Completing the globe: tackling poverty and injustice in the North

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The circulation of Participatory Learning and Action is predominantly in the South and for many is seen as only having relevance for those working there. Participatory Learning and Action 38: Participation in the North (then known as PLA Notes) describes experience from several Northern countries, while issue 47 includes an article of UK focused work (Johnson and Nurick, 2003). A historical scan of the series shows the first Northern-focused article included in 1989 (Ampt and Ison, 1989). Since then, the journal has seen a steady trickle of articles from USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Poland and especially the UK (see Box 1). Participatory learning and action (PLA) (which we will use as an umbrella term to refer to the wide range of participatory methods and approaches in this article) has taken an inspiring journey, from its birth in remote villages of India and Kenya to its now truly global profile. In this special issue, we will reflect on the experience of PLA’s development in the UK, drawing on the articles that have appeared in the Participatory Learning and Action series as well as our own and others’ experience. Time restraints have kept us focused on the UK but a future issue of Participatory Learning and Action will include other countries.

Whilst UK-based PLA drew on Southern experiences, many current UK practitioners only know its UK applications, although not perfect, the terms ‘North’ and ‘South’ have been widely adopted within development language as alternative expressions for describing the more and less economically developed worlds. As we did in Issue 38, we use the definition of Northern countries being those within the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) group.

Box 1: Participatory Learning and Action articles about the UK

Gibson, T (1994). ‘Showing what you mean (not just talking about it)’. In (eds) D. Mitlin and Thompson, J. RRA Notes 21, pp. 41-47
Inglis, A. and Hesse, C. (2002). ‘Overview: Local Governments – potentially the most important day to day real-world users of innovative participatory approaches’. In (eds) A. Inglis and Hesse, C. PLA Notes 44, pp. 4-7
Johnson, V. and Nurick, R. (2003). ‘Developing coding systems to analyse difference’. In PLA Notes 47, pp. 25-32
although they may be aware of its Southern pedigree. With an accumulation of rich experiences in the North, the time has come to share this with the colleagues in the South who were so inspiring in the early days. Critical to conveying our lessons is an understanding of the context and history of participating in the North.

At an event in April 2004, PLA practitioners met to reflect on the development of participatory processes in the UK (see www.oxfamgb.org/ukpp for report). Their discussions greatly informed this article, as did a review of over 20 participatory processes carried out by Development Focus in partnership with voluntary and statutory organisations throughout the UK. The issues raised were strikingly similar to those emerging from the IDS Pathways to Participation project that focused on participatory approaches in the South (see Cornwall and Pratt, 2003). While frustrating in some ways to see this replication of learning, it only confirms what we know only too well – learning by doing is far more powerful than by hearing!

**Development of participatory approaches in the UK**

Although an apparent newcomer to the participatory development debate, there is strong history of community development work and social movements in the North from 19th century to late 20th – around unions, poverty, and women’s rights. Community development work in the 60s was based on activist principles, akin to Freirian, around building individual and community capacities, using their own resources to affect change in their lives. The UK ‘Thatcher years’ of the 70s and 80s had a huge detrimental impact on this; the privatisation of services saw the voluntary and community sectors shift into service provision ‘partnership’ functions,
and thus de-politicised. This period did see the beginnings of area-based initiatives developed to address inner city problems – such as poor housing and crime – and some have generated good models of citizen empowerment, in particular around tenant management of housing. Community development as a profession has changed over time and now is more about delivering a service, than facilitating community empowerment.

A change of government in the late 90s has given social issues a higher profile, in particular child poverty, with particular emphasis on community led processes and reconnecting citizens with the state. Devolution in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland has been significant in attempts to move government closer to people and a number of central and devolved government initiatives now require public participation in the development of action plans and target delivery.

So, new spaces have been created for participation, in urban regeneration, and all types of service delivery. Community representatives are encouraged, if not required, to be part of the accountability structures – e.g. in user groups and reviewing local service delivery. Much remains to be learnt to ensure that these initiatives are well managed and inclusive, but also to address the tension between nationally determined targets against which funding is given and spending reviewed, and the locally determined targets that arise from participatory processes.

In the early 90s, people were returning from the South with PRA tools to work in the UK. This was fragmented – but people found the tools useful in facilitating community level activities. A wealth of different small groups and university academics ran short PLA training courses under different names and hats. There is now recognition that training may need to be more specific or longer and that teams need support throughout a process, identifying needs, action planning, and monitoring and evaluation. A number of supported pilots have led to useful learning and generated the first publications that really focus in detail on the use of PLA in the UK (see boxes 2, 3 and 4).

