

## Considerations on citizen participation in the development of public policies: insights from a Habermasian perspective

Considerações sobre a participação do cidadão na elaboração de políticas públicas: reflexões a partir de uma perspectiva Habermasiana

Consideraciones sobre la participación ciudadana en la elaboración de políticas públicas: ideas desde una perspectiva habermasiana

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### ABSTRACT

The Habermasian theory has the potential to help understand government initiatives aimed at implementing actions in the public interest with social participation. It provides an epistemic framework for understanding the coherence, comprehensiveness, and sustainability of government decisions and actions. The objective of this analysis was to examine the fundamental concepts of Habermasian thought and its strengths in understanding public policies. Additionally, a proposed analytical framework of public policy with Habermasian categories is presented. A documentary-analytical methodology was used, involving the review, analysis, systematization, and interpretation of books, scientific articles, and theses related to the central themes of the study. The results indicate that the theory of communicative action, the notions of public sphere, and deliberative procedure enable the creation of mechanisms and spaces for debate and social participation in the management of public policies, legitimizing the normative system in a democratic rule of law. In conclusion, it is established that the use of analytical categories from Habermasian thought, when contextualized, contributes to the practice of social management in addressing public policy issues of collective interest.

**Keywords:** Habermasian theory, public policy analysis, communicative rationality, deliberation, participation.

### RESUMO

O pensamento habermasiano tem potencial para compreender as iniciativas governamentais que visam à implementação de ações de interesse público com participação social. Assim, surge um dispositivo epistêmico para entender a coerência, a abrangência e a sustentabilidade das decisões e ações governamentais. O objetivo foi analisar os conceitos fundamentais do pensamento habermasiano e seus pontos fortes para a compreensão das políticas públicas. Da mesma forma, é proposta uma estrutura analítica de políticas públicas com categorias habermasianas. Foi aplicada uma metodologia documental-analítica, por meio da revisão, análise, sistematização e interpretação de livros, artigos científicos e teses, referentes aos focos centrais do estudo. Os resultados indicam que a teoria da ação comunicativa, as noções de esfera pública e de procedimento deliberativo possibilitam a criação de mecanismos, espaços de debate e participação social na gestão de políticas públicas, legitimando o sistema normativo no Estado Democrático de Direito. Em conclusão, constata-se que a associação de categorias analíticas do pensamento habermasiano, se contextualizada, contribui para a práxis da gestão social em face de políticas públicas sobre problemas de interesse coletivo.

**Palavras-chave:** Teoria habermasiana, análise de políticas públicas, marco analítico, racionalidade comunicativa, deliberação, participação.

### RESUMEN

El pensamiento habermasiano posee un potencial para la comprensión de las iniciativas gubernamentales, orientadas a concretar acciones de interés público con participación social. Así, emerge un dispositivo epistémico para comprender la coherencia, integralidad y sostenibilidad de las decisiones y acciones de los gobiernos. El objetivo fue analizar los conceptos fundamentales del pensamiento habermasiano y sus fortalezas para comprender las políticas públicas. De la misma forma, un marco analítico de política pública con categorías habermasianas es propuesto. Se aplicó una metodología documental-analítica, mediante la revisión, análisis, sistematización e interpretación de libros, artículos científicos y tesis, referidos a los focos centrales del estudio. Los resultados indican que la teoría de la acción comunicativa, las nociones de esfera pública y procedimiento deliberativo; posibilitan la creación de mecanismos, espacios de debate y participación social en la gestión de políticas públicas, legitimando el sistema normativo en el Estado democrático de derecho. Como conclusión, se establece que la asociación de categorías analíticas del pensamiento habermasiano, si se contextualiza, contribuye a la praxis de la gestión social frente a las políticas públicas de problemas de interés colectivo.

**Palabras clave:** Teoría habermasiana, análisis de políticas públicas, marco de análisis, racionalidad comunicativa, deliberación, participación.

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This article reflects on fundamental concepts of Habermasian theory, generally considered the last classic of contemporary social thought. It provides an analytical framework for future research and public policy analysis through the Habermasian prism. In times of democratic fragility, this discussion is highly relevant as it offers analytical categories and a model for debate.

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The article is original because it explores into theoretical depth while also making an epistemological effort to propose an analytical framework and its operationalization, supported by examples from developing Latin American countries.

## INTRODUCTION

The thought of the German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas can be found in various areas of knowledge. He established the development of a theory of emancipation based on Western historical Marxism and positivism, in collaboration with other members of the second generation of the Frankfurt School, specifically Max Horkheimer (1976) and Hebert Marcuse (1964). The main intentionality was oriented to the diagnosis of technical and instrumental rationality and its social use, with emphasis on the expressions of the cultural sectors.

For a deep understanding of the referred theory, its circumscription to the criticality of the traditional theoretical method should be considered, to focus on the conception of theory and practice as a relationship of interdependence. According to Vieira (2019), emphasis is placed on the subject-object linkage from a sociohistorical view to understand how things are from how they are not, in search of how they should be. All this to make visible the perception of ideological domination.

Habermas' reflections (1987) lead to establishing communication as the most essential human process. Consequently, the theory of communicative action is an option for understanding ethics and politics. This must be done from the premise that free and rational discourse is essential for the strengthening of democracy. Therefore, several authors make use of Habermasian thought to understand the contextualization of the processes of participation and social control in modernity. (Canto, 2015). Therefore, assuming this premise, the intellectual challenge arises to reflect on the attributes of Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action and its explanatory strengths to understand public policies.

