Rationalities in motivation for citizen participation in social accountability: a Brazilian local experience

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Abstract

This work aims to understand the motivation and factors that influence active participation in social accountability, contributing to literature on public administration in a field which is not fully explored. This study provides elements to help public actors to strengthen initiatives of citizens’ engagement in public management, especially by working with civil society organizations. The main theoretical approaches are the instrumental and the substantive rationality in public organizations, as well as the motivation for citizen participation. Information was collected through in-depth interviews. Content analysis was used to examine the information, allowing to achieve the objectives of the study. The main results indicate the complementarity of both instrumental and substantive rationality in motivating citizen participation in initiatives of social accountability. The motivation to participate comes from the value given to social accountability, which is related to substantive rationality, while the instrumental rationality appears as a means of ensuring the efficiency and the effectiveness of citizens’ community actions.

Keywords: Motivation. Citizen Participation. Social Accountability. Instrumental and Substantive Rationality.

Racionalidades na motivação para a participação cidadã no controle social: uma experiência local brasileira

Resumo

Este trabalho visa compreender as motivações e os fatores que condicionam a participação ativa no controle social, contribuindo para a literatura de administração pública num campo que ainda há espaço para ser explorado. Além disso, fornece subsídios para que os atores públicos possam formular ações que visem fortalecer as iniciativas de envolvimento dos cidadãos com a gestão pública, em especial, por meio das organizações da sociedade civil. Para isso, tem como principais abordagens teóricas as racionalidades instrumental e substantiva nas organizações públicas e as motivações para a participação cidadã. A técnica empregada para o exame das informações foi a análise de conteúdo, com base no qual foi elaborado um roteiro para a realização de entrevistas em profundidade com membros de uma ONG que atua ativamente no combate à corrupção municipal. Os principais resultados apontam para a complementaridade das racionalidades no processo motivacional da participação cidadã no controle social. O estímulo à participação emerge do valor concedido ao exercício do controle social, advindo da racionalidade substantiva, ao passo que a racionalidade instrumental apresenta-se como um meio de garantir a eficiência e a eficácia da atuação comunitária dos cidadãos.


Racionalidades en la motivación para la participación ciudadana en el control social: una experiencia local brasileña

Resumen

Este trabajo pretende comprender las motivaciones y los factores que condicionan la participación activa en el control social, contribuyendo a la literatura de administración pública en un campo en que aún hay espacio por explorar. Además, contribuye a que los actores públicos puedan formular acciones destinadas a fortalecer las iniciativas de participación de los ciudadanos en la gestión pública, en particular, a través de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil. Para ello, tiene como principales abordajes teóricos las racionalidades instrumental y sustantiva en las organizaciones públicas y las motivaciones para la participación ciudadana. La técnica empleada para el examen de las informaciones fue el análisis de contenido, con base en el cual se elaboró un itinerario para la realización de entrevistas en profundidad con miembros de una ONG que actúa activamente en el combate a la corrupción municipal. Los principales resultados apuntan a la complementariedad de las racionalidades en el proceso motivacional de la participación ciudadana en el control social. El estímulo a la participación emerge del valor concedido al ejercicio del control social, proveniente de la racionalidad sustantiva, mientras que la racionalidad instrumental se presenta como un medio de garantizar la eficiencia y la eficacia de la actuación comunitaria de los ciudadanos.


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INTRODUCTION

Motivations and factors that influence citizen participation in social accountability may be considered a theoretical field in public administration. However, there are few studies exploring this issue, which explains the lack of its comprehensive understanding.

A study by Simmons and Birchall (2005), investigated the motivations for citizen participation of users of public services. They ascertained that the motivations of the users are fundamental, but often misunderstood. For Tijūnaitienė, Neverauskas and Balčiūnas (2009), many researchers argue that a latent potential for participation is a characteristic of most citizens; however, the authors say that only a few scholars have studied “who” or “what” stimulates citizen engagement.

In Brazil, the issue of citizen participation has gained attention since 2013, after a series of civic demonstrations challenging the sociopolitical status quo. Several protests took place around the country in June 20131 causing a turmoil that had large international repercussion. These demonstrations left behind a well spread notion that Brazilians are apparently indifferent when it comes to claim their rights, and showed that although incipient, there is an increasing interest of Brazilians in participatory public management, seeking for more effective solutions to collective needs and more efficient use of public resources.

Within this context, understanding the motivations for citizen participation in social accountability may contribute to the development of actions that strengthen initiatives from individuals willing to engage in public management, as well as initiatives from civil society organizations.

According to Airong and Xiang (2008), it is the role of the public administration to foster effective citizen participation. Establishing motivation mechanisms is an investment that brings return through a more legitimate and democratic decision-making process, which reduces the risks of inadequate implementations.

Therefore, it is necessary to reflect on the motivation for citizen participation from a holistic point of view, observing the way instrumental and substantive rationalities may interfere in this process. This is because it is possible to analyze the dynamics of human actions through rationalities.

To assess the rationalities that interact in motivating participatory action is an important step to provide guidance so the agents responsible for programs aimed at promoting social accountability can make better decisions and interventions. In other words, the studies on this subject allow targeting actions that stimulate participation in social accountability, contributing to promote democratic actions.

In light of this, the central question of this study is: how do rationalities influence motivation for citizen participation in social accountability? Thus, this study observes the role rationalities play in the process of motivating citizen participation at the local level, in the social accountability of public administration, from the point of view of a Brazilian civil society organization.

There are several scholars interested in understanding rationalities as the foundation for human actions within organizations (SERVA, 1997). However, there is no research in the Brazilian context, that relates the concept of rationality with studies on the motivation for citizen participation, especially with an empirical approach. The connection between the concepts of rationality and motivation is easily perceived when the latter is understood as “[…] a process to arouse the enthusiasm in people” (AIRONG and XIANG, 2008, p. 140). This leads to question how this enthusiasm stems from human rational actions.

This study is guided by the assumption that both instrumental and substantive rationalities stimulate the motivational process, each with its particular purpose – one prevalent over the other according to the given circumstances. In accordance with the purposes of this study, Alves and Júnior (2012, p. 1) emphasize that “[…] understanding the motives for a group of citizens whether or not they have the opportunity to influence political life, might generate insights that help in the evolution and effective application of true democracy in Brazil”. This study aims to contribute to these efforts.

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1 June 2013 was marked by the first of many demonstrations carried out in the country. The motivation of these first protests was an increase in public transport tariffs, but soon other issues were included in the protesters agenda.
This article is presented in five sections. In addition to this introduction, section 2 presents the theoretical framework; section 3 addresses the methodological procedures employed in the execution of the study. The results obtained are presented in section 4 and section 5 presents the conclusion and possible implications of the study.

