

Thinking about Governance: A Draft Discussion Paper

Prepared for

**The Commonwealth Foundation
Citizens and Governance Programme**

Miriam Wyman, Practicum Limited

July 2001

Thinking about Governance: A Draft Discussion Paper

Table of Contents

Foreword

I Introduction

II How is governance conceptualised?
Things are changing
Range of thinking on government and governance

III Do different stakeholders have different perspectives on governance?
Identifying stakeholders in governance
Citizens' perspectives on governance
Roles for citizens in governance

IV Issues and challenges
State responsibility
Voter turnout
Electoral system
Pace of change
Decentralisation
Private sector models for governance
Territorial government departments
Privatisation
Locus of involvement
Access
Social inequalities
Sustainable participation
Whose perspective?
Lack of institutional memory

V Actualising citizens' roles: Principles and tools
Principles
Doctrines of Legitimate Expectations
Collaboration
Social inclusion

Tools
Education for citizenship
Democratising public administration
Democratising the public service
The Internet: a tool for citizens
The Internet: a tool for governments
The Internet: a tool for democracy
Models of corporate governance
Models of indigenous people's governance
Collaborative citizen engagement
Identifying allies or champions

VI Conclusions

Annexes

Glossary of Key Terms¹

¹ Governance for Sustainable Human Development, A UNDP Policy Document, 1997.

Thinking about Governance: A Draft Discussion Paper

Foreword

The Citizens and Governance Programme of the Commonwealth Foundation has commissioned this discussion paper as a way of advancing the discussion of governance.

It has been undertaken as a combination research and think piece by Miriam Wyman, a public involvement researcher and practitioner dedicated to strengthening citizens' voices in governance and a member of the Programme Team. This paper reflects the views of the author and the fields of knowledge most available to her.

The Commonwealth Foundation welcomes input on this paper from academics, researchers, policy makers, practitioners and observers of the governance scene.

Please address your comments to:

milnerwhitaker@netscapeonline.co.uk

Two other papers in the series are also available in draft form: Civil Society: Towards a New Definition by Andrew Milner, and Learning Citizenship by Juliet Merrifield. They can be found at www.commonwealthfoundation.com.

Thinking about Governance: A Draft Discussion Paper

Abstract: This paper explores a range of thinking on government and governance and the stakeholders or partners in it. It examines citizens' perspectives on governance as well as the roles that citizens can, and are willing to play in civil society. It then identifies issues, questions and challenges that arise from the literature and which limit or constrain citizen's involvement in governance. A range of principles and tools are set out which can help actualise citizens' roles in governance. The paper concludes with ways to further develop discussion and understanding of governance in order to move toward genuinely participatory governance.

All...citizens want leaders with integrity – leaders at the local, provincial, and national level who connect with their people, who lead by example and who openly care about them. They want their leaders to listen to their voices, to be more consultative and to value citizen participation. They want more transparent governance, meaningful power-sharing and accountability, and they want all actors to take measures towards achieving this.

Caren Wickliffe²

People want to be citizens, not merely voters and consumers. As citizens, they have rights and obligations. They want their rights to be respected and they also want to fulfill their obligations. Citizens now demand a greater say in shaping their lives. They are asking for a fuller, active, and enlarged role in decision-making. They want to participate in discussions and decisions. They want to know why some policies are not implemented. They want to know why some people (political leaders and public officials) are above the law. They demand information and transparency from the government. This is, in short, a demand for participatory and responsive governance by citizens ...

Rajesh Tandon³

Because the field of governance is multi-disciplinary and not yet codified, thinking about governance allows one to think freely and imaginatively about the future. Striving to improve governance is indeed a "projet de société" that compels us to look ahead, invent dynamic futures without negating the lessons of the past.

Jocelyne Bourgon⁴

² Caren Wickliffe, *Voices of the Pacific Tide*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Project, Pacific Regional Report, 2000, 15.

³ Rajesh Tandon. *A Common Dream*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Asia Regional Report, 2000, 13.

⁴ Jocelyne Bourgon, Conference Programme, 2001 Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada. Ottawa, 2001.

Thinking about Governance: A Draft Discussion Paper

I Introduction

Citizens of the Commonwealth want a society characterised by responsive and inclusive governance:

“They want to be heard and consulted on a regular and continuing basis, not merely at the time of an election. They want more than a vote. They are asking for participation and inclusion in the decisions taken and policies made by public agencies and officials.”⁵

While they want the state to play an important role in creating and maintaining a good society, citizens also recognise that civil society as well as the marketplace have important and influential roles to play. In identifying their hopes and dreams for a good society, citizens throughout the Commonwealth are expressing their desire and expectations for new forms of governance in which they play a much more significant role.