Specifically, the objective is oriented to analyze the fundamental concepts of Habermas' theory of communicative action (1992) and its potential for the analysis of the processes of elaboration, formulation and implementation of public policies. In order to fulfill the formulated objective, a documentary methodology was used. In this sense, we first read the Theory of Communicative Action (TAC), which consists of two volumes: 1) Rationality of action and social rationalization and 2) Critique of functionalist reason. Subsequently, research articles related to public policy constructs and the theory of communicative action were searched and reviewed.

The procedure followed was that established by (Guevara *et al.*, 2020), which considers three phases: preparatory, descriptive and interpretative. For the first phase, after identifying the topic to be studied (in this case, theories of communicative action and public policies), information was sought through specialized search engines, carrying out exploratory readings to circumscribe the thematic horizon for the selection of relevant material for the study. Subsequently, the theoretical content was analyzed, extracting the pertinent information on which the respective analysis was made to elaborate the theoretical descriptions on the thematic studied. Finally, in the interpretative phase, Finally, the research proposes a framework for the analysis of public policies based on the theoretical-empirical literature of Habermasian nuance. In addition to the above, specifically for the treatment of the literature considered in this study, the following were assumed as inclusion criteria:

- Articles published in the following databases: SciElo, Dialnet, Scopus, REDIB and Scholar Google.
- Years of publication from 2010 to 2023.
- Disclosed in English or Spanish.
- Evaluation of relevant aspects of the subject addressed.

Accordingly, the paper begins with the presentation of the main conceptual categories of the theory of communicative action, with emphasis on: communicative action, the public sphere and deliberative democracy. Next, the conceptualization of public policies will be presented, as well as its process and constitutive operations. Finally, conclusions are drawn as a critical reflection on the possibilities and limitations of the use of Habermasian concepts in the context of policies under the axis of civil society participation.

### **Theoretical foundations: unraveling Habermas's taxonomy**

Before presenting the conceptual attributes of Habermasian thought, it is necessary to outline a brief review of the approach to rationality throughout history. In this sense, it should be noted that the adequacy of means to certain ends is forged in the development of social spheres subject to technical criteria of rational decision. Weber (1997) from the analysis of capitalist society, argues that the rationalization of social action is biased towards the means-ends relationship (Serruto & Carrillo, 2019)..

This definition was questioned by Adorno and Horkheimer (1969). (1969) from critical theory. According to Moreno (2020) these authors point out that rationality, by not considering values, leaves aside all social issues that are impossible to solve from the perspective of the means-ends relationship. Therefore, they emphasize that the subjective and irrational are far from the scope of economy and efficiency of the means. Consequently, science and technology open the way to domination by contributing to the domination of nature and its submission to man.

On the other hand, Habermas' (1987) position is not radically against the rationality of science and technology, but rather opposes the universalization of science and technology (Pizzi, 2023). (Pizzi, 2023). Thus, he is against the penetration of science in an instrumental way. This author states that rationality in decision-making spheres must be communicative. Therefore, he proclaims that social interaction and work, driven by reason as a process of human emancipation, must be assumed.

Accordingly, Habermas (1987) advocates a critical theory of democratic thought as an emancipatory praxis, based on an inseparable social critique, which is not circumscribed to social relations observed from established norms. On the contrary, from his interest in language, he advocates linguistic communication in the processes of socialization and individualization. In doing so, he establishes that, through communicative rationality, there is the certain possibility of a communicatively regulated interaction.

In relation to the above, Jaramillo (2010) explains that social interaction is the sphere of society where social norms are built from the coexistence between subjects with competences for communication and action. In other words, communicative action predominates. This situation is explained in the words of Habermas (1987) as "a symbolically mediated interaction, which is guided by rules of obligatory validity that define the reciprocal expectations of behavior and that must be understood and recognized, at least, by two agent subjects" (p. 57).

By questioning scientific rationality from the point of view of interactive human action, Habermas (1987) establishes that a vacuum of communicative action is produced. This approach explains the conception of a human being characterized by feeling, thinking and acting in an individualistic way in solitude, which leads to social problems. The aforementioned author explains these difficulties by the progression of a rational action with respect to the purpose. This is why a bureaucratic management with an excess of instrumental rationality is emphasized.

It is essential to point out Habermas' (1992) concern for the rescue of the subject through language and dialogue, which evidences his orientation to communicative rationality. In it, the human being, through language and dialogue, expresses his perceptions, desires, intentions, thoughts and expectations. Therefore, the behavior of the person in the family and social environment causes public actions. Reciprocally such actions tributary to the interests of society. (Leoni, 2019). In view of the above, Habermas (1998) establishes the ethics of communication, a construct that presents how the individual impacts on the ethics of society. From where he builds a moral and fair behavior of himself, in constant communication.

### **Theory of communicative action**

Several authors, among which Marques and Martins (2016) stand out, indicate that Habermas established his theory under a conception of ethics based on dialogue. In it, he proposes the replacement of Kant's practical reason (2002) by communicative reason. He distinguishes in this approach, that good faith should be required as a criterion for assessing the relationship between people; thus, ethics emerges.