**Box 2: Community mapping**

In 1998-2000, a non-governmental organisation called Sustain: the alliance for better food and farming, successfully piloted PLA tools and approaches in the UK to look at issues of food poverty. This was supported by Oxfam's UKPP, and the training and piloting was carried out by Development Focus (Johnson and Webster, 2000). This piloting developed a model of longer training processes with ongoing support for teams over a period of several months that has been further developed in other work.

**Box 3: Gendered needs assessment in South Wales**

In 2000, the Gellideg Foundation Group, a community-based organisation in a small housing estate in South Wales, wanted to work with its community to identify effective ways to tackle some of the social issues there. They undertook a gendered needs assessment, using PLA, with the support of Oxfam UKPP. This process enabled them to successfully draw in funds to support their work, and become more engaged with the community in terms of the running of their programmes and focusing on addressing diverse needs within the community. In addition, a report of the needs assessment has served to raise awareness of gender issues in regeneration (Gellideg Foundation Group and Oxfam, 2003).

Since 2000 there has been an explosion of activity. Participatory Appraisal (PA) – as it tends to be called in the UK – has received a lot of attention. It is used widely in community health work, patient user groups, regeneration, youth work and environmental work – both urban and rural. Participatory processes have flourished and there are many examples of action from a personal to a local community level arising as a direct result.

PA in the UK uses fewer symbols and pictures than in the South and is often based more around the written word. It is also much less easy to get groups together in a ‘community meeting’, so the tools have been adapted for smaller groups and with a lighter engagement, or to use out in the streets and public areas where people may have less time to stop. It is also often cold! There is recognition that some of the rigours of the process have been missing, such as capturing only broad opinion rather than facilitating deeper debate, the need to use multidisciplinary teams, facilitator/scribe/observer team structures, ‘passing the stick’, triangulation and verification. However, many of these alterations are used in urban settings in the South too, and are doubtless not unique to the UK.

**Impact Anno 2004?**

At a recent UK practitioners’ workshop, concerns were voiced about the absence of empowerment amidst the flurry of activity. This eerily echoes the development of PRA and similar applications in the South (see Cornwall and Guijt, this issue). Frequently, the purpose of ‘participation’ appears to be to enable decision makers to ‘tick the box’ and demonstrate that they have involved communities. This leaves people in the communities frustrated and issues of social exclusion unaddressed. Local authorities, and regional and central tiers of government, are also not reaching their own floor targets of change – a reduction in poverty indicators.
Many involved in community development are concerned that, as the government brings in a new raft of regeneration policies which claim to be ‘participatory’, participation and participatory approaches may become discredited, unless they can be demonstrated to be empowering in the long term – that ‘the baby’ may get thrown out with the ‘bath water’.

Key lessons and next steps
What follows is a summary of some of the issues, those that we hope have most interest to a predominantly Southern audience. In addition, we have summarised some of the main strategies that have been developed to attempt to tackle these issues – some tried and tested, others more aspirational.

How do we ensure a focus on attitudes as well as skills in training?
When facilitating a process of change, there needs to be due emphasis on addressing the attitudes and behaviour of different stakeholders as well as developing skills. Short-term and unsupported training is very often the norm in the UK and is insufficient to create long-term sustainable change. Through our experience over the last few years we wish to offer the following observations:

• An extended period of training, providing ongoing support whilst implementing a process within a community, allows people to develop confidence and skills and challenge themselves and their colleagues on issues of attitudes and behaviour.
• This model is difficult for all to implement – a small project might not be able to afford training over an extended period of time. An alternative is using ‘off the peg’ training – doing an organised course away from your workplace. Many people find it difficult to use their new skills afterwards, but it is possible to arrange support mechanisms that help to avoid this or by tailoring training for different situations and requirements.
• Those paying for training need to understand the benefits of good training to make the necessary shift from short-term to long-term cost benefits.
• Designing more specific courses for different needs – rather than assuming all need PA training – recognises that some (especially more senior) members of an organisation might need to focus on certain aspects, such as strategic planning, ethical procedures, support for ongoing analysis and reporting, and how to take reports and actions forwards.

