Report of the Workshop

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STRENGTHENING PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

PREFACE

For the last twenty years, the concept of 'participation' has been used widely in development, referring primarily to participation in projects or in the 'community'. Increasingly, however, the concept is being related to rights of citizenship and to democratic governance. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the multitude of new programmes for decentralised local governance that are found in both southern and northern countries.

These reforms in local governance lead to important questions for those concerned with citizen participation. Do these new reforms offer spaces in which citizen participation in local decision-making can or will be increased? What are the obstacles? What are groups already doing on strengthening participation in relationship to local governance? What participatory methods can be used, and with what success?

From June 21-24, 1999 the Institute of Development Studies brought together academics, experts, policy-makers, practitioners and other scholars concerned with participation and local governance to discussion these issues. Participants came from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the United States. The objectives of the workshop were:

- to share knowledge, approaches and experiences related to strengthening participation in local governance, and
- to explore ways forward to work in deepening the understanding in these issues by identifying key topics and themes for further collaborative action research projects.

The workshop was divided into two distinct parts, the first two days covering discussion of concepts, experiences, challenges and issues for future work on participation and governance, and the last two days being given over to developing ways forward. A summary of the action plans for collaboration and further research, agreed in this latter part, is presented in Section V.

The bulk of the report, though, focuses on the presentations and discussions that comprised the first part of the workshop and which informed the ways forward. The structure of the report follows that of the workshop, summarising the discussions that took place in each session.

The sessions included:

- overview presentations on conceptual issues around participation, governance and citizenship;
- presentations in which participants shared their experiences of working to strengthen participation and local governance, across the world;
- discussion of the lessons and challenges from previous research into these issues, done in various settings by other institutions;
- a participatory exercise in which participants, drawing from the presentations and their own experiences, identified critical issues and themes for the future.

This document highlights the key points of the discussion. Other workshop papers are listed in Appendix C, and are available from the Institute of Development Studies.

We would like to thank the workshop participants for their presentations and contributions, Camilo Valderrama and Kate Hamilton for assistance in preparation and documentation, and Annie Jamieson for her help in workshop organisation. Thanks also to the donors to the Participation Group at IDS, including DFID, Sida, and SDC, for the funds which made this workshop possible.

John Gaventa, for the Participation Group, IDS

I. Conceptual issues

Remarks by **John Gaventa, Institute of Development Studies**
*(see Workshop Paper no.2)*

Conceptualising Participation

In the extensive work that exists on participation and development, participation has often been conceptualised in relation to the social arena, especially of projects and community. Increasingly, though, an alternative conceptualisation is emerging, relating to democratic and citizenship rights. More specifically, perhaps four strands of work on participation in development can be identified, and in this workshop our interest is in elaborating the intersections of these:

- social or community participation;
- political participation;
- the use of participatory methodologies; and,
- new understandings of citizenship, or citizen participation.

These strands have emerged over the past few decades. To summarise, *social participation* may be understood as a process by which social groups or 'communities' excluded from control over resources take part in decision-making in order to gain such control. From this perspective, participation is located outside the state, in projects, movements and self-help groups. An alternative concern, historically less prominent in the development literature, is *political participation*, meaning citizens' involvement in elections, lobbying, petitioning and other forms of political action and policy formation, within representative democratic systems. A more recent concern for *citizen participation* can in some senses be seen as an evolution of both of these concepts, and puts the focus on the mechanisms by which citizens exercise direct influence and control the decisions and actions that affect them. Implicit in this conception is a shift in emphasis from government to civil society and notions of governance in which political, social and community spheres all play a part. Accompanying all conceptions of participation are discussions of *participatory methodologies*: these include voter education, lobbying and advocacy in relation to political participation, and broader methods for planning, appraisal, training, awareness-raising and self-development in the social and community spheres. Concern for citizen participation stimulates a search for new appropriate methods, which include scaling-up from the grassroots, engagement with the state, and the exchange and dissemination of information and knowledge.

Fig 1: Linking approaches to participation
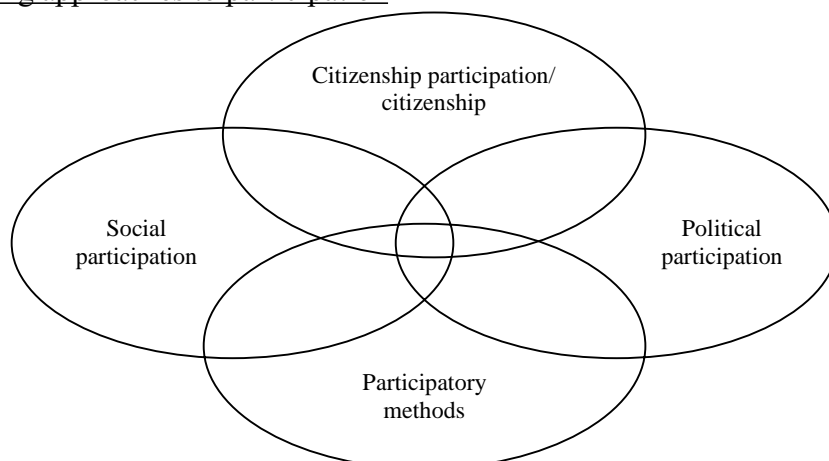
Redefining Participation

Currently efforts are being made to link citizen participation in governance to the significant changes that are occurring in state-society relations in many settings. In this context *governance* can be understood as the relationship between government and civil society. Such a relationship must be based on accountability, transparency and mutual partnership. Thus, governance can also mean the process of reorganisation of the interaction between elites and citizens. *Citizen participation*, within this discussion, means the capacity of citizens to define their needs, their capacity to influence decisions and policies that affect their lives. These ideas lay the ground for redefining the concept of participation.

The task of redefining participation goes beyond previously articulated concern for 'beneficiaries' and 'the excluded', to consider broader forms of citizen participation in decision-making, development processes, governance and other activities which are of importance to them. This entails a shift in the notion of participation:
- from beneficiary to citizen;
- from project to policy;
- from consultation to decision-making;
- from appraisal to implementation;
- from micro to macro.

The Context of Decentralisation

During the 1990s there has been a huge push towards democratic decentralisation around the world. Designed to enhance popular participation in local governance, decentralisation in some form or another has already been undertaken in a majority of developing countries. This represents an enormous actual and potential opening up of new windows of opportunity for improving citizen participation. The laws for democratic decentralisation vary from country to country, but most carry with them new mechanisms for citizen participation in relating to the state through direct forms of consultation and engagement. These forms of participation and new mechanisms are very different from the traditional forms of voting and influence over local government through political parties. The question is whether this new legislation creates an opportunity for strengthening people's participation in governance and, if so, through what means.

Within the literature on democratic decentralisation two points stand out. The first is the absence of any real discussion of participation, and the second is that where participation *is* discussed it is within a concern for the overwhelming barriers that will prevent it from becoming a reality. The literature is largely more concerned for the failure of the promise than its possibilities, for a number of reasons:

- Power relations: government institutions obstruct citizen participation, as they exercise control over the nature of and structures for participation at both central and local levels;
- Citizen organisation: the lack of history of well-organised institutions and a vibrant civil society often impedes sustained and effective citizen participation;
- Participatory skills: a lack of skills, knowledge, experience, leadership and managerial capacity at various levels limits citizen participation;
- Levels of participation: most legal frameworks for enhancing participation in many countries are consultative, and formal spaces for enhancing people's participation are not widely used;
- Insufficient local level financial resources: this barrier stems from the control of most financial resources by central government institutions, aggravated by the incapacity of local institutions to maximise local resource mobilisation, for technical and political reasons.

These are the barriers that are discussed in the literature which we have explored. The wider dynamics of participation in local governance are assumed to be an issue but are not dealt with systematically or in depth. However, we know there is another reality: many people are working in very exciting ways to challenge the barriers mentioned above. Around the world many new practices are emerging, which enable us to look at how in fact citizen participation and new forms of citizenship can be strengthened.

In March a workshop was held in Karnataka that brought together groups from across India, Philippines, Bangladesh and Nepal, to begin to share some of these methods for strengthening participation in local governance. From these experiences and the general literature we begin to see a number of strategies for overcoming the barriers commonly identified:

- Participatory planning;
- Citizen education and awareness building;
- Training and sensitising local officials;
- Advocacy, alliances and collaboration;
- Participatory budgeting;
- Promoting accountability of elected officials to citizens.

