



Participate

Knowledge from the margins for post-2015

Citizen participation
and accountability for
sustainable development

Front cover:
Ground Level Panel Egypt
CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT SERVICES 2013

Acknowledgements

This paper was jointly authored by Danny Burns (Fellow, Institute of Development Studies), Erika Lopez Franco (Research Officer, Institute of Development Studies), Thea Shahrokh (Research Officer, Institute of Development Studies) and Philip Ikita (Fellow, University of Bradford). Danny Burns was lead author for the work on the deliberative processes, Thea Shahrokh was lead author for the chapter on collective action for citizen-led accountability, and Erika Lopez Franco was lead author for the chapter on multiple-lines of accountability. Philip Ikita provided academic support to all of three of the chapters.

With special thanks to our *Participate* network members Lipika Ami, Nanette Antequisa, Carlos Cortez Ruiz, Kwesi Ghartey-Tagoe, Pradeep Narayanan, Valentina Pellizzer, Wilna Quarmyne, Luchi Sevidal-Castro, Lisa van Dijk and Joanna Wheeler for their contributions, comments and reflections.

Thanks to Jo Howard for her editorial support.

Thanks to all of the members of the *Participate* Participatory Research Group whose work has underpinned this publication.

Contents

Acronyms	4
Glossary	4
Introduction	5
<hr/>	
Chapter 1 Collective action and participatory research as strategies toward citizen-led accountability	6
<i>Thea Shahrokh</i>	
1.1 Introduction	6
1.2 Life in the margins	7
1.3 Coming together for change	10
1.4 Citizens engaging institutions of accountability	12
1.5 Participatory research as a platform for citizen accountability	14
1.6 Conclusions	16
<hr/>	
Chapter 2 Engaging with multiple accountabilities in contexts of resource exploitation, environmental damage, and the social impacts of climate change	18
<i>Erika Lopez Franco</i>	
2.1 Introduction	18
2.2 Extractive industries, environmental damage, and climate change	20
2.3 Impacts of resource exploitation and climate change for people in poverty and marginalisation in Ghana and the Philippines	20
2.4 Multiple lines of accountability	23
2.5 Citizen-led action for accountability	28
2.6 Linking the multiple lines of accountability	29
<hr/>	
Chapter 3 Deliberation as a route to citizen-led accountability	30
<i>Danny Burns</i>	
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 The Participate Ground Level Panels	31
3.3 Issues in the assessment of deliberative processes	32
3.4 Conclusions	38
<hr/>	
Chapter 4 Conclusions	40
4.1 Laying the foundations for accountability: From identity to collective action	40
4.2 The 'process' of building learning for accountability	41
4.3 Paying attention to power	42
4.4 From local to global	43
References	44
Annex 1: Description of methodology used in case studies in Chapters 1 and 2	46

Acronyms	
CADC	Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CBO	community-based organisation
CSO	civil society organisation
CSR	corporate social responsibility
EcoWEB	Ecosystems Work for Essential Benefits
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
GCRN	Ghana Community Radio Network
GLP	Ground Level Panel
GRI	General Reporting Initiative
HLP	High Level Panel
INGO	international non-governmental organisation
LGBTQIA	lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, transgender, intersex, asexual
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NEF	New Economics Foundation
NGO	non-governmental organisation
PRG	Participate initiative's Participatory Research Group
PWD	persons with disabilities
PWYP	Publish What You Pay

Glossary	
Accountability	The concept of accountability describes the rights and responsibilities that exist between people and the institutions that affect their lives, including governments, civil society and the private sector. In practice, accountability can take a number of different forms, depending on the institution in question. In general, relationships of accountability have two important components: the right to be answered, and the obligation to provide a response; and the involvement of citizens in ensuring that action is taken, which includes mechanisms for redress (Burns et al. 2013; Dunn, Newell and Wheeler 2006).
Citizen	A citizen is a person who has the right to have rights. Citizenship implies a relationship between a citizen who can claim their rights and a state that has the obligation to respond to those claims. Substantive citizenship means that, in their daily lives, citizens have access to resources and employment and to the protection of their government – but also that they are treated with dignity. Citizens have rights under international law, but may be denied these rights by discriminatory national and local practices (Gaventa and Benequista 2011).
Deliberative process	Deliberative processes are dialogic processes that take place over time allowing for reflection, contestation and the development, and refinement of opinions.
Oral testimony	An oral testimony is a personal testimony based on a specific topic where the individual influences the shape and content of the narration.
Peer research	Where people facilitate research with 'people like them'. For example other people who live in the same place, other 'adolescent girls', etc.
Climate change	We use the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), where climate change refers to a change of climate that is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and that is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods.

Introduction

Exclusion of people in poverty from participating and influencing decisions that affect their lives, increases their vulnerability and powerlessness; including them in the decision making process is a condition for a sustainable, effective development.

(Cortez Ruiz in Burns et al. 2013)

This book articulates three strategies by which the poorest and most marginalised have attempted to ensure accountability from national and global policy makers to local people. It is a response to demands, articulated through the *Participate* initiative research conducted from 2012 to 2013 with extremely poor and marginalised groups, for greater participation and accountability in decision-making. *Participate* is a network of 18 participatory research organisations. They generated in-depth, high-quality participatory research to provide evidence on the reality of poverty at ground level, to influence global and national development policy, as part of the post-2015 debate.

Participatory research comprises a range of methodological approaches and techniques. What characterises them all, however, is that community members have control over the research agenda, the process and resulting actions. The people involved are the ones who analyse and reflect on the information generated, in order to obtain the findings and conclusions of the research process. Participatory research involves inquiry, but also action. People not only discuss their problems, they also think about possible solutions to them and actions that need to be taken. This includes influencing decision-making from local to global levels. The *Participate* research studies used a range of techniques including action research, oral testimonies, digital storytelling, participatory video, narrative inquiry, peer research and immersions (for a description of methods see Annex 1).

What is interesting and significant about the *Participate* research is that it shows the importance of citizen participation for legitimate processes of accountability, and also the value of participatory research and approaches as mechanisms for *how* those citizen-led processes happen for people living in poverty and marginalisation. The concept of accountability describes the rights and responsibilities that exist between people and the institutions that affect their lives, including governments, civil society and the private sector. In practice, accountability can take a number of different forms, depending on the institution in question. Relationships of accountability have two important components: the right to make claims and demand a response; and the involvement of citizens in ensuring that action is taken, which includes mechanisms for delivering accountability (Burns et al. 2013; Dunn et al. 2006). People living in poverty are faced with multiple exclusionary barriers that reduce the room that they have to

claim citizenship identity, exercise agency, and to engage in these relationships. *Participate's* research shows that citizen participation contributes to citizens' capacities to claim rights and hold institutions to account. This is critical for those living in extreme poverty and exclusion, as rights affect people's access to the resources, services and institutions that help build individuals' and communities' resilience to the shocks that perpetuate extreme poverty and inequality.

Issues such as environmental sustainability, gender equality, empowerment, and eradication of extreme poverty implicate the coordination of a range of institutions at the local, national, and global levels. As such, mechanisms for citizen-led accountability for extremely marginalised groups must also take account of these different levels in order to be effective. *Participate* research shows that any strategies to renegotiate the parameters of accountability and strengthen the rights claims of citizens must be considered in relation to these different levels – from local to global. There is a critical interface between global forms of governance and the way in which citizens are able to express new rights claims at the local level. This may involve resistance of new global forces and also has implications for the nature and role of duty-holders in an increasingly changing world.

Chapter 1 situates the discussion of accountability in the realities of citizens' lives. We look at how poverty and marginalisation restrict relationships of accountability, and how people are responding through mobilisation and citizen action. Chapter 2 analyses strategies for citizen accountability in relation to natural resource extraction. Complex lines of accountability emerge in this context where communities have to engage with multiple power holders with different interests. Chapter 3 concludes the paper by showing how meaningful dialogue can be created that engages diverse communities of people in raising consciousness and communicating their vision for social change in order to influence discourse and policy at national and global levels.

This publication should be seen as an integrated book where each of the chapters builds from the others underpinned by a central argument: that citizen participation and accountability are integral to sustainable development. Nevertheless the chapters were drafted by different researchers in the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) team and each has a slightly different focus and style. We hope that this will add to the richness of the reader's experience.

Chapter 1

Collective action and participatory research as strategies toward citizen-led accountability

1.1 Introduction

Where people living in poverty and marginalisation are denied rights through processes of exclusion and discrimination, how are citizens responding? What is the role of collective citizen action in shaping processes of social change? What does this mean for how we understand citizen rights and accountability?

This chapter aims to answer these questions by analysing in-depth the claim from people living in poverty and marginalisation that collective action is an important aspect of the way that citizens can leverage power to change their circumstances. This was a key finding in *Participate's* 'Work With Us' research. The chapter analyses the citizen-led research of the *Participate* Participatory Research Group members, including visual and textual primary sources and also secondary synthesis and analysis. This has been complemented by interviews with research coordinators from Bangladesh, Bosnia and Herzegovina, India and Mexico in order to deepen an understanding of the issues and contextualise the articulations of the communities involved, alongside wider literature from the field of accountability and participation. By grounding the analysis presented here in the experiences and perspectives of citizens as actors in the development process, we are able to understand the process of accountability from the actions of citizens themselves, and their vision for social change.¹

'Citizen' is used in this case study to refer to people living in extreme poverty and marginalisation as political subjects – not only do they have rights, but they should have a role in shaping their societies (Burns et al. 2013). How citizenship is understood is integral to claims for accountability.

¹ This framing is grounded in the 'seeing like a citizen' approach that challenges our understandings of how citizenship is constructed and the sites in which it is claimed (Gaventa 2010).

The research on which this study draws needs to be situated in the context of the deepening neoliberalisation of global, national and local policymaking. This agenda sees the individualisation of the citizen as a consumer of services, and the marketisation and privatisation of services, which depoliticises the relationship between the citizens and the state. The depiction of citizen rights as a commodity therefore is growing (Narayanan, telephone interview, 2014). This articulates citizen and state perspectives on rights, as either a need, or as a service that is provided either by the private sector or government. In the context of health, for example, this has important implications for how you respond to and react about health. If it is seen as a need – then people see it as good that they have been helped. If it is seen as a service, then people try to understand the conditions and transactions necessary to secure that service from the government. When it is understood as a right, however, it is no longer just a private transaction, it now has collective and public significance. Furthermore, citizens can act to demand the guarantee of a right, because it is something that institutions have an obligation to provide and are accountable for (telephone interview with Cortez Ruiz, August 2014).

While people continue to demand their rights, there is recognition that these rights will only be meaningful if their societies engender norms of tolerance, equity and opportunity for all people. Accountability for people living in poverty or marginalisation is therefore a complex process of negotiation and bargaining between individuals, families, communities and institutions situated within social, political and economic power hierarchies. Accountability can thus be seen as a systemic issue and works to mediate relationships between citizens and public institutions through multiple channels and in multiple spaces. Where these spaces are constructed and shaped by citizens, the possibilities for freedom of voice and association, and collective actions toward social justice can be transformed. It is a concept around which the political agency of people living in poverty and marginalisation can be



PRAXIS 2013

organised. For marginalised citizens collective action provides the space to build critical consciousness and voice that enables rights to be identified, articulated and demanded. In working towards these objectives people living in poverty and marginalisation are reclaiming their citizenship identity as a starting point for strengthening accountability.

1.2 Life in the margins

For the poorest and most marginalised people, poverty, discrimination and criminalisation impede experiences of citizenship, excluding and isolating them from the social and political relationships that enable the realisation of rights. The precariousness and insecurity that characterises life in the margins means that the pressures around survival and livelihoods create a daily struggle to keep a place in the world. Relationships between citizens and institutions of governance erode in this context where citizens without social and material resources are pushed into illegality, and informality is punished and harassed instead of supported by the state and the social institutions that govern people's lives.

1.2.1 Living informally

For those living in poverty and marginalisation the boundaries of formal citizenship often act as a form of exclusion, denying the rights of ordinary people in practice.

In many urban contexts, the informal economy is marginalised. In South Africa, for example, a lack of recognition of informal livelihoods as a legitimate economic activity leads to instability and insecurity in people's lives (SLF 2013a). In Chennai, India the informality of the urban homeless population means legal identity documents are not accessible because people do not have a recognisable address. This prevents people from being able to access the services entitled through citizenship (Praxis 2013b).

Our biggest problem here is the lack of a recognised house address – this is in spite of us having lived here for generations. For instance, there is a government scheme offering loans to women, but when we approached the bank for sanctioning the loans to us, the bank refused on the ground that we didn't have a permanent house address.

(Homeless urban activist from Chennai in India; Praxis 2013b)

[See 'Of the Mighty and the Mangled', a film made by the urban poor in Chennai, India: <http://vimeo.com/74282091>]

1.2.2 Stigmatised identities

The construction of stigmatised identities and stereotypes is also a mechanism through which full citizenship is curtailed.

Poor and marginalised groups are often painted with an identity that they have not chosen, that isolates and criminalises who they are. Research by ATD Fourth World shows how discriminatory attitudes manifest in people's daily lives:

That people disrespect us by calling us names like 'social case', 'bad mother', 'incapable', and 'good-for-nothing' demonstrates how they are judging us and do not know the reality we face. We experience the violence of being discriminated against, of not existing, of not being part of the same world, and of not being treated like other human beings.

(Research participant from France; ATD Fourth World 2014)

In India, a participatory exercise with sex workers mapped the stereotypes that society imposes, including: family breakers, tradition breakers and the potential for or being HIV infected. This discrimination is amplified when connected to inherited or geographic identities such as *dalits* and Bengalis that society has constructed as being lesser (Praxis 2013a).

Where people's identities exist in an 'illegal' space, deviant of the dominant legal and social institutions, they are

deemed to lie outside of the realm of normative citizenship and therefore have little recourse to the formal structures of citizenship, or to the protection of law (Khanna 2013). For transgender persons, sex workers and persons of sexual minority in a large number of countries, patriarchal and masculine gender norms recast their identity as legally and morally indefensible (Narayanan, telephone interview, 2014; OWPSEE 2013).

A group of 14 men raped me. I was lying on the road crying when a community leader took me to the hospital. I did not inform the police because I know that rather than finding the men who did this they would instead look for a way to falsely implicate me in a crime because they know I am a sex worker.

(Mohave, a woman sex worker in India; Praxis 2013a)

1.2.3 Institutional discrimination

Discriminatory norms and attitudes are often re-enforced by institutions of governance through service providers, and those who hold the responsibility for safeguarding the rights of marginalised people. For many of the participants in the *Participate* research, accessing basic services meant enduring humiliation and stigmatisation by professionals

UNITAS 2013



(Burns et al. 2013). Bolivian indigenous women reported receiving insults from healthcare professionals such as ‘Why did you give birth to so many children like a rabbit?’ or ‘Why didn’t you shower, you pig?’ (ATD Fourth World 2013, in Burns et al. 2013). As a result, many families in extreme poverty do not even access free services. Women in Mexico do not attend health checks at clinics for the same reason (Cortez Ruiz, in Burns et al. 2013):

I took my daughter to a prenatal clinic... but the doctor began to scold her because she married young and told my kid why didn't she marry at 30 or 40 years and have only one son... we will not return to the clinic because we received very bad treatment, very inhumane.
(Chop indigenous woman, community reflection, Chiapas; Cortez Ruiz 2013 in Burns, D. et al. 2013)

In Bangladesh there were a number of stories telling how children living with disabilities were not admitted to school because the other children would be scared of them (We Can Also Make a Change 2014). A young man from Senegal participating in ATD Fourth World’s research explained the implications of his poverty and related discrimination within the education system:

From the time I started school, the teacher was the one who made me suffer... He would tell me right in front of my classmates: ‘You’re dirty. Go sit in the back’. If that’s how school is, it determines who is poor and who isn’t. In the educational system, they make more of an effort to give classes and a good education to the students who aren’t poor. They cast you aside and your future is ruined.
(Young man from Senegal; ATD Fourth World, 2014)

Participate research further highlights a significant gap between the legal and policy context and the reality of people’s lives, even where progressive laws and frameworks exist. Discriminatory attitudes and norms undermine the formal system: ‘the government started to build a house for us... but the inhabitants came and destroyed this house because they didn’t want “Creoles” in their neighbourhood’ (Mauritian participant; ATD Fourth World 2013, in Burns et al. 2013). Where a person’s rights have been violated, discrimination, corruption and high costs prevent marginalised groups accessing justice, as shown in cases of rape of women with disabilities in Bangladesh (We Can Also Make a Change, in Burns et al. 2013; COMPASS 2013, 2015).

1.2.4 Social, political and economic isolation

Discrimination therefore defines people’s experience of citizenship through multiple and complex interactions both horizontally, with other citizens, and in communities and vertically with institutions of governance. Where harmful norms and attitudes are entrenched across these levels and spaces people are forced to live in the margins with very low acceptance and status (Praxis 2013a).

For people with disabilities this discrimination manifests as barriers to full participation in development, including their access to resources, assets and land. In Bangladesh, research shows that the family often does not know the



OWPSEE 2013

law, and perceptions hold that people with disabilities cannot work, get married or inherit land. People with intellectual impairments are not allowed to own land legally. A small percentage of land inheritance is supposed to be offered to widows, but many living in extreme poverty tend not to receive anything (We Can Also Make a Change in Burns et al. 2013).

The institutions of the family and community are often a site for policing and enforcing the discriminatory rules that govern the lives of marginalised people. Research conducted with sexual minorities in the Balkans (OWPSEE 2013) and India (Praxis 2013a) showed how families and close community members perpetrate violence against them, hindering their feelings of empowerment, self-recognition and belonging (Burns et al. 2013). The impact of discrimination breaks down family and social relationships. The pain that results from this penetrates people’s individual agency, and self-stigmatisation is often internalised, restricting people’s capabilities, and power to act and affect change.² Research in Bangladesh showed how older people and persons with disabilities often experience abuse and neglect from family and the close community.

Society does not accept me, I am neglected by everyone. No one wants to mix with me; people do not behave in a good manner towards me. They use slang and scold me for mistakes I haven’t made. ... [My husband] always blames me and regrets his marriage to me. He complains that he got nothing from me; I could not do anything for him. He wants me to prepare his food whenever he wants for it, which can even be early 3am in the morning.

(Abida, a visually impaired woman from Bhashantek slum, Bangladesh; We Can Also Make a Change, in Burns et al. 2013)

² This argument relates to Freirean and feminist analysis of power and powerlessness, and the invisible forces shaping people’s acceptance of inferiority.

