Governance for Governability

Beyond the new public management

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In this paper we analyze the derived effects to move the state from a political rationality to instrumental rationality fundamentally economic, with its knowing effects of weakening of the state government for its actions. Similarly, since elements purposes, it examines new scenarios where politics has come to occupy again the linchpin of public reflection and administrative, from the perspective of the politics to be the activity by reconcile divergent interests which for the necessary consensus, which would enter the scene governance as a way appropriate to increase the capacity of any government, ie, governability, according to the two elements that characterize it: the legitimacy and effectiveness

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The paths of reason

Alain Touraine (2000:16) comments, "modernity involves the increasing differentiation of the various sectors of social life: politics, economics, family life, religion, art in particular, as instrumental rationality is exercised within a type of activity and exclude the possibility that some of those types is organized from abroad." Thus understood, represented modernity that each of these sectors, among others, was characterized by a relative degree of autonomy in their nature and how to proceed, ie the logic of its operation, and by the presence of eigenvalues as parameters for evaluating the adequacy or otherwise of the activity inside.

This rational interpretation of society resulted not only in different studies for understanding the processes that are manifested within, but also a differentiated practice for their care and development, by the consideration that "the reason governs not only the activity scientific and technical but also the government of men and the administration of things" (ibid: 2).

Accompanied this new way of interpreting reality a high degree of optimism, considering that opened the doors of humanity into the realm of progress, prosperity and freedom, to tell, since then, with the tools required to make their business the best, while running, to achieve the intended purpose, and do everything so the result of a voluntary act rationally, and thus acquires a trait his practice primarily instrumental and pragmatic.
In all, the arrival of mankind to the modern world was opened in a framework in which scientific and technological development would enable the frantic search for the optimal parameter evaluation as successfully tried, and never sent it as the realization of by some otherworldly force, but, thereafter, every parameter of evaluation of success would necessarily be a result of the quantification and measurement of the intended objectives and efforts realized.

**The economic rationality**

It is within the economic sector where achieved greater presence this way of interpreting reality and practice on it, and given its importance in the field of material satisfaction in a world ruled by the market, which is what the capitalist system itself, this instrumental logic to efficiency, which would make the interest and the pursuit of the benefits of any action desirable parameter, passed to condition any activity within sectors other than reality.

That is why the charm of a society of abundance and freedom must soon be replaced by an interpretation that "would have a connotation instrumental and man’s dominion over nature and, in the final analysis, calculation, domain, and power over men themselves" (Flores Olea, 2000: 30), this result from the recognition that above all commitment to a society of justice and fairness should prevail self-interest and group membership, at the discretion of the existence of called economic man, contributed by the public choice theory.
The prominence of economic resources as a determinant to exercise acts of power has resulted mainly in the modern era, in a series of theoretical and practical and instrumentals demonstrations that have to the calculation, the quantification and the pursuit of maximum profit at minimum cost in defining elements of successful reading and practice taking place from all sectors of society, thereby seeking to deny the relative autonomy and functional logic in each of them there, thus making the requirements and market needs and company in the operating parameters and projection of all other forms of existing organization, comes from the political, social, cultural, religious, etc., so that the demand for adequacy of its operation has been determined by a logic of instrumental calculation, pragmatic and quantitative expression required characteristic of the business world.

**The political rationale**

This instrumental logic, quantitative and efficiency-has permeated the nature of political processes, which, being referred to the processes of power, show a different rationality. The characterization of power as you have the ability to assert one's will on others, and even against his own will in no way derived from psychological processes or human nature, but we will place it as part of a historical process within the first social groups, with their material conditions of existence which led to the first type of asymmetrical social relations, hence Cornelius Castoriadis (1996:3) tells us:

Next door, or "above" this infra-implicit power has always been and always will be an explicit power, established as such, with its particular device with operation
defined and legitimate sanctions that may apply. [...] It derives from the need to explicitly request instituted on the basis of the ability to make authorized decisions about what to do and what not to do, that is, on the basis of the possibility of legislating, "bringing out ", to resolve disputes and govern. [...] Politics is all that concerns this explicit power (modes of access to it, the proper way to manage, etc.).

