

Panel T06-P05 Session 1

Governance of intersectoral policies with the population: Illusions and Reality

Commonalities and differences to mobilize the population in sectoral versus intersectoral policies

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SUMMARY:

Context:

Challenges to deploy intersectoral policies and to mobilize the population are largely documented. With wicked problems to be tackled and increasing root-based mobilization of the population belonging to no specific group or affiliation, revisiting zones for new attention is due. The main objective is to identify specifics of mobilization of the population in intersectoral policy for a public administration.

Methodology:

We combined knowledge from two traditionally separate fields of investigation: public administration and management, and social sciences and its democratic theories. A literature review and six interviews with experts with a double profile (participation and intersectorality) were carried out.

Results:

Commonalities between sectoral and intersectoral participation are: the topics of interest (health, environment, social assistance), input from organizational field, importance of socio-state interfaces, of political will, of people affected about the issue or people informed about the issue, a trigger to install national participatory policy, fragility of institutionalized processes.

Some key differences are: the emphasis on topics such as education, security, development, gender; the type of input from participatory management or network management; the framework informed by institution arrangements-procedures versus effects and regulatory environment; the possibilities for 'sectorialization' of intersectoral concerns; citizen speaking from a sectoral point of view.

Discussions:

We open the discussion on four specificities to consider when mobilizing the population during intersectoral policies:

1. resilience and sustainability : the resilience of the mobilization of the population is not guaranteed by the design and institutionalization of the procedure for mobilization inside a specific public administration(who, when, what is done and decided). Beyond institutionalization, the ecosystem of actors that can mobilize the population around any intersectoral thematic are assets ;
2. the focus of messages : during a mobilization process, the population enacts a wide degree of freedom on topics that are affected. The communication between the public

administration and the various recipients of the messages within the population, as well as the communication between the various participants themselves, call for a careful preparation of communication messages and the management of the flows of messages;

3. internal capacities to answer: traditionally, the fields of possibilities of a public administrations to mobilize the population depends on their habits and capacities. however in the context of an intersectoral policy, public administrations can be forced to mobilize capacities above and beyond the anticipated sector(s).

4. mobilization memory: the organizational memory of public administrations regarding mobilization processes is weak and difficult to identify, thus make it challenging to build the effectiveness of mobilization of the population.

INTRODUCTION

Political participation is a very common issue in public management, public policy and political sociology literatures, as well as in the day-to-day of public administration. Government approaches consist more and more in direct involvement of citizens into public decisions. Crowdsourcing, citizen panel, world cafe are all such methodologies. Some countries also encourage digital participation at the stage of agenda settings, as some western government did through e-government (Dunne, 2008; Smith, 2013). Latin American countries encouraged wide involvement of citizens through on-site population design of public policies and through citizen accountability in the monitoring of policy implementation via participatory institutions such as councils and conferences (Isunza Vera & Gurza Lavalle, 2010; Cruz & Daroit, 2017). Initiatives to mobilize the population in one way or another, multiply, with their load of disappointments and hurdles regarding how to keep mechanisms time efficient for the population, for managers and policy makers (Cunill-Grau, 2014), and how to keep it authentic (Muniz, 1982). Arnstein long mentioned weaknesses and lack of authenticity in participatory process (Arnstein, 1969; Rodrigues, 2013). Others mentioned the limited effects of public voice on governance (Fung, 2015). Habermas, Kingdon, Pizzorno, Pateman, Warren and many other scholars have long led academics and practitioners to reflect on democracy beyond the electoral choice of political representatives. They brought up to scene deliberation, dialogism, associativism, societal mobilization of the public agenda, control of governmental action, social movements and their identities.

Challenges to keep both voices in balance, the voice of public servants and the voice of the population, are numerous. Methodology-wise, one needs to translate or eventually capture precise information from the population that can bring up generic comments. Also, the question of best instruments to enable authentic participation of the population is relevant (Halpern, Lascoumes, Le Galès, 2014). Value-wise, one has to combine potentially divergent sets of opinions from the population and from decision-makers. Ethically-wise, great care has to be taken for prevention of the cooptation of the population by interest groups defending one agenda, one mission, etc.