**INSTRUMENTAL AND SUBSTANTIVE RATIONALITY IN PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS**

Rationality is a constantly present theme in the Brazilian administration literature. A large part of this discussion is motivated by Alberto Guerreiro Ramos' work "The New Science of Organizations: A Reconceptualization of the Wealth of Nations", written in 1981. In the book, Guerreiro Ramos expands the knowledge on substantive rationality and emphasizes it in human actions, as opposed to instrumental rationality.

On analyzing the work of Guerreiro Ramos, Serva (1997) defines substantive rationality as a natural attribute in the psyche of the human being. Through substantive rationality, individuals direct their lives towards self-actualization, balancing self-actualization and the search for emancipation, which results in social satisfaction. The foundations to reach this balance would be the rational debate and the judgment of the ethics and the values in the actions.

However, it was in Max Weber’s work “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism”, that the concept of instrumental rationality was inserted in the study of social sciences and opened the debate on substantive rationality. Weber's concept of bureaucracy, which is one of the materializations of instrumental rationality, is heavily criticized by those who defend Guerreiro Ramos’ notion of substantiality.

Pizza Junior (1994), when discussing the concept of reason, ponders that instrumental rationality as presented by Max Weber is determined by expectation over calculated ends or results. Andrade, Tolfo and Dellagnelo (2012) support this idea by affirming that instrumental rationality is based on the utilitarian calculation of the consequences, in search of economic success and power. Therefore, people’s actions would be instigated by economic incentives, utilitarian motives and by the search for greater remuneration and power.

In this context, instrumental rationality and substantive rationality are often treated as dichotomous and non-complementary, where there should be prevalence of one over the other, instead of a balanced coexistence between them. Recently, studies have been examining the interactions between these rationalities. Among recent research on this matter are the studies by Lima (2005), Ramos (2006), Souza and Lins (2006) and Santos and Serva (2013).

Lima’s study (2005) discusses and exposes the presence of substantive rationalities on the current socio-environmental debate and on the experiences that took place in the field of water management in France and Germany. The study concluded that there is an intense and inevitable coexistence between instrumental and substantive rationalities, since the complexities of life allow for the coexistence of rationalities that can be, at different times, antagonistic and complementary.

Ramos (2006), explored the tension between instrumental and substantive rationalities, as well as its contributions to the evaluation of social programs, within the management of three non-governmental organizations. The author came to the conclusion that the tension between both rationalities can be observed in third sector management, and its intensity varies according to the specificities of each organization.

The article by Souza and Lins (2006), which attempted to describe how the elements of the different rationalities articulate themselves in the management of an NGO, states that the instrumental and substantive rationalities manifest and inter-penetrate in a permanent and continuous conviviality, being deeply entangled in all the management processes of the NGO.

In turn, Santos and Serva (2013) identified the situations that promote tension between the rationalities in the practices of public administrators and how they responded to these situations. The authors inferred that both rationalities are necessary in public administration and they can be sustained through ethics of responsibility and conviction.

Therefore, attempting to clarify the evidence regarding instrumentality and substantiality in Brazilian public management, the following sub-topics expose how each of the rationalities might prevail in the contemporary models of public administration according to what is needed, without any losses inherent to this practice. The main goal is to clarify how the rationalities are...
Rationalities in motivation for citizen participation in social accountability: a Brazilian local experience

Marjorie Sabioni | Marco Aurélio Marques Ferreira | Anderson de Oliveira Reis

present in the public context, aiming to streamline their perception in the motivational process of the civil society organization actors analyzed in this study.

Despite the understanding of the interfaces existing between the models of managerial and societal public administration, both will be discussed separately to confirm instrumental rationality in the managerial model and substantive rationality in the societal model.

Managerial Model and Instrumental Rationality

The need for a managerial public administration in Brazil derived from difficulties regarding growth and distinctiveness of structures, as well as the rising complexity of the problems to be resolved. In addition, the managerial public administration emerged due to the inability of the bureaucratic model to respond to the demands of society (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 1996). Against this backdrop, the managerial model fulfills a theoretical and practical gap, seizing the main tendencies of public opinion, including the control of public expenditure and the demand for better quality public services (ABRUCIO, 1997).

In order to resolve the collapse of the bureaucratic model, managerial standards were inserted on a large scale into Brazilian public administration (ABRUCIO, 2007). Thus, MARE (Ministry for Federal Administration and State Reform) was created in 1995, replacing the Secretariat for Federal Administration of the Presidency, with the main purpose of promoting a reform in public administration and, in a broader sense, in the apparatus of the state. The basic document of the reform, the PDRAE (Master Plan for the Reform of the State Apparatus), provided the guidelines to direct government actions to, allow defining the institutions needed to implement the managerial public administration in the country (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2000).

The managerial reform can be understood within this context as a response to the challenge of transforming the administration of the states’ service provision. The main characteristics of the reform are: (1) instead of imposing strict rules, managers become responsible for results; (2) reward public servants for good results and punish them for poor performances; (3) perform services that encompass state power through executive and regulatory agencies; and (4) maintain collective and free consumption, but transfer the offer of social and scientific services to social organizations, i.e., non-state providers payed by the government and controlled through management contracts (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2010).

To reach these goals, it was necessary to make adjustments within the public organizations: a professional public management, with consistent and valorized careers; administrative decentralization; performance indexes for public organizations; among other actions attempting to raise the performance and the quality of the public services (FADUL e SOUZA, 2006). Thus, managerialism may be defined as the introduction of managerial techniques and practices to reach goals with greater efficiency, economy and effectiveness. It is related to directing the flow of resources towards attaining defined selected goals (SEABRA, 2001).

Therefore, it is possible to observe that instrumental rationality is preponderant in the managerial model. Because the rationale of the instrumental action, according to Serva (1997) is based on calculation, on reaching technical goals and purposes or intentions connected to economic interests, through the maximization of the available resources.

The relevance of the instrumental rationality for the managerial model is noticeable, given that an emphasis on instrumental actions was crucial for the achievement of the goals set by this model of public administration.

Societal Model and Substantive Rationality

The conception of what today is interpreted as “societal public administration” began in an environment of dissatisfaction, associated with the Brazilian tradition of social mobilization, which peaked in the 1960s, when society organized itself claiming for reforms in the country. This environment stimulated the articulation of some groups around issues that compromised the individual and collective quality of life, evoking popular demand. Requests arouse for collective goods, such as transportation, housing, water supplies, basic sanitation, healthcare and childcare (PAULA, 2005).

