Co-producing social services

A comparative analysis in the EU of processes, tools, partnerships and alliances between citizens, third sector and public actors

Iannuzzi Marcella_Labsus

BRIGHT

Building RIGHTs-based and Innovative Governance for EU mobile Women

This report was funded by the European Union's Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-2020). The content of this report represents the views of the author only and is his/her sole responsibility. The European Commision does not accept any responsibility for use they made of the information it contains.

Introduction

The paper proposes a comparative analysis of the practices of co-production of social services in European countries. Starting from an in-depth analysis of the different European welfare systems and of the contextual development of the Third Sector, the practice of co-production is introduced as an expression of the principle of horizontal subsidiarity. From this point of view, a general analysis of the different contexts and the examination of some cases is proposed, proceeding to an in-depth examination of the governance structures, the processes of building alliances (partnerships) between public actors and civil society and the effectiveness of the co-produced services.

This work has been developed within the Bright for woman project, which aims to co-create support services for women seasonal workers from EU countries who have moved to Southern Italy. Thanks to the work of the partners, the project is developed on different levels. On the one hand, it works in the migrant women's countries of origin to make them aware of their rights as European citizens and to inform them about the working conditions that await them in Italy. On the other hand, it works in the regions of Southern Italy, and in particular in two territories (Corigliano Rossano_CS and Ginosa_BR), to stimulate a community-building work around women seasonal workers and the construction of alliances between municipal administration, third sector bodies, trade unions and inhabitants. On the basis of these alliances and relationships, through the administrative instrument of the Collaboration Pact, support services for women seasonal workers will be co-created. Thanks to the workshops activated in the area, three main themes emerged with respect to the needs expressed by the women: housing, care and education of children and access to public services. Working conditions, working hours, and the distance of the workplace from the city centre create enormous difficulties for women in accessing citizen services. On these issues, together with the women, the municipality and third sector bodies, solutions are being found to produce community welfare services. The use of Collaboration Pacts, a new instrument of administrative innovation, which we will discuss in more detail in section 5.4, will allow to agree together on roles, actions and resources made available on an equal basis among all actors and signatories of the Pact.

Starting precisely from the innovative capacity of this instrument in Italy in the field of the co-production of welfare services, but also of shared administration, we have organised the present work to try to outline what happens in the various European countries with respect to the involvement of inhabitants/users in the production of social services and how this involvement is transferred into relationships of partnership and formal alliances. Aware of not being able to exhaust the different experiences that European countries have developed starting from their legal, cultural and administrative contexts, in the following pages we will propose an itinerary of cases and approaches that does not claim to be exhaustive of all the innovative experiences underway, but rather aims to collect some of the experiences that seemed interesting to us, not only in the context of the topic of the project, but also with respect to the instruments of partnership and governance that the processes of co-production can stimulate and trigger.

We have, therefore, identified the co-production of social services as the object of our comparative analysis. Because it is a theme that crosses narratives, policies and practices both of the European Community and of most individual countries. Co-production also allows us to analyse the role of the different actors involved in it, and through this to

understand the relationships and tools of partnership. In order to set out on this path, we first defined the characteristics of the different welfare systems within the European Community. As is well known, different welfare systems have been recognised, depending on the social spending invested by states and the number and quality of public services and infrastructures that a state makes available to its citizens. We will build this picture in the first paragraph.

These different welfare systems have been affected by the change triggered by globalisation at the turn of the 1990s and 2000s, which will lead to their reconfiguration along different paths depending on the national contexts. However, as we will see in the second paragraph, three general trends of transformation can be recognised: de-bureaucratisation, decentralisation and the introduction of the welfare mix. The principle of Subsidiarity plays an important role in these processes. As we will see in more detail in Section 2, the new paradigm sees the local context and institutions as the place where governance and management of the territory is more effective than a centralised approach. At the same time, civil society gains an active role in the processes of building public policies and practices. These transformative processes have a very important impact in the new reconfiguration of the welfare state, not only in the procedural and administrative sphere, or in economic management, but also in the transformation of civil society, now considered as a possible active actor in the processes of welfare production. Throughout Europe, although to a lesser extent in some former Communist countries for obvious historical reasons, a productive sector has emerged that has flanked public and profit-making bodies in the production of services and has been called the Third Sector.

It is at this point, in Section 3, that we introduce, as we have mentioned, the topic of the co-production of welfare services which focuses on the role of civil society in contributing to the transformation of the welfare system. Co-production in fact has an impact precisely in the sense of horizontal subsidiarity. The co-production processes help us to focus on the partnerships and roles that the public body, the third sector bodies and the citizens assume in the implementation of a service; how much and with what intensity they have an impact on established systems and what improvement they bring to the daily lives of users/inhabitants. Co-production, in fact, enhances community relations and relations between citizens and public actors and the third sector. In addition, interest in it is also anchored in the innovative and transformative character that the processes inspired by it can have on welfare structures and the institutional context. In particular, as we shall see, it is interesting to analyse how the logics, narratives and processes of co-production can be translated into procedures, agreements, regulations and partnership.

Obviously, welfare contexts have welcomed co-production in different ways, not only because of their administrative and institutional traditions, but also because of the conceptual explanation and application they have produced. As well as the level of creativity and dynamism of the Third Sector. In Section 4 we will proceed to a comparative analysis with respect to the different welfare contexts in Europe.

Finally, in Section 5 we have gathered experiences of co-production. In the first part we presented interesting cases in relation to the thematic areas that emerged in the Bright project: housing, access to services and childcare. In the course of the research, however, it emerged that the most innovative co-production processes, from the point of view of horizontal subsidiarity, transcend the sphere of the traditional welfare state and emerge

strongly in the areas of urban regeneration and community welfare. This area allowed us to go deeper into partnership building, subsidiary relations and co-production processes. In this sense, we have analysed two cases in Sheffield (UK) and Lyon (France), also from a comparative perspective, which highlight the constitution of "intermediate bodies" as mediating actors between public authorities and citizens in cases of co-production of community services. Next, we will further broaden our gaze by analysing, on a governance and policy level, the approach to co-production in the city of Barcelona. In conclusion, we will propose the case of the *Patti di Collaborazione* (Collaboration Pacts) in Italy as a tool for co-production, highlighting its innovative contribution, compared to other approaches analysed from a horizontal subsidiarity perspective.

1. Brief analysis of the different types of welfare in Europe

The Welfare State in Europe has developed as we know it after World War II, during a period of industrial growth and prosperity, based on stable employment.

Welfare programmes were mainly financed through a progressive taxation system, referring to a stable institution of the family, based on a very narrow gender division of roles and in which the care of family members was relegated to women who had limited access to work (Ranci 2010). The welfare state was not limited to the transfer of money for the weakest categories, but was constituted above all as a network of services to support the daily life of all citizens with respect to their needs for housing, health and education. Historically, the different European contexts have produced different models of welfare state. We consider interesting to start from the differences between them in order to better address the analysis of the processes of co-production of social services.

According to Buhigas, Schubert and Martens (2005) the different European welfare state regimes have however some common features, which are applied through different instruments and modalities depending on the national context. The characteristics are: emphasis on social protection; ex post benefits for traditional risks/needs; a large role for cash transfers during periods of non-employment (pensions, unemployment, disability, sickness, maternity, dependent family, etc.); safety nets (against poverty); extensive intervention in education and training. Generally, interventions are designed around the family as the preferred target.

The literature recognises five welfare state models that differ in terms of characteristics, performance, efficiency and equity. They have been identified as the Continental (or corporate) model; the Anglo-Saxon (or liberal) model; the Mediterranean model; the Scandinavian (or social-democratic) model (Ferrara 2013). Later, a fifth model was recognised, relating to post-communist countries.

The 'Nordic welfare model' includes Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands (Casalegno, 2006; Ferrera, 2013). The fundamental principle of this model is "egalitarianism": it is equity that governs the distribution of social benefits amongst all members of society (Popova & Kozhevnikova, 2013). It has the highest levels of spending in Europe on social protection (around one third of the GDP), which is considered a right of citizenship; the benefits, which guarantee universal coverage, consist of fixed-sum benefits, paid automatically when various risks occur. In addition to this universalistic protection base, employed workers receive supplementary benefits through highly inclusive compulsory occupational schemes. Unemployment insurance benefits and active labour market policies

play an essential role. The main form of financing social security is tax revenue. This model is a combination of a free market economy - where supply and demand forces are free from interference by the state, price setting monopolies or other authorities - with a welfare state. However, the state remains the key actor in protecting and promoting the economic and social well-being of its civilians (Sanandaji, 2012).

The liberal model (in Ireland and the United Kingdom), on the other hand, focuses on reducing the spread of extreme poverty and social exclusion; therefore, the system is characterised by significant social assistance programmes and subsidies, the payment of which, however, is subject to means testing. Active labour market policies and schemes, that make access to benefits dependent on regular employment, play an important role.

Financing methods are mixed, in that, while health care is fully taxed, cash benefits are generally financed through social security contributions. The model is called liberal because of its market economy orientation. Access to unemployment services is guaranteed by prior access to employment. In the countries of the Anglo-Saxon model, the employment rate is higher than the EU average and the welfare system seems to be economically sustainable. On the other hand, trade unions are not very powerful and support networks are sometimes insufficient.

The third model comprises the countries of continental Europe (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and Luxembourg): this model is still influenced by the original Bismarckian inspiration, which envisages a close link between social benefits and the employment status of individuals, and is centred on the protection of workers and their families from the risks of disability, illness, unemployment and old age. In these countries, which devote around 27-30% of GDP to social spending, there tends to be a preponderance of very fragmented and categorically differentiated schemes, often more generous to civil servants, financed, for the most part, through social contributions, separate for the various spending institutions. This system is seen as a middle ground between the Nordic and the Anglo-Saxon models. It is largely based on the principle of 'security' and is identified by the numerous employment protection laws and a significant amount of regulation in the sector. The labour market tends to be rigid and slow to react to globalisation. In this model, governments provide generous unemployment benefits. A well-funded welfare state allows for poverty reduction, high quality health care and disability pensions. Trade unions have decision-making power in collective agreements.

The southern European countries, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, have relatively recently introduced social systems, characterised by lower levels of expenditure (around a quarter of GDP). The Mediterranean welfare state model can be seen as a variant of the continental-corporate model, highly fragmented by occupational category, in which the role of the family as a social safety net is even more pronounced. Unlike continental Europe systems, however, the Mediterranean countries lack an articulated network of basic minimum protection, although some countries have recently tried to remedy this anomaly by introducing guaranteed income schemes (in Spain, Portugal and, on an experimental basis, in Italy). Social assistance schemes and active labour market policies still remain underdeveloped. The approach of this model is based on the fundamental role that the family, but in particular women, assume in replacing social protection systems, especially with regard to care services (Popova & Kozhevnikova, 2013). However, this model, already

by itself insufficient to support families at risk of poverty, is largely in crisis due to the increasing atomisation of the family and the overload of care work on women. Home care services are inadequate and often resort to undeclared and informal work. Care of the elderly and children is often relegated to relatives. Trade unions generally play a strong role, but especially for some categories (Kluzer, Redecker, & Centeno, 2010).