Direct involvement of citizens intends to tackle long standing issues. Promoting healthy environments, gender and race equality, social development or deepening democracy are contemporary and enduring changes in our societies. Government approaches consist in involving citizens who might have pieces of solutions, or who could agree with some proposals. In such a managerial approach, the classic fragmented and hierarchic state structures attempt to tackle those challenges relying on public policy intersectoral management, an approach expected to overcome complex (or wicked) contemporary issues. A common subject in public management and public policy literature is sectoral and intersectoral action. Indeed administration and organizational sociologies have insighted researchers and technicians to think and act horizontally. Intersectorality, or horizontality, is understood here as the aggregation of sectors of public actions that are administratively designed around ministries (Muller, 2010; Jacquot, 2015; Divay, 2013; Bourgault, 2014).

Altogether, the public administration and management literature are prolific on the internal mechanics of the state affairs. And the social science literature investigates evidence and knowledge from the point of view of communities and affiliated groups mainly. A gap in these works is in the overlap between participation and (inter)sectorality. Expertise and the spill-over from fields such as (inter)disciplinarity, governmental coordination, cooperation, conflict, technopolitics, organizational tools and hierarchic morphologies shall be informative.

To unravel what are the specifics of mobilizing the population in the context of intersectoral policies, we propose to comprehend and compare the sectoral and

intersectoral participatory processes, and highlight their commonalities and differences about the main paths and challenges to promote democratic development.

We propose to investigate public policy governance, especially the nexus between participatory and intersectoral experiences. The paper presents a first draft description of the literature review on sectoral and intersectoral participation and an analysis of cases from Brazil and Quebec. We finally set out considerations regarding the mobilization of the population resilience strategies, communication flows, public administration habits, capacities to promote participation beyond the sectoral frame, as well as the relevance of organizational memory in public administration.

Methodology

Two sources of data were mobilized : narrative review and interviews. We investigated databases in french (Erudit), portuguese (Portal Capes, BDTD/IBICT) and english (Proquest) in the field of management and administration We also browsed through GoogleScholar and Thesis Canada. Articles and thesis related to the following combinations: (inter)sectoral and the likes (cross-cutting, transversal, horizontal, network, whole of government) combined with mobilization and the likes (involvement, participation, deliberation) and public policy, and frame (framework, review, synthesis), and population (public citizen). We reviewed the first 50 references of each source for the period 1960 to 2019.

Although it is possible to find millions of articles regarding participation in public policy (ProQuest, for example, responds with more than one and a half million results to “policy participation”), for an overview we selected the first 50 references, then a more careful review to one hundred fifteen selected works among the five hundred main results from the six platforms led us to recognize interesting trends of population mobilization in sectoral and intersectoral policy studies.

In parallel we interviewed 6 managers who experienced participation in (inter)sectoral policy. They were asked for their experience with civil participation, pros and cons, and the specificities of participation for sectorial and intersectoral policy.

2 interviewees occupied a director position in an organization, 3 acted as councilor or consultant, and 1 as a manager. They also self-qualified as having primary experience with social movement (4 of them) and with intersectorial policy development (2). Three were engaged in public policy participation in Brazilian federal policies and 3 in Quebec provincial policies.

The research analysis is eminently qualitative, based on the analysis of summaries of scientific papers, as well as discourses from interviews with public servants and civil society reputed activists. In a first stage, we extracted data related to the following categories of interest : conceptual approaches, dynamics, conditions. In a second stage, we compared data about sectoral policies and data about intersectorial policies.

Among the selected studies, some were explicitly focused on sectoral participation in public policy. Others were explicitly focused on intersectorial participation in public policy. And a third group were diffused or undefined studies regarding mobilization of the population without clear specification of whether they addressed sectorial or intersectorial policies. Those latest had their summaries examined to understand their mainlines.

Considering that clearly identified sectoral participation studies are more frequent than intersectorial ones, the comparison proposed between sectoral and intersectorial studies does not regard the quantity of studies, or frequency of themes but aims at demonstrating the trends related to the relevance that each category of interest assumes in each set of studies. Commonalities and differences were extracted from the comparison of studies, and from the comments of interviewees.

Descriptive results

1. Themes and problems addressed by policy

Wicked problems or topics, that are the essence of a policy involving the population, are numerous.

Public health more than any other topic is largely invested by participatory studies, both to comprehend sectoral (fig.3) and intersectoral policies (Fig.1).

Sectoral participation and intersectoral participation focus on common thematic such as environment, health, social assistance, and they respectively investigate education & social assistance, or development & gender.

