working methodology for the Think Tank in September 2019. Since then, dialogue on this topic has been ongoing. The process of writing this book has provided us with an opportunity to take a step back, reflect on our own and meet again in order to construct (negotiate) a narrative with which we identify. We have shared our reflections in an attempt to find ways to improve and, in this chapter, we explain the content of this dialogue.

The shared learnings are personal, but we believe that Xabier's perspective offers an understanding of the expectations and objectives of the policy when action research is integrated into its processes, while Miren's perspective enables an understanding of the challenges of an action research team when the object to be transformed is policies and politics.

We believe that what makes this dialogue possible is a set of shared principles and values. However, these principles and values are compatible with the fact that we interpret many of the elements in the process described in this book differently. For this reason, in writing this section, we have explicitly distinguished between our two voices.

One basic shared principle is the democratisation of processes, in this case, the democratisation of the policy ecosystem. This focus on democratisation is central to both Etorkizuna Eraikiz and action research. Our conviction that we are both working to achieve this objective has allowed us to open a methodological debate in which our positions have often been opposed, but always with sufficient flexibility to reach practical agreements that have allowed the process to move forward. The result is that Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank is explicitly addressing a series of relevant questions in the field of transformative research methodologies, while ARTD is expressing new methodological elements that allow it to be effective in contexts that might be defined as being of high political tension.

If we analyse the methodological framework set out in the previous sections, we agree conceptually on most of the elements: co-generation between academia and politics, the relevance of defining the problem to be solved properly, the need for spaces for dialogue, the praxis or necessary connection between reflection and action, the desire to build collective capacities in the territory, and the importance of generating academic debates based on this experience. However, action research is not about agreeing at a conceptual level, but about making processes happen and transforming action. This is where the disagreements have occurred: What did we expect to happen in practice? How did we anticipate that the transformations would take shape? How much time did we think they would require? How can we measure change? Which of our actions can we consider to be the result of our participation in the Think Tank?

These are questions that have strained the debate on methodology, leading us to continually adapt it. These are also questions for which the literature on action research has some answers at a conceptual level and some examples, but which can only be used to transform the Think Tank based on the answers that we construct in our own practice.

Our goal in this section is not to answer these questions, but to offer a reflection in order to refine them, so that we approach the next stage with a clear approach of what we want to learn from our practice in the Think Tank. To do so, we have structured our reflection around the three essential elements of action research: reflection, action and participation. For each element we came up with three questions that we wish to answer in the future.

REFLECTION
—

In this section we focus on how the deliberation group has approached the co-generation of knowledge for the construction of a new political culture through collaborative governance.

Our starting point is to ask what policy and action research require from reflection. Politics needs to establish communication with citizens and stakeholders in order to strengthen the legitimacy and development of public policies. Action research requires that cogeneration takes into account the initial frameworks of all participants, since it is these frameworks that help use to understand how each participant interprets

and experiences the problem to be solved. It is also necessary to stress the need to make the configuration or institutionalisation of frameworks compatible with the maintenance or extension of their democratic legitimacy. Under no circumstances could we accept frameworks that, no matter how collaborative they might be, would lead to processes of de-democratisation. In this context, ARTD assumes that not all frameworks will later have the same weight in inspiring practice, nor will all participants have the same power in negotiating the concepts that will become central to the process. From this perspective, cogeneration therefore takes place in a context in which the participants set out the different conceptual frameworks and the subsequent construction of those concepts and frameworks that the group adopts in the project.

The authors of this chapter agree that the different people involved in the process have started from different conceptualisations, which has generated difficulties in communication. We also agree that dialogue is the right process for overcoming these difficulties. In Xabier's words, this means that it is necessary to establish a communication process in which the interlocutors understand each other's attribution of meaning with respect to the conceptualisations established in the dialogue. Otherwise there is no possibility for communication and, therefore, no possibility for shared co-creation. Xabier believes that the failure to establish the conditions for the development of communication weakens the value of deliberation and, therefore, the capacity for transformation. This is one of the essential problems that has arisen in group deliberation processes.

As a consequence, Xabier considers that in practice the lack of communication is a problem to be solved and a handicap to the process, which can lead to the inefficiency of the Think Tank. He also considers that establishing divergent (even antagonistic) conceptual starting points is not a problem if the different interlocutors really understand the different meanings of these conceptualisations; if this is done, the process of negotiation or co-creation is a conscious act. However, this has not been the case, or at least it has not always been the case. The problem arises when the methodological process advances by establishing agreements and new definitions on the basis of a dialogue in which some interlocutors do not know the real meaning of the conceptualisations used by the others.

In this framework, action is facilitated when the participants attribute the same meaning or internalise the central concepts of the process on the basis of an

agreement. Xabier believes that shared internalisation of the conceptualisation creates better conditions for action. This implies that we need to apply the methodology better. This means that there is also another problem, which is how to apply the method correctly. Xabier believes that the institutionalisation of processes often does not entail a positive result because the linking of people to concepts, meanings and action is not real but aesthetic.

Practically the same idea is expressed through slightly different language when Miren, starting from the definition of shared vision used by ARTD, states that dialogue should lead us to understand how each person interprets the concepts put forward and, from this understanding of the coincidences and divergences in the interpretation, seek spaces of agreement for action. The better we understand the others' interpretation of the problem, the more feasible this agreement for action becomes.

Miren, returning to Xabier's approach, recognises that the participants in the deliberation process "did not know the real meaning of the conceptualisations made by the others" but says that "the real meaning" is something difficult to achieve, because on the one hand, there is not always a great deal of self-awareness as to the meanings we attribute to the concepts; part of this knowledge is tacit and we do not know how to make it explicit. Moreover, for the participants, the construction of the meaning that a new political culture and collaborative governance have for us is a dynamic process. These meanings are under constant construction throughout the process, both at an individual and a collective level, and the purpose of action research is not to discover and propose "the real meaning", but to help construct at any given time the agreements for action that will help solve the problem posed. The fact that such agreements are made without what we have called an understanding of the "real meaning" does not invalidate such agreements, as these are the best feasible solution at any given time. Waiting for the group to uncover this meaning could paralyze the process, since it is possible that this uncovering does not take place absolutely, but rather only partial uncoverings are achieved. From this perspective, and accepting that there is much room for improvement in the application of the methodology, Miren believes that the participants in the process now understand better than at the beginning of the process how each participant interprets and experiences the new political culture and collaborative governance. There is undoubtedly much progress to be made in this direction, but, understanding the "real meaning" for each of the other participants is a kind of utopia that can inspire reflection, but not a starting point for action.

These two different interpretations are reflected in the work of the deliberation group at two different points in time. In the first session, Working Document No. 1 (prepared by Xabier) was used to convey the inspirational framework of the process. In it, an argument was made about the crisis of liberal democracies and the need to develop a new political culture to address this crisis. This argument on the "why" of the new political culture was shared by Xabier in a session. At the same session, the participants expressed their willingness to participate in a deliberative process that would serve to support the transformation of the political culture. They made a decision without understanding the "real meaning" that the approach had for Xabier. In Xabier's opinion, in the discussion that followed, it was seen that the participants started from different conceptualisations, but, moreover, the different participants did not understand the meanings that other participants made of their respective conceptualisations. Accepting this to be the case, Miren considers that this was a good starting point, since, without the participants necessarily understanding in depth what that framework meant for Xabier, the dialogue that was generated with regard to that framework was sufficient for the group to agree to take action and work together in a process of deliberation that would contribute to transforming the political culture in Gipuzkoa.

In a subsequent session, the participants in the deliberation process worked together to construct a group definition of the new political culture, which was included in Working Document No. 4. This definition combined different languages and frameworks put forward by several of the participants. For Miren, it was a step forward in cogeneration, since it allowed participants to listen to each other and to see that each person approached the concept from a different starting point. The exercise of negotiating a single definition that would incorporate these different visions was, once again, carried out without each participant being able to understand the real meaning that these definitions had for the others. However, from Xabier's perspective, the group had provided itself with a definition that was not very congruent and did not correspond with the objectives of the Think Tank. Above all, he felt, there had not been a sufficiently solid prior communication process to build shared conceptualisations.

Our purpose in making this reflection is not to provide definitive answers to the dilemmas we have encountered, but to contribute to the literature and the practice of action research with relevant questions, which we will continue to work on in the future.

This book shares two distinct strategies for conceptual clarification. The first, contained in Chapters 2 and 3, proposes the construction of congruent conceptual frameworks as a prerequisite for their being shared by the group and inspiring action. The second, set out in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, is based on experience in action, from which lessons learned are shared and contributions to the conceptualisation are proposed. This second group reflects the majority position in action research literature. However, ARTD and the Think Tank are committed to integrating both perspectives, based on an understanding that the concepts and theoretical frameworks with which participants approach the process are part of our experience and influence how we reflect, decide and act.

THE ACTION
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The authors of this chapter agree that the action research process requires a clear definition of how the action will be interpreted. We also agree that transformation of the mental frameworks with which the participants interpret the conceptual and methodological frameworks is a type of action.

In this context, Xabier argues that this specific type of action stands at the limits of the subject itself and can be "objectified"[23] through various externalisations, but is not necessarily linked to the object of transformation. At the same time, there are actions where the object of transformation is visualised and can be objectified in different ways. He also argues that if the action is developed only in terms of the subject and has no link to the object of transformation, that action is useless for the development of public policies or in terms of collective action.

Miren bases herself on the consideration in ARTD that our mental frameworks are part of the context we want to transform. Thus, if the Think Tank's goal is to transform the PGG's policy ecosystem and the people participating in the deliberation are part of the ecosystem, the transformation we seek is, in the first instance, our own. Through this will come a transformation in the way we interact with the environment and this interaction will transform ways of working, procedures, projects and organisations. This perspective does not distinguish between subjects and objects, but considers that the people participating in the deliberation have been simultaneously both subjects and objects of the transformation.

In this context, Xabier believes, there are two problems: a construction of knowledge detached from action and a coherent narrative that identifies action as the result of a reflection that is not real. Both problems have arisen to a greater or lesser extent in this process. He also believes that the knowledge generated in individual and collective terms, which does not have a connection with the objects of transformation, can be very interesting for personal growth but not for the transformation of public policies. Xabier also believes that narratives are often constructed by attributing meanings to pre-existing processes or independent actions in which it is explained that the result of the action follows a process of generating knowledge from action in which that knowledge has been able to generate a transforming action.

Within the framework of the self-transformation of the participants as an initial step in the transformation of the ecosystem, Miren believes that self-knowledge and awareness of one's own positions on the problem posed, although still in a subjective and non-objectivised phase, represent knowledge linked to action. In this line, the re-signification of previous experiences that help us to change our attitudes is knowledge that aids transformation.

A practical example of this dilemma arose when it came to considering the style of this book. In it, and most clearly in the experiential chapters, each author writes from his or her own experience, opening the door not only to the facts, but also to their subjective experience of the process. Xabier does not raise objections to the different opinions, optics and subjective conceptions (which are always enriching); however, he argues that

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[23] An objectified social reality is a way of doing things that we adopt because it is the way of doing things in a group that is most generally accepted.

in the process of transforming collective action, the intersubjective elements must be made explained and objectivised[24]; the objective reality cannot be shown through the legitimisation of individual narratives.

Miren agrees on the importance of making the intersubjective elements explicit in order to contribute to the construction of an objectified reality. However, ARTD attributes legitimacy to the individual narratives of the participants as long as they are people who are affected by the problem posed. The voice of each participant, even when it conveys the subjective experience of the problem addressed, is legitimate in a participatory process and helps to understand one dimension of the problem. The challenge from this perspective is not how to overcome subjectivity in order to attain objectivity, but how to integrate the subjective and the objective in the process of solving a problem.

This discussion during the process has led us once more to raise a series of questions for the future:

> **Questions for the Think Tank's methodological discussion: Action**
>
> What is action in a process of action research?
>
> To what extent does the transformation of an ecosystem require the transformation of each individual acting in it?
>
> What is the relationship between the objective and subjective dimensions in this transformation?

Again, the chapters of this book allow us to explore different approaches to the resolution of the problem posed. Chapters 2 and 3 rely on the literature and theoretical-conceptual frameworks to develop proposals in which the authors set out their vision of the problem, but they do so by positioning themselves as subjects who observe the object in order to understand it and propose how to improve it. Chapters 5, 6 and 7, based on experience, also set out the authors' vision, but they do so using a language in which they situate themselves as subjects and objects of transformation, bringing us closer not only to the objective facts of the process, but also to their subjective experience of them.

PARTICIPATION
—

In a context in which a large number of participants have deliberated on how to build a new political culture in Gipuzkoa, another agreement we have worked on is that it is important to use the existing objective evidence to prioritise some narratives of the process over others when deciding and acting.

Xabier addresses this argument by pointing out that not all participants' narratives and interpretations are of equal value and we need a more objective form of discernment. He considers that the coexistence of the different narratives in the process is an element for improvement in the methodology or its application. He bases this argument on the fact that some narratives are subjective and detached from action, while other narratives have been constructed in a process of higher quality from the point of view of communication, co-creation and shared construction.

Miren argues that, within the ARTD framework, if individuals whose experience is linked to the problem to be solved have been invited to the deliberation, their narratives are legitimised as inputs to the initial phase of cogeneration. In other words, all narratives should be listened to and considered. Amongst the bases of this perspective are the Gustavsen's (2001) principles for democratic dialogue. Gustavsen considers that all those affected by the problem addressed must have a chance to participate and that an argument can only be rejected following an investigation, and not, for example, on the grounds that it comes from a source with limited legitimacy. In other words, all participants must be able to express their perspective and the group will be able to incorporate it into the cogeneration process or reject it, but only after contrasting it with the available evidence, and not *a priori*. Thus, from these initial contributions, and through the process of dialogue, learning and negotiation (not *a priori*), a narrative of the process is distilled that incorporates the contributions that the group considers most valuable and disregards those whose value the group does not recognise. This process is necessary because we do not have objective indicators that allow us to measure *a priori* the value of the different narratives.

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[24] Intersubjectivity is constructed when interacting individuals not only understand each other's definitions of shared situations, but define them reciprocally.

Xabier is radically opposed to this premise because he considers that there are participants who construct visions and narratives outside the logic of group interaction and, very often, disconnected from the action. Mere participation does not legitimise the narrative if that narrative has not been built on a solid methodological foundation.

The methodological dilemma that arises is, therefore, how to respond to the need of politics to select the most valuable narratives through an objective methodology, when ARTD proposes a process in which participants influence each other through their narratives in processes in which this influence is often tacit.

Once again, we return to the chapters of this book in search of examples for these arguments. Through the conceptual, methodological and experience-based chapters, the participants in the deliberation process have shared their narratives. This is one of our ways of participating in the process. The question now is: are all the narratives raised in these chapters valid for influencing future decisions and actions? What are the objective indicators that would help us to position some ideas as being more relevant than others? Finally, especially in the experiential chapters, learning processes are made explicit in which the other participants, through shared deliberation, have influenced the approaches taken. Could we interpret this as meaning that the narratives that are explicitly the result of interaction better represent the group's perspective?

