1. Record Nr. UNINA9910963045403321 Autore Keudel Oleksandra **Titolo** How Patronal Networks Shape Opportunities for Local Citizen Participation in a Hybrid Regime : A Comparative Analysis of Five Cities in Ukraine // Oleksandra Keudel, Andreas Umland, Sabine Kropp Hannover, : ibidem, 2022 Pubbl/distr/stampa **ISBN** 3-8382-7671-X Edizione [1st ed.] Descrizione fisica 1 online resource (528 pages): illustrations Collana Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society; 245 Disciplina 320.8 Soggetti Bürgerbeteiligung Citizen Participation Hybrid regime Hybride Regime Klientelistische Netzwerke **Patronal Networks** Ukraine Lingua di pubblicazione Inglese **Formato** Materiale a stampa Livello bibliografico Monografia Intro -- Acknowledgements -- Contents -- List of Figures -- List of Nota di contenuto Tables -- List of Appendices -- List of Abbreviations -- Foreword by Sabine Kropp -- 1 Introduction -- 1.1 Problem definition and research question -- 1.1.1 Why should we care about formal institutional mechanisms for citizen participation? -- 1.1.2 Ukraine's hybrid regime as an ambiguous case for local citizen participation -- 1.1.3 Why is the variation in institutional mechanisms for citizen participation in Ukraine puzzling? -- 1.1.4 The research question -- 1.2 Central argument: Institutions for citizen participation as a by-product of local patronal politics -- 1.3 Methodological approach -- 1.4 Contribution -- 1.5 Structure of the book -- 2 Citizen Participation Concept and Its

Operationalization for the Cases in Ukraine -- 2.1 Conceptualizing citizen participation -- 2.1.1 Theoretical approaches to citizen participation: Between democracy enhancement and government efficiency -- 2.1.2 Definition of citizen participation as a multi-dimensional process -- 2.2 Operationalizing citizen participation

through formal institutional mechanisms -- 2.2.1 Institutional mechanisms for citizen participation in Ukraine -- 2.2.2 Measurement of variation in institutional mechanisms for citizen participation -- 2.3 Conclusion -- 3 A Framework for Explaining Variation in Opportunities for Local Citizen Participation -- 3.1 Unpacking the context for citizen participation: Hybrid political regime -- 3.1.1 Alternative conceptualizations of regime hybridity -- 3.1.2 Hybrid regime as the outcome of elite interactions that limit access to societal resources and functions -- 3.2 Conceptualizing patronal networks and their arrangements -- 3.2.1 Arrangements of patronal networks: The typology -- 3.2.2 Cohesion in patronal networks -- 3.2.3 Delineating patronal networks from corrupt networks. 3.3 Explaining opportunities for citizen participation: Patronal networks and resource preferences of incumbents -- 3.3.1 Uncertainty in patronal network arrangements and the institutional preferences of local politicians -- 3.3.2 Explicating the causal mechanism: the functional fit of citizen participation to incumbents' governance resources -- 3.4 Summary: How incumbent cherry-picking in varying arrangements of patronal networks translates into diverse opportunities for citizen participation -- 4 Research Context and Design -- 4.1 Context of the study -- 4.1.1 Ukrainian patronal politics and its sub-national dimension -- 4.1.2 Institutional enablers for patronal politics at the local level -- 4.2 Empirical strategy and main methodological considerations -- 4.2.1 Comparative case study in five purposefully selected cities -- 4.2.2 Data collection: semi-structured interviews, open data sources and (local) media -- 4.2.3 Content analysis for interview data -- 4.3 Case selection -- 4.3.1 Regional centres as potential cases -- 4.3.2 Measurement of variation in arrangements of patronal networks -- 4.3.3 Mapping potential cases -- 4.3.4 Selecting cases -- 4.4 Operationalization of the independent variable for the case studies -- 4.4.1 Identifying patronal networks in the case studies -- 4.4.2 Identifying arrangements of patronal networks in the case studies -- 4.5 Operationalization of the dependent variable for the case studies -- 4.5.1 Chernivtsi -- 4.5.2 Lviv -- 4.5.3 Kropyvnytskyi -- 4.5.4 Odesa -- 4.5.5 Kharkiv -- 4.6 Summary and outlook for the empirical chapters -- 5 Kharkiv A Single-Pyramid Arrangement Restricts Opportunities for Citizen Participation -- 5.1 The arrangement of patronal networks -- 5.1.1 The patronal network landscape -- 5.1.2 A single-pyramid arrangement at the city level: Patronage via the executive. 5.2 Adoption of participatory mechanisms -- 5.2.1 Struggles for citizen informing via the Rules of Procedure of the city council and the executive committee -- 5.2.2 Continuing limits to consulting, control and partnership mechanisms in the city charter -- 5.2.3 The participatory budget: The only supported participatory mechanism --5.3 A single-pyramid arrangement amplifies the role of mayors' personal preferences for participation -- 5.4 The selective functional fit and (non-)adoption of participatory mechanisms -- 5.4.1 Prioritizing the partnership dimension as supplementing organization and authority: The advantages of PB for the patron -- 5.4.2 Restricted consulting and (nearly) impossible control provide a good fit to the mayor's prioritised resource of authority -- 5.4.3 Misfit of the informing dimension to the mayor's governance resources -- 5.5 Conclusion -- 6 Odesa Coordination under a Dominant Network Hampers Participatory Institutions -- 6.1 Arrangement of patronal networks -- 6.1.1 The patronal network landscape -- 6.1.2 Coordinated network arrangement, facilitated by the mayor -- 6.2 Adoption of participatory mechanisms -- 6.2.1 Fragmented gains for