Social assistance is also a very common subject in participatory researches, and it is a core issue to intersectoral action studies (Fig 1.).



Figure 1. Core topics in intersectoral participation studies - word cloud representation



Figure 3. Core topics in sectoral participation studies - word cloud representation

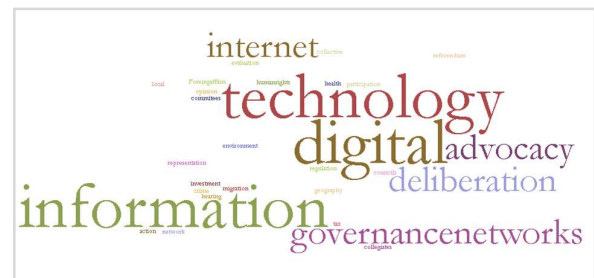


Figure 4. Policy participation diffuse studies topic trends (neither sectoral nor intersectoral) - word cloud representation

Some topics seem almost exclusive to either a sectoral or intersectoral policy. It is very common for intersectoral participation studies to resort to *development* as a key aspect of their applied researches. Development often comes preceded by one of its many attributes: *sustainable* development and *social* development are the most common variations, followed by *gender* development and *community* development. About the sectoral participation, no text has highlighted development as one of its main categories. The term

hybrid (accompanied by logics, advocacy and accountability) is another keyword to intersectoral studies that was not found in sectoral participation efforts.

It is also interesting to notice that research efforts on e-democracy are usually originated from thesis and dissertations, and they come from communications and schools of government programmes (Fig.3). The less frequent presence trend of these new technology-based strategies to mobilize the population gives a clue on the remaining distance between politics and administration (Fig.3) : neither policy sectoral and intersectoral studies clearly refers broadly to such new technologies.

2. Conceptual approaches to understand (inter)sectoral participation

Participatory policies require an adequate instrumentation would it enable an authentic participation. For sectoral participation, dynamics mentioned are : deliberation, participation, participatory management (Fig. 6). It seems grounded in organizational theory.

During intersectoral participation, then the involvement of citizen is referred as network governance, planning, intersectoral action, social determinant (Fig. 5). It seems grounded in development studies.

Some more diffuse studies on political participation can not be labeled as sectoral nor intersectoral, although they mention deliberation, governance networks and advocacy. Moreover, these studies on participatory governance with undefined organizational borders also brings up to scene regulation and specially new mediation strategies, such as e-government, digital democracy and information technology. These are less common subjects in the two sets of studies clearly identified as sectoral or intersectoral that were mainly observed by this paper.



Figure 5. Trends in intersectoral participation approaches, word cloud representation



Figure 6. Trends in sectoral participation approaches, word cloud representation

3. lessons learned for public management

Applied researches are much more usual than conceptual ones for the 3 sets of studies, undifferentiated, sectoral and intersectoral alike. Therefore it might get uneasy to draw lessons from single contextualised cases.

Regarding the level of investigation of participatory policy, comparisons between countries, considering local, municipal, provincial and national scopes are available. That applies to intersectoral and sectoral participation studies. Global, regional, transnational and international studies are usual scopes among intersectoral participation studies, and are also common (but less central) among sectoral participation studies.

Regarding frameworks, an interesting analytic model presents institutional involvement, revealing the transition from democratic consultations counting on advisory bodies of users and public panels (democratic logic) to a rising of co-production responding to paid involvement (market logic)(Alm Andreassen, 2018). Another framework applies sectoral participation in science and technology (William, 2010) and tackles public participation in a decision-making experimentation organized by social scientists, inclusively discussing the possibilities of organization of participatory process beyond institutional arenas.

On the intersectoral participation analysis arena, an analytical framework focuses on integrated territorial approaches to social development (Divay and Slimani, 2018). It distinguishes among regimes accordingly to their articulation densities (from *operational network*, passing by *interstitial effervescence*, *collaborative accommodation* until

assuming *institutional convergence*), observing collective local action organization, coordination and conceptions. Also, Apolinne Roger (2009) leads to reflection on regulation and citizen mobilization, observing a gap between the European Community corregulation discourses and practices, as well as effects on norms flexibilization and participatory engagement augmentation.

Public servants interested in different level of administration will found comparisons on participatory policies. Also important dynamics to consider are available regarding institutional and non institutional arrangements: those interested in sectoral participation from the instrumental point of view have sources for thoughts in such a literature.

public servants interested in what early processes are activated and the input from regulations will be able to seek into the literature on intersectoral participation.