Based on these reflections, we pose three further questions about the methodological dilemmas encountered that we hope to begin to answer in the future:

Questions for the Think Tank's methodological discussion: Participation
Are the narratives of all participants in the process legitimate?
How do we measure the value of different narratives to choose the best ones?
How is the shared narrative distilled from the narratives of each participant?

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter sets out the methodological framework of action research for territorial development (ARDT) agreed upon by the Think Tank's policy makers and the research team before the Think Tank was launched. It is a framework on which there was consensus following the initial conceptual discussion. However, its application has raised certain doubts, set out here, concerning the three central axes of this methodology (reflection, action and participation).

The discussion reflected in the second part of this chapter is the result of distilling a process of ongoing dialogue between September 2019 and February 2022 through which different perspectives have been contrasted and a significant number of decisions have been made on what approaches to take first to the Think Tank management team and, through this, to the deliberation groups. After this intense learning process, the process of writing the book has served to refine the questions we want to raise for the future, though not to answer them. Consequently, our conclusions are the questions we have posed at the end of the three sections into which we have structured our reflections. Our intention is now to begin a new stage in the Think Tank in which we will combine our experiences with the debates in the field of action research methodologies, in order to build answers to these questions.

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PART III
PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECTION:

Etorkizuna Eraikiz as a driver of endogenous innovation

GORKA ESPIAU

The three chapters that make up this section of the book share three experiences of transformation of the policy ecosystem of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa through deliberation in the Think Tank. These are three practical experiences, and the lessons shared have been learned from experience. On this basis, this introduction to the section considers that the three chapters share a conceptual framework. This is the framework that Etorkizuna Eraikiz proposes not only for these three cases, or the Think Tank, but for the initiative as a whole; which is conceptualised here as an framework for endogenous innovation.

Local consultation processes are the basis on which collaboration networks are built and they are manifested in formal or informal agreements established between public or private socioeconomic agents with goals that fulfil common interests. The Etorkizuna Eraikiz experience confirms that the links developed between actors are based on "geographical and cultural proximity" (Pichierri, 2002), on the existence of a climate of mutual trust (social capital) and on the development of feelings of collective identity. This system of structuring is fundamentally "endogenous in nature". Exogenous innovation (coming from outside) faces difficulties in being incorporated into the local culture and can have negative effects, such as increased inequality, job insecurity or the extraction of talent in the area in which it operates.

Etorkizuna Eraikiz has allowed us to verify the contextual and deliberative nature of value construction (Lynch, 1981), which is the reason for the failure of solutions that try to replicate innovation processes that have worked in other contexts but are alien to local social and cultural dynamics. "Competitiveness", "social equality" and "democracy" have different meanings depending on the local territory and culture. Traditional models of innovation are of no use for evaluating socio-economic transformation processes in very diverse situations. A process of this kind is

not the same in an industrial economic context, in a rural context or in a context of violent conflict.

Innovation and territorial transformation processes are always unique, because they have to be developed and deployed in a given cultural context. For these reasons, endogenous innovation processes such as Etorkizuna Eraikiz are constructed and evaluated together with the key agents of the territory and generate conditions of contextual validation instead of relying on standardised metrics of efficiency. It is from this perspective that we should consider the evaluation of initiatives such as those presented in this section.

Based on the experience of Etorkizuna Eraikiz, we can state that it is possible to generate transformative innovation processes. These processes necessarily include spaces of collective creativity (Moulaert et al., 2005) connected to local cultural dynamics. This is what many authors call the theoretical framework of the commons (Ostrom, 1965).

To this end, Etorkizuna Eraikiz has incorporated a perspective of complex system in which the institutional framework (level of and capacity for self-government) and decentralised coordination within the system (transformation viewed as movement) have been taken into account.

Etorkizuna Eraikiz emphasises the economic, political and, above all, social value of collective action for territorial transformation in complex situations. To this end, this infrastructure seeks to stimulate debate and practical experimentation on possible future paths as a means of promoting social justice (Calhoun, 1995). These new models of territorial transformation drive a deliberative, participatory democracy that takes into account local cultural dynamics, as well as the proactive and entrepreneurial attitude of the public sphere (Mazzucato, 2019). Echoing Castells' (2017) thesis, we need to turn to

alternative practices that "evolve with cultural diversity, technology and institutions in a rapidly changing society".

In contrast to models of hierarchical innovation, Etorkizuna Eraikiz proposes new social and economic policies built as collaborative innovation processes (Feldman, Lowe, 2018). From this perspective, public policies cease to be in the exclusive hands of experts, developing instead processes of collective construction. The three chapters in this section serve as an example to understand how this type of process can be approached.

As indicated by Huguenin and Jeannerat (2017), Etorkizuna Eraikiz views innovation as a much more complex process of deliberation and co-creation. Beyond the traditional theories of innovation and competitiveness, this Think Tank proposes to broaden the view to address the complex, multidimensional and multilevel dynamics of innovation that is at stake in the transformation of the economy and society towards new scenarios of sustainable development.

Etorkizuna Eraikiz proposes to investigate the new values of society, translate them into social, economic and technological solutions and make them valuable for the territory as a whole. Pilot projects and demonstrators that seek to generate new policies of transition to scenarios of sustainability can be interpreted as experimental spaces in which to connect the new values that are operating in a given society (not necessarily predetermined by innovation), with processes of co-creation and involving a wide variety of actors. This experimental nature is what defines the three experiences presented below.

By focusing on the purpose of the transition to sustainability rather than the factors contributing to it, the approach of "valuation" policies offers new perspectives for social innovation (Huguenin, Jeannerat, 2017).

Endogenous innovation processes such as Etorkizuna Eraikiz operate as a platform of social innovation that aims to: (1) gain a deeper understanding of social dynamics, (2) translate them into social and technological solutions, (3) find value in those solutions from the perspective of sustainable human development. These new policies for generating social value consider experimentation as a crucial tool for innovation.

As the cases presented show, this process of value generation is directly related to the context and to a deliberative, adaptive and territory-based innovation strategy. Moreover, it helps to overcome one of the main shortcomings of traditional innovation, which

interprets collective action as a spontaneous and almost always marginal form (Engle, Slade, 2018).

Etorkizuna Eraikiz has focused on proactively creating the conditions for critical alternatives, gradually building coherence and structure through experimentation (innovation portfolios) and the incorporation of different agendas (economic, political or social support).

In short, Etorkizuna Eraikiz helps us understand the potential of collaborative governance as the expression of existing social and cultural dynamics; of the self-management of common resources in a complex and polycentric system; and of public entrepreneurship as a cooperative effort. The three chapters in this section set out incipient experiences of collaborative governance from this perspective.

CHAPTER 5

An experience of connecting the deliberation of the Think Tank to transformation of the PGG's Aurrerabide programme

EVA SÁNCHEZ-CAMBRA
EIDER MENDOZA
SEBASTIÁN ZURUTUZA
GOIZEDER MANOTAS
ANDER ARZELUS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we report the experience of four members of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa (PGG) and two researchers from Orkestra, the Basque Institute of Competitiveness. Teamwork for action learning on the concepts discussed in the deliberation group took place between November 2020 and June 2021. The process was completed with the shared writing of this chapter.

The individuals involved and the positions they held during the time they worked together were as follows: Eider Mendoza, Deputy (Provincial Minister) for Governance at the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa. Goizeder Manotas, Director of Services and Innovation and Transformation of the Administration, within the Governance Department headed by Eider Mendoza. Sebastian Zurutuza, Strategy Director of the Office of the Deputy General (First Minister of the province). Ander Arzelus, head of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz service at the beginning of the process; became advisor for External Action to the Deputy General at the end of the process. And finally, the process was initially facilitated by Ainhoa Arrona, a researcher at Orkestra, and later by Eva Sánchez, a pre-doctoral researcher at Orkestra.

Together, we have fulfilled the commitment made in the deliberation group: to experiment from the knowledge cogenerated in the Think Tank. We have focused our work on Aurrerabide, an advanced management model that the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa is implementing in the organisation. Through this process we have provided a response to the generic objective of the Think Tank, we have tried to transfer the lessons learnt in the Think Tank group on a new political culture to the scope of the transformation process of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.

In doing so, and following the basic principles of action research, we have contributed to the search for solutions to a problem, which in this case was to find ways to promote the use and integration of tools for good management in the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.

In order to share our experience, we have structured this chapter as follows. In the following section we present Aurrerabide, which has been the space for our experimentation. We then set out the working methodology we have implemented: action research for territorial development. Then, in the description of the process, which consists of three cycles, we explain in detail how we went about it. We have combined the description with a detailed analysis of the way in which we linked reflection and action in each cycle. We then set out the lessons learned during the process. To conclude this chapter, we summarise the results obtained.

The content of this chapter is based on the minutes of the meetings held in the working group and on the reports and working papers of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank's deliberation group on new political culture. The reports and working papers are public and are available at: https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/es/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/biblioteca-nueva-cultura-politica

Our experimentation space: Aurrerabide

We chose the deployment of Aurrerabide in all departments of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa as a space for experimentation. This choice was based on the fact that its objectives are optimal for experimentation, especially the objective related to the deployment of the culture of Advanced Management and Innovation in the Provincial Government.

Aurrerabide is the advanced management model that the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa has opted to implement and its ultimate goal is to contribute to Good Governance. It serves as an umbrella for management improvement tools that contribute to coherent and effective management by providing planning, evaluation and accountability tools. Given the tools it offers, Aurrerabide has an impact on the digital transformation of public administration.

For the area covered by Aurrerabide, the key aspects of good management (strategy, citizenship, people, society, innovation and results) are taken into account and tools are established for each one. These tools are intended to meet the challenges presented by each key aspect of good management.

The Aurrerabide implementation process consists of each department of the Provincial Government adapting the tools to its needs. The way to do this is to present certain minimum, acceptable commitments that must, at minimum, represent a step forward in the adaptation of the tools introduced in the departments. The objective of these commitments is to extend the culture of advanced management and innovation in all departments and directorates. To this end, the model is periodically evaluated and contrasted.

In the Provincial Government, the project is managed by the Directorate of Services and Innovation and Transformation of the Administration. Goizeder Manotas, the director, gave the following explanation: "Trusting that everything learned within the Think Tank will be of full use and enrich the process, in our Directorate we consider it a good experimentation project". The rest of the group agreed with her and stated as much in the Think Tank deliberation group: "[the group members] have identified the project on which they are going to work together and have agreed to work on the Provincial Government's capacity for joint work. They have selected the Aurrerabide project".

In order to move to action, it was necessary to identify a problem to be addressed. The specific problem of Aurrerabide that we decided to address was the "difficulty in implementing the model at departmental level and the lack of use of tools for good management and the lack of integration of tools for good management".

This is how we started working as a team: we defined our roles

After defining our experimental space, the next step we took was to establish the roles that each participant would play during the process. We did so following one of the contributions by Manuel Villoria, Professor of Political Science at the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, and in response to the exercise proposed by Miren Larrea in her role as facilitator of the deliberation group process. The roles established were as follows:

- "Eider Mendoza will be in charge of liaising with the deputies.

- Goizeder Manotas will be responsible for liaising with the department directors.

- Sebastián Zurutuza will support Eider and Goizeder's dialogue and will also be in charge of identifying any lessons learned that can be extrapolated to other projects.

- Ander Arzelus will support Sebas in his work and will provide the internal vision of the Provincial Government in terms of identifying inertias and weaknesses".

The role of the facilitating researcher was not included, but was developed based on the cogenerative model of action research for shared territorial development in Chapter 4 of this book.

In this chapter we share our transformation experience through three distinct sections. In the first, we explain how we interpret the action research methodology to give continuity in Aurrerabide to the path begun in the deliberation group. In the second, we take our process step by step, focusing on explaining how we connect reflection and action. In the final section we share the lessons learned from the process and the co-generated results.

WORKING METHODOLOGY
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In moving from deliberation to action, the facilitator of the process, Eva, suggested taking the cogeneration model presented in Chapter 4 of this book as a methodological reference. More specifically, our process focused on the praxis part of the model (see Figure 1). This consists of short cycles of reflection and action that feed back into each other. One of the characteristics of praxis as proposed by action research for territorial development is that three types of knowledge are combined in the process:

a] **Knowledge of the disciplinary fields related to the problem addressed, which we took from the Think Tank's deliberation processes. On the one hand, guest experts participated in the deliberation sessions; on the other, key stakeholders from of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz ecosystem met. Their knowledge enriched our process: it enlarged our vision of the conditions surrounding the creation of a new political culture.**

b] **Process knowledge, which was incorporated in the form of methodological knowledge through Eva's facilitation practice.**

c] **Experiential knowledge, brought to the process by Eider, Sebas, Goizeder and Ander as a result of their previous and present experience in Aurrerabide and other collaborative governance projects.**

Figure 1. **Excerpt from the Action Research for Territorial Development cogeneration model (Karlsen and Larrea, 2015, p. 98), explaining the praxis: short cycles of reflection-action.**

Reflection

Field, process and experience based knowledge
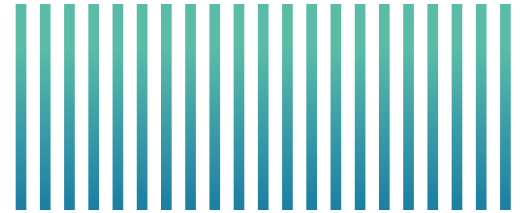
Action

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESS
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As explained in the introduction, the first thing we did on setting up the group was to make two decisive decisions: what we were going to work on and what we were each going to do. Having defined this first collaborative framework, we were ready to work on the problem in as much depth as was possible given the short experimentation period during which the initiative was carried out.

We have gone through three cycles of reflection and action, which are described below.

First cycle — We agreed on the methodological bases of teamwork

a] **We shared the group's perspectives on the problem**

In the Think Tank's deliberation group, Angela Hanson, head of innovation at the OECD's OPSI Observatory, proposed an in-depth analysis of the creation of a new political culture through a causal analysis by levels. We brought this analysis into the context of Aurrerabide.

The causal analysis by levels we performed revealed two types of systemic cause that directly and indirectly affect the use of Aurrerabide in the Provincial Government (see Figure 2). These are (1) structural resistances and resistances related to institutional culture in the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa (2) resistances specifically related to Aurrerabide. The causes were categorised to facilitate an understanding of the case.

Table 1. **Summary of the systemic causes of the lack of use of Aurrerabide.**

Structural resistance and institutional culture	Specific resistances related to Aurrerabide
Internal communication is not enough to involve people in new initiatives.	The importance of working with corporate tools such as Aurrerabide has not been incorporated.
The organisation and the people within it work in a hierarchical manner: the silo structure is deep-rooted.	Aurrerabide has not been properly contextualised.
We work in accordance with a procedure and schedule that have to be complied with.	The tool was not shared until it had been defined and definitively decided upon.
Cross-cutting processes are not seen as being useful: there is no common vision and there is resistance to change.	Appropriate facilitators were not identified.

Source: Prepared from the minutes of the meeting of 25 November 2020.

The analysis helped us to build a shared understanding of the problem. Everyone shared their vision and we combined them all in the final version. In this way, we generated a shared vision of the problem.