These strategies are largely absent from the formal literature, existing mainly in practice. One of our hopes is to begin to share them more broadly.

It is important to look both at the dynamics of participation and the approaches for realising it. In relation to the dynamics of participation:
- Will democratic decentralisation really provide a space for stronger voice and influence? Or will it be a window of opportunity that will be closed very rapidly?
- How do we really understand this concept of citizenship participation? Does it represent a new way of conceptually linking the civil and political spheres?
- What are the barriers and enabling conditions for strengthening popular participation? Who are the key actors and do they include the more vulnerable and marginalised?
- Does citizenship become a right and responsibility at all levels or only a few?
- What are the consequences of increased participation? Does it really make a difference? Does it change policy or service delivery?. Does it deal with corruption and efficiency issues?

These are some of the broad conceptual themes, the barriers that have been identified, and the new work that is beginning to emerge. These, too, are some of the questions that emerge from the gaps in the literature that we have observed. We do not know the answers to many of these questions because the work in this field is so new and we need to build it further. The hope is that the next two days and subsequent work together will help us begin to address some of these big and complex questions.

Remarks by **Rajesh Tandon & Colin Ball, Society for Participatory Research in Asia/The Commonwealth Foundation**
(see The Way Forward, forthcoming report from Commonwealth Foundation)

In 1991 the Commonwealth Foundation became much more involved in work with NGOs than it had been up to that point. It convened the First Commonwealth NGO forum, one important outcome of which was a proposal made by NGOs that some kind of guidelines or a Code of Conduct should be produced for and about NGOs. The result was the publication of NGO guidelines for good policy and practice in 1996, following its endorsement by governments the previous year.

Since then the Foundation has focused on two parallel areas: work on the interface between the non-governmental and the governmental sector; and looking at the relationship between citizens as individuals and their organisations, non-governmental and governmental, and citizen-state and citizen-NGO interfaces.

Citizens' visions

A project was developed to look at the issues of citizenship, visions of what good societies would be, and the aspirations of citizens regarding their participation in civic and state affairs. The project has been carried out in forty-seven of the fifty-five Commonwealth countries by about sixty organisations. The work started in 1997: final results will be presented at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in late 1999.

The citizen sample included the voices of ordinary citizens, particularly the marginalised. A second group, of what we call citizens' leaders within civil society, was also included. Finally citizens in influential positions were interviewed. Three questions were asked:

- What is your view of a good society? How does your perception and experience of current society measure up to that ideal?
- In the good society who should do what? What is the balance of roles and responsibilities between the state and the citizen? What should the state do and what should the citizen do?
- How can we get there?

The research found that citizens' visions of a good society involve the fulfilment of **tangible and intangible basic needs**. It showed that citizens perceive the need for **association in community life** and **participation in public arenas**. It also found a strong sense of economic, social and physical insecurity in the present reality. Dissatisfaction with the quality and efficiency of services delivered was also common.

As to the question of who should do what it emerged that **the State** is considered as a major actor. Citizens want State institutions to be **democratic, efficient, effective and strong**. It is the State's role to ensure **economic, social, physical security**. The State should have an **implementation** role. At the same time many respondents stressed that laws are not implemented in good manner. The State's role should also be that of **facilitator** and **enabler**.

Achieving the visions

Suggested strategies to fulfil the dream of a good society found in the research included the **development and strengthening of the interaction between citizen and State**.

To do so the **State** should:

- *provide* for citizens needs,
- *ensure* social justice and protection of human rights,
- *strengthen* the devolution of power and resources to local institutions,
- *promote* and facilitate participation of citizens in governance,
- *create* enabling environments for citizens involvement, and
- *facilitate* active citizenship.

On the other hand **citizens** should:

- *understand* their rights and responsibilities within society,
- *participate* in collective initiatives,
- *assert* leadership and build capacity, and
- *promote* public engagement and responsive governance.

At its, core what this project is saying is that **representative democracy and the institutions of State and government as we know them today, are no longer capable of serving the citizens or ensuring good governance in the future**. We are probably seeing the end of an era of a subscription to the notion of democracy which involves hapless citizens every four or five years stuffing a piece of paper into a metal ballot box and then being largely ignored in the years ahead. **We are talking about the growth of participatory democracy in this world**.

II. COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

In order to share their experiences participants were asked to prepare short papers for presentation at the Workshop. Each presentation covered the following key aspects:

- the **context**, with special attention to the existing legal frameworks for participation in local governance;
- the **dynamics of participation**, looking at the **barriers** and **enabling factors** for participation in local governance, and the dynamics of **power relations** within these spaces;
- **strategies and approaches** employed to overcome the barriers encountered;
- **key lessons and proposed ways forward** for future research on linking popular participation and local governance.

The following summaries highlight the key points of each presentation, and offer a brief glimpse at the diversities and commonalities of experiences across the world. Twelve presentations from nine countries are divided into four regional groups: Central & Latin America; Asia; Africa; and North America & Europe.

CENTRAL & LATIN AMERICA

NICARAGUA - Malena de Montis, Cezontle

Context

This presentation was concerned with the effects on gender and power relations of political and socio-economic changes in Nicaragua before and after the Sandinista Revolution. It focused primarily on patriarchy as a barrier for women's participation in local governance.

Dynamics of participation

Patriarchy as an institutionalised form of power has mistakenly viewed women as inferior beings, and was a barrier that limited women's capacity to participate in power structures. The Sandinista Revolution brought changes and enabled women to challenge and contest patriarchy in their daily lives through grassroots organisations. These organisations, by creating the material basis for women's action, allowed them to challenge male authority at the local level. However, patriarchy is still powerful in Nicaragua and gender hierarchies still disfavour women's participation.

There are also socio-economic and political barriers to participation. Absolute poverty and the predominance of military regimes, which determine the kind of participation that can take place, are the main barriers to participation in local governance in the South.

Participation in local governance is stronger in developed than in developing countries suggesting that economic prosperity is an enabling factor for this to happen. Other enabling factors for participation are democratisation of society, international co-operation between developed and developing countries, and partnership between local and foreign organisations.

Strategies, approaches and ways forward

Focusing analysis at the local level is important but a macro-analysis of what is happening is also necessary, particularly in a global context where concepts of state and government are disappearing and we are trying to figure out how to participate in local government. Participation has to do

with power, with transforming power relations, and with knowledge about rights and responsibilities in the global and local community as well. In that direction, analysis should be developed regarding the power relations between North and South.

Strategies for overcoming barriers include:
- addressing the socio-economic sphere, taking actions that improve women's access to control over power and resources;
- education of citizens, particularly women;
- consciousness- raising in all societies;
- creation of instruments that allow people to reflect on their future and power relations;
- identifying actors and allies with the aim of working together;
- organisation and a new kind of leadership;
- baseline qualitative and quantitative studies.

BOLIVIA - Duncan Hanks and James Blackburn, DPID/IDS
(see Workshop Papers nos. 1 & 3)

Context

The Law on Popular Participation in Bolivia provides a legal framework for strengthening popular participation in local governance, with *de jure* transfer of political power and financial resources from the central government to municipal councils.

Dynamics of participation

Implementation of the Law has brought some positive changes in the local context. However, currently the main barrier is the concentration of power in the hands of the elite, exercised in a clientelist, racist and patrimonial fashion. The concentration of power remains undiminished and has shifted from the central elite to local elites. Other major obstacles to effective community participation are: co-optation of Vigilance Committees members by mayors; lack of political culture; lack of technical and administrative skills by local officers.

Strategies, approaches and ways forward

Strategies identified to overcome barriers in the Bolivian context include
- networking;
- training and education of municipal and local populations;
- diffusion of experiences of decentralisation and popular participation throughout the country;
- increased funding and resource mobilisation at the local level;
- incorporation of participatory methods in home, classroom, universities and business.

INDIA - Anne Marie Goetz & Rob Jenkins, IDS-Sussex/Birkbeck College
(see Workshop Paper no. 5)

The presentation focused on the work of an activist group concerned with access to information and the struggle against corruption in Rajasthan, India. Locally known as **Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sanggathan** (**MKSS**) or **Association for the Empowerment of Workers and Farmers**, the group has developed an interesting strategy for securing the right of ordinary citizens to gain access to information held by government officials.