1.3 Coming together for change

People living in poverty and marginalisation are responding to the inequity in their lives through processes that enable and open opportunities, channels and conditions for citizen accountability. Central to this is creating spaces where they are recognised as citizens with equal rights. For people facing daily discrimination and poverty the construction and expression of their citizen identity involves recognition that they have the right to have rights. Being part of a community or a collective can help build this recognition, that you are a part of a state, and that as a part of that community you have rights. The protection of those rights should ensure, for example, that you are safe, that you have work, quality healthcare and that you can make political decisions (Pellizzer, telephone interview, 2014). People living in poverty and marginalisation want to be allowed to build equitable social relationships that secure those rights in their everyday realities. They want to organise themselves and build communities where they can discuss and deliberate citizenship and rights, and ultimately to respond to the failure of provision or protection of their rights by demanding accountability.

1.3.1 Families of choice

Listening to the stories of people marginalised in society emphasises the importance of personal relationships in the process of change. Citizen accountability is not only about a relationship with the state. Rights are embedded in multiple and diverse social and political interactions, including in people's homes and in their intimate relationships. These spaces for citizenship are often controlled by discriminatory rules and norms that are deeply gendered, and invisible to formal processes of accountability.

The story of Danijel from Montenegro shows how strength can be found where people seek to create their own communities, families and the bonds of solidarity. Danijel, who was rejected by his mother because of his sexual orientation, now lives with his 'chosen' family, one that he has created from those who care about him and support him:

Everyone needs a place where they belong where they return to every day, and where someone who loves them waits for them at home. Now I have a new family which I chose. A family made of all of my friends, and the man that I love who is with me in every moment and ready to support me and to comfort me.

(Danijel, LGBTQI activist from Montenegro; OWPSEE 2013 in Burns et al. 2013)

Danijel's experience with his mother, loss of family and embracing of a new family drove him to work towards building a family for others in his situation: a Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) association that supports this community and advocates for the rights of same-sex families. Processes of group-building are integral in their intrinsic value, through building power from within.³

³ As outlined by Veneklasen and Miller (2007) in their conceptualisation of 'forms' of power: power within, power to, power with, power over.

This supports self-esteem and self-confidence providing access to networks that go beyond traditional family structures (Evans and Nambiar 2013). These relationships provide opportunities for learning that show the possibilities of democratic change, the foundations on which accountability should be premised.

[Watch Danijel's digital story 'My Chosen Family': <http://vimeo.com/71498197>, OWPSEE 2013]

1.3.2 Solidarity as a driver of social transformation

Marginalised groups are creating spaces that model relationships and values that enable a sense of belonging and acceptance for all people based on the idea of solidarity. In her analysis of inclusive citizenship, Kabeer (2005a) argues that solidarity can be expressed as marginalised people reconstructing their citizenship identity by working together to transform their status of 'excluded' in a wider social and political context. In developing the power within marginalised citizens can go on to challenge discriminatory norms in the wider community (Contreras-Arias et al. 2013 on an indigenous women's collective in Mexico).

For LGBTQI activists in the Balkans protest is seen as a way in which people can come together in solidarity to claim public space that belongs to all equally – both physical space, and public space in the media. Through their public relationships with others, people are exercising their citizenship, demanding a response from public institutions and thus enabling accountability (Pellizzer, telephone interview, 2014). Collective action of this form promotes equality of personhood by protesting against unequal provision and protection of rights and by strengthening the ability of all to exercise agency (Mahmud 2002). This is not the formal organisation of citizens into 'interest groups' but this is about disrupting the power and hold of repressive institutions and sparking discussion and debate. Protesting injustice opens up opportunities for learning by citizens in different countries as well as within them, with pressure and activism from a global citizenry driving a demand for accountability that has a local-to-global dynamic.

[Watch Queer RE:Act, a film made by LGBTQI activists in Bosnia: <http://vimeo.com/74214538>]

Solidarity for these activists has come through as a significant concept for citizen action – meaning that action is focused on transforming the intersecting inequalities that constrain and degrade the lives of the poorest and most marginalised people.

Antifascism means to fight all forms of discrimination. If we don't fight homophobia then we are not antifascists. And solidarity is, in general, the source of our strength. Without solidarity we can't really act. We can't do anything effectively without solidarity.

(Adina Zuga, LGBTQI activist in the Balkans; OWPSEE 2013)

For activists in this movement it is important that they reflect their multiple and intersecting identities, and that this is shared in the way that activism is carried out. Activists

recognise the ‘mosaic’ qualities of their identity, and sexuality is just one part of this wider collective vision for gender and social justice (Pellizzer, telephone interview, 2014). It is in building solidarity that learning between citizens is enabled, strengthening relationships and enabling possibilities for change (Burns et al. 2013). As a Brazilian participant in ATD Fourth World’s process explained:

I tell you this: unity is strength. There doesn’t have to be anyone in charge, all together we can be in charge because we are fighting for the same goal. If you are fighting for the same goal, then what happens? You’ll use your wisdom and the others will use theirs. Because your knowledge is your knowledge. One learns from the other, one helping the other.

(Brazilian research participant; ATD Fourth World 2013, in Burns et al. 2013)

However, it is important not to assume that shared identity or collective agendas mean common values, perspectives and beliefs. Discrimination and power hierarchies between transgender persons in India were highlighted as an important issue in the forms of marginalisation that they experience. There is internal stigmatisation faced from other transgenders based on caste, income-generating potential, HIV status, physical appearance (including skin colour and hair) and status with respect to sex realignment surgery (Praxis 2013a). This issue has also been explored in the wider literature; for example Mahmud’s (2002) study of collective action in Bangladesh shows how social hierarchies in groups mobilising in the health and education sectors constrain the possibilities of equity within group actions. In all four cases examined actions were induced by more powerful groups outside of the community and unequal power-sharing within the community constrained people’s ability to claim rights, and inhibited spontaneous action.

1.3.3 Self-determination and co-responsibility

The *Participate* research shows multiple examples of citizens acting, citizens who are not waiting, but who are looking at how they can use different resources to solve the complex

problems in their lives. Where citizen action has been initiated through ‘self-provisioning’ (of services and resources), this has contributed to the creation of collective political identities, which in turn has led to people’s broader engagement in the public sphere.⁴

In Kenya, a group of mothers of disabled children formed a network to provide emotional and material support services for parents of, and children with disabilities in their community. This includes pooling of funds for medication, and skills and knowledge-sharing around access to rehabilitation services, and legal rights. The collective strength of this network has enabled the issue of disability to be raised in formal forums with local authorities and state services, including schools and hospitals (The Seed Institute 2013, in Burns et al. 2013).

Young people in Mathare slum in Nairobi have also come together to address the issue of waste management in their community. Isaac Muasa Kaka’s story shows how community-led initiatives enable possibilities for change. However, partnerships with service delivery institutions and local authorities are critical for effective solutions that hold the state to account for their development responsibilities (Spatial Collective 2013, in Burns et al. 2013).

We made a decision to collect all of the garbage and put them in the right place. We talked to the members of the community and asked them to pay something small to buy polythene bags. It was hard at first to convince them, but they agreed because we were the only people doing something about the problem... In 2000 the group registered with the social services so we could access public funds. Then we started doing other activities, not just garbage collection. We ensured employment for 26 members... The garbage collection also provided opportunities and networks for young people so the crime reduced as youths had different options... We have been partnering with the city council to work for a clean community. The partnership agreement is that there is a collection point where we can take the garbage. We pay them to take the rubbish from there 2000 shillings a month. The heap is now very big and they have not been collecting the garbage, they have to bring big tractors to remove the garbage. So the partnership has not been good, but we have been playing our part. We would love for there to be trucks for every ward and area, and that the trucks would come every time.

(Isaac Muasa Kaka, young man from Mathare Slum, Kenya; Spatial Collective 2013, in Burns et al. 2013)

In recognising the quest for self-determination of people living in poverty and marginalisation, accountability becomes a process that is responsive to citizen strategies, and thus should make certain that public institutions work in partnership to ensure that their responsibilities for service provision are delivered with and for the people who face the greatest barriers to access.

⁴ As argued by Cornwall and Gaventa (2001) in relation to citizenship and participation.

SPATIAL COLLECTIVE 2013



Control over assets and resources plays a key role in advancing the rights and wellbeing of people living in poverty and marginalisation. Empowerment approaches can support diverse groups of poor and excluded citizens to organise themselves in order to improve their livelihoods and demand action towards broader social change. Kabeer's (2005b) research in Bangladesh provides an example of an organisation called Nijera Kori that through a process of group formation works to build an alternative culture of rights in order to demand economic justice, whilst at the same time supporting groups to contribute to a shared savings fund in order to reduce dependence on patrons. Narayanan (telephone interview, 2014) emphasises the challenges for collective action posed by resource limitations. He highlights the example of transgender activists in India, where the withdrawal of support from HIV/AIDS programming depleted economic resources, access to networks and information and organisational skills, which constrained their activism.

1.4 Citizens engaging institutions of accountability

Meaningful processes of accountability must therefore be grounded in an environment that enables collective identity and a sense of belonging to a community through relationships of solidarity. As argued by Miller et al. (2005a), it is critical that citizens have the space to develop a sense of themselves as subjects of rights, and to build their capacity to engage with the political process that shapes the extent to which rights are realised in people's lives. Collective action therefore faces important challenges and opportunities when driving change in a space of political power and legal rights. This next section explores how citizen action and social struggles manifest in relation to these formal and institutional accountability spaces, and what this means for challenging discrimination, redefining rights, and reforming the institutions and structures charged with upholding them.

1.4.1 Claiming rights as legal entitlements

Laws and policies that protect the rights of marginalised groups, and access to information about the law and its power of protection are critical for expanding the possibilities of citizens' claims for accountability. International treaties and agreements play an important role in shifting global norms, and providing a framework within which to act. However, contextual discriminations and political systems mediate the realisation of these rights in the lives of poor and marginalised people.

Having inclusive laws and policies in place that protect the rights of all people is critical for achieving social justice. LGBTQI activists in the Balkans are engaging in advocacy to ensure equality in law, in terms of non-discrimination and family rights. For transgender persons in India the provision of laws for sexual minorities is seen as an important mechanism for government to help end discrimination. The scope of recognised rights and the degree to which people can claim and exercise those rights shifts in response to changing power dynamics; what is critical is that where these rights are accepted, they are made real in people's lives (Miller et al. 2005a).



UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA METROPOLITANA, XOCHIMILCO 2013

The government should ensure the right to property, to adopt kids, to marry, reservation (affirmative action) job opportunities etc. These rights must be provided for us by the state. Just the way there is reservation for women, there should be reservation for transgenders too.
(Priyanka, transgender rights activist; Praxis 2013a)

[Watch 'Marching Towards Acceptance', a film made by transgender activists in Chennai, India <http://vimeo.com/66552772>]

Community organisations and movements are also finding opportunities to demand accountability by claiming rights as legal entitlements and access to justice for marginalised groups. In India, education on rights and entitlements by NGOs accompanies group-building processes for sexual minority persons involved in community-based organising. The resulting advocacy has broken down barriers to access in a number of government social protection schemes (Praxis 2013a). In Mexico, citizens working in partnership with community health workers, community leaders, local non-governmental organisations and legal institutions achieved accountability for the institutional discrimination and inefficiency that led to the death of Mrs. Jovita, an indigenous woman and expectant mother.

People are tired of so much disappointment, abuse, and discrimination of indigenous people at the hospital... The complaint was made by 63 communities, involving some NGOs and the Human Rights Commission also accompanied us in following up the complaint, because we were not going to power alone... [they] helped us and we have accomplished something important. And from this achievement, healthcare is improved, there is adequate equipment in the hospital, the doctor responsible for the death of Mrs. Jovita was changed and they will also care for the four orphaned children of the deceased woman.

(Urbano, indigenous Chol, community health promoter, Palenque, Chiapas, Communities Assembly; Cortez Ruiz 2013)

Citizen action in demanding accountability of institutions that are legally responsible for protecting human rights can create shifts in power towards the claims of marginalised

groups. Networked approaches that engage multiple actors in this process of accountability are important for bringing together diverse knowledge sets, and build power for change. However, discrimination is deeply embedded in government structures and legislative systems, meaning that change at the structural institutional level is necessary to see responsiveness and the enforcement of laws that protect the citizenship rights of all. Therefore, for citizens and their collectives this is a continuous process of learning, action and reflection that retains a commitment to social justice, and the deepening of democracy through the demand for equality for all.

1.4.2 Citizen groups engaging in policy and programmes

Possibilities for reducing the marginalisation of people living with poverty and exclusion in the provision of state services can lie in government-initiated processes that aim to ensure engagement of citizens in establishing, monitoring and implementing government schemes. Citizen participation in public service provisioning, and development policy and programming can therefore be a way of seeking greater accountability for people living in poverty.

When participation is truly inclusive it challenges the power imbalances that block accountability. Participants in India framed participation as a recognition of marginalised people as rightful citizens of a democratic country entitled to services and infrastructure:

We want space in policymaking and policy discussions, we want to be empowered to reflect our interest in policy settings... if that is ensured, we will claim what is due to us – from health to education. That is political change.
(Mohan Prakash, urban slum dweller, Chennai; Praxis 2013b)

In Mexico, the government-initiated Regional Indigenous Fund (RIF) channelled financial resources to support productive initiatives aimed at ensuring improved living conditions for indigenous people. The RIF communities could initiate social and economic development strategies with respect to the natural resources of their environment, their culture and their rights. The RIF aimed to provide an instance of social support operated and managed by indigenous community organisations committed to implementation based on the principle of equity. The RIF was valued by its members not solely because it provides training and access to resources – it also became a space for articulating rights claims.

[A] place where we can discuss about our rights, our identity, our world, of how we want our organisation... we could add to the RIF's objectives 'to promote respect and the rights of indigenous peoples'.
(Indigenous Nahuatl board member RIF; Cortez Ruiz 2013)

In Bangladesh, community-based organisations are playing an important role in ensuring that government development committees include older people and people with disabilities in their constitution. This is seen as important in terms of holding government programmes to account for reaching more marginalised people, and also acting as a platform for marginalised people to enter government schemes to claim their entitlements (We Can Also Make a Change 2014). In one example 20 Persons with Disability (PWD) organisations are campaigning together:

We want to give two to three per cent to disabled organisations. The situation is changing. The chairman of this particular area... is saying that disabled people should be treated on a priority basis – as the chairman is himself sensitised. They have a budget for persons with



WE CAN ALSO MAKE A CHANGE 2013

disabilities. He calls the PWD leaders and then they decide how to spend the money... Whenever the chairman asks for representatives of PWD it is to give two women and three men. But there are not many women leaders in the localities to go on the committees. (Disabled persons rights activist, Bangladesh; We Can Also Make a Change 2014)

This example highlights the role of community leadership in engaging with community collectives to enable more equitable and inclusive participation and in turn accountability in decision-making and the disbursement of resources. However, where community engagement takes place through the appointed leaders of marginalised groups, it is difficult to say whether this process will meaningfully reach the perspectives and priorities of the most marginalised members of society. Older people's associations in Bangladesh have been trying to diversify their leadership but this is difficult due to the barriers of extreme poverty, isolation and inequality that people face in their lives. Gender inequality is an important consideration in terms of who takes on leadership positions:

women don't have the same flexibility and mobility. An older man doesn't have to ask his sons or daughter-in-law if he can go to a meeting. An older woman does. (Lipi Rahman, Peer Researcher, Bangladesh; We Can Also Make a Change 2014)

An additional concern is the invisibility of power relations that exist in processes of public participation for those living in

poverty and marginalisation. In participatory development initiatives, policies and programmes may well be predetermined (Miller et al. 2005b). In these cases the citizen group may act as a way of reinforcing or legitimising a decision or process that is not truly shaped by people living in poverty. Participation therefore as a pathway to accountability is blocked and this may in time lead to alienation and further marginalisation of citizens (Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014). Furthermore, in Mahmud's (2002) research in Bangladesh, demanding answerability of state and non-state agencies from below was not seen as legitimate or feasible citizen behaviour because of the considerable anticipated cost of a conflict of interest with more powerful groups in society.

1.5 Participatory research as a platform for citizen accountability

The *Participate* research shows how both relationships between citizens, their communities, and the state need to be democratised in order for the social, political and economic structures that constrain the accountability pathways of people living in poverty and marginalisation to be transformed. This final section shares how participatory research as a strategy of emancipation can contribute to this process change.

Participatory research in the *Participate* network was seen not only as a form of research but also as a form of community-building and political organising. The participatory research explicitly intended to support poor and marginalised people to generate and control their own knowledge, and through this experience to become more aware of the structures of injustice influencing their lives. These processes of collective analysis and knowledge creation in turn aimed to produce new awareness, critical thinking and more effective strategies of social change, building the basis for wider claims for accountability grounded in the reality of citizens' everyday lives.⁵

1.5.1 Participatory knowledge generation and strategies for change

Through these participatory learning processes marginalised people reflected on their lives in critical ways and strengthened their self-confidence, sense of solidarity, analytical skills and sociopolitical understanding. This provoked new questions about the sources of problems and revealed capacities for action in order to respond to the concerns raised. Through a digital storytelling process in Cape Town, South Africa, community health workers shared how their personal experience of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis means that they are better able to see how to address the multiple, interconnected issues surrounding public health and communicable diseases, and that their knowledge should be engaged in public health programming (SLF 2013b in Burns et al. 2013).

⁵ This conceptualisation of participatory research as political action is edited from Shahrokh and Wheeler, and Bivens' 2014 articulation of this as captured through the *Participate* network's reflection and learning process.

GROUND LEVEL PANEL UGANDA; RESTLESS DEVELOPMENT UGANDA 2013





GCRN 2013

[See digital stories made by Ingrid (view the film at <http://vimeo.com/71412864>) and Siphokazi (view the film at <http://vimeo.com/70481515>) to understand more about their personal experiences with these issues]

The Spatial Collective created a community forum on sanitation through the research process, in which community representatives and leaders from Mathare slum met to screen the participatory video on sanitation and discuss what should be done as a response (Spatial Collective 2013). In Katanga slum, Uganda, community researchers worked with residents to develop photostories which sparked dialogue in forums with academics, decision-makers and the media on issues of inclusive and equitable urban development (HEPS-Uganda 2013).

Participatory research has played an important role in supporting indigenous people and their organisations to take action in response to a lack of access to and control over natural resources like land and forests (Tandon 2002). Centralised and elite-controlled resource management and the degradation of natural resources is a consequence of a globalised system of development that marginalises those people whose lives and livelihoods are integrally connected to the natural environment. Participatory research has enabled people living in poverty and marginalisation and grassroots movements to generate knowledge that challenges the position of the current system, and exposes corruption and exploitation that has displaced people from natural resources (GCRN 2013 and RCA 2013, both in Burns et al. 2013; Compass 2015, 2013; Chapter 2, this report).