Finally, the last welfare model is the one that groups the countries of the former Soviet Union, which find themselves reconverting socialist structures into forms of welfare characterised by the bursting forth of the liberalist economy following the changes taking place in the 1990s under the influence of globalisation. However, it must be made clear that this model does not refer to similar characteristics and instruments with respect to the application of welfare principles, but rather to their historical background. In fact, following the structural reforms of the 1990s, different countries took different paths. The reform of the welfare state towards a pluralisation of actors and modalities, which we will see in more detail in the next paragraph, has therefore been declined in different ways by the different countries. For example, Poland has increased its welfare state, while Bulgaria has chosen to reduce it, and Ukraine has maintained previous levels. In addition, the policies used to respond to economic pressures have differed: Poland and Hungary have increased early retirement benefits, Bulgaria and Romania have reduced the levels of unemployment benefits and extended the coverage of disability benefits.

Health systems in Eastern European countries are social insurance systems based on contributions and employment. They cover employees and family members of the insured (Sengoku, 2003, p. 235). There is a sharp contrast in pension systems between Hungary and Poland on the one hand and the Czech Republic and Slovenia on the other. The Baltic States have welfare systems characterised by high inequality, low social expenditure and low social inclusion. In contrast, the Visegrad states (Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary) are performing well in tackling inequalities and promoting social inclusion. (Bohle & Greskovits, 2007, S. 30).

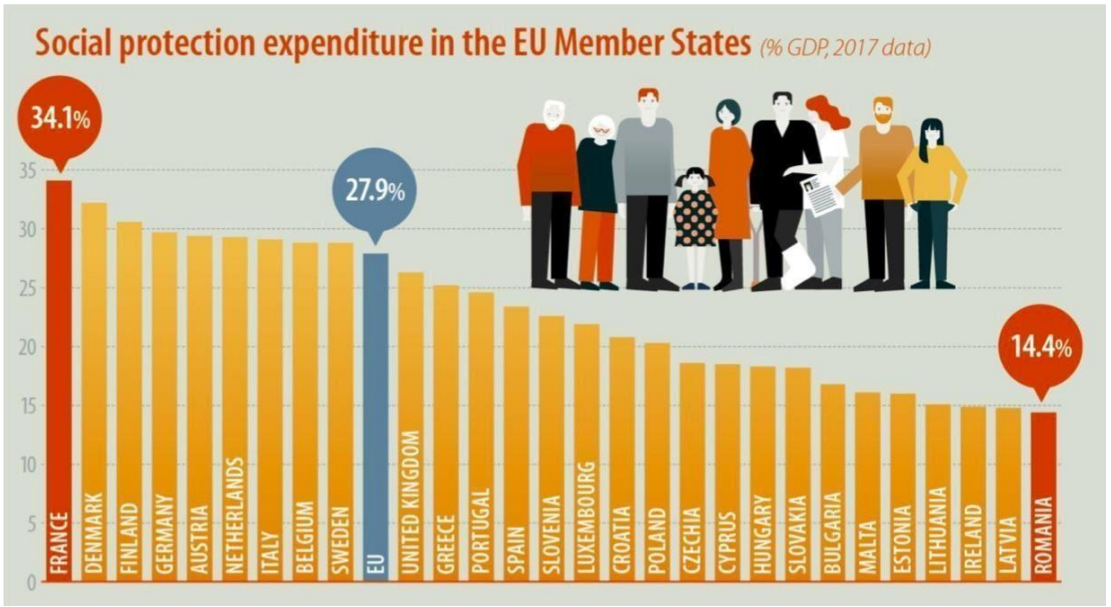

Figure 1. Eurostat 2017 data

As we have seen, there are many differences in the way different countries have ordered their welfare states. The economic, cultural and historical systems clearly shape the social services that each state has provided for its citizens. In particular, it is interesting to see how spending on social protection is higher or lower in the different welfare systems. As it emerges from the graph, the countries with a corporative or Nordic welfare record the highest social spending, the liberal welfare is on the European average, while the countries with a Mediterranean welfare are below the average (a particular case is Italy which reveals a higher value but, as it emerges in Figure 2, has higher shares for pensions and lower shares for the other social sectors as the Mediterranean model). Finally, the Eastern European countries present the lowest shares, with significant differences compared to the other countries, in particular Bulgaria and Romania are among the last places (Figure 1).

Social protection expenditure, 2017

	Expenditure				Benefits by function, in % of total social benefits, 2017				
	in % of GDP			Thousand PPS per capita, 2017	Family & children	Unemploy-ment	Sickness / healthcare & disability	Old age & survivors	Housing & social exclusion
	2012	2016	2017						
EU	**28.7**	**28.0**	**27.9**	**8.4**	**8.7**	**4.4**	**37.1**	**45.8**	**4.0**
Belgium	29.7	29.2	28.8	10.0	7.6	6.9	35.5	46.5	3.4
Bulgaria	16.5	17.3	16.8	2.8	10.7	3.1	35.7	49.3	1.2
Czechia	20.4	18.9	18.6	5.4	8.8	2.6	39.1	47.2	2.4
Denmark	32.0	31.0	32.2	11.7	11.1	4.5	37.8	39.2	7.4
Germany	28.9	29.7	29.7	11.3	11.5	3.4	43.5	38.6	3.0
Estonia	14.9	16.6	16.0	3.9	13.1	2.7	41.6	41.7	1.0
Ireland	23.6	15.9	14.9	7.2	8.5	8.8	44.8	33.6	4.3
Greece	28.1	26.1	25.2	5.1	5.7	3.7	26.3	62.8	1.6
Spain	25.7	23.8	23.4	6.2	5.4	7.7	33.8	51.6	1.4
France	33.8	34.3	34.1	10.9	7.6	6.1	35.1	45.5	5.7
Croatia	21.6	21.3	20.8	3.9	8.6	2.1	44.4	43.5	1.4
Italy	29.1	29.4	29.1	8.2	6.3	5.8	28.8	57.8	1.2
Cyprus	20.9	19.4	18.5	4.7	6.7	5.6	22.8	55.9	9.1
Latvia	14.3	15.1	14.8	3.0	10.9	4.5	34.5	49.0	1.2
Lithuania	16.3	15.4	15.1	3.8	8.3	3.8	40.6	45.2	2.1
Luxembourg	22.7	21.3	21.9	14.9	15.3	5.4	35.7	39.6	4.0
Hungary	21.2	18.9	18.3	4.0	12.1	1.7	33.7	49.7	2.8
Malta	19.2	16.6	16.1	4.8	5.5	2.2	37.8	52.6	1.9
Netherlands	30.6	29.5	29.3	11.0	4.2	4.0	42.8	42.1	6.9
Austria	29.2	29.8	29.4	11.0	9.5	5.8	32.2	50.0	2.5
Poland	18.9	21.0	20.3	4.7	13.4	1.6	30.1	54.1	0.8
Portugal	26.4	25.1	24.6	5.6	4.9	3.2	32.6	58.3	0.9
Romania	15.4	14.6	14.4	2.9	7.7	0.5	34.5	56.3	1.1
Slovenia	24.7	23.3	22.6	5.7	8.3	2.4	38.8	47.4	3.1
Slovakia	17.8	18.4	18.2	4.3	9.1	2.9	40.5	45.8	1.7
Finland	29.9	31.6	30.6	10.2	9.8	7.3	32.1	45.1	5.8
Sweden	29.1	29.4	28.8	10.2	10.2	3.5	37.0	44.2	5.2
United Kingdom	28.6	25.8	26.3	8.0	9.4	1.3	39.3	43.4	6.7
Iceland	22.9	22.3	23.4	8.6	10.2	2.1	52.6	30.6	4.5
Norway	24.6	29.2	28.4	12.1	11.6	2.4	45.7	36.6	3.7
Switzerland	26.6	28.0	28.3	12.1	6.0	3.6	39.8	47.1	3.5
Serbia	22.6	20.3	19.5	2.4	6.5	3.2	31.4	55.7	3.2
Turkey	12.5	12.9	12.3	2.5	4.0	2.3	31.0	61.2	1.6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	:	19.4	18.8	1.8	2.6	2.5	45.3	48.2	1.5

: Data not available
The source datasets can be found here (expenditure) and here (benefits by function).

Figure 2. Eurostat 2017 data

Looking at detailed social expenditure (Figure 2), it emerges that, in general, expenditure on care services is amongst the lowest. In spite of some more virtuous models, the literature shows that many care services are still largely paid for by the family (Kluzer, Redecker, & Centeno, 2010, p. 11), which often does not have the capacity to provide the services sufficiently, which fall on the younger generations, particularly women, and which still strongly affect the already significant gender gaps. In particular, both the Mediterranean

system and the welfare system of Eastern Europe present characteristics of weak state intervention in the production of social and family support services, allowing the development of an informal and unrecognised sector that integrates, at the expense of citizens, the missing services. In particular, the issues emerging in the Bright project such as guarantees for workers, support for childcare and facilitating access to services for underrepresented groups are poorly supported by the public social services system.

The welfare contexts of the countries of origin (Romania, Bulgaria) and of arrival (Italy, Spain, Greece) of the migrant women who are the object of our project, are both characterised by a weak support infrastructure for the social needs of weak categories. State intervention is fragmented and not sufficiently capillary, with evident territorial inequalities in the country, especially to the disadvantage of rural areas. The presence of informal work further weakens the role of the state as a guarantor of civil rights, encouraging citizens to turn to informal networks that are not only family and friends, which at times, as in the case of Caporalato in southern Italy, exploit people in a weakened condition or even turn out to be linked to criminal organisations.

2. New Narratives, Policies and Practices of the Welfare State in the EU

Since the 1990s, the welfare state in European countries has been at the centre of major changes at the fiscal, regulatory and conceptual levels. The social and economic transformations of the last decades represent challenges that the social protection system is still facing: the adaptation to the new conditions of openness induced by globalisation, low economic growth, the ageing of the population, the reconciliation of women's role between work and family, the problems of social cohesion and immigration. This is a difficult test in the very sensitive area of social rights, which all western governments are called upon to address.