MKSS has had some success in mobilising people to participate in exposing the corruption of the government and in raising awareness about citizens' right to information. MKSS's success contributes to linking the idea of the right to information with debates on governance and accountability, due mainly to the members' personal and professional connections. MKSS's methods for getting its message to the community include press and radio coverage, and community means of exchanging information.

While recognising the difficulty of replicating MKSS story success, Goetz and Jenkins contend however that the importance of MKSS's success lies in letting other civil society organisations in India know about the importance of access to information for their work, regardless of the aims an organisation intends to achieve. They further show how local institutions can organise to bring about change in local contexts.

INDIA - A. P. Kripa
(see Workshop Paper no. 6)

Context

The legal framework for participation in Karnakata was set out in a 1983 Act and which introduced a two-tier elected structure of local government, within which 25% of seats were reserved for women. This Act was substituted by a new legislation in 1993 (the Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act, 1993). This was due partly to the need to accommodate the mandatory provisions brought in by the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution. By virtue of these amendments PRIs obtained a constitutional status. Further a three-tier elected structure was also made mandatory - Zilla Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat and Gram Panchayat. The Act also provides for reservation of 33% for women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population and 33% reservation for other backward classes. A special feature of this Act is that it provides for reservations for the post of President and Vice President on a rotation basis. An important feature is the establishment of the Gram Sabha, which consists of all the registered voters of the village.

Dynamics of participation

Critical barriers for effective citizen participation have been identified, notably:
- caste/class factors;
- elite domination;
- ineffective state training interventions;
- lack of and limited information on mechanisms for participation in local governance;

- structures of patriarchy.

Strategies and approaches

- dissemination/diffusion of information through radio;
- education of communities in social, political and cultural aspects of development;
- community-based communication through theatre;
- collaboration/partnership among all key actors in local settings.

Ways Forward

- establishment of close links between civil society organisations, self-help groups and local government institutions;
- training programmes with effective participation of NGOs and other actors;
- dissemination of information at the community level.

INDIA - Manoj Kumar Rai, Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA)
(see Workshop Paper no. 11)

Context

The Seventy-Third Amendment Act in 1993 conferred constitutional status on *Panchayati Raj* institutions, the traditional institutions of grassroots governance at the village level. The *Gram Sabha* (village assembly) is envisaged as the foundation of the system. *Panchayats* are found at village, intermediate and District levels. Currently there are about 3 million elected representatives of *panchayats* at all levels, including about 1 million women. *Panchayats* are expected to play an effective role in the planning and implementation of activities to promote bottom-up planning.

Dynamics of participation

By law *Gram Sabha* meetings should be held at least twice a year. However in most places *Gram Sabha* meetings are held on paper only. Most members are unaware of their rights and responsibilities. It has also been found that villagers in general are not informed about the meetings. Women often do not participate due to social custom.

Strategies, approaches and ways forward

To strengthen the active participation of civil society, particularly women and other weaker sections, in decision-making in these institutions PRIA has developed an strategic intervention with five components:
- orientation, training and educational support;
- preparation and dissemination of educational materials;
- micro-planning or Bottom-up planning;
- research and documentation;

- influencing the government.

Through processes like micro-planning , special emphasis on the weaker sections, participatory research studies and advocacy, peoples participation in these institutions has been enhanced with external support from PRIA and other NGOs. However, due to limited resources, the impact of these interventions at a wider scale is still limited and its sustainability difficult to guarantee. Efforts should be made to intervene at the government level as its infrastructure can be utilised to scale-up interventions.

PHILIPPINES - Tom Villarin, Kaisahan
(see Workshop Paper no. 14)

Context

The Local Government Code of 1991 established the legal framework for the transfer of political power, resources and responsibilities from the central government to local institutions. The Code devolves responsibilities in different sectors such as agriculture, health, social welfare, tourism and education. It also entails peoples' direct participation in local governance, and the mandated representation community-based organisations in special local bodies.

Dynamics of participation

The experience of the BATMAN group has shown the following barriers to citizen participation in local governance:
- substantial lack of knowledge on participatory modes of governance;
- most local governments sideline participatory mechanisms;
- monopolisation of power by the elite;
- personality-based nature of Philippines politics;
- lack of resources and skills required for engaging fully local communities in governance and development processes.

Suggested strategies

KAISAHAN call their strategic approach to strengthening participation in local governance the **three I framework**
- **implementation:** citizens direct engagement with local governments and greater accountability of various actors;
- **improvement:** alliance between various actors based on the principles of local autonomy and people;
- **interface:** promotion of partnerships and synergies between local governments, NGOs, national agencies and local communities in sector policy reforms.

Other strategies are partnership building, strong involvement of civil society, local resource mobilisation, participatory planning, behaviour changes and training.

UGANDA **-** Leonard Okello, Co-ordinator: Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA)
(see Workshop Paper no. 10)

Context

Uganda has a long history of participation that can be traced to before the colonial government. At
Independence Uganda inherited a colonial system without the human resources necessary for good governance. As a result Uganda suffered political crises that led to dictatorship and the struggles against it. Resistance Committees spread throughout the war zones, and became the foundations of the participatory structures that emerged when the dictatorship ended. In 1987 the constitution created a legal framework for these participatory structures. Other changes include local elections and the creation of parallel structures for special interest groups including councils of women and people with disabilities. In each of the council levels 30% of seats are reserved for women.

Dynamics of participation

Barriers
- Higher levels of the participatory structures perform badly because they lack contact and alliance with communities;
- Power conflicts emerge in the interactions between highly trained civil servants and less-educated councillors in the districts, creating suspicion and disagreement;
- Grants to the district from the centre are conditional, leading to unresolved questions around who sets the priorities;
- Restricted access to information and weak information flows between higher and lower levels exacerbates a lack of accountability, limited transparency, and corruption;
- Leaders fail to report to their constituencies on the programs agreed during election;
- Districts do not have the revenue base to run their districts on their own.

Enabling factors
- Central government allows local governments to retain a percentage of the revenue collected locally for development. In areas where the tax has been retained and has been used there have been tangible gains.

Key lessons

- Until participation produces results in terms of improving livelihoods of the average poor person it will not be meaningful for the poor in Uganda. **Participation must deliver**: if it can not deliver services and cannot give food security it is not worth participating;
- Access to information is a key element in strengthening participation;
- Local people must be consulted in order to own and implement changes;
- The capacity of local leaders must be enhanced, through education and sensitisation.

Ways forward

These include:
- Increased consultation with local communities regarding their needs and their solution;
- Improvements and monitoring of the impact of service delivery implementation.

TANZANIA - Ophelia Mascarenhas, Irish Aid Program
(see Workshop Paper no. 8)

Context

Tanzania stands out as a very stable society with a stable government which, though paternalistic, is not dominating. Even the one-party government allowed a fairly open society. The history of participation has gone from very strong participation during *ujamaa* in the late 1960s, to moves away from it, and now a renaissance of participation. Different methods have been involved, including social mobilisation, animation and PRA.

The context for participation today is decentralisation. In 1972 the government promoted decentralisation to the 20 regions, each of which has about forty-five districts, divided into seven wards. Each ward has seven villages and communities in those villages. Power was decentralised to the regions, but failed due to heavy bureaucracy. In 1977 there was a Villagisation Act, and in 1984 decentralisation to the districts. Local government reform in 1994 has given more power to the districts.

At the district level twenty-five percent of the councillors elected must be women. Regions do not have elected people. In the districts there is a legal framework for planning which is highly conducive to participation through many windows of opportunity. However the level of local participation in governance is still relatively low.

Dynamics of participation

Enabling factors
- Legal framework
- Liberal attitude of the government towards participation.
- The government policy of cost-sharing has opened the possibility for people to make claims when services are not good.
- Traditional forms of co-operation are coming to the forefront.
- Donors support the framework of village and district plans.
- Development of partnerships between civil society and local governments.

Barriers
- Gender participation is quite low.
- Agricultural societies are marginalised.
- Government attitude to participation is more about people contributing rather than making decisions. It tells people what to do rather than gets them to decide.
- People respond to short-term needs, and when it comes to long term strategic needs like challenging the government over particular issues there has been less success.
- Scarce district development funds

Strategies and approaches

- The main strategy for strengthening participation at the local level is bottom-up planning from villages to districts to regions, through a micro-projects approach.
- Two other developments are also worth noting: one is the use of findings from local PRA

exercises for a program that covers a much wider area; the second is the move to integrate participatory methodologies into core national programs, involving the training of local government staff.