1.5.2 Creating safe spaces for participatory learning and action

Creating safe spaces for dialogue and critical questioning is essential in participatory research processes. At the core of this is a fundamental shift in which participants come to recognise, value and engage their own knowledge, skills and experiences – their ‘power within’. Through the provision of safe spaces and the nurturing of trusting and respectful relationships in *Participate*, the extensive surfacing of experiences, and the sharing of challenges and solutions enabled participants to develop a more complete and holistic understanding of their situation. LGBTQI research in the Balkans used visual methods to share individual digital stories of activism.

This process helped participants to see themselves through each other’s stories and experiences and in turn establish a place of recognition and belonging within a group. These relationships model those that enable citizen accountability in terms of establishing principles of mutual learning, openness, transparency and responsiveness between the actors involved. For marginalised groups this social contract within the participatory process then provides a platform for the principles of citizen accountability in the processes of development. These principles were also explained as contributing to spaces for conversations across LGBTQI movements in diverse national contexts that deepened learning, and evolved strategies for wider social change in the Balkans (Pellizzer, telephone interview, 2014).

Child-led research in Ghana built child-centred spaces for learning that supported children to deliberate and identify

solutions to the issue of teenage pregnancy. This process enabled solutions that involved challenging deeply embedded social norms such as older men having younger, and ‘transactional’, girlfriends. The trust and shared commitment to change enabled through this process meant that children also strategised to continue the process of learning and action by working within educational settings to create safe spaces to discuss issues of sexuality and reproductive rights. In essence, demanding accountability of these institutions for building knowledge and understanding of citizenship rights for children in poor and marginalised contexts (Challenging Heights 2013, in Burns et al. 2013).

The significance of safe spaces has been identified in processes of citizen action taken to transform manifestations of power around issues like gender and sexuality within the community itself, where such issues often face their greatest obstacles to change, as well as within informal and formal institutions that maintain these inequalities at a structural level (Praxis 2013a).

Participatory research provides a set of tools, techniques and methods that enable people living in poverty and marginalisation to critically engage with their realities, to envision a new society and to play a collective role in the process of social transformation towards that goal.⁶ It is a space for citizenship to be explored, and for citizenship identity to be constructed. Where action is taken, the accountability of institutions that affect people’s lives is challenged, and citizens and duty-bearers are engaged in a process of democratic learning and change.

1.5.3 Catalysing social change from local to global levels

The ‘global’ as a space for influencing the frameworks and agreements that shape institutions of accountability through to the local level is extremely significant. As such, some of the methodological advances within *Participate’s* network of partners have related to the possibilities for more authentic and legitimate representation of individual and community experiences and knowledge at global policy levels. The Ground Level Panels as explored in Chapter 3 look in-depth at the way in which deliberative processes can collapse the distance between local-level and global decision-making.

Innovations in the use of visual methods in participatory research through *Participate* have been an attempt to respond to this challenge, enabling the individual and shared narratives of poverty, inequality, as well as transformative social change to be established at the local level, and experienced on a global stage. Digital storytelling and participatory video have been the methods used in this learning opportunity. The participatory process remains at the centre of these visual methodologies, with story-based approaches being an essential feature of their capacity for

⁶ See Annex 1: Overview of methodological approach in *Work with Us*, 2014 for a full overview of the approach to participatory research in the *Participate* initiative. See Section 2.1 Methods and Challenges in Using Participatory Processes in Diverse Contexts of the *Participate* Anthology, 2014.



personal and political transformation. Stories can help people see their own experiences differently and articulate them powerfully. When these stories concern issues of injustice, exclusion, democracy and human rights they are presented in an embodied way, and are deeply connected to the storytellers’ reality. In the participatory process participants can feel the different dimensions of the issue through the head and heart of another person, and put themselves in their position, helping to illuminate deeper understandings of democracy, transforming their own social relations and catalysing their own action.⁷

Visual storytelling approaches provide outputs that can be shared directly with outsiders to enhance understanding of and empathy for people living in poverty and marginalisation. This experience has opened up the possibility for decision-makers and public service providers to recognise the potential agency of poor and marginalised groups; the urgent need for action to respond to poverty, inequality and marginality; and the willingness to take the risks that they perceive may be involved in this action. The combination of local-level action through ongoing participatory learning processes, and the interaction of these realities with multiple and diverse spaces for policy influence open up important doors for strengthening accountability to citizens and transforming policies and services to respond effectively to the poorest and most marginalised (Jupp, Nusseibeh, Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014, in Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014).

1.6 Conclusions

We need to have the part of the iceberg that is under the water working. The policy is the tip, the highest level – this will be coming later.

(Valentina Pellizzer, LGBTQI activist and *Participate* research coordinator, Bosnia, 2014)

⁷ For more information on visual storytelling approaches for social change see www.transformativestory.org – a forum for learning on these methods to which *Participate’s* experience has contributed.



SPATIAL COLLECTIVE 2013

This case study shows how processes of accountability and collective action should not assume democratic citizen identity as the starting point for citizen accountability. What the *Participate* research shows is that democratic and inclusive relationships between people, in family structures and communities, play an important role in fostering the experience of citizenship for people living in poverty and marginalisation. The transformation of these relationships and the creation of spaces for expressing citizenship with others support people to recognise their rights. To engender accountability for excluded people living in poverty and marginalisation strategies need to be grounded in processes of empowerment that are both an individual personal process and a collective, political one. This is the part of the iceberg that is under the water.

Collective action provides a means through which citizenship can be expressed as a public relationship of accountability between people living in poverty and public institutions – this sees citizens moving towards the tip. Citizens are continuing to drive democratic change in this relationship. The expression of solidarity between citizens happens both in the formation of associations and collectives, and also in terms of organising for change ‘in solidarity’ through protest movements. What is shared is a strategy to disrupt the power of repressive institutions and drive a demand for accountability as social justice. Different strategies are relevant for different situations, and enable action at multiple levels, and across countries and contexts.

For citizens and their collectives, the strengthening of accountability is a continuous process of learning, action and reflection that retains a commitment to social justice, and the deepening of democracy. Whether it is citizens creating spaces for change, or government-initiated

processes of public engagement, people living in poverty and marginalisation are using their citizenship identity to renegotiate the terms of the accountability relationship to be inclusive of all people. Networked approaches that engage multiple actors in this process of accountability are important for bringing together multiple and diverse knowledge sets, and build momentum for change that works across multiple levels and spaces.

Participatory research is identified as a strategy of emancipation and citizen accountability that can contribute to this process change. The *Participate* research shows how the ideology, mechanisms and tools enabled through this process can create more democratic relationships between citizens, their communities, and the state and new social and political norms that enable accountability in the everyday lives of people living in poverty and marginalisation.

There is no single, linear pathway that can be followed to link collective action to improvements in accountability. A series of actions are necessary to enable the space for collective action to emerge from the grassroots, while ensuring that policy and programming interventions do no harm (Evans and Nambiar 2013). It is clear that possibilities for change depend significantly on the wider normative context and whether and how far collective actions can challenge prevailing social constructions of power and authority. Also that the exercise of citizen agency is difficult to sustain without broader power-sharing in society in terms of social, political and economic resources. As is shown in the following chapter, multiple and reinforcing transformative changes are necessary that build over time, both inside the community and beyond.

Chapter 2

Engaging with multiple accountabilities in contexts of resource exploitation, environmental damage, and the social impacts of climate change

2.1 Introduction

As we noted in the introductory chapter, the research from the *Participate* initiative has shown that accountability, and general access to rights and justice, is particularly challenging for those living in extreme poverty and marginalisation. Their rights and needs are often the first ones to be 'sacrificed' in the name of growth and development:

As geologist researchers would say, we are very rich in minerals, our ancestral domain is wealthy. That is the reason why many investors compete with each other. We don't have any documentation as basis, unlike them. They have documents. That is the condition of our ancestral domain here.

(Traditional leader of Zamboanga del Sur Bayog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 34)

Those living on the margins often face the worst hardship as a direct consequence of 'development'. This might be

displacement due to the construction of hydroelectric dams, land grabs that may or may not have been done legally, pollution and environmental damage, etc. The research also showed that these problems are often amplified by other factors such as ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, age, and disability, amongst others (Burns et al. 2013).

This chapter takes a broad view of accountability that is not limited to government-led initiatives; we challenge the general perception that accountability is something that can be 'offered to' or 'designed for' citizens as opposed to something that citizens themselves can claim, and argue that it is not only through awareness-raising, and the creation of safe spaces for dialogue that accountability can be nurtured. Following the argument of Chapter 1, the generation of collective action within a political and legal framework that guarantees respect and protection is truly critical for bringing about accountability.

In contexts of massive power imbalances between corporations and people, the role of the state is essential in enforcing legal frameworks and implementing sanctions against those who infringe the law. Moreover, the visibility that resource exploitation and climate change have gained globally makes international campaigning and network-building an increasingly important vehicle for marginalised citizen groups seeking redress; as Molchanov (2011: 59) states, 'such civic networks may prove indispensable in tackling the problem of sustainable development, which transcends national boundaries and does not yield itself easily to the traditional forms of interstate activity'. Civic networks enable citizens to engage with some of the multiple accountability lines that people on the ground do not find easy to reach.

The *Participate* initiative studies described diverse forms of environmental impact that are deepening poverty in rural and urban contexts. However, it was the participatory



EcoWEB 2013

research conducted by people living in extreme poverty in rural Ghana and the Philippines that revealed that natural resource exploitation, climate change and environmental degradation were perceived as having the greatest impact on their lives and prospects for positive change. These impacts were not only limited to livelihoods. They were also strongly linked to negative changes in social dynamics and increasing violence. In both cases, the options citizens have for holding either local or large extractive industries to account are extremely limited at the moment and highly dependent on the support of local CSOs and campaigns. This chapter draws extensively on these two studies.

In early 2013, twelve on-air member stations of the Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN) conducted research related to climate change with 16 rural communities in eight of the ten administrative regions of Ghana. The communities were located in six different ecozones: Sudan Savannah, Guinea Savannah, Forest Savannah Transition, Semi-Deciduous Rain Forest, Coastal Savannah and High Rain Forest. Based on the reports of the research participants, their environment had changed in the last 20 odd years due to the effects of climate change. Each radio

station recorded oral testimonies (OTs) with community members who had been identified as particularly vulnerable. These were followed by focus group discussions and outcomes presented at community fora. The radio station's lead researchers then came together in a workshop to share and analyse their findings; representatives of another ten community radio initiatives then joined to finalise the conclusions of the research.

The work in the Philippines engaged subsistence fishermen, farmers, informal labourers and forest dwellers, persons with disabilities (PWD), children, young people, older people and women, indigenous peoples (the Moro) – those who were internally displaced by disasters, informal settlers and ex-combatants. Research was coordinated by Ecosystems Work for Essential Benefits (EcoWEB) across 13 communities in Mindanao, an area confronted with challenges relevant to sustainable development, peaceful coexistence among its inhabitants, and accountable governance. This in-depth participatory research project was part of the COMPASS 2015 endeavour of the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) to ensure that the perspectives of those living in poverty are included in the process of crafting the post-2015 framework.



COMPASS 2015, 2013

2.2 Extractive industries, environmental damage, and climate change

2.2.1 The growing importance of extractive industries

Over the past two decades, neoliberal reforms, soaring commodity prices and heightened resource demands from the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) have fuelled unprecedented levels of global investment in the extractive industries (Bridge 2004; Robbins 2013 in Maconachie and Hilson 2013: 347). Increasingly, the growth strategy of many of the countries with the lowest levels of human development but rich in natural and mineral resources is highly, if not entirely, dependent on the extraction of minerals, oil, gas, timber, etc.

Western notions of ‘progress’ are commonly used by governments and corporations to rationalise this form of development. Bridge (2008: 390) noted that extractive industries are no longer merely regarded as commercial activities but rather as the means for certain territories to modernise, where development not only ‘happens’ but becomes a state-centred project. Pegg (2006) argues further that there is an assumption that the extractives sector will stimulate ‘multiplier effects’ that will drive economic growth, leading to increased levels of socioeconomic development and wellbeing. The fact that the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation provide more than a billion dollars in funding to the extractive sectors annually (Mainhardt-Gibbs 2010: 1) and that since 1985, more than 110 states have adopted new mining laws in an effort to increase foreign direct investment (FDI) in mineral extraction (Otto et al. 2006) corroborates the prevalence of this paradigm. However, high growth rates have rarely been accompanied by proportionate improvements in poverty reduction and human development outcomes (Lucci 2013: 3).

The impacts that transnational extractive industries corporations are having in resource-rich developing countries are, indeed, complex and far-reaching. As noted by Hilson, ‘[f]ew industrial activities have as large an environmental footprint and are capable of wielding as much influence on the wellbeing of a society as a large-scale mine or oil and gas project’ (2012: 133). The scramble for natural resources in Africa, Asia and Latin America is causing sweeping environmental and socioeconomic change (Maconachie and Hilson 2013: 348) that, as *Participate’s* research has shown, is not positive for the poorest and most marginalised.

This has resulted in the creation of global initiatives for transparency and accountability. In a paper scoping the private sector’s position in the post-2015 agenda, Lucci (2013: 5) found that:

during the past decade, increasing social and environmental concerns have generated pressures for companies to move towards a more systematic disclosure of non-financial information such as the General Reporting Initiative (GRI) – guidelines for corporations to report on their practices involving environmental, social and corporate governance issues.

Two interrelated mechanisms for promoting transparency in the extractive industry sector have grown in importance over the last decade. Publish What You Pay (PWYP) is an international coalition of NGOs created in 2002 to mobilise citizens of resource-rich developing countries to hold their governments accountable for the management of revenues from the oil, gas and mining industries.⁸ Years later, as a result of PWYP advocacy efforts, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) emerged as a way to deal with widespread corruption in a sector that is key to many low-income economies (Lucci 2013: 6) by setting a standard on openness around the management of revenues from natural resources.

Unfortunately for citizens confronting growing poverty and marginalisation as a result of biased decision-making in Ghana and the Philippines, these initiatives have not yet translated into tangible outputs. For them, growing resource extraction, climate change and environmental damage is translating into worse hardship, driving them to make impossible choices and affecting the quality of social interactions within their communities – a situation that is making it harder for them to organise to claim their rights through collective action.

2.3 Impacts of resource exploitation and climate change for people in poverty and marginalisation in Ghana and the Philippines

The climate change is a problem and it has brought us poverty and hunger. I cannot afford three square meals a day.

(GCRN 2013: 4)

2.3.1 Environment and livelihoods

Farmers and fishermen, men and women alike, reported significant changes in their immediate environment. Natural disasters have long been a feature of countries such as the Philippines, but in recent years this has been radically amplified by unregulated natural resource extraction. Forest degradation due to indiscriminate logging, mining, and agricultural activities has made many areas in Mindanao vulnerable to flash floods, landslides, and other natural disasters. Climate change has affected the once typhoon-free areas (EcoWEB 2014: 1). Local participants reported that many of those killed during floods were crushed by logs left along the riverbank by forestry companies, which were swept into houses when water levels rose. The river reached unprecedented levels partly because deforestation in the surrounding area meant the ground was unable to absorb large quantities of water (COMPASS 2013: 19). Research participants also described the impact on the soil.

Already, it has become so red that trees don’t grow there any more. And when it rains, the water with the chemical effluents from mining will flow from the hills

⁸ Information from www.publishwhatyoupay.org/about/history (accessed September 2014).

GCRN 2013



down going to the river then to the water sources. Moreover, when the chemicals reach the water, the fishes die. We will have no fish stock. They will be gone, or have burned skin.
(Fulfel [pseudonym], Zamboanga del Sur Bayog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 8)

In Ghana, the change seemed irreversible as Theophilus Agbakla, a fisherman from Totope expressed:

Many years ago, our forefathers founded Totope. Until recently, about 20 years ago, everything was alright with me. I fished any time I wanted and had neighbours who cultivated potatoes. The situation changed. The sea advanced on our community and started destroying our property and now I cannot fish any more and our farms have all been destroyed. I am being forced to move away by the tide of the sea, but where do I go? My home has been ripped apart by the strong tides and some houses are also now under the sand or in the sea. I cannot afford to settle anywhere else. I believe that the cause of our problem is climate change.

In the Philippines, the increasing incidence of unusually strong typhoons had caused floods, silting the sea, which had caused further damage. Some decades ago, when fish were still abundant and could be easily caught not far from the coast, the fishermen in Iligan Bay didn't need to own big motorised boats to sustain their livelihood and support their families. This is not the case today (EcoWEB 2014: 11). In Ghana, farmers in a focus group discussion in Tainso (GCRN 2013: 5) expressed the increased hardship they are facing due to land degradation:

Our life depends on the land because we are farmers. The more the land is destroyed the more our living standards worsen.

There is poverty and hunger on us as we speak. We are not able to feed our family from the low crop yields we get.

In both studies, people expressed awareness that these changes in their environment derived from human activity

and resource extraction. In the Philippines, a former miner from Upper Malubog points out:

The mine does not give back any goodness to our community. Our lands are destroyed, having been bulldozed. They had not been reforested.
(EcoWEB 2014: 20)

Research findings from Oduntia in the Greater Accra region showed that all the women complained that their farm lands had been sold to sand winners who cut down all the trees and also destroyed their farms without compensation. The women are denied a voice on sand winning because they are not allowed to own land. Indeed, discriminatory laws for women increase hardship:

Sand winning has affected everybody in the community especially us, the women and children. We do not own land so we can't complain.
(Focus Group; GCRN 2013: 14)

The most visible consequence of these environmental changes relates to the loss of livelihoods; people's capacity to sustain themselves has eroded. In order to survive, many have undertaken activities and practices that cause greater environmental damage and/or impact hugely on the communities' social dynamics, such as migration (see below). The research in the Philippines clearly articulates this unfortunate situation:

A hard reality is the crucial role that the community residents themselves play in the destruction of their environment on which they necessarily rely for their living. Faced with limited resources and insufficient income, they also participate in, as alternative livelihoods, industrial jobs that are harmful not only to their environments but also to their wellbeing. Former farming and fishing families are forced to turn to riskier jobs, such as working at a cement factory, working in mines, or undertaking logging activities.

Of course, logging is illegal. Sometimes we fail to deliver log products. Sometimes, we do not complete our meals because we don't have food to cook. Sometimes we do not eat at all. Now this is our problem – unstable source of income. Logging is one of the ways that we could feed our family.
(Farmer, Lanao del Norte; EcoWEB 2014: 21)

Fishermen also spoke about how the upland people learned a harmful way to catch a certain variety of upstream fish. This has caused the loss of millions of their eggs that, as fingerlings, would have gone down the delta and served as food for bigger fish. Consequently, schools of fish in the rivers and in the seas have been lost: 'Moreover, people's lack of means and inadequacy of education in handling crises due to climate change have kept them at poverty's door... they continue to stay and make their living in risk-prone areas'.