We then defined the next steps to be taken to generate improvements in relation to the agreed problems: (1) to work on the political involvement and the involvement of the department directors, (2) to stagger the project in each department and (3) to introduce innovations in the methodology to create the network of collaborators, for which purpose it was decided to create a group with the facilitators for each department.

We also established the expected results: "(1) give continuity to Aurrerabide, (2) collect information that helps adapt the tool, (3) experiment and learn a new way of working, (4) identify people who promote collaboration and progress in this way of working, (5) learn about the promotion of cross-cutting tools in the Provincial Government".

b] We defined our way of working: collaborative governance

Just as important as establishing the goals is defining how you will work to achieve them. That is what we did next. In line with the reflections that were being made in the deliberation group, we decided that implementation of Aurrerabide should be an exponent of Etorkizuna Eraikiz's own ways of working: transversality and the promotion of collective intelligence.

We therefore chose collaborative governance as the main way of working. This decision was based on the experience of Sebastian and Ander, who have been working along these lines for years within the framework of the initiatives of the Laboratory for Territorial Development. They have found it to be ideal for the collaboration of different work teams within the Provincial Government.

We discussed the basic elements of collaborative governance. We observed that relationships of trust are the main driving force for collaborative work. Implementation of Aurrerabide is a work that is carried out among people. We anticipated that difficulties would probably arise, such as resistance to change by some individuals, or the need for recognition of the participants. For this reason, we considered it necessary to develop a leadership that would allow emotional (as well as merely technical) management. We decided that we need a vision of leadership that is far removed from the hierarchical approaches typical of bureaucratic institutions.

We defined relational leadership as the main form of leadership, because we were convinced that rigidity in vertical hierarchical relationships is not compatible with collaborative governance. However, we were realistic and accepted that this move towards collaborative governance was taking place in an institution with prevailing hierarchical structures. We therefore felt it was important to highlight the political commitment to the implementation of Aurrerabide. Both the Deputy

General of Gipuzkoa and the Deputy for Governance support the initiative and are committed to it. This may seem trivial, but it is a very important element: political decisions set the direction of the departments' objectives.

Finally, we defined the figure of the facilitators as the essence of the project. It will be they who will assist in the implementation of the project in each department in the Provincial Government. We decided to focus on this aspect because, after analysing the proposals of Costamagna and Larrea (2017), we saw that they are helpful in the face of complex situations, as is the case of Aurrerabide.

c] Linking knowledge and action: process knowing

In this first cycle of reflection and action we started from our knowledge of the problem, our experiential knowledge. Based on this knowledge, we defined a space for improvement, which is to respond to the needs of Aurrerabide: to train as facilitators and to form a community of facilitators. This process of definition was viewed as a small action, which has allowed us to return to reflection at a more advanced point in the process. The next reflection involved identifying the steps to be taken and the elements comprising the chosen way of working: collaborative governance.

By making these decisions, we have established the basis for working together: a common goal, a shared way of working and a shared language. We can therefore say that we have cogenerated process knowing in action (Karlsen, 2007; Karlsen and Larrea, 2015).

Second Cycle — We conceptualise key figures for action: the role of facilitators

a] We made an operational definition of Aurrerabide's facilitators

In this second work cycle we devoted two sessions to reaching consensus on the operating definition of the term "Aurrerabide facilitators". Following Karlsen and Larrea (2015), we made this operational definition in order to advance in the process, aware that our vision of facilitation, based on our experience in the Laboratory for Territorial Development, could be of help in the process. It is therefore a definition that corresponds only to the purposes of the implementation of Aurrerabide.

However, the fact that the definition has an instrumental and specific value in the context of Aurrerabide does not mean that we have not used academic sources

in formulating it. We used Costamagna and Larrea's (2017) conceptualisation of facilitation and adapted it to our context. Thus, we defined the functions and skills of the facilitators in order to create a profile that would allow us to identify them more easily in the departments. The result was as follows:

"Operational definition of the person responsible for policies from a facilitative perspective:

Functions: He/she will assist the Governance Department in:

- Generating spaces for dialogue.
- Building a shared vision of Aurrerabide and establishing goals within his/her department.
- Managing situations of conflict arising around Aurrerabide.
- Building relationships of trust both within and between departments.
- Working on the interdepartmental connection in relation to the needs of the Aurrerabide implementation process.
- Generating collective capacities in action by promoting connections between theory and practice and reflection and action.

Capacities of the person responsible for facilitating policies:

- Enjoying legitimacy in the organisation, being able to involve people in the project.
- Having an overview of the project, a clear mind and flexibility.
- Ability to manage diversity in groups.
- Ability to make reflections on the process.
- Knowing the process very well and taking responsibility for its implementation.
- Ability to adapt Aurrerabide to the needs of the Department.
- Ability to build relationships of trust.

b] We transfer the knowledge we generate to the deliberation group

In the deliberation group, which continued in parallel to our experiment in Aurrerabide, on 17 February 2021 we discussed the working methodology. The reflection summarising the debate was as follows: "What is of value to us is the knowledge that comes into dialogue with what we have to do". In this session we agreed that each group into which Think Tank's NPC section has been divided would make a contribution to the joint work on the new political culture. The specific objective that set ourselves was to connect the knowledge that was being created with Aurrerabide's learning process, since we saw that we were not devoting enough time to sharing it.

When it was our turn, we presented the work we had done: Aurrerabide's implementation initiative and the operational definition of its facilitators. In addition, in order to facilitate deliberation, we shared not only our practical knowledge, but also some conceptual frameworks that had inspired us. More specifically, we presented a framework on complexity based on Snowden and Boone (2007). The framework states that there are three types of situations: simple, complicated and complex. The solutions to simple situations are obvious to everyone and can be solved with a decision. It only requires someone with the legitimacy to make the decision. In complicated situations, it is difficult to find such an obvious solution, because there will be different possibilities, but these solutions are achievable through expert knowledge. These problems can be solved by calling in experts to study the case and propose the most appropriate solution. In complex situations there are so many conflicting and interdependent factors that it is impossible to find an obvious or rational solution. In these cases, expert knowledge is not enough and among other resources negotiation processes are required to find a solution.

Our objective in the session was to make a contribution from the knowledge we had co-generated through our group work. We therefore launched the reflection by proposing a working hypothesis: "creating a new political culture is a very complex challenge". "Since the transformation of political culture is a complex problem, facilitators are needed to manage it". We then posed two questions to be answered in small groups: (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; or based on facilitation)?

The contributions from the deliberation were collected and summarised in Table 2. This table makes it possible to express in the different projects the relevance of political leadership that can decide on simple problems without the need to collaborate with other agents; experts, who have a relevant role in accompanying the political leadership in resolving complicated problems, and facilitators, who are necessary when the process is complex. By converging the knowledge of the different Think Tank groups, we enrich the vision from which the New Political Culture operates"

Source: Prepared on the basis of the reflections made in the deliberation group on New Political Culture of Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank on 14 April 2021 and validated in the working session of 5 December 2021.

The lessons learned from Aurrerabide, which we shared with the deliberation group, made it possible to elaborate the idea that the construction of a new political culture is a mainly complex situation with one nuance: in the construction of a new political culture there are interlocking simple, complicated and complex situations. We therefore brought the Snowden and Boone framework into the context of the process. We identified examples to illustrate each type of situation and articulate possible solutions, together with the expected outcomes of each one and the determining roles for each one.

When responding to simple situations, we emphasise the need for a leading voice in the process. We are talking about a person who is democratically legitimised (a political figure) to make decisions. This person has an overview of the process. He/she has a deep understanding of the roots, objectives and reasons for it. Thanks to this figure, the process should be credible and consistent.

In order to respond to complicated situations such as the generation of collective intelligence, we made an operational definition of expert knowledge: it is not limited only to academic knowledge. We determined that it is necessary to combine expert knowledge, process knowledge and experiential knowledge to obtain a complete vision and an integral treatment of the new political culture.

As a complex situation, we explained that there is no single way of building a new political culture. We stressed the importance of the role of the facilitators in helping to resolve this situation. Based on the operational definition of facilitation that we presented, we defined the facilitator of the construction of a new political culture. This figure is decisive in continuously embodying the complexity of the process and providing it with

relationships based on trust. It makes it possible to create a way of responding to complexity in a joint fashion.

We define a facilitator of the construction of a new political culture as a person who exercises relational leadership. He/she is legitimised in the process thanks to his/her transparency and credibility with the participants. The facilitator is a person who deeply understands the process. He/she has a strategic and creative vision of it. In addition, he/she manages relationships between people, creating and energising spaces for dialogue. He/she also manages any conflicts that may arise.

By conducting this exercise in the deliberation group, we brought three key roles to the challenge of creating a new political culture. The process of implementing Aurrerabide is also richer as a result: we have broadened the definition of the facilitator. Now, Aurrerabide's facilitators will also have characteristics that contribute to the creation of a new political culture. This mutual influence between the work to improve Aurrerabide and the deliberation of the Think Tank serves as an example to demonstrate how the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank can add value to Etorkizuna Eraikiz's projects.

c] Linking knowledge and action:
actionable knowledge

In this second cycle, reflection and action, viewed as the small decisions that have been taken with regard to Aurrerabide, have generated definitions that are, at the same time, criteria for developing the programme. Thus, we have now taken an important first step to identify facilitators in the different departments of the Provincial Government. At the same time, in the deliberation group on new political culture we have identified key roles for managing simple, complicated and complex situations. We can now identify and designate these roles.

Third cycle — We looked at how to respond to the needs of Aurrerabide facilitators and continued the project outside the Think Tank

a] We detected that Aurrerabide facilitators
need training and support

We continued the process in the Aurrerabide working group. Goizeder shared an update on the status of the initiative at the next work session. She said that the departments had already designated a facilitator. She also presented two central issues with regard to the Aurrerabide facilitators: (1) the need for training on facilitation and (2) the intention to

generate a community of Aurrerabide facilitators.

We discussed the different configurations that the training could have and decided to work within the framework of Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998; Wenger et al., 2002) at the next meeting of the group. We also agreed to invite Miren Estensoro, senior researcher at Orkestra, to the next meeting to share her experience on training facilitators in the Bilbao NextLab project.

Based on these themes, we developed the last session of the process. Miren Estensoro explained her and her team's different experiences with facilitator training. She also outlined several useful tools. Eva also introduced the theory of communities of practice and their foundations.

b] We decided to move the process to other
areas of the Provincial Government

In that same session, in keeping with the conclusion of the deliberation group's cycle on new political culture and the methodological changes proposed for the next phase, we closed the process as part of the Think Tank to pass it on to other co-generation spaces of the Provincial Government.

Finally, the process described in this chapter will be continued in two parts. On the one hand, within the framework of Etorkizuna Eraikiz's Gipuzkoa Lab, an experimental project has been launched aimed at the internal transformation of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa. On the other, in the new methodological phase proposed for the Think Tank, there is a section oriented towards implementing actions aimed at improving the internal organisation.

c] Linking knowledge and action:
experiential knowing in action

In this third cycle, we started from action (updating Goizeder's process) to identifying new needs. We reported these needs thanks to Miren and Eva's contributions. We transformed that knowledge back into action by deciding to continue the process in another space independent of the Think Tank. The result has been the co-generation of experiential knowing in action. We have valued the learning we have achieved so positively that we want to continue working together outside the context of the Think Tank. This last element of group cohesion that generates impact outside the formal limits of the project is what is known in action research for territorial development as collective knowing in action. It is an important element for understanding how to build a new political culture based on collaborative governance.

This case also allows us to understand how experiential knowledge (the need that Goizeder detected) can be combined with expert knowledge (the literature on communities of practice) and external experiential knowledge (the experience of Orkestra's Senior Researcher, Miren Estensoro, in Bilbao NextLab).

LESSONS
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One cross-cutting element of the process we are describing is learning. In this section we summarise what we have learned during the time we have been working together.

We have co-generated a common language. We have done this by defining our roles and analysing the problem in depth, seeking agreements. We created rules governing group behaviour through dialogue facilitated by Eva, an actor-researcher (Costamagna and Larrea, 2017; Karlsen and Larrea, 2015). We developed a deep and shared understanding of the problem and how we should address it. This has allowed us to define a common roadmap to achieve the objectives set. That is to say, the first thing we did was to generate a consensus on the ways of working and the vision of the problem. Thus, we were able to work in a cohesive manner.

We then generated actionable knowledge thanks to the operational definition of the Aurrerabide facilitators and the discussion with the deliberation group. We have based ourselves on the needs of the project: individuals to facilitate the management of complexity. We now have a profile for the individuals we need to search for in each department. This profile is aligned with the needs of the project.

Next, we provided the group of facilitators with tools. We considered different training paths and explored one that combines training needs with the cross-cutting principles of collaborative governance: communities of practice. This lesson remains to be developed in other spaces of dialogue of the Provincial Government.

RESULT OF THE PROCESS
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The example we have just given is an example of how the deliberation of the Think Tank can accompany processes of transformation of specific programmes. Even taking into account the short duration of the process and the limited time available to the participants, reflection on the process has allowed us to detect in the successive phases the different types of knowledge that we have been generating:

- In the first cycle we obtained process knowledge: we co-generated conditions for working collaboratively.

- In the second cycle we obtained actionable knowledge: expert knowledge that, when contextualised, was useful to us.

- In the third cycle we gained experiential knowledge: after the experience of the collaborative work, we decided to continue the process on our own.

In the cogeneration of these different types of knowledge we combined three types of knowledge: experiential, expert and process. We combined them in a process of dialogue extended over time (an agora), in which the same people participated on a regular basis, with the particularity that one of us is a researcher/stakeholder (Karlsen and Larrea, 2015).

But beyond each of these contributions, we consider that one of the main results of this process has been our decision to continue promoting this process together, even though the space that has been generated in the Think Tank for it no longer exists. This is an example of collective knowing in action (Karlsen and Larrea, 2015). Collective knowing in action "does not allude to having the right knowledge, the one that everyone must accept, but the ability to combine different types of knowing in action" (Karlsen and Larrea, 2015, p. 78).

To conclude this chapter, we would like to include a quote that summarises very well the creation of collective knowing in action and its consequence: a space of collaborative governance. One of the members of the group who was a key figure in this chapter said:

"I feel that the project we are working on in my Office is no longer just my Office, it also involves the deputy [regional minister] and another department, etc…".

In closing, we wish to stress that the process we have described has only explored the surface of some

transformation processes that are very deep. For this reason, the process is still underway in other areas of the Provincial Government. What we have reported has only been the beginning of the journey. However, we hope that our effort to organise what has been done so far and share it will serve as an inspiration for others who want to continue further exploring similar paths.

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CHAPTER 6

Collaborative governance: deliberation and shared action between public institutions and society from the experience of Arantzazulab

NAIARA GOIA IMAZ[25]

INTRODUCTION

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This deliberation group started by saying that we should listen to each other with respect. This is deliberation, the consideration of a wide range of points of view, the search for common ground, which requires a moment of learning and organised collective deliberation. It should be well distinguished from the concepts of *debate* (whose objective is to convince and "win over" others); *negotiation* (where people make concessions in exchange for something else); *dialogue* (where those involved seek to understand one another rather than making a decision), and *opinion* (where people express their opinions in a context that does not involve learning or the need to listen to others).