Tanzania - Anatoli Tarimo, Regional Commissioner: Singida District
(see Workshop Papers nos. 12 & 13)

Context

Out of the twenty regions of Tanzania there is one deliberate effort in one region to mainstream participation. The process started with a regional development forum where NGOs and heads of Departments brainstormed about how to move in a participatory way. A Secretariat was organised with the task of developing joint programs between NGOs and government to work in nine villages as a pilot attempt to institutionalise participatory approaches. During the process it was identified that district council officials were not capable of understanding and following up the work that had been done. The need for a training program to overcome this difficulty was identified. It was agreed that the region as a whole did development along participatory lines. The districts were asked to draw up a simple implementation plan for participatory development.

Dynamics of participation

However, the negative attitudes of government officers towards change, an official mindset rooted in a bureaucratic, top-down style of work, together with traditional complacency and a culture of dependency continue to be barriers for the effective participation in the local level. On the other hand good leadership in the villages, that mobilises human resources, and structures that already exist are being activated to implement participation. This is happening because of constitutional demands and Local Government Act that asks that development is carried along participatory lines. Present local government reform requires that the councils follow a planning process that intensively consults with grassroots communities and bases plans on their priorities.

Strategies and ways forward

The current challenge is how communities can be enabled to raise these priorities and participate in the planning process. What is being done in Singida District is the first step towards implementing the good intentions and also fulfilling the demands of law and people's expectations. For this to take place it is important to change the mindset of officials, and that top people understand the significance of this process. In this sense strategic moves are being taken. Central government is planning training for Regional Commissioners and Regional Secretaries in participatory approaches. This will create an enabling environment for policy changes. Social action funds are also being created to finance community projects.

Zambia - Darren Hedley and Malekiado Phiri, CARE Zambia
(see Workshop Paper no. 4)

Context

Zambia has been a multiparty democracy since 1991. In the last few years it has been trying to develop habits and capabilities in the midst of structural adjustment, stabilisation programmes,

and a steady economic decline over the last twenty years in which the urban poor have been particularly impoverished. Efforts are being made to strengthen government at the local level through development co-ordinating committees at district, regional and national level. On paper these have been assigned responsibilities but have not functioned very well. Decentralisation has been moving in different sectors: health, housing, water and sanitation.

Prospect is a program working in fourteen urban compounds with 600,000 residents. Its overall objective is livelihood improvement and it works basically on infrastructure and micro-finance. The main components of the programme are institution building, formation and training of ABO (Area Based Organisations) and building linkages with the government.

Dynamics of participation

Barriers to participation that have been identified are mainly:
- Apathy towards participation in development activities and decision making;
- A history of a paternalistic government where people expect government to provide services;
- A relationship based on political partisanship, between political organisations and the area based organisations;
- Politicians want to win votes and make promises but do not deliver;
- Committees are not fully recognised by local authorities;
- Lack of consistency of a national participation policy;
- A gap between what government has set as a structure for participation and its implementation.
- Lack of political frameworks for participation.
- Lack of skills and capacity of local authorities for development work.

Enabling factors
- Space for local institution-building, including recognition by the government of Area Based Organisations;
- Open communication in public and private spheres;
- Consultative behaviour by government and other agencies;
- Increased citizen power within a multiparty democracy.

Strategies and ways forwards

Strategies to overcome these barriers have focused on working through the participatory structures created by the government, including participatory planning and training of committees in topics related to participation. It has been seen that partnership with councils makes more effective the results of the participatory exercises and that when non-divisive political procedures for negotiation are more open, conflict resolution skills grow.

Ways forward

- Enhancing systematic accountability and communication flows of ABOs;
- Building a coherent vision in central government;
- New legal and institutional arrangements for participation;
- Developing initiatives for urban learning and practice as well as promoting sharing experiences and creating learning networks.

USA - Alex Willingham, Williams College
(see Workshop Paper no. 15)

Context

The US Civil Rights Movement, designed to secure popular participation in official decision making, took place in the context of a long standing democratic ethos and a constitutional system that formally guarantees a high degree of local control. Local control, though, came to be exercised so as to restrict popular participation. Devolution and local participation are, in the US, in tension. Paradoxically, many of the restrictions and barriers to local participation came out of local government.

Dynamics of Participation

Race has been a major factor used to restrict participation. Race barriers have been erected throughout its history but they were most egregious in the Old South region for period that covered most of the 20th century. Suffrage rules set locally included a number of devices that when combined with discriminatory administration and harassment served to bar black voters either directly or indirectly. Such devices have been aimed at different groups at different times.

A basic pattern of action on participation can be identified, with community demands for participation leading to changes in local or national laws, which create a new situation in which communities' ambivalence about how best to take advantage of the new opportunities return to the grassroots organising that began the process. Gaining legal entitlement for political rights in the absence of a tradition of mass based politics made implementation of the 1965 Voting Law a major challenge. It involved responding to continuing resistance by white power holders and mobilising people for a level of political experience for which they had little collective experience.

Strategies and ways forward

Bridging the gap between the policy and its implementation included:
- citizenship schools focused on overcoming restrictions to participation such as literacy;
- grassroots popular education on a region wide basis;
- voter education to provide elected officials with technical assistance including training and other encouragement.
- high profile campaigns and administrative enforcement of the law.

One of the main reasons for success was the unique interplay between mass action and legal entitlement work in the form of the Voting Rights movement that monitored the Act.

Key lessons

- Democratic participation is not a consensual, self-evident, pre-existing notion for the disenfranchised: it is necessary to persuade disenfranchised groups that suffrage is significant.
- Democratic participation is not something that is written and concluded. It may move in

opposite directions over time.
- Democratic participation requires attention to the ways we can set a context for teaching or training for a democratic project.
- In the US at least there is persisting under-participation in the political and social processes.

UK - Sanjiv Lingayah, New Economics Foundation
(see NEF Report listed in Appendix C; also see Workshop Paper no. 9)

Context

The UK is undergoing a process of re-examining democracy, evident in attempts to reform the House of Lords, and the introduction of citizenship classes into schools. Regionalisation is another important development: eight regional assemblies exist actually in England as well as the Welsh assembly and Scottish Parliament.

Dynamics of participation

At the local level several things are happening. A White Paper talks about new mechanisms for voting, and giving councillors greater power through referendums and more frequent voting. It states that there is an obligation on local councillors to consult with their communities over local plans and service delivery, and talks of a new deal for communities.

There are many issues to be addressed when trying to strengthen participation, even in an environment that is nowadays relatively conducive to participation by those with the skills to take advantage from it.
- If central government imposes the need to participate from above how that does affect the local governments who have to implement it?
- How can local councillors be persuaded to hand out their power, and that participation will help them do their job?
- How do you convince local communities that participation is something worth doing?
- It is much harder to activate more deprived communities particularly where they have had have an ambiguous relationship with the local council.

Ways forward, strategies and approaches

One strategy being used by the New Economics Foundation is the use of community indicators to understand local needs and resources. Communities define some of the issues around quality of life that make a difference to them, and begin to measure them. This then triggers action on the most important issues.

To overcome resistance from authorities and communities community visioning can help work with different stakeholders to build social capital. The key questions is what we are really trying to achieve with different forms of participation: this will help us to develop the participatory techniques that can enable us to reach those ends.

III. Lessons and Challenges

Five workshop participants gave presentations drawing on their work on these issues within broader programmes of research and action. These contributions addressed key issues that arise in thinking about participation and governance, drawing on various case studies but attempting to draw conclusions and raise issues with significance beyond the country-specific level. These issues include power, authority, community, governance of environmental resources, and the realities of decentralisation. The following summaries outline the key points raised in the presentations.

Local governance: insights from research and practice
Mark Robinson - Ford Foundation Project Officer in India

The notion of local governance

What do we understand by local governance? There is a need for more conceptual clarity, as people approach it from different angles, though using a common language. A possible definition, imperfect but helpful in making the concept more useful, is:

> *'The distribution of power, authority and resources between citizens and different tiers of government'*

These measures, power, authority and resources, are fundamental.

Power

Power in the context of local governance can be thought of in terms of the capacity to influence decisions and control resources, both of which are functions of the prevailing social and political structure. This brings up the need to acknowledge the highly unequal balance of social and political power underlining class, gender and ethnic disparities - differences which the term 'community' may obscure. It is also necessary to recognise that some economic groups have privileged access to power, control over resources and decision-making. 'Stakeholders' are not equally endowed in these respects, and any 'stakeholder analysis' needs to view each actor as having a position within hierarchies of power, if it is to be meaningful.

