Chapter 11. EMPOWERING CIVIL SOCIETY FOR POLICY CHANGE

11.1 The politics of policy

…it is to be expected that the dominant policy reflects and reinforces the interests of the powerful, be they the political parties, individuals or aristocracies in control of government and/ or influential corporations, financial giants and key market forces.

A policy is the result of numerous interactions among the social actors who, directly or indirectly, shape its content, interpretation and implementation. In general, thus, a "policy-making process" reflects the power relations that exist in society. In other words, it is to be expected that the *dominant* policy reflects and reinforces the interests of the powerful— be they the political parties, individuals or aristocracies in control of government and/ or influential corporations, financial giants and key market forces.

A few questions help to shed light on the policy making process: "Which actors are involved? Where is "policy-making" actually taking place? Who has the final control and say? Whose knowledge is included and whose excluded? Whose interests are served? Is someone held accountable? If so, to whom, and how?" Asking these questions helps to shift attention from an analysis of policies *per se* ("Are policies addressing the relevant issues? Are policies good or misguided? ") to the analysis of the policy process ("Whose perspectives, knowledge, values, and aspirations are embedded in policies, and whose are excluded? Through which avenues can policies be improved?").

Issues of power and knowledge are at the heart of negotiations and agreements on natural resource management and co-management practitioners have frequent encounters with them. Broadly speaking, knowledge and values get established or embodied in policy through three main pathways[1] which may be used alone or in combination, namely:

- **as a reflection of structured political interests,** which happens when policy change results from open interactions and struggles among groups with differing political interests (examples include different classes, factions within the state, the state and society);[2]

- **as a by-product of the initiative of specific actors,** which happens when some actors have discretion over the policy process[3] and exercise their own interests, capacities and responsibilities;

- **as part of the power-knowledge relations that frame practice,** which happens when, for instance, political issues and choices are recast in the "neutral" language of science and hidden behind the symbols of scientific authority; in this sense, policies are part of a dominant "discourse" that defines the world and, in the process, excludes alternative interpretations.[4]

Despite the difficulties inherent in deciphering the language of policy studies, a good understanding of what actually happens in policy-making processes can be very useful for people engaged in co-management and for civil society in general (see Box 11.1). This understanding can nurture a critical analysis of "the rules of the game" and promote fairer representation systems and better social inclusion in the policy process.

Box 11.1   **What do we mean by "civil society"?**
(adapted from Edwards, 2004; Howell and Pearce, 2001)

There are two broad ways in which "civil society" can be understood. The first— and the one encountered most commonly— is civil society as made up of non-market organisations that exist between the household and the state. Civil society may thus comprise non-governmental organisations (such as those involved in natural resource management and agricultural development interventions),[5] social movements (such as indigenous peoples and farmers' movements), membership organisations and trade unions (such as peasant unions)[6] and customary, informal organisations. This understanding is sometimes known as the "associationalist" view of civil society.

A second interpretation understands civil society as the arena within which public debate occurs and in which dominant ideas about how society ought to be organised are discussed and formed by citizens. This might be referred to as a "public sphere" or "deliberative" view of civil society. At a national level, civil society would be, for instance, the social milieu that develops propositions about safeguarding the interests of small scale resource users and farmers. At a more local level it might comprise the people and groups that develop decisions about environmental care or public health through a participatory budgeting process. Within a community it may be the sphere in which ideas about women's role in local leadership are debated, reproduced or modified.

Both interpretations of "civil society" are used in this volume.

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[1]   Keeley and Scoones, 1999.
[2]   Hill, 1997.
[3]   Long and van der Ploeg, 1989.
[4]   Hajer, 1995; Grillo, 1997.
[5]   Farrington *et al.*, 1993.
[6]   Bebbington, 1996.

Four emerging trends[7] provide a strong rationale for the *direct* participation of citizens[8] in the formulation and implementation of policies throughout the world:

1. **Increased citizens' demand for more direct forms of democracy.** In many countries representative democracy has been heavily criticised for its inability to protect citizens' interests. Marginalised groups in both the North and the South often do not participate effectively in such representative democracy. The poor are often badly organised and ill-served by the organisations that mobilise their votes and claim to represent their interests. The crisis of legitimacy faced by institutions in the eyes of the poor, and a growing number of middle income citizens, is widely documented. Drawing from participatory research in 23 countries, the recent "Consultations with the Poor" report,[9] prepared for the World Development Report 2001, concludes:

The poor are often badly organised and ill-served by the organisations that mobilise their votes and claim to represent their interests.

"From the perspectives of poor people world wide, there is a crisis in governance. While the range of institutions that play important roles in poor people's lives is vast, poor people are excluded from participation in governance. State institutions, whether represented by central ministries or local government are often neither responsive nor accountable to the poor; rather the report details the arrogance and disdain with which poor people are treated. Poor people see little recourse to injustice, criminality, abuse and corruption by institutions. Not surprisingly, poor men and women lack confidence in the state institutions even though they still express their willingness to partner with them under fairer rules."

Civil society organisations, in the North and the South, have also been demanding that citizens' voices be heard during the formulation of government policies to meet human needs in environmentally sustainable ways. Many of them argue that citizen deliberation and inclusion can improve the quality of decision-making and make the policy process more legitimate, effective and efficient.[10]

2. **Increased policy complexity and uncertainty of results.** Policy-making processes involve a good deal of decisions based on imperfect knowledge of their consequences. As policy-related issues and socio-environmental systems become more complex and unstable, such uncertainties increase.[11] Active management interventions and technological risks are particularly noteworthy in this connection. For example, variation within and among ecosystems is enormous. Daily, seasonal and longer term changes in the spatial structure of ecosystems are apparent— from the landscape level to the small plot of cultivated land. Uncertainty, variability and non-equilibrium conditions demand flexible responses and adaptive management practices. Managers must be able to monitor and respond to ecosystem changes and be central actors in analysis, planning, negotiations and action.[12] Local co-management bodies or platforms are well placed to monitor environmental change and deal with the unpredictable interactions between people and ecosystems. Like adaptive management, they involve iterative processes, based on feedback and continuous learning. Adaptive management thus calls for local actors to participate in deliberating and acting on the basis of local feedbacks from the environment.

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[7] This section is based on Pimbert and Wakeford (2001a and 2001b) and references therein.

[8] We note that the concept of citizen is at times understood to exclude indigenous peoples and minority ethnic groups and refugees who are not considered to be part of the Nation State. Yet, the word "citizen" was in use before the emergence of the Nation State (it derives from the Latin civis) referring to all individuals involved in the management of community affairs. In this volume the word citizen is used in this broad sense to include all people living and working in a given country.

[9] Quote from page 172 of Narayan *et al.* (2000).

[10] Calame, 2003.

[11] IDS, 2003.

[12] Gunderson, Holling and Light, 1995; Berkes and Folke, 1998; R€ling and Wagemakers, 1998.

This call is only amplified by the sweeping changes that currently affect the world. Climate change and the interactions between genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and the environment are characterised by high levels of local uncertainty. Same is for predicting the local impact of, let us say, releasing new types of industrial waste (*e.g.,* nanoparticles) or endocrine-disrupting chemicals into the environment. Conventional risk management approaches and cost benefit analysis are inadequate when we know neither the probabilities of possible outcomes nor the phenomena that can affect those outcomes in significant ways ("we do not know what we do not know"). Given such uncertainty in the face of complexity, perceptions of both problems and solutions are essentially value-laden. And "experts" are no better equipped to decide on questions of values and interests than any other groups of people[13]— another powerful argument for more inclusive forms of participation and deliberation in the policy process.

3. More critical perspectives on "science" and professional expertise. "Science" plays a central role in determining much of the content and practice of policies that shape people-environment interactions, as "experts" (foresters, agronomists, rangeland specialists, economists….) decide about social, economic and environmental issues. With respect to democratic politics, these are much more opaque pathways, as the roots of decisions can supposedly be understood only by small elites of scientists and fellow experts. Increasingly, however, one can perceive mistrust and cynicism and a sense of declining legitimacy vis-à-vis professional and scientific expertise. This is particularly true in countries where poorly trusted government institutions are tightly associated with scientific expertise in policy-making. Some of the reasons for this eroded trust include:

● People are exposed to a wide range of opinions from experts and counter experts in scientific controversies. This undermines the positivist view of knowledge with its claim that any group of experts faced with the same problem should arrive at the same conclusions. Many people in industrialised and post-industrialised countries no longer view "Science" as representing knowledge that is certain and unique.[14] They rather see a plurality of *sciences*— each offering a different perspective upon the world, each gifted with internal debates and controversies.

● At least a part of the public has also been informed by radical critiques that present science as an *embodiment of values* in theories, things, therapies, systems, software and institutions. As all these values are part of ideologies (world views), scientists appear immersed in the very same cultural and economic conflicts, contradictions and compromises as all other citizens.[15]

● Citizens feel "at risk" from science-based social and technological developments. For example, the recent crisis in European countries over bovine spongiform encephalopathy and GMOs has undermined public confidence in scientific expertise. This has been compounded by evidence of collusion between some key government experts and the commercial interests of industry. Citizens are increasingly sceptical of scientific solutions when the "experts" who recommend the solutions have contributed to creating the relevant public health and environmental crises in the first place.

Again, in both the North and the South, more deliberative and inclusive policy-making processes seem to be an important pathway to overcome low confidence in government institutions and scientific expertise. In such processes, the value of

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[13] Irwin, 2001; Stirling, 2001.
[14] Irwin, 1995; Irwin, 2001.
[15] Levidow, 1986; Levidow and Young, 1981; Young, 1977.

formal science is recognised, but so are the citizens' perspectives.[16] In fact, advocates argue that more deliberative and inclusive processes involving citizens and the "lay public" generate a much better understanding of *all* science-policy questions[17] and, in particular, of the uncertainties that surround them.

4. **Enhanced advocacy for human rights, social justice and local empowerment.** New social movements and peoples' coalitions throughout the world are reaffirming the importance of human rights over economics and the rule of market forces.[18] For these movements, human rights, justice and democratic accountability are enhanced when the formulation of policies and the design of technologies involve "inclusive deliberation". Inclusive deliberation, a process whose key features are described in Checklist 11.2, potentially allows men, women, the elderly and children to exercise their human right to participate, as citizens, in decisions about society, the environment and the organisation of economic life. In this sense, people are not mere users of policies or social entities subjected to them. They are, instead, active makers and shapers of the realities that affect their lives.[19] Much of this argument draws its legitimacy from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and resonates with political traditions in which direct citizen empowerment and action are the central objectives of a just and free society that celebrates diversity, empathy and virtue.[20]

How best to recognise the legitimacy of a variety of systems of knowledge [and the need for guidance by] the opinions, aspirations and values of the people and institutions concerned with the relevant policies?

The four trends just summarised provide a rationale for "citizen inclusion" and "democratic deliberation" in the policy process and thus suggest the following reforms:

- **Opening up policy processes to more diverse forms of knowledge.** The issue here is not to choose between popular knowledge and scientific expertise, but to recognise the legitimacy of a variety of systems of knowledge, and to give them all a place in the decision- and policy-making process. The intent is also to demystify scientific knowledge, bringing it closer to the lives and realities of people and making it more transparent and less threatening.

- **Recognising that knowledge is not separated from values.** The world views and ideologies of those who possess or produce knowledge are woven into it by virtue of the questions asked, the answers provided and the conditions under which the knowledge itself has been generated. In the decision-making process, knowledge must therefore be complemented and guided by the opinions, aspirations and values of the people and institutions concerned with these policies.

- **Embracing participatory decision-making approaches.** Methods and procedures exist that allow for the involvement of people and organisations in policy making processes. This is particularly important for the people normally excluded from planning and decisions. Creativity and courage are required to use such methods and procedures, and thereby combat exclusion, offering to all concerned people a fair chance to participate

How best to involve in policy making people normally excluded from planning and decisions?

- **Understanding that policy-making is more than formulating policies.** In order to be meaningful and durable, policy processes ought to introduce monitoring, evaluation and feedback mechanisms and place the responsibility of managing policies in the hands of those who are supposed to be served by them. At all stages in policy processes, there is also a need to enhance transparency, accountability and credibility.

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[16] Mirenowicz, 2001; Satya Murty and Wakeford, 2001; Sclove, 2001.
[17] Stirling, 2001.
[18] Amin and Houtard, 2002; Le Monde Diplomatique, 2004.
[19] Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001.
[20] Woodcock, 1975.

Inclusive and participatory processes of policy-making are likely to be more effective, because of their potential to (a) build ownership among participants; (b) encourage change and make implementation easier; (c) result in empowerment through information sharing, capacity building and confidence building; and (d) create space and demand for new policies.

Policy making is complex and power-laden. Throughout the world, exclusionary and narrow policy processes seem to act to reinforce the values and interests of the more powerful social actors and their networks. Nuanced scholarly studies of policy change also show how policy dynamics are influenced by powerful combinations of political interests, dominant policy discourses and narratives, and effective actor networks that span local, national and international levels.[21] What, then, are the realistic prospects for citizen engagement in decision-making processes? How and under what conditions can previously marginalised voices be included in the framing, interpretation and implementation of the policies that affect both people and natural resources?

There are no unique or full answers to these questions. But our collective experience suggests that, at the very least, two complementary pathways exist that can empower citizens for policy change in co-management: i) the use of specific methods and approaches to expand democratic deliberation and inclusion, and ii) the direct and self-conscious strengthening of civil society.