The Think Tank is a knowledge co-generation space whose mission is to "co-generate transferable and applicable knowledge, through collaborative governance, to introduce a new political agenda and culture that modernises the ecosystem (actors, contents and processes) of the policies of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa".

The Think Tank group, which revolves around the new political culture and collaborative governance, has been a living system that has gradually been transformed as a group, with a positive and valid evolution: while listening honestly, it has strengthened trust and group cohesion, has engaged in rich reflection, and has taken advantage of the opportunity to co-create new knowledge. However, it has also had its difficulties: the complex nature of the mission (transformation of the PGG's public policy ecosystem), and the diversity of the group participating in the deliberation on knowledge co-generation, has caused difficulties in managing the

processes, since taking into account individual behaviours in a group formed by diverse people, it has been seen that to instigate any transformation it is necessary for there to be a transformation in the rational paradigm of the individual; and, on the other hand, knowing that the rational and emotional capacity of the individual must be activated to co-create knowledge, it has become clear that this occurs in very different ways for each person, because the way of being and the capacities of each of the members of the group vary greatly, for example. All this has led to a series of contradictions in the way the process was experienced and led to the emergence of situations of inertia integrated in our culture, ideas and internalised behaviours.

The aim of this chapter is to set out the main lessons learned from the deliberative process on collaborative governance, and to identify the influence that, as the representative of a stakeholder in the ecosystem of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, the co-generated knowledge, the discourses worked on and the methods put into practice can have on the action and processes of Arantzazulab.

To understand my own contribution and place it in context, it must be said that there is an abundant bibliography on the theoretical and conceptual reflections on collaborative governance, as well as a series of pieces by different experts, but what follows has a very different goal; to set out the modest lessons learned from the experience of those of us who are working in the practice of collaborative governance. The opinions expressed are personal, and are not intended as a conceptual judgment or evaluation of the theory, nor to have academic rigor. On the contrary, the work is limited to presenting some of the lessons learned in the two practical processes developed: on the one hand, in the deliberative group, as

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a member of the group, when it comes to implementing collaborative governance; and on the other, as a representative of Arantzazulab, when carrying out experimental actions with new governance models.

I would highlight three (3) lessons learned:

1. Experiential knowledge vs. Theoretical/ academic knowledge. The need for permanent dialogue and intermediation.

2. The importance of trust in deliberation.

3. Collaborative governance: from theory to practice.

This section will expand on each of these learning experiences, breaking them down into three sub-sections: (1) **Presentation of learning**: What are we talking about? What have I learned from my experience? (2) **Work of the deliberation group**: how we have worked on this group discussion, the group reflections on this topic in the deliberation process, and the reflections of the experts. And finally, (3) **My reflections on the lessons learned and their effect:** My reflections on the lessons learned and the questions they have raised for me or how it will influence Arantzazulab's internal processes.

EXPERIENTIAL KNOWLEDGE VS. THEORETICAL/ ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE. THE NEED FOR PERMANENT DIALOGUE AND INTERMEDIATION

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Presentation

Action research methodology requires a balanced interaction between the three types of knowledge to link reflection and action: expert knowledge, process knowledge, experiential knowledge.

In the Think Tank's deliberation process on the new political culture, the members of the group grouped the experimentation processes into four axes: a) Processes of transformation of the administration b) Involvement of citizens and organised society c) Critical construction of the Think Tank 's theoretical bases d) Management of knowledge for transformation.

Different participants met up around each of these axes. On some occasions they each worked on a separate project; on others they engaged in shared projects. Most of these axes help to understand what the new political culture is policy and what needs to be done to develop it. However, the aim of one of the axes is to provide a methodological contribution on how to work on the new political culture. One of the strengths of the Think Tank is the combination of these different types of knowledge.

On the other hand, the action-oriented axes in the deliberation process correspond to different types of knowledge. In the Think Tank's mission, the cogeneration of knowledge among different people has been considered from the outset as a fundamental element for transformation. However, when combining different types of knowledge, some difficulties have arisen, and different contradictions have been experienced in the group. In other words, although it was clearly stated in the deliberation process that the different types of knowledge are mutually necessary to carry out the action aimed at transformation, it has been difficult to combine or connect them to one another in a natural way. Indeed, throughout the process, problems have arisen because the links between reflection (focusing on expert knowledge) and action (focusing on process knowledge and experiential knowledge) were not evident.

How can we effectively relate expert knowledge to action-derived knowledge? How do we combine in action research-based processes the knowledge of external experts and the input of project participants? These were the questions that surfaced during the process.

This question led to a starting hypothesis or convincing feeling in the group: Is there a hierarchisation of knowledge? Are we talking about a different gradation of different types of knowledge? Do we give the same value to different types of knowledge? Or further, to what extent do we give the same legitimacy to experiential knowledge?

Work of the deliberation group

During the deliberation process, there was a continuous dialogue around these questions. As stated in the report of the 8th New Political Culture meeting, different reflections on this debate were set out:

«... I like the way the theory is constructed. Creating theory cannot exclusively be the task of the expert; everyone, including those who are involved in the action side of things, can turn our knowledge into greater universalisation». «I don›t know how the theoretical

knowledge we need is constructed, but I do know that it is more valuable than the knowledge generated by experts or the knowledge we find in books». «If a paradigm shift is to occur, then there first has to be a paradigm shift in each individual. I have felt it on two levels: 1) the transformation of the positivist paradigm towards complexity. A new system can be created, everyone›s potential can be tapped and placed at the service of the process in order to generate a stronger and more transformative conversation. 2) when you are at the centre of the action you can make more from the process than if you stand on the periphery, at a remove from the decision-making process. *We are all involved in the action, but not all of us are at the core. In order to bring about transformations, it is essential to be aware of these different positions".*

In one way or another, there is a recognition here that underlines the need for coexistence between the two types of knowledge. In the report of meeting No. 8 on the New Political Culture:

The Orkestra researcher spoke "as a researcher". "You have mentioned the importance of emotions, and I am going to respond from my emotions to the debate that has been raised. The path to knowledge from experience also occurs in academia and that is academic knowledge. I come from an academic community that is undervalued. For me these processes are tough because I come from a situation where my work is undervalued. Our way of working does not mean looking down on other ways of working, but rather championing our own way of working. I wouldn't want anyone to understand this as a sort of disdain for other ways of doing things".

Why has this happened to us? In the deliberation group, a hypothesis for an answer to this question was presented in the February session (included in the report of meeting No. 8 of the New Political Culture Think Tank): *"Because we have very internalised hierarchies around different types of knowledge. Because in our underlying ways of thinking the knowledge that an expert or university professor offers is superior to that we generate based on action".*

Lessons

I set out below the lessons I have learned, both from the process of deliberation on this topic and from the proposed action. I would explain in this more concrete way the challenge that has constantly surfaced in the deliberation process: specifically, how to combine in action research-based processes the knowledge of external experts and the input of project participants.

I fully relate the lessons learned from this challenge to the above-mentioned hypothesis of response from my own experience and in a totally subjective way. Sometimes the feeling that action-driven knowledge (experiential knowledge drawn from one's own experience, from a non-academic context or from an experimentation initiative) does not have the same legitimacy or validity as expert or academic knowledge (the term *practitioner* comes close in meaning to the experiential knowledge presented here).

When knowledge based largely on action has been developed and shared, the experience I have often felt has been that our work is "belittled". Indeed, the need to have a theoretical or academic starting framework that evaluates this practice from the outset, before any action is taken, came up frequently in the deliberation group, or a certain need for an expert point of view. This is not to say that sometimes a conceptual framework from academia is not necessary (sometimes I believe it is necessary to value or legitimise one's own action), but perhaps this is not always the case.

Moreover, this inescapable need for a theoretical framework may contradict ways of doing things that are required in the search for solutions to respond to today's complex challenges and systems. If we do not know what the solution is, how can we agree on a method, a tool or a process of getting there, if we don't know how to carry out the process itself or what it will lead to? The starting hypothesis is that the construction of the solution is not the search for a technical solution, but that it is precisely a process that must be constructed. In this sense, there is increasing discussion of the need to build solutions that respond to complex problems through experimentation. And when we talk about experimenting, what are we talking about? We could define experimentation as "the promotion and dynamisation of actions for the development of new knowledge and new ways of doing things". There are three key ideas in the definition of experimentation (Source: Arantzazulab):

1. Experimentation begins by determining the topics and areas in which we are going to generate new knowledge and the interconnections between them. In the initial approach we can follow two approaches: one is to pose specific questions about what we know that we do not know (known unknowns); and the other is to propose an open exploration around what we do not know that we do not know (unknown unknowns).

2. It will have an innovative approach, i.e., we will act by implementing what has not been done so far. For this purpose we are going to make attempts, there will be mistakes and blunders, and along the way it is essential to learn, since that is precisely what will generate new knowledge.

3. Collaboration between different actors is indispensable.

In this regard, there is evidence that hierarchical decision making based exclusively on experts runs into enormous difficulties when addressing complex social systems. Complexity makes system outcomes unpredictable and difficult to control, so building models and reducing the problem to a limited number of controllable variables is usually not helpful in most cases. In this sense, it is argued that governance models based on deliberation between different systems are more effective in harnessing complexity, since they increase the interaction within systems and, therefore, the diversity and creativity of the system. This is one of the principles of collaborative governance: to incorporate and bring together all approaches.

Therefore, and to conclude, as a general lesson, we cannot deny the value of bringing together different approaches and knowledge in a system of shared deliberation in times of complex challenges, as well as in a shared action among different agents. Diversity does not mean bringing together people with different opinions or values, but rather the diversity of internal or psychological mechanisms through which these opinions emerge. It is something similar to the different ways of seeing and experiencing facts and realities. On the other hand, there is the importance of combining different types of knowledge, the importance of the coexistence of expert knowledge and the knowledge of the participants in the action, if we are looking for more effective solutions.

Relationship and influence on the action promoted by Arantzazulab

a] Arantzazulab's contribution to the deliberation group: lessons learned from Arantzazulab's experience in the deliberations of the Think Tank.

The action that has led Arantzazulab to the deliberation of this Think Tank has been a process based on deliberative democracy to promote innovative forms of participation with randomly-chosen citizens (a civic lottery). This is a project to involve citizens in a meaningful way in the design of the current public agenda and to implement collaborative governance in the institutions, with the aim, inter alia, of actively involving citizens in public decisions and bringing them to the centre of the decision-making process. This is the first experimental initiative at a municipal level to show the positive impact of this type of process on the relationship between public institutions and citizens.

Deliberative democracy is the political theory that political decisions should be the result of fair and reasonable debates among citizens. ¡"Deliberative democracy strengthens citizens' voices in governance by including people of all races, classes, ages, and geographies in deliberations that directly influence public decisions"¡ (Gastil and Levine, 2005).

Moreover, in these public deliberation processes, the combination of expert knowledge with the non-expert knowledge of participating citizens is one of the keys. And that coincides with the challenge we have experienced in the deliberation process of the NPC Think Tank.

As was the case in the deliberation process of this Think Tank, people who contribute different types of knowledge therefore participate in the action that Arantzazulab has brought to the deliberation group: (1) expert knowledge, (2) experience and values of the people involved in the deliberation, and (3) knowledge of the process. The latter deserves special mention, since when we refer to process knowledge, facilitation usually plays a key role in these processes of deliberative democracy: If we want the discussion to work, skilful facilitation is necessary ¡"for the team to make its own decisions and find its own way when things get complicated, but to keep the group functioning properly"¡ (Carson, 2017).

This is precisely what Arantzazulab has learned from its experience in deliberative democracy: citizens chosen by lot (not experts), but in an environment that empowers these people (in the deliberation process, guided by knowledgeable facilitators of the process, and with input from experts on the topic of the debate), can make policy decisions that have a significant impact on communities. This is the interaction between the three types of knowledge to link reflection and action that we presented in the introduction to this section: expert knowledge, process knowledge, experiential knowledge.

For more information on deliberative democracy processes, see: Innovative Citizen Participation and New Democratic Institutions. Catching the deliberative wave, OECD

b] Influence of the lessons learned from the Think Tank on Arantzazulab: what are we going to change in our processes as a result of the lessons learned?

The processes of public citizen deliberation will be an excellent scenario to which to bring the reflections and learnings of the NPC Think Tank's deliberation group. I would mention 3 aspects:

1. Firstly, to place equal value on the different types of knowledge and, in particular, to recognise the legitimacy of the non-expert knowledge that will be contributed by the people participating in the citizen process, without undervaluing it, taking into account all points of view. And in this regard, as we have seen in our deliberation process, to take into account the influence that the individual's rational and emotional capacity to co-create knowledge can have (the way in which each citizen internalises ideas, bearing in mind the idea that each individual develops knowledge in his or her own way).

2. Secondly, we will pay special attention to combining the knowledge of experts in a highly regulated process with another type of knowledge, that of citizens who contribute their own experience, their worldview and their values.

3. And finally, to recognise and value the role of process knowledge (e.g., facilitation) to guide the deliberative process itself and, above all, to create the right conditions for citizens participating in the deliberation to reflect, decide and take action.

In short, in any process developed by Arantzazulab, it will be important to contrast and measure the mutual influence of the three types of knowledge, as well as to give continuity to the lessons learned to date.

TRUST AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN DELIBERATION
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Presentation

The issue of trust in the relationships between the different actors and the recognition of its importance has proved from the outset to be an intrinsic element of the deliberation group and has been a topic that has been taken into consideration at different moments in our reflection.

From my point of view, when we talk about the importance of trust in the deliberative process, there are two dimensions that I would like to differentiate:

a] Regarding the specific action proposed in our group, from an approach to trust between public institutions and civil society in collaborative governance processes.

b] And, at the same time, trust between the members of the deliberation group as a basis for a fruitful deliberative process and group cohesion.

The following sections contain reflections and lessons learned about these two dimensions of trust.

Work of the deliberation group

a] Trust between public institutions and civil society

As mentioned above, the importance of trust in the deliberative process has been highlighted at different times. In addition, the topic was specifically addressed at the Seventh Meeting of the Think Tank by María José Canel, Professor of Political Communication and the Public Sector at the Complutense University of Madrid and a Etorkizuna Eraikiz collaborator:

"What is trust? What do we mean by trust? What is

its role in the institutions?" These were the starting questions. With regard to these questions posed to the expert, the following are a series of significant ideas discussed in the session and extracted from Report No. 7 of the NPC Think Tank:

(1) The relationship between trust and **democracy**. There is a debate among academics as to whether or not trust is good for democracy. It is assumed that:

- Trust is good and it is important because it is a prerequisite for generating social capital. It is a foundation that governments need in order to carry out their actions.

- Mistrust tends to increase conflict.

- A democratic society is one in which there has to be the right mixture of trust and distrust.

(2) The importance of **communication** in building trust: "Communication between institutions and citizens is a key element in building trust".