This paper begins to examine the concept of governance. It is organised around questions posed by the Citizens and Governance Programme Team:

- How is governance conceptualised?
- Do different stakeholders have different perspectives on governance?
- In light of our interest in putting ordinary citizens at the centre of governance, what principles and tools are relevant?

The questions are examined in the light of materials produced for the Third Commonwealth NGO Forum and the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) which took place in Durban, South Africa in November 1999 as well as in the light of recent literature in the field. The intent is to review some of the current thinking about governance, to identify issues, questions and challenges that arise from the literature, and to begin to identify principles and tools that show some promise for strengthening citizens’ voices. The paper is unabashedly citizen centred.

Section 2 explores a range of thinking on government and governance. Traditional approaches to governance are changing. This section begins by examining the changes taking place in the world today that are affecting thinking about governance. It then examines literature on governance from international institutions such as UNDP, OECD, the World Bank as well as conferences, discussion papers and literature from Canada and abroad.

Section 3 begins by identifying the range of stakeholders or participants in governance processes, largely based on the literature examined in Section 2. It then examines

⁵ *Citizens and Governance: Civil Society in the New Millennium.*, A report prepared by the Commonwealth Foundation in partnership with CIVICUS. The Commonwealth Foundation, September 1999, 3.

citizens' perspectives on governance, indicating that citizens are very clear about their expectations of governments and others. It moves on to an overview of roles for citizens in governance, looking especially at how citizens see themselves and how others see them, and ends by looking at citizen participation models to illuminate the path from token involvement to mutual engagement.

Section 4 identifies a range of issues and challenges which limit or constrain citizens' involvement in governance. These must be addressed in order to move forward and put citizens at the centre of governance.

Section 5 focuses on actualising citizens' roles in governance. It adds three additional principles to those identified in the Civil Society in the New Millennium Project: the doctrine of legitimate expectations, social inclusion and collaboration. It then highlights a range of tools which exemplify those principles.

The conclusion summarises key points from the discussion. Then, with a view to attending to citizen's voices and moving toward genuinely participatory governance, it sets out a number of ways to further develop discussion and understanding of governance.

The Civil Society in the New Millennium Project recognised a number of tensions and contradictions at the outset. First, citizens and their collective endeavours constitute the basic fabric of any society. Next, citizens are feeling increasingly remote and disconnected from the processes that affect their lives; they feel affected yet disempowered by such trends as globalisation, competition and individualism. And, they want to play a more significant role in setting policy priorities. These tensions are affecting the health of civil society.⁶

Elected representatives and government officials, for their part, feel challenged by citizens' desire to be heard, at the same time as they struggle to reconcile their roles with new demands. This is seen around the world as citizens and NGOs struggle to make their voices heard and to ensure that their priorities find their way onto the agendas of governments. The resurgence of citizen's movements worldwide can no longer be ignored. Rajni Kothari identifies a broad range of popular awakening, protests and social movements.⁷ Paul Hawken sees this as the fastest-growing and most powerful development in the world today, unrecognizable because it not centralised, based on power, or led by charismatic white males.⁸ It has powerful implications for governance.

⁶ *Civil Society in the New Millennium*, November 1999, 9.

⁷ Rajni Kothari. *State Against Democracy: In Search of Humane Governance*. India: Ajanta Publications, 1988, iii. Kothari identifies class-based struggles to struggles for women's rights, assertions of displaced communities against destruction of their environments and natural resources, tribal uprisings to safeguard lifestyles, defence of cultures, regional identities and nationalities.

⁸ Paul Hawken. *The Resurgence of Citizens' Movements*. Utne Reader, No. 102, November-December 2000, 73. (Minneapolis, USA). Hawken focuses on issues of social and ecological sustainability and notes that these movements address a broad array of issues, including environmental justice, ecological literacy, public policy, conservation, women's rights and health, population growth, renewable energy, corporate reform, labour rights, climate change, trade rules, ethical investing, ecological tax reform, water conservation, and much more.

II How is Governance conceptualised?

Governance is currently a “hot” topic in public policy circles, both government and non-government. Discussions are most often initiated by governments, intergovernmental organisations, academic institutions or non-government organisations interested in public policy. Worldwide, governance is the subject of national and international conferences, workshops and symposia.