The societal management model, is heavily questioned and still under construction. It is captured by a theoretical environment where social management is seen as an alternative to the existing models. These are alternatives for public management
Motivations for citizen participation in social accountability: a Brazilian local experience
Marjorie Sabioni | Marco Aurélio Marques Ferreira
Anderson de Oliveira Reis

85-100

where precedence comes from the ideals of the popular movements on behalf of the re-democratization of the Brazil, a practice that can be observed through administrative councils and experiences of participatory budget (GUERRA and TEODÓSIO, 2012).

Within this context, one point of view became predominant: the need to establish a political project that broadened the participation of social actors in the definition of the political agenda, creating mechanisms to enable greater social accountability over government actions and withdrawing from the state the monopoly over policy formulation and implementation (PAULA, 2005).

The term “social management” may have different meanings. However, one of the most significant definitions refers to the discussion and the possibility of a democratic and participatory management, both in the formulation of public policies and in the interaction with the productive sector. The different interpretations of “social management” and the fact that it has been consolidated in practice, led to the development of “social management” as a field of knowledge, despite the lack of consensus about the concept (GUERRA and TEODÓSIO, 2012).

This concern is relevant when considering that social participation in public policies is a reasonable path for the development of a new model for public administration. One of the great challenges concerning participation in Brazil is the fact that the democratic culture was built in a society marked by weak social mobilization, stemming from a process that was never guided by the practice of forming associations. However, the organization of civil society is thought to compose the environment where solutions will be created in the form of alternatives to the old practices of public management. It is important to emphasize that the changes in social behavior ignited a debate over the need to overcome the models for public administration, despite the fact that the development of a theoretical contribution of model of public administration focusing on social participation is still very basic (OLIVEIRA, 2009).

For Guerra and Teodósio (2012), this conceptual variation contributes to an innovative association of the purposes of democratization in social relations, which can be noticed through the participation and engagement of different actors on decisions and practices that benefit the dialogic and the relational dimensions of management. Therefore, the public spaces have been transforming into places for progress and emancipation of individuals.

The dialogic perspective on societal public administration is, in this sense, based on the belief that consensus sought through debate will bring new possibilities of democratic management, with greater social participation. The reasons aforementioned help to understand the connection between this model and substantive rationality, considering that the actions in the societal model are based on the idea that consensus, debate and participation bring benefits to society as a whole. Serva (1997), affirms that substantive rational action guided towards the collective dimensions refers to an understanding and is aimed at responsibility and social satisfaction. Similarly to what occurs between the managerial model and instrumental rationality, the societal management model results in actions of a substantive nature, which began to strengthen and gain space in Brazil through social movements.

**MOTIVATIONS FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

Motivation refers to the interaction between personal behavior towards a specific action and an external persuasion. After observing different types of motivation, Deci and Ryan (1985) developed the Self-Determination Theory, classifying motivations as either intrinsic or extrinsic, according to the different reasons and purposes that generate an action.

The intrinsic motivations are subject to personal behavior derived from hedonic evaluations, when analyzing if an act is pleasant and individually satisfactory (DECI and RYAN, 1985). Raman and Pashupati (2002) clarify that the intrinsic motivations reflect a direct connection between the act performed and the personal traits or attributes of the individual. Therefore, feeling good after doing voluntary work or making an important contribution are examples of this kind of motivation.

The behavioral decision induced by the extrinsic motivation is led by the visibility and the return that the action will bring to the individual (LILLEKER and KOC-MICHALSKA, 2016). Raman and Pashupati (2002) explain that the extrinsic motivations are brought about by the results or rewards to be attained with a certain action, without a direct connection to hedonist
behavior. For example, an individual who engages in a voluntary action seeking to gain experience and, hence, reach career advancements.

The development of these concepts has taken place because of the prominence of motivation, which is evidenced by the number of studies that analyze motivation in different areas: at work; at voluntary work; in public service; and, as focused in this study, in political or citizen participation. Among the studies regarding motivation at work, Wright (2004) tested a conceptual model to evaluate how the context of a public sector organization can influence motivation at work, and Taghipour and Dejban (2013), analyzed the mediating influence of motivation at work on the relation between involvement with work and perception of support from the individuals supervisors.

Regarding motivation for volunteer work, a field widely discussed in the literature, it is worth mentioning the article by Clary and Snyder (1999), in which the authors discuss the role of motivation, especially in the decision to become a volunteer. In turn, the work by Newton, Becker and Bell (2014), explores the relationship between the perception of volunteers regarding the opportunities for learning, development and their motivations as a tool for maintaining volunteers.

Among the studies on motivation of civil servants, Bellé (2012) sought to verify empirical evidence of the relationship between motivation and performance at work. Coursey, Yang and Pandey (2012), examined how motivation influences the behavior of public managers regarding citizen participation. Given the importance of this issue, this article seeks to understand the motivational aspects of citizen participation for the social accountability of public management.

Thus, Hafer and Ran (2016) explain that individuals need more than a favorable environment for participation, which leads to the question of what motivates citizens to participate. For Lilleker and Koc-Michalska (2016), from the evidence that shows a decrease in several forms of participation, it is imperative to understand what stimulates individuals to engage in actions oriented toward citizenship.

Citizen participation is seen as the process of action from members of society in decision-making on issues of public interest, and motivation is understood as what leads one to act (TIJŮNAITIENĖ, NEVERAUSKAS and BALČIŪNAS, 2009). Motivation is an important element for management measures in the public sector, which, in turn, should guide and stimulate participatory processes. It is necessary to develop mechanisms that motivate citizens in order to improve the levels of involvement, ensuring legitimacy of citizen participation (AIRONG and XIANG, 2008).

The motivations for participation are diverse. Some branches of political sciences, for instance, consider that psychological states of engagement are motivational aspects for the voluntary civic participation. Furthermore, they state that general political interest is a cognitive motivational predecessor for participation (NEBLO, ESTERLING, KENNEDY et al., 2010; HAFER and RAN, 2016). Opposing studies suggest that citizen participation could be motivated by a lack of trust in the government (JOHN, FIELDHOUSE and LIU, 2011).

Lilleker and Koc-Michalska, (2016) consider the conventional acts of political participation to be triggered, mainly, by intrinsic motivations related to self-efficacy and qualification, when participants feel they can influence the decision-making process. On the other hand, non-conventional acts of participation, carried out on the internet, mainly through social media, are stimulated by the need to issue confirmatory or discriminatory opinions about the government’s decisions.