How do we help decision makers, managers and practitioners to understand PA and why it is being done?
In common with experience in the South, good participatory practice in the UK tends to happen at the local level. For regeneration and social exclusion agendas to have real impact in the UK, there needs to be institutional transformation as described by Pimbert, in this issue. Experience in the UK is mostly at the first and third level of his Table 1. The new invited spaces in the UK feel very small within the wider multi-layered structures of local authorities. Each layer needs to understand what real participation is, what their roles and responsibilities are to make it happen, what impact and outcomes it will have on their work, and what sharing power means at their level.

In our experience, we would agree with Pimbert’s conclusions on the enabling conditions that are important for successful PLA processes, and some of these include:

• Inspired individuals within these layers play a major role in ensuring that PLA is used more creatively, and for community engagement to move beyond ‘quick and dirty’ consultation. (See also Nicholls and Watson, and Gant PLA Notes 38).
• National government has to recognise that for policies and schemes requiring participation to have impact, support needs to be given for organisations and individuals to have more horizontal networking so that there can be more reflection and learning.
• Elected representatives need to embrace participative democracy and trust that it will enhance their representative status. This is particularly important given the current cynicism directed at politics and elected representatives in both local and national governments. PLA needs to be developed beyond the consultation stage, and into project cycle management. Participatory monitoring and evaluation would play a key role in this, and there are some creative examples around the UK of using drama, video and art to achieve this.
• Participatory and quantitative processes must work together to develop evidence that decision makers feel better able to trust. One such example in the UK is an
approach called Community Assessment and Action, which uses coding combined with visual techniques. Others run focus groups using PLA alongside more traditional questionnaire surveys.

How do we ensure that this is carried out within an ethical framework?

At the heart of achieving good quality PLA is the respect for ethical standards, and these operate at a number of levels:

- Respect for people’s time, expectations, personal credibility and energy. However enjoyable or uplifting a process might have been, it is deeply unethical to bring people into a process that has little chance of effecting change.
- Participating members of the public need assurances that their views are to remain confidential and that some of the negative aspects that can arise out of participatory processes are avoided. PLA uses strong, visual tools, which can draw out sensitive issues such as violence within families (see also Cornwall and Gordon, this issue). It has to be clear what will be taken further and disclosed to authorities and how information is going to be used.
- Members of the public, as well as team members, need to follow processes in safe environments or have strategies to deal with distress, heightened emotion and violence. Some of the accredited courses require all team members to be police checked and have specific ethical and safety frameworks.
- It is absolutely vital that as practitioners, we challenge bad practice and support others to do the same.

For example in the course mentioned in footnote 2.
How do we make processes more inclusive?

Much participatory work in the UK has been blind to any aspect of difference. Kanji’s observations on gender and participatory development (this issue) apply to the UK completely, despite over 30 years of Equal Opportunities legislation! There is a blanket assumption that the few people engaged in a process represent the entire community and their wide range of needs. Very little analysis of who they are and whether they are representative of a community is carried out – they assume and are assumed to be representative. For example, in one English city there are a number of mechanisms for local people in managing local authority spending of regeneration money at ward level – however only three local people are actually involved in these committees and focus groups. There is often little or no support to ensure that those people can represent their communities more effectively.

Some argue that it is divisive to highlight particular groups’ needs and so the work deliberately does not note whether issues raised are those of any particular sector of the community. This difference-blindness happens at both process and content levels. The process, in that it does not recognise that different people will respond to the process in different ways; and the content, in that the drive for consensus often means that any issue or solution that gets the ‘most votes’ (sticky dots, ticks, spoken about) must be the community’s priority, and any other issues are dropped.

There are however, good examples of work in the UK where gender and diversity are taken into consideration (see Boxes 3 and 5 for examples).

Gender aspects of participation vary considerably, and in many communities men are very absent from community level activities, just as women are absent from the formal decision-making structures. However, although dominant in community organisations, women often need considerable support to move those organisations beyond service provision to lobbying for change. There are a number of excellent initiatives in the UK that work on empowering women as...
Box 5: Community Assessment and Action*

CAA has developed a mixed qualitative and quantitative monitoring system. This has a number of benefits:

- the process has enough rigour to satisfy managers and funding bodies in a UK context, whilst maintaining the essential essence and ethos of PLA;
- continual monitoring shows whether the process is reaching the people that it needs to, and in particular those not usually included in decisions that affect their lives;
- analysis incorporates difference as the coding system helps to keep track of who in the community has said what so that issues of agreement, disagreement and priorities for different people can be tracked and acted on; and
- action can be identified to support minority and marginalized groups, rather than taking only the most popular actions. Coding can therefore include people’s gender, age and ethnicity, as well as their different situations with regard to, for example, wealth, family status and size, and access to services.