That is why we must place the order as a social phenomenon in its origins and development, given its nature refers us to the division of society between those who govern and those who obey, among those who decide and those who abide among those who govern and who are governed.

Despite the asymmetric nature of this relationship, we refer her existence as a condition for the production and reproduction of society itself, especially by the consideration of the conditions that led to its emergence in a given historical moment, so to transcend value judgments that lead us to consider its existence as desirable or not, understanding the reasons that led to its emergence has allowed us to formulate judgments of truth that allow us to understand its importance as a condition of society, and consequently rather than agreements or disagreements of moral nature, we must place ourselves in the understanding of its indispensability in any social community, particularly with reference to what Castoriadis states as an attribute of all power, that is, govern, gaining relevance in this regard State's characterization Poggi (1997:21) us when he tells us is "a complex set of
institutional arrangements to govern, which operates through ongoing activities and regulated individuals who act as office-holders,

**Economistic rational reading of the crisis**

A specific case of the instrumental reading of reality is given by the characterization that has been done about the crisis and the place it has been assigned to the State, particularly for care and improvement, as in the case of deterministic interpretations, conservative and other optimists, where the crisis "is presented as 'negative' of a process that is otherwise made or resolved in the relations between its components. Thus, overcoming the crisis is in terms of a restoration of the previous commitment, or the necessary introduction of a new and more effective 'harmony’“(Cacciari, 1980), so its improvement will be the result of implementing measures rational, calculated, designed to achieve a balance lost by external disturbances, the state would be one of them, that make possible return to the path of progress and economic success:

The system appears built on a ‘project’ as formally resolved - ‘laws’ of development, support, links, targets, and the crisis arises or errors 'applications' of the model (calculation errors), or because they determined resistance to their productive transparency ratio, because irrational negative impedes their progress and blocks advance normal (Cacciari, 1980: 7)

This interpretation of reality is based on the superposition of an instrumental logic efficiency-and proactive on the development of all social processes, belong to the
realm of political, social or cultural, seeking directions for the future of these processes for the benefit of economically hegemonic groups identified with the market and the company as dominant subjects have to mark the course of the event to develop in all areas of social conglomerate.

Consequently, the state comes to be seen, to say Cacciari (1980) as a factor of rebalancing-composition of the crisis, so that its development would be bound to the demands and needs of capital by adopting a profile instrumental and neutralizing the negative effects of this crisis. This subordination to the processes from production, and its productivist demands, would make the state a mediation body preconceived explicable only on the success neutralizing the harmful effects of the crisis and its ability to orchestrate a series of measures to achieve the conditions for capital appreciation, so that their performance would be determined by an efficiency logic in which the calculation and control capability of the social and political problems would make him an adjuvant of choice for capital requirements and economically hegemonic groups, so that any strategy to this end would cause the approval thereof.

**The current crisis of the State**

Notwithstanding the apparent intentions in this interpretation of the crisis, its shortcomings are obvious to the understanding of the crisis facing the state today, so far from this instrumental view, the nature of the state responds to other considerations, which point out below.
His character as a mechanism of domination it is given by the legitimate monopoly of physical violence that is proper, but by no means as constitutional or statutory attribute, but derived from historical processes that led to its nature within relationships and systems social organization, located in time and space.

The absence of such historical reference is prone to its characterization as omnipresent entity subject to value judgments for or against their activity under the consideration that with his behavior will respond to a beneficial or perverse way it enforces impersonal, manifested in a constitutional body of rules to which we must arrive to boost its capacity or processing in response to specific claims of those with capacity to influence the regulatory body, usually the legislaturepower. From this we poseionamos front of him, whether to praise this domination or to question it, that is, what we characterize as a source of any benefit or detriment as a ubiquitous entity in pursuit of a will capable of defining the performance of full consciousness that power to grant the benefits or burdens defined and embodied by him through a course of action previously defined and implemented strict enforcement capacity.