Who are these discussions for? For the most part, discussion about governance is intended for a public policy audience. This clearly affects the nature of the discussion - how terms are defined and used, and from whose perspective. Where discussions take place determine their nature and who is able to participate. For the most part, the literature of governance is abstract and very serious.

The Civil Society in the New Millennium Project helped to shift the discussion of governance through its emphasis on the importance of ordinary citizens, the chief actors in civil society. The Citizens and Governance Programme is dedicated to taking citizens’ voices seriously, and is looking for ways to ground the concept of governance in the experience of citizens. These efforts, too, will be an important contribution to the ongoing discussion of governance.

Things are changing

One of the reasons that governance is currently “on the agenda” is that traditional ways of governance seem to be changing. Typically, citizens have participated in governance by voting. Elected officials then govern, theoretically representing the “best interests” of their constituencies. Increasingly, as societies become more diverse and pluralistic, it is difficult for elected officials to represent each member of his or her constituency. And larger forces are also at play. The focus on constituents is being replaced by a need to focus on markets and trade opportunities. Citizens are increasingly seen as clients in a global marketplace. And Governments are less citizen-focused than power focused.

The Civil Society in the New Millennium report begins to recognise these changes in its observations about governance. It notes, early on, that the actions of civil society are the basis for good governance.⁹ It characterises a trinity of actors - civil society, government and the market - as the key players operating towards the development of society.¹⁰ Its findings reflect a new consensus: citizens want both a strong state and a strong civil society, deepened democracy and democratic culture, and an enlarged role for citizens¹¹; and, the new compact must be among citizens, the state and intermediary organisations.¹² Citizens want “*a system* (emphasis added) of governance free of corruption, favouritism, nepotism, apathy, neglect, red-tape, and self-gratification by political leaders and public

⁹ *Citizens and Governance: Civil Society in the New Millennium*, page 10

¹⁰ *Ibid*, page 16.

¹¹ *Ibid*, page 75.

¹² *Ibid*, page 81.

official.”¹³ In other words, there should be strong and healthy connections between people and their governments.¹⁴

Other agencies, governments and policy makers are also discussing these changes and their implications for governance. The Canadian Centre for Management Development (CCMD)¹⁵ notes four key determinants of change that are altering the nature of governance in Canada: citizen expectations of government, information technology, globalisation, and the emergence of a global knowledge economy. CCMD believes that these forces will impact four areas of governance: citizens and citizenship, democracy, the role of government, and by extension public service reform. It has developed a research programme, to be undertaken with domestic and international partners, to help identify, understand and address these determinants of change and their impact on governance.

Jim Ellsworth,¹⁶ in a thoughtful discussion paper prepared for the 2001 conference of the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2), notes that diverse factors and trends have converged to underscore the urgency and importance of overcoming the limitations of a governance system spawned by the Industrial Age. In particular, he credits the arrival of the Information Age and shifts in public values with leading us to the issue of governance, and he delineates a more exhaustive set of factors than CCMD:

Complex, Interrelated Problems: Society is increasingly concerned with the growing number of complex issues beyond the capacity of a single discipline, department, programme, policy or traditional alliance to handle. Collaboration of diverse interests at every stage of the problem-solving process is required to address these.

Public Expectations: The expectations of the public are no longer shaped by the engagement policies of the proponent. They are shaped by what the public believes are best practices. Citizens expect to participate. They may even want to be equal partners in collaborative decision-making. Collaborative engagement by one agency leads to expectations that others will do the same. Agencies then have to adapt to the new public expectations that may have been generated by initiatives in another sector or another region.

Globalisation: The level at which governance occurs is rapidly changing. The creation of supernationals (GATT, NAFTA, EU etc.) has elevated many decisions to a forum beyond the direct participation of citizens or their elected representatives. Globalisation has also served to move the protest venue from the institutions of government where people hoped to influence their elected representatives to the gatherings of supernationals where people hope to influence public opinion through the national and international media.

¹³ Ibid, page 39.

¹⁴ These findings are explored in greater and more situation-specific detail in the National and Regional Reports for the project. See *Citizens and Governance: Regional Perspectives*. The Commonwealth Foundation, 2001.

¹⁵ Canadian Centre for Management Development website <www.ccmd-ccg.gc.ca>

¹⁶ Jim Ellsworth. *Justice Stewardship: The Modern Sustainability Challenge*. A paper prepared for the International Association for Public Participation 2001 International Conference. 2001, 11-13.