The reconfiguration of welfare systems has been very different depending on the national contexts, with different interventions on social spending, on the targets of cuts and consequent effects on inequality, poverty and social exclusion. However, we can summarise the strategies to respond to the welfare crisis in three main processes: de-bureaucratisation, decentralisation and the shift to a welfare mix.

a) De-bureaucratisation: Welfare institutions have worked for their own change, also under the stimulus of the European integration and convergence process, by cutting bureaucratic costs, coordinating and merging sectors (e.g. social and labour). Although there are significant differences between countries, public administrations have renewed themselves and reduced public employment, cutting costs and public spending (OECD 2008). They have outsourced some functions and introduced new objectives and philosophies of interventions (e.g. activation processes and user empowerment) to reduce dependency pathways on social services (Ferrera, 1998).

b) Decentralisation: this process sees the sharing in Europe of the principle of subsidiarity as the cornerstone for welfare change. According to this principle, the local dimension is considered ideal for reading the needs of citizens, but also for mobilising the resources to solve them. This change brings to the fore a new principle that is central to Europe's values: subsidiarity. The shared idea behind subsidiarity, therefore, is that territorial governance and

the management of services are best solved by local institutions, which are closer to citizens, know their context of life and are better able to understand their needs (Moulaert *et al*. 2010). The principle of vertical subsidiarity, therefore, foresees that the local state actor can assume responsibilities and strategies for the implementation of welfare services.

The value of Subsidiarity within EU policies is widely recognised. In November 2017, a 'Task Force on subsidiarity, proportionality and doing less more efficiently' was established, which meets once a month to develop recommendations to improve the principle of Subsidiarity and Proportionality, involving in particular local and regional authorities on the implementation of EU policies. Vertical subsidiarity is also closely related to horizontal subsidiarity, as the participation of the community in recognising and addressing needs and in dialogue with local institutions becomes a key element. But subsidiarity can also be understood "as a principle involving the pooling of public and private resources for the pursuit of public benefit purposes"(Arena 2003). In this sense, civil society is also called upon to build the public interest, not only as a bearer of needs but also of resources and capacities, by collaborating with public bodies. However, this second meaning of Subsidiarity is very little explored in European documents and only Italy, at the moment, has included it in its Constitution and has created administrative tools to apply it. We will see this more clearly in the last paragraph.

Returning to welfare, the new central role of the local level of welfare is supported by three main arguments: it is supposed to be more efficient, participatory and sustainable (Kazepov 2010; Andreotti *et al*. 2011). Underlying this process is a conceptual shift in welfare: a semantic shift that moves the concept of welfare state from the definition of policies for the satisfaction of life needs and protection from risks to policies that achieve the capacitation and self-realisation of the individual (Sen, Naussban 1993). Services are understood as capacitating and no longer in welfarist terms, since these types of policies tend to create dependency, instead they should make the individual autonomous and capable of choosing different life possibilities. Therefore, not only is the welfare state under pressure from the fiscal needs of the State, but it is also being redefined as an instrument not only to support the basic needs of the citizen, but also as a possibility for the development of the individual under the impetus of a society that has become increasingly cognitive (Donolo 2007). The notion of prosperity is broadened and enriched by a quality that in recent years, thanks to the work of Sen and Naussban (Sen, Naussban 1993), has become the focus of the literature on development policies: capabilities. In the knowledge society, prosperity is intimately linked "to the growth of individual autonomy and the diffusion of self-governance capacities", it can be understood as the permanent capacitation of the citizen with the support of services (Donolo 2007, 2011), in a context where "welfare is not only the prerogative of the state, but a widespread social function" (Bacci, Errera 2001). It is clear that this new conceptual approach to the well-being of the citizen presupposes and puts to the test in two different tracks the places in which we live in: on the one hand, from the point of view of the institutions and the government of the city, which are put to the test in order to reformulate their roles and instruments (vertical subsidiarity), and on the other, a new interest moves towards the action of citizens, whose autonomy of action, as we have seen, is a fundamental part of their own fulfilment and, at the same time, of the sustainable development of the cities and ecologies/economies in which we live (horizontal subsidiarity). In a logic of subsidiarity, as is evident from this research approach, social ties are therefore put in the foreground.

These reflections form the basis of the third process of change: the shift to a welfare mix.

c) Welfare mix means the participation in the provision of welfare services also of tried and tested actors, both profit and non-profit, participation that would make them more efficient and diversified, with respect to the local context in which they are implemented (Ascoli and Ranci 2002; Ferrera, Hemerijck 2003). If, on the one hand, the welfare mix represents the backwardness of the public actor, on the other, it enriches the supply of services, through a more precise analysis of the needs of the territories and the provision of professionalism, skills and resources of civil society, otherwise not really exploited. The involvement of civil society, in an active role, becomes the cornerstone of intervention not only to redesign services but also to renew democratic processes (Fung 2003). The effectiveness of the welfare mix also depends on the cultural change that the public administration has undertaken in recent years, on the capacity to develop effective tools that value citizen participation, the construction of democratic spaces and processes, to elaborate with citizens new capacitating practices that stimulate the intelligence of the institutions" (Donolo 1997) in adapting to the new conditions of application of democracy.

3. Co-production of services as an application of horizontal subsidiarity

The European Community thus supports vertical subsidiarity, but also horizontal subsidiarity, e.g. by supporting the construction of partnerships for the production of welfare services. Member states, however, apply welfare transformation differently depending on the context: for example, Scandinavian countries tend to maintain a strong state role in welfare, so liberal countries have had an advantage in embarking on a path that has been underway for decades. How can partnerships be created between the public actor and civil society, be they private for-profit, non-profit or even informally associated individual citizens? What kind of tools and strategies have been implemented to effectively respond to citizens' needs, working in a partnership perspective? How has horizontal subsidiarity been implemented in practice in the member states? In order to analyse this topic, it seems interesting to narrow the field further by introducing the theme of the co-production of welfare services, which focuses on the role of civil society in the implementation of welfare mixes and the strategies implemented in a social innovation perspective. Talking about co-production circumscribes the scope of interest of this examination, acting as a selection criterion for the examples we will present in the next section.

Co-production, the debate on which has been present in the literature since the 1970s with the studies of Elinor Ostrom, makes it possible to identify cases in which the presence of civil society becomes fundamental to the production of a service, contributing to it at various levels. These processes go in the direction of horizontal subsidiarity and allow us to analyse the various partnership arrangements put in place, the role played by the state actor, and the level of participation of civil society. According to Ostrom, co-production is a process of production of a good or service to which different types of individuals contribute, specifically a mix of activities implemented by both regular producers (public administration professionals) and citizens (citizens or organised groups) that contribute to increasing the quality or quantity of the services used. Although simple, this definition needs a further clarification that Ostrom herself offers us: "co-production implies that citizens play an active role in producing public goods or services that concern them" (Ostrom 1996, p.1073). In this sense, co-production allows us to see the synergy and collaboration between the action of

the public actor and that of civil society, understood both as civil society formally organised as NGOs, community-based organisations and associations and as individual citizens.

The core elements of co-production also clearly coincide with the ESF mission and values. The ESF promotes a people-centred approach to development, based on different social actors working together to address challenges at different levels. In addition to action at national and regional level, the crucial importance of working at the level of local communities is also recognised. This focus is manifested in support for community-led local development through partnerships between local actors working together to design and implement local development strategies. (EU 2018). http://ec.europa.eu/esf/main.jsp?catId=54&langId=en _coproduction_technical dossier EU

Recent literature has differentiated very precisely the different potential levels of citizen involvement in the implementation of a co-produced service, depending on the phase in which they are involved: co-creation, co-design, co-production, co-management (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2000; Vargo and Lusch 2004), co-responsibility, co-construction (EU 2018). In this way we want to distance ourselves from the concept of participation, which has recently also been declined in the sense of passive involvement. In general, however, the literature mainly speaks of co-production (Brandsen and Pestoff 2006; Verschuere, Brandsen, and Pestoff 2012), as different sub-concepts are often closely related or sometimes even interchangeable (Gebauer, Johnson, and Enquist 2010).

In our review, we will use the term co-production to refer to the various stages of social service implementation. At the same time we are aware that the term coproduction is linked to other concepts such as participation, collaborative governance, New Public Governance and social innovation. However, while crossing over these other concepts, we will limit the field of research on coproduction, taking into account the different declinations it can take on depending on the lens through which it is observed. In particular, we will attempt to analyse the modalities through which the **construction of the partnership**, or alliances with citizens, takes place, the tools put into play and the conditions within which the process of service construction takes place.

Moreover, the focus on co-production enhances the detection of the **relationships** underlying the construction of welfare, built on the relationship between community-user-professional-organisation-State. Co-production is in fact understood as a relational asset (Donati and Solci 2011) built on reciprocity and trust. The generative power of this relationship is that of capacitating the person through the relationship: in this specific case, co-production is a culture and a working style that produces relational goods through the creation of relational services (Prandini 2011). Co-production is a relational good that takes a new form: it becomes the mutual and reciprocally subsidiary (capacitating) relationship between users, social networks and professional staff (Orlandini 2014). "Co-producing means creating public services through a reciprocal and equal relationship between professionals, people who use the services, their families and neighbours. When activities are co-produced in this way, both services and neighbourhoods become much more effective agents of change". (Boyle and Harris 2009, 11).

The interest of co-production as a term of analysis lies, moreover, in the **innovative and in some ways transformative character** it can generate in the institutional context, as it

'transforms the mainstream, rather than just incorporating new ideas and practices in ways which neutralise threats to established practices and the various power relations embedded in them' (Coaffee and Healey, 2003: 1983). The implementation of a new co-produced service can have an impact on institutional practices by initiating new governance routines. The process can begin stimulated from below, through the initiative of citizens seeking dialogue with institutions. Relationships can then be formalised through project development and, in specific cases where community action proves effective, can lead to a formal commitment by institutions to changes that can affect procedures and decision-making processes. They may also affect the implementation **of new policies** and formal regulations.

Thinking of possible scenarios for European welfare systems, we can take our cue from Pestoff who, in the context of the analysis of services carried out in Sweden, maintains that the role of the State is destined to be significantly reduced in favour of a process of **"democratisation" of welfare** if civil society is able to play a leading role in the redesigning of public policies. It is precisely within the horizon of collaboration between the third sector and the public sector that the description of the cases in the paragraph above takes on value. In other cases, co-production opportunities can be proposed directly by the institution, inviting local communities and regional organisations to participate at various levels in the development of projects. Although some authors have expressed criticism of this second approach (Coke 2004), this strategy could be a possibility to involve communities at a low level in order to establish an active commitment to everyday service delivery practices (Mitlin, 2008). However, it is clear that the starting context is of crucial importance to understand the possible active and citizen response to a top-down proposal.