In Habermas' discursive ethics (2002), legal norms, sanctions and cultural values are discussed, assuming a theory of communicative reason. This is circumscribed to collective life, in which the binding influence of intersubjective understanding and reciprocal recognition is emphasized. For Idobro (2020) the theory of communicative rationality yields a reflection on the values and legal norms present in society, from an interdisciplinary point of view. Due to the effort to reconcile concepts from different disciplines such as sociology, psychology, philosophy and law. From this, it can be inferred that the theory of communicative action is an ethical-normative conception with conceptual contributions that allow arguing any reflection on the political participation of the subjects.

For Habermas (1992) this theory is a model of action for understanding. For him, it is the communicative power forged in the social bases of the world of life that allows action through democratic political institutions. According to Mendonça (2016), the German philosopher strove to define the universal norms of communicative action. Thus, he established the exchange of arguments as a means of resolving ethical-moral issues for sure, as long as an approximation to the ideal situation of discourse is established. In addition, he refers that the characteristics of such a strategy are:

- Impartiality
- Expectation of significance of initial preferences

- Total inclusion of those affected by a decision
- Equality, freedom and ease of interaction, without the presence of external and internal coercion.
- Freedom of topics in the discussions and the possibility of foreseeing the results.

In proposing an ideal model of communicative action, its creator presents the ideal linguistic situation: discourse, through communicative reason. That is, it enables mutual understanding among participants capable of establishing a dialogue, coordinating human action in society. In the words of Habermas (1992) communicative action "takes into account linguistic understanding as a mechanism for coordinating action" (p.47). Thus, a reciprocal understanding is established, conceptualized as an inter-subjective relationship between people socialized through communication and mutually recognizing each other.

Intersubjectivity is achieved through mutual understanding between people who can debate and use language rationally, finding better propositions to justify, legitimize and validate discourses and social practices. Habermas, bets on individuals capable of realizing, through discourse, agreements of free conviction in the face of the constant communicative praxis (Vieira, 2019).

It follows that the intersubjective dimension guides the transition from the autonomy of reason centered on the individual (individualistic thinking) to a communicative rationality (collective thinking). This leads, as Aboslaiman argues (2023) This leads, as Aboslaiman (2023) argues, to the establishment of communication and the maintenance of a climate of trust in the communities to ensure that its members think freely and guided by the drive of the "we". Thus, discussions take place in communicative actions to determine values and norms that guide decisions.

Congruent with the above, interlocutors seek arguments based on consensus in dialogic situations. As stated by Habermas (2002) Habermas (2002), this corresponds to the intention of substantiating the validity of the opinions and norms on which the discourse of communicative action is implicitly based. To this end, the aforementioned author establishes three worlds where communicational interactions take place: the objective world of things, the social world of norms and institutions, and the subjective world of experiences. In them, different forms of validity are generated.

For Habermas (1987) in the first world, validity is described from the truth of the statements of the participants in the communicative process. The social world is concerned with validity relative to the correctness and adjustment of norms. Finally, the subjective world of experiences and feelings is concerned with truthfulness, understood as the sincerity of the participants when they express their feelings in the dialogue.

The previous paragraph explains the intersubjective aspect of theoretical or practical discourse, according to the claims of validity of opinions or social norms from Habermasian thought. Therefore, according to Gamero (2021) (2021), it allows us to classify communicative or logical-argumentative discourse. In addition, it orients the determination of a specific case of substantiation of problematized validity claims. Therefore, the legitimization of truth values as well as normative correctness and truthfulness, admitted in all communicative action, is unattainable by a means-ends rationality. It is inevitably only possible through an argumentation based on principles recognized and validated by the interlocutors.

From this perspective, Habermas (1992) includes to the concept of rationality the political-moral and aesthetic-expressive dimensions. This inclusion makes possible a more enriched mode than the instrumental procedure of means-ends rationality. Insofar as it makes visible the potential of reason based on the validity of discourse. Likewise, the theory of communicative action introduces the dialectic of knowing and not knowing, in the dialectic of understanding achieved or not achieved. Thus, communicative reason is characterized by the cohesive force of intersubjective understanding and mutual recognition. At the same time, it describes a universe of collective way of life. That is to say, the search for the return of the reality of norms forms the core of communicative rationality from the subjectivity of the subject (Gamero, 2021).

In summary, for Habermas (1987), language plays a fundamental role in the coordination of actions, ethical evaluations and subjective manifestations. Where the communicative process is the basis of all interaction for mutual understanding, since only an argument in the form of discourse allows individuals to communicate, agreeing on the validity of proposals or the legitimacy of norms. However, discourse presupposes interaction, that is, the participation of actors who communicate freely and in a situation of symmetry.

### **The Habermasian public sphere**

Initially, the concept of public sphere was presented by Habermas (1982) as a space of coexistence where free citizens come together to share values and transform culture. Thus, freedom and equality among individuals point as the principles of political exercise. Subsequently, he conceptualizes it as a space of rational communicative exchanges of the citizen, with which rights and participation are granted. In this sense, the function of the public sphere is to mediate in the decisions of the political system through dialectical processes, whereby the communicative power of the public sphere establishes control over public power. For this reason, the conceptualization of the public sphere becomes an essential focus

in the reconstruction of critical theory.

For Habermas (1982), this contributes to a new relationship between critical theory and democratic theory in the face of two different dimensions of the concept of the public sphere, especially a sphere for the legal interaction of groups, associations and movements. This represents in the first place, a critical argumentative linkage with political organization, making possible a new form of relationship between rationality and participation. Secondly, it refers to a tension between the autonomy of cultural critique and the commercial character of the process of cultural production (Habermas, 1987). (Habermas, 1987). This tension implies the mutual infiltration of the public and private spheres.

