Learning Initiative on Citizen Participation and Local Governance.
Review and Annotated Bibliography.

Part I: Review

Introduction

This annotated bibliography reviews broad literature on the subject of citizen participation and local governance, including theoretical debates and case studies, and suggests approaches for both policy makers and practitioners. This subject is becoming a critical area of current development debate, in which new concepts of citizenship and new approaches to democracy are emerging.

While the authors speak from their different experiences of decentralised forms of government, they voice a common concern: How can citizen participation in local governance contribute to democratic social change and greater social justice? Within this central question, we find a series of sub-themes which deepen the debate. Do citizens need new spaces in which to engage with local government, or are the traditional liberal democratic forums for political participation sufficient? What is the relationship between representative and direct democracy, and how can links between them be made? What are the factors or conditions that favour citizen participation in local governance?

As we enter the twenty-first century, we face a series of challenges to participatory democracy. Existing decentralisation programmes often fall short of the great expectations that precede them, and fail to 'deepen' democracy (Oyugi, 2000a). In many countries, the domination of institutional forms of liberal democracy and techno-bureaucratic administration has led to exclusion and alienation, not increased citizen involvement in government decision-making (Fung & Wright, 2001). We also find in the literature that increased participation may further entrench existing patterns of political and social inequality instead of the desired affect of increasing the voice of the poor and marginalised in local decision-making (Schönwälder, 1997).

Bearing in mind these real and potential pitfalls and barriers to citizen participation, the aim of this review is to contribute to the debate and to take us a step nearer to understanding how citizen participation in local governance can contribute to democratic social change. This introduction is divided into four sections, which reflect the four sections of the annotated bibliography.

Section One introduces the key concepts and debates emerging in writing about citizenship, participation and local governance. Section Two considers examples from the literature of strategies and mechanisms for citizen participation. Section Three reviews the literature on responsive local government, and particularly how institutional and policy reforms can create new spaces for citizen participation. Finally, in Section Four we begin to identify some of the conditions for, or characteristics of, meaningful citizen participation in local governance.

The "Learning Initiative on Citizen Participation and Local Governance" is a programme of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) that is being implemented in collaboration with the Ford Foundation Local Governance (LOGO) network. The literature in this Review consists of new materials collected from library searches and field visits, together with materials selected from the IDS Participation Reading Room and the Development Research Centre (DRC) on Citizenship Participation and Accountability at IDS. It represents a selection of cutting-edge material on citizen participation and local governance, both in terms of theory and contextualised case studies from around the world.

Section One: Concepts and Debates on Citizenship, Participation and Local Governance

Research conducted in 47 Commonwealth countries found that citizens want a larger role for themselves in governance, while at the same time recognising the need for a strong state (Commonwealth Foundation 1999). These findings point to a key question: how can citizen participation and effective governance be mutually sustaining? In order to understand how these concepts and practices relate to each other, we need first to unpack them, and be sure of what we mean by them.

Firstly, what is meant by *local governance*? This term refers to a sphere of decision-making that has been *decentralised* from the central state apparatus. Turner (1996) clarifies that there are three types of decentralisation: devolution, deconcentration and privatisation. In practice, decentralisation policies often contain a combination of these and Oyugi (2000b) argues that genuine devolution of power to the local level has been rare. In this review, we are concerned with forms of democratic local governance where 'meaningful authority [is] devolved to local units of governance that are accessible and accountable to the local citizenry, who enjoy full political rights and liberty' (Blair 2000:21).

Beetham (1996:30) argues that local governance has the potential to democratise because of its greater capacity for *responsiveness* and *representativeness*. For example, elected councillors may be more accessible and have greater incentives to recognise local demands, and a wider range of representation is likely especially of women and ethnic minorities. Blair (2000:21) also argues for the potential of local governance to democratise, through its promise that 'by building popular participation and accountability into local governance, government at the local level will become more responsive to citizens' desires and more effective in service delivery'. His view of democratic local governance thus depends on the *accountability* of elected representatives.

These views consider citizens' role in local governance from the logic of *representative* democracy. Citizens participate in and contribute to achieving greater equity and poverty reduction through electing more representative and accountable residents into local government. There are other approaches however, which perceive a more active role for citizens, through direct participation in public matters. Such approaches are concerned with transformations that go beyond the traditional notion of the public sphere and representative democracy, and challenge the boundaries between the public and private in favour of more *direct* forms of democratic engagement (Gaventa & Valderrama, 1999).

This shift from representative to direct forms of democratic governance also entails a shift in how we conceptualise *citizenship*. Forms of governance which seek to engage directly with citizens, demand an approach to citizen participation whereby citizens become 'makers and shapers' (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000), with full agency in governance processes. Citizen participation becomes a concept and practice, reaching beyond the traditional liberal notion of political participation as limited to electoral campaigning and voting. The practice of direct democracy extends citizens' political participation beyond the electoral process and draws on traditions of community participation - in identifying local priorities, planning and implementing programmes - to position the citizen as a key decision-maker as well as implementing agent and beneficiary, in local governance processes. The importance of the 'local' is that, through processes of decentralisation, the local level can provide opportunities for state and citizens to engage which, in some cases, are evolving into new, participatory forms of governance (see Section Two).

Citizenship participation thus defined, broadens the agenda around which people can mobilise and make demands (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2001). As clients or beneficiaries, people can

question the quality or cost of a service, but they are excluded from participating in the formulation or reform of the policies that underpin service delivery and their privatisation. As citizens, people can exercise their right to propose or oppose social policies that affect them. Tracing the history of participation from the 1970s to the present day, Cornwall distinguishes between induced and invited participation (through user groups, 'consultation' etc.) and a form of citizen participation through which 'people come to create their own spaces and enact their own strategies for change (Cornwall 2000:77). Furthermore, re-conceptualising citizenship as the exercise of agency, rather than the liberal notion of a national identity which entitles citizens to a bundle of rights, creates the basis for a more inclusionary approach, and with it a re-casting of rights - rights as created by citizens themselves (*ibid*).

This new understanding of citizen participation as a right, and as a sphere of activity which transcends the traditional boundaries between the state and civil society, also requires re-thinking of what we mean by governance. Citizens are engaging with local government in the interface between representative and participatory democracy. Rules and mechanisms for this direct engagement need to be established, in order for new relationships of trust and co-operation to develop, particularly if sectors of society are to be included which have 'historically been denied access to the public policy realm' (Fung & Wright, 1999). How can such new relationships be forged? Goetz and Gaventa (2001) argue that while government needs to establish the mechanisms for participatory local governance, their efforts will be most effective when they coincide with citizens' demands. Thus the challenge now is to build capacity on both sides of the equation for good, participatory local governance.

What are the best approaches for strengthening citizen participation in local governance? What does 'good' local governance look like? One approach is to establish indicators to measure progress. Estrella (2001) identifies five key aspects to consider when measuring local governance; participation, new styles of leadership, accountability and transparency, capable public management, and respect for law and human rights. She argues for the importance of institutional channels and mechanisms designed to increase direct citizen participation, such as the new legislation in India, Bolivia and the Philippines (*ibid*.:17). This approach will be discussed in Section Three.

Another approach is to frame questions about citizenship itself. What are the changes that need to take place in our thinking, in order for new relations between citizens and the state to be forged? Lowndes (1995) focuses on this question, and argues for a rethinking of the liberal notion based on individual rights. In the context of urban politics, policy-makers should take an approach to citizenship which views individual rights and community membership as two faces of the same coin. Törnquist (1998) directs us towards three questions: What are the *spaces* for pro-democratic efforts? What are the *structures* through which people are included in politics? How do peoples' interests and issues become *politicised*? In the following sections, these questions will be addressed through consideration of concrete cases of changing relationships between citizens and local government, firstly from the perspective of citizens' initiatives, and secondly from the perspective of local government reforms. The diversity and multiplicity of recent initiatives for citizen participation in local governance brought together in these sections provide opportunities to study conditions and mechanisms, and also to highlight barriers and problems.

Section Two: Strategies and Mechanisms for Citizen Participation

The theories and debates of Section One suggest that initiatives to forge space for citizen participation in local governance are deepening democracy, by taking the interaction between citizen & state beyond traditional liberal democratic spaces and mechanisms. But how do these initiatives arise, and which sectors, issues or strategies are best placed to increase citizen participation? Alvarez (1993) calls for political analysts and activists to pay greater attention to 'the channels and strategies that increase non-elite access to policymaking and implementation' (p.212), in order to design more inclusive and meaningful democratic institutions. What do we know about these channels and strategies?

Some authors argue that certain actors can bring about democratic social change. Alvarez (1993) claims that urban social movements have contributed to deepening democracy in Brazil in three ways. Firstly, their practices help inspire and advance an alternative democratic vision that emphasises citizen participation as a crucial component. Secondly, their networks and coalitions are instrumental in promoting constitutional reforms, and thirdly, they form the core constituency of the Worker's Party, an innovative democratic party of the left. Heller (2001) also identifies a potential synergy between social movements and the political project of a left-of-centre party in Kerala and Brazil. On the other hand, Gonzalez (1997) and Oldenburg (1999) find that NGOs provide potential for community empowerment and impact on Philippine local governance.

Another strategy for democratic social change is to use participatory *methods*. For some, particular methods increase citizen awareness of rights and responsibilities. The PRIA report (2000:10) describes the positive impacts of experiments in India with popular theatre, dance and song for a pre-election voter-awareness campaign. The authors conclude that these forms of popular communications are effective if used appropriately and sensitively in each context, and with sufficient time before the election date. Similarly, Ananthpur and Ganesh (2000) found that a radio soap opera proved to be an effective medium to disseminate information in Mysore, India on local government institutions, rights and responsibilities. Much of the literature from the Philippines (Chavez 1999, CARET 1999, IPG 2000) also focuses on methods for training and capacity building on both sides of the equation, since the Local Government Code of 1991 created new opportunities for citizens to engage with the state. Several NGOs in the Philippines are training local government officials in the use of participatory methods such as PRA for community planning (see also Blackburn & de Toma, 1998 for similar reflections in Bolivia after the passing of the Law of Popular Participation).

Plein et al. (1998:510) advocate the use of 'organic planning' or visioning as a tool for 'citizen-led, future oriented planning exercises aimed at improving local government and communities'. They see organic planning, as it has been used in West Virginia (USA), as a new form of citizen participation which is process-oriented and builds capacity in the community. In their study on community initiatives to combat social exclusion in the European Union, Bur *et al.* (1999) found that a wide range of methods were being used by grassroots organisations. Participatory Learning and Action, PRA, Planning for Real, Community buses, Citizen Panels, Citizen Juries, focus groups, Stakeholder Fora, Youth Parliaments; these are 'examples of how the community sector provides a mechanism for overcoming isolation' (Bur et al. 1999:28. See also Goetz & Gaventa 2001, IIED 2001, and Nierras *et al.* 2002[1]).

A central concern of these and other authors (Mukherjee 1996, Bur *et al*. 1999, Lingayah *et al*. 1999) is that methods should be *appropriate* to the needs, capacity, knowledge and resources of

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[1] 'Making Participatory Planning in Local Governance Happen', Nierras, R-M., Bishop, E., Abao, C. and Ross-Millianos, K. Annotated Bibliography, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, January 2002, draft.

the communities. Lingayah *et al.* (1999) assess various participatory methods employed by local government and NGOs in Bolivia, India, South Africa and the UK such as report cards, community radio, training, micro-planning and social auditing and community-based indicators. They conclude that to get participatory techniques right, the 'three legs to the stool' must be in place. These are clear governance objectives (do we want efficiency, effectiveness or accountability?), knowledge of local circumstances (what are the resources/constraints?), and understanding of the technique (is it appropriate?). Bur *et al.* (1999:4) also reflect that participation in local governance does not just depend on getting the method right, as oftentimes 'participation relies on the dedication and commitment often over many years, of individuals to a participatory and inclusive ethos'.

A number of authors discuss the potential for *partnership* between local government and citizens' organisations. Songco (1997:3) identifies and describes 'successful models of cooperation' in the Philippines, which serve as an incentive for NGOs, community organisations and local government to work together. For partnerships to develop he argues, both sides need to overcome the barriers of their mutual distrust, the lack of awareness of the Local Government Code amongst citizen organisations, and the reactive rather than strategic actions of the voluntary sector (*ibid*:6). Smith & Beazley (2000) suggest ways of evaluating such partnerships. Bur *et al*. (1999) Johnson & Wilson (2000) sound a more cautionary note about community-local government partnerships, which are usually set up by the powerful who are reluctant to share power. They argue that 'synergy' and 'partnership' are only possible if underlying social divisions are addressed.

Promoting citizen participation in local governance, or state-civil society partnerships means opening up space for civil society organisations to engage with the state. As civil society organisations compete to occupy this space, issues of representation and legitimacy need to be recognised. Alvarez (1993) calls for 'representational schemes … that would enable democratic governments on the left to determine who are the 'legitimate interlocutors' of the popular sectors', and deeper study into how 'participatory channels can be made both accessible to and genuinely representative of all poor and working-class citizens' (210). Chaskin & Garg (1997) study a number of neighbourhood governance structures in the United States and find that representation and participation vary enormously, as does the relationship of each structure with local government. Their findings bring up important questions about the possibilities and challenges of linking participatory and representative democracy. Issues of representation are exacerbated by the power imbalance between local government and citizens' organisations. Efforts to connect 'strong, recognised neighbourhood organizations' to government may lead to co-optation, 'in which case the fates of neighbourhood organizations and governance structures are so tied to the structure of authority that they are unable to advocate a minority position effectively' (655). Chaskin & Garg recommend research into the relative benefits of different structures and relationships, to build a 'taxonomy of roles and responsibilities, in which one can tease out, given a particular set of goals, which decisions are best made at which level of involvement and through which vehicles' (656).