11.2 Methods and approaches for participatory policy processes

A glimpse of history

Experiments in deliberation and participatory decision-making have a long history. In book 7 of *Republic,* Plato enumerates the subjects that might be useful for the future leaders of the state: music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy. These subjects have important theoretical aspects and are expected to shape the mind of the future ruler. In this sense, Socrates asks questions such as "*What is virtue*?" and mocks people who are unable to provide an abstract definition for it. In contrast to ideal concepts and abstract theory, Protagoras stressed that "man is the measure

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[21] See for example Keeley and Scoones, 1999; Mayers and Bass, 2004.

of all things", *i.e.*, personal experience and perspective are central to our ways of knowing and what we say always comes accompanied by a sort of "personal guarantee". For him, then, the question becomes "*Was the person X virtuous in that particular situation?*"

The distinction between Plato and Protagoras— between the perfect but simplified world of abstract ideas and theories and the imperfect and messy, but concrete and extremely rich world of human experience[22]— can still be traced in contemporary policy making processes. In some socio-cultural surroundings, supposedly objective expert capacities, and the "philosophers" delivering them, are top values. In others, what truly counts is the direct experience and participation of citizens. At heart, this already spells out the distinction between representative and participatory, or direct, democracy.[23] Participatory democracy is distinct from representative democratic systems, such as elected members of parliaments or senates, in that it puts decision-making powers more directly in the hands of ordinary people.[24] In this connection, European and Northern American history offer several lessons that may be of relevance today. The following are just a few illustrative examples among many others that could be chosen from all around the world.

In the Social Contract (1763) Rousseau suggested that participatory approaches to democracy had the advantage of demonstrating that "no citizen is a master of another" and that, in society, "all of us are equally dependent on our fellow citizens". Rousseau suggested that participation in decision–making increases the feeling among individual citizens that they belong in their community. As early as 1790s, William Godwin proposed that government should be mainly reduced to a system of juries and assemblies that would deliberate and carry out all the functions that could be carried out voluntarily or enforced informally through public opinion and social pressure.[25] Others have since argued that not only is democratic deliberation theoretically possible, it is, and probably has been, a feature of everyday human existence. There is indeed abundant evidence of deliberation in situations as disparate as the Athenian assembly of ancient Greece, tribal councils all over the world, revolutionary movements in the last century and modern experiences in popular direct democracy.[26]

For example, E.P. Thompson's historical analysis illustrated how the Luddites of nineteenth century England sought to subject new technologies to a public trial, just as they had put food prices on trial in previous generations.[27] Far from opposing all new technology, recent studies have suggested that the Luddites were in favour of certain innovations as long as they did not threaten their quality of life.[28] As historian Steve Woolgar has put it, "The conventional arguments that assert the Luddites to be irrational resisters to progress— because they mistakenly assumed either capitalism or machinery to be irrational— are based on essentialist notions of progress.... The Luddites failed not because they misrecognised the machine [as their enemy] but because the alliance of forces arrayed against them was too great for their interpretation to prevail".[29]

Writing in the United States in 1909, Dewey pointed to the dangers that arose whenever experts become detached from the concerns of the public, or when the

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[22] On this see also Feyerabend, 1999.
[23] This section draws on Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001a; Wakeford and Pimbert, 2003 and references therein.
[24] Pateman 1970.
[25] Clark, undated.
[26] Bookchin, 1982; Bookchin, 1996; Bookchin 1998.
[27] Thompson, 1963.
[28] Sale, 1996.
[29] Woolgar, 1997.

public is excluded from the process of long-term social planning.[30] Unless both sides are engaged in continuous and mutually educative dialogue, neither experts nor citizens are, he suggested, capable of utilising the full range of tools available to them. He also proposed that experts could never achieve monopoly control over knowledge required for adequate social planning because of the extent to which "they become a specialised class; they are shut off from knowledge of the needs they are supposed to serve". When insulated and unaccountable, he argued, this "cadre of experts" became not a public resource, but a public problem.

While accepting that citizens must often depend on experts for the gathering of facts and construction of policy scenarios, Dewey attacked those who dismissed the public's capability to participate in policy-making. He suggested that, given the prevailing culture of secrecy and propaganda, citizens had not been given a fair chance to fulfil their potential in this role. It was impossible to presume the quality of contribution citizens might make if balanced information were available. For example both past and present experience with trial by jury do indeed suggests that citizens are quite capable of engaging in deliberations and arbitrating complex issues (Box 11.2).

Box 11.2   A history of trial by jury
    (adapted from Wakeford, 2002; Wakeford and Pimbert, 2003; PEALS, 2003)

It is unclear whether the European system of trial by jury originated in Ancient Greece, where various versions were widely practiced, or in more ancient civilisations. What is certain is that systems of "participatory justice" have been found in various societies throughout recorded history.

Whether or not it had existed there previously, the system of jury trial was brought to Britain with the Norman invaders in 1066. Firmly established by the time of the Magna Carta in 1215, the jury involved ordinary people picked from a wide population and allowed them to hear from witnesses, deliberate in secrecy and reach a decision by majority vote that would then be announced publicly. By the Fifteenth Century it had replaced non-rational methods of trial, such as trial by ordeal, and became established as the form of trial for both criminal and civil cases at common law. The perceived justice of the jury system led to it being taken up across Britain as a tool for achieving social justice. In towns around the country, for instance a people's court often set what was a "fair" price for foodstuffs such as bread and grain.

Whilst elected governments make the laws, it is juries that are able to decide the innocence or guilt of anyone charged with breaking many of those laws, making it a key instrument of participatory democracy. Over the centuries they have achieved an importance to many democracies and have had to be fiercely defended. One senior judge surveying the limiting of a government's power provided by the jury over the centuries compared the jury to: "a little parliament…. No tyrant could afford to leave a subject's freedom in the hands of twelve of his countrymen…. Trial by jury is more than an instrument of justice and more than one wheel of the constitution: it is the lamp that shows that freedom lives".[31] Today, jury trials are practised in the UK, USA, and many other democracies around the world, including Australia, Brazil, Russia and Spain. Perhaps no other institution of government rivals the jury in placing power so directly in the hands of citizens, or wagers more on the truth of democracy's core claim that the people make their own best governors.[32]

Contrary to what might be expected from surveys highlighting apparent public ignorance of science, studies of even highly technical court cases have shown citizens able to deal with technical issues at

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[30] Dewey, 1927.
[31] Devlin, 1956.
[32] Abramson, 2000.

least as well as the judges. Even in cases where it is claimed that trial by jury is inappropriate because of the scientific nature of evidence, potential problems can usually be overcome if the manner of presenting the evidence is given careful consideration.

Studies comparing the decisions reached by jurors compared with those reached by judicial experts found that the same verdicts were reached in 75-80% of cases. Crucially, this proportion did not change in complex as opposed to less complex cases.[33]

A growing number of people today see democracy without citizen participation and discussion as an empty and meaningless concept. This understanding of politics is the starting point for a growing number of experiments and initiatives that create new spaces for citizens to directly influence decisions affecting their lives.

Such innovations go under various labels, ranging from participatory democracy, to deliberative democracy, to "empowered participatory governance".[34] Whilst extremely diverse in style and context, these initiatives share several common features. These include:

…innovations go under various labels, ranging from participatory democracy, to deliberative democracy, to "empowered participatory governance".

- a concern with more *active and participatory forms of citizenship*. Such views go beyond the notions of citizens as clients or consumers, as articulated during the 1980s and 1990s, to citizens who engage in policies, in agenda setting for research and in the delivery of services. They also profess to go beyond consultation to more empowered forms of involvement that renew or establish traditions of direct democracy;

- an emphasis on *inclusion*, especially of racial and ethnic minorities, women, youth, older people, and others seen as previously excluded or marginalised;

- a simultaneous emphasis on the involvement of *multiple actors* in new forms of partnership, which in turn enable wider ownership of decisions, processes and projects;

- a strong emphasis on broader forms of *accountability*, which enable multiple partners to hold institutions, professionals and policy makers to account through social, legal, fiscal and political means;

- the search for new political forms that realise the democratic ideal of government *of* and *by*, as well as *for*, the people. These political forms are participatory because they rely on the commitment and capacities of ordinary people to make sensible decisions through reasoned and conscious deliberation, and they are empowered because they try to link discussion with action.

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[33] Abramson, 2000.
[34] Fung and Wright, 2003.

Participatory methods for inclusive deliberation

In the 1990s, deliberative and inclusive processes (DIPs) have been increasingly applied to the formulation of a wide range of policies in countries of both the North and the South.[35] These approaches aim to improve deliberation of policy and policy-making practice through the inclusion of a variety of social actors in consultation, planning and decision-making.

Diverse procedures, techniques and methods can be used to engage different actors in deliberative processes. Examples are citizens juries, scenario workshops, public hearings and visioning exercises illustrated in Checklist 11.1. These approaches and methods differ substantially in detail and have been applied to a wide range of issues and contexts. They all, however, seek to adopt to varying degrees the criteria of deliberation and inclusion listed in Checklist 11.2. When these methods and approaches are used well, they are part of a process in which professional expertise, local expertise, negotiation skills, research skills, and democratic values are the basis for creating new knowledge and promoting social and ecological change.

Checklist 11.1 **A selection of methods that can be used in deliberative inclusive processes for policy-making**
(adapted from Chambers, 1997; Warner, 1997; Clarke, 1998; ESRC,1998; Holland,1998; Lowndes and Stoker, 1998; IPPR, 1999; Stirling and Maher, 1999; del Valle, 1999)[36]

● **Citizens juries**

A citizens jury is a group of citizens— chosen to be a fair representation of the local population— brought together to consider a particular issue set by the local authority. Citizens juries receive evidence from expert witnesses and cross-questioning can occur. The process may last up to several days, at the end of which a report is drawn up to set out the views of the jury, including any differences in opinion. Juries' views are intended to inform government decision-making.

● **Citizens panels**

▶ *Research panels*

A research panel is a large sample of a local population used as a sounding board by a public sector organisation. It is a form of research which tracks changes in opinion and attitudes over time. In Germany for example, these panels are known to consist of 500-3000 participants. Members are recruited either by mail or by telephone as a sample of a given population. Panels have a standing membership and a proportion of their members is replaced regularly. Participants are asked regularly about different issues over a period of time.

▶ *Interactive panels*

Other models also have a standing membership, which may be replaced over time but basically consists of small groups of people meeting regularly to deliberate on issues and make policy recommendations.

● **Consensus conferences**

A panel of lay people who develop their understanding of technical or scientific issues in dialogue with experts. A panel of between 10-20 volunteers are recruited through advertisements. A steering committee is set up with members chosen by the sponsors. The panel's members attend two weekends where they are briefed on the subject and identify the questions they want to ask in the conference. The conference lasts for 3-4 days and gives the panel a chance to ask experts any outstanding questions. The conference is open to the public and the audience can also ask questions. The

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[35] Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001a.
[36] For a description of other methods that could be used for participatory policy-making see NEF, 1998.

panel's members retire and independently of the steering committee prepare a report that sets out their views on the subject. Copies of the report are made available to the conference audience and panel members present key sections to the audience.

● **Deliberative opinion poll**
This method measures informed opinion on an issue. A deliberative poll examines what the public at large thinks when it has had the occasion and information to consider the matter carefully and closely. A baseline survey of opinion and demography is carried out and the participants of the poll are then recruited to resemble the wider group both in terms of demography and attitude. Often briefing begins before the event by means of written or/ and visual information. Then, during several days, the participants deliberate in smaller groups and compose questions to be put to experts and politicians in plenary group discussions. Their views on a given subject are measured before the poll begins and again once it has finished. Changes in opinion are measured and incorporated into a report. Deliberative polls are often held in conjunction with television companies.

● **Visioning exercises and future search conferences**
A range of methods (including focus groups) may be used within a visioning exercise, the purpose of which is to establish the "vision" participants have of the future and the kind of the future they would like to create. Visioning may be used to inform broad strategy for a locality, or may have a more specific focus (as in environmental consultations for Local Agenda 21 or, indeed for all sorts of co-management agreements as described in Section 6.2 of this volume).

The heart of future search conferences is a two- to four-day meeting where participants attempt to create a shared vision of the future. It brings together those with the power to make decisions with those affected by decisions to try to agree on a plan of action. The process is managed by a steering group of local people representing key sections of the community. People who are recruited are asked to form several "stakeholder groups" within the conference. They take part in a structured two- to four-day process in which they move from reviewing the past to creating ideal future scenarios. Each of the stakeholder groups explains its vision and then a shared vision is explored. The conference ends with the development of action plans and policy recommendations. Self-selected action groups develop projects and commit themselves to action towards their vision.

● **Innovative development**
Innovative development is a methodology consisting of four participatory steps. First, an "action map" is formulated. This is a systematic vision for action of an attainable and desired future that reflects the consensus of participants. Second, there is estimation of the distance from the current situation to the attainable future and of the capabilities that are available. Third, is a study of "potentialities"— the systematic identification and evaluation of each of the prospective actions. Fourth, is the design for action. All methodological steps are carried out through the participation of relevant actors who are convoked by an appropriate and legitimate authority. This, in fact, is very close to the steps of the co-management process described in Sections 6.3 and 6.4 of this volume.

● **Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)/ Participatory Learning and Action (PLA)**
A family of approaches, methods and behaviours to enable people to express and analyse the realities of their lives and conditions, and to plan, monitor and evaluate action that seems appropriate to them. In PRA/ PLA, outsiders act as catalysts for local people to decide what to do with the information and analysis that they generate. PRA methods include participant observation, semi-structured interviews and visual techniques (maps, matrices, trend lines, diagrams).

● **Issue forums**
These are ongoing bodies with regular meetings, which focus on a particular issue (*e.g.,* community safety or health promotion). They may have a set membership or operate on an open basis, and are often able to make recommendations to relevant council committees or to share in decision-making processes. In India, for example, "issue forums" or "study circles" in villages (see Section 5.2 of this volume) are spaces where villagers gather to discuss specific subjects of interest, *e.g.,* the impact of

non-timber forest produce collection, or honey collection, or hunting. Sometimes they will call in outside experts to help. The understanding and information that they generate is then used in the village assembly decision-making processes.

- **Multi-criteria mapping**
Multi-Criteria Mapping (MCM) attempts to combine the transparency of numerical approaches with the unconstrained framing of discursive deliberations. The technique involves a rather complex series of steps, including: deciding the subject area, defining the basic policy options, selecting the participants, conducting individual interviews (2-3 hour sessions where additional options are selected, evaluative criteria are defined, options are scored and relative weighting is given to criteria), having researchers carrying out quantitative and qualitative analyses of the opinions of the participants, providing feedback on preliminary results, developing deliberations among participants and, after a final analysis, producing a report and policy recommendations.