For Habermas (1998) the public sphere transcends the state public space. It represents a space for interaction and discussion based on communicative rationality that aims at universalizable interests. His analysis is oriented to social movements and civil society, seeking democratic legitimization from communicative action, language behavior and ethical communication. For Aguiló (2015) Habermas' vision of the private sphere has changed in the sense of a separation of interests linked to the domestic economy and subjectivity. In addition, he calls for the constitution of a public space that separates the individual's capacity for reflection from material interests.

It also refers to the changing relationship between the bourgeoisie and power, since it renounces the direct action of the government, but claims the right to have knowledge of what the state does. Consequently, relations between the state and society are given the character of public relations. In other words, the bourgeoisie's demand for public accountability created a sphere of individuals who seek to subject the decisions of the state to rational criticism (Habermas, 1992). (Habermas, 1992). Therefore, the thesis that the bourgeois public sphere is a space permeated by power and the instrumental use of reason would gain strength and solidity.

Habermas' attempt to characterize a cultural and political public in the early bourgeois period, in addition to emphasizing the non-commercial activities of cultural audiences, breaks with the possibility of linking the advances of modernity with a growing tension between the market and the public sphere (Mattos *et al.*, 2021). Indeed, the most significant developments of critical theory have pointed in this direction, highlighting especially the emergence of a critical audience with the media in contemporary societies.

Briefly, as an original proposal Habermas (1982) understood the public sphere as a forum for the formation of public opinion, contrasting civil society with the State. Although through the decline in the development of advertising and *marketing* strategies that reinforced the character of the mass media and the reduction of the public-private dichotomy. In dealing with the welfare state, the author abandons the bipolar model (public-private) and decides to take into account different publics or discursive arenas spread throughout society. Thus, the public sphere has become the place of conflict between different interest groups that seek means to manipulate the public (Habermas, 1982).

It should be noted that, in complex societies, citizen sovereignty, understood as a process of practical argumentation, cannot be demanded only through informal public discourses. This is because, in order to generate political power, the people's influence must have an impact on democratic deliberations by taking an authoritative form (Mattos *et al.*, 2021). In other words, they depend on state guarantees to exercise their freedom of communication and require conditions of equal participation in democratic legislative processes.

According to Habermas (1992) only the power generated communicatively in social interaction is susceptible to legitimization. For this, a model of bidirectional circulation of political power must be consolidated, in which representatives with authorized access to the political system (strong publics) and citizens who produce public opinion (weak publics) engage in an exchange that can intervene in decision making.

### **The deliberative process and context**

As stated by Habermas (1982), the state should contain the capacity to exercise public opinion and the will of citizens, legitimizing the democratic state of rights. For this, citizens must be able to act collectively, collective action that would mean the transfer by the State of intersubjective knowledge in an organized self-determination of society. In this regard, Rivera (2017) states that the discursive theory of democracy respects the boundaries between state and society. Thus, proceduralism is established as an ideal form of deliberation and decision-making insofar as the autonomy of individual opinions reflects a highly organized and legitimized democracy in deliberative procedure. In this way, the communicative assumptions of opinion and will formation function as the most important filter for the discursive rationalization of decisions in the institutional sphere.

Furthermore, according to Habermas (1998) the normative conception of deliberation generates a different conceptual matrix for defining the nature of the democratic process, under the normative requirements of publicity, rationality and equality. According to the author, the deliberative procedure, by allowing the greatest possible number of alternatives for action, guarantees the right of expression and participation. Consequently; the mentioned procedure, which is constituted by several theoretical and normative assumptions, must be built on the basis of the majority of people, respecting



their freedom and equality. All this oriented to social participation in the meanings of life, in a collective conception, based on the idea that the legitimacy of political decisions and actions.

This model suggested by Habermas (1998), presents an enormous practical application in the interaction of subjects in the public space and in the possibility of interference in social reality. This is a strength for the discussion, elaboration, implementation and fulfillment of public policies. According to the author, deliberative democracy is based on the recognition of the:

Internal link between human rights and the sovereignty of peoples, which entails a communicative freedom that makes it possible to take [...] a position in the face of an opponent's statements and the claims of validity raised in them, which depend on an intersubjective recognition. (Habermas, 1998, p. 153).

From this perspective, the predictability of the decision to be taken is important to provide legal certainty as to how to act in society. However, Aboslaiman (2023) observes that the content of human rights based on their tradition, experiences and achievements makes it difficult to detail externally the content of public policies. On the contrary, the specificities of each culture and openness to participation in the legislative process must be observed, in correspondence with what happens in the world of life. Preserving pluralism and citizenship contained in the possibility of participation of each community in the construction of the legal norm.

It should be noted that Habermas (1982) defends the liberation of man from alienation and depoliticization. Therefore, he urges to participate in a communicative management of power, focusing on the emancipation of the human species and the construction of its own history. In this sense; individuals must assume political power by exercising citizenship, considering that every social relationship represents a political phenomenon of a communicational, symbolic and real nature (Rivera, 2017).

Habermas (1992) affirms that the rationality of communication demands the knowledge of what unites the members of a community in an objective world recognized and considered as one and the same world by a community of subjects capable of language and action. Such an affirmation presupposes an understanding of what happens in the world before the common context of their lives and the intersubjectively shared world... (Habermas, 1987). (Habermas, 1987). The democratic theory presented by the aforementioned author implies a process in which popular sovereignty and self-government are effectively exercised. From the theory of communicative action, political participation is placed in the context of the tension between democracy and capitalism and within the scope of a theory of the relationship between state and society.