Another important factor which influences citizens' potential to participate in local governance, is the *motivation* of the authorities to encourage new, participatory forms of governance. According to Bur *et al.* (1999), citizens' initiatives to increase their participation in local governance may be co-opted, or else manipulated, if the motivation of local officials is to keep control. In their view, 'effective participation only occurs when the motivation behind it is fuelled by a belief that all people have a right to a greater degree of control over the decisions that affect them' (*ibid,* 22). How can 'the powerful' become persuaded to give up some of their power, and to believe that ordinary people have the *right* to participate in governance? We will discuss this issue in greater depth in Section Three, where we consider the motivations and effectiveness of local government reforms to increase citizen participation.

Section III: Responsive Local Government

The attempts of civil society to open up new spaces in which citizens can engage directly in decision making, explored in section two, point to the importance of adopting appropriate strategies and methods. The effectiveness of the latter, however, largely depend on the position taken by the state. This can openly discourage and even suppress citizens' initiatives to gain greater participation in local governance, tolerate them or actively promote more participatory forms of local governance. In this section we are concerned with experiences of government reforms that *create* and *broaden* spaces for citizen participation in local governance.

As discussed in section one, one way in which central government can promote participatory local governance is through meaningful decentralisation processes that sanction the transfers of political powers and fiscal resources to local units of governance, thereby creating opportunities for development to be defined at the local level (Blair, 2000). The government, however, can be more explicit in promoting citizen participation by making legal provisions for more participatory mechanisms in local governance. The legislative frameworks passed in the Philippines, India and Bolivia at the beginning of the 1990s illustrate how the introduction of such mechanisms plays an important role for enhancing accountability, social and economic justice, and equity.

Villarin (1999) argues that the Local Government Code enacted in the Philippines in 1991 not only mandates the transfers of powers and resources to the newly established Local Development Councils, but also makes provisions for citizens' direct participation in governance and institutes measures of direct accountability of local governments to communities. In the case of India, Datta and Sen (2000) maintain that the 73rd Constitution Amendment passed in 1993 – which incorporates the *Panchayati Raj* Institutions as the third tier of government (de Souza, 2000) – institutionalises citizen participation in local governance through the *gram sabha*[2] and calls upon Panchayati Raj to conduct local planning for social and economic justice.

These legislative innovations can also foster a more equitable participation in local government by addressing entrenched exclusionary practices based on gender, caste, class or race. A study by PRIA (n.d., *a*) shows that the Indian 73rd Amendment provides 33.3% reservation of seats for women in Panchayati Raj and includes reservation for marginalised castes and tribes. Similarly, in their analysis of the Bolivian Law of Popular Participation, passed in 1994, Blackburn and de Tomà (1998) argue that the recognition and empowerment of grassroots territorial organisations to participate in municipal planning, effectively promotes the inclusion of indigenous people and lower classes in local governance, as a large number of grassroots organisations are peasant and indigenous associations.

However, while these legislative innovations have succeeded in strengthening local governance and creating new spaces for citizen participation in the legal realm, they have not always been translated into new practices of governance with the same success. Heller (2001) and Osmani (2000) argue that the main difficulties encountered are the unwillingness of central governments to relinquish power, and the weakness of newly-established institutions of local governance. Central governments, and those who control them, have little interest in distributing power and resources (*ibid*.). Various studies on the Indian *gram sabhas* point to the resistance these face from state governments. Some authors argue that such resistance is reflected in the vagueness of the legislature regarding their procedures and powers (Datta and Sen, 2000; Mander, 1999; 2000). Others point to the financial legislation, which denies Panchayati Raj Institutions

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2 Gram sabha is a forum for people's participation at the village level (Datta and Sen, 2000).

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complete control over their natural and physical resources and allocates them only a small, and often tied, share of state and central government total revenues (PRIA, 1999).

Another obstacle to democratising local governance is that even when there is political will on the part of government, the institutional change required is great (Heller, 2001). The highly centralised and top-down modes of governance adopted since the postcolonial period are difficult to overcome because '...though top-down planning has lost much of its luster in the past decade, it remains a powerful organisational reflex' (*ibid*.:135). Edralin (1996) argues that appropriate training and capacity-building are needed in order to foster a shift from the traditional style of management, which emphasise control, to one that stresses local accountability, participation of stakeholders and co-operative leadership. However, as a study by PRIA (n.d., *b*) points out, little training and capacity building has been provided to local government units and '... no efforts have been made to enable members of gram sabhas to understand their role in ensuring policy advice and priority setting...' (*ibid*. 24). According to Datta and Sen (2000) and Mander (1999; 2000), the combination of these limitations has resulted into largely dysfunctional and unempowered *gram sabhas*. [3]

The transfer of power and resources to local governments and building their capacity are crucial for promoting meaningful citizen participation in local governance, but there are still more obstacles for the attainment of the latter. Blackburn's (2000) study of the Bolivian case points to the political context dominated by patrimonial, clientelistic and caudillist features. In such 'prebendal' political culture, it is argued, the introduction of participatory forms of local public planning largely fail to empower poor citizens or to make local governments more accountable to them (*ibid*.).

While the role of the central government in promoting meaningful citizen participation in local governance cannot be overstated, local governments' *willingness* to engage citizens in governance and their *ability* to intelligently exploit newly created legal spaces are also crucial.

The experience of the Rural Integrated Project Support Programme (1998) in Tanzania highlights that changing the attitudes and behaviours of the local leadership is the most important and difficult process. Blackburn (2000) argues that in clientelist scenarios, local government officials may resist citizen participation, as this may undermine their political support networks. A commonly used argument by local authorities against participatory local governance is that the latter is complex, time-consuming, and ultimately inefficient. However, trials conducted in US cities by Weeks (2000) show that deliberative democratic processes open to all citizens, which provide them with extensive information and engage them in the same problem-solving context as elected officials, can enable local governments to take effective action on previously intractable issues.

The ability of local governments to exploit new legal spaces is reflected in their capacity to establish innovative and enduring mechanisms for citizen participation in local governance, which allow decision-making to reflect citizens' needs and priorities. As Montiel and Barten (1999) point out, the ability of local governments is particularly crucial when faced with an unresponsive central government. They argue that the success of involving citizens in governance in the Nicaraguan city of Leon rested in the ability of the municipal government to establish effective alliances with various organisations of civil society and sector ministries (*ibid*.).

When a commitment by central government to meaningful decentralisation is matched by the willingness and ability of local government to engage citizens in governance, positive outcomes

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3 Mander (1999) argues that only in Kerala the devolution of state resources and effective capacity building have allowed the gram sabhas to realise their potential.

are likely. Such is the experience of Participatory Budgeting (PB) in Brazil[4]. Souza (1996: 529) argues that the 1988 Brazilian Constitution '... made Brazil one of the most decentralised countries in the world, in terms of the distribution of it fiscal resources and political power'. The allocation of federal revenues to states and municipalities increased significantly as a result of the new Constitution and the two latter tiers of government replaced the federal government in some spheres of service provision (*ibid.*). The critical role played by the local government has been highlighted by various authors, who argue that the Worker's Party administration has displayed considerable ability in taking advantage of the opportunities created by the decentralisation process and in overcoming important 'dilemmas' of participation– such as the problems of inequality and uneven development of civil society (Abers, 2000; Baiocchi, 2001; Boschi, 1999; Wampler, 2000).[5]

However, if the analysis of PB were to stop here, it would overlook the equally important role played by civil society. Baiocchi (2001) points out that PB in Porto Alegre represented the response of the new administration to a long-standing demand of the Union of Neighbourhood Associations that had been advocating, since 1985, a participatory structure involving the municipal budget. Other authors, such as Navarro (1998) and Abers (2000), emphasise the key role played by a civil society characterised by a solid history of community associations eager to gain access to decision-making at the local level.

The majority of the studies on PB point to the *convergence* between local government and civil society as the key to success in the promotion of democratic local governance (Navarro, 1998; Abers, 2000 and 1999; Baiocchi, 2001; Wampler, 2000). While this convergence has characterised the experience of PB, Blackburn (2000) and de Souza (2000) argue that it has not taken place either in Bolivia or India where, paradoxically, legislative instruments designed to strengthen citizen participation in local governance – the Law of Popular Participation and the 73rd Amendment respectively – were drafted by an exclusive group of individuals without the contribution of citizens (Blackburn, 2000; de Souza, 2000). As we have seen from Sections Two and Three, there are a variety of actors that play an important role in the success of citizen participation in local governance. What does the literature tell us about the conditions in which these actors can most effectively come together? We will address this question in the following section.

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[4] For more detailed discussions of the outcomes of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil, see Navarro, 1998; Abers, 2000; de Sousa Santos, 1998; Bretas Paixao, 1996.

[5] The Porto Alegre experience is the first one and the most widely studied, though some studies refer to other experiences or a general analysis of PB (Bretas Paixao, 1996; Wampler, 2000).

Section IV: Conditions and Challenges of Linking Direct and Representative Democracy

The research project of the Commonwealth Foundation found that 'representative democracy and the institutions of State and government as we know them today, are no longer capable of serving citizens or ensuring good governance in the future'. Consequently, citizens and progressive government officials are seeking ways to reconnect the citizenry with the state; 'we are talking about the growth of participatory democracy in this world' (cited in Valderrama & Hamilton, 1999). In sections II and III we reviewed approaches, methods and institutional arrangements for linking direct and representative democracy. What can be learnt from these initiatives and endeavours? In this section, we draw out some key conditions and challenges for citizen participation in local governance.

The first challenge is to create spaces and mechanisms for citizen participation in local governance, which do not further entrench inequality. The devolution of funds and decision-making to the local level may actually reinforce authoritarianism at the local level rather than contribute to democratic social change (Fox & Aranda 1996; Schönwälder 1997).

Secondly, several authors point to the need to question the ideology or intentions behind a drive to increase citizen participation in local governance. Schönwälder (1997) and Heller (2001) distinguish between the pragmatic school which seeks to increase *efficiency* through participation, and the political school which aims to deepen democracy and promote direct citizen involvement in policy-making. These different approaches will have different outcomes, and represent different challenges. Veltmeyer (1997) also warns against channels for participation in local governance which are designed as a means of social control.

Thirdly, it should be kept in mind that a focus on the 'local' can obscure macro power issues. The 'local level' is widely considered to be the most appropriate arena for promoting new forms of citizen participation and state-society synergies. However, enthusiasm over the democratising potential of 'local governance' can occlude non-local agendas, as different actors from grassroots leaders to World Bank officials appear to coincide over the importance of the local. As Mohan and Stokke (2000) point out,

> 'Local participation can be used for different purposes by very different ideological stakeholders. It can underplay the role of the state and transnational power holders and can overtly or inadvertently, cement Eurocentric solutions to Third World development. There is a need for critical analysis of the political use of 'the local' but also a need to develop a political imaginary that does not repeat these weaknesses' (2000: 263-4, cited in Gaventa, 2001).

Fourthly, enthusiasm for building 'partnerships' between citizens' organisations and institutions of the state can overlook power inequalities in this relationship. Partnerships are often held up as examples of citizen participation when the timing, terms and content of citizens' interaction have been pre-established by government. Panos (2000) cites an example of partnership between the South African Homeless People's Federation and the ANC. In the first term of the ANC, officials were inexperienced in governance and open to creative ideas. Partnerships that emerged were 'based on equality and efforts to explore problems together'. However, in their second term, ANC officials were more confident, and partnership 'now generally means people's organisations co-operating in government processes, programmes or practices' rather than meaningful alliances based on equality (Panos, 2000:30).

These are some of the challenges faced by people when they try to build links between representative and direct democracy. These challenges are characterised by problems in practice of decentralising *power*, both to local government and to citizens themselves. What are the conditions which help to create an environment that favours shifts in power?

Osmani (2001) proposes that such a strategy could focus on the *economic empowerment* of the poor as an integral part of the drive towards participatory governance. Panos (2000) call for *legislative* and *cultural* change: ' A decentralised system of governance can be transparent and accountable only if backed up by laws and a culture that give citizens the rights and the space to question the authorities' (Panos, 2000:28). Section III of this introduction confirms that, while legal frameworks are important entry points for citizens to mobilise and engage with their local authority, they are not sufficient. Laws developed to promote citizen participation in local governance do not necessarily lead to democratic social change, as the experiences from India and Bolivia illustrate (Blackburn, 2000; Datta & Sen, 2000). It is necessary to create new spaces and mechanisms for direct democracy that complement broader legislation. The experience of participatory budgeting in Brazil is an example of how attention to mechanisms and methodology for participation can overcome entrenched problems of inequality and co-optation.

But a further caveat is necessary. Such mechanisms are more likely to succeed if they are the product of collaboration or convergence of citizens' initiatives and demands with state responsiveness (Baiocchi, 2001; Goetz & Gaventa, 2000). If a mechanism for participation and down-wards accountability is devised and implemented by elites, it is unlikely that the barriers to participation faced by marginalised groups will be addressed. Or as Fox (1999:3) explains, 'broad-based community participation can encourage more transparent and accountable local governance, while top-down rule by local elites can stifle potential for vibrant civil society'.