The latter type of characterization, inadequate, will be overcome by social and historical characterization of the modern state, but also its nature and mechanisms of domination referred us to the power as the basis of this power, but more than a intrinsic phenomenon as a social construction that meets certain wills far from deterministic processes, instrumental and historical connotation, but particularly as it relates Poggi well as a system of government.
In this regard, consider the assumption that part Easton to explain the government, in the sense that there is a limited number of valuable and diverse become an object of interest of the individuals who make up a society, defined as a grouping of territorial individuals to own and enjoy them, satisfying their needs, spiritual, material and emotional themselves, or group membership, hence the form of distribution of these objects becomes a major issue for individuals and between up to referred society.

According to Easton, there are three way to carry out the distribution: the usual exchange and control, the characteristic feature of charge distribution is that it corresponds to the field of politics, because she "handles distribution and management of a resource (the ability to issue orders enforceable and sanctioned) which in turn can be used to make distributions to other objects valued." (Poggi, 1997: 23). That is why a person exercising this power or function will be necessary to have the necessary means of coercion to impose its will upon such distribution, but also may be exercised by the conviction, which brings us to the issue of consensus as a means to enforce its will upon such distribution, with the will of those to whom it is addressed its decision. Although it should be noted, they can be given by various means, including ideology, alienation and even law.

In sum, the substantive aspect of any society is for the distribution of scarce items that are considered valuable, and the definition of how and how much of that distribution. When this term is defined by results in the presence of an action linked
to politics, with political power, but she is revealed as such, must necessarily be related to the society as a whole, ie areas broad social and enduring (Poggi, 1997).

Consequently, the government, to convey the idea of asymmetrical social relations in which there is giving and following orders as a substantive, everyday aspect of this relationship is manifested within the state as an instance where this capacity is monopolized by law and fact. In the state monopolizes the right to govern, ie to issue commands on the form and amount of the distribution of scarce items that are valuable. The institutionalization of such power is essential if you want the social life has a pattern of continuity.

The collective nature of political activity, to overcome the individualistic sense that Easton define gives the subject the enjoyment of objects, from the fact that without mechanisms "agreed" and institutionalized for carrying out such distribution, the conflict would be the permanent by and before such political activity so that the search of internal order becomes a reason for the policy itself, pushing for this redistributive processes of power itself, since, as pointed out by Bernard Crick in his characterization of the policy, it belongs to be "the activity by which divergent interests are reconciled within a community of determined government, giving them a share of power commensurate with their importance to the welfare and survival of the whole community" (Crick, 2001: 22).

Note that it is in this field under the instrumental rationality, where is the development of formal democratization strategy to channel the demands of
participation of various social groups, particularly organized, making it an instrument of any dissatisfaction expressed neutralizer, channeled its sole presentation through formal procedures identified with the casting of votes, or perhaps the possibility of manifestation of the specific requirements of organized social groups, but hardly for the consideration of the contents of their demands as a constituent part of the various plans government, which not only the state happened to be conceived in the instrumental field, but also much of the social processes.

Are these recitals, embedded in power relations, which have led to the current crisis of the state, and that correspond to their social driving skills, resulting in a compliance, or not, its redistributive activity not only goods and services but also of power, understood in this context, the ability to make decisions and define the burdens and benefits derived from them, that today, to a more participatory society, are far from confined exclusively to the government demand of society to be a participant in the decision making process, and not the subject of it.

Thus, far is the current crisis of the state to correspond to a calculation error or failure of implementation of decisions taken, which would be the same from the perspective of rational-economist of the crisis, but, conversely, the crisis states into the process of decision making, derived from the inability to follow the state play exclusively as a source of definition of the public, it being incumbent on society as a whole, and not more than privileged governmental rationalities which, by their nature social exclusion from participation in the benefit that society demands, now
faces a crisis of legitimacy to the decisions taken, and therefore, not possible in its implementation to the social reactions, sometimes confrontational, to government action.

These being the defining features of the current crisis of social conduct of the state, is manifested mainly in the field of governance, which according to Xavier Arbós and Salvador Giner, (2002:13) is "the proper quality of a community policy that their governing institutions act effectively within its space in a manner considered legitimate by the ciudanía, allowing the free exercise of political will of the executive by civic obedience of the people."

**Governability and governance**

According to Arbós and Giner, governability is a multidimensional phenomenon, referred to fundamental, not only to political legitimacy and effectiveness of their actions, this being highly relevant for understanding the nature of the crisis currently facing the State, considering that legitimacy is a necessary attribute in its administration to achieve them, and from this, the degree of efficiency required in the implementation of its decisions.