See PLA Notes 47 for more details.

Box 6: Popular education and participatory budgeting in Canada

Canada has a long history of popular education work, which has been largely inspired by the struggles, and practices of peoples of the global South – notably the work of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal. More recently, there has been a rapidly growing interest in a new model of citizen participation developed in the South – especially participatory budgeting, first developed in Porto Alegre, Brazil. This developed in response to growing criticism in Canada about democratic practice (shrinking voter turnouts, loss of trust in public institutions, increasing cynicism and pessimism in the political process).

Since the late 80s Porto Alegre has been conducting annual participatory budget processes in which thousands of citizens discuss, deliberate and decide how to spend a portion of the municipal budget. This model challenges the many so-called ‘participatory’ efforts in local governance, development and urban planning that are underway around the world, as it hands power to citizens, rather than just ‘listening’ to them.

In Canada there is a rapidly growing interest in participatory budgeting. The Toronto Community Housing Corporation (the largest non-profit landlord in North America with over 58,000 units and 164,000 residents) allocated $18 million in Capital funds through a participatory process! Guelph city, Canada has a neighbourhood development project that uses participatory budgeting to allocate some of the city’s funds. The municipalities of Toronto and Vancouver are looking at how participatory budgeting might become a part of the budget process. A national, academic-community collaboration is underway to research all aspects of participatory budgeting including the role of popular education in developing citizen capacities to better understand the economy and how it relates to democratic citizen participation.

And around the world interest grows steadily with projects underway in St. Denis, France; Manchester, England; dozens of South America municipalities and more.

Source: Chris Cavanagh5, Catalyst Centre (www.catalystcentre.ca)

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leaders (see www.engender.org). In addition there is a growing body of work that addresses the marginalization of men in service provision – in particular in health, childcare and housing.

How do we make sure that this is about Power?

An upshot of ignoring power differences within a community is that exploring issues will almost certainly raise conflicting opinions. In believing that consensus is the democratic way forward, we either avoid raising such conflict, or ignore it, or blame it on something else. PLA has huge potential to assist and facilitate dialogue around such issues, but the skills of UK practitioners in this area are still quite weak. There is an issue of mandate and permission to facilitate such complex issues within a community – which many practitioners lack. As discussed by Pettit and Musyoki (this issue) mainstreaming citizen participation can be a mixed blessing. Despite new invited spaces, the arenas of policy-making, governance and institutional change can prove resilient and local participatory processes can be overcome by the existing power relations. New ways of working with service providers and policy makers needs to be part of the solution otherwise much of the work in the community will fall on closed minds and systems. Many efforts to ‘engage communities’ often create a new hierarchy of power at community level (this is eloquently described by Chase et al. (1999)). There needs to be facilitated, multi-level work throughout the whole spectrum of actors in a process in order to negotiate positive transformation – as opposed to what Pettit and Musyoki refer to as instrumental and non-reflective use of participatory methods.

Despite the rhetoric in government policy about community-led processes and empowerment, there is very little trust in letting the community take the lead. Budgets are not devolved to community level, but are tied up with accountability mechanisms that usually mean the power to allocate and spend is still with government – local and national. Different strategies are being adopted to tackle this, such as participatory budgeting (see Box 6), and others focus on developing popular movements to vocalise frustration and push for change. Participatory processes that focus on issues of power and developing a more critical and political

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4 see footnote 2.

5 Thanks to Chris Cavanagh for his update on the original article in PLA Notes 38.
approach – such as Training for Transformation and Reflect – are gathering interest in the UK. However, in the present funding climate and context in the UK – where the focus is more on ‘consultation’ rather than empowerment – it is difficult to persuade commissioners of training to adopt more political approaches, and often they have to be promoted in an apolitical way.

Which approach to use?
Within a culture that sees citizen participation as a ‘statutory requirement’, but often without any real influence on decision-making processes, a large and varied participation ‘industry’ has developed – particularly since 2000. There is a huge range of different processes, which in many ways suits our choice-driven culture. However, this culture also presents ‘participatory products’ as being in competition with each other, rather than as complementary, which shifts the focus away from long-term change and involving more people in a process, to a more short-term ‘fix-it’ approach. Unless there is a commitment to change and to the overall process of allowing the agenda to shift through participation, then all of these approaches will be ineffective.