Given this perspective, the political system needs to be permeable to continuous civic participation, which includes a wide range of activities. While the process of mutual understanding requires that the validity of the discourse be recognized among the people involved in the communication process, the political system needs to be permeable to continuous civic participation, which includes a wide range of activities. (Habermas, 1998). Additionally, Habermas (1982) argues that deliberative democracy is based on the idea that individuals and their representatives (politicians) are creditors and debtors of reciprocal justifications. This exchange of justifications is capable of providing more legitimized and elaborated ideas, contributing to a reciprocal relationship, understanding between people and the construction of public opinion, constituting this exchange the legitimizing basis of democracy.

In response to the previous paragraph, popular participation in the discussion, elaboration and implementation of public policies is necessary. (Canto, 2015). Thus, the intentionality of conferring legitimacy to the decision-making process is concretized, in attention to the deliberative democracy idealized by Habermas. Likewise, it can disseminate the exchange of reciprocal justifications between citizens and their representatives (politicians), enabling the adoption of the most appropriate solution and full understanding of the decisions, contributing to the success of the public policies to be implemented. In short, citizen participation constitutes the fundamental essence of deliberation in democracy, contributing to the promotion of a democratic political culture.

### **Public policies from Habermas' perspective**

Public policies are conceived as responses of the State (or government) to situations fraught with social problems. In this sense, public policies are a means to respond to a problem of public interest. For Salazar (2019), the focus of any public policy is a socially relevant issue; that is, it leads to a social construction and recognition of the problem.

It is clear from the previous paragraph that every public policy is focused on a specific and concrete purpose with the intention of solving problems. It is a real option to improve the quality of life of a particular group of citizens in a specific context. In pursuit of this purpose Farfán *et al.* (2020) state that the State has the responsibility to lead this process in order to offer answers to public problems. To this end, it must convene other social actors (private initiative and citizens) to formulate and execute them; in addition to being the guarantor of political power, representative of the common good and agent of service to society.

The responsibility of the State, as described in the previous paragraph, entails challenges. It is important to invite, engage, organize and articulate other actors to achieve greater effectiveness, and to be able to elaborate public policies through a process of social construction and mediation between the State and the various, different and diverse groups of society.

According to the above, the Habermasian conception of the public sphere is a key concept for understanding the discursive theory of democracy and understanding the social construction of public policies. González (2016) highlights that Habermas (1982) presents the public sphere as a place of rational communicative exchanges, in which different publics and interests intervene. The public sphere, in complex societies, constituted an intermediary structure responsible for interconnecting the political system, the private sectors of the lifeworld and the systems of functional action (Habermas, 1982). In the face of this, the need for a separation of functions between civil society and political society becomes visible. This is emphasized by the discursive model of public space. Of course, with the reservations of the empirical reference to a context with effective mechanisms of control of the State by the public, which is understandable for citizens and political parties.

The aforementioned model continues to be efficient, as it allows citizens to actively participate in the public interest (Estrada, 2022). In that sense; it is necessary that within a permeable public sphere, issues, positions and arguments are presented by social actors, which will help in public policies and state control. According to Habermas (1992), in the political process, the communicative elements emerge clearly. Mainly, in the parliamentary space of production of norms sensitive to the discernment and distinction of social problems. Likewise, they derive from the action framework of the political public sphere that permeates the political system.

Therefore, both the establishment and structuring of legitimate law and the legitimization of political power are based on rational agreements. Such agreements are made on conflicting situations argued within the rational process of political formation of opinion and will. To this end, according to Habermas (1987) dependence must be considered with a popular sovereignty internally connected to subjective freedoms and intertwined with politically organized power. Thus, the materialization of the principle that all power emanates from the people is materialized. In this sense, according to Castrelo (2018) it is essential from Habermasian thought for the public sphere to distinguish themes to take favorable positions or not, where there is a struggle for political influence that is made possible in the face of public communication. That is, the consent of a public that has the same rights. In addition; the connections between the communicational structures of the public sphere and the domains of private life, allow civil society a greater sensitivity to grasp and identify new issues (Lopez, 2016).

The determination of the boundaries between the public and private spheres does not take the form of stable relationships. On the contrary, there are transformed communication conditions, where publicity and privacy are ensured. For Habermas (1982), discursive social participation through the guarantee of subjective rights in legislative and communication policy guarantees the success of participation in the democratic process, institutionalized in fundamental rights. Thus, the incorporation of practical reason in the process of public policies is evidenced by resorting to political deliberation, which optimizes the democratic procedure to solve public problems. Which, according to Habermas, is only possible in communicative conditions that ensure the acceptance of the norms presented for universal practices acceptability of the norms elevated to universal practice based on their own perspective of understanding and the world. (Canto, 2015).

It is worth considering that society is institutionalized by associations and organizations that are neither economic nor state-owned, but are subject to the communicative structure of the public sphere. These institutions correspond to civil society, and in Habermasian thought they have the capacity for political incidence. The differentiation of civil society in relation to the state and the economy, as well as its institutionalization, are guaranteed by the Constitution in democratic states, which results in a self-limitation of political society vis-à-vis civil society. In this sense, Habermas (1998) states that an impartial legal system is important to reconcile the particularistic projects of the associated and communicative individuals of civil society with the universalistic principles of modern democracies.