It is useful to see local governance as a contested terrain, reflecting inequalities of power and resources. Given these inequalities we can consider how institutions and organisations can provide a basis for negotiation and mediation around these differences, in favour of excluded and marginalised groups. This may include using devices such as reservation of seats in government, creation of vigilance groups as in Bolivia, and other types of monitoring activity. This can offset inequality to some degree, but is not the whole story.

Authority

It is also necessary to recognise and deal with different structures of authority in local contexts. This includes formal decentralised bureaucratic institutions, but also other forms with a longer pedigree and sometimes different types of legitimacy, such as traditional authority structures. Authority is an important concern, not just as a form of power, but because it draws attention to how decision-making processes acquire legitimacy, and the reasons why newly localised institutions may not immediately be seen as legitimate. For instance there may be competing authority structures at that level.

This raises questions about how authority structures based on democratic and participatory principles may be introduced and become legitimate without undermining important traditional forms of authority and the social groups who are engaged in them. Such concerns are too frequently 'wished away' in debates over local governance.

Legitimacy in democratic structures is conferred through electoral processes, but can be further developed through giving citizens space to negotiate and influence public decision-making, as well as the long-term performance of the relevant structure.

Resources

Effective participatory local governance requires significant resources: not only the redistribution of scarce resources disseminated from the centre, but local resource mobilisation. This is not simply a technical issue, but a political and social struggle between groups endowed with more or fewer resources, and between citizens and the governmental authorities - national and local - which make and enact decisions about redistribution and generation of resources.

Insights from research and practice on local governance

Prevalent patterns of elite dominance and the exclusion of marginalised groups generally hold true in local decision-making structures notwithstanding recent and extensive processes of formal democratisation. The local environments within which such processes occur are not particularly receptive to major changes in the balance of power and authority. Democratic decentralisation provides new opportunities for participation, but this has only occurred in very particular circumstances and has not fundamentally altered the general picture of elite domination and exclusion of marginal groups.

The particular circumstances and conditions that do make for effective democratic decentralisation and opportunities for greater participation include:
- **consistent political commitment** from the leadership and ruling parties;
- **a congenial legal and institutional framework** for decentralisation, with proper constitutional provisions and transparent, accountable institutions;
- **strong local institutions** to encourage electoral competition and influence decision-making;
- **technical capacity and skills**;
- **literacy**.

DECENTRALISATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT: JOINT FOREST MANAGEMENT IN INDIA
Shivi Sivaramakrishnan, IDS Environment Group

Overview

To simplify, decentralisation activities concerning the environment fall into three types of initiative:
- promoting local government for natural resources;
- community-based conservation;
- private-public partnership for environmental services (mostly found in urban settings).

Of these, community conservation is perhaps the most widespread model at present. While this

gives people greater determination of their environment, it should be noted that it is based on communitarian notions rather than principles of citizenship.

Several levels of action are important in considering local environmental control:
- the international level that is becoming more and more important through conventions trade regulations and aid;
- the national level where laws are really formed;
- the level at which you have central development schemes or projects co-ordinated or funded;
- the local and even the household level - because in many settings resource management is directly implicated in the survival strategies of poor and less-poor people.

The Indian situation and Joint Forest Management

The case of Joint Forest Management (JFM) highlights many of the issues discussed at this workshop. The framework for decentralised natural resource management can be traced through formal legal provisions (specific acts of parliament on environmental concerns), while until the *Panchayati Raj* Amendment to the Constitution more general processes of decentralisation derived more from the realm of policy recommendations and enactment, not legal reform. At times the formal provisions of law have directly contradicted the spirit of decentralisation embodied in various programmes of action.

JFM has involved the constitution of forest protection committees in villages, which protect forest areas that are assigned to them. These committees are made up of elected villagers, representatives of the local *panchayat* and a forestry official - i.e. a combination of elected representatives of the village, officials, and a member of the decentralised democratic system. This structure raises three questions:
- How can management be devolved?
- How can something which is fairly scientific and technical in nature, i.e. forest management, escape the tyranny of hierarchies of expertise in which is currently caught up? How can it engage more with popular practice?
- What kind of institutions can actually create and sustain this rather varied communities of resource managers?

Research into JFM in West Bengal (East India) demonstrates that answering such questions requires us to look critically at certain categories such as 'community', 'jurisdiction' and 'expertise' that are often mechanically used. Any programme of JFM is concerned with redefining the role of the State, which itself comprises complex, contradictory and dynamic institutions with their own interests, mechanisms and processes.

The study identified three strands in the different types of devolution taking place:
- The first is a strand controlled by the technocratic bureaucracy, the Forest Service, whose organisational structure and hierarchy reaches from State government to the forest protection committee level;
- The second is decentralised democracy in the shape of *Panchayati Raj*, which again has its own hierarchies;
- The third is the politics of regional autonomy in West Bengal, organised around the struggle of the largely tribal and indigenous members of a regional party.

All three are forms of devolution and forms of political mobilisation and the intersection and tensions between them need to be examined in order to explain the functioning of forest protec-

tion committees and the governing of the local environment.

Key findings

- *Panchayats* have come to be dominated by young, formally educated men, whereas forest protection committees are more the preserve of local elders: thus there is intergenerational tension between the two sets of local power structures;
- Ethnic differences and other forms of social differentiation are salient and, unsurprisingly, the least privileged tend to get excluded from *all* forms of devolved power, of whatever nature;
- On the other hand the very plurality of local forms for political mobilisation, associated with different strands of devolution, has the effect of creating an unstable local politics in which leaders are always seeking to build their constituencies, even amongst the marginalised groups. In this way it can dissipate elite domination within local power structures.

Studying local politics therefore requires that attention is paid to far more than simple indicators of power, such as property rights, and the complex ways in which local political mobilisation is worked out.

Remarks by **Rosemary McGee, Christian Aid**

The ideal of decentralisation is that it will reduce poverty by bringing government closer to poor people and improve the transmission of their needs to policy-makers. In reality, even where decentralisation has worked well the poor still do not receive their entitlements, raising the question of what forms of participation can achieve that ideal. Some of the reasons why poor people do not receive what they are entitled to are:

- **Information:** poor people do not know their entitlements and therefore cannot make effective claims. This may be due to deliberate underinformation or mere neglect and lack of means to inform them. The different causes require different solutions.
- **Implementation:** laws, policies and standards may exist, but are not effectively implemented.
- **Bias:** differences along lines such as gender, ethnicity, caste, literacy levels and geographical location are often the subject of tokenism and discrimination which biases access against the interests of certain groups.
- **Incompatibility** between local mechanisms for service delivery and social support, and externally-designed models that are often introduced through political structures. Traditional forms of organisation which may be efficient in certain respects are marginalised because they do not sit well with imported models of democracy, participation and local governance. Sometimes these existing models could be better used, towards poverty reduction or improved production, rather than being rejected.

♦ ♦ ♦

Two further contributions to the discussion of lessons and challenges in work on participation in governance were made by Joel Rocamora and James Manor, during the latter part of the Workshop. They are summarised here, as they relate closely to the issues raised in the panel discussion offered by the three speakers whose presentations have been outlined above.

♦ ♦ ♦

Joel Rocamora, Institute for Popular Democracy, Philippines

Metaphorically, government can be thought of as a house: in the Philippines this house has been occupied by the same people for a long time, and the windows and doors are closed. Ways of dealing with this have changed over time. In the 1970s-80s the national liberation movement's strategy was to burn down the house and all the people in it - this can not be seen as a useful approach in the long term. A second approach, a civil society approach, has been to knock at the door in the hopes of getting some message through the small crack that appears in response - this has some value. But increasingly, a third approach is preferred, one which takes advantage of that small crack to push the door open and replace the people inside with a new group, opening up the windows and doors.

This last approach represents what the BATMAN project and others are trying to achieve. Two key concepts embrace the major issues that are being addressed: community and power.

Community

NGOs and political groups in the Philippines have tended not to pay attention to natural, primary communities at the village or urban level, but are rather involved in organising people into projects and organisations: new social units within communities. In addition, they have not worked much with governments. The trend now, though, is towards working with both communities and governments.