We would rather stay, hoping that the flood does not recur until we shall have harvested the crops and sold the chickens. We would rather stay and confront the drought with the resolve that soon, rain will come

before hunger will consume our will and we will be contented with just once-a-day meal. We stay because we have no choice.

(Farmer in Focus Group, Barangay Mapulog; EcoWEB 2014: 10)

In Ghana, *galamsey* – small-scale gold mining – has been practised for years with unfortunate social and environmental impacts (Hilson and Potter 2005); however, the land degradation in certain areas such as Gomoa Dunkwa has pushed men to migrate and undertake *galamsey* as the only livelihood option available to them (GCRN 2013). In the Songor lagoon, where salt has been traditionally produced by the Ada people, the proliferation of *atsiakpo*⁹ pans is giving rise to a host of social and environmental issues. While the *atsiakpo* method allows salt to be harvested almost year-round rather than seasonally, there is a growing consensus that it is an unsustainable practice that is diminishing the lagoon’s natural ability to produce salt. The practice of *atsiakpo* has reduced many, particularly women, to mere labourers as it excludes those without the means to construct, seed, and pump-fill a pan (Langdon, Larweh and Cameron 2014: 39-40).

2.3.2 Social consequences

The social consequences that have derived from resource exploitation and environmental damage are many. The research raised issues around the changes in the relationship that some communities have with their lands and forests. In the Philippines, for the Subanun indigenous group of Bayog, conserving the natural environment is essential to their survival. But they are under threat from climate change and abuse of their land by big mining and logging companies: ‘What we have long dreamed about is that we truly own whatever remains of our ancestral domain’ (EcoWEB 2014: 34).

Due to their close links with nature, personal wellbeing reflects the state of their environment. Whatever changes there are in the environment are directly manifested in their health. According to Fulfel (pseudonym), a Subanun woman tribal leader, access to the herbs and plants that the forest offers is critical for health:

We can work even riding a horse after giving birth. We do not even need to take medicines but only herbals, like roots of the plants. That’s why we are protecting our forest because it is our source of our herbal medicines according to our custom for women.
(Zamboanga del Sur Bayog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 42)

Another farmer said:

The effect of mining on our health is great... First, if our forest will be destroyed, we can no longer get medicinal plants. In that case, where are we going to get our medicinal plants when there would be no more plants growing? With the soil degraded, plants won’t grow. Our herbal plants don’t grow on infertile soil.
(Zamboanga del Sur Bayog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 8)

⁹ *atsiakpo* is a process of carving out salt pans along the edge of the lagoon that has been gaining ground, as opposed to communal salt-carving practices (Langdon et al. 2014: 32).

This is also the case for some of the research communities in Ghana, where people also rely on herbal medicine practice:

The large number of herbalists in the community is dwindling due to the disappearance of particular plant species. In my prime I gave birth to eight children and none of them delivered at the hospital.
(Female participant, Gomoa Dunkwa; GCRN 2013: 7)

Land degradation is also having an impact on the ability of people to perform certain rituals that foster community cohesion and the spiritual transcendence of their culture:

As we depend on certain type of fishes and flowering trees in performing certain rituals, the climate change has affected those type of traditions.
(Afram Plains; GCRN 2013: 7)

In Ghana, two other particular social consequences have arisen as a result of environmental damage. One relates to the rupture of community bonds due to hardship and the lack of communal resources:

We used to eat in our neighbour’s house which promoted peaceful existence among us but this is no more because there is no food due to sand winning.
(OT Oduntia; GCRN 2013: 6)

We hope that the change we are experiencing does not create disunity among us. We are one people and everyone is related to everyone. We have a common ancestor. The battle to survive should not divide us and that is what we are praying for. If there is anything that we pray for or envision then it is the peace and unity of our community.
(Focus Group, Yikpiensa; GCRN 2013: 7)

The second relates to the impact that migration, as a coping mechanism for the depletion of livelihoods, has brought to these communities. In these villages, when migration reaches a certain level, it makes life economically unviable for everyone who is left behind, pushing the whole community into greater poverty. The situation is worse for children and elderly people left behind as these two older women stated (GCRN 2013: 5):

All the young men and women have left the community for alternate jobs in the mines leaving their young ones for us the old women to take care of.
(Focus Group, Gomoa Dunkwa)

Our youth are now leaving us. They are leaving because farming is no longer profitable. They are leaving for the mines. Look at us, we are old and they have left us behind.
(Focus Group, Gomoa Dunkwa)

Moreover, the family unit is also being disrupted because men who are still in the villages are not able to provide the necessary resources to support the family, so divorce is becoming more common:

I have not divorced my wife but majority of people do divorce their wives because of poverty as a result of soil infertility which cannot guarantee their income status for housekeeping arrangements.
(Tainso; GCRN 2013: 5)

REALITY CHECK 2013



These factors have gradually resulted in a complete disintegration of family life, changing the economic, social and cultural character of rural villages: 'Most homes are now broken as a result of joblessness and migration' (Totope fishing village; GCRN 2013: 5).

In the Philippines, another critical element is the violence around land conflicts and allocation:

The people are now prevented entry to their lands that had been converted into rubber and durian plantations by big business companies who have hired private armies. The Subanun have become trespassers or squatters in their own lands.
(EcoWEB 2014: 15)

This violent situation against land defenders is indeed a growing phenomenon globally. Global Witness (2014: 4) has been able to verify that 908 citizens were killed protecting rights to their land and environment between 2002 and 2013, with the death rate rising in the past four years to an average of two activists a week. This also points to a greater level of non-lethal violence and intimidation. This shows how national governments and judicial systems are regularly failing to protect their citizens from harm.

The picture described by the research participants shows that for those in greatest poverty, the benefits of economic growth via natural resource extraction have not trickled down. This in part results from their lack of decision-making mechanisms in relation to the extraction of these resources, the distribution and allocation of this wealth, and also because there are no avenues to seek redress from private actors, government officials and local leaders for wrongdoing:

For development to be attained, we need a transparent (dayag), accountable (adunay kaakuhan) or capable administration [governance]. Transparent to all... Also, the LGU officials inform or consult everyone on the best options for the community to develop
(Upper Malubog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 47)



GCRN 2013

2.4 Multiple lines of accountability in resource extraction and environmental damage

The role of governance structures and accountability mechanisms for the extractive industries is central to our analysis:

Local accountability conflicts are increasingly embedded in global politics in a context in which relations between public/state and private/market actors are undergoing change. The commodification of natural resources is accelerating this change and catalysing conflict over rights to resources. This produces accountability challenges across multiple levels from community organisation up to global institutions as global market penetration creates more opportunities for actors to encounter one another in new ways... When multiple and overlapping institutions are involved, establishing lines of accountability becomes very difficult. (Newell and Wheeler 2006: 10)

There are a number of different ways in which it has been argued that the private sector is held accountable. The effect of all of these is currently very limited. Firstly, **self-regulation** approaches and actions: global transparency initiatives and corporate social responsibility (CSR). Secondly, legal frameworks and mechanisms at the national and local levels **created** for citizens to exercise accountability and access data. The third refers to those **citizen-led actions** that are pushing governments and other informal leaders to regulate the actions of private actors. These three avenues will be analysed with a focus on what limitations they present for the poorest and most marginalised citizens in a context where the power of the extractive industries is intractable.

2.4.1 Accountability via 'self-regulation'

For the purpose of this study, we reflect on two currents of 'self-regulation'. The first (as briefly mentioned in Section 2.1), refers to the various global initiatives that attempt to incentivise the public disclosure of non-financial information



in an effort to make private sector activity and impacts visible. The most widespread of these are: General Reporting Initiative (GRI), Extractive Industries Transparency Index (EITI) and, closely linked, the Publish What You Pay (PWYP) campaign. The second, refers to CSR initiatives undertaken by extractive industries in their countries of operation.

The GRI's Sustainability Reporting Framework is a system that enables all companies and organisations to measure, understand and communicate information on four key areas of performance and impact: economic, environmental, social and governance. It exists under the premise that 'a sustainable global economy should combine long-term profitability with ethical behaviour, social justice, and environmental care'.¹⁰ As noted by Lucci (2013: 5) with data from Ioannou and Serafeim (2012), the GRI has achieved the most coverage with affiliates growing from 44 firms in the year 2000 to 2,000 firms by the year 2010. However, these figures look small when compared to the total number of transnational corporations – over 100,000 with almost 900,000 foreign affiliates (UNCTAD 2011 in Lucci 2013: 5).

For the purpose of extractive industries, the EITI has helped to encourage the disclosure of information on the deals struck in the sector. Currently (2014) it has 31 compliant

countries, 17 candidate countries and more than 80 supporting companies. This initiative is multi-stakeholder with the participation of governments, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), investors, companies and multilateral organisations.¹¹ It is recognised that the initiative emerged from the pressure exercised by the Publish What You Pay (PWYP) campaign and the World Bank provides a substantial amount of support to the initiative:

A recent assessment by the Bank Information Center and Global Witness (2008) found that the World Bank Group is involved in promoting extractive industries transparency in one form or another in over 65% of resource-rich countries [...] much of this is through EITI. (Mainhardt-Gibbs 2010: 1)

The second model by which the private sector has tried to ensure responsible behaviour and 'do no harm' is through corporate social responsibility (CSR). The extractive industries have adopted models that go beyond reporting or providing donations, and have 'embraced the opportunity to fill development voids, seeing it as an occasion to enhance their reputations abroad and strengthen their 'social license to operate' (Maconachie and Hilson 2013: 351). Framed as 'community development programmes', extractive industries come into territories with a discourse of establishing schools, community centres, incentivising cooperatives, fostering infrastructure development, etc. Sometimes these promises materialise

¹⁰ Data taken from GRI website www.globalreporting.org/Information/about-gri/Pages/default.aspx (accessed October 2014).

¹¹ Data taken from diverse sections of the website www.eiti.org (accessed August 2014).

but sometimes they do not, and even if they do, there are always unintended consequences.

Considerable concerns have been raised by a number of scholars who have highlighted how extractive industries companies often implement these so-called community development programmes with little knowledge or understanding of the sociocultural contexts of the people's lives in which they operate (Gilberthorpe and Banks 2012; Hilson and Banchirigah 2009; Tschakert 2009). There is a real danger of companies placing disproportionate emphasis on meeting global performance standards, rather than actually focusing on addressing the specific social contexts within which their sustainability strategies are located. Gilberthorpe (2013: 466-7) has argued that in the case of environments isolated from the market, capitalist principles of individualism, entrepreneurship, private property and the independent pursuits of wealth they employ not only conflict with the rural landscapes in which they are applied, but also with the discourse of 'communality' and 'community' that shapes corporate agendas. As such, development programmes are often inappropriate and ill-conceived. In this sense, Burke (2010) found that a cooperative project in the Amazons linked to a British multinational beauty corporation 'made indigenous people more vulnerable and dependent, failed to promote participatory development, masked the effects of unfavourable state policies, and perpetuated discriminatory distinctions among indigenous people'.

The issue lies in that models of public reporting, visibility and transparency, as well as CSR programmes, are both heavily reliant on the voluntary action of private actors. That is, on corporations' will to be self-regulated and accountable to the people that their businesses impact upon. It has been argued that the lack of a generally accepted reporting framework that sets out the minimum core indicators to allow for comparability makes widespread adoption more difficult, undermining the effectiveness of standards such as GRI and EITI (Eccles et al. 2011 in Lucci 2013: 6). Further, there is a need to strengthen the current status of non-financial key performance indicators. Bohorquez and Etxaniz (2013: 23) also note that the transaction costs involved in adopting these standards can be very high, making it difficult for small and medium enterprises to get involved. Yet these companies represent a high percentage of a country's wealth and may impact on poverty and the environment just as substantially as the large companies. They argue that opting for a model whose costs can only be assumed by large corporations could be seen as undemocratic. Hence, it is necessary to

imagine new models (for private sector accountability) adapted to the particular context, taking into account the particular characteristics, values and socioeconomic situations [in order to] avoid the replication of models pretending to be global but which in reality exacerbate existing inequalities.

(Bohorquez and Etxaniz 2013: 25)

Finally, visibility does not translate into accountability and even less so in a system where opaqueness is so extensive than not even the corporation itself is fully knowledgeable of the ethical standing of its commodity chain (Zyglidopoulos and Fleming 2011: 692).

CSR initiatives taken by corporations are varied in their scope, strength and meaningfulness. Looking across a range of studies, Maconachie and Hilson (2013) found that how community actors perceive and respond to extractive industry investment plays an important position in shaping how companies fashion their business strategies and CSR agendas. This suggests that it is unlikely that the same corporation operates under the same standards across different countries or even territories within the same country. It has also been noted that 'the effectiveness of strategies for reducing undesirable (corporate) behaviour very much depends on the nature of markets and the broader regulatory environment' (Humphrey et al. 2014: 22). In this sense, a significant limitation of many existing CSR approaches is that 'While they may encourage "responsible" business to go "beyond compliance", they provide few checks and balances on the operations of "irresponsible" businesses, for which strategies of regulation, sanction and protest continue to be key drivers of change' (Newell 2005 in Humphrey et al. 2014: 23).

As we will see in the next sections, this is of particular concern in many developing countries where regulatory systems are weak, there are intra-community divisions and conflicts, and there are no safe environments for citizens to organise to demand their rights. In these contexts, the call to align CSR agendas with district, regional and national development objectives does not prove of great significance if it is not coupled with other formal and informal mechanisms for accountability.

2.4.2 National, local and community accountability

In my case, I support moves for our ancestral domain claim so those interested would ask permission properly and would go through proper processes with the community. When small-scale mining was rampant in Balabag, I could remember many of my acquaintances would stop schooling because there is fast money in mining; one need not wait long and finish studying first for them to earn money. But then mining was suspended there, now they are back in the hills, jobless. (Youth Focus Group, Zamboanga del Sur Bayog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 36)

As noted earlier, the interrelationship between those in greatest poverty and marginalisation and the extractive activities is not straightforward. As this quote from a young person in the Philippines illustrates, often resource exploitation becomes the only livelihood available, despite the dangers to people's health and wellbeing, and damage to the wider environment. Research participants made a strong call to regulate resource extraction through formal processes, starting with granting the Certificate of Ancestral

Domain Claim (CADC), a document that confirms their rights over their land: 'We should not have had the need to claim it [the land] because it has been ours since time immemorial. We just don't have the document, and that's what we're working on' (Traditional leader, Zamboanga del Sur Bayog, Philippines; EcoWEB 2014: 36). The next sections will analyse the remaining challenges of these national and local level legal frameworks for those marginalised.

2.4.3 Formal local and national frameworks for accountability

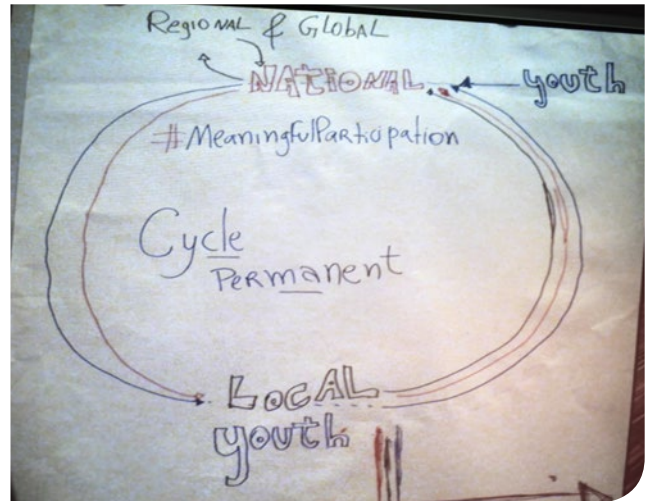
The research done by EcoWEB (2014: 8) showed that what makes people's situation worse 'is the lack of political will among national and local governments to implement laws and ordinances that could regulate large-scale and small-scale mining, logging, and prevent destructive fishing activities. Sanctions for environmental abuse are hardly implemented'. In Barangay Digkilaan in Iligan City, the women bemoan the lack of intervention by their local government in the face of flagrant violation by loggers of community laws. According to them:

Then, there are illegal loggers, although they say cutting of trees has been banned. One time, a huge truck passed by me with its heavy cargo of logs and the Barangay authorities did not even apprehend it. (EcoWEB 2014: 9)

In other cases, despite signing formal regulations and agreeing to certain conditions for operating, extractive industries are not complying with them:

The company also ignores the condition stipulated in the Environmental Compliance Certificate issued to the company in Kiwalan that, 'Qualified affected residents and women in the impact area and vicinities shall be given preference and priority in employment and in proponent-initiated livelihood, health, education and social development and welfare services'... The certificate was signed in 1997 but no member of the Faris clan had been employed since. (EcoWEB 2014: 15)

It has been recognised (Baviskar 2003, Mehta 2003; Newell and Wheeler 2006: 12) that sometimes it is not merely the material value attached to a resource, but competing perceptions of its worth and cultural significance that generate accountability conflicts. Research participants felt that in the Philippines the government is not serious about protecting the rights of the indigenous people. Timuay Abaca, a local tribal leader, gives the example of the TVI Pacific mining company in Siocon, Canatuan. In this location, the national subsidiary of this Canadian corporation carried out open pit mining on a sacred mountain of the Subanun, prompting much dissent from the people living there (EcoWEB 2014: 39). Hence, radically different understandings of the environment and nature as a resource, when combined with institutional complexity, create a context where accountability is very difficult to achieve through local and national legal frameworks and regulations. This is even worse in the case of multinational corporations that wield



EcoWEB 2013

enormous power upon national governments and operate through complex systems and regulatory frameworks. In this case, avenues for citizens seeking redress seem completely shut down from local to global levels:

[what we want] is to stop mining, kay kaning [because this] TVI group is owned by Canadians. So, personally, I went to Canada and presented this problem at the parliament of Canada. In 2006, with the help of an NGO, I went to Canada to present the problem and then, ito sabi nila sa akin (here is what they said to me), 'We are powerless to stop the TVI mining group, because', 'sabi nila (they said)', 'the license of TVI is granted by your own government, the Philippine Government'.

2.4.4 Intra-community accountability

Often in cases of extreme poverty and marginalisation it is the local tribal leaders, chiefs and other informal authorities whom people seek out for guidance:

I am very sad about the current situation. If nothing is done by our husbands, chiefs and community elders about this land sale, and if the government also does nothing to check our yearly flooding, very soon we'll have no place to live.

(OT Rebecca Ayorka, Atulibabiisi; GCRN 2013: 15)

Here we explore the implications for accountability of these actors across the two research sites discussed in this Chapter. To do so, it is important to demystify the notion of 'community' and draw attention to the intra-community power dynamics that are in fact hindering the process of accountability and the way corporations are using them to legitimise their (often harmful) activities.