These associations can only maintain their autonomy and spontaneity if they rely on the pluralism of life forms and privacy rights to maintain an autonomous consciousness. Furthermore, Maisley (2018) emphasizes the dynamic, creative and contesting aspect of civil society; to make visible problems on which action must be taken in order to raise solution options with new values and collective identities from social movements. In this regard; Habermas (1992) describes it as a democratic process of creation of law where legitimacy and social integration are gestated. In this way, Habermas conceives that the success of participation in the democratic process depends inescapably on the effective discursive participation of citizens. This must be executed from the guarantee of the subjective rights of communication and political participation in the legislative process.

In sum, deliberative proceduralism is made possible by the principle of representativeness of the discourse of popular sovereignty. This is the product of the interactions between the formation of the legally institutionalized will and the culturally mobilized publics. Obviously, together with the civil society based on the State and the economic power. Because of the

formation of the will based on the currents of communication in the public sphere with the mediation of communicative action (Habermas, 1982). Undoubtedly, in this process the ethical performance in the acts resulting from suggestive public policies is essential. This affirmation invites leaders to look towards society and give it the precepts of compliance with the public interest.

Thus, public policies reach a collective interest when they are based on an ethical action where the public and private spheres are linked. (Aguiló, 2015). That is why the actors involved must focus on the trust of the public interest. For Jaramillo (2010), acting with integrity in observance, choices and decisions should permeate public acts. However, it is necessary to be attentive to the non-commendable aspect of the world, since human behavior is not always safe. In this regard, Leoni (2019) states that the acts of life and decisions, is constituted by uninterrupted relationships.

In relation to the above, integrity is shown as an emerging milestone in public or private collective action, or in the coexistence of them. Of course, not only with honest action, but mainly with transparent action, concerned with the participation and dialogue between these entities in search of a common goal to which all are inserted. (Aboslaiman, 2023). Thus, the magna carta of any nation, must pray the democratic principle, so that the normative content infers citizenship and democracy. This decision gives concreteness to the premise "All power emanates from the people". That is why the basis of the democratic system transcends an indirect and representative democracy, aiming to achieve the declarative existence of the direct participation of society through constitutional instruments. (Jaramillo, 2010).

The above is understood as a participatory government with decision-making power, as conceived by Canto (2015). This author suggests the need to distinguish experiences of citizen participation in public issues. For this, there must be principles and institutional designs appropriate to the context of the interests of all citizens. In this way, effectiveness in achieving public objectives would be achieved. The scope of this type of government should be set as a goal the innovative reconfiguration of democratic institutions. Thus, the energy and influence of the people should be harnessed to solve the problems that afflict them.

Precisely, Estrada (2022) refers that it is important that activities involving problems of collective interest, whether public or private, have publicity and transparency, to ensure effective participation in deliberations on the common good. This with the aim of providing a democratic management with the participation of civil society, in cooperation with public entities to achieve the guarantee of fundamental rights, through public policies implemented with effective popular participation.

For this to be established in fact, the construction of a participatory citizenship is necessary, which is hindered by inequalities in the structure of bureaucratization (Habermas, 1998). Because of this, social interaction is necessary for the promotion of improvements in problematic situations. Thus, it can be pointed out that the deliberative democracy proposed from the communicative action in the public sphere represents the broadest model of popular participation, by providing a direct intervention, through interaction in public decision making.

The constitutional provision is very assertive in the aspect of joint participation between the public power and the community. Regarding this, Medina (2019) indicates, the obligation of the defense and preservation of diffuse and intergenerational rights, as premises of the right to life. Thus, Maisley (2018) states that public policies reflect the wishes of citizens who seek integrity as a precept of their life and that these are empathically extended to a community of which they are part.

Undoubtedly, this is consistent with the plural, ethical and unambiguous actions of countries in the face of the evident globalization among peoples. For Posada (2020) this way of acting is under construction, which does not mean being against these principles in order to design and better understand the framework that supports all public policy. From this perspective, an analysis of Habermasian concepts is suggested, the relevance of the deliberative procedure as a discursive tool of democracy, based on communicative action for the management of public policies.

### **Towards the path of an analytical framework for public policies based on citizen participation**

This section provides a framework intended to analyze different public policies. Drawing from the perspectives of Habermas and beyond, the framework is structured into basilar axes that enable critical analysis, legitimacy, public participation, and communicative processes. The applied literature of Habermasian basis, in complement with the development presented in this paper, serves as a foundation and ground for this approach., combining theoretical line with some practical insights.

#### **1. Public sphere and communicative action**

This axis emphasizes the public sphere as a platform for discourse and debate where diverse stakeholders engage in dialogue. According to Habermas, communicative rationality is critical in the policy-making process to ensure legitimacy and democratic involvement. Policies must be analyzed based on the transparency of this public sphere and the quality of



dialogue within it. Effective policy analysis considers whether the public has sufficient access to information and the means to participate (Torgerson, 2010; De Angelis, 2021).

**2. Legitimation and public engagement**

Habermas' concept of legitimation is fundamental in public policy, which must be legitimized through public consent. This axis focuses on how the public is engaged in the legitimization process. Policy analysts must evaluate how well policies reflect the interests of citizens and whether those policies follow democratic procedures. Saretzki's (2010) focus on participation and Merad & Trump's (2018) principle of legitimacy in risk policy contributes to this foundational axis.