Extrinsic motivation of personal interest, such as educational and qualification benefits can stimulate participation. This includes education related to democratic citizenship, which grants access to information on social issues and to learning how to become a better citizen activist. Overall, participation promotes processes of social learning that help citizens to develop a citizen identity (KASYMOVA and GAYNOR, 2014; HAFER and RAN, 2016).

There are even more specific studies, such as the work by Petriwskyj, Warburton, Everingham et al. (2014), which explores the seniors’ motivations to participate in local governance. The results emphasize that the participation of senior citizens is motivated by both self- and other-directed factors, as well as by practical and abstract aspects that reflect their need for representation and inclusion in decisions related to local government.

In turn, Ballard, Malin, Porter et al. (2015) sought to identify (in the United States) what motivates a diversity of young individuals – immigrants and non-immigrants – to get involved with civic life. The results show that young immigrants were
more motivated to volunteer due to instrumental reasons when compared to non-immigrants. Issues regarding the immigration reform mobilized young immigrants of Mexican descent, while young Asian immigrants were concerned with issues in their local communities.

Because citizens show complex and inconsistent motivations, it is not possible to establish a single concept or theory that explains motivation for participation (BLAKELEY and EVANS, 2009; HAFTER and RAN, 2016). However, there is the permanent problem in engaging people to participate. Despite previous research analyzing institutional obstacles for participation and bringing extensive guidance regarding how initiatives should be fostered, there is a high degree of disagreement over what works and why (SIMMONS and BIRCHALL, 2005).

On the other hand, Tijūnaitienė, Neverauskas and Balčiūnas (2009) state that the motivation to participate may serve as a basis for the concrete creation of proposal threads for models that activate this motivation. This could then be successfully applied after identification of the areas of citizen engagement. Creating models to motivate participation is necessary to reveal the motivation stimulation system, i.e., the motives that pre-determine participatory behavior.

The problem of inaction is not restricted to individuals who lack awareness. People who support participation also tend to remain inactive (SIMMONS and BIRCHALL, 2005). Therefore, this research is guided by the importance of understanding what leads individuals to actively attempt to exercise social accountability in their municipalities, seeking for a more efficient public administration and for the better use of public resources.

**METHODOLOGY**

This research attempts to analyze the role of instrumental and substantive rationalities in the process of motivating citizens to act in a civil society organization to oversee public administration in a city in the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil. An adapted version of the theoretical models developed by Birchall and Simmons (2004) and Simmons and Birchall (2005) was used to guide the analytical development of the work, as seen in Figure 1.

The adopted model is a combination of the “Mutual Incentives Theory (MIT)” and the “Participation Chain”, by Birchall and Simmons (2004), with the “Characteristics of the Service-participation Relationship”, by Simmons and Birchall (2005), and the addition of instrumental and substantive rational actions.

The Mutual Incentives Theory (MIT) analyzes individual and collective aspects of participation motivation. However, since the main purpose of this study is to analyze motivations inside the context of a civil society organization, it became more adequate to focus only on the collective aspects.

The collectivistic approach was developed based on the theories of social cooperation, aiming to interpret human behavior differently, assuming that participation may be motivated by three variables:

i) Shared Goals: people express mutual needs that translate into common goals; ii) Shared Values: people feel a sense of duty to participate as an expression of common values; iii) Sense of Community: people identify with and care about other people who either live in the same area or are like them in some respect (BIRCHALL and SIMMONS, 2004, p. 470-471).

According to Birchall and Simmons (2004), the collectivistic approach states that the more presence of these three variables means more willingness to participate. However, despite the importance of the ideas of the MIT, they alone are not sufficient to explain what leads people to participate. Thereby, this theory needs to be associated with other possible explanations in order to build a holistic interpretation.

Therefore, the concepts of rationality were gathered, relating each of the variables mentioned, according to their characteristics, to either instrumental or substantive rationality. In the case of the sense of community variable, the association becomes evident through two aspects: one is more related to reciprocity—in the sense that a person helps another because they have been helped—and also related to individual interests—regarding instrumental rationality. The other aspect is associated with
the sense of belonging to a community, leading to the role of concern and, at the same time, to social satisfaction – thereby related to the substantive rationality.

**Figure 1**

**Motivations for Citizen Participation: Context and Reasons**

![Diagram of Motivations for Citizen Participation](image)

Source: Adapted from Birchall and Simmons (2004) and Simmons and Birchall (2005).

Furthermore, along with the MIT, the ‘resource’ aspect from the Participation Chain model were included, in order to analyze the availability and aptitude of the potential participants, including time, money, skills and confidence. In turn, the ‘mobilization’ aspect, the intention was to analyze the inspiring factors, such as problem solving, opportunities for participation and attempts to recruit new citizens (BIRCHALL and SIMMONS, 2004). In the Characteristics of the Service-participation Relationship model, the items ‘importance and efficiency of the public service’ for the citizen were analyzed, considering that a greater need for the public service and the dissatisfaction with the quality of the service, will mean greater willingness to participate in public management (SIMMONS and BIRCHALL, 2005). These aspects were included in the analytical model because of their relevance in understanding the context in which the motivations for citizen participation emerges.

The three models that serve as a basis for this research are the result of a study financed by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and indicate what motivates users of the public services to participate. The models analyze the motivations of those who use public services along with a series of other factors that make participation more or less likely. For that reason, they offer a systematic structure for understanding why only some people get involved and contribute to the ongoing debate about how participation can be reinforced (SIMMONS and BIRCHALL, 2005). Even though these models are more often used in quantitative research, they were applied here to a qualitative analysis.

This work presents a case study and used in-depth interviews for data collection. As stated by REZENDE (2011), case studies allow to observe how the initial conditions produce certain changes in the object of analysis. Thus case studies offer fundamental material for questioning, corroborating or adding elements to improve knowledge.

Therefore, this research is in line with the observations of King, Keohane and Verba (1994), who argue that the proper use of case study, when applied in adequate research design, is crucial in social sciences, both in order to describe the approach adopted and to produce empirical explanations.

As for the in-depth interviews, a script was prepared to guide conversations with five of the members of AMEVIÇOSA, a civil society organization gathering residents and people concerned about the city of Viçosa, in the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil. The choice of studying a case at the municipal level is because it is the smallest unit of government in Brazil and the main
space for participation, where the actions of the public administration and the public good can be directly appointed and supervised by citizens (OLIVEIRA, 2004).