(3) The relationship with **collaborative governance**: Trust and collaborative governance.

There is a relationship between citizen participation and trust in public institutions:

- Cases in which there is co-participation and co-action are associated with high levels of trust because the message is conveyed through action and not just words.

- Trust is positively related to collaborative governance. Experiments in collaborative governance are associated with higher levels of trust and lower levels of distrust.

(4) **Managing expectations.** In order to manage trust it is very important to manage expectations. "Trust is generated when I meet my audience's expectations. Failure to meet them generates distrust. That is why it is very important to know what your audiences' expectations are and to send out messages about what your audiences expect from what you are going to provide".

Since the central theme of collaborative governance is the relationship between citizens and governments, several statements from María José Canel's presentation are worth highlighting: «... *Cases of trust-building governance are ones in which the authorities in*

question acted jointly with their publics. Those are the cases that are associated with high levels of trust. I am reluctant to state it in those terms because measuring trust is a very complex business. Cases in which there is co-participation and co-action are associated with high levels of trust because the message is conveyed through action and not just words. These are examples of collaborative co-governance that have involved citizens working side by side with the authorities, making them believe in the authentic attempts at deliberation to work for the common good».

Therefore, in general, the dimension of trust between public institutions and civil society was the issue that was mainly addressed in the deliberative process, exploring the variables that characterise trust itself and the conditions and behaviours that must exist in the institutions in order to foster it.

b] Approach to trust associated with our deliberative process: trust among team members

On the other hand, and as mentioned in the presentation section, the NPC group of the Think Tank also examined the dimension of trust from another perspective: trust between the members of the deliberation group. Moreover, it was a topic that came up on more than one occasion in our conversations and in our session evaluations: the high level of cohesion achieved as a group and the increased level of mutual trust as the process progressed.

During different moments in the deliberation process, various input directly related to trust between group members and the way in which it has increased was also collected. For example: the level of trust among group members and group cohesion has increased in many of the session's ratings; positive collaboration and the creation of an integrated ecosystem of different people has been recognised; prioritisation of shared objectives and collective benefits rather than individual interest. In this regard, building relationships of trust has been an important resource; the importance of trust and cohesion as essential values for the construction of a new political culture was restated at different points in time; it was said that we have created a benchmark ecosystem in which the different members approach each other on an equal footing, promoting constructive deliberation; it was stated at different points in the discussion that putting collaborative governance into practice requires building relationships of trust; and the capacity of binomials such as "Facilitation and trust" or "Leadership and trust" was often reflected upon. These were some of the main ideas that came up in

the discussion on trust among group members.

In addition, the dynamics of the 11th meeting of the deliberation group, which addressed the issue of putting collaborative governance into practice, also shared important reflections on trust among the group's members. As stated in the dynamics of the session:

The Head of Strategy and Research said that "the questions that have been raised are very powerful. We need a lot of self-criticism during the process, and we need to accept that we are going to be in a state of permanent crisis. A political culture that has been built over 300 years cannot be changed from one day to the next." *On the other hand, "this process has a virtue that is not common in others. It has brought together different stakeholders from the ecosystem (social stakeholders, public administration, etc.) and a climate of trust has been created that can be considered very important. I think that's the basis on which we can build something further down the line. Many times, people have said that type of base exists, but then in reality we have seen that they are actually relationships based on instrumental aspects. The relationships we are building, in contrast, are based on another type of logic. And that has a lot of value".*

Thus, the issue of trust has been addressed from different approaches in the deliberation group, and the views of each member were taken into account in the process.

Lessons

In discussing the lessons I have learned on trust, I have mentioned above that trust in the process was addressed on two different dimensions/planes, with respect to which I will also mention the lesson learned:

a] Trust between public institutions and civil society

Regarding the approach of trust in the action carried out by Arantzazulab, in the processes of collaborative governance between public institutions and civil society, the importance of trust in the relationships between the different actors became very clear. And the characteristics mentioned in this section were confirmed in the experience itself, such as, for example, expectations and expectation management, communication, the relationship with collaborative governance and democracy, etc.

I would like to pay attention to a certain reflection on trust and uncertainty in the relationship processes between public institutions and citizens: "To what extent does it engender trust for governments to communicate their uncertainties" This was a question posed to the expert at the 7th meeting of the NPC Think Tank. His answer was as follows: "We come from a culture where governments used to control everything and were sure of everything. Whether it is good for a government to acknowledge mistakes or uncertainties is an age-old question. We say facemasks are no good because there aren't any available; once they are available, though, we say they are good, because previously we would have generated enormous uncertainty".

That was also the lesson I learned from the experience: in processes of deliberative democracy, citizen confidence increases when governments acknowledge uncertainty about a complex issue, if the deliberation process itself is posed as an open process, when the organisation does not know what the outcome is, if there is a *sincere* acknowledgement when it says that the solution is not known. That is to say, when the public institution states that it wants to do things with citizen involvement because it sees that the instruments to date have not been sufficient, then the citizens' interpret this by understanding the difficulties the organisation is facing on a particular issue and that builds trust. Trust in this case does not depend on the outcome, but on the process. When citizens see that the process has been based on honesty (on the sincere recognition that a complex challenge cannot be solved by the government alone), the spaces for deliberation become areas of trust.

Moreover, the evidence shows that processes of deliberative democracy increase citizens' trust in governments and public institutions, since citizens are given an effective role in public decision-making. Finally, it is also easier for society to have confidence in a decision that has been influenced (with a voice) by different citizens than in a government decision made behind closed doors. Trust is born here in two ways: in order for governments to generate trust among citizens, it must place trust in citizens by allowing them to participate directly in decisions. Likewise, showing citizens the difficulty of making collective decisions allows them to increase their sense of collective democratic life.

Nonetheless, the processes of representative public deliberation promoted by Arantzazulab are not a miracle solution, but do provide clear evidence: if well designed, they can help solve complex problems and increase public confidence in public institutions.

b] Trust approach associated with the deliberative process: trust among team members

On the other hand, in terms of trust between the members of our group in the NPC group of the Think Tank, the shared experience so far has served to generate a level of trust between the different stakeholders involved. Without self-interested relationships, individual interests have been set aside and common objectives shared within the group have been defined, fostering collaboration. And that has its value, as the participants in the deliberative group have themselves said at several moments during the process.

My reflections on trust in the group give rise to three questions:

First, if we recognise that our deliberation group is a small sample of all the stakeholders in the PGG ecosystem, i.e. if we are the representatives of that ecosystem in this particular area, could we say that developing trust among us means directly addressing the cohesion of the ecosystem?

Similarly, characteristics such as the high degree of cohesion of our group, the social capital gathered, or the high level of trust among us have been mentioned frequently in the deliberative group. And it has also been stated that all of them are essential elements for the development of a new political culture. Could we therefore say that we have created the conditions to influence the ecosystem?

Secondly: have we placed enough value on this trust? My impression is that we see it as something we take for granted, because to get there the work and effort made in the process are intangible and we work in a context in which it is difficult for us to value anything that cannot be measured.

And thirdly, I would like to address the issue of the nature and trust of the group: around collaborative governance, our Think Tank team has brought together stakeholders with knowledge, experience, responsibility and influence, representatives from the public administration, knowledge brokers and social agents. Based on the new knowledge being generated both in the deliberative process and in the group-driven action, the group should question and, when necessary, transform the ways, methodologies and processes of working, as well as its own nature, to strengthen its influence in the territory.

If trust has developed among the members of the deliberative team, one might think that it was largely because we had the right starting conditions: most of us who knew each other are already collaborating in other processes, we could say that we share a similar value system or even that we may be aligned in many ideas. In other words, it might be thought that in such a context it may be easier to work on trust and group cohesion. This has influenced, as I have said, the creation of conditions that influence the ecosystem.

But once the conditions are created, in order to influence the ecosystem, should we question the character of the group? Can the recruitment of new members other the existing ones be of interest and is there a willingness to do so? Where are or with whom do the deepest trust gaps occur? And is there an intention to attract the most difficult or most alienated actors from the PGG?

This are precisely the issues that will be developed in this season of this deliberation group, together with the action aimed at strengthening the impact on the ecosystem of the deliberation group on new political culture. Along these lines, it is hoped to propose new members or new networking processes.

Influencing the PGG public policy ecosystem is likely to be a long-term job, but I am confident that this is the way forward.

Relationship and influence on the action promoted by Arantzazulab

a] a) Arantzazulab's contribution to the deliberation group: lessons on trust contributed to the deliberation of the Think Tank from the experience of Arantzazulab.

The lessons learned by the deliberation group from the Arantzazulab experience were linked to the experience of the deliberative democracy process with citizens. In the Think Tank's NPC group we have talked about the value of trust, and along the same lines in the action promoted by Arantzazulab, i.e. that trust in public deliberation processes is one of the key elements for public decision making.

In general, these deliberative processes have three characteristics: selection of participants by lottery; an informed discussion is held with experts; a decision-making process that normally must extends to a broad majority of participants; and, the government

or public institution involved in the process commits to provide continuity and a response to the recommendations resulting from the deliberation project. The positive impact of this type of process on the relationship between public institutions and citizens has already been demonstrated in several cases.

These deliberative processes, when carried out effectively, can enable policy makers to make difficult decisions, address public policy issues and increase trust between citizens and government. In addition, they allow better solutions to be found because they affect a group's collective intelligence and cognitive diversity (Landemore, 2012).

Evidence suggests that humans reason more effectively through social interaction, especially with those who bring completely different approaches, because they help people justify their beliefs and behaviour toward others, as well as convincing them by defending arguments and evaluating the attitudes of others (Mercier and Sperber, 2019; Grönlund et al., 2015; Mercier and Landemore, 2012).

These representative deliberative processes can also help drive public decisions among the public, since it is easier for people to trust a decision that has been informed by ordinary people than a decision made in government.

In addition, these deliberative processes contribute to increasing the broad level of knowledge of the participants about the challenge being addressed, to increasing the capabilities of the citizenry and, in general, to increasing political effectiveness, both among the participants and among the general public (Knobloch, Barthel, & Gastil, 2019). Furthermore, they can generate greater levels of awareness and participation if the public communication is carried out properly (Suiter, 2018).

Source: Innovative Citizen Participation and New Democratic Institutions Catching the Deliberative Wave, OECD

b] Influence of the lessons learned from the Think Tank on Arantzazulab: what are we going to change in our processes with respect to trust thanks to these lessons learned?

Thanks to the lessons learned from the Think Tank, rather than changing anything, one might say that it

has confirmed our vision of trust and its importance if we want any project to be transformative. Moreover, the current context and the scale of the social challenges, and the practice of collaborative governance itself, require that individual interest be overlooked and that priority be given to shared objectives and collective benefits, which requires trust among those who share objectives.

Arantzazulab was created as a meeting point for citizens, as a space for broad consensus, as a meeting place for diverse sensibilities and perspectives, as a space for working with different political cultures, and as a meeting point for different agents of research and experimentation. To achieve this, with this network of agents, we must first work on trust, with the institutions, with the social agents, with the citizens. And we, at least, are convinced that any project will be more transformative if it is backed by social and political consensus, or if it obtains broad support. To this end, building relationships of trust will not only be necessarily important, but of key importance.

"COURAGEOUS" COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE. THE LEAP FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE
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Presentation

At the base of the NPC Think Tank's debate from the outset has been the crisis in liberal democracy, and two obvious phenomena of this crisis have been transferred to the deliberation:

- Citizen disaffection with stakeholders, institutions and the political system

- The weakening of representative political structures and management of public policies

In short, more and more organisations are recognising the limits of their internal capacity and knowledge to deal with the scale, speed and complexity of public problems, and recognise the need to establish networks, both inside and outside government, with citizens and stakeholders to make actions and decisions more effectively (since, in addition, their decisions involve the community with greater legitimacy). This is how the need for collaborative governance is viewed. But what is collaborative governance for? Our preferred

definition is as follows: institutionalised collaboration between public institutions, social agents and citizens to empower and make more efficient the public policy ecosystem, by reinforcing social capital between institutions and citizens through deliberation and shared action (Source: Xabier Barandiaran)

"There is neither one way to understand governance nor one way to implement it. All are intended to strengthen cooperation between the institutions and society, within the institutions and also between the different institutions. What is common to all these experiences is the willingness of governments to take on the design of the public agenda and the future challenges it should contain, not exclusively from the government, but in collaboration and interaction with society, mainly through the entire network of social actors comprise it" (*Source*: *The Etorkizuna EraikizPGG model*)

In this sense, the NPC working group of the Think Tank took as a theoretical basis for action the definition of collaborative governance proposed by Etorkizuna Eraikiz in the new phase initiated in autumn 2021: "Collaborative governance is a specific response, proposed by a specific area of policy (government) and is fundamentally based on establishing new forms of communication and collaboration between governments and civil society, both within and between organisations, to strengthen collaboration between institutions and society."

At the same time, if we start from the hypothesis that the objective of the new governance models is to respond to the complexity of today's society, it will be essential to establish innovative and participatory methodologies and tools in the creation of public policies. And to govern as well as to cooperate, to activate new forms of organisation, to transgress innovative ways of doing, to experiment in general with new and so far untested tools. One might therefore say that experimentation should occupy a prominent place in undertaking collaborative projects. At the same time, in order to define the steps to be taken, it is necessary to develop and test out new methodologies, carry out a collective reflection and stimulate listening processes.

But when we speak of collaborative governance and it is time to make the leap from theory to practice, we are faced with several questions: does true collaborative governance require courage or determination from public institutions? What is courageous collaborative governance for organisations, beyond traditional governance mechanisms, and what implications does it have for institutions? To what extent are governments or public institutions willing to acknowledge that they have

a governance problem in relation to a challenge and experiment with innovative solutions for addressing it? To what extent can collaborative governance be organised (to what extent can it be taken to the extreme)?

These are the questions and reflections that are proposed as a group during the deliberative process, and the concerns that have arisen for me. Below, we will first discuss the considerations on collaborative governance in the deliberative process; and secondly, using the lessons I have learned from the action proposed by Arantzazulab, we will try to answer these questions.

Work of the deliberation group

When we discussed collaborative governance in the deliberation group, the following reflections on the questions listed above were made at various moments with the guest experts:

- In the session led by María José Canel (20 October 2021), she expressly presented a question that arises when, in line with the challenges of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz strategy, there is discussion of putting collaborative governance into practice: ("Is there sufficient determination to address the complexity of sharing authority with civil society?")

- Likewise, Angela Hanson (OECD-OPSI), in the NPC Think Tank session, set out the steps that need to be taken to implement collaborative governance and anticipate the challenges of the future, inter alia: creating effective systems for listening to society (to bridge the gap between institutions and citizens) and promoting people's responsibility (values) in the context of development projects, which requires ambition, courage and joint action.

- Finally, in the NPC Think Tank session of 19 May 2021, led by the work team responsible for the "Involvement of citizens and organised society" axis, our questions on the implications of putting collaborative governance into practice were brought to the deliberation group for reflection:

1. How does a reflection or an experience like ours affect the participants, the citizen organisations and the administration?