The literature in this Annotated Bibliography provides food for thought on a number of issues that are not intended to be failsafe steps to follow to ensure meaningful citizen participation in local governance, but rather are questions to be addressed and reflected on by anyone interested in this topic. One question to ask is how close to citizens themselves will decisions be made? Clark & Stewart (1998) emphasise the need to find new mechanisms that allow power to be exercised as close as possible to citizens and local communities. In this way, by addressing power imbalances and designing mechanisms and methods for participation that are informed by citizens' own demands, local government can begin to enable citizens to play an active role in integral local development.

Another question flagged by Heller (2001), Schönwälder (1997) and others is about the intentions and expectations that underpin an initiative for participatory local governance. Increasingly, researchers and practitioners alike are arguing for a 'reciprocal causality' between good local government and strong civil society (Fox, 1995), and a causality between participatory local governance and poverty reduction through empowerment, accountability and capacity building (Schneider, 1999). The literature reviewed here supports this argument, but suggests that for this reciprocity to come about, existing power imbalances must be taken into account. Different actors involved in the same process may have very different understandings about what outcomes to expect, and different capacity to pursue their interests, especially in scenarios where central and local government, international donors, NGOs and social movements are vying for influence over the process. Underlying these and other questions we have raised in this introduction, is the central issue of *where* citizens are positioned, and *how* we envisage their engagement in processes of participation in local governance. Is their role peripheral, instrumental, or central to the process? Have the obstacles to their participation been properly addressed?

Readers of this Annotated Bibliography should bear in mind that there are gaps in the literature, and concerns that have only partially been addressed but which may have a significant influence on the success an initiative for citizen participation in local governance. There is a need to reflect on the significance of issues such as *types* of legislation (does the law provide mechanisms for citizen participation, are these effective?), the *origins* of participatory initiatives

(are they imposed by donors or a response to popular demand), the *position* of citizens in these processes, and the *intentions* behind the initiative. This bibliography should not be read as a recipe for citizen participation in local governance. Instead, it provides tools for more focussed thinking about which questions to ask when we attempt to study, implement or advocate mechanisms to link processes of direct and representative democracy.

Part II: Annotated Bibliography

The "Learning Initiative on Citizen Participation and Local Governance" is a program of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) that is being implemented in collaboration with the Ford Foundation Local Governance (LOGO) network.

As part of the initiative, this annotated bibliography brings together a selection of recent material on citizen participation and local governance. It consists of new materials collected from library searches and field visits, together with materials selected from the Participation Reading Room and the Development Research Centre (DRC) on Citizenship Participation and Accountability at IDS.

The material has been organised around four thematic areas:
I   Citizenship, Participation and Local Governance: Concepts and Debates
II   Citizen Participation: Strategies and Mechanisms
III Responsive Local Government: Institutional and Policy Reforms
IV   Local Governance: Conditions for Democratic Social Change

The first area highlights current theoretical concepts and debates about the nature of 'citizenship' and of 'participation', especially in relationship to decentralisation and democracy, and asks how these might vary across contexts.

The materials in the second part present new strategies and mechanisms that have proven useful around the world for strengthening citizen voice and participation in local governance. They explore the links amongst traditional mechanisms for accountability through an electoral 'representative' system, and more recent strategies for 'direct' citizen participation, such as participatory planning, deliberative policy processes and participatory budgeting. The materials address the pre-conditions for the success of these various mechanisms and their limitations.

The literature in the third section explores institutional and policy reforms that promote responsive and effective local governments, especially in relation to social justice goals. It identifies the key levers for promoting local government institutions which are more democratic and open to citizen engagement.

Underlying each of the above issues is the broader question addressed by the material in the fourth part: under what conditions does decentralisation provide meaningful space for democratic social change, and when is it more likely to re-enforce patterns of political and social inequality?

I.   Citizenship, Participation and Local Governance: Concepts and Debates

Beetham, D. (1996), "Theorising democracy and local government" in King, D. and Stoker, G. (eds.) <u>Rethinking Local Democracy.</u> Macmillan, London. 28-49.

> There is no universally accepted notion of the proper nature of local democracy and much terminological confusion. The author considers the contribution of democratic theory to clarify the relationship between democracy and local government. Starting from the meaning of democracy itself, and an understanding of what kinds of principles and practices it entails, he addresses three questions: (i) What case is there, from a democratic point of view, for an elected system of local, in additional to national, government? (ii) What changes might make it more democratic, and how desirable and practicable would they be? and (iii) How might democracy be realised at the local level, other than through the formal structure of government? Two key democratic principles are identified – political equality and popular control. An extension of participation may therefore be judged 'democratic' to the extent that it secures greater popular control over collective decision-making, and greater equality in its exercise.

Blair, H. (2000), "Participation and accountability at the periphery: Democratic local governance in six countries." <u>World Development</u> 28 (1): 21-39.

> Democratic local governance (DLG), now a major sub-theme of democratic development, promises that government at the local level can become more responsive to citizen desires and more effective in service delivery. Based on a six-country study by USAID (Bolivia, Honduras, India, Mali, the Philippines and Ukraine), this paper analyses the two topics of participation and accountability, finding that both show significant potential for promoting DLG, though there seem to be important limitations on how much participation can actually deliver, and accountability covers a much wider range of activity and larger scope for DLG strategy than initially appears.

Bucek, J. and Smith, B. (2000), "New approaches to local democracy: direct democracy, participation and the 'third sector'". <u>Environment and Planning C-Government and Policy</u> 18 (1): 3-16.

> The paper centres around what is seen as the two themes of particular significance in the changing world of local government: the growing pressures to incorporate participatory and direct forms of democracy into local government; and the varied use of a complex structure of non-governmental organisations as part of local governance. The various dimensions of direct democracy and participatory democracy are analysed, leading to an examination of their different implications for transitional and established democracies. The different ways in which 'third sector' bodies are involved in local governance are also explored and their contribution to local democratisation assessed. It is argued that innovations in participation and the involvement of the third sector can revitalise local democracy.

Commonwealth Foundation (1999), <u>Citizens and governance: civil society in the new millenium.</u> The Commonwealth Foundation, London.

> In 1997 the Commonwealth Foundation initiated the project "Civil Society in the New Millenium". This report is based on the answers given by thousands of ordinary citizens, citizen leaders and citizens in influential positions in 47 Commonwealth countries, to a series of questions about the kind of society they want future generations to live in, and the role of government and citizens in creating it. The findings reveal the importance given by citizens to the fulfilment of basic needs, the need for association in community life and participation in public arenas. Citizens define a set of roles for the state and a number for themselves. A consensus emerges on the need for a strong state and a strong civil society, for deepened democracy and democratic culture, and for an enlarged role for citizens. On this basis an agenda is proposed for concerted action by political leaders and public officials as well as by citizens, citizen leaders and their intermediary organisations.

Cornwall, A. (2000), "Bridging the gap? 'Good governance', citizenship and rights." in Cornwall, A. <u>Beneficiary, customer, citizen: Perspectives on Participation for Poverty Reduction.</u> SIDA studies No.2: 60-68.

> The World Development Report of 1997 talks of "bridging the gap between state and citizen". This author discusses the increasing convergence in the late '90s in debates on social and political participation. While social participation was scaling up from the project level into policy, the meaning of political participation was extended within the 'good governance' agenda to include more direct forms of citizen participation, especially at the local level. The chapter reflects in turn on the implications of experiences with participatory policy work, efforts to enhance accountability and the return to a focus on rights. Strategies to engage citizens more directly in policy negotiation and in holding government accountable are seen in the context of an emerging rights-based approach to development in which new forms of active citizenship are beginning to be articulated.

Cornwall, A and Gaventa, J. (2000), From users and choosers to makers and shapers: Repositioning participation in social policy. <u>IDS Bulletin</u> 31 (4): 50-62.

> The paper explores approaches to participation in social policy, setting them within broader debates on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Drawing on studies of participation in a range of social policy arenas, North and South, it explores the implications of a shift from a focus on clients or consumers of social policies as users and choosers to a more active engagement of citizens as agents in the making and shaping of the social policies that affect their lives.

Cornwall A. and Gaventa, J. (2001), "Bridging the gap: citizenship, participation and accountability", in <u>Deliberative Democracy and Citizen Empowerment - PLA Notes 40</u>: 32-35. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London.

> The paper explores a range of contemporary participatory mechanisms and strategies that seeks to bridge the gap between citizens and the state. It recognises that the way forward in bridging the gap is a focus on both a more active and engaged civil society, which can express demands of the citizenry and a more responsive and effective state,

which can secure the delivery of needed public services. A strong state and a strong civil society will enable the development of both participatory democracy and responsive government. A more active notion of citizenship is framed, which recognises the agency of citizens as 'makers and shapers' rather than as 'users and choosers' of interventions or services designed by others. Participation is recognised as a human right in itself and as basic for the realisation of other human rights.

Estrella, M. (2001), <u>Review of Literature on Indicators of Good Local Governance,</u> Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), Manila.

To measure good governance it is necessary first to be clear about what we mean by it. This literature review examines emerging concepts of good governance and provides a conceptual framework for defining good governance in terms of its *context* (local or national level), *means* (the capacity, performance, achievements, attitudes of specific actors) and *ends* (the goals of good governance). Based on this conceptual framework, five key measures of good local governance are identified: (i) participation, (ii) new styles of leadership, (iii) accountability and transparency, (iv) capable public management, (v) respect for law and human rights. These five key measures are not mutually exclusive, as they conceptually interrelate and overlap. Based on the five identified measures of good local governance a database of indicators is produced. The literature review also examines who develops and who uses indicators of good local governance and raises some key issues in developing good local governance indicators while discussing how to mediate between different stakeholders' perspectives in defining good local governance. This literature review draws from different areas of academic study, such as governance, democracy, sustainable development, decentralisation, participation and human rights.

Gaventa, J. and Valderrama, C. (1999), <u>Participation, Citizenship and Local Governance - background paper</u>. Conference: Strengthening Participation in Local Governance, IDS.

Gaventa and Valderrama argue that the good governance agenda draws attention to relations with citizens, and tends to encourage heightened interaction to improve democracy and governance. They point out that this starts to overlap with 'social' or 'project' participation; partly because development projects are key arenas for interactions, or because development is a big issue on the social and political agenda. In consideration of the impacts of scaling-up project participation on states they highlight that such approaches hold the potential to produce changes in political awareness, behaviour and expectations. This provides scope to elaborate a notion of citizenship participation, which encompasses rights, and civic/social responsibilities, and direct and representative forms of participation.

Lowndes, V. (1995), "Citizenship and Urban Politics", in Judge, D., Stoker, J. and Wolman H. (eds.), <u>Theories of Urban Politics</u>. Sage Publications, London.

The 1990s have witness a revival of interest in citizenship, which stems from a renewed concern with the 'triangle' of relationships between individuals, communities and government. Specifically, it reflects a concern that such relationships are breaking down. The first part of this chapter reviews the classical theoretical arguments linking citizenship, community and self-government. The author argues that in today's urban environment the integrity of the 'triangle' is threatened by the limited interest and

involvement of individuals in local politics and civic life, the loss of relevance and coherence in local communities, and the inaccessibility and unresponsiveness of local political institutions. The second part considers the current revival of interest – in theoretical and policy terms – in citizenship, distinguishing between an 'individual rights' and a 'community membership' perspective. The author argues that both the theoretical and policy debates have been highly polarised, but that despite sharp disagreements these debates reveal surprising areas of overlap and consensus. The author suggests that it is more profitable to see individual rights and community membership as two 'faces' of citizenship, with the relationship between the two faces embodied in different ways in different historical periods and political systems.

Pimbert, M. (2000), <u>Transforming bureaucracies: institutional participation and people centred process in natural resource management – an annotated bibliography,</u> International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London.

This annotated bibliography includes close to 390 references, which have been selected with the aim of highlighting different strands of the debate on organisational change and the institutionalisation of participation in natural resource management. It includes an interdisciplinary range of references with the aim of overcoming the barriers between different traditions of knowledge and experience. It is divided into seven parts which correspond to seven overlapping themes identified by the authors: (i) conceptual issues and theories of organisational change for participation, (ii) learning organisations, (iii) gender and organisational change, (iv) transforming environmental knowledge and organisational change, (v) nurturing enabling attitudes and behaviour, (vi) policies for participation, and (vii) methods for institutional and impact analysis. Each theme is introduced by a brief overview that points the reader to major issues in the literature and areas where questions remain unanswered.

Törnquist, O. (1998), "Making Democratisation Work: From Civil Society and Social Capital to Political Inclusion and Politicisation – Theoretical Reflections on Concrete Cases in Indonesia, Kerala, and the Philippines" in Rudebeck, L., Törnquist, O. and V. Rojas (eds.), <u>Democratisation in the Third World: Concrete Cases in Theoretical Perspective,</u> Macmillan, London and St. Martin's, New York.

The author argues that the civil society and social capital paradigm used to explain democratisation processes is not a useful one. The common thesis on civil society and democracy is that the former is a precondition for the latter and that the stronger the civil society the better the democracy. The extended proposition regarding social capital is that civil society is not enough: a civic community is also needed. The author disputes the paradigm by firstly critiquing its theoretical and empirical premises; secondly by questioning its generalisation to the third world context; thirdly by arguing that it does not address the most relevant societal problems in these contexts; fourthly by showing how empirical results from comparative studies of civil society/civic community movements which give priority to democratisation speak against the thesis. The author maintains that it is both more relevant and analytically fruitful to study the politics of democratisation by focusing on three aspects: (i) the space for pro-democratic efforts; (ii) the structures through which people are included into politics; (iii) the politicisation of people's interest and issues.