Lastly, the fact that co-production is so close to local knowledge and refers to a decentralised system of governance means that some authors have warned against certain neo-localistic processes that could move away from the national levels of the welfare reform and could produce even evident differences in the quality of services depending on the local context, and increase inequalities.

In conclusion, co-production is an extremely interesting process, especially to grasp the dialogue (and transformations) taking place between institutions and civil society. In this sense, in the next sections we will try to put it to the test in the case study, analysing the governance processes and partnership tools proposed.

4. Co-production in different European contexts

In recent years, the role of the third sector has become increasingly fundamental in the production of welfare, bringing about a transformation in the governance structure of social services. The public-private partnership has become the implementation tool for many services, in the subsidiary logic that has characterised the ongoing transformations. Defining the transformation from the welfare state to the welfare mix solely from the perspective of the pluralisation of actors, however, is a limited view. One of the most innovative features of the evolution of welfare is not only the partnership between the state and the third sector but the fact that this partnership can include forms of civic participation (Bode, 2006). In this perspective, “the specificities of governance are strongly rooted in the political culture and configurations of social provision in each country” (Evers et al., 2005: 196). It is precisely in

this direction that our comparative analysis proceeds: the intention is to reconstruct the different European contexts with respect to the involvement of civil society in the co-production of welfare services, and then to analyse specific cases in order to test the partnership instruments and the role of local institutions in participating in these processes.

The welfare mix model began to be implemented in European countries from the second half of the 20th century. In Great Britain, for example, it was quite common to build public-private partnerships in the areas of social security, health care (Giaimo, 2002) and social services (Ascoli and Ranci, 2002). The literature highlights how voluntary agencies participated in local welfare governance, sometimes providing services, more often exerting influence on programmes and clients. Just as in Germany and France, the participation of private voluntary agencies and, in particular in France, linked to the Catholic Church, meant that a dualistic model was experimented, even though the State and its capillary structure assumed a strongly predominant role. On the other hand, the Mediterranean model has been affected by a less pervasive role of the State, and at the same time, the presence of charitable bodies linked to the Churchs has often provided social services, albeit with the limits of universalism that this entails.

From the 1990s onwards, the participation of different actors in the production of social services became the norm. A few years later also the literature on co-production of services is applied in different ways depending on the approach to the national welfare state. Some authors show that co-production is little applied in **large and solid welfare states** (Löffler 2009) as high professionalisation and hierarchical organisation would in fact be an obstacle to its implementation, while the presence of an organised **Third Sector** would be a precondition for co-production as it is closer to citizens and able to activate empowerment processes. In truth, there is still no organic literature on the benefits of the participation of non-profit organisations in co-production experiences, although many scholars have highlighted the reasons why a non-profit organisation would be an optimal interlocutor for the public administration.

The phenomenon must therefore be seen **in relation to the welfare state system** of a given context and it must be considered that it can be promoted as a factor of renewal of the existing system. The provision of social services by the third sector makes it possible to break the "glass ceiling" concerning citizen participation, which is normally found if social services are only the responsibility of the public or private for-profit sector. The **leading role played by the third sector** in the context of social services can generate experiences of great value, capable of strengthening the social cohesion of a local community. Public administration itself could strengthen its legitimacy in the eyes of the public by transforming its role. It is therefore a "change of perspective" that implies for the public sector less bureaucracy and more ability to recognise other welfare actors, to coordinate, support and evaluate them (Prandini).

The concept of co-production has taken on an incisive scope within the liberal approach to welfare in the UK, as demonstrated by the numerous studies and the proliferation of networks of researchers (Nesta) and practitioners whose aim is to introduce co-production into the mainstream processes that guide welfare reform (user personalisation – public-private partnership). Since the 2000s, in the UK, co-production has been associated in

particular with the person-centred planning approach (Sanderson 2007). In particular, the liberal approach sees co-production as the process whereby users contribute to building a social service on two semantic levels. The first relates to principles such as **reciprocity and mutuality**, which is created in the relational exchange between users and professionals: 'co-producing means creating public services through a reciprocal and equal relationship between professionals, people who use the services, their families and neighbours. When activities are co-produced in this way, both services and neighbourhoods become much more effective agents of change". (Boyle and Harris 2009, 11). The second level, then, is the area of **effectiveness** as a result of the co-produced process. There is a certain emphasis on this second level, the result of co-production is a better and more effective service, and this improvement is also given by the capacity deployed by the user, in relation to the professional and the welfare structure. In order to build on this *core economy*, co-production is developed by fostering commitment, reciprocal relationships and mutual responsibilities between professionals, users and families (Horne and Shirley 2009). It is interesting to see that although in the discourses around co-production the theme of mutuality and reciprocity remains intact and is extended to the family and the social relations of the everyday life sphere, the theme of equity is not touched upon. The theme of equity, on the other hand, is not touched upon. In this narrative, therefore, public institutions and non-profit associations seem to be moving, even if there are cases of good practices and strong involvement on the part of citizens. All the more so since the 2000s, co-production has been part of central government programmes, supported by both Labour and Conservatives. In Scotland and Wales in particular, specific policies have been put in place to promote co-production on a partnership and network basis.

The UK has been the country that has most enthusiastically adopted the principles of Public New Management. However, the emphasis on effectiveness and performance has weakened the emphasis on the democratisation of services and the interest that, from the perspective of our research, these processes can have in achieving real participation by civil society.

There are many studies on co-production in the welfare model in Northern Europe. In particular, it seems that this process is mainly used in childcare services, as revealed by the aforementioned study by Pestaff. Co-production has been studied with respect to childcare services and the contribution of parents in co-producing them, in particular in the creation of cooperatives to run nurseries. Many similar experiences have been fielded and are recognised as providing better services. However, Northern European countries have a very professionalized welfare state in which the professional intervention offered by services is considered much more important than participation and co-production. Some scholars have pointed out that there is a "glass ceiling" in public administration that prevents citizen participation (Vamstad 2012). In addition, the fact that the welfare state has also developed to encourage women's participation in work, co-production is considered counterproductive from this perspective. And indeed examples of co-production have developed in the field of private experiences, through the foundation of cooperatives that marry the principles of co-production.
It is interesting to note, however, that interest in co-production concerns only some sectors, such as childcare. On the contrary, in areas such as care for the elderly, citizen participation and co-production with professionals, which could have appreciable results, is discouraged (Pestoff 2009). Even in a framework of a very wide range of social services, such as that of

Northern European countries, the centralisation of social services seems to hinder innovative and transformative processes in the construction of new and more inclusive partnerships.

The corporatist model of welfare presents a strong presence of the State and at the same time a lively world of the Third Sector. In France, for example, the narrative regarding the enlargement of democracy seems to be focused more on representative processes than on participatory ones, even if recently the interest in the latter has increased. Research on co-production seems to be held back to some extent by the fact that there is a strong separation between the conception of participation in the conception of services (participation) and the process of implementing co-produced services, which traditionally belongs to the sphere of volunteering. Particularly in the areas of highly professionalised social services, such as health services, or those in which the State defines its priorities, such as education, there is little room for co-production processes. However, in other sectors co-production between citizens and professionals has long been practised, in particular in the social economy, although local authorities do not play a particularly important role in the implementation of co-production processes. An example are the ACEPP associations (Association des collectifs enfants parents professionnels) which encourage participative and co-production processes in kindergartens. Similar organisations exist in other countries with corporatist welfare. On the other hand, the role of the municipal administration is different within the Centres Sociaux which encourage collaboration between citizens and professionals to implement social development processes (McMullin 2018) and which we will analyse later.

The highly centralised administrative and political culture is the main obstacle to co-production in countries with a corporate welfare system. In fact, co-production presupposes a transfer of power to citizens that state structures, whether decision-making or operational, do not always perceive as useful for making services more effective and democratic. Moreover, the centralised administrative machine is little inclined to local transformations designed with the citizens, since it is at odds with the notion of General Interest of which the State is the guarantor and with that of public services designed on the principle of equality

The situation in the Netherlands is different. Social services have faced a major public reform. In particular, the role of citizens in the implementation of certain services, such as care services, has been recognised. Responsibility for care services has been decentralised and confined to municipalities, and the government has explicitly recognised the key role of non-professionals, such as family members, volunteers and community members as co-producers of social services (Nederhand and Van Meerkerk, 2018). Currently, municipalities develop care plans with professionals and carers, the former as partners and supportive of the latter, who design and implement the service. However, the involvement of citizenship in care services is seen as a means of reducing costs and increasing the quality of services. Emphasis is placed more specifically on individual responsibility, while less importance is given to the democratic potential of co-production.

As far as Mediterranean countries are concerned, the shared belief is that in these countries the persistence of strong systems of informal solidarity has inhibited co-production

processes. This image offers a stark but partially outdated picture: corporative and Mediterranean countries have long been a "frozen wasteland" (Palier and Martin, 2008) but have begun to innovate in the last decade; and Mediterranean countries in particular are not lacking in many innovative practices - albeit fragmented, unevenly distributed and rarely systemised (Kazepov, 2008). However, compared to the Corporative Countries, the strong impact of the familist culture and of the support of parental networks and the presence of a weaker and less capillary welfare state in supporting families, has meant that the Mediterranean countries have gained a certain delay, even if there are now many innovative initiatives from the point of view of co-production and social innovation, sometimes very daring.

However, the territorial disparity within each country remains very evident: in the territories of Mediterranean Europe, very innovative experiences are found in some cities, while other territories, especially inland and non-urban areas, remain tied to the familistic and clientelist culture of relationships, thus inhibiting the development of social capital, which is indispensable for co-production. In the latter contexts, the informal and self-organised sector is highly developed, but self-organisation is limited to the family sphere since social bonds of trust are often very weak (Iannuzzi 2013). The familistic culture is part of the process of atomisation of families that we are witnessing in recent years, which is further weakening not only weak ties but also strong ones (Granovetter 1983). The administrative apparatuses also suffer from this culture, recording a considerable delay in the processes of co-planning and co-management, due also to the lack of trust that citizens themselves place in the institutions. It is true, however, that if in the Mediterranean countries the culture of co-production and the construction of partnerships with the public actor in the production of social services is not so pervasive and structured, it is precisely in these countries, particularly in Italy and Spain, that we have found the most innovative practices in the construction of partnerships with the public actor. Civil society, also in response to the 2008 crisis, responded by organising grassroots movements (movements for housing, urban and sustainable regeneration, the demand for social spaces and services....) that called for new ways of cooperating with local institutions, creating "new ways of bottom-linked practices with the hope of making a contribution to governance innovation". The Third Sector is often very rich and active.