Many of the methods described above are combined and used in the co-management process described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this volume.

Checklist 11.2 **Some features of deliberative and inclusive processes (DIPs)**
(adapted from Holmes and Scoones, 2000; and references therein)

- **Deliberation** is defined as "careful consideration" or "the discussion of reasons for and against". Deliberation is a common, if not inherent, component of all decision-making in democratic societies.

- **Inclusion** is the action of involving others. An inclusive decision-making process is based on the active involvement of multiple social actors and emphasises the participation of previously excluded citizens.

- **Social interaction** is at the heart of the DIPs, which normally incorporate face-to-face meetings among those involved.

- There is a **dependence on language** through discussion and debate. This is usually in the form of verbal and visual constructions rather than written text.

- A deliberative process assumes that, at least initially, there are **different positions** held by the participants and that these views are all **respected.**

- DIPs are designed to enable participants to **evaluate and re-evaluate** their positions in the light of different perspectives and new evidence.

- The form of **negotiation** is often seen as containing value over and above the "quality of the decisions" that emerge. Participants share a commitment to the resolution of problems through public reasoning and dialogue aimed at mutual understanding, even if perfect consensus is not being achieved or even expected as possible.

- There is the recognition that, while the goal is usually to reach decisions, or at least positions upon which decisions can subsequently be taken, an **unhurried, reflective and reasonably open-ended discussion** is required for those decisions to be solidly grounded and "owned".

Several examples of the use of DIPs for environmental policy making are described and analysed in Table 11.1. A recent example from South India shows how citizens juries and scenario workshop methods were combined in participatory assessments of policy futures for food, farming and the environment (see Box 11.3).

Table 11.1	Examples of deliberative and inclusive processes in environmental policy making (adapted from Holmes and Scoones, 2000; Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001a; further case studies and more detailed information on the outcomes of these processes can be found in Holmes and Scoones, 2000)		
Case	Why was the process organised?	Who was included?	What procedures and methods were used?
Innovative Development for Air quality in Santiago, Chile[37]	To render manageable a highly complex environmental problem. To get the mutual commitment of the citizens and government to a plan that is legitimate and effective. To produce a metropolitan plan and enable its participative management/ implementation.	Different participants at different stages, including government officers, NGO members, consultants, university researchers and citizens. [About one half of the instruments included in the plan that was produced came from the citizens proposals!]	Workshops and discussion in small groups by representatives and citizens. Action mapping. Participatory formulation of plan. A follow up conference towards participative management.
Land tenure policy change in Madagascar and Guinea[38]	To inform policy decisions at the national level regarding land tenure policy and national resource management legislation.	Direct participation of citizens in information production. National academics, development workers and government staff involved in conducting case studies and rapid rural appraisals (RRAs), trained and facilitated by the Land Tenure Centre at Wisconsin University. In Guinea, the RRA facilitation teams included only government staff.	Case studies prepared using participatory techniques were presented to multiple government and NGO stakeholders at various regional workshops.
Wetland management policy development In Pakistan and India[39]	To assess current impact of protected area policies on local communities. To revise management plans in the light of interaction between local people and outsiders. To initiate dialogue on policy reforms needed.	Direct participation of citizens in information production and alternative management plan for protected areas.	PRA training for government and WWF staff. Appraisals completed in villages in National Parks in both India and Pakistan. Public deliberations on reforms in wetland management regimes.

[37] del Valle, 1999.
[38] Freudenberger, 1996.
[39] Pimbert and Gujja, 1997.

Gestion de terroir (GT—landscape management) process in Mali[40]	To negotiate land use plans (maps of the *terroir* delineating what resources exist and are to be used for what). To train communities in natural resource management. Possibly, to agree upon investments in natural resources. [These objectives were criticised as having been largely predetermined and bureaucracy-biased.]	Farmers, pastoralists, GT team members, and local government (to a limited extent).	Teams of facilitators bring different stakeholders to reflect on local land use (within the *terroir*) and to develop plans for improvement through PRA methods. [A criticism to this method is that the frame for deliberation was set from above, thus it may not have been the most relevant unit for local livelihood, it might have been biased against pastoralists, etc.]
Citizens Panel in Switzerland[41]	To locate a waste disposal site in the Canton Aargau.	Citizens of twelve communities that offered potentially suitable locations for a waste disposal site were asked to take part in a citizen panel and met regularly over six months. The Citizen's Panel involved a random sample of the relevant potential site communities.	Within the Panel, four committees were established, they got introduced to the issues, they discussed conflicting interpretations and different options, and they evaluated the options, produced recommendations, discussed them in a supra-committee and made final recommendations available to media and public officials.
National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan, India[42]	To prepare a series of action plans at local, state, regional, and national levels, for conservation of biodiversity, and sustainable use of biological resources. To achieve equity in conservation and use of natural resources.	Various rightholders and stakeholders, including indigenous peoples and local communities, NGOs, government officials, academics and students, industry, armed forces, etc. Over 50,000 people have been involved.	Public outreach through various communication media.Planning exercises at local (village), district, state, and inter-state levels. Public participation through workshops, public hearings, rallies, biodiversity festivals, cultural programmes, school competitions, etc. Local, state, and national level consultations to review results and draft documents, and to finalise the action plans.

40   Keeley and Scoones, 1999.
41   Renn and Webler, 1992.
42   Kohli and Kothari, 2003.

Local Agenda 21 in Antalya (Turkey)[43]	To foster a participatory multi-sectored process to strengthen "local governance" for sustainable development.	Everyone invited to working group meetings, and specifically children, women, elders and the disabled.	Citywide consultative mechanisms (city councils and other platforms) and facilitated working group meetings, supposedly non-hierarchical, where people could discuss specific issues. [A criticism levied to this process is that the discourse styles, and the fact of having to make public speeches favoured some participants with respect to others.]

Box 11.3   *Prajateerpu*— a citizens jury/ scenario workshop on food and farming futures in Andhra Pradesh (India)
(adapted from Pimbert and Wakeford 2002; http://www.iied.org/docs/sarl/Prajateerpu.pdf; Pimbert and Wakeford, 2003; www.prajateerpu.org)

Prajateerpu is an exercise in deliberative democracy that involved marginal farmers and other citizens from all three regions of the state of Andhra Pradesh. The citizens jury was made up of representatives of small and marginal farmers, small traders, food processors and consumers. *Prajateerpu* was jointly organised by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, the Andhra Pradesh Coalition in Defence of Diversity, The University of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh and the all-India National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP). The jury hearings took place in Medak District, Andhra Pradesh, on June 25-July 1, 2001. Jury members also included indigenous (known in India as "*adivasi*") people. Over two-thirds of jury members were women.

The jury members were presented with three different scenarios. Each was advocated by key proponents and opinion-formers who attempted to show the logic behind the scenario. It was up to the jury to decide which of the three policy scenarios most likely provided them with the best opportunities to enhance their livelihoods, food security and environment 20 years from now.

Scenario 1: Vision 2020. This scenario was put forward by Andhra Pradesh's Chief Minister, backed by a World Bank loan. It proposes to consolidate small farms and rapidly increase mechanisation and modernisation of the agricultural sector. Production enhancing technologies such as genetic modification were expected to be introduced in farming and food processing, reducing the number of people on the land from 70% to 40% by 2020.

Scenario 2: An export-based cash crop model of organic production. This was based on proposals from the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) and the International Trade Centre (UNCTAD/ WTO) and was based on environmentally friendly farming linked to national and international markets. This scenario was dependent on the demand of supermarkets in the North for a cheap supply of organic produce, complying with new eco-labelling standards.

Scenario 3: Localised food systems. This scenario was based on increased self-reliance for rural communities, low external input agriculture, and the re-localisation of food production and markets. It included long distance trade only in goods that are surplus to local production or not produced locally.

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43   Doganay, 2003.

The jury/ scenario workshop process was overseen by an independent panel, a group of external observers drawn from a variety of interest groups. It was their role to ensure that each Food Future was presented in a fair and unprejudiced way, and that the process was trustworthy and not captured by any interest group.

The key conclusions reached by the jury— their own vision of the desired future— included features such as:

- food and farming for self reliance and community control over resources;

- maintaining healthy soils, diverse crops, trees and livestock, and building on indigenous knowledge, practical skills and local institutions.

It also included an opposition to:

- the proposed reduction of those making their living from the land from 70% to 40% in Andhra Pradesh;

- land consolidation in fewer hands and displacement of rural people;

- contract farming;

- labour-displacing mechanisation;

- GM crops— including Vitamin A rice & Bt cotton;

- loss of control over medicinal plants, including their export.

The *Prajateerpu* and subsequent events show how the poor and marginalised can be included in the policy process. By being linked with state level and international policy processes, the jury outcomes and citizen voice have encouraged more public deliberation and pluralism in the framing of policies on food and agriculture in Andhra Pradesh. The state government that championed Vision 2020 reforms was voted out of office in 2004. The largely rural electorate of Andhra Pradesh voted massively against a government it felt was neglecting farmers' needs, rural communities and their well being.[44] Similarly, the issues highlighted by the *Prajateerpu* have been partly responsible for the setting up of a UK parliamentary inquiry into the impacts of British bilateral aid to India— and in Andhra Pradesh in particular. At the time of this writing, the inquiry is under way, conducted by the UK Parliament's International Development Committee.[45]

Linking deliberative inclusive processes to broader policy change

No matter how well they are used, participatory methods in and by themselves do not lead to policy changes. DIPs cannot be viewed as the "magic bullet" for enhancing public participation in policy-making and implementation. Despite the key role they can potentially play in framing and defining the boundaries of emerging policies, they are, after all, only a small part of the policy process. In order to be fully effective, participatory methods for inclusion and deliberation must be rooted in the broader context of policy change, where policy change emerges from a variety of sources and where power relations and vested interests are key.

The experience to date, however, offers relatively few real life examples in which DIPs have been comprehensively applied to policy-making. A recent critical review of 35 case studies argues that there has been little reflection on 1) how DIPs are located within broader policy processes and 2) how citizens involved in

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[44] http://www.expressindia.com/election/fullestory.php?type=ei&content_id=31318;
www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,,1212942,00.html
[45] www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_committees/international_development/ind040324_21.cfm

*...convenors...
determine much of
the style and
content of the
deliberative
process....*

participatory dialogue are linked to wider policy networks and the dynamics of policy change.[46] Whilst this study largely ignores the broad historical experience alluded to earlier in this chapter, it does nevertheless offer critical insights on the strengths and weaknesses of DIPs today. Many of the more recent examples of DIPs are only one-off affairs. Few of the actors involved in these experiences have critically analysed whether and how the outcomes of these participatory events were used to influence advisory committees and technical bodies connected to policy making.

Moreover, several examples of DIPs in the North have been convened by government agencies. In some countries of the South, some of these processes have been promoted by international donor agencies working with national policy making agencies. These are examples of DIPs constituting policy spaces created from above, and in which the state has substantial control over how the participatory methods and approaches fit into policy-making. In many of these cases the deliberative processes primarily fulfilled instrumental objectives ("legitimising" decisions already taken from above).

*..."deliberative and
inclusive events"
[can even function]
as a pathway of
legitimisation for
commercial or
political interests.*

As convenors, the organising agencies determine much of the style and content of the deliberative process through choice of objectives, methods and tools, the allocation of resources and the scale of operation, and the links to the wider policy processes. This is also true for DIPs that have been initiated by organisations outside government policy making bodies. For example there are several instances where "deliberative and inclusive events" such as consensus conferences, citizens juries and future search conferences ultimately functioned as a pathway of legitimisation for the very commercial or political interests that commissioned and informed the process in the first place.[47]

Elsewhere, in policy spaces created from below, the debate about wider questions of ethics, morality and values and their links with matters of justice and rights, is a striking feature. These DIPs organised by civil society organisations, NGOs and radicalised professionals[48] extend the frame of decision-making, although they

often have relatively weak links with the formal policy process. Therein lies a danger that these democratic deliberations will simply be ignored because they are delivering the "wrong message" or information that cannot or will not be accommodated by bureaucratic decision-making, major industrial lobbies and transnational commercial interests. Relations of power within policy-making bureaucracies and their associated networks of influential actors may result in limited opportunities for other voices to be heard. Yet, there are examples where new spaces for action are created by demanding access to information, such as in the case of movements in India to access village records and information on departmental budgets meant for rural development.[49]

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46 Holmes and Scoones, 1999.
47 Glasner, 2001.
48 Cunningham-Burley, 2001; Pimbert and Gujja, 1997; Sclove, 2001; Satya Murty and Wakeford, 2001.
49 http://www.freedominfo.org/case/mkss/mkss.htm

In all cases, creating a space for more inclusive deliberation, either from above or from below, is an avenue towards potentially more effective, equitable and informed decision-making. Attempts to link DIPs with the broader policy process are more successful when due attention is given to issues of quality of information but also to process validity, credibility and trustworthiness.

Ensuring safeguards for quality and validity

A central challenge for practitioners of DIPs is to ensure the quality and validity of the knowledge and actions generated by the process.[50] In this light, it may be more realistic and honest to recognise from the outset that the subjectivity and worldview of convenors and key actors can always influence actions as well as interpretations of events and outcomes. For this reason, it is important to build safeguards into the deliberative process to ensure it is broadly credible, trustworthy, fair and not captured by any interest group or perspective. Several criteria and indicators of public acceptance and effectiveness of process can be useful in this regard and are listed in Checklist 11.3.

There are examples where new spaces for action are created by demanding access to information.

Checklist 11.3 **Criteria and safeguards for public acceptance and effectiveness of a deliberative and inclusive process**
(adapted from Rowe and Frewer, 2000)

Criteria fostering the acceptance of a DIP and/ or decision by citizens and the wider public

- Representativeness: representative sample of the affected population

- Independence: process conducted in an independent, unbiased way

- Early involvement: increases sense of ownership and role at the stage when value judgements are important

- Transparency: the public able to see progress and how decisions are made

- Influence: visible impact on policy

Criteria for effective process (effective design and implementation of a DIP process)

- Resource accessibility: access to appropriate resources (information, time, experts, materials) enables participants to engage and carry out their roles effectively

- Clear and well-defined methodological design: the scope of the exercise, its procedures and the expected outcomes are defined at the outset

- Structured decision-making: debate is enabled over the underlying assumptions, how the decisions are made, the extent to which they are publicly supported

- Cost-effectiveness: the investment (time and money) in the process is suitable to the scale and importance of the decisions.