Collaborative Capacity: Collaborative problem solving is being taught from kindergarten classrooms to international peace keeping centres and is being applied in dispute resolution, conflict prevention, restorative justice, resource management, interest-based negotiation, action learning and a growing number of other areas. The public's understanding and acceptance of collaboration as an alternative to compromise and/or competition is growing and evolving.

Environmental Limitations: People are becoming increasingly aware of and concerned about global limitations. New ways of valuing and sharing access to environmental resources and the benefits derived from them need to be uncovered. With the world getting smaller and problems getting bigger, it is not possible to solve problems by running away from them.¹⁷

Aboriginal People's Rights¹⁸: In many parts of the world, societies are coming to terms with the inherent rights, needs, and capacities of Aboriginal people. The growing support for the need and the right of Aboriginal peoples to restore their traditional holistic forms of governance is complemented by a growing respect for their traditional knowledge. The creation and restoration of collaborative governance and citizen engagement is becoming even more important to Aboriginal peoples as they struggle to cope with the numerous complex issues that put their communities at risk.

Social Maturity: As we mature as individuals and organisations, we move from dependent to independent to interdependent relationships and learn how to find personal fulfillment through collective action. Many organisations are maturing to the point where they are prepared to acknowledge and accept these interdependencies and work collaboratively in interdependent relationships.

Communications Technology: In many parts of the world, the monopoly of those who held "knowledge" power in traditional governance structures no longer exists. People can access information from a diverse array of sources with interpretations quite different from traditional information providers.

Expert Status: The belief that "if an expert says it's so, it must be true" no longer dominates public thinking. Expert opinion does not carry the weight it once did. People want more than data and advice: they want a relationship with the information provider and the opportunity to see how the conclusions and recommendations were derived. They want to check the math and see if the numbers add up for themselves.

The Precautionary Principle: The move from costly, curative interventions to the management of factors that lead to problems has broadened the focus of governance from issue response to the active pursuit of the qualities of livable, sustainable communities.

¹⁷ Ellsworth (ibid, 12) notes that in some cases, NIMBY ("not in my back yard") is gradually being replaced by NIMBI ("now I must become involved") and CAVE ("citizens against virtually everything") is gradually being replaced by CARE ("citizens accepting responsibility for each other").

¹⁸ Ellsworth uses the term "Aboriginal" to refer to western indigenous peoples who have not been well served by current governance mechanisms. This development can apply equally to indigenous peoples around the world

The onus is now on proponents to demonstrate that their proposed undertakings will not have unacceptable and/or unsustainable consequences. Crime prevention, health promotion, pollution prevention and other applications of the precautionary principle are not mutually exclusive.

Equality and Diversity: In some countries, the advancement of women and visible minorities in the work- place has resulted in organisations that are much more representative of those they are intended to serve. This advancement has also created new possibilities through its positive impact on the culture and the capacity of our organisations.

Expansion of the Public Participation Toolbox: New tools are constantly being added to the public participation toolbox. Search conferences, open-space technology and other recent additions expand both the application of public participation and the practice itself.

Governing and governance do not take place in a vacuum. All of these changes are – or must inevitably be – reflected in the ways government functions and in the ways that governance is conceptualised.

Range of thinking on government and governance

“Good governance is about pursuing and promoting the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens at all times, while equally respecting and according due protection to those who may hold a different view.”¹⁹

Hope Chigudu and Ezra Mbogori

It is important to separate government from governance and to explore some of the ways governance is being conceptualised. The communiqué of the Third Commonwealth NGO Forum proposed not just good government but good governance,

“[a] joint enterprise between elected officials, their citizens and their organisations. Governance therefore entails a meaningful partnership between the state, civil society and the people who comprise it, and the private sector. Governance entails, especially, the state sharing with civil society the responsibility for policy making and implementation and all the partners being accountable to their constituencies, to each other and to society as a whole.”²⁰

The communiqué further comments:

“Good governance is the joint responsibility of players in the public sector, the corporate private sector, and civil society at national, international, multinational and multilateral levels.”²¹

¹⁹ Hope Chigudu and Ezra Mbogori. *Harnessing the Creative Energy of Citizens*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Africa Regional Report, 2000, page 16.

²⁰ *Citizens and Governance: Outcomes of Durban*, page 4.

²¹ *Citizens and Governance: Outcomes of Durban*, page 9.