This characterization is far from state of matters relating to the instrumental rationality, willful and quantitative, since legitimacy is defined in terms of external relations keeping with another: society, who would correspond to manifest the necessary degree of agreement with decisions made at government level to
promote successful implementation processes, corresponding to the other defining feature of governability: efficiency.

The plurimentional nature of governability is also evident in the field of interaction in the various actors who participate in it: government, private sector and civil society, giving it a greater degree of complexity by the presence of various principles governing the interaction of those who are in a particular way these collective actors, for while the principle within the government regulatory authority is, within the private sector permeates the principle of competition, while the regulating principle between civil society actors is cooperation.

These principles of coordination difficult, but indispensable today for strengthening civil society and the market as an area of interaction of the actors from the private sector, so coordination is manifested as a prerequisite for successful governability intended, ranking well in the field of necessary interaction has given manifest as governance, which corresponds to the "institutional framework that is between rules (for example, election procedures and decision making) and results thereof in terms of effectiveness and efficiency (for example, the implementing regulations) and legitimacy (assessment of citizens from their institutions)" (Prats, 2003: 242), whereas with the governance which seeks to achieve is to increase the capacity of government.

Nevertheless, governance is preceded by the application of a market approach to reform as a strategy to do and how the government, particularly during the last
decades of last century under the name of New Public Management. Among the many issues arising from its implementation, we will highlight which corresponds to the transposition of the top market regulator the State: competition.

This transposition was under the assumption that its application would increase the quality of services provided, accompanying by subcontracting processes in the private sector, responsible thereafter for the provision of goods and / or services traditionally provided directly by the State, and now only perform functions correspond funding, trying to imply that the effect arising out better care of the needs of the population

The inadequacies and risks for the state to adopt this principle to derive from within the very nature of competition, which historically is likely to lead to monopolization processes to the exclusion of losers actors involved in it, notwithstanding the repeated pronouncements on the existence of free competition, if any existed, it was at the dawn of capitalism, but today, the very nature of this production system is tending to focus on large corporations, mainly from transnational origin.

But perhaps the greatest negative effect corresponds to what it represents for the state to derive the call finally silent privatization, with its various consequences. The first, limited to loss of state capacity to define the procedural aspects in the provision of goods and / or services, so that the scope of public responsibility is diluted as the private law framework which must regulate the procedure of individuals responsible for providing these goods and / or services to the
population, so that accountability is in question and placed the same population
with the helplessness to demand respect for their rights as citizens, to transmute
their role in client assets and / or services obtained.

In the political arena also has to represent the State counterproductive, particularly
in the perception of the user or customer of these services, the failure to identify
the state as provider of these services, so that the degree of legitimacy to actions
of government is to circumscribe the field exclusively individual, ie the citizen vote,
when the state itself is the requirement of social legitimacy that derives from the
large groups, not atomized individuals, especially in countries like ours, with a long
tradition as the basis of corporate governability.

Finally, we should emphasize the strengthening resulting from the privatization
called silent on the ground of one of the social actors: the private sector, not only
because in the field of power relations are critical resources for the pursuit of
personal gain with decisions made, but also because with it, the benefits of
providing these goods and / or services are to be transmuted into individual gain,
not aimed at social welfare resources.

In sum, the adoption of the principle of competition within the state is likely to
adversely affect one of the conditions of governability: legitimacy. On the one hand,
the loss of identification of the State, the citizenry, as a source of their welfare, you
might as well join the dissatisfaction arising from monopolization processes that
historically are tending to neglect the quality provided in the goods offered, once
excluded the competition, and the other by the capacity acquired by the private sector to strengthen their economic resources, to require the State to focus on their unique benefits to the detriment of the welfare it social.

Unlike the new public management, which focuses on testing the structure and functioning of public organizations, the governance theory emphasizes the interactions between these different levels and between them and private organizations and civil society, while never considering the person, the citizen, not the client, the ultimate reference of all public action. Without simultaneously considering the abandonment of the structure, functions and processes of administrative organizations, but the study and reform of these organizations are in the field of interactions between public-private-civil, is say, the challenges that this interaction has to update the public and traditional governability capabilities.