Valderrama, C. and Hamilton, K. (1999) <u>Strengthening Participation in Local Governance</u>. Report of the workshop held at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), 21-24 June, 1999.

> This report highlights key discussion points that emerged from a workshop on "Strengthening Participation in Local Governance". Conceptual issues around participation, governance, citizenship and decentralisation are discussed. Country presentations highlight various experiences in strengthening participation in local governance: these include looking at the context (particularly with respect to existing legal frameworks), the dynamics of participation, strategies and approaches that are employed to overcome barriers, and the key lessons and proposed ways forward for future research. Lessons and challenges from previous research as well as a summary of action plans for collaboration and future research are also presented.

II   Citizen Participation: Strategies and Mechanisms

Alvarez, S. E. (1993), "Deepening Democracy: Popular Movement Networks, Constitutional Reform, and Radical Urban Regimes in Contemporary Brazil", in Fisher and Kling (eds.), <u>Mobilising the Community: Local Politics and the Era of the Global City</u>: 191-219. Sage Publications, California.

> This paper examines the role of Brazilian urban social movements (USM) in 'deepening' political democracy, defined as the establishment of political-institutional arrangements that redistribute information about, access to, and influence in the governmental arenas where collectively binding policy decisions are made. The author draws on empirical examples from metropolitan São Paulo and maintains that the practice of 'direct democracy' at the community level to make demands on the state is the core of USM's political methodology. She argues that USM have contributed to deepening Brazilian democracy in three ways. First, they advanced an alternative democratic vision that emphasises citizen participation as a crucial component of meaningful democracy. Second, movement networks and coalitions were instrumental in promoting constitutional reforms that extend new social rights and potentially expand the opportunities for political participation to subaltern groups and classes. Third, they have formed the core constituency of an innovative democratic party, the Workers' Party, which has worked to democratise the relationship between poor and working-class citizens and the state at local levels, through the implementation of 'popular democratic' municipal administration.

Ananthpur, K. and Ganesh, P. (2000) <u>Governance and media: use of radio in disseminating information on participatory governance in Mysore district</u>. A Ford Foundation Project with Institute of Development Studies (IDS).

> Report of an action research project that aimed to disseminate information on Panchayati Raj Institutions (or structures and institutions of local governance) to the rural population through the radio in Mysore, India. The authors point out that though the state of Karnataka is involved in decentralisation with statutes in place and processes to facilitate local participation in governance, there are still formidable

barriers. The report gives an account of the project, assesses its impact and outlines some useful strategies for those interested in using communication creatively to promote grassroots participation in governance.

Bur, A., Stevens, A. and Young, L. (1999), <u>Include us in : participation for social inclusion in Europe</u>. EISS, University of Kent, Canterbury.

This report presents findings from a 12-month project on participation in local governance in four countries - Ireland, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom - and evaluates new methods being adopted to promote participation in developing successful, local solutions to problems of social exclusion across Europe. The report will be useful for those working in participation with socially excluded and vulnerable groups. It examines three key issues - 1) innovative approaches to participation by the community, by voluntary and public sector in the context of combating social exclusion; 2) the need for change in local government and the community sector to ensure that participatory democracy is effective for socially excluded communities; 3) the potential for the European Union to further its new mandate to combat social exclusion by promoting participatory principles and methods

CARET (1999), <u>Building Empowered Sustainable Communities through Effective People's Participation in Governance</u>. Proceedings of the Third Conference on Sustainable Integrated Area Development (SIAD). February 18-19, 1999, Quezon City.

This book brings together the contributions made at the Third Conference on SIAD, where more than 100 representatives of NGOs, funding agencies, government organisations, academia, people's organisation (POs) and local government units (LGUs) shared their experiences and ideas. The conference provided a space for: (i) consolidating and enriching experiences in SIAD through democratic participation in governance (DPG), particularly on participatory development planning using PRA tools; (ii) promoting SIAD-DPG at the barangay-bayan level as a project for NGOs, POs, LGUs and ODA-funded programmes; and (iii) identifying new challenges to SIAD-DPG.

Chaskin, R. J. and Garg, S. (1997), "The issue of governance in neighbourhood-based initiatives". <u>Urban Affairs Review</u> 32 (5): 631-661.

The authors of this issue-mapping article explore the rationale behind, and issues bearing on, the governance of community-based initiatives. They examine three issues relevant to the formation of local governance structures: the relationship between neighbourhood-based governance structures and local government; issues of representation, legitimacy, and connection; and long-term viability. They suggest an agenda for further exploration that includes examining the relative benefits of different governance structures, exploring the issue of capacity in community-building, and investigating the perspective of local governments that have jurisdiction over the areas in which these efforts are being implemented.

Chavez, E.C. (1999), <u>Barangay development planning through participatory rural appraisal: The KAISAHAN experience</u>. Third SIAD Conference, Innotech, Philippines.

> Based on experience in the Philippines, at the barangay (sub-municipal) level, this paper advocates the application of the tools of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) to local development planning, in pursuit of the twin goals of development and democratisation. It details 14 key steps in the planning process, from preparation to plan implementation, and summarises the main issues, concerns and challenges which have arisen from the experience. Potential obstacles include unsupportive local officials, changes of local government administration and weak local resource mobilisation, especially in the context of aid programmes. The timing of the planning process is identified as a critical design issue. The challenges are to strengthen local capacities, to encourage the multiplication of the experience and to refine and indigenise the process.

Goetz, A.M. and Gaventa J. (2001), <u>From Consultation to Influence: Bringing Citizen Voice and Client Focus into Service Delivery</u>. Consultancy report for the Department for International Development (DFID). Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.

> The paper identifies the conditions for enhancing the effectiveness of citizens' efforts to voice their concerns about poor quality services. It also identifies public sector reforms that produce greater responsiveness and accountability to clients, especially the poor. It reviews 60 case studies of both citizen- and state-initiated efforts to make public services responsive to the needs of their clients. The most successful experiences exhibited some of the following characteristics: (i) legal standing or formal recognition for non-governmental observers within policy-making arenas; (ii) a continuous presence for these observers throughout the process of the agency's work; (iii) structured access for citizens to the flow of official documentary information; and (iv) either the right of observers to issue dissenting reports directly to legislative bodies or the right of service users to demand a formal investigation and seek legal redress for poor or non-delivery of services. The paper maintains that both the extent to which citizens influence the design and delivery of public services and the capability of states to respond will depend upon the interaction of three factors. First, the socio-cultural and economic power of the client group in question. Second, the nature of the political system and the organisation of political competition. Third, the nature and power of the state and its bureaucracies.

Gonzalez, Eleanor (1997) <u>Decentralisation and political participation in the Philippines: experiences and issues in societal transformation</u>. Paper presented at: Conference on Cooperative Development and Peace in Asia, 7-14 March, 1997, Occasional paper 8 - Work in progress. Institute for Popular Democracy (IDP), Chandigarh, India.

> Decentralisation and the development of civil society are two key ways of empowering people and communities and changing centralised forms of governance. This paper describes the rise of NGOs in the Philippines and decentralisation initiatives of the Aquino administration. Collaboration between NGOs and local government units are critically examined, and their impact on governance and community empowerment. Finally, the authors propose a number of policy recommendations.

Heller, P. (2001), "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralisation in Kerala, South Africa, and Porto Alegre", <u>Politics and Society</u> 29 (1): 131-163.

The article explores the conditions under which a distinctly democratic variant of democratisation, defined as an increase in the scope and depth of subordinate group participation in authoritative resource allocation, can be initiated and sustained. Because such a project entails a fundamental transformation of the exercise of state power, it requires an exceptional set of political and institutional opportunities. These are found in South Africa, the Indian state of Kerala and the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre, where the Africa National Congress, the Communist Party of India-Marxist and the Partido dos Trabalhadores respectively have been associated with the formulation of transformative projects in which the democratisation of local government was given a prime role. However, despite the similarity of favourable preconditions – capable states and democratically mobilised societies – the three experiences lead to divergent outcomes. In the case of Kerala and Porto Alegre, initial reforms that increased the scope of local participation have been sustained and have strengthened local democratic institutions and planning capacity. In contrast, in South Africa a negotiated democratic transition and commitments to building democratic developmental local government have given way to concerted political centralisation, the expansion of technocratic and managerial authority and a shift from democratic to market modes of accountability. The comparison developed in the article centres around two analytical clusters: (i) the nature of the political project of local government reform; (ii) the dynamic of party-social movement interactions.

Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Participation Group (1999), <u>Reading pack for: Strengthening Participation in Local Governance: the Use of Participatory Research Methods</u>. Workshop, Bangalore, March 16-20, 1999.

List of references on the role of participatory methods in improving citizen participation in local governance. Topics covered include: different types of participatory planning; techniques for participatory monitoring and evaluation of public institutions; methodologies for training representatives in effective performance; and state/citizen relationship-building via citizen education and awareness raising.

Institute of Politics and Governance (2000<u>), Barangay : an introductory course on Barangay governance</u>. IPG and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Quezon City.

This manual reflects the principles of local governance espoused by a group of education and development oriented NGOs in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The manual had its origins in a pilot training programme for local governance in which the NGO group placed grassroots participation at the centre of local governance. In this manual, the basic orientation course of the barangay (local administrative unit) training programme is outlined. Links are made between grassroots participation in local governance and participatory democracy in national policy.

International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (2001), "Deliberative Democracy and Citizen Empowerment", <u>**Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) Notes 40**</u>**. IIED, London.**

> The theme for this issue, deliberative democracy and citizen empowerment, focuses on how to engage 'the public' in policy formulation. There is an increasing interest from civil society in ideas regarding good governance, deepening democracy, and citizen empowerment, particularly how to bring the public or the 'lay' perspective into the arenas where traditionally, the public had little or no involvement. This issue draws together some key thinking around public participation, using a range of techniques know as Deliberative and Inclusionary Processes (DIPs), including mechanisms such as Citizen's juries, Citizen conferences and the like. The majority of experiences with these processes has been in the North, although increasingly, these are being adopted and adapted in the South.

Johnson, H. and Wilson, G. (2000), "Biting the bullet: Civil society, social learning and the transformation of local governance" <u>**World Development.**</u> **28 (11):1891-1906.**

> This paper focuses on how the actors of development interventions negotiate and manage their interrelations, interests, goals and outcomes of action in contexts of social inequality and relative power. The research takes an action-oriented approach to analysing the structured and active representation of roles and interests in development initiatives. The approach is applied to an intervention on waste management in the mining town of Bindura in Zimbabwe, where a recycling scheme is being set up through a partnership between local government and other state and civil society actors, with the participation of the local community. The key question is how socially hierarchical structures and processes might be managed to create a positive change in the status of hitherto excluded or marginal groups.

Lingayah, Sanjiv, MacGillivray, A. and Hellqvist, M. (1999), <u>**Working from below: techniques to strengthen local governance in India**</u>**. NEF, London.**

> This report is about innovative ways of strengthening local governance in India. Drawing from various case studies, the conceptual underpinnings of participation in local governance are highlighted. In particular, the report explores the potential of community-based indicators and social auditing techniques to help India to work from below. It highlights techniques that enhance local governance through participation, while examining where techniques work in encouraging participative local governance and why. The authors recognise a huge 'scaling-up' challenge and acknowledge the need for robust guidelines to help new practitioners choose and use appropriate participatory techniques that might play a part in changing governance in India.

Merrifield, J. (2000), <u>**Learning Citizenship**</u>**. Discussion paper prepared for IDS participation group and PRIA - September 2000. Available online at Commonwealth Foundation website,** http://www.commonwealthfoundation.com/documents/learning.pdf

> In an analysis of how people learn to be citizens, the paper focuses on citizenship as active participation. It argues that people learn to be citizens, shaped by socialisation into a political culture, participation (or lack of) in political processes and formal and

informal teaching, but what they learn does not always make them more active citizens. In terms of knowledge, people need a broad understanding about political choices (rather than specific facts), in terms of capabilities, citizenship learning should involve practical activity. Some forms of adult education which focus on linking learning with experience, and emphases group learning, cultural expression, and reflection, however, seem to be getting things right.

Mukherjee, A. (1996), <u>Report on Peoples' Participation in the Process of Decentralised Planning in India</u>. Government of India, New Delhi.

This report outlines the methodologies and operational approaches to decentralised planning at the grassroots level using a variety of participatory methods including PLA. A number of operational procedures have been suggested as a prerequisite for decentralised planning, for example, assessment of the existing resources, opportunities and access to public services, needs assessment and a detailed list of sectoral activities to be undertaken. A long list of participatory methods that could be used in decentralised planning is included. The report includes tables and charts obtained from field-based PLA exercises, which illustrate different aspects of decentralised planning.

Mukherjee, N. (1996) <u>The rush to scale: lessons being learnt in Indonesia</u>. Paper presented at: Institutionalisation of Participatory Approaches Workshop, 16-17 May 1996, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.

This paper describes how the Indonesian government incorporated elements of PRA to launch a nation-wide programme of participatory village planning in 60,000 villages to be completed within the 1995-1996 budget year ending in March 1996. The article analyses the mistakes committed in attempting to scale up too fast in the face of too many constraints: too few sufficiently experienced trainers resulting in poor quality training, unrealistic budget and time constraints imposed by government, and the pre-existing top- down culture of development planning in Indonesia. The article shows in very clear terms that participatory approaches cannot be tagged on to existing national programmes, and that scaling-up will fail if it is rushed.

Oldenburg, P. (1999), "Non-Governamental Organisations and Panchayati Raj". <u>Occasional Paper 5.</u> National Resource Centre on Panchayati Raj, PRIA, Delhi.