2. How can the momentum, doubts and dynamics that arise in the process hinder, enrich or facilitate bold governance?

At the same session, one of the members of the deliberation team talked about courage for governance and new practices: *"One of the things on which there has been consensus is the issue of complexity. And today we do not know how we should respond to this complexity. On the other hand, there is a tendency to apply disruptive behaviour. Administrations that are ageing and unable to respond to these challenges need to open up to new perspectives. In that sense, it takes a bit of courage to be open to new practices and perspectives".*

In the discussion group, various statements and reflections came up which made it clear that collaborative governance requires courage.

LESSONS
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I will compile the lessons learned on this subject in two areas. Firstly, (1) lessons learned from the reflections of the NPC Think Tank; and secondly (2) knowledge and some evidence encountered based on the experience of Arantzazulab.

(1) From the deliberation process: reflection and learning about collaborative governance among the stakeholders involved in the deliberative process.

When collaborative governance has been transferred to the Think Tank group, we speak of shared deliberation, and the development of this shared deliberation is intended to influence action (and that same action then becomes the medium for further deliberation). At the same time, in order to make progress in the public policy system and incorporate transformations, the incorporation of new knowledge in the transformation processes is an indispensable prerequisite and something that is implicit to the formulation of the Think Tank itself. However, incorporating the knowledge or decisions of the different social agents involved in the deliberation into the process, and defining certain steps to advance on the process itself, has raised resistance from the administration to the incorporation of the proposals derived from such deliberations. *If I have done it to date, are you now going to tell me how to do it from now on?* This is because, in a way, we are talking about moving popular policies to another space.

(2) From the action: lessons learned during the development of the process of experimentation in deliberative democracy in a local public institution

The experimentation initiative proposed by Arantzazulab can be viewed as a tool for putting collaborative governance into practice: the design of a representative deliberation process and an innovative process with randomly selected citizens. These processes provide citizens with a real decision-making capacity, thus incorporating a new logic of political action into political systems. Through these experiences we can consider another way of doing politics: the participation of non-experts, which is qualified through a process of deliberation, becomes the cornerstone of a new form of political organisation.

I would like to relate the lessons learned in this process to the question posed in the presentation of this section: "Is there sufficient determination to address the complexity of sharing authority with civil society?"

- The first concept is linked to the complexity of the process: Sharing authority with civil society is a complex process. Public decision-making is a complex process in itself, and when citizens are offered the opportunity to experience this complexity, it has proven difficult in practice to carry out such a deliberative process with the public. Indeed, it takes a lot of time among the participants to build trust, inform, learn and advance the complexity of the issue or challenge to be deliberated on, conduct effective deliberations, and offer shared recommendations.

  Moreover, insofar as the two parties are likely to require forms of interaction to which they are not accustomed, the process itself becomes even more complex. Indeed, new models of governance require new ways of organising and doing things; we are not only talking about sharing the system of deliberation, but often also about conducting the action together. And innovation always involves courage.

- And I would relate the second aspect to determination: we have seen from experience that courage and determination —going beyond the willingness of governments to cooperate and interact with society— are needed to activate such a process with real political commitment. In the relations with the different public institutions, when they have been given the opportunity to activate a process of this nature, in practice it has been seen that many times fears and even internalised inertias tend to prevail.

  This is evident in the choice of the challenge to be taken to deliberation with the citizenry; governments often do not dare to offer up to deliberation an issue that is "real", mostly because of the political

implications this might have subsequently. We are not used to leading this type of process, probably because, in addition to the theoretical validation of collaborative governance, this requires a commitment to put it into real practice. And undoubtedly, it requires new leaderships that will believe in these processes and a real change of culture in the public institutions.

So, in conclusion, can it be said that there is sufficient determination to address the complexity of sharing authority with civil society? Is a balanced coexistence between one and the other possible? I would say that it seems more necessary than ever to change the way power works, and there is an awareness of this. There is a willingness to collaborate and interact with society, which is reflected in the spaces for shared action and deliberation. Another thing is to share authority or open the decision-making spaces to civil society. This requires a new political culture, it requires a new form of organisation, it requires another way of making decisions and relating to others. It requires courage and leadership to experiment with new tools. Is a balanced coexistence between one and the other possible? I would argue that the limits of what is possible cannot come only from the limits of those who govern.

Relationship and influence on the action promoted by Arantzazulab

In this section it has been very interesting that, in making the leap from theory to practice in collaborative governance, the perspective of courage has been highlighted, both in the deliberation group and in the practical experience.

What does it mean for collaborative governance to be "courageous"?

This term, which came up in the reflections of the deliberation group, has no academic basis. When governance is referred to as being *courageous* or *bold*, we are talking about taking collaboration and interaction between government and civil society to another level; involving civil society in another way in the design of the public agenda, precisely by allowing it to participate in decision making. And we say *courageous* because this process means that governing has to be an open dynamic of cooperation, learning and probably experimentation. All this requires, will, determination, leadership and courage from those who govern.

What are the associated implications for the different players in the PGG ecosystem?

It is felt that the different actors in the PGG public policy ecosystem may bear some responsibility, "each in their own field" for transforming territorial governance on the basis of "courageous governance":

a] What are the innovative governance models selected by Arantzazulab for experimentation if we develop experiential knowledge on collaborative governance? And why do we say that the views are *courageous*?

b] In other words, for example, what would it mean for Orkestra to conduct courageous research within the framework of this Think Tank deliberation process?

c] This challenge also applies directly to the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa: how can the performance of public institutions, their concern, inertia, responsibility, legitimacy, etc. contribute to, hinder, enrich and facilitate courageous governance? How can the attitude, doubts, inertia, inertia, responsibility and legitimacy of public institutions support, obstruct, enrich or facilitate courageous governance?

d] The reflection also challenges the universities: what study is required in order to provide the solid theoretical framework for collaborative governance that our territory needs? And in this theoretical framework, can an approach to *courageous* governance be made?

e] Social stakeholders (ALC, Sinnergiak, Globernance, Arantzazulab, etc.): what collaboration or organisation does *courageous* governance require from ecosystem stakeholders in order to be effective?

These are questions of interest that need to be answered if the collaborative governance model that Gipuzkoa needs is to be a project for everyone.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter sets out the lessons learned from working on collaborative governance in practice. From a practical point of view, we have made observations about this model of institutionalised collaboration between public institutions, social agents and citizens in two areas: the space for shared deliberation between public institutions and the network of stakeholders (deliberation group on the new political culture) and the process of deliberative democracy for public decision-making between public institutions and citizens (experimentation project led by Arantzazulab and brought to the deliberation group)

The main lessons learned may be divided into three sections: (1) The importance of combining different types of knowledge (theoretical-academic, experiential and process) to enhance social capital, develop new knowledge and obtain more effective results. (2) Secondly, it has been confirmed that trust is a basic element for developing collaborative governance and we have concluded that the relationship between them is positive. This is an indispensable prerequisite on the road to a new political culture. (3) And thirdly, insofar as collaborative governance entails sharing authority with civil society, different lessons have been learned about the courage and determination required to address its complexity, highlighting the challenges and difficulties encountered in making the leap from theory to practice.

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CHAPTER 7

Participation of organised society: how to implement shared governance between public institutions and social agents. The Badalab case

MIKEL IRIZAR

INTRODUCTION
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In this Think Tank on New Political Culture (NPC), one subgroup worked especially on how to achieve active participation of citizens and organised society in collaborative governance. The initial diagnosis established that one adverse feature of the old political culture, the growing detachment of citizens and society from institutional politics and public affairs. The working paper presented at the first session in June 2020 stated as follows:

> *"The main features of our predominant political culture can be summed up in two essential ideas: political disaffection and an incapacity of public structures to respond to the economic, social and political challenges that arise in a globalised context".*

(Working Document No. 0, 17 June 2020)

In public institutions, the feeling of powerlessness is intensifying, specifically because public policy made for society but without it is increasingly becoming mere administration and not policy. Precisely from this concern stems the search for collaborative governance in the most developed political systems.

Collaborative governance seeks to ensure that citizens and organised society are active participants in issues of general interest, build a high-frequency dialogue of trust with public institutions and jointly deliberate on the strategy to be democratically agreed on direction and actions. The challenge is: beyond merely searching, how to achieve the activation of society in times of disaffection?

The answer is multi-faceted, and honesty in work is certainly one of the most important. In the old political culture, participation has often been used cosmetically, and the paradigm shift requires taking greater risks, both on the part of public institutions to give up monopolising power and on the part of social agents to move from the comfort of mere clamour to a position of co-responsibility. In this sense, it must be acknowledged that this NPC Think Tank is honest enough to allow significant results.

The challenge of activating society has added difficulties and incentives in the Basque Country. Among the difficulties is what is known as "the Xiberta gap"[26] which arose in the Basque Country 40 years ago during the phase of institutionalisation between public institutions and social agents, and the tendency towards systematic confrontation that this has left. The main stimulus, on the other hand, is an awareness-of-country that remains very alive in society and the need for a citizenry that makes public-social collaboration a priority objective. The right conditions are being created for the result of both opposing vectors to be positive, and one of the tools to further boost this trend is that of new governance. Within this context, we are going to analyse the Badalab case.

[26] https://eu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xibertako_elkarrizketak

METHODOLOGY-IDEOLOGY
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Given the general honesty surrounding this effort, it seems appropriate to explicitly state the position from which this section is written.

Methodologically, it begins from the action and aims to enrich action. Between the starting point and the objective there has been a constant reflection, precisely to optimise the action and to regularly draw lessons; the function of this section is to set out a chronicle and reflect on what has been done in order to serve as an inspiration for the following task.

The main methodological component has been **interaction**; as we have been creating the Badalab laboratory we have conveyed new questions and lessons to the NPC Think Tank and the contributions received from the Think Tank have been used in the creation of the laboratory in an enriching process of transition.

These two processes took place in synchrony between the summer of 2020 and the summer of 2021, allowing for intense interaction. During this time, Badalab has constructed a bold version of an advanced experiment in governance between public and social participants in the action. This powerful action has helped the Think Tank to ground its approaches at various times. This was evident at the NPC group session of 17 February 2021, when we questioned the methodology that had been used up to that point. The head of strategy and research noted that:

> *"From a theoretical point of view, when we have had experts, their interventions have always seemed to me to be too short and the reflections too general to suit the level of action we require".*

(Badalab, Report 17.02.2021)

We had a lively conversation in which I myself stated that:

> *"I often say that there is knowledge about governance out there, but the wealth of knowledge of those of us who work in governance from the grassroots is lacking".*

In the debate it was evident that the influence of those of us closer to action brought the counter weight of action to balance the weight of the academic experts. In this sense, the working group appreciated the internal nature of the session (there were no external experts) and concluded that there was a need to explore further its own actions in the following sessions.

Also in the opposite direction, and especially in the spring of 2021, the Badalab constituent commission was clearly influenced by the NPC through two of us who participated in both dynamics. We continued to address ways in which to govern the new organisation that was going to be created, and in that task we had the Think Tank very much in mind. An internal document from the governance committee states as follows:

> *"The agendas of the Badalab governance committee and the NPC Think Tank agree that the governance model of the laboratory should be set out within 3 to 4 months. Two main points need to be clarified:*
>
> * *Who the members of the governance will be and how to divide the decision-making among them*
>
> * *Legal form to be used"*

(Badalab, internal document 20.02.2021)

And later in the same document:

> *In the process of experimentation on the governance of Badalab, the role of the Governance Committee will be to make alternatives at the crossroads and that of the NPC Think Tank will be to provide the necessary space and input to channel these possibilities.*

As will be seen later, this interaction has resulted in the successful establishment of Badalab and advanced experimental action to explore shared governance at this time. Here we will explain the first phase of the experiment, up to the construction of the prototype. The arrangement is already at the testing phase, where it will also be assisted and monitored by the NPC to maximise the lessons from the experiment.

As for the ideology, **popular construction** lies at the heart of everything. In short, the adverse effects of globalisation are becoming increasingly evident: concentration of wealth, strengthening of decision-making centres without democratic control, ultra-liberalism, destruction of the planet, uniformity and digital dependence... The most appropriate instrument for addressing these trends is the territory and transformative communities that are compacted on territories, as proposed by expert Jean Pierre Claveranne at the Eusko Ikaskuntza centenary congress (Bayonne, 17.02.2018)

The Basque Country is one of those territories in which the option has been to compact the transforming

community. Indeed, this ideological vision combines many of our political and social initiatives; the survival of the Basque language and Basque consciousness cannot be understood without this perspective. Although recent decades of our history have been marked by a deep political divide, now that the most advanced communities are beginning to seek new governance, we too are recovering the conditions and capacity for public/social collaboration.

> *"…democratic territorial governance based on sustainable community development and territoriality is being built. The form this governance will take will consist of placing all existing stakeholders related to a subject or field on a parallel level of cooperation, working together on diagnosing and planning tasks; subsequently, each agent will perform his or her corresponding function and then come back to monitor and evaluate the process together. In this way, it is possible to build an autonomous social force, to establish a distinctive playing field in the face of major interests and to enable community-based responses".*

(Berrindartu eta jauzi. Topalabe taldea, 2020)

BACKGROUND
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In July 2015 the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa appointed me as the director of Linguistic Equality. Taking into account my background as an entrepreneur in the process of revitalising the Basque language, I was asked in particular to act as a bridge between the Provincial Government and the social agents. Indeed, I had been on the other side of the management table as a social agent with my four previous managers. Likewise, when I was responsible for linguistic issues at Gipuzkoako Kutxa I had already worked in institutional collaboration with the Provincial Government, building bridges with social agents.

In this sense, my trajectory has been somewhat atypical, as it is more common to remain on one side or the other of the Xiberta gap. And when the Provincial Government's commission recognised and asserted this position of mine, I felt a special responsibility, since it gave me an exceptional opportunity to help tear down the walls of the past. The influence of that spur has led me, five years later to seize the opportunity of the NPC Think Tank and to dedicate myself fully to the effort to develop shared governance with the impetus of its learnings.

When I arrived at the Provincial Government, there were signs of fatigue in the process of promoting the Basque language and we were beginning to speak in terms of an active crisis: **crisis** because there were problems, ***active*** because we were looking for solutions. Among many reflections, the idea of the crossroads was gaining ground: it was necessary to decide what point the Basque language process was at, either to take a firm and successful leap towards full normalisation or to let the process erode until it was swamped in an officialdom with neither a sense of allegiance or usage.

As soon as we took over the directorate, we agreed with the social agents to initiate a deliberation process, asking the question: "What do we need to do to be more effective in a different way?". The question itself contains clear clues.

On the one hand, it mentions a collective **us**. It is often easier to identify the improvements that can be made by others than one's own. In this case, the aim was to seek common factors for improvement that would include all agents involved in the Basque language process. The second point consisted of the need to do things differently, i.e. to prioritise forms of innovation beyond a simple repetition of what had been done to that point. The purpose was to overcome a widespread tendency to limit the problem to the economic resources available. And finally, it was about being **more effective,** that is to say, recovering the ability to face difficulties, which in the past had been due to guilt and which was diminishing over the years.