Interventions at the village level have generally brought their own language of political reform, paying little attention to local political culture and ideas - which may contradict or support the new ideas being introduced. The BATMAN project tries to get to grips with local political cultures and work with them in carrying out its work. There are obstacles to achieving this, such as the patrimonial political system of the Philippines, in which nepotism and corruption flourish. It is a priority to move away from this, so that the rewards that politicians deal in are those that are shared across communities, not aimed at single individuals.

Power

In terms of elections, the Philippines has an apparently high level of political participation with 82-85% of voters turning out to vote. This participation, though, could be called 'spectator-sport participation', in which part of the incentive is for citizens to enjoy turning the tables on politicians: observing candidates making fools of themselves and gaining revenge through the ballot box. In other words, politics is something that politicians do and citizens observe: there is little sense of effective participation. It is only when people have a sense that their participation is effective, bringing about changes for their communities, that they are transformed from spectators into citizens.

This is why we emphasis work in local government, particularly at the village level. When people are able to deal with specific local problems by participating in politics, it becomes something they want to do. It is much harder to relate to mobilisations around global issues which seem distant from local experience. Another reason for working at the local level is that the level of resources required for effective participation is within the scale that our organisations can achieve. No progressive group can compete with the resources spent in presidential campaigns, but they can effectively play a part in local politics. In other words, work in local politics is the

best way to generate active citizenship, and an appropriate starting point. However, it is also important to scale up, from that strong local basis. At this stage we are planning to work in 2,000 of the 42,000 village governments in the Philippines, and hoping that multiplier effects will begin to take effect. We are trying now to organise a political party based on social movements which may play a part in multiplying the impact of our work.

<div align="center">♦ ♦ ♦</div>

Professor James Manor, Institute of Development Studies

Rather than concentrate on the often contradictory and multiple writings on decentralisation, this presentation is concerned with empirical evidence of the actual experience of decentralisation. What has resulted from these experiments? What really happens when democratic decentralisation occurs? Some common themes emerge.

Common patterns

Firstly, when serious democratic decentralisation occurs it always increases and quickens political participation, both at and between elections. This includes participation in protest groups, relating to elected representatives, lobbying and demonstrating - in general, becoming more politically involved. Individuals as well as groups become involved, contacting both the elected representatives who are new, and the bureaucrats who were there all along. This pattern always emerges.

Another universal pattern is increased associational activity at grassroots and local levels. Existing groups become more active and increase membership, and new groups form, making use of the new opportunities to achieve things offered by democratic institutions. Government becomes more responsive, which motivates people to act.

However, other new patterns emerge, less immediately appealing to those encouraging grassroots participation.

The ambiguities

Democratic decentralisation always increases political conflict within localities: there is more to compete over and a larger number of competitors, and if divisive tactics are found to be effective at mobilising a reaction they will be used. This can undermine local solidarity and create new barriers. For those concerned for 'community participation in development', this lack of solidarity and cohesiveness is a negative impact of democratic decentralisation.

Another ambiguity is that democratic decentralisation creates institutions which function through *representative* democracy: in other words, they utilise and develop a political elite who act *on behalf* of communities. Ordinary people do not, largely, take decisions themselves. This elite may not be made up of locals: if it is, it is nonetheless a small group of them. While this elite may be pressured by the masses, or different groups of them, they are inevitably separate. This can create divisions both between elites and the masses, a horizontal separation. It also contributes to the vertical divisions between different social and political groups. This, again, may be a less positive aspect of democratic decentralisation for considerations of participation.

Finally I will say one sceptical thing.   I do not really believe that participatory planning from below actually happens very often. Sometimes it happens. But I think it is unusual - much more unusual (on present evidence) than the literature would have us believe, than politicians atop of the systems would have us believe. It is a lot more unusual than the UNDP and others think.

IV. Questions for Further Research

Throughout the Workshop participants had been asked to keep cards on which they should note issues and concerns they felt were arising from the presentations and subsequent discussions. The final session of the Workshop's first part was given over to a rapid card-sorting exercise in which these cards were shared and grouped, to give a picture of the main considerations for further progress in research into participation in local governance.

The categories were developed during the process, and were not refined in any detail. There is significant overlap between categories, and others could perhaps be brought together. A list of the headings and summary of the typical questions or comments grouped beneath them, though, gives a flavour of the issues that participants raised. (A full record of the categories and individual cards is given in Appendix I).

- **Social Capital**: what are the links between participation and social capital?
- **Sustainability**: how can we sustain participation over the long term?
- **Traditional Authority**: what is the role of traditional authorities?
- **Civil Society and the State**: how can relationships and responsibilities be negotiated between these sectors, and how might they respectively mobilise or influence change?
- **Gender Issues**: how must gender relations change, for effective local governance?
- **Power**: how can we take account of unequal power and the struggles around it?
- **Citizen Participation**: who is included, how can people be motivated, and how does it really help?
- **Capacity of Government structures and officials**: what needs to change in state structures for participation, and how can state workers be effectively empowered to change their norms?
- **Attitudes and Values**: how can attitudinal barriers, amongst citizens and officials, be overcome and values be shifted?
- **Training/Sensitising**: what is most effective at changing attitudes and practices?
- **Incentives**: what kind of incentives for participation and mutual listening between states and citizens might be necessary?
- **Resources**: what are the resources and information that are needed to back up participation?
- **Donor Issues**: what roles do donors play, both positive and negative?
- **PPAs**: how can the learning from PPAs be shared and followed up?
- **Going to Scale**: how might this work, and under what conditions do we want to scale up?
- **Indicators**: how can we measure change, on all sides, and what are the basic principles defining the goals we are pursuing - governance, participation etc?
- **Accountability**: what mechanisms and relationships can ensure accountability?
- **Information**: what role does information and imbalanced access to it play?
- **Policy**: how can we make, monitor and implement good policies, and who has the power to shape them?
- **Global Context**: how should we take account of the major actors beyond the local level who shape power relations?

V. Summary Agreements on Working Areas and Action Plans

Introduction

The second part of the Workshop involved a smaller subgroup of the participants in detailed discussions on how to pursue this research agenda further. A decision was reached to create an ongoing working group around five areas that emerged during the discussions. These five areas were identified as
- civic education/citizenship education;
- training of local officers;
- participatory poverty assessments;
- democratisation indicators; and
- research and publication on participation.

A decision was also made that for each area focal points for co-ordination of the work would be established, to best facilitate progress. These were agreed upon as follows:

Areas	Focal points
Civic education and citizenship education	Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), I India
Training of local officers	NUR University, Bolivia
Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAP)	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process Uganda
Democratisation Indicators Project	Institute of Popular Democracy (IPD), Philippines
Research & Publication on participation	Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK

Action Plans

In the follow-up sessions sub-groups were formed for each of the working areas. These each discussed and agreed action plans addressing the following issues, to be carried out over the next few months:

Civic education/Citizenship education

The Workshop discussions emphasised the need to prepare people for behaving as citizens. Citizenship is seen as an integral part of encouraging participation by hitherto disenfranchised groups such as women, poor people, tribal groups and youth. Participation in local governance entails preparing informed, aware, active and engaged citizens, who are motivated to understand and act upon their rights and responsibilities.

The group agreed to share information and materials on citizenship education and learning from a variety of sources, leading to an eventual conference and the production of learning materials and pilot programmes.

Training of local officers

Understanding and systematising how the training of local officers works will firstly help in structuring appropriate learning processes, and secondly help in making the transition from such learning into practice. Discussions at the government level, accessible to some participants, will be helpful in generating experiences and documentation. NUR in Bolivia will be working on curriculum design for training Bolivian municipalities. Information from the field will be helpful in this process.

Agreed activity included information gathering on existing training strategies and needs, thinking about indicators of citizenship with each other and the other working groups, and a seminar to share best practices in the area of training.

Participatory Poverty Assessments

The working group agreed to document the strengths and weaknesses of the PPA process, and work on the idea of hosting a Pan-African meeting to learn from the Uganda PPA approach.

Democratisation Indicators Project

It was decided to research indicators of democratisation from the people's perspective. This would be useful for evaluating governance and democratisation, whether it is funded by donors or undertaken by civil society groups without external funding. This set of indicators could potentially become useful as instruments for citizens to monitor local governments for greater accountability. To pursue this end, the group agreed to conduct a literature review on indicators of democracy and governance leading to a paper to be more widely shared.