According to Nabatchi and Amsler (2014), it is at the local level that pioneering innovations and direct engagement happen, and it is unlikely that local government will go without citizen participation. On the contrary, it is likely that citizen participation keeps growing in the years to come, especially considering the fast and highly complex current evolution of the political, social, economic and environmental conditions. It is necessary to develop more research for a better understanding of direct public involvement in local government.

The snowball sampling technique was used to select the interviewees. Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen et al. (2005), snowball sampling is a type of intentional sampling, through which, participants or informants contacted by the researcher, recommending other people from their social networks who could participate or contribute to the study.

The characteristics guiding the recommendation of interviewees were: a) broad knowledge about the activities of the organization (AMEVIÇOSA); b) working at the organization for over 18 months; c) availability and inclination towards volunteering. The recommendation of other participants was requested from a first interviewee identified by the researchers. The procedure was considered complete when the names recommended were repeated, as instructed by Elder (2009). The author also states that the snowball sampling technique works well when the members of a certain population know each other, which is the case in the studied organization. These determinants led to the selection of five interviewees.

After the interviews, the content analysis technique was applied to examine the information in order to reach the goals of this research. The description of the categories that guided the operationalization of the research, both for the construction of the script for the interview and for the analysis of the results, was based on the theoretical model adopted, as described in Box 1.

For the analysis of the categories “shared goals”, “shared values” and “sense of community”, the elements of both instrumental and substantive rationalities were identified. The work by Brulon, Vieira and Darbilly (2013), which affirms that the instrumentality and substantivity may be defined in an operational and constitutive way, was taken as basis in this respect. According to Vieira (2007), a constitutive definition conceptualizes the variables with words. Therefore, it is a theoretical definition bases on a dictionary or on the literature about the concept. The operational definition, in turn, seeks to facilitate the operationalization of the variable, i.e., how it will be measured or visualized.

**Box 1**

**Categories and Themes for Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Themes for Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>Analyze the importance of the aspects: time, income, trustworthiness and skills, identified based on previous experience and professional qualification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilization</td>
<td>Analyze the relevance of the aspects: problem solving, opportunities for participation and attempts to recruit new citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance and Efficiency of the Public Service</td>
<td>Analyze the characteristics of the relationship between the importance and efficiency of the public service and citizen participation: intensity of service usage, continuity and duration of the need for the service, capacity to evaluate the quality of the public service and availability of alternatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Goals</td>
<td>Identify the elements of instrumental rational action: orientation for efficiency, orientation for effectiveness, execution of calculations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Values</td>
<td>Identify the elements of substantive rational action: orientation for understanding and orientation for relevance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Community</td>
<td>Examine the constitutive elements from both instrumental and substantive rationalities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Elaborated by the authors.
The constitutive definition used in this study over the concept given to the instrumental and substantive rational actions was conceived by Serva (1997):

i) Instrumental Rational Action: presents the constitutive elements – calculation, ends, maximization of resources, success, results, performance, usefulness, profitability and interpersonal strategy;

ii) Substantive Rational Action: presents the constitutive elements – self-actualization, comprehension, ethical judgment, authenticity, emancipatory values and autonomy.

An adaptation of the operational definition adopted by Brulon, Vieira and Darbilly (2013) was developed for the study, in which the constitutive definitions were operationalized through the following indicators:

i) Instrumentality: was observed in the actions performed by the organization the orientation for efficiency, seeking to maximize the use of the resources available; the orientation for effectiveness, focusing on results through the planning of actions and the development of proposals; and the execution of calculations to achieve the determined goals;

ii) Substantivity: was observed in the actions performed by the organization the orientation for understanding, through aspects regarding the dialogue and harmony between its members; and the orientation for relevance, which verifies the aspects of personal satisfaction and disseminated values.

Case Study: AMEVIÇOSA

The civil society organization AMEVIÇOSA was chosen for the study because it was established with the purpose of fighting corruption and bringing projects for the development of the city of Viçosa. It is a non-profit organization and its members have no political party affiliations and no salaried position in the municipal administration.

Another aspect that contributed to choosing AMEVIÇOSA is the fact that it is a civil society organization (CSO). According to Oliveira and Haddad (2001, p. 62), civil society organizations (CSOs) are “[…] freely formed by citizens that act in face of a lack of products or services that the state does not satisfactorily supply and the market has no interest in supplying”.

Furthermore, this association receives support from Amarribo Brasil, a non-profit organization recognized by the Brazilian Government as a Civil Society Organization of Public Interest (OSCIP). Amarribo Brasil is a pioneer in fighting corruption in the country. Therefore, AMEVIÇOSA is an organization that properly represents the social mobilization of the citizens of Viçosa.

AMEVIÇOSA was started by two citizens who met while participating at a session of the Viçosa City Council. One of them had mobilized neighbors and created a neighborhood association, and was at the session seeking the city councilors’ position regarding disorders caused by student parties. The other one, aware of the fact that Viçosa faced problems with water supply, was at the session to protest against the approval of a proposition for the urbanization of an area that provided water for the city, due to the existence of several underground water sources. From this encounter, these two citizens began to talk about the state of affairs in the city and in 2013 decided to create AMEVIÇOSA. They mobilized a group of people who together established the organization, with the purpose of putting pressure on politicians and civil servants, in order to inhibit corruption in the city.

The organizational structure of AMEVIÇOSA is formed by volunteers and relies on seven board members, three members of a board of directors (president, executive director and financial director), three volunteers serving on the audit committee and five deputy members, completing a group of eighteen people. The governance bodies are elected every two years, with the possibility of a second mandate. The organization has no employees and the number of people who volunteer collaborating with the day-to-day activities is very low. All the resources obtained are used entirely to maintain and develop the social purposes of the organization.

Besides the actions directly connected to the combat of corruption in Viçosa’s municipal administration, since its creation, AMEVIÇOSA has organized several events. Among them, stand out the visit of two representatives from the organization Amarribo to deliver open lectures on citizenship and social accountability of the public administration; the mobilization of
the residents of Viçosa to participate in the sessions of the City Council for a specific purpose; and the mobilization of citizens for several public protests.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Motivation is a system for encouraging certain behavior (actions and activities) generated by different reasons. These reasons must be identified when the purpose is to analyze contemporary citizen motivation (TIJŪNAITIENĖ, NEVERAUSKAS and BALKČŪNAS, 2009).

Therefore, this article presents the motivation for participation from the point of view of the demand, i.e., from the users of the public services. It does not contemplate the citizens that work on the provision of these services to the community. The study was limited to reporting only the peculiarities of the collective motivations, through the instruments suggested by Birchall and Simmons (2004) and Simmons and Birchall (2005).