Criteria of validity and quality will obviously differ depending on the context, the methods used (see for instance Table 11.1) and approach chosen to link DIPs with policy processes.

When assessing the quality of a deliberative process, however, the emphasis should be on methodological rigour rather than aiming to satisfy naïve notions of "objective truth". A prime concern should be on meeting safeguards and quality

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[50] This section draws extensively on Pimbert and Wakeford (2003).

criteria. Some such safeguard and quality criteria likely to be appropriate in many situations include:

- **Diverse oversight and transparency.** Many of the guidelines for DIPs, such as those laid down by the Institute of Public Policy Research,[51] include provision for the process to be overseen by a panel of independent observers. The inclusion of social actors with a diverse range of interests on this panel can be an important means of ensuring the methodology is not captured by a group with a particular perspective or vested interest. However, for this purpose, in most DIPs it is crucially important to widen the concept of social actor and "stakeholder" to include those marginalised by prevailing socio-economic forces. Only if there is a balance on any oversight body between those whose human rights are at risk and those with power, the process is likely to be fair, and perceived to be fair.

  The transparency of participatory forms of policy making can be further enhanced by involving social actors who are able to guarantee credibility and trustworthiness. For example, in the citizens jury/ scenario workshop described in Box 11.3, the organisers built several layers of diverse oversight and transparency into their methodological design (see Box 11.4). It is noteworthy that when media is invited to observe and document the process there is usually greater scope for linking local voices into national and international policy processes.

Box 11.4   **Diverse oversight and transparency in the participatory assessments of policy futures for Andhra Pradesh**
(adapted from Pimbert and Wakeford, 2002; Pimbert and Wakeford, 2003)

The Government of Andhra Pradesh (India) visualises a radical transformation in the way food is produced, distributed and marketed 20 years from now. As a result, all the proposals for the future of food, farming, rural development and environment made in the government's Vision 2020 are controversial, particularly the promotion of genetically modified (GM) crops and the displacement of around twenty million rural people. The two counter-visions explored in the *Prajateerpu* citizens jury/ scenario workshop (see Box 11.3) also contained controversial elements. It was therefore critical that the deliberative process was transparent and under the control of representatives of organisations with different vested interests and social aims.

Four primary safeguard mechanisms were built into the *Prajateerpu* process:

1. **The Oversight Panel**. The Panel had an explicit mandate to assess the fairness, pluralism and credibility of *Prajateerpu.* The Oversight Panel's composition was sufficiently diverse to represent a broad spectrum of interests. Chaired by a retired Chief Justice from the Supreme Court of India, the panel critically oversaw the entire process, checking for possible bias and inconsistencies. It included representatives of the international donor community, civil society organisations and indigenous peoples. The members of the Oversight Panel shared their observations with the co-ordinating team at the end of each day of the jury's deliberations, ensuring that all parts of the process were agreed by individuals with a diverse range of perspectives. The Panel also made an overall evaluation of *Prajateerpu* after the formal closure of the event.

2. **The media observers and reporters**. Members of the press (audio-visual and written) were invited to document the hearings and outcomes of *Prajateerpu.* The following national newspapers sent their correspondents to observe and report on different moments of the deliberative process: *The Indian*

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[51]   IPPR, 1994; Lowndes and Stoker, 1998.

Express, *The Times of India*, *The Hindu*, and *The Deccan Chronicle*. A variety of state newspapers written in Telegu also sent their correspondents. Reporters and camera crews from two Indian television news channels (Star News and Doordashan) were present, with Doordashan returning three times to film and interview participants at the beginning, middle and end of the event. The semi-continuous presence of the press ensured another level of control and vetting of the jury process. The wide reporting of the event in the national media highlighted the credibility and impartiality of the deliberations that led to the jury's verdict. Interestingly, a small minority of journalists were eager to demonstrate that jurors had been briefed and tutored into stating pre-formed positions. In interviews with these journalists, however, jurors strongly dismissed these doubts and implicit accusations. In the words of one juror, *"These are life and death matters to us. We will not let anyone tell us what we should say."*

3. **The silent observers.** Several other observers were invited to witness the jury process on the understanding that they should remain silent during the specialist presentations and the deliberations of the jury. These observers included other farmers from Andhra Pradesh, NGO representatives, agricultural researchers and planners, trade union representatives and corporate sector representatives. These observers were from both India and Europe. Most of them stayed only two to three days but some witnessed the whole event. All formed opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of the process and were able to communicate their views to members of the Oversight Panel, the co-ordinating team and the press. The presence of the silent observers further enhanced the transparency of *Prajateerpu*.

4. **The video archives.** The entire citizens jury/ scenario workshop along with interviews of various participants was recorded on digital video by a team from the Sarojini Naidu School of Performing Arts, Fine Arts and Communication of the University of Hyderabad. These comprehensive video archives were compiled to:

- provide a clear and accurate record of the event, including the location, the jury setting, the participants, the nature and quality of the debates, the process and its outcomes; and

- allow any party or external agency to learn from this experience or check for shortfalls in balance, fairness or failings in the deliberative process.

Two duplicate sets of 26 videotapes were prepared along with a detailed index of the video archives and English/ Telegu transcripts for *Prajateerpu*. The first set of duplicate tapes was left in the custody of the International Institute for Environment and Development, London (UK) and the second with The University of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh (India).

Diverse control and transparency were thus embedded in the very design of *Prajateerpu*. Moreover, control and scrutiny over the dynamics of *Prajateerpu* took place in real time and *in situ*, allowing many different participants to validate their own knowledge, and contest the validity of that of others in an open deliberative arena. For example, the panel of independent observers acted as an extended peer community that was able to directly witness the dynamics of knowledge production, action and empowerment. The Oversight Panel, which included representatives of marginalised communities and more powerful institutions, had absolute power to decide which methods and processes (representativeness of jury, video scenarios, balance of witnesses, quality of facilitation) were appropriate and what constituted valid knowledge *in that context*. Through this innovation the organisers sought to decentralise and democratise the knowledge validation process *as well as* ensure that the *Prajateerpu's* outputs were as legitimate and representative as possible.

Related to issues of balanced oversight, the safeguard of diverse controls can also be further ensured by relying on several sources of funding. Funding sources with vested interests in conflicting visions and policy choices should be involved in DIPs for the sake of pluralism.

● **Representation and inclusion.** Who is allowed to take part and other issues of representation are crucial for the credibility of a deliberative process. DIPs should engage a statistically representative sample of the population affected by a particular policy. Yet, more valid "representation" may require giving more importance to groups of social actors with particular life experiences or characteristics such as gender, race, age, wealth and type of livelihood-resource base. Positive discrimination (affirmative action) may be needed to include marginalised groups who have been historically excluded from policy making and the control of regulative institutions. Where policies have wider social impacts it is usually necessary to include representatives from key sectors (industry, government, civil society organisations, farmer trade unions, academic institutions…) so that they can feed their views into the process. As mentioned in Part II of this volume with regard to the identification of the parties in the CM agreement, this is better developed as an iterative process, with subsequent refinements.

Convenors and facilitators will always need to exercise their best judgment in the act of "including" some parties in the processes of consideration, decision and implementation (inclusion). Inclusion goes beyond the question of "who is allowed to participate" to issues of recognising knowledge and different ways of knowing. This is particularly important in deliberations involving both citizens and experts with scientific or other specialist knowledge. For example, several consensus conferences and citizens juries on the risks of new technologies have demonstrated the competence with which citizens can discuss highly technical issues to which they had no previous exposure. They achieve this by carefully eliciting from each specialist witness the information relevant to their case. The questions of ordinary citizens and resource users have a more holistic quality than the arguments presented by some subject matter specialists. Different ways of knowing are included in the process, as jurors ask questions framed from their *own* life experience and livelihood contexts.

The extent to which citizens are allowed to interrogate their sources of information, rather than being merely the passive recipients of written briefings and specialist testimonies, is a good indicator of how inclusive a process is in recognising the validity of different knowledge systems.

● **Open framing and facilitation.** The way discussions are framed by information, witnesses or questions can have an important influence on the extent to which citizens have the opportunity to develop their own policy scenarios and visions for the future. The extent to which assumptions behind issues can be challenged and new questions asked in DIPs is highly dependent on the choice of subject area or/ and the particular way a problem is defined. The initial choice of problems and definition of criteria drives the end results. For example it is noteworthy that assessments of GMOs in the UK were strongly influenced by each participant's early framing of the debate in multiple criteria mapping exercises.[52] Many criteria chosen by the participants lay outside the scope of official risk assessments and for no participant the whole range of criteria was explicitly included in the formal evaluation process of GMOs in the UK. The "sensitivity" of the early framing of issues and questions in DIPs emphasises the importance of ensuring that the entire spectrum of values and interests are represented. The extent to which convenors and organising agencies allow for flexible and open ended "framing" and definition of boundaries

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[52]   Stirling, 2001.

may ultimately prove a good indicator of their commitment to democratic values. It is good practice for the framing of discussions and scope of recommendations to be set by citizens engaged in DIPs rather than be constrained by a question dictated to them by a particular social actor or interest group. The degree to which convenors let go of their power over framing the terms of debate may actually determine whether ordinary people will be able to bring about change or whether DIPs will be merely used to legitimise established power structures and their favoured policy.

- **Creation of a safe communicative space.** A wide range of different experiences with DIPs have demonstrated the importance of safe communicative spaces. These are opportunities in which people, who might otherwise feel threatened by sharing their knowledge and experience with others, can be placed in carefully thought-out environments of mutual support and empathy in order to allow them to express themselves. Safe communicative spaces are needed for the confrontation of perspectives from the social and natural sciences as well as the knowledge of local resource users, for social actors to negotiate and develop policy futures. The notion of safe communicative spaces recognises that there are differently situated forms of knowledge about livelihoods and the environment, and each is partial and incomplete. Participatory learning, inclusion, dialogue and careful deliberation are needed to bring these multiple and separate realities together, combining the strengths of outsiders' and local peoples' knowledge. Convenors of DIPs who explicitly seek to link local voices with policy change will need to provide safe spaces at a number of different levels.

….we need to move beyond uncritical support for assembly-style spaces, where populist attitudes can mask the hidden agendas of the powerful.

Often there is a need to move beyond the uncritical support for assembly-style spaces, where populist attitudes can mask the hidden agendas of the powerful. This is important because the possibility that hierarchy and self censorship might constrain deliberation and inclusion is always present in any space where people come together. Deliberation is, after all, not only governed by rational assessment and dialogue about technical or political options. Feelings like anger, powerlessness, shyness, admiration, fear— all of the emotional side of human beings— are equally important. Like power, emotions are essentially relational phenomena. Personal and collective emotions, the self confidence of individual actors and the level of trust between actors all matter in spaces set up for deliberations on policy change. At a fundamental level, trust and emotions that underlie the self deeply influence the forms and outcomes of deliberations. Communicative spaces for participation, therefore, need to provide a sense of stability and security so that social actors can open up and engage in new struggles for self respect and self esteem.[53] Otherwise learning, understanding and acting for policy change will probably not take place.

…anger, powerlessness, shyness, admiration, fear— all of the emotional side of human beings— deeply influence the forms and outcomes of deliberations.

- **Emergence of a wide community of inquiry and empowerment.** The quality of a process is apparent when there is strong evidence that it has catalysed and informed a broad community of inquiry, with possibly enduring consequences for several of the actors involved. This outcome is often dependent on a methodological design that explicitly links citizens involved in the DIPs to wider policy networks and the dynamics of policy changes.

Whilst there are no universally valid recipes for this, experience suggests that

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[53] Hoggett, 2000.

reversing dominant trends in policy processes can help engage a wider community of actors for change. Particularly successful reversals from normal roles and locations for empowerment include: a) putting the perceptions, priorities and judgment of resource users and other marginalised citizens centre stage and using appropriate methodologies for DIPs; b) holding the process in a rural or appropriate local urban setting that is familiar to those citizens and resource users more directly affected by the policies; c) getting government bureaucrats, scientists and other specialist witnesses to travel to resource users, farmers and other citizens in order to present evidence on the pros and cons of different choices, technologies, policies; d) using television and video technology to ensure transparency and free circulation of information on the process and the outcomes, both nationally and internationally, and e) going beyond the idea of advocating on behalf of the marginalised to the practice of enabling the marginalised to speak for themselves.[54]

As a general rule, once people involved in DIPs reach their conclusions it is essential that appropriate intermediary individuals and channels link them with those who have the power to create change (*e.g.,* farmer federations, indigenous peoples organisations, advocacy NGOs…). Immediate outcomes of DIPs can be more effective in policy change when they are actively used by civil society actors to influence advisory committees, technical bodies and civil servants connected to policy-making. One option is for groups of actors to use DIPs, when appropriate, as part of a larger set of activities aimed at influencing policy "from below": campaigns, hidden resistance or direct civil action. Another option is to combine formal bodies of representative democracy with the more bottom-up deliberative and inclusive methods and processes. This approach may be particularly effective at the level of local and municipal governments, where citizen participation and government accountability can be mutually reinforcing and supportive.

…once people involved in deliberative, inclusive processes reach their conclusions it is essential that intermediary individuals and channels link them with those with the power to create change (e.g., farmer federations, indigenous peoples organisations, advocacy NGOs…).

All of these criteria and safeguards can help ensure the credibility, efficacy and fairness of DIPs used for policy making. However, ethics, values and intentionality will always remain fundamental to issues of quality and validity. Simply put, participatory methods such as DIPs for policy change can be used either for instrumental ends or for genuine citizen empowerment. Implicit or explicit intentions and underlying values always inform "participation", the framing of issues, the form of any initiative and its operating dynamics. For example, a commitment to democratic values is likely to be expressed by the adoption of design principles similar to those of Checklist 11.4

Checklist 11.4 **Broad principles for deliberative and inclusive processes related to policy development**
(adapted from Peals, 2003; Wakeford and Pimbert, 2003)

● Participants, not those organising the process, frame and set terms of reference for the whole exercise.