As far as the sphere of co-production and social innovation is concerned, in Eastern European countries the weakness of civil society, lacking autonomous organisations and capacities, has been a severe obstacle" (Bepa, 2010, pp. 10-11). As mentioned above, the fourth category of welfare state is very uneven and presents very different situations. However, the absence of a vibrant third sector, a legacy of the communist centralised economies, still seems to be one of the characteristics of these countries, with due differences. Some authors (Diamandouros and Larrabee 2001), in fact, distinguish between the countries of Central Europe which, before the fall of communism, were already in an era of "mature post-totalitarianism" (e.g. Hungary and Poland) from those of the traditionally "totalitarian" South-East (Romania and Bulgaria). In the latter countries, the absence of pluralism has expressed itself in a weaker organised civil society, which is currently struggling to establish its role within participatory processes.

The cultural change with respect to the top down approach to the production of services is underway, also following the entry of these countries into the European Community and the introduction of European policy planning. However, there is a lack of support at national level for these processes and local institutions generally show a conservative attitude towards the production of social services and do not yet seem to be ready to experiment with innovative processes, even though, also through participation in European projects, several positive experiences have been implemented. These changes, supported by a new conception of active participation, especially on the part of the younger population, seem to be promising for the development of co-production practices and in general of social innovation, to support the welfare state which, as noted in the first paragraph, in certain sectors fails to meet the needs of the population.

We will see examples of co-production processes in the next section.

5 Examples of social services produced through co-production in Europe

In the following paragraphs we have collected some experiences of co-production and analysed them at different levels of detail. The first level aims at reporting examples of social services co-produced in a community welfare perspective and which can respond to the issues raised within the Bright project. The second level tries to go a little deeper into partnership, subsidiary relations and models of application of co-production by analysing two cases in Sheffield (UK) and Lyon (France). Then, we will analyse the approach to co-production of the city of Barcelona on a governance and policy level. Finally, we will propose the instrument of the Collaboration Pacts in Italy, highlighting the innovation compared to other co-production cases.

5.1 Housing, childcare and access to services: examples of co-production from Europe

From the Bright project it emerges that the social services most needed by seasonal workers tend to be linked to three areas: housing, childcare and access to services. In this paragraph we will try to give a brief overview of examples of co-production with a particular focus on the theme of **partnerships, processes and relations with public bodies**, associations and inhabitants, analysing them from a subsidiary perspective and trying to place them in the **welfare contexts** outlined above.

The theme of co-housing is certainly widespread in Europe. Generally it is identified in Collaborative Housing and in all co-housing experiences supported by the public actor in which the inhabitants can be either project initiators or simply users who are active in providing self-organised services (childcare, support and mutual aid) for the community. These include, for example, resident-led housing cooperatives, co-housing and Community Land Trusts (CLT). These different forms of housing are characterised by a high degree of resident participation, involving the conception, development and management of the housing project and the establishment of mutual relations, mutual aid and solidarity. It is therefore necessary to differentiate between self-organised and co-produced cases, albeit limited to the different levels of co-production. Co-production and co-management of co-housing has become widespread as a policy for social inclusion and integration of the weakest categories. Thus, there has been a top-down model with respect to a practice that has arisen mainly from the inhabitants sharing a similar life project. We bring as an example of this co-production process the experience of a co-housing "The Startblok Project" in Amsterdam, which aims to induce processes of inclusion of young refugees. In the building,

with private rooms and common spaces, refugees and young residents are housed. Together they co-manage the services and internal activities of the common spaces (maintenance, cleaning, recreational and information activities), supported by an external professional, linked to municipal services.In this case, however, the housing service is not co-produced, but rather the management of life within it, while still allowing refugees an excellent opportunity for integration and exchange.
The case of La Borda, in Barcelona, which we will see in Section 5, is different and sees a bottom-up co-production of a co-housing starting with the formation of a housing cooperative. La Borda is located on public land dedicated to affordable housing for low-income citizens. The ownership of the newly built building belongs to the non-profit housing cooperative, which grants the right of use of each dwelling to each family by means of a contract of cession of use in exchange for an entrance fee and a monthly rent. The long-term rental use, the collective/cooperative ownership of the building and its eventual return to public hands after the end of the contract prevent the possible sale of the dwellings to the private market, cancelling its "social" dimension. In the case of La Borda, the State enters into this scheme by providing the plot, and guaranteeing the housing affordability requirement and the targeting of the low-income population. The bottom-up co-production of the project, in this case, does not only involve the active involvement of the users in the co-management and co-production of the co-housing activities, but also the conception and co-production of the project that starts from the cooperation of different actors on the territory, linked to Can Batlló. In the latter case, it is evident how the process of self-management has been able to achieve another degree of complexity, so much so that it has managed numerous projects, even though it started informally.

As we mentioned above, there are catalogues and think tools that tell about different experiences of co-production. Particularly in the UK where co-production experiences are very diverse and user participation is declined in various ways. In particular, the areas where co-production seems to work very well are in the fields of health and care services: in this sense, often the approach remains linked to the co-design phase and the emphasis is on service improvement rather than participation and active citizenship. Moreover, in these sectors, dialogue and co-production hardly redesigns or implements the service, but improves it with respect to the expectations and needs of the users as we have seen in liberal welfare.

One example is **The Chronic Disease Self-Management (CDSM)** programme, which is a community-based self-management programme for people with a chronic disease. The approach is based on a participatory, mutually supportive and community-based process. This makes it one of the best examples of how self-management can achieve transformational co-production. People with chronic illnesses are involved in the design and delivery of training at all levels of the programme. As can be seen, the relationship with the public body and its professionals is far from egalitarian, and the roles and processes of governance remain unchanged, but the co-design of the service certainly has the merit of improving the quality of the service (as does the narrative of co-production in the UK).

In a co-production perspective, processes are implemented to involve parents in the care or support of educational and school processes. **Families and Schools Together (FAST)** is a long-running programme that involves families, through community-building and meetings

with professionals and educators, in order to improve the level of education they can pass on to their children and at the same time foster the building of inclusive links. In this case, co-production is seen in the involvement of the parents, who, trained, support the work of the educators and professionals at school by proposing the educational strategies also at home or in the community, building relationships with others.

The aforementioned “glass ceiling” seems to prevent real co-production processes in Sweden and the northern countries, where the welfare system is very centralised and state-run. One area where Sweden is often mentioned in the field of co-production, however, is the field of **childcare and kindergartens**. Pestoff himself mentions this in several articles. However, it seems that co-production processes only concern parents' cooperatives that together create a new service for their children. The division between municipal schools and co-operatives is very strong and there are no collaboration processes. Municipal services have a strong tradition of professionalism in which user participation is not allowed to interfere with the qualified work carried out by trained professionals. Co-operatives have another tradition in which service quality is developed in a dialogue between users and staff as they co-produce services together. The first tradition is the dominant one in the Swedish welfare state, while the second one is an exception. Even if literature points out that service quality is better in the childcare of the parent cooperative, there is a widespread belief in Sweden that service quality is close to the synonym of professionalism. However, we would like to point out that this type of service is outside the scope of a real dialogue and relationship with the public body, producing a parallel service.

An interesting experience in the context of access to services is the project **Neue Nachbarn Arnsberg (New Neighbours Arnsberg) in Germany**. It is an initiative led by refugees working with German municipalities to co-develop innovative approaches to integration, participation and urban development. The project embodies a form of co-production in which refugees help the administration to improve what it does. The project aims to promote contacts between the 'new' citizens of Arnsberg, who arrive as refugees, and the 'old' locals, who will work together on a voluntary basis to develop services in collaboration with the local administration. The refugees help themselves and their fellow refugees to settle more quickly, to learn German, to understand the place and to find their own career direction.

The project was proposed by a Syrian refugee, who took action to improve the policies and activities offered to new refugees. The mayor saw the potential of actively involving refugees in better designing, and co-producing services for them and provided resources for the project (initially composed of six refugee volunteers) to maintain direct contact with the Arnsberg municipality administration. The mayor provided a small office in the town hall. This gave the project and the refugees a structure and a place to organise themselves. It also gave them access to the services they needed to get in touch with the refugees. The project has helped the refugees and the local community in several ways, facilitating the integration of refugees into Arnsberg and German culture through: refugees made themselves available as mediators to help newcomers get in touch with different offices and authorities; they organised events for the refugee community (including children and women) and the local community. On the other hand, the project also reduced the administrative burden, e.g.

through the translation service, and has improved the activation and inclusion of refugees within their new society.
The project has won many awards. In fact, this case is quite innovative, the service is not integrated but created from scratch, not only co-designed with the municipality offices but also co-produced by the refugees themselves. However, it is not clear to us what the agreements are between the producing actors, whether there are other supporting associations working on it or whether the service is simply supported by the voluntary work of individual refugees. In fact, it seems that the project was realised above all thanks to the innovative vision of the individuals, but it is not known to us whether there are process routines or partnership agreements on which to formalise the project. This case would certainly be worth investigating, also with regard to the relationship with the centralised public service, as with corporate welfare.

5.2 Community regeneration in Sheffield (UK) and Centres sociaux in Lyon: third sector bodies as intermediate bodies between state and citizens in co-production processes

At this point it seems interesting to try to go a little deeper into the instruments and partnerships. We will take as a basis for this paragraph the doctoral research of the researcher Catlin MacMullin who analyses co-production practices in Sheffield and Lyon, trying to bring out what are the **tools used, the types of partnerships and the processes of involvement**. We will therefore focus in particular on two different types of actors operating in England and France whose aim, among others, is to foster co-production processes of services. The research does not make explicit the projects these bodies support and implement, but generically speaks of public health and employment support initiatives, crèches and youth clubs, local community forums, activities for young people and families, administrative support and advice for neighbourhood groups. We feel it is important to note that these initiatives straddle the line between urban regeneration policies (and the programmes that fund them) and social policies related to the construction of a new local and community welfare.

The **administrative tradition** has an important impact with respect to institutional logics, but also with respect to the logics of partnership between third sector actors and the public actor (Bevir *et al.*, 2003). In the UK, the state is seen as "arising from a contract among members of society" (Loughlin and Peters, 1997, p. 50), based on relationships and policies defined as pluralistic. In contrast, historically, the French state has been defined through a process of institutionalisation, constructed in opposition to civil society, in contrast to private values. The Napoleonic model, on the other hand, shows a strong preference for bureaucratisation and the legality of decision-making processes, while the Anglo-Saxon tradition includes an emphasis on negotiation and contracts, partnerships. In this sense, the pluralistic administrative culture seems to give more importance to everyday practices and civil society processes. At least in theory, the state is more open to the influence of civil society and thus to third sector actors and co-production by citizens. In France, the state is the centre of political life and in some ways its opposition to civil society, which is seen as the bearer of particular interests and therefore somewhat unwilling to act for the general interest, which must therefore be protected by the state, is still quite strong. From this perspective, active participation in the co-production of services and the creation of partnerships becomes less fluid.