Thus, the governance will be able to move from an exclusively organizational, operational and procedural public administration and management, not so unnecessary to relocate them as elements of governability of the State for its impacts on driving ability social and economic, shared today with the social and private sectors, which is the approach that gives us governance as a strategy in which reinterprets the role of government, making the transition from a dedicated role in the definition and implementation of the government agenda to adopt the role of partnership with the sectors set out above, this product of his loss of centrality in the management of financial, instrumental, information and knowledge, resources which at present are also deposited into groups of strategic actors social
and private nature, and, consequently, necessary participation in public and in the
definition and implementation of the government agenda.

It is the institutional nature of governance the other ingredient that brings us closer
to it as a viable strategy to increase the capacity of government, ie, governability,
under this characterization it attaches to the governance Joan Prats (2003) and
new rules game, so that by relying governability capacity conferred by these rules
as a mechanism for sharing, governance becomes a strategic role to be understood as the interaction between strategic actors regulated by the framework
and institutional structure capable of achieving an intervention regulations to align
behaviors and incentives to produce better results in a self-sustaining, and which in
turn is able to do a number of unanticipated effects and externalities problems or
opportunism.

Under this consideration, the values promulgated by the new public management
must be the product of a new characterization, as far from the public-administrative
proceeding state responds only to values of economy, efficiency and effectiveness,
they have to deserve a different consideration that is, far from circumscribing the
value of efficiency to cost-benefit, purely financial, it must represent, as already
stated, a greater capacity for formulating and implementing public policies, ie less
time and effort, which is only to be possible by the new role, more dynamic, which
must represent strategic actors from the social and private sectors, ie “Those who
have sufficient power resources to prevent or disrupt the operation of the rules or
procedures for making decisions and resolving disputes" (Coppedge, quoted by Prats, 2003; 243)

There are now hard data that confront us with the need to move beyond new public management, such as current events in the international arena that have led to the worsening economic crisis that has its origins from the late of the seventies of the century that precedes us, and that its attention from international financial organizations was promoted from the States themselves, a reform aimed at implementing the principle of free markets, baptized, therefore, as neoliberals, who were to arise, at first, in a process of downsizing the state, particularly its public administration, for the market to bet the instance par excellence of social regulation, through processes of privatization, economic deregulation and indiscriminate opening to international trade, and a second time in driving the symbiosis between public administration and private management, ie the impulse of the new model of the new public management.

It was late 2008 when this model showed its shortcomings, as a result of the exclusion of a regulatory state as not only financial and economic, but social, to make clear that the market itself is ineffective in his conduct but has appropriate institutional frameworks, and that the nature of the state, this is the only authority for the generation of them, a situation that has to be extended to the attention of social welfare, left to the discretion and exclusive attention of the market, must be aimed at polarizing social inequalities, with the risk of political disorder and social legislation, that is, of ungovernability.
That is why today has expressed the need for greater state involvement in the processes of economic exchange and redistribution of wealth, but it also manifested the risks that could lead this argument to return to old practices based on the state and excessively authoritarian state of mid-century, which forces us to reflect on what should be the new Government's interest, according to the new paths of a globalized world and greater citizen participation through the emergence of new actors and social movements, as well as a market away from productivist to bet on practical quantitative in nature, endorses quality criteria and economic competition.

In particular, students of public and administrative practice, one may ask, in this line of thought about the risk to derive the above argument in strengthening bureaucratic and authoritarian practices, so also it must be thought to move The way of the State towards inclusive practices of citizen participation and private sector, for which governance is perceived as a category of analysis suitable for this purpose which must also move away from the risk of overvaluation and self-sufficiency of the new public management, said restrictions as to strengthen the political-administrative proceeding of the State, its purely organizational, operational and procedural.

With the above, and the contributions of governance is that the public Administration has to resume its role as an instance of exercise of government, linked to the processes of governability that find in social participation the source of
legitimacy necessary, being able to characterize governance, therefore, as a
governability strategy that induces a new form of legitimacy, ie legitimacy by citizen participation.

Bibliography
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