The deliberation process lasted three years and yielded excellent results. In autumn 2018 I wrote the following notes:

> *The process is in its third phase and has shown great commitment from all participants, with 3-4 sessions per phase (4-5 hours) and an average of 35-40 representatives at all sessions. This means that, computing only the hours devoted to shared reflection, at the end of this third phase the sector will have invested around 1,800 hours by qualified representatives. In monetary terms, this is more than the Provincial Government itself has put up.*

> *The main outcome of the process, however, is qualitative. From the beginning of the first phase, a significant evolution can be observed towards this point in the third phase: trust has been generated among participants, focus has been placed on the medium/long-term future, there has been a*

reflection on the parameters of innovation, and a collaborative approach has been imposed…"
(Internal document. PalankaLab)

Specifically, four social agents separately proposed the creation of a stable centre linking language and innovation.

While we were carrying out this process, the Provincial Government launched the Etorkizuna Eraikiz initiative, a collaborative innovation dynamic to work on the strategic vision. For us, this was the ideal ecosystem within which to move forward, as I wrote in the same document:

"I would summarise the EE Initiative method as follows: first, to extend our perspective in order to be able to detect the future; second, to identify advanced initiatives to experiment with them; And finally, to integrate the findings into short/medium term policies in order to influence social transformation. The third phase of the participatory process, termed Euskalgintzaren berrikuntza palankak (levers of Basque language innovation), is fully in line with the logic of this method. Nowe that the focus has been extended, advanced initiatives are being identified. The next task was to experiment with them.

Combining the two paths, at the beginning of 2019 there was already a formal commission from the Provincial Government to the four social agents who had proposed the idea to jointly design the Ibili laboratory. This was the germ of Badalab.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW GOVERNANCE
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The design of the laboratory was finalised during 2019 and presented to the various officials of the Provincial Government at the beginning of the following year. The project was well received, but it was difficult to find a place for it on the entity's map for implementation. Indeed, Etorkizuna Eraikiz was born outside the ecosystem and on the initiative of another directorate, so it was not clear who was in charge of the project.

To overcome this impasse, the Directorate of Linguistic Equality issued a call for tenders for design of the laboratory, which it awarded to the Sociolinguistics Cluster to carry out the proposal from the four promoters. In addition, an interim governance committee for the laboratory was set up by the two directorates of

the Provincial Government (Linguistic Equality and Strategy) and the four promoters, in order to guide the implementation process. At that time I was president of the Cluster and the Provincial Government proposed that I should be a member, in order, once again, to act as a bridge. At this critical moment, there was already a sense of a consensual way of governing the situation, heralding what was to come next.

The Think Tank on the New Political Culture kicked off before the summer of 2020 and it was also proposed that I participate in it. As the activity and style of the group was being defined, I realised that it was a perfect ecosystem in which to build the Badalab lab with ambition and courage and that the close connection between the two initiatives would favour both. At the end of 2020, Badalab was included among the experiments of interest of the NPC Think Tank.

It was at that point that the decisive push came. The Provincial Government decided to place Badalab in Etorkizuna Eraikiz at the same level as other centres of reference, in terms of resources and priority, and ordered that the laboratory be set up before the summer of 2021. Xabier Barandiaran, promoter of Etorkizuna Eraikiz and the Think Tank, joined the group. The collaboration between the two was very effective in the process, acting ambitiously in the direction we were working on in NPC. Sure enough, on 21 July, the agreement establishing the consortium was signed and that same day the official Governing Board met to make the first decisions, including my appointment to the presidency of the consortium.

Given the result and the time frame, the first half of this year has been an amazing race. The design for the laboratory already existed, but it needed to be grounded and an intense work of specification had to be carried out: action plan and strategic project, methodology, work team, financing, headquarters, etc. Also, thanks in large part to the NPC Think Tank, the record of governance at the laboratory has been excellent. This subject deserves a special section.
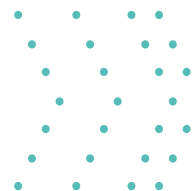
TWO AXES OF THE GOVERNANCE
THAT HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTED
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The laboratory was designed to be structured as a foundation, like the other centres of reference. At Etorkizuna Eraikiz, priority was given to the homologation and effectiveness of the ecosystem.

"At Ibili we propose that the legal structure be a foundation, as in the rest of the centres of reference. Being a centre of reference would mean integrating it into the Etorkizuna Eraikiz scheme, giving it a great capacity for influence, facilities to work on relationships, and flexibility to detect needs… Basically, we are proposing a measure to facilitate relationships. This would offer greater possibilities for developing projects between the different centres of reference and would ensure that the linguistic perspective is at the forefront of the decision-making centres".

(Ibili final report)

However, once the deliberation process and collaborative design had been completed, it was clear that the governance of the laboratory in the project had to follow the model of collaborative governance:

"This governance model should have at least three pillars: the public administration (Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa and, where appropriate, representatives of other public administrations), social agents (associations, companies and agents from the world of the Basque language) and research centres (universities, technology centres, etc.)".

When the paths of the NPC Think Tank and Badalab crossed, the conditions for proper development of this issue began to emerge. And these conditions have been ambitiously exploited to seek progress on structural problems beyond the simple governance of an institution.

One axis of the model as constructed has been ideological and has meant that the standard concept of *collaborative governance* has been viewed through the glass of **public-social collaboration,** which is of particular interest in the Basque Country. The resilience of the Basque community to survive throughout history has been mentioned on numerous occasions. Less emphasis has been placed on the centrality of its attachment to the Basque language in this resilience and the social initiative it has triggered. This was particularly evident in

the second half of the twentieth century, with *euskara batua* (a new unified form of Basque), *ikastolas* (Basque-speaking schools), night schools and *euskaltegis* (Basque language schools), Basque language associations, local and national media, Basque language plans in companies, etc. In the 1960s, a varied and powerful dynamic was set in motion, to which the resources and standards provided by the institutions of self-government were incorporated. Although this collaboration has not always been optimal, it is this driving force that has brought about the modern revitalisation of the Basque language, which has become a global benchmark.

Looking to the future, social initiative and institutional capacity are our two axes for grassroots development. Synchronising the two and placing them at the service of a single social body is a means of guaranteeing advances in community development. However, this collaboration has its difficulties: In addition to the internal tensions mentioned above, there are others arising from the context. Indeed, the size of the social initiative in this case is not usual in the towns around us, and what for us is **social** is viewed by them as **private**. And the two are not the same. Everything that is not **public**, is **non-public**. And within this field there is the **social** (which has the drive and control of society) and the private, which is what is done with private interests.

The level of consultation between our public institutions and the social partners has often raised suspicions, for example, among the European Union's auditing bodies, because public resources are transferred without competition to "private" hands. There is also an urgent need to provide legal support for this uniqueness of ours, which is a great virtue, so that public-social collaboration becomes a secure framework that inspires confidence. Here, the legal architecture is particularly important.

The second axis is related to coherence and consisted of making use of Badalab's unusual collaborative genesis to turn the governance of the laboratory into a case for experimentation, so that this context would make it possible to act boldly. In February 2021 I set this idea out in an internal document I wrote for the Think Tank:

This case also allows us to address a knot in the axis of the new governance. Collaborative governance is a concept that is currently catching on, probably because cooperation can be viewed in many ways; It can be used to designate both symmetrical and hierarchical relations of power. Given that this NPC Think Tank is an innovative initiative, the challenge for it is to go further and

*experiment with shared governance, i.e. to bring together groups with different or opposing interests on an equal footing in autonomous spaces of deliberation, with the commitment to implement the conclusions of this deliberation in decision-making areas. If this were done, **the experiment would make it possible to explore a new frontier: whether it is feasible for public institutions to commit to the results of autonomous deliberation, which would be beyond their control.***

(NPC Badalab governance 2)

Here I believe that the environment created by the NPC Think Tank has been particularly decisive. Without it, Badalab would, of course, have been constituted, but in a more common form (probably through a foundation) and without the same ambition to explore the boundaries. On the other hand, the governance model that has been agreed upon and the legal structure with which it has been endowed set a precedent of great value for the development of collaborative governance. This first phase of the experiment has already clarified many issues and has provided many lessons that we will systematise in the last section of this chapter. And with the creation of the laboratory, the experiment enters a second phase, the imagined machinery of governance will be tested and fine tuned in practise, with monitoring from the Think Tank. Since the laboratory's mission is to innovate by experimenting, the process of building its governance is a significant result of this experimentation.

SPECIFICATION OF GOVERNANCE

Let us now examine the form Badalab's governance has taken so far. At its origin were the **public institutions** and the **social agents,** the two pillars of the strategic partnership; and along the way they have been joined by a third block, which we call the **travelling companions**, i.e. entities that, although not expressly included in the previous blocks, may be interested in and contribute to an initiative that aims to combine linguistic and social innovation. The members of this third group have an intrinsic value that they bring to the initiative. Moreover, in terms of governance, there is an added factor, the 'geometric' factor: three points always constitute a plane, which is why a three-legged table is always balanced. Cooperation between two groups runs the risk of resorting to confrontation or hierarchisation, and the third leg, the participation of other actors in governance, helps to avoid this, since the three-point triangle offers new scenarios for combining different interests.

At the same time, a third layer has been added to the two layers of classical governance, **decision** and **execution**, namely **deliberation**. This third layer has gained weight, largely because in the activity of the Think Tank we have emphasised concepts such as **collective intelligence** and **co-responsibility**. A recognition of collective intelligence provides a scientific basis for the political objective of public-social cooperation, adding value: cooperation is good because it requires building consensus and accumulating forces. Moreover, if it is done through a well-organised deliberation, it is also an instrument for finding better solutions to problems. And all the participants in the deliberation are committed to the solutions thus identified, because the solution and the responsibility to carry it out belongs to everyone.

Thus, a three-sector, three-layer governance model has been agreed upon for Badalab:
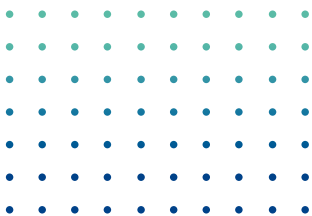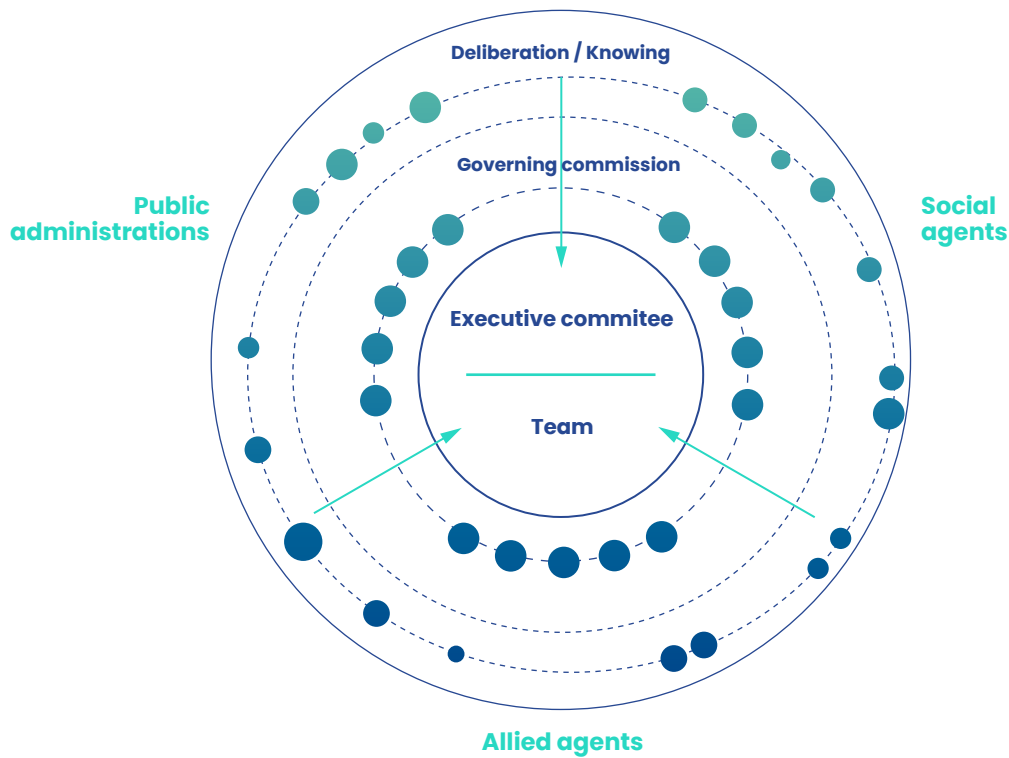
Image 1. **Badalab Governance Model**

Source: Badalab. Strategic project, May 2021.

Two features of this model should be highlighted: on the one hand, the parity between sectors and the lack of hegemony in terms of decision-making space; and on the other, the importance of what we have called "knowing" to preserve the alignment between the three layers.

The lack of hegemony is a very innovative element in public-social collaboration. It should be made clear that an entity attached to the public sector has been created, which from a legal and financial point of view is situated in the public sector. And it is not usual, as has become evident in the creation process, for a public institution to promote, support and finance without holding a majority in the decision-making process. We should acknowledge and applaud the courage of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa in taking such a brave step. The second element, which is what we have called **knowledge/ knowing** is the systematic promotion of deliberation to collectively produce new knowledge. I believe that this is a fundamental element of the new governance that must be stably integrated into the management structure,

as has happened in the past with other components such as communication, quality or social responsibility. It is now up to us to experiment on how to organise and encourage deliberation to make it attractive, and this process of definition will take place within the Think Tank, again in a rewarding process of interaction.

One may expect that deliberation will require an advanced technological base so that agents and citizens become part of a digital ecosystem and can express their opinion simply and effectively. This digital community would then require physical formats that work through themes or projects, developing collective intelligence, to influence the decision-making centre and the management team. For this influence to be effective, the deliberative agents will be linked in a form of cluster with the participants in the decision-making centre in order to ensure communication and articulation. One of the main challenges of the shared governance model lies in this development.

The complex governance that has been forged with all these elements will not in any case become a legal structure. On the one hand, one of the conditions for the new entity was that it be situated in the public sphere, to exercise the use of public funds with all the guarantees and controls, above any risk or suspicion. This condition put a first filter on the possible options. The second condition was that it was the legal structure that should protect the **shared character** of governance, the determination without hierarchy. The third challenge was to bring public and social institutions to govern jointly, without losing their opportunity to be beneficiaries, suppliers or clients of the action. And finally, the legal structure required flexibility to allow for this complexity and to enable it to be adapted it over time. All these requirements are met by the structure of a **consortium,** that structure that we have preferred to use for Badalab.

LESSONS

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The following lessons can be drawn from an analysis of the process of building innovative forms of collaborative governance:

- **Courage requires protection**

  Risk is an inevitable component of innovative transformation, to such an extent that, if a change one wishes to make is not seen as dangerous, one should analyse whether it actually is a change. And risk becomes uncomfortable; we are not used to taking risks, especially in the public-social sphere. Those who want to innovate need the courage to take the risk and maintain their commitment, especially if they are public decision-makers. And courage requires protection; or, in other words, **protection provides courage.** In Badalab's case I think this last sentence speaks for itself. Had it not been for the academic and conceptual support of the Think Tank, the laboratory would have had more modest objectives in terms of governance; or if the courageous governance that has been addressed had not had the support of the social agents, it would hardly have reached the point on the road where the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa has reached in sharing decision-making.