In the UK in particular, there has been much discussion of the New Public Management. As we have already seen, the emphasis is on the efficiency that an entrepreneurial logic can increase in public services, including with respect to the definition of partnerships and tenders. In contrast, this approach has had little resonance in France (Cole and Jones, 2005; Rouban, 2008). Despite the transformation that has taken place since the 1980s, change in France has not been transformative and has adapted to the state-centric structure of administrative logic. As interviewees recount (Mc Mullin 2018) , the third sector in the UK relates to the public actor through **partnership and funding contracts**, rather than with respect to government policies and laws.

The third sector is generally expressed in the UK through two different narratives: the first linked to charitable organisations and volunteering tout court, the second linked to mutuality and community (Taylor, 2004). The second has seen the development of other types of organisations in recent decades: cooperatives and social enterprises that involve local communities, employees or users in the organisations' decision-making processes. These types of organisations thus follow the logic of co-production, yet in England it is the first type of third sector that dominates the official public narrative. The third sector is referred to as 'charity' or 'voluntary and community'.

However, even if co-production is often used with different meanings, it seems relevant to me that some associations interviewed by McMullin speak in terms of partnership declining the definition with Brandsen and Pestoff (2006): "One of the key enablers to successful cross-sectoral working is co-production, where equal partnerships between professionals, the VCF and the public are crucial to improving services". The VCF is the Vwos-Charities Capability Fund, a public body that "to enhance the governance and management capabilities of charities and Institutions of a Public Character (IPCs)" through the proposal of several funding calls. However, this equal status is not easily established.

As we have seen, the third sector in the UK enters into a relationship with the public sector through funding and public policy. Co-production is part of Community Regeneration programmes, which on the one hand provide for the improvement of people's living environment (housing, access to services and transport) and on the other focus on supporting community building. Third sector organisations, therefore, move independently, building partnerships and relationships with public bodies and other associations depending on the funds and the programme they manage to win. Associations and co-production processes, therefore, **depend on continued access to public funding**. The city of Sheffield has since the 1990s chosen to make government funding available for regeneration, particularly for community activities and services. This is why co-production activity in Sheffield has been intense, regardless of the actual results, because third sector organisations have had, in contrast to many other cities in the UK, continuous access to resources and therefore a stable relationship with the local authority and other actors in the area.

However, the organisation of alliances and the governance of co-production processes are not very well defined. Community regeneration organisations are set up as voluntary bodies. Board members are seen more as advisors and representatives to give voice to particular community groups, rather than as the main decision-makers of the organisation. Moreover, apart from rules directly related to contracts, funding and government programmes, there are no formal rules or agreements with respect to the processes of co-production of

services. In this sense, the community logic is more influential in Sheffield than in Lyon, the second example presented here, where the insistence on **formality and codification indicates a merging with the logic of the state.**

In French cities there are public spaces that offer a range of social services and activities with a view to urban regeneration and community building: these are the *centres sociaux*. The website defines them as "des structures de proximité qui animent le débat démocratique, accompagnent des mobilisations et des projets d'habitants, et construisent de meilleures conditions de vie, aujourd'hui et pour demain. Ils proposent des activités sociales, éducatives, culturelles, familiales pour répondre aux besoins dans le territoire. Surtout, tout cela se construit et est porté par des habitants". This kind of bodies are scattered in many cities and are indicated, by Mc Mullin, as spaces where the co-production of services is facilitated by the operators working there. Associations can become social centres through a proposal and an action plan that must be approved by the Caf (Caisse d'allocation familiale), thus becoming a public structure, in close contact with local and regional authorities. To be considered as a social centre, an association has to adhere to the Federal Charter of French Social Centres. Each social centre must also develop a multi-annual "Social Plan" in collaboration with local inhabitants, which specifies the priorities of the association and the ways in which the organisation will incorporate them into action in collaboration with the local population and other local associations. In her thesis, the researcher explored the processes of citizen involvement mediated by the centre social in Lyon, where there are currently 16 of the 2000 centres sociaux throughout France. In the social centres, in addition to developing activities and services with citizens, **user participation is solicited in various projects but also in the social plan**. In spite of this **ambiguity between consultation and co-design**, this involvement of local populations in defining the strategic directions of social centres in Lyon reflects the importance of community logic in organisational practices. The social plan formalizes the conception of the proposals collected informally by the inhabitants and structures them.

In Lyon, the **codification of co-production** practices also extends to internal rules, which are manifested in governance procedures and organisational "social plans". On the contrary, in Sheffield, the only rules that were described as influential were those imposed by **contracts or grants**, which can create conflicts between state, community and market logics for organisations engaging in co-production practices.

Of the fifteen or so organisations surveyed, only four of the proposed examples clearly meet the definition of "**full citizen and professional co-production**", where both citizens and professionals are involved in the design or decision-making process, as well as the delivery of a service or the implementation of a project. This highlights how the rhetoric of co-production is often not matched by actual implementation.

However, the research identified **convincing examples of co-production activities in both Sheffield and Lyon.** This discredited the initial hypothesis attempt to assume that the political and administrative cultures of France would prevent third sector organisations undertaking co-production activities. Indeed, the existence of a deeply rooted co-production ethos in Lyon Parents and **Lyon social centres** reveals a paradox between the tradition of centralisation of the French state and unified protection of the general interest of all citizens. Somehow it seems that the **formalisation of practices makes co-production processes more effective through defined procedural and formal partnerships and routines**.

5.3 Barcelona: evidence of governance for the co-production of community welfare

From the previous examples it seems interesting to note how the co-production of social services is closely connected within the logics, programmes and policies of urban regeneration. This testifies how community welfare is becoming an important area of interest for service innovation, which seems to take place, through the active participation of inhabitants, precisely at the local and community level. In general, the discourse of regeneration and common goods often intersects in the logic of co-production of welfare services, especially in countries with Mediterranean welfare.

In this sense the case of Barcelona is exemplary. It seems interesting to us to look at it from the perspective of the instruments for co-producing the social services, from **the narrative that politics has made of it, and finally with respect to the system of governance** in the production and co-production of services that it has produced.

Civil society in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia has traditionally been participatory and enterprising, as demonstrated by the large number of cooperatives that existed in Barcelona at the end of the 19th century. Even at the time of the transformation and definition of the 'Barcelona System', policy-makers in the Department of Social Services set themselves the fundamental objective of building a model that was participatory. Since a system of social welfare services did not yet exist, there was no widespread culture of engagement or participation in the social well-being of the city. Structures should also be created to encourage and enable people to engage in collective responsibilities (see Montagut *et al*., 2012).

In recent years, the narrative has focused on the common goods and the community, as evidenced by the political list of the government of the city of Barcelona, Barcelona en Comù. From our point of view, within a discourse of partnerships and alliances between civil society and public authorities, this approach testifies to a new interest in hybrid and participatory alliances, beyond the usual public-private partnership. The central idea of the strategy on the territory is precisely to support activities, the care of the common goods and services co-produced and co-managed by citizens. Much emphasis is placed on regeneration and therefore services take a back seat in favour of forms of activism for the improvement of daily life in the neighbourhood. However, there is no lack of virtuous cases at the community welfare level. Nevertheless, this political approach has a very strong impact on city governance. At the moment work is being done on a Special Statute for the City's Common Goods, in which the main principles are attention to the neighbourhood level, social impact and building co-responsibility in the management of common goods, Democracy and Participation, and Care in enhancing proposals from below. There is a strong awareness about these processes and about this capability to influence public policies, opening up co-production processes (through bottom-up proposals for action in the creation of services or activities) at this level as well (Joan Subirat 2018).

The issue of **governance** therefore becomes prominent, it becomes a complex system that needs secondary structures, which in this perspective must bring together both the civil society and institutional levels. In Spain there are two types: the Civic Centres, which have a more cultural/artistic vocation, and the Casal de Barri, which experiment with forms of co-management. These structures are related to technical offices which coordinate and relate them to each other, but above all to the different administrative sectors. The

co-production of social services, which is nevertheless given a certain emphasis in the political narrative, is under the Social Rights/Global Justice Sector, in close contact however with the Community Action sectors, to which reference is made with respect to the processes of democratic innovation and community activation (Subirat Joan, 2018).

One of the instruments that seems to have been particularly influential in changing the local welfare system in the direction of co-production is the **Citizens Agreement**. The Citizens Agreement for an Inclusive Barcelona is the result of the Municipal Plan for Social Inclusion 2005-10 approved in Barcelona in March 2005. This plan provided the framework for municipal policies aimed at preventing the social exclusion of individuals and groups and promoting participation. The final objective of the programme is a redistribution of responsibilities in the social care sector in Barcelona through a broad agreement between representatives of the main social agents in the sector. The intention is to create a strategic framework shared by all participating entities.

This modality seeks to integrate the diversity of activities carried out in the local social welfare system into one common framework or strategy. It is based on a political decision to coordinate the different activities of different social stakeholders. A total of 235 different bodies signed the agreement with the aim of establishing alliances, generating synergies, coordinating activities and finding shared objectives with the municipality and among themselves. It is the result of a process that began 20 years ago with the aim of generating greater participation in the area of the city's social welfare.

The Citizens Agreement has had an interesting impact on the city's social care policy. Not only has it enabled the sharing of resources and information, but it has also changed forms of governance. The entities involved feel they are stakeholders who have an influence on social welfare. It has led to the participation of citizens and social organisations in welfare policies through different forms of deliberation and action. The programme has changed the city's social care system in various ways. For example, the structures of the Citizens Agreement represent a new form of governance - there is participation in the overall welfare system that also improves or facilitates the activities carried out by each of the participating entities. The Municipal Social Inclusion Plan in its fourth strategic line of action promotes a "shared strategy" with the signatories of the Citizens Agreement. Its aim is to coordinate public resources with private ones and with social and voluntary initiatives, in order to respond more effectively to social needs in these times of crisis. As stated in the presentation document, the “shared strategy” is itself a plan for the inclusion of all social stakeholders in the city, whether public or private, commercial or non-profit (Wilco).