According to Tijūnaitienė, Neverauskas and Balčiūnas (2009), the most relevant issue discussed by Simmons and Birchall is related to the reasons for participation, namely, stimuli and behavior. The results for each one of the categories analyzed are presented below.

Resources

All the interviewees have participated in the organization since its creation in May 2013, which means that they were formally working in the institution for two years at the time of the research. In terms of education, all five participants had degrees and three of them held PhDs. As for previous experiences, three interviewees participated in collective actions, such as the creation of neighborhood associations, public hearings, protests, citizen’s initiative proposing laws and took part in public management councils. One interviewee worked as a consultant for the development of cities’ master plans, using a societal participatory process, in addition to having helped create the municipal heritage council.

The interviewees’ profiles indicate similar resources, corroborating with the result found by Birchall and Simmons (2004). Professional training and previous experience of the members of the organization are important resources because they give confidence to the actors towards social accountability of public management.

Income was not an aspect mentioned as a relevant factor for motivation of participation. However, time appeared strongly as a limiting factor, restricting the interviewees action and discouraging other citizens of Viçosa from participating. Even though time was considered as a limiting factor, the interviewees were willing to give up their free time to continue acting in the organization, holding meetings, bringing information, disseminating the activities, among other activities.

According to Simmons and Birchall (2005), for people to participate, time is an obstacle that can be overcome. For Tijūnaitienė, Neverauskas and Balčiūnas (2009), active individuals, such as those at AMEVIÇOSA, are mature participants, dedicating their time and effort without any compensation because they understand the essence of the activities.

Mobilization

The factors that foster mobilization will be analyzed in this section, such as problem solving, opportunities for participation and the attempts to recruit new citizens. According to the interviewees, conflicts are always “resolved peacefully, with respect and consideration, despite each person having their personal convictions”. A participant emphasized the fact that “there are no conflicts, only a few discussions that are solved by reaching a consensus”.

All the interviewees mentioned that there are opportunities for other interested citizens to get involved and that there is a need for more engagement from the population of Viçosa, especially young individuals. It is worth noting that the participants were aged between 33 and 59 and, according to them, the number of interested young citizens is low.
In this respect, Tijūnaitienė, Neverauskas and Balčiūnas (2009) state that people over 35 years of age are more able to participate, because of their experience and knowhow. In addition, age is associated with a more mature and stable personality. Younger people are not as active before the age of 35 because they are very busy (especially women). Women are overburdened with family and professional duties. Among the five individuals interviewed, only one was a woman.

In order to recruit new citizens, the association makes use of several tools. The interviewees said “the work done by the association is publicized weekly in public places with a large flow of people in downtown Viçosa. There is also online dissemination, through blogs and a page on social media, Facebook, as well as in the press, local newspapers and radio broadcasts. Other means of communication such as “word of mouth”, “personal contacts” and “casual conversations” were mentioned and “help to disseminate the work of the organization”.

In this context, the connections between the individuals and the members recruiting in their personal social networks can influence the recruitment process. Essentially, it is not enough to invite people to participate, it is important to know who sends the invite (SIMMONS and BIRCHALL, 2005).

However, “the notoriety of the organization" occurred when a person from a very well-known Brazilian nationwide television program went to Viçosa, which “culminated with a national repercussion of the activities of AMEVIÇOSA”. Therefore, “interested people contact the association” and they are asked their “name, e-mail address, telephone, area of work”, so they can receive information about the organization’s meetings.

Despite all the dissemination efforts, the invitations and the local support, the involvement of the citizens of Viçosa with the organization is still low. Alves and Júnior (2012, p. 1) assert that the opportunities for participation and the “[…> democratic spaces exist and are accessible but, unfortunately, are underused by most Brazilian citizens”.

**Importance and Efficiency of the Public Service**

In order to understand the importance and efficiency of the public service for the citizens, it was necessary to know the factors that propelled the creation of AMEVIÇOSA and the obstacles faced by their members to engage supporters. According to the interviewees, the aspects that stimulated the creation of the organization were: i) “the latent resentment of every citizen who observes the problems with public management and wants to change the situation”; ii) “inspiration drawn from the Amarribo guidebook and from the experience of the city of Ribeirão Bonito, where Amarribo emerged”; iii) perceptions and experiences gathered by one of the members in another country, where “the high quality of life is to a great extent a result of the idealism and the mobilization of the people”; iv) the desire for a better quality of life for family and friends; v) the awareness that “more corruption in a municipality means more violence, raising the need for action as a form of protection and defense”; and, finally, vi) the agility of uniting a group of citizens around common ideals and who are willing to get involved.

On the other hand, the obstacles to engage and remain active, according to the interviewees are: i) lack of time, as previously pointed out “it is necessary to sacrifice many things, including sleep”; ii) “the opposition of family and friends in fear of retaliation, especially in terms of physical violence with the person engaged or their loved ones”; iii) fear of persecution, in terms of “denial of access to public services” and even “job loss, as was the case for a member that was very active”; iv) lack of transparency, which generated difficulties in obtaining public information and data; v) the “resistance of citizens who receive direct personal benefits form municipal administration, such as people in appointed positions or receiving public services in a privileged way; and vi) the lack of volunteers, because “there are many people criticizing the municipal, state or federal governments in social networks, but few of them actually engage in the activities to oversee public actions even when the opportunity is given”. Box 2 briefly demonstrates the stimulating and limiting aspects of active engagement in social accountability, according to the members of AMEVIÇOSA.
Stimulating and Limiting Factors of Actively Engaging in Social Accountability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stimulating</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction with Public Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knowing the Mechanisms and Results of Citizen Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Realizing the Strength of Social Mobilization over Public Management</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awareness of the Consequences of Corruption for the City</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Longing for Better Quality of Life</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Celerity in Mobilizing Citizens with Common Ideals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limiting</td>
<td>Takes up a Lot of Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opposition of Family and Friends in Fear of Retaliation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fear of Persecution by the Municipal Public Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resistance from the Citizens Who Benefit from the Status Quo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of Volunteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of Transparency and Restrictions to Releasing Public Information</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the obtained information.

In Box 2, it is possible to observe that limiting factors are as strong as the stimulating ones, which may have slowed citizen participation and, consequently, the continuity of the actions of AMEVIÇOSA. However, as reported by the interviewees “the desire for change, for transforming the current state of affairs was much greater”, the same desire that led to the creation of the organization.

All of the interviewees declared that most of Viçosa’s population depends exclusively on local public services, and the basic areas, such as health, education and safety are precarious. The inefficiency worsens the situation, as observed by the participants: “The health services in the city are despicable. The hospitals are incapable of meeting the demands. The medical professionals need more qualification. There is a lack of technicians in the field”.