The paper presents a summary of the discussion between the author and NGO workers, staff from the Ford Foundation in New Delhi, and government officers on the role of NGOs in the new panchayati raj system, in the context of participatory micro-planning. The discussion draws on a background note prepared by the author and circulated to the participants before the gathering. In the note, which is also included in the paper, the author presents the difficulties faced by Gram Panchayat in doing participatory micro-planning (PMP) as it is packaged by NGOs. He points to the reluctance on the part of NGOs to empower Gram Panchayat to do PMP, because they see elected representatives of the people as 'politicians', and their attempts to empower the people instead, through the Gram Sabha. The author expresses doubts about the Gram Sabha as a locale of 'real democracy' and suggests ways that an empowered Gram Panchayat can be held accountable. The note concludes with a brief analysis of the larger political context of Panchayati Raj and the implications for Gram Panchayat-NGO cooperation. In the discussion, participants show commitment to Panchayati Raj as legitimate and

permanent locale of democracy in India and to make those institutions work for the empowerment of the people, social justice, and for material progress. The participants reaffirm the need to work with both the Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat to ensure effective and accountable planning at the village level.

Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) (2000), <u>Strengthening Panchayati Raj Institutions – Annual Report 1999-2000</u>. Centre for Local Self Governance, PRIA, Delhi.

Participatory Research in Asia is a development NGO based in Delhi, India, that promotes participation and democratic governance. Through its Centre for Local Self-Governance it aims to contribute to the effectiveness of Panchayati Raj Institutions and Municipal Bodies as institutions of local self-governance. Its approach gives priority to bottom-up comprehensive planning as the basis of self-governance, to the empowerment of women and other weaker groups and their active participation in decision-making, to the local control of resources, and to improved understanding as a basis for institutional strengthening. This annual report (1999-2000), details its pre-election voter awareness campaign, capacity building of elected representatives and voluntary organizations, facilitation of micro-planning processes, information programmes through Panchayat Resource Centres, and other activities related to direct strengthening, promotion, research, documentation, networking and advocacy. The impact is assessed and some achievements and limitations identified.

Pimbert, M. (2000), <u>Transforming bureaucracies: institutional participation and people centred process in natural resource management – an annotated bibliography</u>, International Institute for Environment and Development, London.
(*See section I for abstract*)

Plein, L. C., Green, K. E. and Williams, D. G. (1998), "Organic planning: A new approach to public participation in local governance". <u>Social Science Journal</u> 35 (4): 509-523.

In the past few years, a new form of citizen-oriented policy deliberation has emerged. Often using the concept of "visioning" as a vehicle, efforts have been carried out to foster citizen discussions regarding the desired future of a community, region, or jurisdiction. The future orientation of such deliberations allows for a wide array of issues and concerns to be identified and acted upon in a developmental format. This paper seeks to draw some generalisations from this new phenomena. We argue that this is a new form of citizen participation that builds upon, but is distinct from, previous citizen participation practices and models. We call this new variant organic planning.

Rippe, K. P. and Schaber, P. (1999), "Democracy and environmental decision-making". <u>Environmental Values</u> 8 (1): 75-88.

It has been argued that environmental decision-making can be improved be introducing citizen panels. The authors argue that citizen panels and other models of citizen participation should only be used as a consulting forum in exceptional cases at the local level, not as a real decision-making procedure. But many problems in the field of environmental policy need non-local, at least regional or national, regulation due to the fact that they are of national importance. The authors argue that there are good reasons

not to institutionalise national citizen panels. They advocate the view that more reasonable and more competent solutions can be found by introducing forms of direct democracy.

SEARCH, (1999), <u>Strengthening Participation in Local Governance - The Use of Participatory Methods</u>. SEARCH, Bangalore.

In March 1999, a workshop was held in Bangalore, bringing together key NGOs and training centres working on the use of participatory methods to strengthen participation in local governance in India, other Asian countries, and the United Kingdom. The objectives were to share experiences, to analyse problems and difficulties, to develop new strategies and to draw out lessons and recommendations for application in the Indian and international context. This publication details the background to the workshop, its proceedings and conclusions. The experiences explored here suggest that the social and political barriers to participation in local governance are beginning to be overcome through active and innovative processes of popular planning, awareness building, training and advocacy. At the same time, appropriate methods must continue to be built, successes and failures should be explored through action research, and further opportunities developed for sharing and learning across borders.

Smith, M. and Beazley, M. (2000), "Progressive Regimes, Partnerships and the Involvement of Local Communities: a Framework for Evaluation". <u>Public Administration</u> 78(4): 855-878.

This paper examines the nature of community involvement in urban politics as it is played out in the UK through regeneration partnerships. At a theoretical level, it explores the potential for a community dimension to local governance, that is, a strategic influence for communities within local power structures. It is argued that the nature of involvement can be explicated by considering three concepts: power (as expressed by urban regime theory), participation and partnership. The paper explores these three broad themes and then focuses on the particular issues pertaining to community involvement in partnership working. Building on this framework, the paper develops a model – a 'wheel of involvement' - for analysing the effectiveness of community involvement in regeneration partnerships. This model enables the effectiveness of involvement to be quantified by the use of a simple questionnaire survey. It provides a tool for academic researchers and practitioners concerned with evaluating partnerships to being to explore the quality and level of community involvement in the process of urban renewal. The results of an analysis of two regeneration partnerships are presented as an illustration of the efficacy of the evaluative technique.

Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) (2000), "Pre-Election Voters' Awareness Campaign". <u>Participation and Governance</u> 7 (18): 8-10. PRIA, New Delhi.

The need to facilitate the engagement of citizens in the process of electing Panchayats prompted PRIA and its partners to carry out a Pre-Election Voters' Awareness Campaign (PEVAC). The three basic purposes of campaigning were (i) to make people aware of and interested in a particular issue, (ii) to inform/educate them about it and (iii) to persuade and motivate them to take action at both the personal and community levels. Some of the issues taken up by PEVAC were: voter's rights, participation of women

and the weaker sections, and creating an enabling environment for free and fair elections. This article shares the lessons learned from the implementation of PEVAC in three states and provides insights into the challenges that each state faces.

Songco, D. A. (1997), "Strategic partnerships through people's participation in local governance", <u>Occasional Paper No 97-05</u>. Governance and local democracy project (GOLD), Makati City.

This paper discusses civil society-government relations in the Philippines in the wake of the Local Government Code passed in 1991. It outlines factors that help and hinder the development of partnerships and good governance in a context of historical opposition between state and civil society institutions.

Valderrama, C. and Hamilton, K. (1999) <u>Strengthening Participation in Local Governance</u>. Report of the workshop held at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), 21-24 June, 1999.

(See section I for abstract).

Villarin, T. S. (2000), <u>Democratic Participation in Governance in Multiple Lanes of Engagement Between The State, Social Movements and Civil Society.</u> Work in progress, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.

This paper looks at participation and local governance in the Philippines. Participation is likened to a multiple-lane highway where the lanes of participation are identified as: political participation, mass movement, democratic participation in local governance, community participation and others. These forms of participation can be combined and used simultaneously. The paper analyses the experience of the Barangay-Bayan Governance Consortium (Batman), established in 1997 by a consortium of NGOs with the aim of challenging traditional clientelist political culture and empowering local communities. Emphasis is placed on the innovative experience of participatory local development planning at the community level.

Wates, N. (2000) <u>Community planning handbook</u>. Earthscan, London.

This handbook provides an overview of new methods of community planning within the context of the built environment. It is based on the recognition that local involvement in the planning and management of the environment is the best way to ensure safe, strong and sustainable communities and that this is applicable throughout the world. It is laid out in a straightforward, jargon-free format that reflects its aim of being of use to individuals and residents as well as policy makers and practitioners. After a general introduction there is an A-Z of general principles, followed by the biggest section, an A-Z of 53 Community Planning Methods that runs from Action Planning Event to Video Soapbox. A selection of scenarios follows, covering some common development situations and illustrating ways in which the different methods can be combined in an overall strategy. It ends with lists of useful formats and checklists, publications and contacts.

Young, S. C. (1998), <u>Promoting participation and community-based partnerships in the context of Local Agenda 21: a report for practitioners</u>. The University of Manchester, Manchester.

> At the Rio Earth summit governments of the world signed up to Agenda 21, an international action plan to promote sustainable development. Local governments agreed to prepare their own local agenda 21 strategies with the involvement of all groups in society, on the basis of consensus. This document is a report of research carried out in the UK, Denmark and The Netherlands to examine the approaches and strategies that have been adopted to ensure this participation. The aim of the report is to promote good practice and innovatory approaches to participation.

III   Responsive Local Government: Institutional and Policy Reforms

Abers, R. (1998), "From clientelism to cooperation: Local government, participatory policy, and civic organizing in Porto Alegre, Brazil". <u>Politics and Society</u> 26 (4): 511-537.

> The paper starts with the observation that it is increasingly accepted that improving the quality of life in impoverished urban areas depends on the capacity of local residents to form social networks and civic organisations. While much of the literature calls for a retreat of the state to accomplish this, some recent studies have shown that state actors can actually promote empowerment of civic organisations. The article looks at an example of state-fostered civic organising: Porto Alegre's "participatory budget", which involves handing over municipal funding decisions on basic capital improvements to neighbourhood-based forums. The analysis looks closely at the Extremo Sul district in terms of mobilising neighbourhood residents, opening closed neighbourhood associations, building co-operative alliances, and transforming participants' perspectives. It is argued that in response to this policy innovation, innumerable neighbourhood organisations have formed, whilst at the same time clientelist forms of neighbourhood action have been discouraged and participation and inter-group collaboration promoted. It is concluded that the first step to state-sponsored civic organising is that the state must be genuinely open to participation and responsive, and that potential participants must become aware of that responsiveness. In Porto Alegre, this did not happen straight away, but there was a demonstration effect that helped mobilise groups, and the targeted issues were found to be meaningful to poor neighbourhood residents. Community organisers also acted as external agents helping unorganised neighbourhoods organise. Networks of reciprocity and trust were built and clientelism discouraged, as alliances built up from year to year and people changed the way they perceived their interests. Against the trend for promoting self-financing and cost recovery in infrastructure investments, top priority went to raising revenue through taxation and administrative streamlining. Further, government spending set off, rather than discouraged, a boom in civic action. It is argued that the policy prioritised a different kind of investment: building new relationships between government personnel and citizens. This new type of governing privileges accessibility, flexibility, and negotiation. It is argued that, overall, there has been a fundamental transformation of political life in Porto Alegre as neighbourhood residents have shifted from powerless cogs in clientelist machines to being active participants in public life.

Abers, R. (2000), <u>Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil</u>, Lynne Rienner, London.

This book seeks to explain why citizen participation in participatory budgeting (PB) in Porto Alegre mobilised and empowered the poor. By showing why this occurred, the author attempts to broaden the understanding of the political possibilities for implementing participatory democracy. The book identifies three main groups of problems of participation that can impede the creation of participatory policies that empower the hitherto excluded: (i) implementation, (ii) inequality and (iii) co-optation problems. The book is dived into four parts, with the first providing context and concepts within which to analyse PB and three parts that examine each of the three problems of participation identified. Part one analyses the setting within which the Porto Alegre administration carried out PB, discussing the unfavourable circumstances it overcame and the favourable conditions that helped it to do so. Part two examines how the Workers' Party overcame the various problems of implementation, showing how state actors within the party administration made strategic choices that allowed them to take advantage of the limited autonomy they had to transform government structures while at the same time maintaining electoral support. Part three focuses on the problem of inequality and shows how the administration created an enabling environment that fostered the participation of the poor in the process of PB. Part four examines how the policy not only attracted participants but also initiated a developmental process of civic organisation and social learning that had implications for both the inequality and the co-optation problems. The concluding chapter outlines how the implementation, inequality and co-optation problems were confronted in Porto Alegre through a complex interplay of state-society relations in which the cumulative effect of participatory political strategy, mobilisation, and social learning was the empowerment of the hitherto excluded.

Baiocchi, G. (2001), "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory". <u>Politics and Society</u> 29 (1): 43-72.

The Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) model of institutional design holds promise for efficient, redistributive, and fair decision making. In light of the Porto Alegre experiment, the author raises three broad central problems in the theoretical model: (i) the problem of inequality that may hinder fair deliberation; (ii) the problem of uneven development of civil society, which concerns the impact of empowered deliberation upon autonomous civil society; and (iii) the 'politics' problem that concern the type of political context necessary to carry out such an experiment in the real world. Based on a number of indicators about the Porto Alegre experiment, the author examines the implications of these problems and their solution in this case and offers extensions to the EDD model. The author argues that the Porto Alegre experiment fits the model and confirms its best expectations: large numbers of participants from different strata of Porto Alegre's society have come together to share in a governance structure that has proven efficient and highly distributive. After a brief discussion of the institutions of participatory governance in Porto Alegre, the author argues that the experiment offers a particularly successful resolution to the problems of deliberation among unequals through its didactic functions. On the interfaces with civil society, he argues that the experiment offers a hopeful example of how this relationship might work in a way that fosters new organisation in unorganised areas of civil society. Finally, the very success of the experiment necessarily begs the question of the context under which

it has thrived. Here the author points to the legitimacy-enhancing features of participatory reforms that may extend the capacities of the government to carry them out.

Batley, R. (1999), <u>Private sector involvement in the supply of public services.</u> One World Action, London.