● The group organising, or in overall control of, the process is broad based, including social actors with different interests on the subject being discussed.

● There are safe spaces for participants (usually non-specialist) perspectives to engage in a mutually

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[54] Pimbert *et al.,* 2003; Wakeford and Pimbert, 2004.

educative manner with those of specialists.

- There is full transparency about the activities carried out within the process to those outside it.
- A diversity of information sources is available to participants.
- Those without a voice in policy-making can use the process as a tool for positive change.
- The process contains safeguards against policy-makers using it to legitimise existing assumptions or policies.
- All groups involved in the process have sufficient room for learning, development and change.
- An "audit" trail is designed and set out to explain whether policies were changed as a result of the process, what was taken into account, what criteria were applied when weighing up the evidence from the process and how the views of those involved in the participatory process made a difference to the decision.

Citizens interested in pursuing policy change in favour of co-management of natural resources need to be clear about how this relates to:

- the right to participate at all levels of the policy making process as equal partners regardless of gender, wealth or ethnic origin;
- the right to self representation and autonomy; and
- the right to political, economic and cultural self determination (sovereignty).

11.3 Strengthening civil society

By now it will be evident to the reader of this volume that effective co-management is predicated on a fairer and more balanced *sharing of power* in society, implying redistribution towards the weaker sectors and civil society in general. While promoting and welcoming this change, we would like to caution against embracing it without a critical approach. For instance, co-management requires some formal organising of civil society, a fact that offers important opportunities but also presents potential problems. Experience has shown that formal organisations, including those that evolve from informal community institutions, can also be dominated by powerful interests, capable of marginalising the poor and the powerless in even more insidious ways.[55] Formal organisations almost inevitably introduce hierarchy and structure, and these can consolidate a sclerotic distribution and use of power within groups and communities. To prevent this, some groups prefer to rely on informal structures and spontaneous, experimental and convivial practices, in other words "a sensible measure of anarchy" at least for the initial experimental phases of the CM process.[56]

Secondly, while there is a need to recognise and strengthen local rights and responsibilities, attempts to empower previously marginalised sections of the society can have unintended consequences on local livelihoods, the environment and

Formal organisations almost inevitably introduce hierarchy and structure, and these can consolidate a sclerotic distribution and use of power within groups and communities.

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[55] Bainbridge *et al.*, 2000; Cornwall and Coelho, 2004.

[56] Anarchy is meant here in the sense of "absence of fixed governing structures". For instance, some political "parties" in Europe (*e.g.* the Federalist Party of Italy) prefer to be called a movement rather than a party. They have established automatic and rather frequent rotation of people in positions of authority and preferentially base their action and alliances on specific issues rather than on party positions.

social justice. The social disruption that change could cause, as entrenched groups try to hit back, could in turn upset customary natural resource management patterns. Whether this is ultimately destructive or not depends on the new equations among the social actors and networks involved, interventions by outsiders to stabilise the situation, and other factors. Experience from community-based natural resource management initiatives suggests that greater community engagement combined with supportive outside interventions and incentives leads to better resource management in the long run.[57] Yet, it cannot be assumed that greater democracy in society will automatically and inevitably lead to better resource management at all times and in all places.

Thirdly, the objective of social justice may also suffer, paradoxically, as underprivileged sections are given formal powers and representation on management bodies and DIPs linked to policy processes. This is because they may no longer be willing or able to use their informal, and often more effective, tools of resistance— coming late for work, going slow, minor sabotage, slander, ridicule, pretended ignorance, desertion, etc.— which Scott has called the "weapons of the weak".[58] These tools are quiet and unobtrusive, yet are perhaps more influential in the making of history, in the relations between oppressed people and their oppressors, than open rebellions and revolutions. Scott likens this process of resistance to the creation of immense barrier reefs by the minute actions of millions of coral polyps. Indeed, because of their very nature, such methods of protest are difficult for the formal sector to punish. Yet, if oppressed people are brought out into the open and asked to use formal processes of democracy, at which they may be weak, their relative power might actually diminish. There appears to be little way out of this dilemma, however, except to advocate that democratic processes should remain as flexible and open to innovation as possible, that oppressed people should continue to be supported to take all avenues of resistance and protest open to them. And, last but not least, that all processes of empowerment should be sustained over long periods of time.

> *The "weapons of the weak" are quiet and unobtrusive, yet are perhaps more influential in the making of history than open rebellions and revolutions.*

Finally, and related to the above, there is the danger that some processes of democracy may actually be a means of co-option. People and groups that get engaged in co-management committees, or processes of deliberation and inclusion, often lose their sharp edge and relax their questioning attitude towards authority. They may also become less "representative" of the whole constituency they come from and distort demands or favour some of its sections. This is, of course, by no means an inevitable process, but one that has to be strongly guarded against. Unfortunately, powers affects the attitudes and behaviours of people, and rarely so in a positive sense.

A stronger voice for civil society

As a recent study has shown, there are a number of

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[57] Many examples are illustrated in this volume. Recent synthesis studies that identified conditions for success include Kothari *et al.*, 2000; Whande *et al.*, 2003; Solis Rivera *et al.*, 2003; and Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004 (in press).

[58] Scott 1985.

mechanisms from around the world for strengthening civil society and the engagement of citizens and governments.[59] Various approaches may be seen along a continuum, ranging from ways of strengthening "voice" on the one hand, to ways of strengthening "receptivity" by government institutions on the other. The authors of the study argue that the "voice" end of the spectrum must begin with creating the pre-conditions for voice, through awareness-raising and building the capacity to mobilise. As citizens who are outside of governance processes begin to engage with government, there are a series of avenues through which their voices may be amplified, ranging from advocacy to lobbying for policy change and citizen monitoring of performance in various sectors. Similarly, regarding receptivity by the states, several avenues are available, including government mandated forms of citizen consultation, standards through which citizens may hold government accountable, incentives to encourage officials to be responsive to citizen voice, changes in organisational culture, and legal provisions that, in various ways, make participation in governance a legal right.

Broadly speaking, there are three main strategic approaches for the emergence of a strong civil society and the empowerment of "voices from below":

1. **Building upon synergies between the state and society.** Public sector workers and "champions of change" within governments can help strengthen civil society and encourage more inclusive policy debates. In the Philippines, for example, it was the lobbying of radical civil servants along with organisations of professionals that led to the wide implementation of participatory irrigation management[60] (a model which has subsequently spread to other countries). In Mexico, reformist officials have helped consolidate small farmer marketing organisations[61] and strengthen the role of community organisations in regional sustainable development policy.[62]

   Civil society is likely to have a greater potential for influence when civil servants and progressive government officials introduce legislation guaranteeing the right to participation. The *legal right* to participation is a more empowered form of engagement than participation by invitation of governments, donors, or higher authorities. One area in which rights to participation are being embodied into law is that of local governance.[63] A number of pathways have been used:

- *Joint approaches to planning*. Civil society actors and government bodies work together in planning service delivery and environmental care (see Box 11.5).

- *Changing forms of accountability*. Innovations have not only emphasised citizen involvement with local governments in planning, but also empowered citizen representatives to hold government to account for carrying out properly the functions of government (see Box 11.6).

- *Empowered forms of local direct participation in the governance of public affairs*. While many approaches are looking for new relationships between citizens and elected representatives, others are creating forms of direct citizen participation through legal changes. Representative forms of governance are thus complemented by more empowered, direct involvement of citizens at the local level. Perhaps the most direct and effective example of the latter is the sharing

People and groups that get engaged in co-management committees, or processes of deliberation and inclusion, often lose their sharp edge and relax their questioning attitude towards authority.

Civil society is likely to have a greater potential for influence when civil servants and progressive government officials introduce legislation guaranteeing the right to participation.

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[59] Goetz and Gaventa, 2001.
[60] Korten, 1995.
[61] Fox, 1990.
[62] Blauert and Dietz, 2004.
[63] See www.ids.ac.uk/logolink and Chapter 10.

of authority about budget allocation. In Porto Alegre and other municipalities of Brazil, neighbourhood meetings are used to do exactly that in a process called "participatory budgeting" (see Box 11.7).

- *Strengthened inclusive representation in locally-elected bodies.* A pathway adopted by several countries has been legal change that promoted the inclusion of traditionally excluded populations in local councils (see Box 11.8).

Box 11.5   **Mandatory joint planning**
            (adapted from McGee *et al.*, 2003)

In the Phillippines, the 1991 Local Government Code (LGC) requires citizen participation at all levels of local government through the local development councils. Participation is mandated in the areas of development planning, education, health, bids and contracts, and policing. In theory, the LGC also provides for direct representation of civil society and voluntary organisations on local government bodies, though this has been uneven in its implementation. Legislation also mandates funds for training of citizen representatives in order for them to participate effectively.

In Brazil, the new Constitution of 1988, termed at the time the "Citizens Constitution" affirmed public participation in the delivery of local services as a democratic right. This has resulted in the creation across the country of municipal level councils, which link elected officials, neighbourhood representatives and service providers in almost every sector, including health, education and youth.

Box 11.6   **New forms of accountability**
            (adapted from The LogoLink Network www.ids.ac.uk/logolink)

In Bolivia, the Law of Popular Participation of 1994 mandated broad-based participation, starting at the neighbourhood level, as part of the process of local government decentralisation. It also recognised the importance of social organisations that already existed (including indigenous communities, with their own practices and customs). About 15,000 such "territorial base organisations" are registered to participate in the planning process. In addition to that, the particular innovation of the Bolivian law was to create legal citizens' oversight or vigilance Committees in each municipality, which are empowered to freeze municipal budgets if actual expenditures vary too far from what was agreed in the planning processes.

Box 11.7   **Participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre (Brazil)**
            (adapted from Abers, 1997 and Baiocchi, 2003).

Porto Alegre is a Brazilian town with a population of about 1.2 million people, situated along the polluted Guaiba River in Southern Brazil. There are about 250 *favelas* (slums) in Porto Alegre, where about 400,000 people live. Since 1989, Porto Alegre has been governed by the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT, the workers party). This party was founded in 1980, when the military regime first allowed the creation of new parties. The PT emanated from a coalition of labour unions, urban and rural social movements, people from Christian base communities, and formerly revolutionary Marxist groups. The PT has no well-defined ideology, but follows two main tenets: the needs of the poor should get priority and the people should be directly involved in governance.

The original contribution of the PT was the insight that popular control on public spending was the key to real popular participation in governance. To achieve this, the PT introduced the practice of "direct democratic budgeting" from 1989 onwards. This involves a number of phases including assemblies

where people can give their views on the way public spending is organised at present; neighbourhood meetings where investment priorities are drawn up; electing delegates for the Regional Budget Forum; holding more assemblies; and, finally, production of a final budget by the Municipal Budget Council, synthesises the demands made in the various meetings.

The result has been increased efficiency in public spending. Before the introduction of the "direct democratic budgeting", the largest amount of sewer line constructed was 17 kilometres, in 1987. From 1990 to 1994, the figure raised to 46 kilometres of sewer line annually. As a result, from 1989 to 1996, the portion of the population with access to sewer lines rose from 46% to 95%. During the three years previous to the PT administration, four kilometres of street were paved each year; after 1990, 20 kilometres of road were paved annually, and the quality of this pavement rose dramatically. Extended *favelas*, that had only mud roads and tracks, became accessible for buses, garbage trucks, ambulances and police cars. It is estimated that over 100,000 people, representing some 10% of the population of the town, have attended a participatory budgeting meeting at least once over the fourteen years of the initiative in Porto Alegre.

Participatory budgeting has also spread to other municipalities in Brazil. Municipal governments elected to power in several Brazilian cities in the 1990s introduced a participatory budget. The government invests in projects that communities have identified as their priority needs. Given a citizen's right to have information and make demands on the state, government agencies have to consider the feasibility of any request. If a citizen request is judged non feasible, the state agency has to demonstrate why this is so.

In several municipalities, popular participation in this initiative has exceeded the government's expectations and has increased annually. Participatory budgeting has changed public spending priorities, reducing inequalities in places. The improvement of the quality of life in some of the municipalities has been evident, as it is the first time that the local government has taken into account the needs of the poorest sectors of the population. Participatory budgeting has not only meant a much greater involvement of citizens and community organisations in determining priorities, but also a more transparent and accountable form of government.

Box 11.8   **Towards more inclusive representation in local government**
             (adapted from McGee *et al.*, 2003)

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments of India, described in Box 10.4, mandated that one third of the seats in the local councils should be reserved for women, as well as one-third of the offices of the chairperson. Similar reservations have been made for those of the lower castes and tribes. While making local councils more inclusive, the Constitution also gave them a great deal more power for planning for "economic development and social justice" in twenty-nine separate areas of local development, including forests, education and irrigation. While the implementation of these new representation processes has been uneven, and while the local councils are not always granted adequate financing from central government, the inclusion of new members in the political processes has been vast. About one million women and some 600,000 lower caste or tribal members have now been elected to local government office.

All the above pathways are significant and positive innovations promoted by the state. Through legislation, they create new and stronger roles for civil society in relation to local governance. And yet, the extent to which the legislation itself opens new spaces for participation and citizen voice varies enormously, both

according to the characteristics of the legal frameworks themselves, and the broader context of which they are a part. The actual implementation of these laws also varies, due to differences in understandings, power relations, citizens' awareness, etc. Moreover, state-society synergies are prone to the intermediation of party politics and, at times, corruption.

The common pathway to strengthening civil society involves a collaboration between community-based organisations and local and national NGOs, academics and researchers.

2. **Collaboration between local and external civil society actors.** The most common pathway to strengthening civil society involves collaboration between local and external actors within civil society itself. Typically this involves local, community-based organisations and national NGOs, academics and researchers. In the Philippines, for example, scientists and non governmental organisations have collaborated with marginalised farmers to develop a farmer-led network of people's organisations working towards the sustainable management of biodiversity and local control over food systems (see Box 11.9).