In both of our case studies intra-community power dynamics have been fundamental to the ways that benefits derived from resource extraction and accountability have or have not reached the poorest and most marginalised. The point of departure for this analysis rests on the recognition that 'communities' are not bounded, homogeneous entities, but are rather defined by social differentiation and diversity. As explained by Leach, Mearns

and Scoones (1997, in Maconachie and Hilson 2013: 348), in trying to come to grips with how community-level actors shape (or are excluded from) development outcomes, an alternative perspective ‘starts from the politics of resource access and control among diverse social actors, and sees patterns of environmental change as the outcomes of negotiation, or contestation, between social actors who may have very different priorities’.

In Ghana, due to the complexity of the land tenure structures (see Djokoto and Opuku 2010: 5-11 for a general overview from pre-colonial to current times), the research showed that:

There is a growing collusion of traditional authorities – chiefs and family heads - with private business interests... The ascendance of a market orientation has, however, led to a growing trend where chiefs and extended family heads unilaterally dispense of communal lands as though they were individual, private property. In the process, their kinsfolk are unknowingly deprived of their livelihoods and their heritage or even a place to stay. The buyers of the lands are then given the liberty to engage in activities, such as tree-felling and sand winning that exacerbate the debilitating impact of climate change on the poorest of the poor. (GCRN 2013)

As a man from Tainso said:

I would want to blame the chiefs of this community. This is because they are the custodians of the land that can enact laws traditionally to protect the land but on the other hand they are a factor to the problem. Some of them have sold the land to timber contractors to log trees on the land. It is happening in our community Tainso. Here a five-year concession has been given to timber contractors so they log all the big trees that call for rainfall forcing the climate and rainfall pattern to change. (GCRN 2013: 8)

In a follow-up interview, researchers of the GCRN were asked if there were customary mechanisms to hold these traditional chiefs to account. In pre-colonial times these existed and were based on symbols such as the possession

of a stool; however, these mechanisms operate rarely at present. Two other elements come into play when holding local chiefs to account. The first relates to the fact that chiefs seldom live in their communities of origin; they own the lands through inheritance but they are not active and visible to their kin. The second element is about the growing relationship between local government authorities and traditional chiefs; increasingly, these lines are blurred, making it hard for common citizens to use formal as well as informal mechanisms to hold these leaders to account.

In the Philippines the situation has been different. Indigenous tribal leaders have been at the forefront of fighting resource extraction of all sorts and fighting to secure their collective, ancestral land rights. Timuay Abaca (pseudonym), the highest leader of the Subanun indigenous group in Zamboanga del Norte, emphasised:

We can't do anything because even our government officials could not protect us, from the start. In spite of all the struggles that we conducted against mining, our clamour about the foreign investors, even they cannot protect us. (EcoWEB 2014: 37)

Their perseverance has been such that, in order to disrupt tribal unity, these mining companies have resorted to manipulative tactics to divide the Subanun and capitalise on the latter's difficulty in claiming their Certificate of Ancestral Domain. These companies have created a rival Council of Elders in Bayog. As well, indigenous leaders denounced attempts by mining companies to ‘buy’ leaders with offers of money and cars in their quest for access to land: ‘someone [from the mining companies] offered me a personal car and cash... just to support them in their application for mining permit’ (COMPASS 2013: 47).

Finally, the effects of environmental damage and climate change have been worsened by violence (briefly mentioned in Section 1.2). Conflicts have arisen both within communities in a scramble for scarce resources, and between communities and extractive industries; the latter often supported by the local authorities. In 2011, in the Sognor lagoon in Ghana, local chiefs and government representatives of the area agreed on a secret deal to evict the 15 surrounding communities (Langdon et al. 2014). In the Philippines, the state has refused to take action against industries that employ private armies that intimidate local residents. In both cases it has been citizen-led action that has prevented things getting worse and opened up an avenue for accountability. In Ghana, the eviction has been staved off by the community radio station Radio Ada working with a local civil society organisation, the Ada Songor Advocacy Forum (GCRN 2013: 16). In the Philippines, local tribal leaders still resist the corporations, despite the personal risks this entails:

So I would continue to move forward to fight. Since my son had already died in an ambush meant to get rid of me, so that's all I will do. Because, if not now, when



GCRN 2013

are we going to start, and who will start? That's what we are thinking.

(Timuay Angelo, leader of the Subanuns, Zamboanga del Sur Bayong; EcoWEB 2014: 51)

2.5 Citizen-led action for accountability

Struggles around accountability do not just take place through institutions, but between actors in civil society and the market and among communities. These groups also employ both 'inside' and 'outside' strategies, strategies that work within existing institutional channels as well as those that seek to contest and broaden formal spaces of engagement.

(Newell and Wheeler 2006: 20)

As seen in the previous section, in both our case studies citizens have sought to hold the private sector to account through different means. In the Philippines, the indigenous people's association, after trying through contestation and resistance to preserve their beliefs and customs and to protect their ancestral domain, have started to use 'inside' strategies in institutionalised political spaces. Timuay Angelo accepts the fact that the struggle for ancestral domain rights in his area is an uphill battle where tribal leaders have to constantly struggle to negotiate:

*But then I can say that we're lucky because we have this Indigenous Peoples' Organisation, in which the Chairs have projects addressing the needs of the community – that's the main difference... **What we are doing, thus, is join politics so that we have a venue for articulating the need to sustain our traditions and our customs.** In the past, when we would come together for meetings, we would be held in suspect as rebels; we were accused of having done a lot of things, most were untrue. And even if we are aware about our rights, yet they would not listen to us [our emphasis].*

Solidarity between community organisations is also important. The research showed that other groups, such as the Women's Association, and the youth and children in the community are supportive of the Indigenous Peoples' Organisation. An organiser of the Women's Association in the municipality of Bayog, Zamboanga del Sur says, 'On behalf of women, I carried their ideas to the Timuay [indigenous] leaders and I've suggested reorganising the women for us to be united. Through that, we can give more support to the males. That would make us stronger' (COMPASS 2013: 9). In the same village, a young person in a focus group shows that amongst the new generations there is a sense of awareness regarding accountability of the extractive corporations, 'For example, mining now should go through proper processes of asking permission. When the CADT is approved they should do what is right' (Zamboanga del Sur Bayong; EcoWEB 2014: 6).

The Participate GCRN research in Ghana uncovered a few citizen initiatives to seek redress for environmental exploitation or reverse the patterns of climate change. Due to the erosion of communal spirit, women were clear that

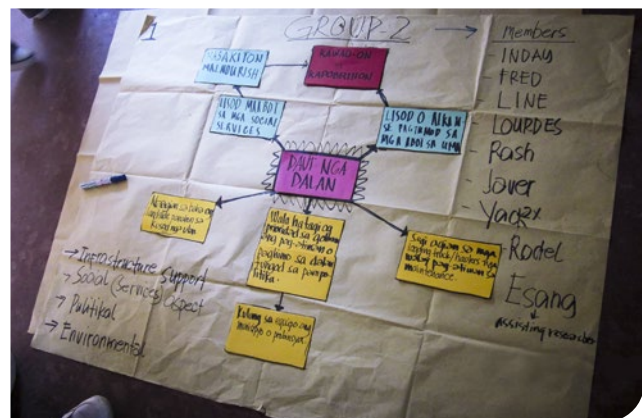
the most important way to support positive change was to reinforce community bonds: 'We are changing our ways to ensure that community life, community relationships and our way of life does not suffer because of changes in our income, yields and environment' (Female participant, Bachonsa; GCRN 2013: 20). A good example of how citizen-led accountability mechanisms are also challenging intra-community power relations and discriminatory social norms comes from Oduntia. Here, women had been told that they could not comment on sand winning because they could not own land. The community forum resolved to enact by-laws against sand winning and formed a monitoring committee including women with the resolve that 'there should be gender balance in all leadership' (GCRN 2013: 19).

Moreover, people were clear that to reverse some of the environmental impact they needed to act themselves. In Sodzikiope, Gomoa Dunka and Nadowli they declared that 'they would revive the forest, create tree planting committees and devote community land to forest growing'. Whereas in Tainso, a participant said, 'If we say because of illegal logging and indiscriminate bush fire we are not going to plant trees we will not be doing ourselves any good. The land will continue from bad to worse' (GCRN 2013: 19).

GCRN lead researchers recognised that it is too early to tell if these initiatives will be sustainable in the long term. But they referred to the one notable example (Langdon et al. 2014: 27) in the area of the Sognor Lagoon where

over the past three decades, a local Ghanaian movement has been defending communal access to West Africa's largest salt flat – access that is the backbone of an artisanal salt production process that is over 400 years old and supports the livelihoods of roughly 60 thousand people.

The movement is also defending the Okor forest – located on the southern edge of the lagoon – which has dwindled to a fraction of its original size, and has also been shunned by the current Paramount Chief of Ada. During these decades of contestation, the Ada Sognor Advocacy Forum has coupled 'insider' and 'outsider' tactics to 'position itself as both defenders of livelihoods and of Ada identity'. The radio station has managed to keep connected to the local demands



EcoWEB 2013

in order to raise the voices of those most marginalised, whilst also being able to negotiate with national and local elites through maintaining an identity-based neutral discourse, as well as achieving some traction with the local leadership structures (the most relevant power-holders as owners of the land). Langdon et al. (2014: 36) state:

This sense of the need to show balance emerges from the learning of the station staff in how to deal with contentious issues, enacting the station's mission to be the voice of the marginalized and ruffling the feathers of the local and national elite, while at the same time performing neutrality, or a form of balance in the station's relationship with traditional authority.

Because of its longstanding presence, the movement has maintained traditional salt production practices and challenged new techniques (*atsiakpo*) that are damaging for the flat's ecosystem and also cause social problems (as seen in Section 1)

Both cases resonate with the fact that:

[f]or the poorest and most marginalised the centrality of resources to the livelihoods of the poor means questions of access and entitlement are imbued with relations of power and conflict. Hence, while deprivation of a resource may be predominantly economic in character, gaining the right to access resources and the right to claim accountability is a political project. (Newell and Wheeler 2006: 4-5)

For this reason, the achievement of accountability and redress cannot only depend on top-down initiatives based on self-regulation, nor on legal frameworks that can be misused. As analysed in-depth in Chapter 1 and expressed in *Work with Us* (Burns et al. 2013: 47):

(...) rights have to be claimed – fought for actively, if necessary - before they become a real force for change. Such a struggle is unlikely to be achieved by individuals acting on their own. The struggle will have to be a collective one.

2.6 Linking the multiple lines of accountability

The increase in international initiatives for private sector accountability, CSR agendas, and civil society global efforts such as the Publish What You Pay (PWYP) coalition – a campaign that has played a catalytic role in putting resource revenue transparency on the agenda of governments and NGOs alike (van Oranje and Parham 2009: 4, 6) – represent a step forward and are part of a variety of drivers that are pushing for systemic change. However, accountability driven by self-regulation will remain meaningless for the poorest and most marginalised if disclosure does not become mandatory, accessible, less Western-driven and elitist; if civil society global campaigns do not make an effort to be inclusive and integrate those hardest to reach, and if CSR programmes sponsored by extractive companies continue using tokenistic notions of community participation (Maconachie and Hilson 2013: 353).

Moreover, despite the value of legal frameworks, land titles and regulations, accountability cannot rely solely on these formal mechanisms. The most marginalised citizens are often unaware of the complex causal relationships, the rights and power structures that are at play in resource extraction. Participatory action research, based on dialogue and mutual understanding, is a way of enabling people to see the wider picture:

contrary to past research findings by GCRN member stations, there was little mention of the need to invoke ancestral gods to redress climate change. Community members seemed to have a more a scientific understanding of the causes... They also seemed to **have a deeper appreciation that its harsh impact on them was related to power arrangements against their favour** [our emphasis]. (GCRN 2013: 15)

The participatory action research case study of the Sognor lagoon is another example of how this learning can be disseminated. Imagery and proverbs are central to its popular education approach: 'The sheer rootedness of these local narratives is proving to be a strong source of resistance and alterity' (Langdon et al. 2014: 29).

However, we must also recognise from this analysis that even if awareness exists, factors such as identity, gender, ethnicity, caste, or social class impede access to rights and accountability, and keep certain sectors of the population at the margins of any progress achieved by those in dominant positions within the community. We have spoken of how in both Ghana and the Philippines citizen-led initiatives through collective action have opened spaces for seeking redress and achieved certain traction, particularly, at intra-community and local levels. However, local support structures are rarely enough 'when ineffective institutions, vested interests, nepotism, power abuse and poor governance remain obstacles to addressing the underlying causes of extreme poverty and marginalisation' (Burns et al. 2013: 9)

In contexts of resource extraction and extreme power imbalances between private actors, national and local authorities and citizens, it is not sufficient to trust that accountability can be achieved through reliance on global frameworks for compliance, national legislation or citizen action alone. This chapter just begins to open up new thinking on how to bridge these multiple lines of accountability. It leads us to ask:

What are the roles that citizens, organised civil society, large and small corporations, formal and informal authorities, multilateral organisations, donors and even the research community can play? What spaces could be opened up, listening to which voices and under what framings in order to make a more sustainable use of resources whilst also bringing about positive change? These are some of the questions that remain open. The focus of the next chapter is on those spaces and processes of deliberation that enable people who are not usually given a voice, to critically engage with questions of power.



Brazil



Egypt

Chapter 3

Deliberation as a route to citizen-led accountability: The *Participate* Ground Level Panels

3.1 Introduction

Deliberative processes are participatory endeavours that cut across the processes of social change discussed in the previous chapters. In this chapter, we will explore how deliberative approaches are attempting to enable change through engaging those who live in poverty and are most marginalised in spaces of meaningful deliberation. We highlight the importance of understanding the issues of accountability in development from the perspectives of those whose lives are most deeply affected on a daily basis by unaccountable institutions at the local, national and global level. It is through dialogue amongst these people that exclusionary mechanisms in the family, community and society at large come into focus. Deliberative processes enable participants to explore issues, which may be the subject of contention, over a period of time. They include people who do not normally engage in political and decision-making arenas, and allow them to build enough trust to engage effectively. This happens through in-depth sense-making processes, which recognise and merge diverse knowledge to generate something new.

The chapter draws on the literature on deliberative democracy – ranging from citizens’ juries to future search

processes, and substantively focuses on the Ground Level Panels (GLPs) that were built into the *Participate* initiative. This analysis has drawn on the reports of those processes as well as interviews with some of the facilitators who were able to reflect after the event on why different choices were made, and on what worked and what did not.

This review of the literature on deliberation and the experience of the GLPs suggest that global decision-making needs to link into spaces below the level of national civil society. Civil society and its recognised interlocutors cannot fully represent the very poorest and most marginalised. In order to understand the complexity of the issues that people are experiencing, global processes need to engage with ground-level processes such as these.

Deliberation and dialogue have the potential to strengthen the transparency and accountability of decision-making as citizens are able to critically engage with the issues at hand, and challenge elite forms of knowledge production that tend to predominate in policymaking. Deliberation is needed because information is not enough and people need to ‘make sense’ of different value positions – to understand ‘why’ they and others are arguing for what they believe, and to use this knowledge to hold decision-makers to

TOP LEFT: GROUND LEVEL PANEL BRAZIL/ATD-FOURTH WORLD, 2013; TOP RIGHT: GROUND LEVEL PANEL EGYPT/CDS, 2013



India



Uganda

account. The idea is to subject contentious issues to scrutiny, contestation, and reflection, and the assumption underpinning most deliberative processes is that there is a real possibility that people will come out of the process with different views from those that they held when they went in.

There are different sorts of deliberation. Commissions of inquiry and expert panels are forms of deliberation. Here experts are brought together to consider the evidence – to determine what happened, and what should happen. But participatory approaches to deliberation challenge the distinction between technical and experiential expertise (Gaventa 1993), and demonstrate that people’s lived experience can underpin sophisticated deliberation:

the jury demonstrated the competence with which farmers, many of whom had not finished basic schooling or were even illiterate, could discuss often highly technical issues to which they had no previous exposure such as genetically engineered crops. They achieved this by carefully eliciting from each witness the information relevant to their livelihoods, they asked whether the ‘new’ seeds, as they called them could address their needs, such as returning organic matter to their soils, and reducing their susceptibility to changing market prices for their harvested produce. (Satya Murty and Wakeford 2001)

The sorts of issues that can be explored are wide-ranging. They might be, for example, differences in perspectives between sanitation experts advocating the ‘optimum’ technical solutions to toilets and local people who experience going to the toilet as another arena in which power is played out. On a macro level issues such as the benefits or otherwise of genetically modified crops and economic growth would be good examples of contention. Deliberative processes typically enable engagement on policy issues in invited spaces for citizen participation, from the local level through citizen liaison groups with local service providers, to national-level and global-level

policymaking. Deliberative engagement also happens at different stages of the policy process – from policy formulation, to planning and through the process of implementation and service delivery. Within these engagements it is the point where decisions are made that citizens’ voices often become drowned out and it is critical that this is where they are heard, and where they have influence. Deliberation however also provides a strategy for collaboration in decision-making, where citizens and state can create something together grounded in people’s lived experience. This has the potential to benefit people as well as institutions, but also to transform political relations enabling a more democratic society, the foundations of which are built through citizens’ voices.

3.2 The Participate Ground Level Panels

Typically even where there is extensive participation in government or donor-funded programmes, the poorest and most marginalised people are very rarely included. In response to this dilemma IDS with four members of *Participate* initiative Participatory Research Group (PRG) partners developed a deliberative process – Ground Level Panels (GLPs) – as a vehicle to enable people living in poverty and marginalisation to engage with global policy issues.

In 2011, UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon announced a ‘High Level Panel’ which would deliberate on a future framework for development post-2015. The panel would produce a report for him and for consideration by country representatives. It was also charged with carrying out a wide consultation with civil society. *Participate* began working in partnership with the Beyond 2015 campaign, which at that stage had over 700 civil society members (now over 1,000). The Ground Level Panel process started mostly as a slightly indignant response to the idea of a High Level Panel. The initial idea was to mirror the HLP with a Low Level Panel, but we quickly questioned that framing. What makes them ‘high’ and the people living in poverty ‘low’? So we decided to call them Ground Level Panels. As

TOP LEFT: GROUND LEVEL PANEL INDIA / PRAXIS 2013; TOP RIGHT: GROUND LEVEL PANEL UGANDA/RESTLESS DEVELOPMENT UGANDA 2013

the Brazilian panel said in their report ‘we have decided that this Ground Level Panel, a VERY HIGH level panel, will not be dissolved’. One thing that is worth observing at this point is that deliberative processes are not new to the establishment but these processes are rarely extended to the very poorest. They have to claim spaces and model practices for their own deliberations.