Research & publications on participation

The working group in this area debated whether to launch new comparative research projects or consolidate what emerged from the existing experiences presented at the workshop. The group concluded that it would be valuable to develop and strengthen the case studies and experiences already available. They therefore agreed to review the Workshop material to identify research questions and topics, to which participants could then contribute cases, and at the same time circulate to all working groups key articles on conceptual issues around democratic decentralisation, governance and other issues. The hope is to develop a further outline of an edited book on participation and local governance, drawing on experiences including some presented at the workshop.

The following comments were all those introduced to the card-sorting exercise at the end of Part A of the Workshop, reflecting the thoughts that participants had noted throughout the sessions up to that point. The groupings were worked out spontaneously and rapidly during the exercise, and are not mutually exclusive.

Social capital
- Urgent need to rebuild social capital in the North. How can we do this?
- Participation as a tool for the development of social capital.
    The challenge: getting government to see increasing social capital as their aim.
    Need to change processes of implementation for projects.
    Increase participation

Sustainability
- How do you address the sustainability of area based organisations?
- What is a sustainable community? Who defines it?

Traditional authorities
- If historically there was a strong sense of voluntary community service, why today does the concept of participation needs to be connected to tangible benefits? (Uganda)
- What is the role of traditional authorities in local government reform?
- Is the role of traditional authorities important in governance process?
- Are community leaders really representative?
- Traditional authorities exist in urban settings?
- How can traditional systems of participation be utilised?

Civil Society and the State
- Is participation bridging the gaps between civil society and the State? (Tanzania)
- How to link community participation and political participation?
- How citizens can be convinced that governments intentions are truly participatory and not a form of co-optation?
- How can governments view people's participation as not a form of dissent and political challenge?
- Absence of opportunities for a strong civil society breeds authoritarian values, co-optation and manipulative tendencies.
- Closer partnership between government + civil society = More than participation, civil society taking on real responsibility
- Who organises community based organisations? Is it a process being undertaken by governments?
- What do we do with political parties?
- What mechanisms do development organisations including the State have for incorporating the voice of the poor in development programs?
- What are the types of effective partnerships for building and maintaining local governance?
- Strategic role of NGOs?
- How do you balance local and national priorities?
- How to bring together social and political participation?
- What universal assumptions are we making about what democracy is?
- What is the role of "clan" and informal groups in governance?
- Examination of existing mental models of civil society and government/ government and

civil society
- What about local resources mobilisation in local governance?
- What are the implications of the politicisation of CBOs/ABOs?
- Why not focus in encouraging minority voter turnout and influencing some moderate whites to support you? (USA)

Gender Issues
- Is change in gender relations in the family necessary for changes in leadership and relations in local governance? (Bolivia)

Power
- Issues of power and authority - are they related to participation?
- How do we conceptualise and redefine the concept of power relationships?
- Power structures reproduced?
- How does one effectively deal with vested interests in and among government officials, private sector, politicians and civil society?
- One of the problems I have with discussions so far is that very little of it has been located within the context of struggles for power. This was difficult enough when dealing with development but when we are talking about participation in governance not dealing with power is a major infirmity.

Citizen participation
- What is the vision of good governance and citizen participation?
- How much participation do citizens want?
- Participation fatigue? (UK)
- What works where? Single stakeholder "committees" or multiple stakeholders "planners and evaluators"? (Latin America)
- What about "disengaged" and "non-virtuous" citizens?
- How to create demand for participation?
- (poor leadership) Capacity to participate (tools/training) ——Rights to participate (laws)—— Duties and obligations (social capital) ——taking on responsibility——desire to participate (change mindset, how?) motivation (dependency syndrome)
- What do governments, NGOs, donors, 'people' mean by participation? Does it means people centred development?
- What about people "excluded" from the community?
- There is a revealing acceptance of the separation of 'participation' and 'government' in our discourse. It is as if we accept the reality of separation of government and citizens - as if citizens have to catch up and 'participate' in something that is there, irrespective of, outside of what citizens create. It is a problem if it sets a limit to the goals of the groups we work with (or study).
- Participation in decision making? What mechanisms are used?
- The psychology of dependency vs. participation?
- Do we know what participation works?
- How to ensure the participation of the poor? Mechanisms used so far?
- What kind of participation in infrastructure improvement, micro-finance, institutional building, especially how to ensure a space and power for the powerless in institutional building?
- Relationships between planning (village plans) and participation and inclusion and accountability
- Does participation helps communities to relate globally?
- Need to document types of participation - their role, strength and weaknesses

Capacity of Government structures and officials

- Can local government officials trained in PRA build this into district planning, or do other imperatives prevent this, or does lack of capacity/allies prevent it?
- Can decentralisation in government combined with empowering NGOs/CBOs be non-adversarial? (Bolivia)
- Does the nature of government is outdated, inherently undemocratic and in need of radical change?
- Which specific capabilities were strengthened in capacity building process?
- How is the capacity of local leaders developed/ (Uganda)
- The tension between micro and macro planning: how to link the two?
- Who gains and who looses with new laws of decentralisation and local governance? What is done for the losers? By who? (Bolivia)
- Changing role of state from regulator to facilitator?
- In Bolivia there is financial decentralisation? Why not in India? How can we do it?
- How is institutional building defined in Zambia?
- Who designed the new governance structures in Uganda?
- Do district plans respond the needs of the poor? Whose priorities are in district plans?
- When decentralisation work and what are the dangers (increasing power of elites)?
- What is the best sequence of legislation and capacity building in participatory decentralisation?
- Is decentralisation/deconcentration enough to ensure good government and governance if private sector does not get involved/challenged by central/local government?
- Decentralisation within different political structures/contexts
- Local government reform/ who designed this? Does it respond to the voice of the people?
- Which comes first, legal structure or capacity?
- How can those ideas, mental problems of the civil servants which hinder participation be challenged in three days training specially when we talk about values?
- How do deal with the rhythm (negotiation and urgent decisions)?
- How do you deal with the tension on communication between technicians and the people?

Attitudes and Values

- How do you promote active citizenship if government wants to do everything? (Tanzania)
- How to change attitudes - an important barrier to change
- Attitudes of people, bureaucrats, etc. keep coming up as an important factor?
- People are not going to participate if they do not feel it will make a difference for them and their communities
- Form without substance? The formalities of participation without changes from domination to facilitate behaviour and attitudes?
- How do we link the private, public and intimate realms for the development of citizenship and governance?
- Necessary to make a balance between overcoming barriers related to attitudes with barriers related to power relations and structures.
- Values, education, what elements? Values education essential for high citizen participation
- How to change mental models?
- Attitudes apathy to disenchantment, how do you change this?
- How do you address apathy towards participation?
- How to approach government's officials particular values/beliefs/attitudes/practice towards civil society?
- How to change attitudes of citizens (dependency on the State)?

- Educating for values and attitudes: popular, non-governmental, organisations, government workers; should they be all together in a workshop or in different ones? What should be the participatory approach?
- Mental models of leadership are authoritarian and have to change/be changed (Nicaragua and Bolivia)

Training/sensitising
- What is the evidence of PRA training and change in attitudes?
- How can we change the attitude of people as to be more responsive to the needs of the poor?
- Getting senior decision-makers in the field for experience
- Behavioural and attitude change training? How? Or what?
- Change of attitudes training: who will do it and whom will you train? In what?
- What difference does PRA training makes for government staff?
- Can we identify leadership styles appropriate to governance objectives?

Incentives
- What rewards are there for regional/district staff in implementing participatory approaches?
- Incentives/disincentives workshops, listings and analysis for LG government officials?
- What is the incentive for government to provide good governance?
- What are the tangible benefits for all the parties who participate?
- Incentives must be intrinsic to the situation if extrinsic or supplied artificially from outside. It is unsustainable if displaces other desirable motives.
- What is the benefit of participation for the local government? Why should local government do it? The need of more persuasive arguments.
- Incentives by local actors as well as institutional

Resources
- Lack of project funds for learning and documenting and sharing experiences
- The importance of matching participation intentions with resources
- Importance of information

Donor Issues
- In some cases donor staff tend to dominate and even catalyse conflict in partnership in order to intervene.
- Personal agendas, ownership credit
- Who should be pushing for funding democratic governance in the South?
- Inadequate co-ordination interregional/donor sharing (Tanzania).