Box 11.9   **The MASIPAG experience**
(adapted from Vicente, 1993; www.masipag.org)

The MASIPAG programme was born out of the Filipino farmer's bittersweet experiences with the Green Revolution. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Philippine government heavily promoted the adoption of high yielding varieties (HYVs) and high input agricultural production systems. The International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) played a key role in researching and marketing the new rice varieties. By 1970, 78% of the country's rice-lands were planted with HYVs and the initial results were encouraging as crop production soared.

However, by the late 1970s many farmers were seriously disenchanted with the Green Revolution. The problems they faced included the rising cost of seed and fertilisers; the increasing concentrations of chemicals needed to keep production up; deterioration of the seed; increasing pest problems; pesticide induced poisoning and deteriorating human health; and environmental degradation. Over the next five years, a farmers' strategy emerged from various formal and informal consultations. The strategy proposed, amongst other things, the launch of an initiative to develop a national agricultural programme independent of foreign support; an agrarian reform programme to address the problems posed by large plantations of bananas, coconut and sugar cane; a review of the government/ IRRI programme with options for nationalising its management or stopping its operation; and building a truly Filipino institution for rice research.

When their proposals were ignored by government, the farmers and their allies in civil society took the initiatives forward themselves. A group of progressive scientists initiated consultations with farmers in different parts of the country (Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao). This culminated in a national convention in mid-1985 dubbed "BIGAS Conference" or *Bahanggunian Hinggil sa Isyu ng Bigas*. A year after that landmark gathering, a farmer-NGO-scientist partnership was formed and its first project aimed at breaking the control of fertiliser and pesticide companies, multi-lateral rice research institutes and distribution cartels over the rice industry. The Multi-sectoral Forum (MSF), a group of professors, scientists and researchers in the University of Philippines Los Ba€os, took the lead role in composing the technical pool of what was initially known as "farmer-scientist partnership". By 25 June 1987, the "Farmer-Scientist Partnership for Agricultural Development, Inc." was ready to embark on what is now known popularly as the MASIPAG Project— *Magsasaka at Siyentipiko Para sa Pag-unlad ng Agrikultura.*
For the last 17 years, MASIPAG has been at the forefront of development struggles in the Philippines pursuing, among other things, a holistic approach to development, community empowerment, and people's control over agricultural biodiversity as a contribution in the over-all effort of improving the quality of life of small farmers. MASIPAG's approach to strengthening civil society emphasises social transforma-

tion and builds on the following:

1. **Bottom-up approach** - Any development programme must prioritise the expressed needs, problems and aspirations of the people themselves. The enhancement of knowledge and skills likewise starts with the people's actual capabilities.

2. **Farmer-Scientist Partnership** - A genuine partnership between the farmers and their organisations, and the scientists/ researchers from the social and natural sciences attempts to put into practice the bottom-up approach in conservation and development. This is apparent in programme implementation and in all activities undertaken by the partnership. This relationship is further strengthened by NGOs from the religious sector and other local organisations of concerned individuals and professionals.

3. **Farmer-led research and training** - On-farm research and training in different agro-environments and socio-cultural settings start from what the farmers need to learn and develop. They are active participants in plant breeding and in developing technologies such as ecological pest management and biodiversity rich farming systems. *They* do the research and facilitate training.

4. **Farmer-to-farmer mode of transfer** - Farmers are animated by a sense of mission to reach out to other farmers. Only in their united and concerted efforts can MASIPAG's vision be realised. Cooperation, not competition is a strong motivating force for the farmers to chart their own destiny.

5. **Advocacy towards genuine agrarian reform.** In the MASIPAG context, advocacy towards genuine agrarian reform is meant to lead to full ownership, management and control of the land by the farmers/ peasants, and their access to basic support services necessary for sustainable agriculture and livelihoods.

There are indeed very many documented and anecdotal cases of such collaboration. The combined efforts of local and external civil society actors help to bring the concerns of marginalised and excluded people into policy processes from which they would otherwise be absent. A review of twelve federations of rural organisations whose primary concerns related to agricultural development and natural resource management suggests that the strongest organisations, those most able to project members' concerns in negotiations with government, donors and market actors, have each enjoyed an extended period of accompaniment from NGOs or religious leaders.[64] In most cases these external actors were involved in the creation and strengthening of these civil society organisations. Similarly, the emergence of vocal farmer movements in India has often involved non-farmer support or charismatic leadership from other parts of civil society.[65]
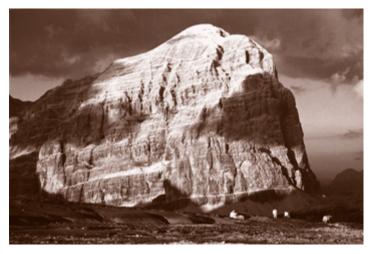
Strong and representative organisations can emerge from the bottom up. Local organisations with deep roots in traditional arrangements play various roles in local natural resource management and represent local voices to external agencies.

All these studies show, however, that *how* such collaboration occurs is critical. The most fruitful collaborations are those that involve intensive, sensitive and respectful support in which external actors accompany, advise, suggest systems, etc., over a long period. External actors do not intervene in local decision making, respecting and trusting local partners. For example, at the core of one of South America's most successful federation of cooperatives, El Ceibo, has been the longstanding provision of administrative and technical advice from certain volunteer services and donors.[66] Likewise in Indonesia, the emancipatory values and enabling attitudes of external actors (trainers, NGO staff…) were key in facilitating citizen empowerment in Farmer Field Schools and in the wider peasant movement that now seeks to reclaim rights over land and other resources.[67]

3. **Independent pathways from below**. Strong and representative organisations can emerge from the bottom up. Local organisations with deep roots in traditional

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[64] Carroll and Bebbington, 2001.
[65] Brass, 1995.
[66] Bebbington, 1996.
[67] Fakih, Rahardjo and Pimbert, 2003; see also Boxes 9.23 and 11.12.

arrangements play various roles in local natural resource management and represent local voices to external agencies.[68] In Sumatra, for instance, traditional *adat* (customary) village governance institutions which re-emerged after the New Order period have begun to deal with, among other things, tenure issues in the village and represent villager concerns to external actors (see box 10.11). The long lasting traditional basis of many such organisations gives them indisputable legitimacy (see Box 11.10). Yet, these organisations are not always internally democratic and gender inclusive.[69] They can be dominated by leaders in whom tradition or history vests authority but such leaders may not espouse the equity gains recently brought about by historical processes and crystallised in the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Box 11.10   The Regole of the Ampezzo Valley (Italy) have maintained their autonomous status for a 1000 years
(adapted from Stefano Lorenzi, personal communication, 2004; www.regole.it)

The Regole of the Ampezzo Valley (where the famous Cortina resort is located) is a community-based institution with a known history of approximately 1,000 years. The Regole independently manage the common property resources initially made available by the work of the early Regolieri (extensive pasture creation and maintenance out of the original woods) and, up to today, the Regolieri comprise only the descendants of the early founders of the community and their male sons who remain *residents* in the valley. Property is held under inalienable and indivisible common title and the general assembly of the Regole takes management decisions after extensive discussion and by a "qualified majority", a procedure more akin to consensus than voting. Through time, the Regolieri maintained their rights of occupation and modes of local production thanks to their skills as diplomats (for instance, they managed to ensure agreements with the Venetian Republic in 1420 and, later on, with the Austrian emperors). In 1918, the end of the First World War saw the Ampezzo Valley incorporated within the Italian state. From then up to today, the Regole struggled to maintain their autonomous status under special exceptions in the national legislation and regional laws, a feat that depended on a combination of personal skills of the Regolieri and importance and visibility of the landscape they managed to conserve. About 15 years ago, the Regole finally received a major recognition as the sole and full legal managers of the *Parco Naturale delle Dolomiti d'Ampezzo*— a regional protected area established on land and resources mostly conserved by them. They have also obtained a tax-free status from the Italian government and major project funds and subsidies from the European Union, the Italian state and the Veneto regional government.

Old and new social movements provide a variety of examples of civil society organised to reclaim power from below. These include attempts to transform governance structures through political participation, face-to-face discussions, and empowered federations that include people from various local places. Some of these movements have ties with religious beliefs (such as the liberation theology movements of Latin America[70] or the Islamic Brotherhoods that acted as development agents in West Africa[71]), ethnic, caste or kinship associations, and gender or

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[68] Esman and Uphoff, 1984.
[69] See Box 7.3.
[70] Berryman, 1987.
[71] Berhman, 1970.

age-based groups.[72] Others are linked with cooperatives or even the management of natural resources, such as irrigation associations, fishers associations and all sorts of other mutual aid groups. Most typically, these movements include unions, born to uplift the conditions of workers with common interests and concerns and, today, indigenous peoples organisations active in national and international contexts.

Independent pathways from below raise many challenges and risks, as demonstrated by moments in history when citizens have experimented with new forms of direct democracy and confederated power.[73] For instance in Spain, during the Civil War of 1936-1939, the peasants of Andalusia and Aragon established communal systems of land tenure, in some cases abolishing the use of money for internal transactions, setting up free systems of production and distribution, and creating a decision making procedure based on popular assemblies and direct, face to face democracy. A system of self-management for workers was set up in numerous cities, including Barcelona and Valencia. Factories, transport facilities, utilities, retail and wholesale enterprises were all taken over and administered by workers' committees and unions. Much can be learned from these experiments.[74]

Independent pathways from below raise many challenges and risks, as demonstrated by moments in history when citizens have experimented with new forms of direct democracy and confederated power.

Federations, networks and organised policy influence

Civil society organisations exist across a range of scales– from individual through national to international federations, consortiums, networks and umbrella bodies. One reason for linking up and federating in this way is to increase the leverage of organisations in policy and political debates.

Federated organisations have an important role in projecting the voice and concerns of resource users and other citizens in a variety of spheres. Many such federations that aim to influence policy-making are not only natural resource based and agricultural organisations. They may be landless people's movements (the clearest examples being the million strong *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra* (MST) in Brazil and the *Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas* (KMP) in the Philippines),[75] federations of the urban poor,[76] indigenous people's movements (such as the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples' Organisations of the Amazon Basin COICA),[77] peasant movements (such as the *Réseau des Organisations Paysannes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*— ROPPA in West Africa), or various national federations of producer organisations, such as those of Benin, Niger, Mali and Senegal.[78] Most of these organisations come to natural resource policy debates with wider agendas— about, say, land redistribution or participatory governance. As a result, discussions may be very wide ranging and complex. Yet, they can lead to important shifts in the balance of power in favour of poor rural people, as the rise of producer organisations in West Africa illustrates (see Box 11.11).

Producers organisations have also been active at the international level. One examples is Via Campesina[79], a broad, worldwide coalition of peasants and farm-

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[72] Ralston *et al.*,1983.
[73] Bookchin, 1996; Bookchin, 1998.
[74] Bookchin 1994.
[75] MST in Brazil has its own website, with pages in Portuguese, English, French, Spanish and Italian, such is its international prominence. See: http://www.mstbrazil.org/. KMP is a nationwide federation of Philippine organisations, which claims to have "effective leadership" of over 800,000 landless peasants, small farmers, farm workers, subsistence fisherfolk, peasant women and rural youth. See: http://www.geocities.com/kmp_ph/index.html
[76] www.iied.org/urban/pubs/eu_briefs.html
[77] www.coica.org
[78] GRAF/GRET/IIED, 2003.
[79] www.viacampesina.org

ers lobbying for land tenure reform, agroecology, and food sovereignty. Another example is the World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples (WAMIP)— a new organisation whose members are nomadic pastoralists, hunters and gatherers, shifting cultivators and sea nomads. The organisation is made up of tribes, peoples and indigenous nations whose livelihoods, production systems and cultural identity depend on a mobile lifestyle and on the sustainable use (and thus conservation) of natural resources. These peoples are among the most disinherited and discriminated groups in the world.

Box 11.11   **Producer organisations, collective action and institutional transformation in West Africa**
(adapted from Belières *et al.*, 2002; Toulmin and Guèye, 2003)

Producer organisations (POs) cover a wide range of activities, from management of common woodland or pasture resources to water user associations, collection and sale of a particular crop or providing access to fertiliser, seed and credit. Grouping together through collective action enables producers to take advantage of economies of scale and to make their voices heard in government policy and decision-making. Additionally, producers hope to increase their negotiating power with companies buying their crop, all the more necessary as globalisation is bringing an increased concentration and integration of agri-business throughout the world. In some cases, producer organisations have also provided a valuable bridging function between farmers and sources of technical expertise, such as research and extension structures. Foreign aid funds have often been instrumental in strengthening the role that POs can play despite the associated risk that the leadership may become distant from the interests and needs of the membership.

Over the past decade, a range of POs have become established and have strengthened their positions at local, national and sub-regional levels in West Africa. These organisations are in part the result of government withdrawal from important sectors of the rural economy, including agricultural input supply and marketing. They also have emerged in a context of greater political liberalisation, and now represent a political force of which governments must take notice. This became clear from the strike by Mali's cotton farmers in the 2001 season, due to low prices and continued waste and corruption within the *Compagnie Malienne pour le Développement des Textiles*. The strike cut output by half, with many cotton farmers switching to maize and other cash crops for that season.[80]

Examples of POs operating at national level include the *Comité National de Concertation des Ruraux* (CNCR) in Senegal, the *Fédération des Unions des Producteurs* (FUPRO) in Benin, and the *Syndicat des Exploitants Agricoles à l'Office du Niger* (SEXAGON) in Mali.[81] The CNCR provides an interesting case, which brings together a series of PO federations in Senegal, and has become a central actor in the dialogue between government, donors, and producers on agricultural strategy and related issues, such as land tenure. Such POs have the advantage of providing a channel to make the case for greater support to agriculture in general, as well as to take account of the particular constraints faced by smallholders. Policy and decision-making in government tend to follow both formal and informal procedures. Smallholders have less easy access to informal mechanisms that operate via "old-boy" (informal friends and associates) networks, and lobbying through high-level political contacts, which are usually the preserve of powerful economic actors, such as large commercial farmers and agribusiness. Thus, POs need to make best use of official channels and opportunities to give voice to the needs of less powerful actors.