One of the more interesting things that we observed after the High Level Panel was the way in which the UN agencies tried to protect the gains that were in that document. There was a widespread feeling that because this group weren’t explicitly representing interests (that is, national economic interests) then they were able to be a bit more freethinking. This was not entirely true in the sense that many of the panel members came into the room with fairly established positions. Nevertheless they were able to deliberate and there was some evidence that some of them changed their minds as a result of the process. Supporting and encouraging freethinking is a critical part of a deliberative process that stops people getting locked into positions and enables the generation of creative solutions to problems.

The High Level Panel was not a ‘representative panel’. It was an expert panel. Most of the participants were high-level governmental actors - three heads of government, a number of ministers of state, senior academics etc. There were one or two others of note. For example, Queen Rania of Jordan who was there, we think, because of her work with civil society. Perhaps the nearest person to civil society was Graça Machel, a Mozambican activist and later on politician who had been the wife of both Samora Machel and Nelson Mandela. In short there were few on the High Level Panel who were close to the ground.

One interesting narrative that we kept on hearing from ‘high-level people’ across the post-2015 arena was (to paraphrase) ‘I came from a small village in X so I know what poverty is like’. In reality few if any of these people grew up in poverty, and if they did the last time they experienced it was probably 30 years ago. The world has rapidly changed and this is another reason why deliberative processes of this

kind are needed. The idea of the Ground Level Panels was not just to be heard. As the Brazilian report notes ‘more than be heard they should truly indicate the course of action to be taken’. To be accountable is to acknowledge that local people are likely to have a better understanding of their own realities than policy makers, and that their proposals for action should be acted upon.

The Ground Level Panels were held in four countries: Brazil, Uganda, India and Egypt. Each was five or six days long. They were entirely composed of people who lived in poverty and/or faced marginalisation. In this next section we place the Ground Level Panels in the context of wider deliberative processes and assess their strengths and weaknesses as a vehicle for enabling meaningful engagement in global policy from the ground.

3.3 Issues in the assessment of deliberative processes

3.3.1 Definition of and models of deliberative processes

So what is a deliberative process, and what makes it different from other sorts of processes? Tom Wakeford (2001) describes a number of different types of deliberative process: deliberative focus groups; consensus conferences; citizens’ juries/panels; scenario workshops; citizen foresight (to choose between different trajectories for technology). Deliberative polling is another approach where conversation and debate precede voting. The Centre for Public Deliberation at the University of Houston identifies a number of key characteristics of deliberative processes. They argue that public deliberation:

- is not just about experts;
- requires equality of opportunity;
- is about choice work, which is different from a dialogue or a debate;
- requires diversity;
- seeks common ground not consensus or compromise (is this the same as negotiation?) (What is Public Deliberation);
- requires a genuine presence of people living in poverty.

There are a few characteristics that seem to be common to all approaches. First is that these are dialogue-based processes in which views are subject to scrutiny, contestation and reflection. The second is that they take time. Unlike, for example, surveys or focus groups that might involve as little as an hour’s engagement, they are likely to involve the equivalent of a week’s engagement either in one block or over a longer period of time, ‘unhurried reflective and reasonably open ended discussion is required’ (Holmes and Scoones 2001).

A deliberative process has an action orientation. In other words, the outcome should contribute directly to actions or decisions. This often doesn’t happen but this is the vision for a good reflective process. Deliberative processes are not a ‘representative process’ in the sense of representative democracy. Ideally, however, they will be made up of people



who reflect the composition of the constituency that is affected by the issues that they are discussing. This could be a neighbourhood (answering questions such as should we site a new airport in this locality?); society (answering questions like should abortion be considered a right? or should genetically modified food be banned?); or marginalised communities (answering questions such as what would an international development framework that met the needs of the most marginalised look like?) – see Section 3.3.3 on Selection and engagement.

As indicated above, some processes have a very clearly defined question, such as ‘would you sow the new commercial seeds proposed by the Indian Department of Biotechnology and Monsanto on your fields?’ (Satya Murty and Wakeford 2001). Others are more open but nevertheless focused on a theme – for example, what should the post-2015 development framework look like?

One of the core ideas behind deliberative processes is to bring together diverse knowledges through the diverse membership of the panels. The NGO ATD Fourth World describes this idea as ‘merging of knowledge’¹² and has a range of processes by which it brings very poor people together with professionals and policymakers. But even before this stage it is important to think through carefully how to merge the knowledges of diverse peoples from different margins in society. Both of these types of process require us to negotiate different sorts of power within the group.

Time needs to be allowed for a proper merging of knowledge. But it doesn’t always have to be in block. Action research, for example, is also a deliberative process but it is held over a number of months rather than in an intensive week. In an action research people meet to assess their situation, plan action, take action and evaluate that action. This is done through regular meetings (typically every four to six weeks). Action research processes underpinned much of the participatory work in Chapters 2 and 3. Satya Murty and Wakeford (2001) describe a citizen foresight process where ‘twelve randomly selected British Citizens were brought together at ten weekly meetings to hear evidence, ask questions and draw up conclusions’ in relation to genetically modified food. There seem to be essentially two models. One involves an extended meeting period of a week or two. The other is regular meetings over a period of months. There are many examples of processes with more than ten meetings, and in fact the High Level Panel process discussed below is one of them. Action Research processes are another.

One variation is to have more than one deliberative process in more than one locality. This offers the possibility of comparing them. Examples include the GLPs, Delap’s (2001) Scottish Citizens’ Juries and the New Economics Foundation (NEF) 2009 citizens’ juries on the wellbeing and happiness of children and young people in the UK.

Some approaches involve expert panels. In cases like the Post-2015 High Level Panel, the experts all had advisors, and the advisors had a powerful role in the deliberations. Some processes involve lay people interrogating ‘expert witnesses’. For the most part deliberative processes see scientific, academic and other sources of knowledge as the basis for the evidence. However, one of the reasons for the growth of deliberative processes is because ‘Trust in scientific expertise has been eroded and citizens feel themselves at risk from science based and technological developments’ (Pimbert and Wakeford 2001).

The alternative locates the participants themselves as the source of the knowledge. These are dialogic and rooted in the experiences of participants. This stands starkly in contrast with the Welsh citizens juries’ where ‘little or nothing was known, for example, about the resources brought to the Welsh Citizen’s Jury by the jurors themselves’ (Glasner 2001) and yet Glasner points out that ‘there is growing recognition that the knowledge brought to the process by the jurors themselves cannot be overlooked’. This makes it all the more important to get the selection of panellists right. The only two strong examples that we are aware of are the ATD Fourth World Merging of Knowledge process and the *Participate* Ground Level Panel process.

3.3.2 Deliberation and processes of decision-making

Holmes and Scoones (2001) also ask questions about the extent to which deliberative processes are formally embedded in decision-making processes, and what formal powers they have. ‘Too often DIP’s (deliberative and inclusionary processes) have been ‘one off events, separated from the wider policy making process’ (Holmes and Scoones 2001). This raises interesting questions about what a deliberative process is trying to do. Some interpretations see a deliberative process as fundamentally being about choices:

public deliberation, simply defined, is the discussion and choice making that is necessary before we can solve problems that affect our communities together.
(Center for Public Deliberation, University of Houston Downtown)

Holmes and Scoones (2001) talk about a process by which through ‘careful consideration’ participants can discuss ‘the reasons for and against’. In this framing the options are determined before the process and there is an assumption that different positions in relation to these options are held by participants. Other interpretations focus on voices and knowledge creation:

the various models of communication which are designed to help citizens form their own voice.
(What is Public Deliberation?)

This is very important in conceptual and ideological terms. Hirschman’s famous treatise on exit, voice and loyalty highlights the distinction between choice and voice (Hirschman 1970). Choice is a consumerist model where we are given options that we either accept or reject. Voice

¹² See <http://www.atd-fourthworld.org/Guidelines-for-the-Merging-of.html>

is a democratic model in which we articulate from the ground what we think. What is significant in the exploration of deliberative processes in this paper is that as the conversation evolves new possibilities and pathways can be uncovered that do not necessarily correspond at all to the original options. In the Ground Level Panel model, the starting point was the output of the High Level Panel. Once subject to critical scrutiny the alternative could be constructed in a completely open way.

3.3.3 Selection and engagement

Looking more widely at deliberative processes, there are many different approaches to selection. Some citizens' juries, for example, involve random selection; others are designed to be 'representative'; others still have a purposive sample. The Ground Level Panels explicitly selected people with experiences of poverty.

In the ATD Fourth World process, participants need a constituency to which they relate. This does not make them 'representatives' but it does give them a space within which they can deliberate with their peers alongside or before they deliberate with those who are different.

In the Indian foresight process (Satya Murty and Wakeford 2001) there was a more deliberate attempt to get an appropriate cross-section of society: 'the gender balance of the jury's composition, being a majority of women, was supposed to reflect the fact that women carry out the majority of agricultural labour and are key repositories of knowledge and techniques'.

In one Welsh citizens' jury process, 'A market research organisation was employed to choose the Welsh jury in an attempt to ensure the necessary independence from the sponsors and organisers required to established the integrity of the process' but they weren't representative: 'marginalised groups often do not *participate* effectively in representative democracy' (Pimbert and Wakeford 2001).

In the global Ground Level Panel planning workshop we talked through what was realistic in terms of involving people who had real experience of poverty and marginalisation. We identified a very crude categorisation that we have adapted here for clarity:

- 1 People who are not surviving. Perhaps they are ill, or literally don't have enough to eat, or are in the middle of active conflicts.
- 2 People who are just surviving. People in this category often don't know if they will have any work tomorrow or enough food tomorrow or a place to sleep tomorrow.
- 3 People who are poor and highly vulnerable but who can make a subsistence living (ensuring that there is a mix of, for example, men – who might be heads of household – and women and others who may have less power).
- 4 People who are in the above category and have become local focal points, or spokespeople or activists (but don't have formal leadership positions).



PRAXIS 2013

- 5 People who have local leadership positions – which could range from a tribal chief to a local health worker.

In the GLP process we were clear that it was not realistic to bring in people from the first category; that we should try to ensure that there were enough voices from the second category to ensure that the discussions were grounded in direct experience of poverty; that realistically we would have most people from the third category; and that it might be valuable to include a few people from the fourth category. As the Ground Level planning process evolved the countries refined their thinking.

The Brazil panel highlighted 'personal history of exclusion and resistance; the necessity to reflect the country's regional and cultural diversity; a short preparation period; personal contact through partners'. The Indian panel used these criteria:

Panel members will need to come from communities that experience the greatest poverty and marginalisation. They will live and work in such communities on a day-to-day basis.

There needs to be a balanced representation across the age spectrum, between women and men and capturing the different 'constituencies' (e.g. urban unemployed, religious minorities, sexualities minorities, etc.)

They identified personal characteristics for panel members including: they are knowledgeable of the wider issues facing their communities; it is likely that they act as focal points on collective issues in their communities but are not formal leaders or representatives; they are verbally articulate about these issues; they show integrity in their concern about issues that face other people and communities as well as their own. The Egyptian team did a SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis of recruitment. They identified the main weakness as the lead-in time occurring at the same time as the second wave of revolution. The main threat related to the difficulties in the ability of women in particular to travel. These included both

security issues and traditional values in relation to women. This raised questions about events that are not held locally. The Ugandan team also reflected on the difficulties of engaging women in the process, stating that 'Identification of female candidates in the urban locations was found to be easier as they were actively engaged with women CBOs'.

3.3.4 To what extent were the poorest and marginalised engaged, and what can we learn about meaningfully engaging these groups?

There are many issues that need to be taken into account in working with the poorest and most marginalised in deliberative processes (often, some of these are only assumptions):

- They are very time-poor as they need to work to get food to eat each day. One of the Brazilian participants pulled out because he was offered work at the time of the panel;
- They have no reason to trust outsiders (national or international). In fact they may have many experiences that lead them not to trust;
- Their education levels are typically low, which means they are likely to have very little background knowledge of how local systems work let alone national or global systems;
- They are subject to multiple stigmas, and it may be that other people who are poor and marginalised are also prejudiced toward them;
- They often don't feel confident enough to contribute.

There are multiplying online forums for deliberation (Murray 2014) that may well meet some of the criteria for deliberation discussed above but they do not meet a number of key thresholds for our work:

- People who are very poor often don't have access to technologies that would allow them to engage in these processes;
- Technologies of this sort depend on people being literate.

The trust that is required to get to a deeper level of analysis can only really be built face to face. Ultimately the Ground Level Panels were mostly comprised of people in categories three and four (see section above), with a few in two and five. This was partly a matter of time pressures derived from the context of the post-2015 process. The support groups felt more time would have been needed to support more people coming direct from situations of extreme poverty into these environments. So while they are an important vehicle for ground level to policy engagement, ideally they should be planned earlier than was possible in this case.

3.3.5 What process did the Ground Level Panels use?

The Ground Level Panels adopted different processes. But each started with extensive relationship- and trust-building exercises. They spent a little time understanding what these international development frameworks do and how they are manifest in local situations. They then looked at the frameworks themselves. Some of the groups started with their own ideas and then reality-checked the High Level Panel report against them, others took the HLP report as a

starting point and built their alternatives from that starting point. The Brazilian group for example, first heard each other's life stories, then asked the simple question 'what is development for you?' They explored the drivers of oppression and the ways in which they were interconnected.

In India there was a phase of getting to know each other, then there were a number of creative processes introduced, including: identity mapping; creating statues (increasing recognition of methods that enable people to get more closely in touch with emotions); using the document as a touchstone for comparison; participatory video. Participants were also shown videos from the transgender and urban poor participatory research. At the end of the process they carried out prioritisation-ranking exercises. The Egyptian process also started with relationship-building. It explored the reasons why people were there; they deliberated on the HLP vision; they deliberated on the transformative shifts; and then they deliberated on the proposed new goals; finally, they built their response to the HLP process. Each of the panels prepared a detailed report. The Brazilians describe a process where because people felt so involved they took time to work on it line by line into the night:

The composition of the document took a long time since we worked piece-by-piece, word-by-word... The title, Awêre para Kisile, came from the song composed by Raull, during the panel that combined the Tupi word awêre (may everything work out) with the Banto word Kisile (those who don't yet have a name). The poem 'The Wheel' was written by Antonieta and the group decided it should be included in the opening of the message. With all this work we went over the designated time and continued working post-dinner and it was nice to see that despite the tiredness no one left the room. On the contrary, when the other group finished the event preparations they joined the writing team to contribute final touches to the message. (Brazil Ground Level Panel)

Most of the processes involved a final day in which the findings were relayed to and discussed with policymakers.



ATD FOURTH WORLD 2013

3.3.6 How is the process framed and by whom?

One of the big issues in deliberative processes is how the key questions are framed. This shapes the whole dialogue. Tom Wakeford (2001) argues for the importance of some sort of scrutiny committee to oversee citizens' juries. This helps to ensure that the process is not hijacked or manipulated or dominated by any particular interest group. Like many other participatory processes, vested interests and powerful lobbies have tried to influence these processes. Glasner (2001) reports that in the Welsh Citizens' Jury process, 'Experts were called, but some were accorded greater status than others and one was asked to both introduce and conclude the event. The moderator orchestrated the discussions of the jury to encourage a high degree of consensus about the outcome. The recommendations were drafted by the organisers. Satya Murty and Wakeford (2001) describe how in farmer foresight, agro-chemical corporations in the guise of Monsanto, were keen to gain credibility by being involved. The danger in these contexts is that these processes become a way of legitimising practices that are unethical and backed by powerful political interests. It is very important to recognise that none of the information that is provided can be neutral. Sometimes scientific and technical information is presented as if it is neutral but it is not. One basic safeguard is to ensure that participants should not have a 'dependency relationship' with any of the key protagonists in the debates. The Ground Level Panels tried to minimise these dilemmas by ensuring that the participants were all from backgrounds of poverty so the process could not be compromised by external vested interests. There were of course power differentials between men and women and people from different castes etc., but these could be worked through in the process itself.

There is evidence across these processes that 'public deliberation forums are structured so that titles, status or position are not as highlighted or as important as in other areas' (What is Public Deliberation?). But this is only within the sessions. The way in which the question is framed and the way in which the process is constructed (for example, basing it on expert scientific evidence) are the crucial determinants of external influence. It is also important to note that differences can be 'held' within the group and can indeed be productive. But this does not mean that power goes away.

There also seems to be evidence that some deliberative processes improve relationships between people but don't change the views that they arrived with. This is we think a problem with choice-based approaches where positions are polarised, rather than with dialogic processes that start with people's life stories.

3.3.7 What practical issues have to be taken into account?

The location of a process like this should ideally be in 'ground-level' surroundings – under the trees, in small local rooms etc. They should not be in hotels or government

buildings – anywhere that participants would feel uncomfortable or anywhere where participants would experience a contrast in 'status' that would separate them from their communities. Attention needs to be paid to places that women can access.

There are big language issues when you work across countries:

The facilitators had to contend with the different languages with direct translation and in some instances, some translators did not exhibit the highest levels of energy possible due to over-expectation and interfacing with relatively long hours of translation for the first time and this affected the energy and general momentum of the process initially. This was handled through daily review meetings with the translators and checking in on them and the translation improved and the pace increased as the GLP progressed. (Uganda process)

The difficulties are worth surmounting, because people who speak different languages offer a different view on the world. These processes also offer a way of modelling engagement across diverse cultures.

Many deliberative processes are open to the public to watch. In this case of the Ground Level Panels, we felt that



RESTLESS DEVELOPMENT UGANDA 2013

they needed to be in private so that people felt comfortable to say what they felt, and so that people didn't feel exposed, or somehow required to perform. On reflection there was a feeling that, while private, these conversations should have been fully video-recorded. This would give people the option to choose parts of the dialogues that they would like to take into a wider policy arena. Pradeep Narayanan from Praxis who supported the Indian panel felt that, after the initial follow-up events with the panellists, it was hard to continue to ensure their engagement, and a good video, edited with support from the participants, might have been the best way to do this.

3.3.8 Do there seem to be any criteria for the success of these processes?

When we talk about success we are in the first instance referring to a process that effectively engages diverse people in a genuinely participatory process that leads to high-quality reflection and decision-making. This in turn may have a successful impact on the external accountability processes that it is trying to influence.