PPAs
- PPAs as a means of direct people-government links…
- What to do with PPA information? How do you dovetail it into government, NGO, donor programmes. (Uganda)
- Public hearings as a way to follow-up on PPAs
- Monitoring, researching, sharing Uganda PPA experience how? By whom?
- Need for more to be shared on factors contributing to interim success (Uganda)
- Possible barriers to partnership building (Uganda)
- Key steps to implementation so far and possible next steps (Uganda)
- Value of participatory assessment of governance (Uganda)
- More on findings than on process: How about partnership challenges?
- How do actors in the Ugandan PPA deal with or plan to deal with possible conflicts caused

by PPA findings (corruption at local and national government levels?)

Going to scale

- How do you link the immediate micro-needs with the strategic macro-needs in the training process?
- How to institutionalise participation?
- Civil society innovations scaled up by governments (ABOPs Zambia)
- Do we have to scale up? How about scaling down?
- In what circumstances will it be worth using the MKSS model elsewhere?
- Importance of critical mass of women and others?
- Need for champions on government?
- The training of teachers as agents of participatory community development (NUR case study)
- Quality assurance in going to scale
- Sequences in going to scale (laws, procedures, pilot training).
- How can civil society groups scale interventions in political participation, or is there a need at all?

Indicators

- How do you assess the level of participation of the poor? How do you assess the impact of this?
- What other indicators besides number of women do you use to measure or value the gender perspective in the project?
- Who monitors the vigilance committees
- Indicators/measures of progress and change
- The need for the minority to value education and to ensure they make use of the available opportunities their (training, education, etc.)
- Who defines 'good' participation and governance (standards)?
- What is the reason for New Economics Foundation's emphasis on indicators: could it be the economic bias? Are there plans to broaden avenues for participation in development?
- How do we value citizen's time for participating in monitoring evaluation as active citizens?
- What are the guiding principles of governance at all levels?
- What are the guiding principles for the exercise of power and authority?

Accountability

- How do community representatives stay accountable to their communities?
- What is the relationship between citizen's councils and formal government? Can they own public assets?
- Audits and accountability/what accountability of government is there to the poor?
- Making local officials accountable to the people/citizens
- Who are the most effective mediators and are they accountable?
- How to establish trust given political manipulation?

Information

- The internet-connected elite is suffering information overload while we are hearing increasingly that lack of information is a serious problem for poor people.
- Radio Soap Opera (Karnakata)
- Are there studies on using info technology for enhancing participation?
- Information: How much is enough? Who wants/needs to know?

Policy
- The role of champions: How sustainable is the idea of championship in policy influence?
- Influencing the whole policy process including values
- What is a good national a participatory policy?
- How can the organization of civil society influence policy formulation at the macro level?
- Do we need a national policy?
- Genuine political will provides the most conducive enabling environment for strengthening participation in local governance?

Global context
- A major lacunae in the discussion is the total absence of discussion/analysis of the role of foreign actors, both public (WB, USAID, DFID) and private (NGOS).
- Given the power imbalance between nations in the South and TNC/WTO/UN/US govt how can southern governments devolve power to local people if power is not devolved to them by international institutions?
- External actors in democratisation projects in the South whether public (World Bank, Regional banks, USAID, DFID…) or private (International NGOs) operate within a 'non-interventionist' framework which exacerbates the anti-state biases of international NGO discourse.

Appendix B: Contact List of Participants

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APPENDIX C: FURTHER INFORMATION

A. WORKSHOP PAPERS
The following may be obtained on application to the Participation Group at IDS:

1. **James Blackburn** - Participative methods and local governance effectiveness in Bolivia
2. **John Gaventa & Camilo Valderrama** - Participation, Citizenship and Local Governance: Background Note
3. **Duncan Hanks** - Strengthening participation and local governance (Bolivia)
4. **Darren Hedley & Malekiado Phiri** - Strengthening participation in local governance: a presentation from CARE Zambia
5. **Rob Jenkins & Anne Marie Goetz** - Accounts and accountability: theoretical implications of the Right-to-Information Movement in India
6. **A.P.Kripa** - Panchayat Waves
7. **Fidelx Pius Kulipossa** - Glued to the PC screen: searching for information on the Internet (Introduction to useful websites on decentralisation, participation, local governance, and development)
8. **Ophelia Mascarenhas** - Strengthening participation in local governance: perspectives from Tanzania
9. **Marj Mayo** - Strengthening participation in local governance (UK)
10. **Leonard Okello** - Civil society based participation in democratic local governance: the case of Uganda
11. **Manoj Kumar Rai** - Participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions
12. **Anatoli Tarimo** - Towards participatory development: Singida region (Tanzania)
13. **Anatoli Tarimo** - Prospects for participatory grassroots planning: Singida Region Strategy (Tanzania)
14. **Tom S. Villarin** - Philippine experience in strengthening people's participation in local governance
15. **Alex Willingham** - The interdependence of legal entitlement and grassroots participation: lessons from US communities

B. OTHER RESOURCES

Strengthening Participation in Local Governance - the Use of Participatory Methods: Report of a Workshop, 16-19 March 1999, Bangalore, India.*(available from Participation Group at IDS)*

Working from Below: Techniques to Strengthen Local Governance in India: Report by New Economics Foundation (*available from New Economics Foundation*, Cinnamon House, 6-8 Cole House, London SE1 4YH, tel: 0171 407 7447, fax: 0171 407 6473)

The Way Forward: Citizens, Civil Society and Governance in the new Millennium: Report of the Taskforce of the Commonwealth Foundation, forthcoming 1999. (*Contact the Commonwealth Foundation for details:* The Commonwealth Foundation, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HY, UK; tel +44 171 930 3783; fax +44 171 839 8157; e-mail geninfo@commonwealth.int)

Participation and Governance: Bulletin of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) - 3 issues per year *(available from PRIA,* 42 Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi 110062, India; pria@sdalt.ernet.in)

The Participation Group Website is at http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/particip and is a good starting point for seeking resources and making contacts.

The Participation Group reading room at IDS contains a growing number of resources on governance issues. The database, which contains abstracts and publication details of these resources, can be searched by visiting the Participation Group homepage and selecting 'Reading Room'.

APPENDIX D: WORKSHOP AGENDA

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1999

10:00 Welcome and Introductions - John Gaventa and Andrea Cornwall

10:30 **Workshop Overview** - John Gaventa and Camilo Valderrama , Institute of Development Studies
Discussion - Critical questions and themes for the workshop

11:45 **Linking Citizen Participation and the State** - Rajesh Tandon, Society for Participatory Research in Asia and Colin Ball, The Commonwealth Foundation
Discussion

1:30 **Latin American Experiences** (Chair: Camilo Valderrama)
Nicaragua   - Malena de Montis, Cezontle
Bolivia   - Duncan Hanks, University de Nur & James Blackburn, IDS,
Discussion

3: 15 **Asian Experiences** (Chair: Mark Robinson)
India   - Anne Marie Goetz, IDS, & Rob Jenkins, Birkbeck College
           - A.P. Kripa, independent consultant, Mysore
           - Manoj Rai, Society for Participatory Research in Asia
Philippines   - Joel Rocamora, Institute for Popular Democracy & Tom Villarin, Kaisahan

TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1999

9:00 **African Experiences** (Chair: Robert Chambers)
Uganda   - Leonard Okello, Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Program
Tanzania - Anatoli Tarimo, Regional Commissioner, Singida District
           - Ophelia Mascarenhas, Irish Aid program
Zambia   - Darren Hedley & Malekiado Phiri, CARE
Discussion

11:15 **Parallels in North America and Europe** (Chair: John Gaventa)
Lessons from the U.S. Civil Rights Movement - Alex Willingham, Williams College
Participation and Local Governance in the UK, and related work - Sanjiv Lingayah & Bernie Ward, New Economics Foundation
Discussion

2:00 **Citizen participation and local governance: Lessons and Challenges from other research** (Chair: Diane Mulligan, IDS)
- Mark Robinson, Ford Foundation
- Shivi Sivaramakrishnan, IDS
- Rosemary McGee, Christian Aid

4:00 **Developing a future research and innovation agenda: What are the critical issues and themes for the future?** (small group discussions)

5:00 **Plenary Session and Close of Seminar**

WEDNESDAY 23-THURSDAY 24 JUNE, 1999
During these two days a group of southern participants continued discussions, and formulated action plans (see section V of this report).