The participants emphasized the lack of spaces and actions for leisure in public areas. Many other issues were mentioned, such as problems with infrastructure (pot holes), city cleaning, education, water treatment, urban planning and mobility. Overall, the interviewees considered that “public services are treated in an amateur way” and many civil servants are not sufficiently trained for the positions they occupy.

According to the participants of the organization, these problems feed the debates held in the organization in order to find solutions and alternatives. Thereby, questioning the actions of the municipal government, the organization pursues the solution to local problems. Based on these assertions, the results are in line with those assessed by Simmons and Birchall (2005), who stated that the greater the need of a public service, and the greater the dissatisfaction over the service offered, regarding availability and quality, the greater the willingness to actively participate in public management.

Shared Goals

From the above discussion, it is possible to see that the interviewees expressed mutual needs translated into common objectives, emphasizing the presence of shared goals, which is one of the participation motivation aspects, according to Birchall and Simmons (2004). The main goal shared by the members, according to the interviewees, is to “build a better Viçosa”:

Having a better Viçosa, an administration committed to the city and as honest as possible (Interviewee 5).
Attempting to change and lessen the irresponsibility of the public administration with the city, because there may be imperfections and a lack of knowledge, but the greatest burden is the neglect, the absolute lack of interest, and politicians were not voted in for that, they are paid to run the public machinery with at least some competence (Interviewee 2).

The least we expect is to help decrease corruption in Viçosa, because if corruption drops we will have resources left to invest in other areas. Maybe we can see an improvement in the city within a few years (Interviewee 3).

Improve the city and, consequently, the quality of life for the population, both urban and rural, using the existing legal devices, such as the Brazilian Transparency Law and the Brazilian Information Access Law (Interviewee 4).

From the information gathered, it is important to understand the actions and activities that are performed by this organization to reach its goals and verify the constitutive elements of the instrumental rational actions in reaching these goals. According to the interviewees, the actions taken by AMEVIÇOSA follow the guidelines of Amarribo, and are also based on “lawyers orientation” in order to succeed in the actions facing municipal administration, “avoiding flaws in the processes”. The actions are developed based on complaints, which are first examined, then “evidence of fraud is collected” and “information is required from the executive branch based on the Brazilian Information Access Law”. Thus, “the processes are developed” and, then, “a representation, or lawsuit, is filed with the Public Ministry”.

In order to follow up on the development of the lawsuits, members participate in the meetings of the City Council. “That is the main way for combating corruption, using the existing legal devices, and the Brazilian Information Access Law was a great advancement”. Figure 2 demonstrates the overall process of action for the effectiveness of the members of the organization.

The orientation towards effectiveness can also be observed in the decision-making process. The members, as aforementioned, follow the guidelines of Amarribo, which state that

[...] a small group, formed by people with deep mutual trust for decision-making. Because it is important to have a group without external influences in order to avoid the infiltration of people who seek to undermine the activities, since we are dealing with interests involving things such as public money and status. (Interviewee 4).

Another aspect of the instrumental rationality, present in the activities of the organization is the division of duties seeking to better apply the professional resources of the members, in order to facilitate meeting the goals, in other words, orientation towards efficiency. According to the interviewees, “we work as a group, but there is a division of duties, each person in their field of work”, the activities are “divided into committees of health care, environment, infrastructure, and others”.

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**Figure 2**

Stages of the Participatory Process in the Social Accountability of Public Management

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Source: Elaborated by the authors based on the obtained information.
When each of the interviewees were asked what would be the three main demands for the development of the city, there were clear differences of focus areas. Each of the actors guided their demands according to their professional field or to their negative experiences with municipal public management.

When asked what could be done to enhance the activities of the association, the need for administrative organization was emphasized since “when there is a central office, with an employee, it is possible to get financial resources from local businesses, allowing for the improvement of the work”.

According to the interviewees, “(there is) the necessity of resources to be able to have an administrative structure to optimize the activities conducted by the organization. For this reason, it would be important to have financial support from businesses, which would enable the organization to hire personnel to investigate, reducing corruption and improving public investments”. This narrative demonstrates another aspect of instrumentality, the execution of calculations on how a given action – such as organizing the administrative structure – would help to reach the expected goals.

Regarding the goals set for the organization, one participant said

[...] the idea is to institutionalize AMEVIÇOSA. Actually, our desire is for the association to disappear over time, to no longer be needed, because what we want is to strengthen the city councils – that is the main purpose. Then, the city councils should be AMEVIÇOSA, each council with its segment, its field of action. AMEVIÇOSA was created to counterweigh the lack of effective actions from the councils, as a way of reestablishing them. One of the proposals of the organization is for each of the city councils to have one member from AMEVIÇOSA to act with them, so the organization is no longer necessary (Interviewee 3).

This purpose is oriented towards effectiveness, given that the focus of the proposal is to obtain a preset goal, namely, improving the work of the city councils.

Among the actions taken by the organization, it is possible to highlight the filing of an impeachment request against the mayor of Viçosa, elected in 2012, because of several allegations of irregularities. The request was rejected after voted by the councilors, as two thirds of the votes were necessary in favor of opening the process, which would be ten out of fifteen votes. The result, however, was nine votes in favor of opening the process, five against and one abstention, leading to rejecting the request.

Nonetheless, the interviewees mentioned a very important result obtained during the first year of the organization

[...] it was a change in the internal regulation of the Viçosa City Council, enabling the opening of parliamentary inquiries. This change took place because of the representatives of Amarribo in the city. The president of Amarribo informed the members of AMEVIÇOSA and the city councilors in one of the City Council’s meetings, that the internal regulation was unconstitutional because parliamentary inquiries are a minority right and three signatures should suffice to establish them. With this information, the internal regulation of the City Council was altered, which enabled the opening of inquiries for health and transportation. (Interviewee 4)

This and other actions carried out by members of AMEVIÇOSA generated positive results that contributed to the improvement and motivation for action of the citizens of Viçosa in exerting social accountability over public management. Within this context, it is possible to observe, in several aspects, the presence of the instrumental rationality in the activities carried out by the organization.

Therefore, it is in accordance with the literature, as observed in Santos (2002, apud DUQUE BRASIL, 2004), who indicates two analytical lines regarding the terms and the role of institutional participation. The first concerns participation in an instrumental way, as a means to ensure governability, seeking to redirect efficiency channeling the means of protest and the influence of social movements into controlled forms of participation. It is a perspective that sees participation as a way of reinforcing the tendency of withdrawing responsibility from the state. The second line, on the other hand, reinforces the public and political dimensions of citizen participation. From this point of view, the instances of participation constitute spaces for the disclosure
of conflicts, negotiation of different interests, affirmation and (re)construction of collective identities, which is in accordance with aspects of substantiality, as shown below.