In the following sections, results mainly come from interviews. From Quebec, two civil servants and an activist experienced in health and intersectoral action population mobilization were interviewed, revealing pros and cons of sectoral and intersectoral participation. From Brazil, two activists and a federal civil servant with trajectoires concerned with national councils, conferences and equity committees on human rights, social assistance or health arenas, were able to distinguish between pros and cons of sectoral and intersectoral participation. The discourses revealed interesting processes and insights to democracy and organizational model recent histories and intersections, their inflection points and challenges. Below, we share some of the findings.

4. Country history and path dependency

- In Brazil, institutional participation responds to a historical claim from civil society (considering the military dictatorship and democratization claims) for the rights to have rights. The societal incidence in the 1988 Federal Constitution and its constituent process is also related to the state sectoral organization - and the participatory sectoral organization. Citizenry (lay, scientific, engaged by professional category) have institutionalized demands for social rights as social policies, inclusively establishing formal participatory forums for health, social assistance and education. Intersectoral participatory strategies are more adequate to

consider equity diffuse demands, once that it can take into account specificities of vulnerable populations; ie. LGBTQ .

- In Canada, the mobilization of the population gets organized under specific circumstances: legitimization of public action; to counter decisions from high level public servants by politicians and cabinet ministers.

The trigger for the participation can be a default of access to rights, or a crisis on democracy legitimacy. Such an origin in participatory policy might well affect the processes and results of political participation dynamics and the fields of possibilities for a set of public servants living in a country.

5. Institutionnalisation of participatory policy

As question of interest to public servants is how the organizational complexity of public administrations affects the processes and results of political participation dynamics. We look at whether institutionalized participatory processes are sustainable.

The institutionalisation of network governance dynamics, participatory forums, methods for coregulation and deliberation processes are thematized in some interesting studies on sectoral and intersectoral participation. Institutionalisation procedures often shows itself as a condition to enable participation. Moreover, as the following example shows, strong institutionalisation of participatory arenas is a form of guaranteeing its subsistence despite the will of future governmental politicians.

- In Brazil, the establishment of participatory policy councils and conferences in health, education, social assistance and culture respond to orientations posed at the country federal Constitution. Other areas have also responded to citizens demands and built participatory formal arenas, institutionalized by law, decree or other less relevant legal instruments. The rising of the current right-wing elected to the federal government presidency has shown that the a fragile legal institutionalisation of participatory arenas might represents a menace of dismantlement, if the politicians in power have a narrow view of democracy. All the participatory collegiates established after 2003 were sought to be extinguished by a presidential decree

launched in 2019. Nevertheless, recently the Supreme Court has prevented the decision to the collegiates established by law.

- For the province of Qc only, mobilization of population takes place through various organizations in a dedicated sector: the health sector (CBSE, INESSS), in the environment sector (environmental impact assessment or recently through the consultation via survey regarding the bio-food policy), or across sector with organizations in charge of territorial development (Comité de développement local), municipalities (one time experience with a participatory budget, office for consultation), or health in all policies (health impact assessment). With recent reforms, some organizations in charge of mobilizing the population no more exist : ex-CRE , CLD some are still existing, ex-Board in health institutions, CBSE was shut down and revived early 2019.

Overall, the fragile state of participatory processes affects sectoral and intersectoral participation, indeed when participatory institutions or processes are installed, they can be dismantled and, even institutionnalized one can happen to be unsustainable. The institutionalization of participatory processes inside public administration remains fragile for both sectoral and intersectoral policy.

Results: commonalities in sectoral and intersectoral participation

One can expect, disputes of power to be displayed in the amount of speaking time attributed to population or public administration, hierarchical position in participatory institutions (presidency, directors board), lead role constructing policy instruments, agenda setting, access achievement to public budget for specific demands. Apart from the literature review and above mentioned interview-based results, the two cases are informative about some commonalities specific to the context of Brazil or Québec, Canada.

- In Brazil, interviewees have informed some commonalities between sectoral and intersectoral policies. One of them is the *political will* to consider and respond to society demands. Without such a will no sectoral nor intersectoral

participation stands the time. Also, the necessity of strong institutional mechanisms establishing *dialogic socio-state interfaces* are essential for long term sustainability of sectoral and intersectoral participation. Indeed, both sectoral and intersectoral experiences engaging the population relate to cooperation strategies among state and society, coexisting with vindications for rights guaranteed as public services demands, as well as demands society branches interested in the theme discussed by the participatory institution.