- **Action requires reflection; and reflection requires action**

  Many years ago, the renowned sociolinguist Joshua Fishman said to his colleague Mikel Zalbide:

  "The dynamics of the Basque language are strong, you are very enterprising and your body is as strong as an elephant. But little do you think and research; your elephant has the head of a bird".

  (As told by Mikel Zalbide himself)

  The same thing happens to us in many areas, we immediately resort to action. Sometimes, however, we see the need for reflection, and then we tend to turn directly to academia, often looking for international scientists. This tension between the two trends, as highlighted above, has been very evident in the work of the Think Tank, when we have used dichotomies such as 'Experts vs.' or 'University professional training vs. '. I believe that along the way we have been striking the right balance between the following trends: we were able to relativise the contribution of external experts and value that of the internal team; We have always kept in mind that the group's performance had to be related to real initiatives; and, with respect to this chapter, we have detected the importance of the Badalab case to the point of placing it among the priority results. An entrepreneur like me has found a place in this think tank and a specific initiative has directly had a great influence since it has provided a parallel reflection. I think it is a perfect precedent that action fosters reflection and that the results of this reflection enrich action.

- **Collaborative and shared governance**

  Let us take a familiar definition of collaborative governance:

  Collaborative governance is (…) a type of governance in which public and private actors work collectively in distinctive ways, using particular processes, to establish laws and rules for the provision of public goods.

  (Ansell & Gash, 2007)

  This definition stresses collaborative and collective work, but without specifying the quality of that collaboration. One might say it leaves flexibility for cooperation to take different forms. Some are closer to the concept of **participation** (i.e., the authority is public and the social agents give their opinion on the

idea) and others are closer to **sharing** (the decision is made jointly, in bodies without hegemonies).

In our case, these two poles have been associated with the location vis-à-vis the public sector: Participatory formulas are common and numerous in the public sector, while shared formulas have not been used on many occasions and tend to be found in the private/social sector. Examples of both can be found in Etorkizuna Eraikiz: the Ziur, Mubil or Adinberri foundations are examples of the first block, whilst Arantzazulab is an example of shared governance, although the latter is outside the public sector.

Governance in Badalab contravenes this dichotomy seen so far. It is a public sector entity, attached to the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa; and yet, under its bylaws, this institution has the right to appoint 5 of the 15 members of the governing committee. In addition, it should be noted that in the first government commission only 2 representatives of those 5 were appointed by the Provincial Government. This ratio (2/15) shows more clearly than anything else the courage shown by the Provincial Government in this project and, in my opinion, the magnitude of the support given to it by the Think Tank.

Recently (5 November 2021), at the memorable Etorkizuna Eraikiz plenary session held in Loiola, Xabier Barandiaran explained the key to collaborative governance: **the division of powers**. Put in these terms, the difficulties and resistance to the new governance can be better understood, and efforts can be more easily graduated: those involving power sharing are advanced and courageous; those who leave power in the hands of the former, on the other hand, are closer to appearance.

"To attack decisively is half the triumph" wrote Oihenart in the 17th century (Arnaut Oihenart, *"Atsotitzak eta neurtitzak"*). If this bold experiment in shared governance were to succeed, public administrations would have a way of developing a layer of command or shared areas in collaboration with social agents and citizens. This would open up very interesting opportunities for the co-responsibility of institutions and non-public agents in the management of public affairs.

- **Broad coalitions are needed to overcome inertias**

We have already said that the creation of Badalab itself has been an ensemble work, and that it has taken a long year. The Provincial Government

and the Basque social activity agents have collaborated in this process, first in the parameters of deliberation, then in the preparation and now in the management. It is clear that this long road has led to an improvement in mutual trust, without which the existing level of commitment would not have been achieved. This strength has made it possible to add new partners to the governance of the institution; and, at the same time, the formation of a broad coalition has helped to overcome difficult forms of inertia.

It is worth remembering who the members of the coalition government at Badalab are:

- Public institutions:
  - Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa
  - Basque Government
  - Errenteria Town Council

- Social partners:
  - Soziolinguistika Klusterra
  - Euskalgintzaren Kontseilua

- Travelling companions:
  - Arantzazu Gaur Fundazioa
  - Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
  - Euskal Irrati Telebista
  - Euskaltzaindia
  - Langune

This coalition is unprecedented here and the list itself shows that the participants have spotted a unique opportunity to do different things, or do things differently. And when they have agreed to take advantage of this opportunity, they have taken steps of great difficulty in timeframes that seemed impossible. Once a snowball reaches a certain size, it can only grow; similarly, in the case of the Badalab coalition, once it was seen what form it could take, all institutions/agents have prioritised participation over their particular interests or inertias.

- **The importance of the legal structure**

To date, public-social collaboration has taken modest forms, with the most commonly used instruments being the call for proposals and the agreement. In terms of the level of collaboration, the agreement exceeds the call for proposals: The partners recognise each other and identify the common interest, as well as the dynamics that they will develop together and the role of each one. However, the commitment to the stability of the agreements is weak and the decision-making capacity is hierarchical.

In order to advance to a more developed stage in the collaboration, it is necessary to provide a more solid formalisation, to also transfer the commitments of the parties to governance and to seek the appropriate legal structures for this consensual governance. Badalab has shown us that this road can be travelled successfully.

In order to legally structure the consensual shared governance, we have rejected commercial formulas and opted instead for a mixed consortium. There were two main reasons for this decision:

- The consortium (unlike the foundation) allows the different entities to which it belongs to be suppliers and/or beneficiaries of its activity, since the objective is to jointly carry out some areas of what is being done separately. This feature makes it possible to position the mixed consortium in the public sector, even when non-public entities are at the centre of decision-making.

- As far as the law is concerned, the consortium is a legal structure that is little regulated, with extensive possibilities for self-regulation compared to foundations. This provides flexibility to the complexity of shared governance in finding a tailored response to each problem.

The consortium's articles of association start as follows:

The two main characteristics of the structure are its status as a public law entity, attached to the PGG and at the same time independent of its organisational structure, i.e. of its decision-making capacity. It must comply with the law because it is mainly financed with public money, but the centre of decision is autonomous and may therefore be shared.

However, in order to advance along this path, a difficulty had to be overcome. In most cases, consortiums are created between public administrations for the joint management of certain public services. Less often, they are also used in the private sector, with functions that are similar to those of clusters. And mixed public-private consortia are very rare. Precisely for this reason there is not much experience in structuring them and at the beginning it is difficult (Badalab has found it difficult) to tread the right path between legality and autonomy. Moreover, in situations of uncertainty such as this, there is a strong tendency to do business as usual.

As a centre of experimentation, Badalab will be forced to make uncertain choices in unfamiliar environments, and will fulfil its role if it maintains its tendency to choose the unusual over the usual at the various crossroads that will appear along the way.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE CONSORTIUM FOR LINGUISTIC INNOVATION BADALAB

CHAPTER I
GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Constitution

1. The Badalab Linguistic Innovation Consortium (hereinafter the "Consortium") is constituted as a public law entity, attached to the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, without being integrated into its organisational structure.

CONCLUSIONS

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Having written this chapter, I have remembered that its purpose was to analytically chronicle a specific (and particular) action to best capture the value it brings to the NPC ecosystem.

In most definitions of collaborative governance, the initiative is attributed to public institutions, which are the ones that most deeply feel the disaffection of citizens and organised society and the consequent erosion of their legitimacy. In the case of Badalab, the initiative has been hybrid. All phases in the journey have been taken jointly by public institutions and social agents, a parity that has been radically transferred to governance.

Precisely, and largely thanks to the Think Tank, Badalab's governance model has led to a real sharing of power: administrations have shared public power, renouncing hegemony; and the social partners have offered their legitimising power to the new organisation. It is a magnificent precedent to have reached this point and it the journey that has begun using this governance will be a rich experiment.

Two variables must be taken into special consideration in this process. On the one hand, making the closeness and trust that have been achieved so far between the participants into a stable culture; i.e. strengthening the roots of a new political culture that understands this governance model (cooperating, sharing decision-making capacity, openly expressing tensions and identifying confrontation) as the axis of the country's strategy.

To this end —and here comes the second challenge— it is essential to develop deliberation, providing it with resources and methods so that in this governance, citizen and/or organised social participation becomes increasingly powerful, and it becomes increasingly difficult for collective interests of any kind to prevail.

This chapter has been written to help advance along this path.

CONCLUSIONS

Towards a community of practice in Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank: open and collaborative governance, ethical commitment and praxis

FERNANDO TAPIA ALBERDI[27]

The various chapters in this book are the result of cogeneration; the authors have written their contributions after having shared, over the period of a year, a process of deliberation on the new political culture in Gipuzkoa.

In these conclusions, therefore, I do not intend to summarise what others have already said. My goal is to share, based on my experience of participating in the deliberation process, what I consider to be some relevant ideas when considering the future of Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank and, more specifically, the future of this deliberation group on the new political culture.

To this end, I will develop two basic ideas. The first is that the deliberative group whose initial journey is described in this book could be considered as a community of practice oriented towards the development of a new political culture in Gipuzkoa. The second is that praxis, viewed from the initial design of the Think Tank as part of its action research methodology, should consequently become one of the hallmarks of this community.

TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DELIBERATIVE GROUP AS A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE
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The changes we are witnessing in today's democracies make it essential to reflect on the relationship between knowledge and power. This issue can be and, indeed, has been approached from different perspectives. My approach is aimed at presenting some key notions as to how this relationship should be structured so that the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank can effectively become a space for the co-generation of transferable and applicable knowledge, which will allow the political agenda and the way of acting of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa to be transformed.

When the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa set up the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank, it accepted a collaborative or cooperative conception of power entailing a recognition that the plurality and complexity of our societies requires the cooperation of "political" stakeholders (policy makers *stricto sensu*, experts from various fields, researchers from the academic field, etc.), at different levels, using various instruments of collaboration. Thus, a framework has been designed for a deliberative (i.e. fundamentally communicative) process among diverse actors, and for the co-generation of knowledge through the group's own reflective activity. This model of the exercise of political power is directly linked to a conception of the social nature of knowledge and learning; or, in other words, a theory that views the generation and transmission of knowledge as a type of social participation. Indeed, it is taken for granted that interaction between the actors making up a given group enables the generation of experiences, shared thinking and knowledge and collaborative learning processes within the group. In my opinion, therefore, it is important to explore the conditions under which this is possible. And, in this regard, I consider that the notion of Community of Practice (CoP), coined and developed by Lave and Wenger (1991) can be particularly fruitful when analysing, understanding and channelling the processes that are developing within the Think Tank group.

A CoP can be characterised as a group of people linked by a common practice and by what they learn together in this practice. In other words, a CoP is a group of people who are all interested in something they do and who learn to do it ever better through

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regular interaction with each other. Seeing Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank as a CoP means taking stock of the factors or processes that make it achieve the goals it has been assigned and in this regard, manifesting the informal transfer of knowledge, explaining how interaction makes it possible to generate experiences, intelligence or shared knowledge and collaborative learning processes within the group. In this sense, the Think Tank can be considered as a CoP provided its members are aware that they are participating in a shared project, that there is a mutual commitment and a shared repertoire that is part of the experience of the people who participate in the group's practice. This ethical dimension of the CoP is something that should not be lost sight of, since it is precisely the difference between a simple group of people who meet with some pre-established objective and a functioning CoP.

Finally, the open and collaborative governance promoted by Etorkizuna Eraikiz, with its emphasis on learning from prototypes or experimental projects that inform or transform public policies, is consistent with studies on CoP, which indicate that innovation often emerges from this same collective learning process, and naturally, also with other methodologies of collective thinking and social innovation. This convergence is a good sign. Indeed, the CoP methodology has been used in other projects in which the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa has participated, such as Jendaurrean Erabili (http://jendaurrean.eus/eu/proiektua).

POSSIBILITY OF CONSOLIDATING A PRAXIS-BASED ITINERARY
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My second conclusion has to do with the link between theory and practice that has occurred in Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank and may occur in the future. When we talk about the relationship between theory and practice we are referring to the issue of the relationship between knowledge and action. Traditionally, these two concepts have been presented as being entirely distinct in the field of science, just as subject and object have been presented to us as being completely separate from theoretical reason and practical reason.

The concept of *praxis* that we wanted to work on in the Think Tank combines theory and practice, knowledge and action.

From my perspective, the inseparable nature of theory and practice has to do with new theoretical and methodological approaches to analysing social phenomena that challenge the positivist model of science in the field of Social Sciences. Because of its importance with respect to the scope of study of this Think Tank, we must first highlight the theory of the social character of knowledge and learning, which views the genesis of knowledge as a type of social practice. From this perspective, interaction makes it possible to generate experiences, shared thinking or knowledge and processes of collective learning.

Together with this, I would highlight innovative methodologies in social knowledge, such as action research, which involves a structural relationship between theory and practice, the result of the integration of the cognitive and interventionist dimension, since through research action we seek to generate knowledge about the social reality, but, at the same time, performing a certain management to bring about changes in this social situation. That is to say, in the case of action research, the object of knowledge itself is the sphere of participation and, moreover, the very human being who is the subject of and participant in knowledge.

On this issue, after analysing what scientists are engaged in worldwide, we can see that the most influential scientific studies in recent years encompass two areas of work. On the one hand, science is working to identify new factors in order to transition more successfully from theory to practice. With regard to the theoretical planning of social transformation actions, approaches that include the concept of *ambivalence* appear to give better results. Ambivalence is a dual effect that is necessarily caused in people by social constructs and the changes towards them, which attract us on the one hand and at the same time generate attitudes of opposition. Science recommends approaches that model society as an Ecological Behavioural System as being more successful in social marketing or in communicating the socialisation processes of these transformative actions. The process of transition from theory to practice is based on social interaction; because the creation and dissemination of knowledge are strictly social processes, methodologies that take into account this character are more suitable for this purpose. When it comes to the reasons why processes fail, science stresses the contradictions that leaders find in themselves. The moment they encounter the individual nature of leaders in implementing socially and individually accepted theories, including their natural ambivalence, is critical to the success of these processes.

Science proposes and analyses examples of success, both those that lead from theory to practice, and those that have gone in the other direction, creating new causal theories from experience and practice. The former include experiences that encourage and guarantee the involvement and participation of stakeholders, while the latter, any effect emanating from society, demonstrates that social changes are at the base and not other physical, biological or chemical reasons.

The reflections and experiences shared in the chapters of this book are an example of the frameworks and trends I have described. In the Think Tank's first year of activity these frameworks and trends are, of course, evident. However, if the itinerary that has been begun is continued, the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank can be an exponent of praxis-based activity and, consequently, a good space for the co-generation of knowledge on praxis. To return to the concept of *communities of practice* mentioned at the beginning of this section, what we have here is the possibility of strengthening a community of practice based on praxis to influence the development of a new political culture in Gipuzkoa.

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