At the regional level, there has been increased interest in generating pressure on governments and regional institutions to ensure producer interests are better taken into account in negotiation processes

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[80]   Toulmin and Guèye, 2003.
[81]   GRAF/ GRET/ IIED, 2003.

relating to the WTO, the European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) reform and Cotonou negotiations. Examples include the *Réseau des Organisations Paysannes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (ROPPA), the *Association Cotonnière Africaine* and the Union of Chambers of Agriculture for West Africa. ROPPA and its members have been particularly vocal in support of household farming, and opposed to the agribusiness model being promoted by some as the means to "modernise" agriculture. "This vision (in support of household farming) has been inspired by a global perception of the role of agriculture in society, not only for producing food and fibre but also for performing many other economic, social and environmental functions".[82] Thus, the argument being made by ROPPA and others supports broader debates regarding the "multi-functionality" of agriculture and of the land, and the consequent need to avoid a purely economic or market-based approach.[83]

A key goal of the more emancipatory federations and umbrella organisations is to develop a public sphere that allows for maximum democracy in the literal sense of the term. In its present form, this new politics in the making affirms the values of:

- *Confederalism* – a network of bodies or councils whose members or delegates are elected from popular face-to-face democratic assemblies, in the villages, tribes, towns and even neighbourhoods of large cities. These confederal bodies or councils become the means of interlinking villages, towns, neighbourhoods and ecological units into a confederation based on shared responsibilities, full accountability, firmly mandated representatives and the right to recall them, if necessary.

- *Dual power* – the larger and more numerous the linked federations and confederations become, the greater their potential to constitute a significant counter-power to the state and transnational corporations. Confederations can eventually exert "dual power", using this to further citizen empowerment and democratic change. For example, they can seek power within local government through strategies of collaboration and political negotiation, while maintaining strong community and municipal organising strategies at the grassroots. Multiple lanes for engagement can also be used to link community based conservation and development, social movements, and political parties with direct local governance strategies. This dual power approach is widely used by the Indonesian Peasant Rights movement (Box 11.12) and the work of the Barangay-Bayan Governance Consortium in the Philippines (Box 11.13).

Box 11.12 **The Peasant Rights Movement and policy change in Indonesia**
(adapted from Fakih *et al.*, 2003)

The demise of the repressive Suharto Government in 1997 made it possible for the Indonesian civil society to come out and organise for change on a large scale. New peasant movements have emerged in every region of Indonesia. The Agrarian Reform Consortium and the Peasant Rights Movements launched by the North Sumatra Small Farmers Union, the Friends of Small Farmers movement in central Java as well as the Integrated Pest Management farmers movement created an even bigger alliance in the history of farmers' movement in Indonesia by establishing a Peasant Rights Movement. Organised as a broad federation, the movement is a strong reaction to the neo-liberal approach of trade liberalisation and especially to the corporate takeover of food and farming. The movement is campaigning to protect the livelihoods and culture of Indonesian rural communities, and claiming rights to food and farmer sovereignty. It argues that genuine food security and participation of farmers can only be realised in a system where the sovereignty of farmers organisations and activities are guaranteed. Farmers and

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[82]   Belières *et al.*, 2002.
[83]   Toulmin and Guèye, 2003.

people must be able to exercise their human rights to define their food and farming policies as well as have the right to produce their food in accordance with the diversity of their socio-cultural and ecological contexts.

Many civil society organisations are linked into broad federations to exert countervailing power against what they perceive as a largely corrupt centralised government. Networks and federations get actively engaged in policy reforms at the sub-district, district, provincial and national government levels. Civil society organisations facilitate participatory policy processes and co-management settings. A diversity of deliberative and inclusive processes is used by networks and coalitions to gain leverage, exert pressure from below and effect policy changes. Whilst the primary focus is on institutionalising participatory governance at the community level, well organised farmer federations have secured important policy changes by engaging with civil servants at the district and sub district government level.[84]

Box 11.13   **Beyond good governance: participatory democracy in the Philippines**
(adapted from Estrella and Iszatt, 2004)

It began as a small initiative known as the "BATMAN" project and today it is a movement of NGOs, peoples' organisations, social groups and progressive local officials, loosely known as the Barangay-Bayan Governance Consortium (BBGC)— one of the largest organised consortia working on participatory local governance anywhere in the world.

By using the dual power approach, which "targets civil society, government, and the democratic space in between", concrete gains have been made, including changed attitudes and behaviours, democratised and more accountable local decision-making, strengthened governance institutions, contributions to policy changes, and delivered basic services and livelihoods. Participation in governance has taken on new meanings, as ordinary citizens developed a personal stake in striving for genuine democratic change and transforming power relations and structures that have been acting, and still can act, to perpetuate patronage, injustice, poverty and marginalisation.

Local actors involved in BBGC openly reflect on the obstacles and the challenges they face. They discuss how to change deeply engrained political cultures, including both the "bossism" that persists amongst some officials, and the patron-client culture often found in the community; how to scale up and out from local levels to more national levels, and from rural to urban; how to deal with issues of serious conflict; how to carry participatory work in areas with strong ethnic or religious minorities; and most of all, how to institutionalise and sustain the gains that are made through local community action.

11.4   The challenge of participatory democracy

Empowering civil society for policy change depends on creating an enabling social context at different levels, including within civil society organisations and peoples' movements themselves. At this point in time, three main challenges appear to stand out for civil society, which we will discuss below.

Equity, gender and voice

Throughout the world, the challenge of widening social inclusion and representation is key for most civil society organisations and the federations they are part of.

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[84]   Fakih *et al.*, 2003.

Gender equity and learning how to better include and respect the voices of the very poor and marginalised are both enduring and urgent new challenges for civil society at large. Several discussions of peoples' movements involving farmers and other resource users generally conclude that the demands of these movements are biased to the needs of rich— or at least to those of surplus— producers.[85] Some movements tend not to voice concerns of particular relevance to the rural poor, such as minimum wages and harassment. Similarly, recent reviews of membership organisations have at times concluded that "successful groups among the poor tend to exclude the layers below".[86] This is especially the case for groups whose functions relate primarily to economic service provision, marketing, etc.[87]

And yet, this is by no means a universal phenomenon. For example, Indian farmer movement demands for higher crop prices allow more surplus retention in rural areas, creating investment capital that allow rural industrialisation and thus jobs for the poor.[88] Even if the voices and interests of some layers of the poorest are excluded in such organisations, the voices of less poor (but still poor) people are likely still to be included. The implication here is not to work against such organisations or criticise them harshly, but to support additional organisations that can specifically represent the very poor and the marginalised environments in which they live. It also means that civil society needs to constantly ask: "under what conditions can poor people's voices be heard, and projected by, organisations and social movements that also involve wealthier farmers, fisherfolk, and other resource users?"

Although natural resource management is becoming increasingly feminised, rural organisations still seem to reflect and reinforce the patriarchal relations that characterise many rural societies. Thus if raising the voice of poor people in natural resource policy is a general problem, then raising the voice of poor women in these policy discussions is particularly challenging. Traditional, community level organisations are often biased to men. In Ecuador, for instance, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) estimated less than 10 per cent of the members of community assemblies were women, and some estimate that women hold only one per cent of leadership positions.[89] Women also suffer discrimination within many large-scale organisations created by indigenous peoples.[90] Whilst many NGOs have sought to increase women's participation, there are many obstacles to gender sensitivity and inclusion within NGOs. In India for example, broader social relations of caste and class can influence how the NGOs deal with women farmers, reducing any extent to which their work is empowering.[91] In Indonesia, more gender inclusive policies and practices have only just recently started to be introduced in Farmer Field Schools (FFS) and the wider federation FFS are part of.[92]

One important obstacle to women's voice in such organisations is that participation is linked to tenure over land and other natural resources. Tenure rules often privilege male ownership (though not in all cultural contexts). In this connection, the success of women's and indigenous movements in shaping new land use legislation so that it is more inclusive of women's tenure rights is very significant.[93] It

If raising the voice of poor people in natural resource policy is a general problem, then raising the voice of poor women in these policy discussions is particularly challenging.

…under what conditions can women gain more space in organisations and peoples' movements to voice their views on natural resource management, and make their priorities and knowledge count?

[85] Brass, 1995.
[86] Thorp *et al.*, forthcoming.
[87] Bebbington, 1996; Thorp *et al.*, forthcoming.
[88] Omvedt, 1994.
[89] Cited in Deere and Leon, 2001: 52.
[90] Deere and Leon, 2001.
[91] Nagar and Raju, 2003.
[92] Fakih *et al.*, 2003.
[93] Deere and Leon, 2001; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003.

demonstrates that large-scale organisations can enhance the voice of women in policy and institutions. It also encourages civil society to constantly ask: "under what conditions can women gain more space in organisations and peoples' movements to voice their views on natural resource management, and make their priorities and knowledge count?"

Safe spaces for participation and peoples' knowledge

Spaces, including citizen spaces, are infused with power relations, affecting who enters them, who speaks with what knowledge and voice, and who benefits.

There are important differences between two radically different types of spaces for participation in the governance of natural resources: *invited spaces from above* and *popular or citizen spaces.* Government- and donor-led efforts to set up co-management committees and resource user groups are examples of invited spaces from above. In contrast, citizen or popular spaces are created by people who come together to create arenas over which they have more control *e.g.,* indigenous peoples platforms for negotiation and collective action or do-it-yourself Citizens Juries that frame alternative policies…. Whilst there are notable exceptions, popular spaces are arenas within which, and from which, ordinary citizens can gain the confidence to use their voice, analyse, deliberate, frame alternatives and action, mobilise, build alliances, and act.[94]

But not all spaces for participation have the possibility to become spaces for real change. Popular spaces usually offer more opportunities for civil society to develop its agenda than invited spaces by governments. And yet, they are not always welcoming spaces for women, nor inclusive of the weak and marginalised, nor free from manipulation and co-option by powerful insiders and/ or outsiders.[95] Citizen or popular spaces can reproduce subtle forms of exclusion through language and other cultural codes.

Spaces, including citizen spaces, are infused with power relations, affecting who enters them, who speaks with what knowledge and voice, and who benefits. This is particularly apparent, for example, when both professional knowledge and peoples' experiential knowledge are brought together in the same space and discussed. Foresters, agronomists, protected area managers, water engineers, health professionals, architects, land use planners, and scientists all have specialist knowledge that can usefully feed into citizen deliberations and more inclusive forms of participation that strengthen civil society. But the deliberative process, and the political negotiation over what constitutes valid knowledge in a particular context (see Box 11.14), deeply challenges professionals to assume different roles and responsibilities. In particular, citizens with professional knowledge will often need to shift to new roles that facilitate local people's analysis, deliberations and production of knowledge.

Box 11.14 **Some quotes on knowledge and power**

"Perhaps we should abandon a whole tradition that allows us to imagine that knowledge can exist only where the power relations are suspended and that knowledge can develop only outside its injunctions, its demands and its interests. Perhaps we should abandon the belief that power makes mad and that, by the same token, the renunciation of power is one of the conditions of knowledge. We should admit, rather, that power produces knowledge...; that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations....In short, it is not the

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94 See Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001b; Cornwall and Coelho, 2004.
95 See Box 7.3.

activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistant to power, but power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge." (Foucault, 1979: pp. 27-28)

"Contests for knowledge are contests for power. For nearly two centuries these contests have been rigged in favour of scientific knowledge by the established power structures. We should ask why scientific knowledge has acquired the privileged status that it enjoys, why it is that scientists' endeavours are not seen to be on a par with other cultural endeavours, but have come to be singled out as providing the one and only expert route to knowledge and guide to action. We need to confront the question of what kinds of knowledge we want to produce, and recognise that that is, at the same time, a question about what kinds of power relations we want to support— and what kind of world we want to live in…. A socially responsible science has to be a science that does not allow itself to be set apart from, let alone above, other human endeavours. In our interactions with the world, we are all involved in the production of knowledge about the world— in that sense, there is no single group of experts".
(Kamminga, 1995: 321)

As power and knowledge are impossible to disentangle, the struggle to involve the full diversity of civil society in the production of knowledge is part of the larger struggle for a more equitable distribution of power. The adoption of a participatory culture within organisations, including civil society organisations, and changes in attitudes and behaviour are unlikely to "automatically follow" when new methods for deliberation are adopted or suddenly become fashionable. Chapter 9 of this volume describes the challenge of designing appropriate institutional mechanisms and rewards to encourage the spread of a participatory culture and praxis within government organisations. Civil society organisations and movements that seek to create more safe spaces for participation are similarly challenged to transform themselves, and some ideas about the elements to tackle are offered in Checklist 11.5.

When does it make sense to engage within "invited spaces", and when is it more appropriate to remain outside?

More generally, civil society will often need to understand better which spaces offer the possibility for meaningful voice and shift in power relations, and which do not; when it makes sense to engage within "invited spaces", and when it is more appropriate to remain outside. Guidelines and criteria for engagement can help citizens and civil society groups decide whether, when, why and how to engage in policy processes.[96] But, in the final analysis, creating safe spaces for democratic participation will depend on civil society's *conscious* social commitment to a politics of freedom, equity and gender inclusion.

Checklist 11.5 **Transforming organisations for deliberative democracy and citizen empowerment**
(adapted from Bainbridge *et al.*, 2000; Pimbert, 2003a)

Key actions for reformers working for more accountable organisations (local and national government, NGOs, civil society organisations) include:

● diversify the governance and the membership of budget allocation committees of public sector planning, services and research institutes to include representatives of diverse citizen groups and procedures to ensure transparency, equity and accountability in the allocation of funds and dissemination of new knowledge;

● encourage shifts from hierarchical and rigidly bureaucratic structures to "flat", flexible and respon-

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[96] PLA Notes, 2002.

sive organisations;

- provide capacity building for technical and scientific personnel to foster those participatory skills, attitudes and behaviour needed to learn from citizens (mutual listening, respect, gender sensitivity as well as methods for participatory learning and action);

- ensure that senior and middle management positions are occupied by competent facilitators of organisational change, with the vision, commitment and ability to reverse gender and other discriminatory biases in the ideologies, disciplines and practices animating an organisation;

- promote and reward management that is consultative and participatory rather than verticalist and efficiency led, and establish incentive and accountability systems that are equitable for women and men;

- provide incentives and high rewards for staff to experiment, take initiatives and acknowledge errors as a way of learning by doing and engaging with the diverse local realities of citizen's livelihoods in urban and rural contexts;

- redesign practical arrangements and the use of space and time within the workplace to meet the diverse needs of women, men and older staff as well as their new professional obligations to work more closely with citizens and other actors (time tables, career paths, working hours, provision of paternity and maternity leave, childcare provisions, mini sabbaticals, promotion criteria…);

- encourage and reward the use of gender disaggregated and socially differentiated local indicators and criteria in monitoring and evaluation as well as in guiding subsequent technical support, policy changes and allocation of scarce resources.