As we pointed out at the beginning, the co-production of services in Spain is seen more in a perspective of urban regeneration and common goods. There are, therefore, fewer cases of co-production unrelated to these processes and in dialogue only with the welfare sectors. There are instead many cases of **social services co-produced around community processes**, construction of common spaces where, besides cultural and animation activities, services managed by associations and sometimes by citizens are also provided. In fact, there is a whole wealth of experience with respect to services produced from below, especially in the context of citizen movements that opposed the speculative strategies of city development in response to the political and social challenges posed by neoliberal governance and the weakness of public policies (Mitlin, 2018). Some authors have spoken of social innovation as the "historical heritage" of social movements (Moulaert *et al*. 2010: 58), as negotiations

emerge between civil society organisations and the public administration after a period of opposition and collective mobilisation. By seeking the solution to unmet needs outside and beyond both state and market, "through actions that aim to provide alternatives to people, ways to endure daily difficulties and challenges in difficult economic times" (Zamponi and Bosi, 2018), these grassroots initiatives contribute to the production of public services for neighbourhoods and cities. In doing so, they culminate in the transformation of the last two decades of state-based governance and service delivery models . Although based on self-organisation, many of these initiatives, by intervening in the production of public services, sometimes with the support of public authorities, contribute to their redefinition, intertwining “the public” with the struggle for “the common goods”.

Among the many and varied experiences in this sense, we would like to mention the experience of **Can Batlló, a self-managed space** since 2009, born of the demand of the "indignados" movement for public spaces for the neighbourhood, in this case identified in a large industrial structure which, despite being identified in the General Plan as green spaces and social infrastructure, remained abandoned. Initially, the activities were mainly of a cultural or entertainment nature for the neighbourhood, but the self-management experience consolidated to the point of producing social services, such as a community garden for immigrants and the disabled, a food bank, and social entrepreneurship initiatives. Among the other projects, those related to housing and childcare are the **Espurna children's recreational project** and, in particular, **the ecological housing concession (co) cooperative** La Borda(cfr. Paragraph 5.1).

Recently, Can Batlló is increasingly experiencing a process of institutionalisation. The administration has recognised its important role in the implementation of projects. Can Batlló has become a legal association and, by virtue of this, the administration has stipulated a 50-year concession for the use of 13,000 square metres of space in the industrial estate. In 2018 Can Batlló published a special report with respect to the scope of its public services: in 2017 a total of almost 70,000 volunteer hours were made available by 370 activists, organising more than 2,000 activities and involving almost 50,000 users (Can Batlló, 2018).

As we have seen, co-production in the Spanish context is conceived much more in the context of urban regeneration and community welfare, although there is a narrative about co-production in the context of governmental policies which is, however, different from the Nordic model, which is mainly based on individual services. Co-production is also widely thought of as a bottom-up process. However, there is no collaboration with the public authority and existing welfare structures, **no administrative routines or partnerships and alliances between different actors to regulate this kind of bottom-up co-production**. Again, the process is only institutionalised if the administration grasps the innovation and impact of the process on the territory. And in any case, it is recognised after the process has taken place and as the exception, not the rule.

5.4 Italy: an unprecedented tool for building alliances between citizens, the third sector and the municipal administration for the care of common goods and the co-production of social services

In Italy, territorial differences are very marked: the liveliness of the third sector, although generally quite strong, varies a lot, as does the effectiveness of the administrative machine

and the distribution of welfare services. In many territories interesting co-production practices have been detected. The cases are not many, since only the most innovative and prepared administrations as well as the best funded social bodies and third sector organisations manage to carry on a culture of co-production with a view to continuity.

At the same time, in the last decades urban movements have developed in response to the neoliberal directives of the city, as in Spain, which have produced alternative urban cultures. Thus, empty spaces have been occupied and various services and cultural activities have been provided to support an insufficient welfare, especially for the invisible (immigrants, homeless, sans papiers...). Experiences that testify to an activism that is important but still confined to the informal sphere, where it is easy to slip into private drifts even with the best of intentions.

However, the Italian experience differs from the others thanks to an article on subsidiarity that was introduced into the Constitution in 2001 with respect to the theme of horizontal subsidiarity. As we have seen, it is a principle of an eminently 'relational' nature, aimed at regulating relations between territorial government bodies and citizens, in view of the pursuit of purposes of public utility or general interests, as can be seen by reading the provision in Article 118, paragraph 4, of the Constitution, according to which “the State, Regions, Metropolitan Cities, Provinces and Municipalities shall favour **the autonomous initiative of citizens, individuals and associations, to carry out activities of general interest**, on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity”.

Initially, the principle had no tools to be applied in everyday administrative life. On the 22nd of February 2014, the Municipality of Bologna and Labsus jurists began a process of experimentation in collaboration with the "Regulation on collaboration between citizens and the administration for the care and regeneration of the urban common goods" or "Regulation on shared administration". It is a regulatory act regulating forms of collaboration between citizens and the administration (especially the municipal administration) aimed at the care, regeneration and shared management of the common goods. These collaborations are undertaken either on the initiative of citizens or at the request of the administration, through the stipulation of so-called 'collaboration agreements' or ‘collaboration pacts’, in full compliance with the constitutional principle of horizontal subsidiarity. In this context, the care of the common goods can be done through the co-production of social services.

In this way, we talk about shared administration when it allows citizens and the public administration, especially the Municipality, to carry out activities and services of general interest on an equal footing, concerning the care, regeneration and shared management of common goods. In this respect, “active citizens” can be defined as all citizens (individuals, associations and collectives) who, regardless of residence or citizenship requirements, are active in carrying out the above-mentioned activities of general interest.

This model is also based on relationships of collaboration or, better, of sharing, inspired by a coherent set of values and general principles, such as mutual trust, publicity and transparency, responsibility, inclusiveness and openness, proximity and territoriality. These are all topics that also run through the narratives of co-production- Moreover, shared administration is ideally opposed to the traditional administration model, based on the "bipolar paradigm" and therefore hinged on asymmetrical, vertical, authoritative and

hierarchical relations. Nonetheless, in the context of the relations existing between citizens and the administration, shared administration does not replace other pre-existing models, but stands alongside them, as is the case with the traditional administration model, which is nevertheless - it should be emphasised - unavoidable in the configuration of public powers.

The shared administration model is based on the collaboration pact, which is a negotiation act, conceived within the legal framework of the regulation on the shared administration of common goods, through which the Municipality and active citizens agree on the scope of interventions for the shared care, regeneration or management of common goods, aimed at satisfying general interests, regulating important aspects of the (collaborative) relationship, such as the objectives to be pursued, the timing, the modalities of action, the role and mutual commitments of the actors involved, the forms of publicity and others.

The way it works will be explored in the Manual. However, I would like to include it in this case study in order to highlight how the instrument presented, the agreements made and the construction of the governance of the actors are completely different from other co-production experiences.

In fact, when a pact regulates a service, as in the case of Bright, citizens and third-party organisations do not enter into the hierarchy and the rules governing social services (as in France), nor do they remain in an informal relationship in which they participate in the co-production of a service (as in the UK), nor do they have very limited room for action (Sweden).

When a collaboration pact is signed, all the actors are at the same level, the administration, public bodies, third sector organisations and the citizens who decide to take part. In Bright, the women seasonal workers will take their proposal, completely unrelated to local welfare policies and defined through a training process by Bright's partners, directly to the Municipality. Together with the local associations that have decided to collaborate in designing and implementing the service, the municipality and the women will draw up a document in which each will define their roles, their availability and actions, the shared rules to be followed, and the resources that can be put in place to offer the service for a fixed period of time defined together.

A partnership pact is designed to start from the bottom and to fit into the socio-institutional context in a collaborative way, and not in a top-down manner. Generally, it is citizens who identify a space to be cared for or a service to be offered and who approach the administration to agree on a pact. In this sense, collaboration pacts, thanks to the application of the principle of subsidiarity, propose a real revolution in the logic of co-production, because they make it possible to propose the co-production of services, really starting from needs, thanks in any case to a mature civic awareness and activism, within a legal and administrative framework that places them within the sphere of the Public field. In fact, the presence of the public administration is also fundamental in guaranteeing the democracy of processes and the public use of common goods.

We propose the "Cambia Terra" Collaboration Pact at the basis of the Bright project proposal. "*La Buona Terra: legami di prossimità*" ("The Good Earth: links of proximity") is the title of the Collaboration Pact signed on the 18th of July by the Municipality of Adelfia in the province of Bari, ActionAid Italy, the women seasonal workers of the Cambia Terra project, various associations active in the area and the two parishes of the town. The pact stems

from the project called "Cambia Terra. Practices of resilience for women employed in agriculture in the metropolitan area of Bari", is aimed at women seasonal workers with the objective of contributing to the processes of social inclusion and reduction of poverty conditions of women employed in agriculture in the metropolitan area of Bari. The pact envisages the co-production of a summer school service that allows women seasonal workers to work during the summer season, without leaving their children unattended, and the extension of the opening hours of the municipal crèche to meet the working hours of women seasonal workers. In this sense, in the collaboration pact, each signatory of the pact signs what its tasks will be: the concession of spaces for activities, the activation of the summer school, the implementation of workshops. In this case, the municipality of Adelfia undertakes to coordinate the co-planning table; to guarantee the transport of the summer camp participants; to provide, for the duration of the co-managed summer camp, the transportable swimming pool; to provide for the experimentation of the extension of the opening hours of the municipal crèche to 5 am. Also the women seasonal workers, with the voluntary contribution of a sum of 10 euros per week for each enrolment in the activity, undertake to set up a mutual fund as a form of provision to support each other in case of need, through participatory and shared ways of defining objectives and managing resources.

In this case, the co-production of the service involves all levels, not only professionals and users. The municipal administration itself, of course, acts on a strategic level for the implementation of a social policy plan, but at the same time, through the instrument of partnership pacts, it can favour bottom-up activation, centred on the real needs of the inhabitants, by signing a contract with them that formalises and makes completely open and democratic the processes linked to the common goods.

Conclusions

In our analysis we have proposed, without any pretension, to build a complete picture, a walk through the different European contexts, in the field of co-production, inserted in the different welfare systems. The focus of the paper, within the Bright project, is on co-production of welfare services in order to understand the deployment of partnership tools between public and private actors.

What emerges is an experimentation in the field of services, limited to some European contexts and particularly in the field of health services. In this field, there are very interesting examples and the construction of institutional networks that support the processes of co-production, in the sense of participation of the users/patients in the modulation of the service of which they are beneficiaries, with excellent results and an objective improvement of the service, especially in the UK and in the countries with the Nordic or Corporative model. This practice is less widespread in social services, although we have found interesting cases in several European countries in the welfare sectors covered by the Bright project.