There are increasing numbers of deliberative spaces in the UK, often seen as more credible than ‘less rigorous’ participatory processes. In a culture used to TV debates, it is not surprising that these more formal opportunities for debate are popular. This area has seen a rapid transfer of learning between North and South – and has been well documented in Participatory Learning and Action, in particular issue 40, Deliberative democracy and citizen empowerment and in other articles (e.g. in issues 46 and 49).

How can we create new spaces for participation?
Most of the new invited and participatory spaces have been created at local authority level; very few if any have been created at national level. Even devolved administrations struggle to bring grassroots voices into policy making. There are a few national level voluntary sector organisations that are focused on facilitating the voice of people with experience of poverty at national policy-making level, but they are poorly resourced.

Oxfam UKPP arranged for some of these organisations to visit the Participatory Poverty Assessment Programme in Uganda, to explore what a national participatory process might look like – the UK could learn much from experiences of civil society engagement in these and other poverty reduction processes from around the world.

Civil society is now slowly negotiating spaces for involvement at national level in the UK, either by creating completely new spaces e.g. citizens’ juries (see PLA Notes 40), the Commission on Power, Poverty and Participation (e.g. Listen Hear) or by engaging with particular pieces of policy.

However, there is little capacity to create new spaces that engender true participation inclusive of a wide range of different stakeholders in the community, especially those people who are more excluded and ‘harder to reach’. The few that are created are often in response to a threat of some kind – a planning application, a decision to shut down a particular service, a particular incidence that shocks a community (for example a riot). These spaces are often very powerful, and might encourage individuals to make better use of the invited spaces that exist – but often they do not overlap.

“The experiences from North and South need to be brought together as there are many similarities of issues. When tackling power, participation and poverty the North/South distinction is a false divide”
The way forward
At present much of the participatory work in the UK is focused on needs, hence the emphasis on consultation, and not about people achieving their rights or engaging in a process of changing accountability. There are exciting community-level processes and inspired individuals making moves in the right direction, and it is therefore essential that for positive change to happen, all those involved in participation need to push for the right conditions and build on this experience. Collective critical reflection is needed that will inform good practice through peer review and learning, as is developing a dialogue with decision-makers, challenging their practice and supporting them in developing their role more effectively. This debate must include grassroots organisations, and ensure that it is rooted in the reality of our marginalized communities. Some of the key issues that we need to address are:

- The issue of quality control and long-term engagement in transformational learning – as opposed to ‘training’ – to nurture attitudes and behaviours, ethics, diversity and power sharing. Practitioners and organisations trying to deliver these longer processes will need to engage with educational institutions and/or other partners who can support and help fund this approach.
- New ways need to be found to bring civil society together to challenge decision makers, which may involve creating new spaces for dialogue about participation and poverty.
- Developing a rights-based agenda in this work. The UK is in the early stages of bringing rights into anti-poverty work, and we have much to learn from international development in how to achieve impact in this way.
- Ensuring that different people, including the most marginalized, participate in processes and that we understand differences within the community.
- That work is carried out in an ethical way that protects both participants and team members.
- We need to raise and explore issues around participation and what it means to empower people in communities. The government uses these terms in their policy documents, but there must be more clarity in their vision and how achievable is it within the local authorities and statutory agencies that deliver policy.

The experiences from North and South need to be brought together as there are many similarities of issues. When tackling power, participation and poverty the North/South distinction is a false divide. We have not touched on issues around the private sector in this article, but as we know, globalisation impacts on us all, and the issues that drive local decision-makers are heavily influenced by the same forces. Through developing good practice, sharing learning and experience, and increasing our understanding of tackling power issues in the North and South, we can work towards a global understanding of the barriers to change.

REFERENCES/KEY RESOURCES
In addition to key Participatory Learning and Action articles, for example in issues 47 and 38:
Ampt, P and Raymond, I. (1989). ‘RRA has a role to play in developed countries’. In (ed.) J. McCracken RRA Notes 5. IED: UK.

www.oxfamgb.org/ukpp
Oxfam’s reports can be downloaded from this website. A new online Social Inclusion Database is now available, which includes information on participation, gender and livelihoods in the UK.

www.devfocus.org.uk
Development Focus – soon reports from Community Assessment and Action processes will be available through this website.

www.jrf.org.uk
Joseph Rowntree Foundation researches a range of issues relating to poverty and social exclusion in the UK. Of particular interest is their Findings series, which are short summaries of their main reports.

www.renewal.net
An online resource established by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit that covers a range of issues relevant to regeneration in the UK.