Based on research by the University of Birmingham with collaborators in the study countries, this summary paper examines the arguments for private sector involvement in the supply of services, mostly in the urban context. It also compares the arguments against real experience in Brazil, Mexico, Zimbabwe, Uganda, India, Malaysia and the Philippines. The central question is whether there is any evidence that theories about the relative advantages of the private sector are borne out in practice. The focus is on arguments for effectiveness and for efficiency – both allocative and productive/technical. The risks of introducing private providers are discussed, and alternative ways of importing some of the advantages into public sector management are outlined, through the introduction of competition, consumer choice, decentralised management and civil control to the bureaucracy. Which sector should take on which activity is a matter for analysis in any particular case, but a core of activities must remain in the public domain, to provide a framework of rules and guarantees.

Blackburn, J. (2000), <u>Popular Participation in a Prebendal Society: A Case Study of Participatory Municipal Planning in Sucre, Bolivia</u>. D.Phil. Thesis. Sussex University, Brighton.

This thesis explores the links between participation, power and political culture. It does so by focusing on the implementation of the Bolivian Law of Popular Participation in a single municipality, Sucre, over the period 1994-1999. The empirical focus is on the law's participatory municipal planning methodology, how it is applied and with what effects. The persistence of prebendal local political cultures in Latin America, in which patrimonial, clientelistic and caudillist features remain prominent, despite the recent wave of decentralisation, are considered. This study demonstrates that where social capital is weak and local political culture prebendal, more participatory forms of local public planning will largely fail to empower poor citizens or make local government more accountable to them. It argues that power relations are in large part determined by all-encompassing political cultures, and that the call for more participation may end up 'empowering' those who already have power, more than those who, relatively speaking, do not.

Blackburn, J. and de Tomà C. (1998), "Scaling-down as the key to scaling-up? The role of participatory municipal planning in Bolivia's law of popular participation", in Blackburn J. and Holland J. (eds.), <u>Who Changes? Institutionalising participation in development</u>, Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

This chapter analyses the recent spread of participatory methodologies in Bolivia in the context of the profound politico-structural changes set in motion by the Law of Popular Participation enacted in May 1994. The law offers a unique space for participatory methodologies to spread. Indeed, it endorses the use of such methodologies by requiring that participatory planning be facilitated by local institutions throughout the country. The authors examine the potential political consequences of such spread. They also

explore the limitations of PRA and related methodologies as tools for political empowerment. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of participatory methodologies in (i) strengthening the political potential of new local institutions and wider popular movements; (ii) forcing the state to reformulate its more conventional development planning procedures; and (iii) allowing NGOs with expertise in participatory methodologies to exercise greater influence over government at all levels. The Law is seen to provide a context for users of participatory methodologies to move from micro- to macro-influencing strategies.

Boschi, R. R. (1999), "Decentralisation, clientelism, and social capital in urban governing: Comparing Belo Horizonte and Salvador". <u>Dados - Revista De Ciencias Sociais</u> 42 (4): 655-690.

In this comparison of Belo Horizonte's and Salvador's experiences within three arenas of local government, the article focuses on the viability of institutional arrangements based on decentralisation and citizen participation. It concludes that the relative success achieved when inaugurating city master plans, participatory budgeting (where civil society has direct input in budget definitions), and sectoral councils (councils for decentralised policy issue areas) is linked to three factors: prior decentralisation processes; articulation between different decision-making units; and, above all, the neutralisation of clientelistic control mechanisms through the introduction of horizontal loyalty networks and spaces of representation that in the final analysis will foster greater social capital and accountability.

Bretas Paixao, P. R. (1996), "Participative budgeting in Belo Horizonte: democratisation and citizenship". <u>Environment and Urbanisation</u> 8 (1): 213-222.

The paper describes how a government introduced participatory budget not only engendered greater involvement of citizens and community organisations in determining priorities, but also a more transparent and accountable form of government. Further, the participatory process effectively shifted priorities in government spending. Five factors are identified as crucial to the success of such initiatives: (1) political will, (2) regionalisation of the city, in order to decentralise it, (3) Definition of transparent technical criteria for a fair allocation of resources, (4) Adaptation of the administration, so as to reduce bureaucracy and improve effectiveness, (5) Legislative involvement - city legislators must participate in the process of 'direct democracy'. It is argued that participatory budgeting can create new ways of thinking, educate, and lead to cultural changes. It demands a decentralised form of governance, creating a direct relationship between key government staff and the community. Based on the recognition of a citizen's rights to information and to make demands on the State, state agencies have to consider the feasibility of any request and either demonstrate that its feasible or, if not, why this is so. At the same time the State invests in projects which are needed by the organised communities and which are their priorities. The spread and scaling up of the participatory process depends on the number of public works that are chosen by citizens - the more cases of direct control over government spending, the more the people trust the participatory budget and thus the greater the number of people who participate in it the following year.

Datta, P. and Sen P. B. (2000), "Participatory Rural Governance in India", <u>Indian Institute of Public Administration</u> XLVI (1): 38-49.

The paper looks at participatory rural governance in India through the institution of gram sabhas. The latter, literally village meeting, is a mechanism through which villagers can express their grievances to and monitor the functioning of panchayats. The paper presents the structure, functioning and evolution of gram sabhas and argues that while these institutions have been established by law, their functions have not been spelt out in detail and as a consequence they continue to function ineffectively. The paper analyses the case of West Bengal, where gram sansads have been established apart from gram sabhas. The functions of a gram sansad are discussed and a comparative assessment of its efficacy vis-à-vis gram sabhas in other states is presented. Various impediments to people's participation in local governance are addressed and suggestions are put forward to ensure a more effective and meaningful participation.

De Souza, P. R. (2000), <u>Decentralisation and Local Government: the 'second wind' of democracy in India</u>. Paper presented at the conference on Constitutional Ideas and Political Practices: Fifty Years of the Republic. UPIASI, New Delhi

The paper addresses the question of decentralisation and local government in India in the context of the latest phase of decentralisation, since the approval of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment (CSAA). The focus is on rural decentralisation and hence on Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI). The paper maintains that CSAA was not a response to pressure from the grassroots, but to an increasing recognition that the institutional initiatives of the preceding decades had not delivered and that the existing structures of government needed to be reformed. Hence the new phase of decentralised democracy, the author argues, begun with a paradox: a very centralised instrument – a constitutional amendment – is used to empower a very decentralised activity – PRI. The author views CSAA as a response to a series of problems: irregular elections, insufficient devolution of powers, bureaucratic resistance, domination by rural elites, unsatisfactory working of gram sabha. While CSAA has successfully addressed some of these, critical concerns have been raised regarding post-CSAA PRI. The author addresses concerns related to legal, administrative, fiscal, planning and political issues, with particular attention to the latter.

De Sousa Santos, B. (1998), "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy", <u>Politics and Society</u> 26 (4): 461-510.

De Sousa Santos analyses the process of participatory budgeting undertaken in Porto Alegre, Brazil; an urban experiment aimed at redistributing city resources in favour of more vulnerable social groups. It is asserted that the project was an excellent pathway to promoting the participation of the citizens, particularly with regard to the 'transclassist' process it promoted: the middle classes, at first suspicious, began to participate when they saw its effectiveness and lack of corruption, and when it began to enhance the self-esteem of the city as a whole. However, several problems are highlighted. Firstly, it is argued that deep dilemmas are posed by the reliance on federal transfers, and its future depends on its extension to other areas not now included in the participatory budgeting and on improved autonomy in order to consolidate the rupture with old clientelist politics. Secondly, it is argued that a radical destabilising idea like participatory budgeting risks turning itself into a sustainable practice and thus of losing its destabilising potential. Thirdly, the routine of mobilisation will require the mobilisation

of routine: common citizens will be replaced by specialised participatory citizens. Fourthly, radicalisation is seen to be required as a weapon against routinisation, yet there is a threshold over which further radicalisation will compromise the success of the experiment. While not being able this escape the dilemma, the tension it creates may be sustainable provided the citizens engage in 'reflective self-subversion'. Finally, a dilemma is highlighted between the interpretation of suspicion (initiatives conceived as not working and bound to fail and discarded as foolish utopias) and the interpretation of abbreviation (conceived as working and bound to succeed and adopted by the World Bank, where they are ground, pasteurised, and converted into new appendages of conditionality).

Edralin, J. S. (1996), "The New Local Governance and Capacity-Building: A Strategic Approach – examples from Africa, Asia and Latin America". <u>Regional Development Studies.</u> 3:109-149.

International aid agencies nowadays tend to emphasise good governance as a condition for their investment in developing countries. Putting the concept into practice is a daunting challenge for local governments in these countries. This article points out that even when good governance is highlighted in government and public administration, it will not occur unless and until local governments are committed to the principle and have improved their capacity for governance. Both governance and capacity-building concepts are discussed and examples are offered of how local governments have tackled problems such as those relating to decentralisation and local accountability, governance structures, leadership, and participation of stakeholders. Addressing the concern for local capacity, it argues that strategic planning and management (SP/SM) are potential tools because they hold the key to capacity building for sound governance. Local governments go through a learning process in undertaking SP/SM. SP enables local governments to manage the organisation and its future direction in relation to its environment and the demands of external stakeholders. SM guides local governments in developing and managing the organisation's capacity to assess and adjust the fit between its mission, environment and operations.

Mander H. (1999), <u>Toward Direct Democracy: Gram Sabhas and the Law.</u> National Society for Promotion of Development Administration, Research and Training, Mussoorie.

This paper documents and analyses the legal spaces created for direct democracy and self-governance by rural communities through the establishment of gram sabha. Since most state governments have passed separate and vastly differing legislation, the analysis focuses on seven states: Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The paper concludes that while state legislatures provided for the establishment of gram sabha, the statutes remained vague about procedures and power, resulting in dysfunctional instructions. Although most states have statutorily empowered gram sabha for development planning and social audit, it is only in Kerala that devolution of state resources, mobilisation and capacity building have allowed the gram sabha to realise their potential. Despite its limitations, however, the law has opened unprecedented spaces for the exercise of direct democracy. Two challenges lay ahead: (i) to persuade the political leadership in various states to vest gram sabha with a wider range of power to exercise direct democracy and (ii) to facilitate the exercise of participatory democracy through the creative use of whatever legal spaces are available.

Mander, H. (2000), <u>Direct Democracy and Gram Sabhas in India</u>. Forthcoming.

This paper looks at the rationale for direct participatory democracy through the Indian institutional example of the gram sabha. It examines how various states in India have legally empowered gram sabhas and how the procedures laid down for the functioning of this statutory collective effect its impacts on aspects of self-governance. The Gram Sabha is the village level institution within the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI), developed as an attempt to establish and develop representative democracy at the village, block and district levels, based on the idea that enhancing the powers of local bodies would increase the probity, accountability and responsiveness of governance. In 1993, panchayats were incorporated into the Indian constitution as the third tier of government. However, most state legislatures have remained half-hearted and vague about procedures and the powers of gram sabhas, and in the absence of political mobilisation and awareness raising about their potential at the village level, they have remained largely dysfunctional and unempowered. It has only been in Kerala, where large-scale devolution of state resources to gram sabhas and enormous mobilisation and capacity building have taken place, that gram sabhas have realised their potential. In other states, gram sabhas are cited to exist as formalised meetings without a clear mandate, and as institutions which do not include women or other 'weaker sections' of society unless they are identified as beneficiaries under a particular scheme. However, despite the limitations and practical experiences of this institution, the law is seen to have opened unprecedented legal-political spaces for the exercise of direct democracy by rural communities. The challenge is to push the frontiers of these legal spaces both through enlightened political opinion and pressure from below, in order to persuade the political leadership in various states to vest the gram sabhas with a wider range of powers.

Montiel, R. P. and Barten, F. (1999), "Urban governance and health development in Leon, Nicaragua". <u>Environment and Urbanisation</u> 11 (1): 11-26.

This paper describes the development of a "healthy municipality" initiative in Leon, Nicaragua's second largest city, in 1995, and of the innovations in local governance that preceded it - especially the partnerships that local government developed with the university, bilateral agencies and the long-established urban social movement. The healthy municipality initiative helped bind and mobilise support for the already established partnerships set up to address poverty and health and environmental problems. The emphasis has been on building the capacity of urban social movements to interact with local government in the process of policy-making. After first discussing why participation and good governance are so central to "healthy cities", the paper describes the specific conditions which fostered the participatory approach in Leon, and the difficulties faced - especially an unresponsive central government, The paper also analyses the process of citizen participation in policy-making and the contents and results of the programme. Leon and its surrounds were also severely affected by the recent hurricane Mitch - and the paper describes how important the existing local capacity and the healthy municipality initiative proved in addressing the immediate needs of communities during and after the emergency.

Navarro, Z. (1998), "Participation, democratising practices and the formation of a modern polity – the case of 'participatory budgeting' in Porto Alegre, Brazil (1989-1998)", <u>Development</u> 41 (3): 68-71.

> Participatory budgeting (PB) has led to a radical transformation of the structure of local decision-making, allowing citizens to choose the sectors in which the municipality will invest. Citizens elect the PB Council, which has a final say on any issue related to the budget, counting only on technical assistance provided by the municipality. PB led to three important changes in the city of Porto Alegre: (i) a reduction in corrupt behaviour and administrative malpractice in day-to-day public affairs; (ii) a reduction of clientelistic forms of political operation; and (iii) a reform of municipal tributes and taxes that instituted the principle of progressivity accompanied by a redistributive strategy in the allocation of available resources. The paper concludes that while local social endowments favoured such innovative experiment, PB can be replicated elsewhere. Strong public institutions and the existence of organised associations are identified as necessary pre-conditions for the emergence of a modern and democratic polity.