At the level of partnerships and alliances, co-production processes tend to have a top-down approach and build a close alliance between users and social service operators and professionals. In this context, the public body is represented by the social service. The municipal administration does not enter into the partnership. In countries with a liberal model, co-production is a practice that is often invoked, but the actual effectiveness of the processes put in place is not always recognised. And often co-production occurs more easily

if the service is provided by Third Sector entities. The condition of Eastern European countries is particular, whose welfare system and level of dynamism of the third sector can be very different. In countries such as Romania and Bulgaria, co-production is still an unexplored field, even if there have been some attempts within European projects. While in countries like Estonia more interesting cases have been found.

As far as the Nordic model is concerned, the structuring of welfare and its strong professionalisation make it difficult to implement co-production processes. In fact, in Sweden, for example, co-production processes are carried out by third sector organisations. In this sense, there is no real interaction and integration between the welfare sector and co-produced processes which, although recognised as such, do not produce transformation in the public sector. Also here, therefore, there are no alliances with the public sector.

Even countries with corporate and Mediterranean welfare tend not to apply, at least for the moment, co-production in public social services, except in isolated cases. However, there is a field in which the co-production of services allows a freer experimentation, free from the imposing welfare structure: the production of community welfare within urban regeneration processes. In this field we have collected experimentation and partnership processes at different levels. As we have seen, France and the United Kingdom have set up third sector bodies which present themselves as intermediate bodies in creating partnerships and alliances between inhabitants and administration in the production of co-produced community services. the formalization of procedures, through regulations, seems to make co-production more effective, as emerges from the comparative analysis between the UK and France.

Mediterranean countries, perhaps because of their historically larger informal sector, seem to have a more radical approach to the co-production of community services. It is no coincidence that the theme of Common Goods is very strong in these countries. Barcelona has put in place broader strategies and policies to encourage the construction of partnerships between third sector actors with a view to subsidiarity and bottom-up involvement (citizens agreement), while it has welcomed and formalised, with ad hoc partnership agreements, experiences of bottom-up movements which, within occupied spaces, co-produce community welfare services with citizens. Finally, Italy has developed an administrative tool that allows the co-production of services between citizens, third sector organisations and municipal administration by agreeing on rules and roles at the same level. This last case, however, deserves special attention at the level of partnership, since it allows for the implementation of activities and services proposed by citizens, as well as through equal consultation between the actors (application of the principle of horizontal subsidiarity) and welcomes participation from below, emancipating it from the limits of the informal, legitimising it in a formal process and positioning it in the public sphere from the very beginning. We are therefore witnessing a reversal of the top down approach often used in co-production policies: the collaboration agreement collects proposals and resources from below and structures them in collaboration with the public actor, keeping the entire process within formal, transparent and democratic paths.

Bibliografy

Alford, J. (2014) The multiple facets of co-production: building on the work of Elinor Ostrom. *Public Management Review* 16(3): 299–316.

Andreotti A., Mingione E. e Polizzi, E. (2011). *Local welfare systems: a challenge for social cohesion.* Available on-line: http://www.socialpolis.eu/uploads/tx_sp/EF01_Paper.pdf

Arena G. (2005*)* Il principio di sussidiarietà orizzontale nell'art. 118 u.c. della Costituzione*,* in Studi in onore di Giorgio Berti*, Napoli, Jovene, 2005, p. 179-221;*

Asara, V. (2019) The Redefinition and Co-Production of Public Services by Urban Movements. The Can Batlló Social Innovation in Barcelona. PArtecipazione e COnflitto (PACO). 12 (2), 539-565

Ascoli,U. e Ranci C. (2002). *Dilemmas of the Welfare Mix: The new structure of welfare in an era of privatization*. New York- London: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Bacci M.,Errera G. (2001) Intervista sulla demografia:sviluppo, stato sociale, migrazioni, globalizzazione e politica, Etas, Milano

Bepa - Bureau of European Policy Advisors (2010), Empowering People, Driving Change, Commissione europea, Bruxelles.

Bode I., (2006) Disorganized welfare mixes: voluntary agencies and new governance regimes in Western Europe Journal of European Social Policy 0958-9287; Vol 16(4): 346–359; 068273 SAGE Publications, London

Bohle, D., Radice, H., Shields, S. (2007) State, capital, labour: the political economy of capitalist diversity in Eastern Europe in Introduction, Competition and Change 11(2): 81–88

Brandsen T., Pestoff V. (2008), *Coproduction, the third sector and the delivery of public services*. An

introduction, in Pestoff V., Brandsen T. (a cura di), *Coproduction. The Third Sector & the Delivery of Public Services*, Routledge, London

Bosi, L., Zamponi, L. (2015). Direct social actions and economic crises: The relationship between forms of action and socio-economic context in Italy. In Between Resilience and Resistance [Special issue]. Partecipazione e Conflitto, 8, 367-391

Ciaffi D., Giordano F.M.(2020), Storia, percorsi e politiche di sussidiarietà- Le nuove prospettive in Italia e in Europa,il Mulino, Roma

Czischke Darinka (2018) Integration through Collaborative Housing? Dutch Starters and Refugees Forming Self-Managing Communities in Amsterdam, Urban Planning, n.3

De Leonardis O., *In un diverso welfare. Sogni ed incubi,* Feltrinelli*,* Milano 1998.

Donolo C. (a cura di), *Il futuro delle politiche pubbliche*, Bruno Mondadori Editori, Milano 2006.

Donolo, C. (2007) *Sostenere lo sviluppo. Ragioni e speranze oltre la crescita*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano

Esping-Anderson, G., Gallie, D., Hemerijck , A. & Myles, J. (2002). *Why we need a new welfare*

state. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ferrera M., *Le politiche sociali. L'Italia in prospettiva comparata*, Il Mulino, Bologna 2006

Ferrera, M., Hemerijick, A. (2003). 'Recalibrating Europe's welfare regimes', *In* Zeitlin, J. &

Trubek, D.M. (eds.) *Governing Work and Welfare in the New Economy. European and*

American Experiments. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 88-128.

Fung, A. (2003). 'Associations and Democracy: Between Theories, Hopes, and Realities', *Annual*

Review of Sociology, 29, 515–39

Hemerijck, A. (2012). 'When Changing Welfare States and the Eurocrisis Meet', *Sociologica*, 1/2012 on line: http://www.sociologica.mulino.it

Kazepov, Y. (2008) 'The subsidiarisation of social policies: Actors, processes and impacts. Some reflections on the Italian case from a European perspective', *European Societies*, 10(2), 247–73.

KAZEPOV, Y. (2010). *Rescaling social policies: Towards multilevel governance in Europe.* Surrey: Ashgate.

Loeffler, E., Parrado, S., Bovaird, T., & van Ryzin, G. (2009). *"If you want to go fast, walk alone. If you want to go far, walk together": Citizens and the co-production of public services*. Report to the EU Presidency. Ministry of Finance, Budget and Public Services, Paris.

McMullin, C. (2018). Co-production and community development in France. In T. Brandsen, T. Steen, & B. Verschuere (Eds.), Co-production and co-creation: Engaging citizens in public service delivery (pp. 208–210). Routledge.

McMullin, C. (2019) La coproduction des services publics : tour d'horizon d'un concept, IGDPE Editions publications, n.2

Mitlin, D. (2008) With and beyond the state – coproduction as a route to political influence, power,

transformation for grassroots organisations. *Environment and Urbanization*. 20(2): 339–60.

Moulaert, F., Martinelli, F., Swyngedouw, E. & Gonzalez, S. (2010). *Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community development and social innovation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nussbaum M., Sen A. (1993), The Quality of Life, Clarendon Press, Oxford

NESTA (2011). *Co-production Phase 2: Taking co-production to scale in services for patients with long term health conditions. Strategic partners—call for proposals*. London: NESTA.

Nederhand, M. J., V. Bekkers, and W. Voorberg (2016) "Self-Organization and the Role of Government: How and Why Does Self-Organization Evolve in the Shadow of Hierarchy?" *Public Management Review* 18 (7): 1063–1084.

Orlandini, M., Rago, S., Venturi, P., *Co-produzione. Ridisegnare i servizi di welfare*, Short paper 1/2014, AICCON

Osborne S.P. (2010), *Delivering Public Services: Time for a new theory?*, Public management Review, Vol. 12, n. 1, 1-10

Ostrom E. (1996), *Crossing the Great Divide: Coproduction, Synergy and Development*, World Development, vol. 24, n. 6, 1073 - 1087

(Edited by) Pradel-Miquel M., Cano-Hila A. and García Cabeza M.(2014), Social Innovations for social cohesion. Transnational patterns and approaches from 20 European cities / edited by Adalbert Evers, Benjamin Ewert and Taco Brandsen (eds.) 2014

Pestoff, V. (2006). Citizens and co-production of welfare services: Childcare in eight European countries.

Pestoff V. (2008), *Democratic Governance: co-production, the Third Sector and Citizen Participation in the Provision of Social Services*, paper presentato alla CINEFOGO Midterm Conference on European Citizenship– Challenges & Consequences, Roskilde University Center, Danimarca

Pestoff V., Brandsen T., Verschuere B. (eds.) (2012), *New Public Governance, the Third Sector and CoProduction*, Londra, Routledge

Pestoff V., Brandsen T, & B. Verschuere (2012), *New public governance, the third sector and co-production*. New York: Routledge.

Prandini R. (a cura di), Buone pratiche e servizi innovativi per la famiglia, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2006, pp. 323-360

Ranci C. (2010). *Social vulnerability in Europe.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Schubert, C., and H. Martens, 2005, "The Nordic Model: A Recipe for European Success?" EPC Working Paper No. 20

Sengoku, M. (2002). HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY. Retrieved May 16, 2014, from Emerging Eastern European Welfare States- A Variant of the "European" Welfare Model? http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no2_ses/3-2_Sengoku.pdf

Sotiropoulos I,The Trajectory of Post-communist Welfare State Development: The Cases of Bulgaria and Romania social policy and administration, vol.37. n.6, pp 656.672

Subirats J. (2016), El Poder de lo proximo. La virtudes del municipalismo, Madrid, La Catarata.

Vamstad, J. (2012). Co-production and service quality: A new perspective for the Swedish welfare state. In V. Pestoff, T. Brandsen, & B. Verschuere (Eds.), *New public governance, the third sector and co-production*. New York: Routledge

Vargo, S. L., & Lusch, R. F. (2004). Evolving to a new dominant logic for marketing. Journal of marketing, 68 (1), 1-17

Wayne, S. (2015) Exploring institutional change,The contribution of coproduction to change istitutions, IID, Working paper , London

Wilco Project (2014), Report Innovation Barcelona,Welfare innovation at the local level in favour of cohesion.
http://www.wilcoproject.eu/city-report-interplay-innovation-local-welfare-system-barcelona/