citizen informing: The Rules of Procedure of the city council and of the executive committee -- 6.2.2 Control and consulting dimensions: Tolerated electronic petitions and the "good-as-is" city charter -- 6.2.3 Partnership dimension: The participatory budget as a flagship participatory project -- 6.3 A coordinated arrangement of patronal networks limits options for citizen participation -- 6.3.1 Selective adoption of mechanisms within informing dimension-the right target and time -- 6.3.2 Consulting, partnership, and control mechanisms selectively avoided because they infringe on the nodality and authority of the executive.

6.4 Functional fit: Enables selective introduction of mechanisms within consulting and partnership dimensions, and disables most others --6.4.1 Electronic petitions: The mayor's consulting mechanism -- 6.4.2 Functional fit of the participatory budget to the mayor's preferred resources -- 6.5 Conclusion -- 7 Lviv The Coordination of "Equals" Returns Accessible Participatory Institutions -- 7.1 Arrangement of patronal networks -- 7.1.1 The patronal network landscape -- 7.1.2 Coordinated arrangement of local patronal networks under the mayor 's brokerage and occasional challenger attempts -- 7.2 Adoption of participatory mechanisms -- 7.2.1 Informing dimension: The Rules of Procedure of the city council and the executive committee -- 7.2.2 Control and consulting dimensions: The city charter, its constituent regulations and electronic petitions -- 7.2.3 Partnership dimension: The participatory budget and local initiative -- 7.3 The frameworksetting role of the arrangement of patronal networks -- 7.3.1 Coordination restricts the adoption of mechanisms of citizen informing -- 7.3.2 Steered participation: The consulting and control dimensions "filtered" through the executive -- 7.3.3 Partnership: A win-win solution under the supervision of the executive -- 7.4 The functional fit as an enabler for participatory institutions -- 7.4.1 Functional fit: Steered participation strengthens the mayor's brokering of resources --7.4.2 The informing dimension misaligns with the mayor's brokering resources -- 7.5 Conclusion -- 8 Kropyvnytskyi Competition-Turned-Selective-Coordination Slowed Down Participatory Developments -- 8.1 Arrangement of patronal networks: Competition turned into selective coordination -- 8.1.1 The patronal network landscape -- 8.1.2 Dynamic arrangement of local patronal networks: From competition to selective coordination.

8.2 Adoption of participatory mechanisms -- 8.2.1 Informing dimension: The Rules of Procedure of the city council -- 8.2.2 Control and consulting dimensions: The city charter, electronic petitions and consultations with public -- 8.2.3 The participatory budget -- 8.3 The framework-setting role of the arrangement of patronal networks --8.3.1 How competition was a "window of opportunity" for the informing dimension of participation -- 8.3.2 The increasing coordination between patronal networks stalled the adoption of mechanisms within the control dimension -- 8.3.3 The partnership dimension: the participatory budget-a priority in the coordination phase -- 8.4 The functional fit of citizen participation to resource preferences of local politicians -- 8.4.1 Politicians' governance resources and the functional fit of informing and control -- 8.4.2 Politicians' governance resources and the functional fit of partnership and consulting -- 8.5 Conclusion -- 9 Chernivtsi Competing Arrangement and the Mayor's Functional Fit Return Accessible Participatory Mechanisms -- 9.1 Arrangement of patronal networks -- 9.1.1 The patronal network landscape -- 9.1.2 Dynamic development of competition between major patronal networks -- 9.2 Adoption of participatory mechanisms -- 9.2.1 The city charter -- 9.2.2 The Rules of Procedure of the city council -- 9.2.3 The

participatory budget -- 9.2.4 Electronic petitions -- 9.3 Competing arrangement of patronal networks is conducive to political support for citizen participation -- 9.3.1 How competition between patronal networks returned participatory institutions within the informing and control dimensions -- 9.3.2 The consulting dimension and its (mis)use for inter-network competition -- 9.4 The functional fit of citizen participation and "the public" as a resource; 9.4.1 Participatory budget as a tool to supplement governance resources for leaders of both competing networks.

Sommario/riassunto

Oleksandra Keudel proposes a novel explanation for why some local governments in hybrid regimes enable citizen participation while others restrict it. She argues that mechanisms for citizen participation are byproducts of political dynamics of informal business-political (patronal) networks that seek domination over local governments. Against the backdrop of either competition or coordination between patronal networks in their localities, municipal leaders cherry-pick citizen participation mechanisms as a tactic to sustain their own access to resources and functions of local governments. This argument is based on an in-depth comparative analysis of patronal network arrangements and the adoption of citizen participation mechanisms in five urban municipalities in Ukraine during 2015–2019: Chernivtsi, Kharkiv, Kropyvnytskyi, Lviv, and Odesa. Fifty-seven interviews with citizen participation experts, local politicians and officials, representatives of civil society and the media, as well as utilization of secondary analytical sources, official government data, and media reports provide a rich basis for an investigation of context-specific choices of municipal leaders that result in varying mechanisms for citizen participation.