- In Canada, triggers of mobilization of the population are, whether it concerns sectoral or intersectoral policy : when the population feels threatened (i.e. flood, environment) or when the population experienced a problem first hand (i.e. pollution). Those concerns can be sectoral or intersectoral, and considering that ‘the citizen is not sectoral’, the subsequent response by the state will have to fit the initial concerns. People get mobilized *when they get affected*. People are not mobilized *when they are not informed*, and that personal information can take the form of information either through data or by personal experience or financial consequences.

Results: differences in sectoral and intersectoral participation

Similarly, the two cases are informative about some differences specific to their context.

- In Brazil, intersectoral participation initiatives have their effectiveness diminished once deliberations are submitted to the specific sector, unless the participatory instances invests in joint instruments. Even when the council regards diffuse intersectoral issues (as gender, race and human rights), the approach is constrained by the public body that receives it (for example, approach to combating human rights violations at the human rights council, related to the Ministry of Justice).
- in Québec, participation of the population in intersectoral participation translates into a share of various personal interests : some focus on their health, other the surrounding environment for instance. That means that participants and

organizers need to compose with individual realities that lack focus for broad societal issues and might bring about sectoral concern. Not to mention that some participants might get angry at the lack of time or consideration or power given to their ‘sectoral’ concern.

Table 1. About sectoral and intersectoral participation of the population in public policy

<i>commonalities between sectoral and intersectoral participation of the population in public policy</i>	<i>differences between sectoral and intersectoral participation of the population in public policy</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>topics: health, environment, social assistance</i> ● <i>input from organizational field</i> ● <i>importance of socio-state interfaces</i> ● <i>importance of political will</i> ● <i>importance of people affected about the issue or people informed about the issue</i> ● <i>trigger to install national participatory policy</i> ● <i>fragile institutionalized processes</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>emphasis on education, security, development, gender.</i> ● <i>input from participatory management or network management</i> ● <i>framework informed by institution arrangements-procedures versus effects and regulatory environment</i> ● <i>possibilities for ‘sectorialization’ of intersectorial concerns</i> ● <i>citizen speaking from a sectoral point of view</i>

KEY MESSAGES

We conclude on four messages.

1. Resilient mobilization and the ecosystem to mobilize the population no matter what the intersectorial thematic is.

Considering that participatory policy, even when they have been well attached to participatory processes and dedicated institutions can vanish upon political change, instrumentation can not be the sole alternative to sustainable participatory policy. instrumentations are numerous: Ombudsman and thematic team-committee common at institutions composed by representatives both from the public administration and civic entities, usually respond to more strict public administration sectoral morphology. Nevertheless, even these formal institutions, when related to complex themes such as human rights, can have their instrumental regulation designating a plural representation of civic entities, different branches and sectors of the public administration, corresponding to an intersectoral arena. Also, participatory budget planning processes tend to have a transversal sense, corresponding to the possibility of articulation of or, at least, incidence in many sectors of the public administration. More ephemeral dialogues, such as public hearings or negotiation meetings, respond to uncertain events and might also transcend sectors. Reaching effectivity on elaboration, implementation or monitoring purposes agreed at these sectoral and intersectoral sociostate arenas depends on the trust basis between bureaucrats and civil society representatives; accountability and responsivity with the population concerned; viability, juridical, fiscal and other technical aspects of orientations; and specially a very ordinary variable: the elected political representatives will to pursue the proposals, both from legislative and executive branches, and their relation with the engaged (Silva, 2006).

Therefore, beyond instrumentations, involving an ecosystem of organizations might keep the processes alive. In Québec, the NGO named INM to dedicated to participatory policy, at national, regional, local level, no matter what the orientation of the government can be. We can illustrate with the Brazilian situation as well. 'normative public action instruments with different grades of legal capacity -- such as laws, decrees or other regulations (Cruz, 2017) exist. These participatory-deliberative formal arrangements are composed by

interesting new forms of political representation not only in federal scale, but also subnationally, (Lüchmann, 2007), counting on citizen representatives chosen by governmental indication, self-representation or by electoral means from a network of associations - this last, more connected to the population. These new forms of political representation stimulate political and administrative learning, leading to senses and practices more connected to society demands (Tarrago, Brugué, Cardoso Jr, 2015).