**3. Reflexive modernity and public administration**

This axis looks at how modern government administrations adapt to the complex demands of the public. Reflexive modernity encourages critical self-assessment by policymakers, requiring them to remain aware of the unintended consequences of their actions. In the context of public policies, this axis suggests that technocratic decision-making must be combined with a pragmatic understanding of real-world impacts (Sager, 2007; Crick & Gabriel, 2010).

**4. Risk, technocracy, and scientific discourse**

This axis brings in the role of science and risk in policy decisions, especially in contemporary contexts where scientific controversies influence public opinion. According to Mattila (2020) and Benson (2009), communicative planning theory and the Habermasian model of scientific discourse intersect with public policy. Analyzing public policies through this axis involves scrutinizing the incorporation of expert opinions and their impact on public perception.

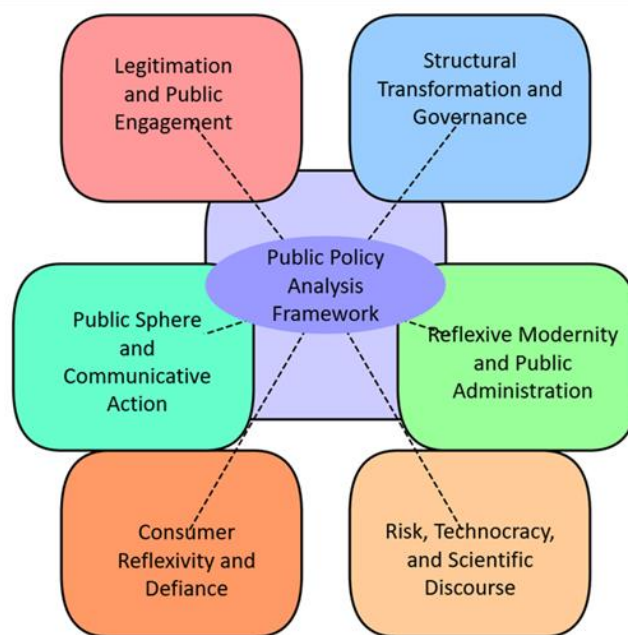
**5. Structural Transformation and Governance**

Krücken's (2024) post-Habermas perspective on higher education and the public sphere ties into Wickham's critique of government dominance (2010). This axis highlights the evolving structures of governance that require dynamic approaches to public engagement. Policies are shaped not only by traditional public discourse but also by the structural transformations in social institutions. This axis urges an examination of the ways in which governance mechanisms either facilitate or hinder democratic processes.

**6. Consumer Reflexivity and Defiance**

Ozanne & Murray (1995) introduce the idea of a reflexively defiant consumer who challenges public policies through critical engagement. In policy analysis, this axis explores how individuals, as consumers or citizens, influence policy by rejecting or adapting to policy measures. This axis extends Habermas' work by highlighting the role of active, critical, and defiant participation in policy debates.

Figure 1. Proposed analytical framework



Source: Authors based on the research and literature analysis (2024)

Besides the logical structure, it is important to ask how to operationalize this proposed analytical structure. Table 1 summarizes this proposition, even suggesting contexts of the socio-political reality in the Ecuadorian and Latin American context.

**Table 1.** Framework’s operationality proposal

Axis	Variables	Methods/Procedures	Examples (Ecuador and Latin America)
<b>Public sphere and communicative action</b>	Stakeholder inclusiveness, discourse quality, transparency	Discourse analysis, stakeholder mapping, public engagement surveys	<i>Example:</i> In Ecuador, the development of the <i>Consulta Popular</i> referendum involved broad public discussions, analyzing the inclusiveness and quality of political discourse regarding constitutional changes.
<b>Legitimation and public engagement</b>	Public participation, democratic procedures, legitimacy	Surveys, policy deliberation tracking, participatory research	<i>Example:</i> Bolivia’s constitutional reforms in 2009 involved participatory research and surveys to ensure legitimacy and public buy-in during the drafting of indigenous rights into the constitution.
<b>Reflexive modernity and public administration</b>	Administrative reflexivity, adaptability, unintended consequences	Case studies, process tracing, evaluation of administrative reforms	<i>Example:</i> Ecuador’s <i>Buen Vivir</i> (Good Living) policy reflected a reflexive adaptation of governance structures to focus on sustainability and indigenous values.
<b>Risk, technocracy, and scientific discourse</b>	Role of experts, public understanding of scientific risk	Expert interviews, media analysis, risk communication studies	<i>Example:</i> The environmental debate in Chile over the HidroAysén dam project highlighted the tension between expert-driven technocratic decisions and public risk perceptions.
<b>Structural transformation and governance</b>	Institutional change, governance dynamics, public sphere access	Institutional analysis, governance structure assessment, policy effectiveness evaluation	<i>Example:</i> Decentralization efforts in Colombia aimed to transform governance by increasing public access to decision-making at regional levels.
<b>Consumer reflexivity and defiance</b>	Consumer participation, critical public responses	Focus groups, narrative analysis, citizen engagement surveys	<i>Example:</i> In Argentina, citizens protested against the privatization of utilities, such as water services in the 1990s, demonstrating a critical public response to consumer participation issues.

**Source:** Authors based on the research and literature analysis (2024)

### FINAL REMARKS

In view of all the previous analysis, it is possible to present some conclusive lines that are nothing more than a relaunching of the initial intellectual challenge of understanding Habermasian thought as an epistemic device for the management of public policies.