ATD Fourth World identify a number of criteria that they see as crucial for the creation of a good process:

- a genuine presence of people living in poverty;
- the creation of conditions for identifying the different types of knowledge to be shared;
- creation of a space of trust and security – conditions for true dialogue;
- the need to build deliberative skills – 'the capacity to deal productively with heterogeneous goals, values or perspectives, especially those that differ from one's own in deliberative situations' Jordan, Andersson and Ringnér (2013);
- 'complexity awareness' and 'perspective awareness' (Murray 2014).

complexity awareness [is] a person's propensity to notice... that phenomena are compounded and variable, depend on varying conditions, are results of causal processes that may be... multivariate and systemic, and are embedded in processes [that involve non-simple information feedback loops]... if a person does not notice the complexity in which an issue is embedded, he or she will fail to consider many conditions, causes and consequences that may be significant for managing the issues (Kuhn 1991)

Perspective awareness is the propensity to notice and operate with properties of one's own and others perspectives (Jordan et al. 2013: 41)

On a practical level, the Brazilian GLP report identified some key contributing factors that made this process work:

- Availability of necessary resources: financial, material, and human;
- The freedom and support provided by the staff at *Participate*;

- The limited number of participants;
- The way panellists were selected and the preparation that allowed for integration between the panellists;
- The focus on the meeting and on exchange, rather than the final product;
- The diversity of the panellists in many senses. Each person, with their characteristics, was fundamental to the process;
- The integration of artistic activities as an integral part of the process of construction of knowledge;
- The informal moments cheered by each person's spontaneity;
- Above all else, the human quality of the group, both of the panellists and the team that worked on the process.

The Egyptian report highlighted the following:

- Facilitators trust the group's ability to find its own direction and resolution;
- A sense of community creates a forum for group work;
- The facilitator has no preconceived notions;
- Enable divergence to surface.

The excerpt below highlights some of the sorts of differences that surfaced around gender:

Can women occupy official positions? During the deliberations, one male panel member (Nasr) mentioned that he wishes to see a female president of Egypt. This statement led another male panel member (Saber) to disagree, stating that women are not ready for such positions, and adds 'we have not had a president who succeeded in improving the living conditions of the poor recently. If men cannot do it, how can women do'. The whole group was divided into pro and against the female president. Some of the arguments provided were: 'I don't want to see women as public servants. Female public servants restrain me from fighting them when needed. Most of the times I need to fight public servants in order to get my paperwork finished. And I cannot beat women', said Amr. Mohamed commented, 'I am not against women to take official positions, but we need first to have qualified women who can be successful at such positions'. Ibrahim countered, 'I will say that women is empowered when they possess 50% of the parliament seats'. (Egyptian GLP)

Keeping it varied was important in the group sessions. This enabled people who are not used to such meetings to stay engaged:

I like the entire event. Every quarter of an hour is different from the other. This led us not to feel bored or tired. Nothing was mandatory, yet I continued my participation even in the day I was sick. (Nasr, Egyptian Ground Level Panel)

3.3.9 The impact of deliberative processes

An important question for deliberative processes is whether they can generate action themselves or if they are entirely

reliant on more powerful actors accepting their conclusions. An overview of the literature would suggest that to date these processes have had minimal influence (Delap 2001).

Even high-quality public deliberation does not automatically result in social or political change. Most public deliberations do not directly alter public decision and actions. Indeed, many practitioners of public deliberation have only recently turned their attention from the question of generating and organising public discussion to that of linking talk to action. For the results of a deliberative process to count, powerful actors must be encouraged, persuaded, pressured or obliged to heed them. This seldom happens. (Levine, Fung and Gastil 2005)

This is what was attempted in the Ground Level Panel process. It remains to be seen what impact the process had. We know that the *Participate* research influenced the High Level Panel, but it is not yet known what influence the High Level Panel will have. It is worth remembering that this was also a deliberative process, and while it was able to be more freethinking, in the tumult of country-level negotiations it may also be ignored. This is why the other processes that we have discussed in this report are critical to situating any deliberative processes.

There are two ways in which they might start to have an impact. The first is that processes like this need to be embedded into decision-making processes and accorded powers before they produce their outcomes. The second is that they are constructed as places through which counter-narratives can be generated that can be mobilised politically. The latter is probably a more realistic scenario.

The key contribution of the Ground Level Panels is that they allowed development to be seen through different lenses. They surfaced quite different underlying assumptions, and highlighted the gap between global and local understandings of poverty, and the related gap in accountability between decision-makers and people living in poverty and marginalisation. It is critical that this distance is collapsed, and deliberation provides a strategy for doing so. The assumptions underpinning a lot of high-level debates about what would benefit the poorest relate to the availability or quantity of services, but for the poorest the critical issues were about access to services. The Ground Level Panels highlighted the importance of rights and self-determination, indeed the idea of citizenship was valued more highly than 'aid'. Participants in India stressed the need to 'provide identities not doles'. In a similar vein, self-sufficiency was a very strong theme in the Egyptian panel.

The High Level Panel stressed economic growth – which the Brazilian Ground Level Panel describes as 'the death plan'. Where the HLP focuses on measurement and outputs, the Brazilian panel focuses on a holistic understanding of people and the environment. New concepts emerged such as 'The concept of life plan' (Brazil).

In the global life plan, everything is interconnected. We depend on each other, humans, nature, government bodies, we are all part of a whole.

The Death Plans have generated a high degree of dehumanization, killing the love between people, making 'having' more important than 'being'.

Where, for many in power, land is a development opportunity, for the poorest and most marginalised it is central to identity and wellbeing and a basic source of security and subsistence. The Ground Level Panels highlighted the damaging impacts of big business. For example, in India there was a call to 'enforce mechanisms to prevent tax evasion by corporates'.

The Ground Level Panels also highlighted the impact of exclusionary social norms on the lives of people living in poverty, at the level of both family and society: 'the poor should not be treated like dirt/filth' (India GLP). In India, the role of alcohol was also strongly present, as was the importance of abolishing the dowry, eradicating infanticide and responding effectively to disability issues. The Indian panellists concluded that 'it's only once the government stops dividing us on the lines of caste and religion that we will be able to create a peaceful society'. These are highly context-specific analyses that provide a challenge to the generic deliberations of the policymakers.

3.4 Conclusions

What disappeared was the infantilising of communities generally done by the NGOs – with good intentions. They were able to talk from their hearts. At the same time they were analytical. It was not random. It was digested.

This observation by Pradeep Narayanan from Praxis, gets to the heart of the value of the GLPs. People felt that the process was meaningful, the length of time (a week) of the deliberations lent 'a seriousness in this process' (India), and resulted in people's real commitment to participating, and increased a sense of their own value:

I didn't expect a one-off event to be so powerful for the participants... they came in as 'who am I to be on this forum'. They came out thinking that they had something to contribute.
(Lisa Van Dyke, Co-organiser of the Egypt panel)

The intensity of the participation led to transformations in the way in which people related to each other over the course of the deliberations:

Over the course of the GLP process it was noted that some panellists, especially uneducated women, started occupying spaces for more participation comparing to their level of participation at the beginning of the workshop.
(Egypt)

The framing of the panels has been critical and reflects the power relations embedded in international development.



GROUND LEVEL PANEL EGYPT/CDS 2013

The GLPs were dialogic processes that started with people's life stories – their realities. The GLPs recognised that the issues that are discussed are fundamentally political issues that cannot be disguised as neutral 'technical' questions. Ultimately, decisions about development reflect different values and assumptions. If our starting assumption is that development should bring the largest possible number of people out of poverty, then the actions that follow will be quite different from a starting position with the aim of eliminating extreme poverty. This means that it is crucial that deliberative processes debate the underlying assumptions about poverty, not just make choices between positions that have been pre-constructed by others.

A great deal of development is focused on the poor and not the very poor. The deliberative processes that we have described let us hear from the poorest and most marginalised in a way that mainstream processes do not. They provide a space for serious deliberation in which enough time is allowed to make sense of the evidence. They offer a space that people are comfortable to inhabit. Thus they give us the opportunity to generate

understanding, to explore different arguments and why different people have such different perspectives. It is critical, therefore, that deliberative processes go beyond tokenistic consultations in externally imposed project and policy processes so that local groups can be involved in agenda-setting, decision-making and structures to hold government and donors accountable.

In conclusion, deliberative processes are a particularly powerful vehicle for deliberation and change where:

- the issues under discussion are contentious and involve different world views that require time to understand and think through;
- people come from diverse and marginalised backgrounds and can be supported through a process of collective analysis;
- there is a real prospect of the results impacting on a particular debate.

Deliberative processes are not well developed in international contexts, but the Ground Level Panel experience shows that they have huge potential.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

What much of this work speaks to are the ‘foundations’ that need to be built to underpin change, without which civil society will never be strong enough to hold the powerful in any sector, or at any level, to account. Chapter 1 highlights the importance of democratic and inclusive relationships between people in family structures and communities, as a precursor to collective citizen action. Discriminatory social norms practised within the family and community as well as by institutions, need to be challenged and overcome through processes that link together personal empowerment with collective action. Chapter 2 highlights the impossibility for the poorest to challenge extractive industries, when the ecosystem of political decision-making itself is unaccountable, leaving the poorest without options other than to look for survival strategies for themselves and their families. Work on the accountability of extractive industries and environmental damage must be accompanied by work on accountability at all levels of decision-making about resource allocation. Chapter 3 reflects on the importance of understanding the issues of accountability in development from the perspectives of those whose lives are most deeply affected on a daily basis by unaccountable institutions at the local, national and global levels. It is through dialogue amongst these people that exclusionary mechanisms in the family, community and society at large come into focus. This report identifies some important patterns that emerge across the case studies that can inform a better understanding of the role of citizen participation for accountable and sustainable development.

4.1 Laying the foundations for accountability: From identity to collective action

In order to generate meaningful collective action, there are a number of prerequisites. The first relates to reclaiming citizen identity as a starting point for political accountability. Without a legal identity it is hard for citizens to make any rights claims. Poverty and marginalisation do not only have direct impacts, they also have indirect impacts because when people are constructed as non-citizens, they are unable to access opportunities, services and rights. Without citizenship, it is difficult to see how accountability can be achieved, and institutions can refuse to acknowledge their accountability towards people they do not recognise as citizens. Identity is not only important in a formal sense; it also provides a basis around which to organise. Throughout the studies it was clear that once people had organised themselves (as women, persons with disability, older people, indigenous people, LGBTQI, and so on), they had a

greater power to organise, a greater ability to mobilise solidarity and to organise collective action.

The notion of solidarity as a crucial component of resistance is evident in Chapters 1 and 2. Solidarity has a major impact on people’s agency and it often needs to be reconstructed. Where traditionally solidarity is rooted in family, community and workplaces, for many marginalised people these are not domains that are open to them. Disabled people and sexual minorities, for example, are often excluded from their own families, women are not seen as having the same status as men within communities or nations; and for the poorest and most marginalised the idea of workplace solidarity is a distant dream. For marginalised people, building solidarity together to challenge exclusion and oppression becomes a way of constructing citizenship and taking a step towards transforming a status of ‘excluded’ that can lead to greater accountability in a wider social and political context. In the *Participate* case studies this has included transforming discrimination and marginality related to ‘subordinate’ identities including LGBTQI and transgender identities, disabled persons and older people, indigenous identities and *dalits*, among others.

At a neighbourhood level both identity and solidarity are brought about through building community. In Chapter 1, self-provisioning is seen as a route to building community. In Chapter 2, women in the villages of Ghana highlighted the importance of rebuilding community as the first step towards wider change that addressed their wellbeing. Solidarity is built in the process of taking action together. The feeling of having individual and collective agency is very important as these processes reinforce each other. Solidarity leads to collective action, but collective action also leads to solidarity. If the right foundations are laid then it is possible to create positive ‘upward spirals’ towards change.

We notice then from these different case studies that there is a progression towards citizen accountability, which starts with identity. Identity enables claims to citizenship rights, and to solidarity, which underpins effective collective action. Collective action generates the political leverage that can push governments to ensure access to services, to regulate the private sector, to enforce legislation against discrimination, and so on. The different processes that we described in these three very different chapters all speak to this progression and suggest that it is important to put considerable resources into the first steps that focus on identity (claimed and legal) and the building of solidarity. This means beginning our work with the personal and building from there.



4.2 The ‘process’ of building learning for accountability

4.2.1 Seeing the complexity of the system that you are trying to change

The case studies also provide insight into process – the methods and spaces that enable the foundations for collective action for accountability to be built. The first step is to understand your own reality – how change happens and how it might happen within the specific circumstances in which you live. In each of the case studies, we see how citizens are developing powerful mechanisms for understanding their realities. These in turn become foundations and vehicles for empowerment (leading to individual and collective agency) and collective action. In the *Participate* research, the *methods* – deliberative processes, action research processes, participatory visual processes – were all key in helping people to understand themselves, the environment that they were in, and the power relationships they had to navigate. Such an understanding is also a prerequisite for collective action.

4.2.2 Creating safe spaces

Central to all the participatory methods employed in these

case studies, is the importance of creating safe spaces (both metaphorically and literally) for those that are poorest and most marginalised. On a practical level, it is important to host dialogues and collective processes in places where people feel safe to talk and open up. Meeting in local community buildings or other familiar surroundings is much better than meeting in hotels.

Safe spaces are also about modelling the sort of relationships that we want to build. Chapter 2 identified ways in which marginalised groups are creating spaces that model relationships and values that enable a sense of belonging and acceptance for all people. Building solidarity is also what happens in deliberative spaces in which power inequalities and dependencies are surfaced that have been guarded against, and when people recognise their shared value and humanity as individuals and as a collective.

4.2.3 Deliberation

In all three chapters deliberation is a core component. Deliberative processes enable diverse views to be included, allowing different views, knowledges and perspectives to be merged (ATD Fourth World). The Ground Level Panels in Chapter 3 are deliberative spaces, as was the action research that underpinned work in both Chapters 1 and 2.

Such deliberative processes have been fundamental in enabling the depth of learning needed to understand issues and take action. Ensuring diversity within deliberative spaces allows for the co-creation of new thinking, which can create breakthroughs in deadlocked situations. The deliberative process itself also provides the ‘safe space’ within which identity and solidarity can be built. As discussed in Chapter 3, deliberative processes may not lead to people changing their views, particularly if the process is framed around a choice-based approach in which positions are polarised. The deliberative processes embedded in the participatory methods discussed here are dialogic and start with people’s life stories. Processes that start from people’s own life stories (rather than policy options) and give them ‘voice’ (as illustrated by the GLPs and other action research processes employed in the *Participate* research), are key if participants are to achieve a participation that is meaningful and empowering, and to build solidarity together that can lead to collective action.

4.3 Paying attention to power

4.3.1 Intra-community dynamics

Intra-community conflict and local power relationships are a fundamental issue. *Participate* research revealed multiple stories of resources getting diverted to families, friends, political associates, etc. Local social norms mean that people don’t get access to services. Similarly, often the biggest problem in relation to local land rights is the way in which local leaders have sold off the common land. These things can be challenged by local people building solidarities and demanding their rights locally but they may also need to link directly to a national level. Multiple local groups putting pressure on national government may have more impact than single local groups putting pressure on powerful local actors. Government should then create legislation that challenges institutional discrimination, discriminatory social norms and local intra-community corruption.

A central message emerging from this research is that we need to be acutely aware of the power relationships within communities, as well as the power dynamics between powerful institutions and civil society organisations. Chapter 1 surfaces the divisions between transgender people in India based on caste that need to be recognised, as well as the exclusion experienced by the LGBTQI ‘community’ itself. Chapter 2 highlights the divergent interests between people and their community leaders, in the context of massive power differentials between these communities and national institutions and multinational corporations. Within the deliberative Ground Level Panel spaces it took some time for the divisions between men and women to be worked through.

This suggests that, while communities, local institutions, groups and citizens demand greater accountability of global policies and processes, there is a need to be working simultaneously on building greater accountability

between people at the local level. In this way discriminatory social norms can be shifted. The insight of this research is that those horizontal relationships are as important and as difficult as the vertical ones between citizens and the state in terms of meaningful accountability for the most marginalised. This research also challenges the pervasive assumption that communities – both local geographical communities and communities of identity – are homogenous, and have the same interests. That view is a major inhibitor to building the shared citizen identity and solidarity for collective action that we have identified as necessary preconditions for citizen accountability.

4.3.2 The commodification of processes

Power analysis in this research also raises the issue of discourses of ‘commodification’ that undermine citizenship and citizen action. In Chapter 3, policy options are constructed as ‘choices’ rather than enabling the expression of citizen voice. In Chapter 1 we see the way in which the relationship to the state is framed as a consumer relationship so that services are seen as commodities rather than rights. In Chapter 2, the discourse of commodification permeates how natural resources are conceived of, and how solutions are constructed – that is, in the commodification of land. When the lack of accountability of extractive industries is addressed through legal land rights, this converts communal land into a commodity that can be sold by powerful local actors such as tribal chiefs. This can radically amplify existing inequalities, and a measure that appears to protect local interests becomes a vehicle for even greater exploitation.

Citizen accountability for sustainable development requires understanding the complexity of local issues, and how they are embedded in relations of power and underpinned by often discriminatory social norms. This is one of the most powerful reasons why the real stories of people in these situations need to be heard. Even well-intentioned people work from assumptions that do not hold up in reality. Others are cynical and actively promote these solutions because they know that these can be exploited. Hence, framing accountability as rights to commodities is deeply problematic and needs to be challenged.

4.3.3 Citizen participation and accountability for sustainable development

How can policymaking processes at national and global levels be more accountable to citizens? Our analysis of Ground Level Panels shows that there are effective ways to bring ground-level voices meaningfully into policymaking processes, but the extent to which they are able to move from collective voice towards accountability for sustainable development is still limited. The examples of citizen action in Chapter 1 illustrate how citizens at a local level have formed identity-based groupings that have in some cases built enough political momentum to force entry into decision-making processes. But this is not widespread and

requires shifts in social norms and in expectations of governance before it is sustainable. Attempts at holding private sector organisations to account for resource extraction have been limited in their effect.

Functioning state institutions are key. Institutions can provide a framework for collective action at the community, local, national and international levels. The nature of the state and its relationships with citizens and communities deeply affects the extent to which individual and collective agency can thrive. Supportive policies and programmes are important for overcoming demand-side collective action problems, while legal and regulatory changes can be essential for reconstructing deeply embedded discriminatory rules and norms.

4.4 Citizen accountability from local to global

Protesting against injustice opens up opportunities for learning by citizens between countries as well as within them, with pressure and activism from a global citizenry driving a demand for accountability that has a local-to-global dynamic.

The development agenda is increasingly globalised, both economically, politically and socially, framing contexts and concepts that influence citizens' everyday lives. The cases

considered in this research show a complex interaction between people and the politics of accountability from local to national to global levels. The diverse expressions of citizenship and identity experienced by people living in poverty and marginalisation show how the process of accountability needs to be grounded in local contexts and lived experiences.

This research highlights that a recognition of identity, and support for organisation around identity enables groups experiencing discrimination and exclusion to build solidarity, which underpins effective collective action. Collective action generates the political power to challenge discriminatory norms, push governments to ensure access to services, to regulate the private sector, and to enforce legislation against discrimination. It is critical that resources are put into supporting all of these steps towards claiming citizenship identity as the basis for citizen accountability. As citizens increase in confidence and capacity to hold each other and institutions to account from local to global levels, it is essential that private and public institutions act and respond openly and transparently, working with citizens towards more inclusive, equal and sustainable societies. By starting with the people most deeply affected by poverty and inequality it is possible for injustices to be dismantled and for a more sustainable form of development to emerge.