Pimbert, M. (2000), <u>Transforming bureaucracies: institutional participation and people centred process in natural resource management – an annotated bibliography</u>, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London.
(See section I for abstract)

Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) (n.d., *a*), <u>Functioning of Gram Panchayat and Gram Sabha: Myths or Reality</u>. National Resource Centre on Panchayati Raj. PRIA Publication, Delhi.

> This paper assesses the functioning of Gram Panchayat (GP) and Gram Sabhas (GS), based on the study of 195 GP and 155 GS. It points to: (i) the uneven participation of weaker sections of society in both GP and GS; (ii) the lack of clear information about the date, place and agenda of the meetings, which leads to low levels of attendance; (iii) the absence from the agenda of issues related with social justice, conflicts and disputes in the village, and local planning. The paper maintains that due the lack of clear guidelines on the devolution of power and authority to GP, these have become mere implementors of government schemes. The poor functioning of GP and GS is mainly due to the absence of clear understanding about their role and to the inadequate financial resources at their disposal. The paper argues that to achieve democratic decentralisation and strong grass-roots democracy, the GP and GS need to be strengthened. Greater devolution of power is needed together with a change in attitude of government functionaries towards GP and greater understanding of the importance of GS. Efforts should also be made to develop the competency and skills of panchayat members to allow them to carry out their functions more effectively.

Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), (n.d., *b*)"Women's Leadership in Gram Panchayats", <u>Occasional Paper 3</u>. National Research Centre on Panchayati Raj. PRIA, Delhi.

> The enactment of the 73rd Amendment Act in 1992 provides for the reservation of one third of seats for women candidates in Panchayati Raj Institutions, with the vision of empowering women. This paper explores the extent to which women are able to

successfully utilise this opportunity for empowerment by looking at their experiences in governance and the factors that hinder or promote their participation in the political process. The paper traces the history of leadership and participation of Indian women in formal and informal political structures and processes. It provides a profile of women elected as members of the Panchayati and their experience in governance. Finally, an account of effective leadership of women representatives is given by drawing on cases studies from four states.

Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) and Network of Collaborating Regional Support Organisations (NCRSOs) (1999), <u>Status of Finances of Panchayati Raj Institutions: An Overview</u>. PRIA Publication, Delhi.

This paper presents the findings of a national study on the status of finances of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in India. It reveals that devolution of financial authority has not been undertaken seriously by either central or state governments, whose schemes often bypass PRIs, even though the subject matter of these schemes falls under the authority of PRIs as established by the constitution. PRIs, which are supposed to be a vital link in the chain of national development, are being viewed by higher levels of government in terms of local service delivery only. The paper argues that to achieve financial autonomy: (i) PRIs should have complete control over their natural and physical resources; (ii) the line department should be under the control of concerned tiers of PRIs; (iii) higher yield taxes should be assigned to PRIs, and PRIs with better tax effort should be provided incentives; (iv) PRI's share in central and state revenue receipts should be enhanced; (v) tied funds should be replaced by united funds and (vi) timely and smooth transfers of funds to PRIs should be ensured. If PRIs fail to gain financial autonomy, the process of devolutionary decentralisation that has gained momentum with the 73rd Amendment, will settle down to deconcentration.

Rural Integrated Project Support Programme (1998), <u>Paths for Change: Experiences in Participation and Democratisation in Lindi and Mtwara Regions, Tanzania</u>. Finnagro, Vantaa.

Development cooperation between Finland and the Tanzanian regions of Lindi and Mtwara has a 25 year history, and has been an open-ended process of mutual learning, beginning with rural water supply and evolving by 1988 into a more comprehensive rural development programme. Participatory methodologies were introduced in 1994 for the planning and implementation of rural development activities, but these were soon seen as an end in themselves, as part of a process of democratization. The programme has been integrated into regional and district government structures, and the projects have increasingly been seen as vehicles for building sustainable institutions, enhanced community capability and organisational capacity. This publication presents a picture of the last five years of learning, as seen by the stakeholders and facilitators of the process. It addresses aspects of institutional change and practical development initiatives, before analysing the conditions for institutionalising participation, and the implications of a participatory decentralisation process.

Souza, C. (1996) "Redemocratisation and Decentralisation in Brazil: The Strength of the Member States" in <u>Development and Change</u> 27:529-555.

> With redemocratisation and the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, Brazil became highly decentralised in terms of the distribution of financial revenue and political strength. As a result, sub-national governments, and especially the states, are now at the centre of the political and financial scene. In the absence of party-oriented politics, regional politicians, and particularly the state governors of the most important states, provide the federal government with ruling coalitions. The central question addressed in this article is what the state governments and their politicians are doing with this political and financial strength. A further point made is the importance of incorporating these states into the framework of analysis of decentralisation: at the state level it is possible to identify a number of details about processes which remain too general at the national level and too specific at the local level. Brazil's experience in a decade of political and financial decentralisation shows that although decentralisation fosters democracy, a variety of other political and economic factors are also of influence, thus exposing the limits of decentralisation's impact on policy results.

Villarin, T. S. (1996) <u>People empowerment: a guide to NGO-PO partnership with local governments</u>. KAISAHAN, Quezon City.

> This book provides an insight into the role that Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and People's Organisations (POs) play in local governance in the Philippines. It explains the features of the Local Government Code (LGC) of 1991, which serves as the foundation for a new relationship of NGOs and POs with local governments, enabling communities to have a voice in the decision-making processes of government. In addition, it describes modes of NGO and PO partnership with local governments, the principles of the partnership, local initiatives and referendum, the Recall Process, prospects and perspectives for the 1991 LGC, and it finishes with a review of the LGC.

Villarin, T. S. (1999), <u>Philippine Experience in Strengthening People's Participation in Local Governance</u>, Strengthening Participation in Local Governance. Participation Group. The Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.

> The paper examines the provisions made by the Local Government Code enacted in 1991. The code, which aimed to curb the powers of the national government, mandated the transfer of powers, resources, authority and responsibilities from the national to the local government through the process of devolution. The paper analyses the main obstacles encountered in strengthening popular participation and discusses the key enabling factors for the latter. The three "I's" strategic approach of engaging local governance – implementation, improvements and interface – is presented. The implementation track promotes direct engagement with local governments and greater accountability among different stakeholders. The improvement track focuses on policy advocacy and amendments to the Code. The interface track engages local governance along other social reform measures. The paper concludes drawing the key lessons and challenges presented by the Philippine experience.

Wampler, B. (2000), <u>A Guide to Participatory Budgeting</u>. Draft.

Participatory Budgeting (PB) programs are innovative policymaking processes. Citizens are directly involved in making policy decisions in forums held throughout the year, which allow them the opportunity to allocate resources, prioritise broad social policies and monitor public spending. While there is no exact model for PB programmes, as these are structured in response to the particular political, social and economic environment of each city or state, this report presents a synthesis of the most representative cases. The presumption of this guide is that the tools and institutional means developed in Brazil are, in small or large part, applicable elsewhere. This report analyses the conditions under which PB programs have been implemented and the complex set of rules through which citizens are incorporated into the policy-making process. It explores the motivation for different actors to participate and the types of public works and policies that PB participants select. The reforms of the administrative apparatus to account for new policy-making systems are considered and the limitations and the most promising results of PB are taken into account. Among the latter the following three are highlighted: (i) the promotion of public learning and active citizenship, (ii) increased social justice, through improved policies and resource allocation, and (iii) administrative reforms. The final part of the guide addresses the issues of PB's replicability, by pointing to questions that governments, NGOs and civil society should address while contemplating if PB is an appropriate policy-making process for their political and social environment.

Weeks, E. C. (2000), "The practice of deliberative democracy: Results from four large-scale trials". <u>Public Administration Review</u> 60 (4): 360-372.

The goal of deliberative democracy is to revitalise civic culture, improve the nature of public discourse, and generate the political will necessary to take effective action on pressing problems. While a fairly substantial amount of literature exists on the desired features of a deliberative democracy, there is little empirical research on the practical feasibility of convening a large-scale public deliberative process. This article describes a model of deliberative democracy which offers a practical opportunity for all citizens to participate, provides citizens extensive information about the nature of the policy problem, engages citizens in the same problem-solving context as elected officials, and uses rigorous methods. The practical feasibility of this model is assessed through four large-scale implementations, each addressing controversial and politically charged issues in cities ranging in population from 100,000 to 400,000. The conclusion from these trials is that it is possible to convene a large-scale public deliberative process that enables local governments to take effective action on previously intractable issues.

IV   Local Governance: Conditions for Democratic Social Change

Abers, R. (2000), <u>**Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil.**</u> **Lynne Rienner Publisher, London.**
(See section III for abstract)

Blackburn, J. (2000), <u>**Popular Participation in a Prebendal Society: A Case Study of Participatory Municipal Planning in Sucre, Bolivia**</u>**. D.Phil. Thesis. Sussex University, Brighton.**
(See section III for abstract)

Blair, H. (2000), "Participation and accountability at the periphery: Democratic local governance in six countries." <u>**World Development**</u> **28 (1): 21-39.**
(See section I for abstract)

Clarke M. and Stewart J. (1998), <u>**Community governance, community leadership, and the new local government**</u>**, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, London.**

> The report defines community governance and analyses the reasons for change in the role of local authority. It argues that existing structures and ways of working are inadequate for the new circumstances as they are designed mainly for the delivery of services. It elaborates six principles which underlie community governance. First, the local authority should be concerned with the overall welfare of the area rather than merely with service provision. Second, the local authority's role in community governance is only justified if it is close to and empowers the communities within and the citizens who constitute them. Third, the local authority must recognise the contribution of other organisations and enable, rather than control, that contribution. Fourth, the local authority should ensure that the whole range of the resources in the community is used to the full for the good of its area. Fifth, to ensure the best use of those resources the local authority needs to review how needs are best met and act in different ways to meet them. Finally, in showing leadership the local authority must seek to reconcile, balance and judge the diversity of views and interests. The common theme underlying these principles is the need for power to be exercised as close as possible to citizens and local communities. The final part of the report examines the changes, which are needed from the central government, the Local Government Association and local authorities.

Cornwall, A and Gaventa, J. (1999), <u>**Repositioning participation in social policy**</u>**. Background paper for the IDS conference on The Future of Social Policy, 28-29 October 1999. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.**

> This paper is centred around several interlocking questions: How do ordinary people, especially poor people, affect social policies which in turn affect their well-being? What is the role of citizen participation in social policy formation and implementation,

especially in a new global era? How do changing contexts and conditions affect the entry points through which actors in civil society, especially the poor or those working with the poor, can exercise voice and influence in critical aspects of social care, be they in the areas of health, education, welfare, social security, programs for the disabled, low-income housing, or other significant social policy arenas? Cornwall and Gaventa use a participation-oriented view to explore these questions and argue that social policy must see citizens not only as users or choosers, but as actors and citizens in shaping and implementing social policy and social provisioning. They argues that to put forth this view is immediately to raise important conceptual issues about the nature of participation, citizenship, universality and difference, and social policy itself, each of which has been widely debated in social policy literature. It is suggested that changing contexts and conditions, including new demographics and understandings of the poor, an increased emphasis on decentralisation, privatisation of provisioning, and globalisation, challenge these traditional approaches to participation in social policy. It is thus asserted that the concept and the approaches must be 're-situated' in light of current realities, which offer constraints as well as new 'spaces' for participation.

Fox, J. (1995), "Local Governance and Citizen Participation: Social Capital Formation and Enabling Policy Environment", in Wilson R. H. and R. Cramer (eds.), <u>International Workshop on Local Governance – Second Annual Proceedings</u>, University of Texas.

While in theory the relationship between good local governance and citizen participation is clear, it is difficult in practice to establish a causal relation between the two processes. Reciprocal causality may be at work: pro-participation forces in civil society encourage more accountable governance, while pro-accountability elements within the state encourage more participation. This approach rejects zero-sum models of state-society relations and maintains that effective governance often depends on partnership between civil society and states that are both strong. The paper analyses two studies of the role of participation in explaining local governance performance. The first is Putnam's study of Italian decentralisation; the second is a cross-national comparison of decentralisation and participation in South Asia and West Africa. In spite of dramatically different settings, the two studies agree that effective local governance depends largely on the strength of democratic practices and civil society. The paper presents a conceptual discussion of some characteristics of public environment that can enable effective citizen participation and concludes with some propositions on how to strengthen civil society's capacity to push for more accountable and responsive government.

Fox, J. (1999), "The Inter-Dependence Between Citizen Participation and Institutional Accountability: Lessons from Mexico's Rural Municipal Funds, in Piester K. (ed.), <u>Thinking out loud: Innovative Cases Studies on Participation Instruments</u>. The World Bank, Washington.

This paper examines the processes of interaction between institutional accountability and citizen participation. This conceptual issue is addressed through an institutional analysis of specific policy issues raised by two large World Bank loans designed to fund social infrastructure through rural local governments. The paper explores the tensions that exist between municipal autonomy and accountability and addresses the relationship between rural local government and social capital, a critical resource for effective community participation. The author maintains that the anti-poverty performance of rural local government has a reciprocal relationship with the nature and

density of civil society at the grassroots level. Moreover, he argues that the prospects for participation and accountability within any level of government depend on the dynamics of inter-government relations, that is between village, municipal, state and federal levels. Drawing on empirical evidence, the paper analyses these dynamics and points to analytical tensions revealed in the process and dilemmas that emerged.