Furthermore, the lack of normative strength at public action instruments establishing those instances corresponds to a major risk of losing capacity and could even undermine their possibility of existence (Cruz, 2017). The political crisis in Brazil and its removal from participatory principles are explicated at the revocation of presidential decrees, firstly in 2014, when the legislative branch contested the conformation of a National System for Social Participation; and again in 2019, when the Presidential Decree 9.759 (Bezerra, 2019) has invalidated dozens of previous others and has extinguished fifty-two, of the eighty, federal participatory collegiates .

2.Communication and degree of freedom of population

The mobilization of population in intersectoral policy can light up fires. indeed, difficulties of communication can easily emerge, for instance how to carry an understandable messages across diverse audiences of the population affected by the intersectoral policy. Additionally, communication might get difficult when comes the time to integrate intangible perspectives from participants: some valuing quality of a territory in very different manners according age, gender,etc.

3.Fields of possibilities of sectors involved and intersectorial participation

Some economy-oriented sectors are accustomed to creating discursive opportunities with private actors. Social-oriented sectors are more accustomed to creating opportunities to meet with well organize community sector . So it can be expected that each of them has a different glass-ceiling towards participation of citizen (Pestoff, 2009).

Additionally, participation can not be chunked into ‘artificial sector’ without losing its coherency. Society is not sectorial by nature, collective identity, public emergencies or when people get affected all respond to a complex reality calling for system thinking (Michaud-Létourneau, 2014). managerial approaches to intersectoral participation might benefit from insights from coherence of policy, system thinking and deliberative criticism (Bunker, 2011).

4. Organizational memory of public administration and effectiveness of mobilization of the population

drawing lessons or extracting promising practices for intersectoral participation and the specifics compared with sectoral participation remains a methodological challenge. Indeed, the identification or distinction of sectorial and IS experiences is for the most part unclear. It is a similar hurdle to identify whether experiences refer to authentic mobilization of population . organizational learning across public experiences might remain scant if the documentation does not get into higher level of precision. it is noticeable that the coexistence of intersectoral interest-concern from the population presently has to be treated, heard, answered by predominantly organizational sectoral arrangements . that might lead to two paths:

a top down or a bottom-up ‘sectorialization ‘ of intersectoral participatory process. a top-down sectorialization takes place when a horizontal concern, say flooding starts under the auspice of a horizontal structure, a committee on resilience to floods, and get implemented by a variety of sector. in the process, the intersectorial reality gets divided and eventually lost. The second path is the bottom-up ‘sectorialization’ of intersectoral concerns. In such a situation, population is approach to diagnose possible axis of public interventions. once the diagnosis is over, each sector will pick up pieces relevant to his own field of intervention. here again, changes are high that the end product be a sum of traditional sectoral actions than a intersectoral policy.

Conclusions

In this draft, we propose a fresh look at the specificities of participation in the context of intersectoral policy. We investigated the literature in public management and administration and political science, and interviewed few experts. Two countries provided with perspectives in the reality of citizen participation in policy : Brazil and

With regard to the origin of the texts, it is interesting to perceive *participatory management* as a Brazilian approach to participation, as are the thematizations on councils, conferences and collegiates, formal arenas for (mainly) sectoral participation. In its turn, *network governance* is a concept related to intersectoral action that is more used in the global north (significantly present in texts from Europe, Canada and the United States). It speaks about the perspective under which insights gets available, and eventually where additional knowledge can be useful.

Some exceptional studies take into account dense applied research to innovate in conceptual and methodologic aspects, bringing up interesting dimensions: paid involvement and participatory process beyond institutions. However, these studies (Alm Andreassen, 2018; William, 2010) are sectoral and it remains to be seen what are the specifics, if any, for the transposition of such innovations to intersectoral policies.

Institutionalizing participation in policy might shift the public involvement from feeding ideas or validating decisions, to being more proactive, not only producing guidelines for public participation but moving to a mere institutional apprenticeship. Innovative capacities to answer to the excessive bureaucratization tasks could coexisted with the reinforced strength to thematize social demands in the governmental agenda. These characteristics conferred new technical and organizational abilities among citizens learning to build, inclusively, policy instruments. Till when the sociostate dialogue is welcomed by political actors, many times, even demands highly structured as policy instruments by participatory institutions are not recognized as state priorities.

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