PARTICIPATE 2013

References

- ATD Fourth World (2014) *Challenge 2015: Towards Sustainable Development that Leaves No One Behind*, France: ATD Fourth World
- ATD Fourth World (2013) *Towards Sustainable Development that Leaves No One Behind: The Challenge of the Post-2015 Agenda*, Working Paper, Pierrelaye, France: ATD Fourth World
- Baviskar, A. (2003) 'For a cultural politics of natural resources', *Economic and Political Weekly* 38.48: 5051-56
- Bivens, F. (2014) 'Networked Knowledge as Networked Power: Recovering and Mobilising Transformative Knowledge through Participate', in T. Shahrokhi and J. Wheeler (eds), *Knowledge from the Margins: An Anthology from a Global Network on Participatory Practice and Policy Influence*, Brighton: IDS
- Bohorquez, E. and Etzaniz, N. (2013) *A New Generation of Public Control, a Citizens and Markets initiative*, Mexico: Transparencia Mexicana, www.tm.org.mx/a-new-generation-for-public-control/ (accessed 27 November 2014)
- Bridge, G. (2008) 'Global Production Networks and the Extractive Sector: Governing Resource-Based Development', *Journal of Economic Geography* 8: 389-419
- Bridge, G. (2004) 'Mapping the Bonanza: Geographies of Mining Investment in an Era of Neoliberal Reform', *The Professional Geographer* 56: 406-21
- Burke, B. (2010) 'Cooperatives for "Fair Globalization"? Indigenous People, Cooperatives and Corporate Social Responsibility in the Brazilian Amazon', *Latin American Perspectives* 37.6: 30-52
- Burns, D.; Howard, J.; Lopez-Franco, E.; Shahrock, T. and Wheeler, J. (2013) *Work with Us: How People and Organisations can Catalyse Sustainable Change*, Brighton: IDS
- Challenging Heights (2013) *Child-led Research on 'Teenage-Pregnancy' in Ghana*, Ghana: Challenging Heights and Family for Every Child
- COMPASS 2015 (2013) *Setting the Post-2015 Development Compass: Voices from the Ground*, London: CAFOD (Catholic Agency for Overseas Development)
- Contreras-Arias, C.; Pernet, C. and Rist, S. (2013). *The Case of 'El Color de la Tierra': An Indigenous Collective Initiative in Western Mexico*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
- Cornwall, A. and Gaventa, J. (2001) *From Users and Choosers to Makers and Shapers Repositioning Participation in Social Policy*, IDS Working Paper 127, Brighton: IDS
- Cortez Ruiz, C. (2013) 'Indigenous People's Experiences, Feelings, Anger and Hope: Reflections from México', Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (grey literature)
- Delap, C. (2001) 'Citizens' Juries: Reflections on the UK Experience', *PLA Notes* 40
- Djokoto, G. and Opuku, K. (2010) 'Land Tenure in Ghana: Making a Case for Incorporation of Customary Law in Land Administration and Areas of Intervention by the Growing Forest Partnership, International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Growing Forest Partnership', www.growingforestpartnerships.org/sites/growingforestpartnerships.org/files/gfp_a_land_tenure-gfp_project.pdf (accessed September 2014)
- Dunn, A.; Newell, P. and Wheeler, J. (2006) 'Making Accountability Count', *Policy Briefing* 33, Brighton: IDS
- EcoWEB (2014) (unpublished) 'Development and Peace Go Hand in Hand: Voices from Mindanao, Iligan City', Nottingham, UK: Ecosystems Work for Essential Benefits
- Evans, A. and Nambiar, D. (2013) *Collective Action and Women's Agency: A Background Paper*, World Bank Group, www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Gender/Evans%20and%20Nambiar%202013.%20Collective%20action%20and%20women%27s%20agency.%20Dec%202017.pdf (accessed 15 December 2014)
- Gaventa, J. (1993) 'The Powerful, the Powerless and the Experts: Knowledge Struggles in an Information Age' in Peter Park, Budd Hall and Ted Jackson (eds), *Participatory Research in North America*, Amherst, MA: Bergin and Hadley
- Gaventa, J. (2010) 'Seeing Like a Citizen: Re-claiming Citizenship in a Neoliberal World', in Alan Fowler and Chiku Malunga (eds), *NGO Management: The Earthscan Companion*, London: Earthscan
- Gaventa, J. and Benequista, N. (2011) *Blurring the Boundaries: Citizen Action across States and Societies. A Summary of Findings from a Decade of Collaborative Research on Citizen Engagement*, Brighton: IDS, Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability
- GCRN (2013) 'Climate Change by 12 Community Radio Stations in Ghana', Ghana: Ghana Community Radio Network (grey literature)
- Gilberthorpe, E. (2013) 'Community development in Ok Tedi, Papua New Guinea: The Role of Anthropology in the Extractive Industries', *Community Development Journal* 48.3: 466-83
- Gilberthorpe, E. and Banks, G. (2012) 'Development on Whose Terms? CSR Discourse and Social Realities in Papua New Guinea's Extractive Industries Sector', *Resources Policy* 97: 185-93
- Glasner, P. (2001) 'Rights or Ritual? Why Juries Can Do More Harm than Good', *PLA Notes* 40
- Global Witness (2014) *Deadly Environment: The Dramatic Rise in Killings of Environmental and Land Defenders*, London: Global Witness Limited
- HEPS-Uganda (2013) 'Becoming Visible: Tackling the Urban Health Divide in Kawempe Slum in Uganda', Uganda: Coalition for Health Promotion and Development' (grey literature)
- Hilson, G. (2012) 'Corporate Social Responsibility in the Extractive Industries: Experiences from Developing Countries', *Resources Policy* 37: 131-7
- Hilson, G. and Banchirigah, S.M. (2009) 'Are Alternative Livelihood Projects Alleviating Poverty in Mining Communities? Experiences from Ghana', *Journal of Development Studies* 45.2: 172-96
- Hilson, G. and Potter, C. (2005) 'Structural Adjustment and Subsistence Industry: Artisanal Gold Mining in Ghana', *Development and Change* 36.1: 103-31
- Hirschman, A. (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Holmes, T. and Scoones, I. (2001) 'Participatory Environmental Policy Processes: Experiences from North and South', *PLA Notes* 40: 76-78
- Humphrey, J.; Spratt, S.; Thorpe, J. and Henson, S. (2014) *Understanding and Enhancing the Role of Business in International Development: A Conceptual Framework and Agenda for Research*, IDS Working Paper 440, Brighton: IDS

- Ioannou, I. and Serafeim, G. (2012) *The Consequences of Mandatory Reporting*, Working Paper 11-100. Boston: Harvard Business School
- Jordan, T.; Andersson, P. and Ringnér, H. (2013) 'The Spectrum of Responses to Complex Societal Issues: Reflections on Seven Years of Empirical Inquiry'. *Integral Review: A Transdisciplinary and Transcultural Journal for New Thought, Research, & Praxis* 9.1: 34-70
- Kabeer, N. (2005a) 'The Search for Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions in an Interconnected World', in N. Kabeer, *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*, London and New York: Zed Books
- Kabeer (2005b) "'Growing" citizenship from the Grassroots: Nijera Kori and Social Mobilization In Bangladesh', in N. Kabeer, *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*, London and New York: Zed Books
- Khanna, A. (2013) *The Changing Faces of Citizen Action: A Mapping Study Through an 'Unruly' Lens*, IDS Working Paper 423, Brighton: Hivos and IDS
- Kuhn, D. (1991) *The Skills of Argument*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Langdon, J.; Larweh, K. and Cameron, S. (2014) 'The Thumbless Hand, the Dog and the Chameleon: Enriching Social Movement Learning Theory Through Epistemically Grounded Narratives Emerging from a Participatory Action Research Case Study in Ghana', *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements* 6.1: 27-44
- Leach, M.; Mearns, R. and Scoones, I. (1997) 'Challenges to Community-Based Sustainable Development: Dynamics, Entitlements, Institutions', *IDS Bulletin* 28.4: 4-14
- Levine, P.; Fung, A. and Gastil, J. (2005) 'Future Directions for Public Deliberation', *Journal of Public Deliberation* 1.1: 3
- Lucci, P. (2013) *Business and a Post-2015 Development Framework: Where Next?*, London: Overseas Development Institute
- Maconachie, R. and Hilson, G. (2013) 'Editorial Introduction: The Extractive Industries, Community Development and Livelihood Change in Developing Countries', *Community Development Journal* 48.3: 347-59
- Mahmud, S. (2002). 'Making Rights Real in Bangladesh through Collective Citizen Action', *IDS Bulletin* 33.2
- Mainhardt-Gibbs, H. (2010) *Survey of Civil Society Participation in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and the Role of the World Bank*, Washington DC: Bank Information Center, www.bicusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/EITI_CSOParticipation.pdf (accessed July 2014)
- Mehta, L. (2003) 'Contexts and Constructions Of Water Scarcity', *Economic and Political Weekly* 38.48: 5066-72
- Miller, V.; VeneKlasen, L. and Clark, C. (2005a) 'Rights-based Development: Linking Rights and Participation – Challenges in Thinking and Action', *IDS Bulletin* 36.1: 52-62
- Miller, V.; VeneKlasen, L. and Clark, C. (2005b) 'Rights-based Approaches: Recovering Past Innovations', *IDS Bulletin* 36.1: 31-40
- Molchanov, M. (2011) 'Extractive Technologies and Civic Networks' Fight for Sustainable Development', *Bulletin of Science, Technology and Society* 31.1: 55-67
- Murray, T. (2014) Build Peace. Supporting Deeper Deliberative Dialogue Through Awareness Tools. Build Peace 2014 Conference, http://socialdeliberativeskills.com/documents/FINAL_2014BuildPeace_Murray.pdf (accessed 18 December 2014)
- Newell, P. and Wheeler, J. (eds) (2006) *Rights Resources and the Politics of Accountability*, London: Zed Books
- Otto, J.; Andrews, C.; Cawood, F. et al. (2006) *Mining Royalties: A Global Study of their Impact on Investors, Government, and Civil Society*, Washington DC: World Bank
- OWPSEE (2013) *LGBTIQA Activism in the Western Balkans*, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Oneworld – Platform for South East Europe Foundation
- Pegg, S. (2006) 'Mining and Poverty Reduction: Transforming Rhetoric into Reality', *Journal of Cleaner Production* 14.3-4: 376-87
- Pimbert, M. and Wakeford, T. (2001) 'Overview – Deliberative Democracy and Citizen Empowerment', *PLA Notes* 40
- Praxis (2013a) *Voice for Change: Collective Action for Safe Spaces by Sex Workers and Sexual Minorities*, New Delhi: Praxis
- Praxis (2013b) *Voice for Change: CityMakers Seeking to Reclaim Cities They Build*, New Delhi: Praxis
- RCA (2013) 'Ghana Reality Check Approach', UK: Reality Check Approach (grey literature)
- Satya Murty, D. and Wakeford, T. (2001) 'Farmer Foresight: An Experiment in South India', *PLA Notes* 40
- Shahrokh, T. and Wheeler, J. (eds) (2014) *Knowledge from the Margins: An Anthology from a Global Network on Participatory Practice and Policy Influence*, Brighton: IDS SLF (2013a) Photovoice: Street Life in Ivory Park, Johannesburg: Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation
- SLF (2013b) *Engaging South African Youth and Women on the Theme of Tuberculosis and HIV using a Digital Storytelling Approach*, Cape Town: Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation
- Spatial Collective (2013) 'Understanding, Sharing and Linking Visions, Dreams, Resources and Needs in an Informal Settlement in Mathare Valley, Kenya', Spatial Collective (grey literature)
- Tandon, R. (2002) *Participatory Research: Revisiting the Roots*. New Delhi: Mosaic Books
- The Seed Institute (2013) *The World I Do Not Want*, Kenya: The Seed Institute (grey literature)
- Tschakert, P. (2009) 'Recognizing and Nurturing Artisanal Mining as a Viable Livelihood', *Resources Policy* 34.1-2: 24-31
- van Oranje, M. and Parham, H. (2009) *Publishing What We Learned: An Assessment of the Publish What You Pay Coalition*, <https://eiti.org/files/Publishing%20What%20We%20Learned.pdf> (accessed October 2014)
- VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (2007) *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Rugby, UK: Practical Action
- Wakeford, T. (2001) 'A Selection of Methods Used in Deliberative and Inclusionary Processes', *PLA Notes* 40
- We Can Also Make a Change (2014) *'We Can Also Make a Change', Piloting participatory research with persons with disabilities and older people*, London, (forthcoming): Sightsavers International, HelpAge International, ADD International and IDS
- What is public deliberation?, website of the University of Houston, Centre for Public Deliberation, www.uhd.edu/academic/colleges/humanities/uhd_cpd/what_is.html# (accessed 27 November 2014)
- Zyglidopoulos, S. and Fleming, P. (2011) 'Corporate Accountability and the Politics of Visibility in 'Late Modernity'', *Organization* 18.5: 691-706

Annex 1

Description of methodology used in case studies in Chapters 1 and 2

Chapter 1

'We Can Also Make a Change': Piloting Participatory Research with People with Disabilities and Older People in Bangladesh

Organisations: ADD International, HelpAge International and Sightsavers

Methodological approach: Participatory action research with and by people with disabilities and older people

A mixed approach of participatory research was used: peer research and collecting stories. Peer research is a form of participatory research. The researchers are people rooted within particular constituencies or communities. They are supported to generate research with their peers.

- **Community peer researchers:** people with disabilities and older people from two communities, Bhashantek slum in Dhaka, and rural Cox's Bazar in south east Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh **NGO peer researchers:** people who work with people with disabilities and older people in local Bangladesh NGOs. Peer researchers were asked to talk with 'people like you'.

Together, they identified peers within their communities or constituencies to collect stories from. They designed the story prompts, collected stories from their peers, and then collectively analysed them. Prompts were open-ended, and followed up with questions about the story told. Prompts were used rather than interview questions in order for people to tell the stories *they* wanted to tell. This avoided pre-empting issues.

Voices for Change in India

Organisation: Praxis – Institute for Participatory Practices

Methodological approach: Participatory research undertaken with sexual minorities and sex workers in Tamil Nadu

It started with a compilation of case stories collected in the context of documentation of good practices of community-based organisations of female sex workers, transgender communities and men who have sex with men and their coping mechanisms to deal with crisis, denial of rights and stigma.

The next steps:

- 1 Community participants undertook a workshop and

received guidance for scripting a participatory video and producing several films;

- 2 A process of collecting and collating case stories of people facing different problems and their views on the issues was undertaken;
- 3 Discussions were facilitated with community participants, using participatory research tools;
- 4 A draft report was presented to community participants for validation and addition of their concluding remarks.

Indigenous People's Experiences, Feelings, Anger and Hope: Reflections from Mexico

Organisation: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Xochimilco

Methodological approach: Participatory action research led by indigenous people

This research work was undertaken in regions largely inhabited by the indigenous population, which have the lowest levels of human development in Mexico. Three action research processes were used:

- 1 Undertaken with 30 Regional Indigenous Funds aiming to gather participants' perspectives, their analysis and proposals around the funds, and to detect successful experiences (2011–2012);
- 2 Issues around violence were explored in different states of Southern Mexico in collaboration with indigenous people (2010–2012);
- 3 Exploring the Millennium Development Goals' framework impacts in different municipalities in the state of Chiapas (2013).

Some tools, such as participatory drama and video, were used to facilitate the collective reflection, learning and action process.

LGBTIQA Activism in the Western Balkans

Organisation: Oneworld – Platform for South East Europe Foundation

Methodological approach: Participatory audiovisual methods

Digital Storytelling (DST)

Digital storytelling for transformation is a learning process,

creating and sharing experience supported by technology, allowing participants to create their own short film containing voice, imagery, and music: nine stories were created in two trainings, one in Kosovo, and one in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Participatory Video (PV)

PV is a set of techniques to involve a group in shaping and creating their own film in an accessible way to explore shared issues and voice concerns. When working with marginalised groups it can be empowering, as PV enables people to take action to solve their own problems and communicate this to decision-makers and the public. DST trainings were followed by a PV training to build from individual stories to a collective experience.

Chapter 2

Climate Change by 12 Community Radio Stations in Ghana

Organisation: Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN)

Methodological approach: Participatory research and dialogue on climate change

This research was conducted across 16 rural communities in eight of the ten administrative regions of Ghana. Each radio station recorded oral testimonies (OTs) from community members who had been identified as particularly vulnerable. This was followed by focus group discussions and outcomes presented at community fora. The station's lead researchers then came together in a three-day workshop to share and analyse their findings; representatives of another ten community radio initiatives then joined to finalise the conclusions of the research.

Development and Peace Go Hand in Hand: Voices from Mindanao

Organisation: EcoWEB as part of the COMPASS 2015 project led by CAFOD

Methodological approach: Participatory research by people in poverty

The design of this study presupposes the exercise by community stakeholders of control over their lives, of influence on others, and of determination of their future. Underlying this research is active participation of these community stakeholders in the study of their own lives, thereby not only greatly improving the quality and relevance of the data but, more importantly, generating interest, power, and passion in the participants to convey their messages to policymakers.

Eleven researchers engaged in discussions with around 616 research participants speaking one or more of six languages (Bisaya, M'ranao, Tagalog, Subanun, Higaunon, and English) in the 13 research communities.



Participate

Knowledge from the margins for post-2015

Participate is co-convened by the Institute of Development Studies and the global civil society campaign Beyond 2015, but the initiative is only possible because of the energy, expertise and vision of the numerous organisations who funded and facilitated the participatory research.

From 2012 to 2013 the *Participate* initiative was funded by UK AID from the UK government. Across 2014, this report and the research that underpinned it was funded by Irish Aid. However the views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the UK or Irish governments' official policies.

Readers are encouraged to quote and reproduce material from *Citizen participation and accountability for sustainable development*. In return, IDS requests due acknowledgment.

This report should be referenced as: Burns, D.; Ikita, P.; Lopez Franco, E. and Shahrokh, T. (2015) *Citizen participation and accountability for sustainable development*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

© Institute of Development Studies 2015
ISBN: 978-1-78118-214-7



This is an Open Access publication distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 International Licence, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are clearly credited.

IDS is a charitable company limited by guarantee and registered in England (No. 877338)

For more information about *Participate*:

web www.participate2015.org

email Participate@ids.ac.uk

twitter @participate2015



Beyond2015

Campaigning for a global development framework after the Millennium Development Goals