Fox, Jonathan and Aranda, J. (1996), <u>Decentralisation and rural development in Mexico: community participation in Oaxaca's Municipal Funds Program</u>. Monograph series 42. The Centre for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.

This paper examines the effect of decentralisation on community participation, with particular reference to the channeling of funds to municipal level in Oaxaca, Mexico. The study suggests that where local governments are already democratic and responsive to their citizens as was found to be the case in Oaxaca, decentralisation can be a positive force increasing participation. However, the report suggests that devolving project-funding decision making to local governments will not necessarily increase participation and indeed may actually reinforce authoritarian rule at the local level in instances where the necessary institutional change has not taken place.

Fung, A. and Wright, E. O. (2001), "Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance", <u>Politics and Society</u> 29 (1): 5-41.

The paper explores five experiences of redesigning democratic institutions that aspire to deepen the ways in which ordinary people can effectively participate in and influence policies that directly affect their lives. These are: neighbourhood governance council in Chicago, Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership, Habitat Conservation Planning, participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre and panchayat reforms in West Bengal and Kerala. Based on their common features, three central principles are identified: (i) focus on specific and tangible problems, (ii) involvement of ordinary people affected by these problems and officials close to them, (iii) deliberative development of solutions to these problems. The design features that stabilise and deepen the practice of these principles are also identified: (i) the devolution of public decision-making to empowered local units, (ii) the creation of formal linkages that connect these units to each other and to centralised authorities, (iii) the use and generation of new state institutions to support and guide decentred problem-solving efforts rather than leaving them as informal or voluntary affairs. On the basis of these principles and institutional design features an abstract model of Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) is developed. The authors argue that institutions following EDD might advance democratic values: effective and equitable state action and broad, deep and sustained participation. One primary enabling condition to facilitate the progress of EDD is identified, namely the balance of power between the actors engaged in EDD. Questions are raised as to the fit between the EDD model and the cases examined, and critical concerns regarding EDD are addressed.

Gaventa, J. (2001), Towards Participatory Local Governance: Six Propositions for Discussion. Paper presented at the Ford Foundation - LOGO Program Officers' Retreat, Buxted Park, Sussex, England, June 13-15, 2001, carried out in conjunction with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Learning Initiative on Local Governance Network (LOGO-Link).

This paper puts forward six broad propositions of key issues for strengthening citizen participation in local governance. First, that a key challenge is to construct new relationships between ordinary people and the institutions that affect their lives. Second, that rebuilding the relationships between citizens and their local governments requires working on both sides of the equation, and focusing on how the two spheres intersect. Third, that the call for new forms of engagement between citizens and the state requires rethinking the ways in which citizens' voices are articulated and represented in the political process, and a re-conceptualisation of the meanings of participation and citizenship in relation to local governance. Fourth, that while the search for new democratic processes in local governance is critical, we need to learn more about how they work, for whom, and with what social justice outcomes. Fifth, that effective intervention strategies for participatory governance need to first consider how to create the prerequisite conditions. Sixth, that while the 'local' and related themes of 'participation' and 'empowerment' are increasingly part of the development discourse, the 'local' has conflicting political meanings and is a problematic concept, especially in the era of globalisation.

Goetz, A.M. and J. Gaventa (2001), <u>From Consultation to Influence: Bringing Citizen Voice and Client Focus into Service Delivery</u>. Consultancy report for the Department for International Development (DFID). Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton.
(See section II for abstract)

Heller, P. (2001), "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralisation in Kerala, South Africa, and Porto Alegre". <u>Politics and Society</u> 29 (1): 131-163.
(See section II for abstract)

Mohan, G. and Stokke K. (2000), "Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism", <u>Third World Quarterly</u> 21 (2): 247-268.

> Recent discussions in development have moved away from holistic theorisation towards more localised, empirical and inductive approaches. In development practice there has been a parallel move towards local 'participation' and 'empowerment', which has produced, albeit with very different agendas, a high level of agreement between actors and institutions of the 'new' Left and the 'new' Right. This paper examines the manifestations of this move in four key political arenas: decentralised service delivery, participatory development, social capital formation and local development, and collective action for 'radical democracy'. It is argued that, by focusing so heavily on 'the local', these manifestations tend to underplay both local inequalities and power relations as well as national and transnational economic and political forces. Following from this, the authors advocate a stronger emphasis on the politics of the local, i.e. on the political use of 'the local' by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic interests.

Nickson, A. (1998), <u>**Where is Local Government Going in Latin America? A comparative perspective**</u>**. Annual Conference of the Society of Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, Liverpool.**

A major process of decentralisation has been under way in Latin America since the mid 1980s. However, little attention has been given to the impact of decentralisation on the changing role of local government within the overall political system of Latin America. This paper addresses the question of where local government in Latin America is going by situating the current wave of decentralisation in the comparative framework of two ideal types – the 'economic model' and the 'political model', based on opposed positions on the core purpose of local government. The 'economic' model emphasises efficient service delivery, whereas the 'political' model sees a wider role for local government as a mouthpiece of shared community interests, deriving from a strong citizen identification with local communities. It is in this latter model that mechanisms of citizen accountability and participation take on special importance. Latin American local government displays basic features of the 'political' model, but in reality political autonomy is severely limited, and the current emphasis on liberalisation, and the preference of key institutions such as the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank for the 'economic' model, may lead to the increasing dominance of this model. The long-standing dream of a more participatory local democracy may thus fade away, as an increasingly pragmatic and instrumental perception of local government takes hold. This may be a price worth paying, given the urgency of providing decent basic public services to the citizens of Latin America.

Osmani, S.R. (2001), "Participatory Governance and Poverty Reduction", in Grinspun A. (ed.), <u>**Choices for the Poor: Lessons from National Poverty Strategies**</u>**. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), New York.**

The paper focuses on governance at the level of local communities. It explores issues of decentralisation, people's empowerment, and the involvement of community-based organisations in local affairs, as well as the relevance of all these reforms for poverty reduction. The paper identifies two main obstacles to the establishment of a truly participatory decentralisation. On the one hand, the unwillingness of the centre to relinquish or share power, and on the other, the inability of weaker sections of the community to participate effectively in the structure of local governance. The paper argues that a crucial precondition for tackling both these problems is the creation of an environment that can empower people, especially the poor, so that they can exercise their voice in the affairs of governance. Two components of a strategy for empowerment are discussed: (i) the improvement of the economic security of the poor as an integral part of the drive towards decentralisation; and (ii) the social mobilisation of the poor.

Osmani S.R. (2001), "Participatory Governance, People's Empowerment and Poverty Reduction". <u>**Conference Paper Series #7**</u>**. Social Development and Poverty Elimination, Division Bureau for Development Policy (BDP), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).** <u>**http://www.undp.org/seped**</u>

Good governance has recently been accorded a central place in the discourse on development. The paper begins by noting the multiplicity of meanings acquired over time by the term 'decentralised governance' and argues for one that incorporates

people's participation at the grassroots level as being most appropriate in the context of poverty alleviation. The value of such participatory decentralisation is demonstrated by drawing upon various examples, and two obstacles to truly participatory decentralisation are identified and explored: those that relate to the devolution of power from the top and those that relate to genuine involvement of the poor from the bottom. It is then argued that a crucial precondition for tackling both these problems is the creation of an environment that can empower people - especially poor people – so that they can exercise their voice in the affairs of governance. Section V of the paper takes up this issue and examines the various approaches to empowerment that have been discussed in UNDP's Poverty Strategy Initiative studies.

Oyugi, W.O. (2000), "Decentralisation for good governance and development: Concepts and Issues." <u>Regional Development Dialogue</u> 21 (1): 3-25.

Based on experience in Africa, this article reviews the assumed advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation, understood in both political (devolution) and administrative (deconcentration) aspects. It concludes that there is more evidence of failure than success, and attributes this to poor design, imitative programmes, a lack of response to specific local conditions and the difficulty of overcoming a lingering culture of central hegemony. Contrary to expectations, the lesson is that decentralisation has generally not been an instrument of democratisation and has also failed to promote development or efficient and effective service delivery. The few and scattered cases of success, especially in relation to development, have not been successfully institutionalised. The question remains of how to cope with the demands of decentralisation in the context of a prevailing tendency towards the centralisation of government in every sphere.

Oyugi, W.O. (2000), "Decentralisation for Good Governance and Development: The Unending Debate", <u>Regional Development Dialogue</u> 21 (1): iii-xix.

The article raises the problems inherent in programmes of decentralisation and popular participation with reference to the experience of some African countries. It argues that after many decades of debate, decentralisation as a method of organising government still remains an elusive concept. The article analyses the relationship between decentralisation and good governance and maintains that the contribution of decentralisation to good governance depends on the unique circumstances prevailing in the individual country implementing a decentralisation programme. The design of decentralisation programmes is identified as the key determinant for (i) the success of the programme, and (ii) the extent to which decentralisation contributes to a democratisation of society. The relationship between decentralisation and development is then analysed. It is argued that local-level development has not been realised in Africa in spite of the many decentralisation schemes put in place. The explanation put forward is that delegation of responsibilities in the field of development has not been matched with resources to support their implementation. The article also explores the relationship between decentralisation and participation and maintains that participation, especially by citizens, remains a missing link in the development process. This issue is explored by focusing on popular participation in the political and the development process. It is argued that meaningful participation has been lacking on both fronts. The article concludes with an analysis of appropriate settings for popular participation.

Panos Institute (2000), <u>Governing our cities: Will People power work?</u>**. The Panos Institute, London.**

The solution to sustainable development in cities is for poor people to be allowed to assert their own rights, and increasingly to organise themselves to provide their own services and infrastructure. Successful systems of urban governance depend on people power. This consensus emerged at the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) held in Istanbul in 1996. The type of partnership crucial to good governance and poverty reduction involves poor people participating with government in policy and decision-making as well as contributing to implementation and costs. But successful privatisation of services depends on meeting the needs of the poor, and the role of the government is to ensure and facilitate this. Decentralisation of powers from national to municipal governments was endorsed by Habitat II as a means to greater effectiveness, transparency and accountability. However, real ceding of autonomy, including financial power, from national to city governments, is still the exception. In the context of the special session of the UN General Assembly on the successes and failures of the Habitat Agenda, this report assesses what lies behind the rhetoric of empowerment and examines whether these strategies have led to real improvements in people's lives.

Schneider, H. (1999), "Participatory Governance: The Missing Link for Poverty Reduction", <u>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - Policy Brief 17</u>**.**

The paper shows how participatory approaches to governance (PG) operate as an essential link in the network of causalities which have to be considered in designing and implementing poverty reduction strategies. The paper first elaborates on the rationale of PG and then addresses the question of how it can become a reality in different settings. To answer this question, the author draws on case studies which illustrate a variety of experience from countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is argued that the trilogy of empowerment, accountability and capacity-building offers the building blocks of PG and these are seen as interdependent. The paper concludes that the role of PG in poverty reduction is threefold: (i) to base policies on better information; (ii) to ensure that policy-makers and their administration are more committed than they tend to be in non-participatory governance settings; and (iii) to make the implementation of policies more effective and efficient.

Schönwälder, G. (1997), "New Democratic Spaces at the Grassroots? Popular participation in Latin American Local Governments". <u>Development and Change</u> **28(4): 753-770.**

This article sounds a note of caution with regard to the idea that political decentralisation and increased popular participation, notably at the local level, could help consolidate fragile democratic regimes, and render their institutions both more efficient and more responsive to their constituents. Taking a review of two major strands of the decentralisation literature as its starting point, the article shows that political decentralisation often runs into bureaucratic obstacles and politically motivated resistance from local and other elites, and that locally based popular movements are frequently co-opted by other actors for their own ends. The author develops an `inventory' of possible courses of action for locally based popular movements, arguing that their democratic potential may best be realised not by withdrawing from the institutional space altogether, but by taking advantage of existing possibilities to

participate, while maximising their influence and minimising the risk of co-optation by striking alliances with a variety of other actors.

Turner, M. (1997), "Decentralisation within the state: good theory but poor practice?" in Turner, M. and Hulme, D. (eds.), <u>Governance, Administration and Development</u>: 151-174. Macmillan, London.

> The paper reviews different meanings given to the term decentralisation by various authors and addresses the justifications for decentralisation. The potential benefits and disadvantages are presented. The paper explores the main features of devolution and deconcentration and presents a review of recent practice of decentralisation in developing countries with reference to Africa, Asia, Latin America and the South Pacific. The author presents two opposing propositions regarding the results achieved through decentralisation policies, both in terms of political impacts and efficiency of service delivery: (i) it has produced very limited or even negative results; and (ii) it has led to significant achievements. The author argues that in many cases different combinations of devolution and deconcentration are found in a variety of bodies in which both public servants and elected representative share authority, which renders it difficult to determine who actually holds power. The paper concludes that under the banner of decentralisation, Third World nations have introduced policies that concentrate power and decision-making and weaken local arenas for political debate. Serious devolution has been rare while deconcentration has been the favoured mode of Third World leaders.

Veltmeyer, H. (1997), "Decentralisation as the Institutional Basis for Community-Based Participatory Development: The Latin America Experience". <u>Canadian Journal of Development Studies</u> XVIII (2): 303-325.

> Decentralisation of government decision-making and administration has been a salient development in many countries over the past two decades. This paper examines the conflicting dynamics of this process, with particular reference to the emergence of a 'new paradigm' that privileges community-based and participatory forms of development. In the Latin American context, decentralisation is essentially a project designed as a means of social control, opening up channels for popular participation at the local level while securing the demise of organisations that might challenge the power structure of national institutions and policies for more effective change.