Thus, it can be concluded that the axiological and teleological justification of public policies in a democracy surpasses the limits of scientific knowledge insofar as moral judgments are involved. Likewise, the clarification of the values and goals of democracy goes beyond the limits of a purely instrumental reason, which observes only pragmatic reasons of actors to achieve the ends given by the means provided.

Habermas (1998) strove in his attempt to find a historical normative framework to argue the critique of the theory of democracy. He emphasized the importance of the discursive rationality of the subject, which allowed him to establish the presuppositions of a theory of communicative praxis to explain deliberative democracy. This interest in studying language led him to a social critique based on normative potentialities and oriented the theory towards democratic thought. This philosopher emphasizes the importance of consensus building as a result of citizen participation in the formation of public policies. Citizen participation encourages the inclusion of multiple perspectives and the search for solutions that are acceptable to all citizens. This consensus-building process strengthens the legitimacy of public policies and increases citizens' trust in the political system.

Furthermore, Habermasian studies are based on the emancipation of the procedures of communicative interaction. Establishing communicative freedom as a condition of other freedoms, which makes possible the self-placement of the individual. Habermas' approach (1992) on the subjectivity of the world, constructs it from the ideas of Kantian reason and Hegelian philosophy. Thus, he conceives subjectivity in the modern world guided by the autonomy of reason, individualism, the right to criticize and idealistic philosophy. Freedom is an individual aspect with collective scope, focused on the exercise of pluralistic social development, from where it goes to the search for welfare as a procedure of human development.

Habermas (1992) does not associate emancipation with specific contents, since it comes from the subjects themselves and from communicative praxis. It is from this praxis that the author presents the deliberative procedure in the role of modern democracy, which represents an important theoretical tool when attempting to analyze the formulation, implementation and results of public policies. For him, free and undistorted communication is the foundation of a democratic society. Citizen participation implies a process of rational and inclusive dialogue in which citizens can express their interests, concerns and values.

Furthermore, civil society and the public sphere are fundamental in Habermasian studies, as they are presented as strategic bases for communicative action and deliberative democracy. Many countries have ensured, through their legal framework, the functioning of democratic institutions. Likewise, they are making progress in institutionalizing the necessary procedures for the free expression of civil society, expanding the sphere and public spaces for deliberation. Habermas (1982) argues that citizen participation takes place in the public sphere, a discursive space where citizens can interact and discuss matters of common interest. Democratic deliberation in the public sphere involves an exchange of rational arguments and a collective search for just and legitimate solutions. Through this deliberation, more inclusive and representative public policies can be formed.

Governments emphasize the proximity of citizens, to seek their involvement in contributing to the administrative power more responsive to the demands of society. Among other forms of direct participation, they highlight mechanisms to deliberate public policies, allowing civil society and social movements to influence the public agenda by including new issues and demands. This, in practice, should guarantee deliberative power by promoting social interaction and the communicative action of citizens.

Likewise, social control should be projected as a permanent process, through the implementation of devices that allow social autonomy in the public sphere, recognizing its contribution to effective control within public policies. For Habermas, it is essential to reduce the distance between governmental bodies and citizens. To this end, he proposes a deliberative democracy, with the aim of emphasizing a proceduralist stance that seeks to democratize representation and establish consensus procedures for participation.

From this point of view, the implementation of the rights of freedom, equality and human dignity should be sought as foundations for the validity of other rights. In this sense, an anticipatory decision should be allowed as a key to the development of associative life, legitimized by communicative action and validated by deliberative proceduralism.

In this sense, the deliberation, approval and compliance with rules and procedures in the participatory space for the management of public policies is particularly relevant. The discussion on the representativeness of civil society participation certainly contributes to the deepening of the epistemic debate. In short, the theoretical categories developed by Habermas and discussed here show their explanatory potential for public policy, constituting important analytical categories to the extent that they are mediated and contextualized.

To promote citizen participation from a Habermasian perspective, it is necessary to establish institutional mechanisms that encourage and facilitate dialogue and deliberation. This may include the creation of spaces for citizen participation, such as public hearings, popular consultations and dialogue tables. In addition, effective communication channels should be established between citizens and decision-makers.

In brief, citizen participation in the formation of public policies, from the Habermasian approach, promotes a more inclusive, deliberative and legitimate democracy. By allowing citizens to actively participate in the decision-making process, the quality and legitimacy of public policies is strengthened. Citizen participation based on Habermas's theory of communicative action (1992) emphasizes the importance of rational dialogue, the inclusion of diverse perspectives and the search for consensus as key elements for the formation of fair and equitable public policies. Finally, the proposed framework offers a flexible and adaptable approach to public policy analysis, integrating key dimensions and operationalizing them with specific variables and methods. Its applicability to various policy contexts, especially within Ecuador and Latin America, increases its value and relevance in development informed and effective policy studies in a Habermasian lens.

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**Contribution of each author to the manuscript:**

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	A1	A2	A3	A4
A. theoretical and conceptual foundations and problematization:	25%	25%	25%	25%
B. data research and statistical analysis:	25%	25%	25%	25%
C. elaboration of figures and tables:	25%	25%	25%	25%
D. drafting, reviewing and writing of the text:	25%	25%	25%	25%
E. selection of bibliographical references	25%	25%	25%	25%
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