Deepening democracy in the age of globalisation

A strong civil society, enabling government policies, pressure from below, organisational change and professional reorientation are all necessary preconditions for shifts towards more policy making *by* and *for* citizens.[97] However, at this time in history, the "power to define reality" rests less and less with governments and professionals engaged in planning, service delivery and in the design of technologies to meet human needs. Globalisation in its present form induces huge power differentials as a small minority of economic actors seek and often obtain control over markets, technologies, policies and institutions, imposing a one dimensional homogenising reality on diversity. Of the top one hundred economic entities of the world, 51 are corporations and only 49 are states. The top 200 trans-national corporations (TNCs) are responsible for about 25% of all measured economic activity in the world. Since the early 1990s, in the United States, average corporate profits have increased by 108% and the compensation packages of Corporate Chief Executives have increased by a massive 481%. During the same period, average annual wages for workers have risen only 28%, barely keeping abreast with inflation. In 1960 the combined incomes of the richest fifth of the world's population were 30 times greater than the poorest fifth. By 1991 it was over 60 times and in 2003 the UN's latest figures estimate it as 80 times as high.[98]

Powerful TNCs use a variety of official and unofficial instruments to impose three basic freedoms central to the neo-liberal credo of international competitiveness and comparative advantage: freedom of investment, freedom of capital flows, freedom of trade in goods and services.[99]

TNCs rely on unofficial, non transparent and discrete bodies to influence governments and opinion makers such as:

Globalisation induces huge power differentials, as a small minority of economic actors seek and often obtain control over markets, technologies, policies and institutions, imposing a one dimensional homogenising reality on diversity.

[97] This section draws extensively on Pimbert (2001), Pimbert (2003b) and references therein.
[98] UNDP, 2003.
[99] George, 2000.

- the European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT) made up of the Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of 47 of the largest European TNCs; the ERT works closely with the European Commission and individual heads of states, often writing some of the Commission's most important "White Papers";[100]

- the Trans Atlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) composed of CEOs from North America and Europe. Through regular dialogue with top politicians and international agency leaders, the TABD strongly influences international trade negotiations; it also maintains permanent expert committees on a range of topics including standard-setting for goods and services so that products may be freely sold in all markets.

As an official organisation, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is particularly responsive to the demands of TNCs for internationally binding rules in favour of total freedom of trade in goods and services. With little or no public oversight, corporations actively shape WTO negotiations on the liberalisation of trade on goods, agricultural products and intellectual property. Areas such as health, education, culture, the environment, and energy are corporate targets under the emerging General Agreement on Trade in Services. The decisions of the WTO's Dispute Resolution Mechanism (panels of trade experts, meeting behind closed doors) are enforceable through sanctions and apply to all 136 member-countries, both developed and developing. This is where WTO's greatest power lies: during the first five years of its existence, the rulings of the dispute settlement body have generally upheld corporate interests over those of people and the environment.

Corporate led globalisation is increasingly dis-empowering many more citizens on an unprecedented scale, both in the North and the South. Increasing job losses, fractured livelihoods, economic marginalisation, fear and anxiety about the future are all induced by the drive for comparative advantage and international competitiveness *via*:

- relocations of industry and services, often from countries with higher labour costs and regulatory standards (environmental, working conditions) to countries with lower ones;

- mergers and acquisitions, with post acquisition rationalisation;

- deployment of new cost and labour saving technologies (computers, robotics, automation, biotechnologies) in the restructuring of manufacturing, agriculture, forestry, fisheries and, increasingly, service sectors such as banking, insurance, airlines, accounting, retailing, hotels and environmental agencies;

- reductions in public sector spending and privatisation;

- spread of a culture and vision emphasising the inevitability of the neo-liberal agenda, the public has to accept that There Is No Alternative (the TINA syndrome).[101]

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[100] Balanyà, 2000.
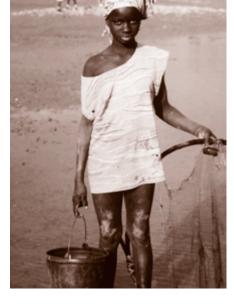[101] International Forum on Globalisation, 2002.

In this regard it is important to note that women are more harmed than men by the growing inequalities, insecure employment, and social unrest that have marked the last two decades of neo-liberalism (1980-2000). Throughout the world, women are the first hit by displacements induced by "modernising" forest and agricultural development, and by the mass redundancies associated with the current frenzy of mergers, acquisitions and re-locations of industries. In both developed and developing countries, women's average wages continue to be significantly lower than men's— in all professions and across all social groups. Women are under-represented in all of the world's governments and parliaments where they are often used as tokens in processes of political participation. Moreover, there is some evidence that the degradation of living conditions in poorer households everywhere has translated into an increase in levels of violence, particularly in domestic and sexual violence in which women are the first victims. For example, as many as 40 per cent of adult women are now subjected to domestic violence in Europe (58 per cent in Turkey...). And it is estimated that in 2002 alone, over 4 million young girls and women were sold for use as slaves, wives or prostitutes throughout the world.[102]

Several feminist economists have shown how the gendered structure of the economy as well as male bias in national and international economic policies deeply constrains the institutionalisation of both gender and inclusive participation in development.[103] More specifically, the neo-liberal approach to development and corporate-led globalisation affirms the superiority of "economic efficiency" and the "commodity economy", to the detriment of a) the "care economy" where women have a predominant responsibility and b) the many subsistence economies that still harbour diverse definitions of well being and a diversity of natural resources.

Whilst clearly important and necessary, a strong civil society does not only imply an expansion of *political* democracy to include more people and places in shaping the policy process, technologies and institutions. An analysis of how power is increasingly exercised and mediated today suggests that *economic* democracy and *information* democracy are also fundamental for change.

Widening *economic* democracy is a key overarching condition for the mainstreaming of participatory forms of policy making in this globalising world. In its deepest sense, "economic democracy" means free democratic access to the means of life and the guarantee of freedom from material want. More specifically, there is a need for economic arrangements that offer enough *material security* and *time* for citizens (men and women included) to exercise their right to participate in shaping policies for the public good and ecological sustainability. Only with some material security and time people can be "empowered" to think about what type of policies they would like to see and how they can contribute to obtaining them.

Similarly, only with full access to information and liberation from active brainwashing by economic, political and cultural advertisements and the diffusion of sheer lies can people develop some forms of critical consciousness. It is not possible to have message-free media and purely objective information services. But it

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[102] Le Monde Diplomatique, 2003.
[103] Jahan, 1995; Miller and Razavi,1988; Kanji, 2003.

is possible for media to respect different views and encourage investigative journalism. It is possible for a national legislation to include safeguards against economic powers dominating the political scene, and against various forms of media agglomeration. And it is possible for formal education to promote critical thinking, rather than mere absorption of notions, and to expose children to pluralist views as early as possible.

In this context, the challenge for civil society organisations and social movements is to take the lead in making other worlds possible.[104] In recent years, civil society as a whole has supported not only alternative thinking, practices and innovations for widespread transformation that promote democratic participation, but also economic and information democracy, alternative education systems and gender equity. Examples of proposals for structural reforms aimed at "re-embedding the economy in society"[105] and more are shown in Box 11.15. These are far from being a North-based affair. Both southern and northern actors are now discussing such reforms and proposals throughout the world. These newly emerging views are relevant in the context of our policy analysis because they speak directly to the wider social conditions in which co-management and adaptive governance of natural resources can (or cannot) thrive. And yet, more civil society dialogue and initiatives are clearly needed to further elaborate, test and implement such proposals in the coming years. Indeed, throughout the world, civil society is challenged to give new meaning and content to the "good life", "development" and society's relationship with nature.

Box 11.15 **Civil society imagining other possible worlds**
(adapted from a variety of sources, including Chomsky and Herman, 1988; Gorz, 1994; Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1999; McChesney, 1999; Passet, 2000; Pimbert, 2001; Méda, 2001; ATTAC, 2004; Gollain, 2004; Pimbert, 2004 (in press); http://globalpolicy.igc.org/socecon/glotax/currtax/; www.france.attac.org; www.cidse.org/pubs/cttenpt2.htm; http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/index.html)

In practice, levelling the economic playing field for democratic participation calls for radical and mutually reinforcing structural reforms. Among these, the following merit closer attention because of the broad directions they suggest for societies increasingly involved in the dynamics of globalisation:

1. *A tax on financial speculations.* The proposal, first launched in 1972 by James Tobin, calls for an internationally uniform tax on all conversions of currency (in the original proposal it was set at 1%). This tax would discourage speculation and encourage exchange rate stability. At the same time, with annual estimates of the tax revenue ranging from a few tens of thousands of million to a few hundreds of thousands of million US dollars, this globally-raised revenue could create a global fund to meet global challenges of human and social development and conservation. Responding to a number of technical criticisms, this initial proposal was transformed into a two-tier tax, levied as a national tax but introduced through an international agreement, with a minimal-rate levied on all transactions (the "basic tax"), and a high rate (an anti-speculation device) triggered during periods of exchange rate turbulence and on the basis of well-established quantitative criteria. Other variations on the theme have also been proposed.

2. *The full application of the "polluter pays" principle.* The principle allocates costs of pollution prevention and control measures to encourage rational use of scarce and environmental resources and to avoid distortions in international trade and investment. The principle requires, therefore, that the polluters bear the expense to achieve this. Where adopted, the principle helps to prevent or minimise polluting processes and internalise the costs of doing so as part of the cost of production and the cost

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[104] Amin and Houtard, 2002.
[105] On the concept of embedded economy in society see Polanyi (1944).

for the consumer. A carbon tax can be included as part of a global package of the measure and could be one of its most momentous applications.

3. ***A guaranteed and unconditional minimum income for all.*** The Citizen Income proposal is based on the notion that the productive capacity of society is the result of all the scientific and technical knowledge accumulated by previous generations. This is a common heritage of humankind and all individuals regardless of origin, age or gender have a right to benefit from it, in the form of an unconditional basic income. An equitable distribution of the existing world product would allow each person on earth to benefit from such a basic income. Apart from offering a measure of security, a Citizen Income would allow people— men and women— to find more time to engage in caring activities, civic affairs and democratic decision-making over the means and ends of social life.

4. ***A gender redistribution of roles and responsibilities.*** This proposal would allow women to work for a decent wage outside the home *and* men and women to share more evenly in domestic, parenting and caring activities within their households and neighbourhoods. This implies gender equitable property rights over resources as well as redesigning practical arrangements and the use of space and time within the workplace to meet the diverse needs of women, men, dependent children and elderly people (time tables, career paths, working hours, provision of paternity and maternity leave, childcare provisions…). It may also imply a cultural shift affirming the importance and values of the non-monetary reproductive sphere as much as the monetary productive economic sphere— with men *and* women deriving their identities through a plural anchoring in *both* spheres of social life.

5. ***A generalised reduction of time spent in wage-work and a more equitable sharing of jobs.*** This proposal is about finding ways to a) change the sexual division of labour so that men do as much unpaid work as women and engage in caring activities within the domestic/ reproductive sphere, b) ensure that wage-work is more evenly distributed so that everyone can invest in other activities, *outside the wage economy*, c) defend the rights associated with wage-work, and d) move towards a post-wage society and introduce new rights de-linked from wage-work. An important goal here is to free up peoples' time for self-chosen and autonomous activities, whilst ensuring freedom from economic necessity.

6. ***The re-localisation of pluralist economies that combine both subsistence and market oriented activities.*** The environments where people live will need to offer more individual and collective opportunities of engaging in many different activities outside— and unmediated by— the market, wage-work and commodity production. These environments could provide the structural means by which citizens could manage their own affairs through face to face processes of deliberation and decision making.[106]

7. ***The active pursuit of information democracy.*** If, as in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "information is the currency of democracy", democracy is indeed still in its infancy. Enormous work still needs to be done before the majority of people engage in critical thinking and well-informed decision making. Such work should start from profound reforms in formal education curricula, where pluralist perspectives should be substituted in place of monolithic interpretations of history and uncritical perspectives on "science". And it could continue with appropriate regulation of the media business, safeguarding against power agglomerations, enforcing strict codes of conduct with regard to the implicit or explicit diffusion of false information, establishing appropriate procedures to subtract electoral politics from the grip of economic power and encouraging investigative journalism.

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[106] Bookchin, 1971; Gorz, 1997; Biel and Bookchin, 1998.

The growth of democratic participation in the policy process depends on expanding spaces for autonomous action by civil society, the regeneration of diverse local economies, technologies and ecologies, commitment to deliberative democracy and robust ways to make global and national institutions accountable to those excluded from decision making,[107] and engagement towards ways of thinking that are, at the same time, more critical and more respectful of the self and others.

The unprecedented imbalances of power induced by corporate-led globalisation challenge all co-management practitioners to engage with these new frontiers, and to work towards the strengthening of civil society, both in the North and the South. In the final analysis, only a strong civil society can get people meaningfully involved in the work of the United Nations, shape the international policy arena, lobby for international safeguards and accountability, reform national policies on environment and development, and achieve local solutions that value the wealth and diversity of the world's cultures, communities and environments.

The unprecedented imbalances of power induced by corporate-led globalisation challenge all co-management practitioners to engage with these new frontiers, and to work towards the strengthening of civil society, both in the North and the South.

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[107] Rahman, 2004.