Shared Values

Just as there are shared goals among the members, it is possible to observe peoples’ sense of duty, or responsibility, to participate as an expression of common values – another variable that motivates participation, according to Birchall and Simmons (2004). This was observed in the speech of the participants:

It is the duty of the citizen to fight for a better society. I do no more than my civic duty, meaning I do no more than my obligation (Interviewee 2).

The organization was created by a group of dissatisfied people, with common ideals in favor of collectiveness (Interviewee 1).

Any person who gives the smallest amount of time for the benefit of another person is already doing a great thing (Interviewee 5).

Similarly to what is analyzed on the topic on shared goals, it is relevant to understand the actions and activities carried out through the perspective of the substantive rational action. The interviewees say that in the decision-making process “there is no hierarchy among the members” and “decisions are made and developed jointly, in a participatory manner”. The solution to an eventual standoff in a conflict, as discussed above, occurs through a consensus. This shows the existing dialogue among the organization’ members, which is characteristic of the substantiality, and an orientation for understanding.

In the inter-personal relationships aspect, the interviews lead to the perception of a “friendly and pleasant relationship”, “there is trust among the members”, “the relationship is very good, everyone is very enthusiastic”, there is “respect and appreciation among them, despite personal convictions”. This demonstrates authenticity and harmony among the members, another orientation for understanding.

The aspect of personal satisfaction also projects substantive rationality, which is observed in the interviews: “feeling useful to Viçosa, socially helping”, “I feel honored to participate in such a movement, it’s very pleasant”, “it is a joy, a unique sensation that only people who participate in such an organization feel, of having a united group for the development of the city” – there is a prevalence of self-actualization and an orientation for relevance.

Among the values that the members of AMEVIÇOSA attempt to instill in the citizens, according to the interviews are “moral, family values and altruism”, “citizenship”, “ethics and moral integrity”, “popular participation, transparency and administrative integrity”, “honesty from the citizens and from the public administrators”. These values are diffused during the meetings in the association, through social media and during the sessions of the City Council.

In order to illustrate the orientation for relevance exposed in the disseminated values, one of the interviewees says:

[...] the need for popular participation for the improvement of the quality of life, as well as the importance of transparency in the administration are fundamental values. Patriotism is imbued in the matter of participation, if you really like your country, you will work to change it starting with your city (Interviewee 3).

Furthermore, the substantiality seen in the orientation for relevance can be observed in one of the proposals that the organization intends to bring into effect:

[...] making a national pact for integrity, making it possible to work with children in elementary school, for 20 years, encompassing all Brazilian children for this process to reach their families. But to do this, governmental support is necessary, because the educational structure must be altered, in order to bring ethical and moral values so that future generations think differently (Interviewee 3).
Rationalities in motivation for citizen participation in social accountability: a Brazilian local experience

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The presence of substantiality in the organization can be seen, in consonance with Serva (1997), who states that substantive rational action directed towards the collective dimension refers to an understanding over responsibility and social satisfaction.

**Sense of Community**

The sense of community dimension refers to people identifying with one another and being concerned with those who live in the same area or are similar in some respect, which can be observed in the following statements:

> We live in the city, as do our children, grandchildren and relatives. Also, we are professionals who wish to see Viçosa with a reasonable quality of life (Interviewee 2).

> Among my personal reasons for getting involved is the fact that I want a better city for my children and myself. I am faced daily with the problem of the city; my children and friends are also faced with these problems (Interviewee 4).

The presence of instrumental rationality can be seen from these statements. On the other hand, substantiality is observed in the personal satisfaction that comes from community support: “we have had a lot of community support, even from those who don’t want the exposure, such as business owners. And that gives us strength to continue”.

Moreover, the concern of the members of AMEVIÇOSA with citizen awareness displays the substantive rationality, through orientation for relevance. This is observed from the interviewees: “the more people see, that through unity it is possible to improve the city, the easier it will be to reach our goal, which is living in a city with better quality of life”; “better citizen awareness on the importance of participating in the improvement of the quality of life in the city would be the best benefit to come from AMEVIÇOSA”; and “it is important to make people believe in what they are doing, knowing that it will result in something. Engagement will come when people feel that they make a difference.”

Alves and Júnior (2012, p. 13) emphasize the importance of the collective factor in the results of their study, affirming that there is “[…] a high degree of altruism and citizenship in participant individuals, besides an identification with the collective and awareness about their role in society”.

Therefore, in the sense of community aspect, the concern with the collective good stressed by the interviewees shows the presence of both instrumental and substantive rationalities.

**FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The results of this empirical study indicate the rationalities complementarity in the motivational process of citizen participation in social accountability, since stimulation for participation emerges from the value attributed to exercising social accountability. This comes from substantive rationality, while instrumental rationality presents itself as a way to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of citizens’ community action.

Therefore, the motivation for citizen participation, given by the stimulations and actions, is guided by both rationalities, which coexist, with one prevailing over the other in each specific case and without any disadvantage for the activities of the organization studied, in line with the studies of Lima (2005), Ramos (2006), Souza and Lins (2006), and Santos and Serva (2013).

Citizens who are more motivated are more active in social accountability over public management. This, in turn, brings the possibilities for the improvement to democracy. It is for this reason that we suggest deeper studies on motivation and rationalities. Despite the existence of different theoretical frameworks on motivation, this study adopted the models of Birchall and Simmons (2004) and Simmons and Birchall (2005) because it is important to consider the context in which the motivation for citizen active engagement in the supervision of municipal public management arises. For future works, the
study of citizen participation in light of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in interaction with substantive and instrumental rationalities is recommended.

On the other hand, the existing obstacles for social accountability are demotivating factors for participation. Therefore, it is necessary for the mechanisms that seek to motivate and ensure citizen participation, such as laws and governmental websites, to be continuously analyzed and investigated, seeking to perfect the democratic institutions in Brazil. It is also pertinent to recommend more research seeking to understand the boundaries of citizen participation at the municipal level.

Understanding the aspects that motivate participation and the existing obstacles will foster the endeavor of new actions to implement social accountability of public management and, consequently, contribute to the development of the cities. Furthermore, it is necessary to foster civil society organizations, such as AMEVICOSA, which motivate citizen participation and provide extremely important services for the good of the society. These organizations should not only be respected but also heard by public administrations where they act.
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