Thus, we begin to see the notion of governance as a joint enterprise, a relationship, in which each set of players has roles and responsibilities. This, in its turn, raises questions about the levels of responsibility and authority for each player, the range of players, the levels at which each can operate, how the players see themselves and one another, and the power each can hold.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines governance^{22,23} as the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. Governance is a neutral concept comprising the mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences.

According to UNDP, *good governance* addresses the allocation and management of resources to respond to collective problems. It is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law.

Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.

Good governance also recognises that governance is exercised by the private sector and civil society, as well as the state, all of which have important roles to play in promoting sustainable human development.

Good governance is viewed as a prerequisite to the achievement of sustainable human development. The relationships among the state, private sector and civil society determine whether a nation can create equitable opportunities for its people. And the role of government is central to this endeavour. According to UNDP, government must be efficient, have legitimacy in the eyes of the people, build national consensus around its stated objectives, and foster a strong social fabric.

The Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) notes that "...the key to providing opportunities for all citizens to enjoy productive and fulfilling lives...is ensuring that the triangular paradigm of economic growth, social cohesion and good governance is kept in balance."²⁴

Further,

“..... the quality of the institutions that support government policymaking is as important as that of the policies themselves. Good governance is essential for strengthening democracy; promoting economic prosperity, social cohesion and environmental sustainability; and maintaining confidence in public institutions.”

According to OECD,

²² UNDP AND GOVERNANCE, *Experiences and Lessons Learned*, Management Development and Governance Division, Lessons-Learned Series No. 1, 1997.

²³ *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*. A UNDP Policy Document, 1997.

²⁴ OECD website <www.oecd.org>

“governments **increasingly realise that they will not be able to conduct and effectively implement policies, as good as they may be, if their citizens do not understand and support them** (emphasis theirs). Thus, governments are looking to new or improved models and approaches for better informing and involving citizens in the policy-making process.”

Thus, governance must include citizens as well as the institutions that support government policymaking. And, governance also implies a role for governments in helping citizens to better understand their work, for the express purpose of participating in policy-making.

Ellsworth adopts the UNDP definition of governance and adds that it includes government but transcends it to include individuals and non-government organisations, which for him include both the voluntary and the private sectors. He notes that:

“Our traditional governance system was designed to serve society during the Industrial Age and continues to be guided by its original underlying assumptions, which support a linear problem-solving process with distinct and separate roles for different players in mutually exclusive disciplines or sectors: The expert advises, the official decides, the sectors compete, and the public picks up the costs and lives with the outcomes.”²⁵

For Ellsworth, good governance is, among other things, collaborative, transparent, inclusive, responsive, equitable and accountable. These core characteristics are interrelated and reinforcing.²⁶

In its most recent national conference, The Institute of Public Administration of Canada (IPAC) focused on *Governance in the 21st Century*. The conference explored the notion that effective government is more than improving quality and productivity of service delivery to citizens and modernising the professional public service, that it fundamentally also requires new relationships between citizens and government, and between elected and non-elected officials.

Though many speakers, panels and workshops talked about governance, few attempted to define it. Nonetheless, a number of important observations about governance were made.

Justice Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond highlighted the importance of balancing criticism of public institutions against the history and ideas which ground our democratic system, and cautioned against quick fixes:

“What we have learned from the totalitarian ideologies of the past century, which still infuse politics in many places in the world, is that there is no formula that can give us infallible answers to political, social, economic, ecological and other human problems. There is no simple concept which will answer such questions as how much the state can do (though we have learned that to give it too much power is disastrous), or how far

²⁵ Jim Ellsworth. *Justice Stewardship: The Modern Sustainability Challenge*. A paper prepared for the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) 2001 International conference. 2001, page 10.

²⁶ Ellsworth, *ibid*, page 16.

market forces can give positive results (though we have learned that abolition is disastrous). Nor is there a simple guide to the conduct of foreign policy. We should thus be highly suspicious of such prescriptions.”²⁷

The panel which focused on where governance has been, locally, nationally, and internationally raised a number of points relevant to our discussion of how governance is conceptualised. The panelist addressing municipal issues²⁸ focused on legislative and administrative aspects of government which currently constrain the power of cities to make wise decisions about their future. He pointed out that large municipalities have become significant economic engines (locally, nationally and internationally) and require new forms of governance in order to fulfill their potential. These may include charter status for cities, a notion was further developed in a recent meeting of the mayors of Canada’s five most vital cities.

A political scientist²⁹ examined governance from a national perspective, finding that there is less new in Canada than people think. His central observations seem relevant far beyond Canada:

- Canada still has, and needs, a strong federal administration
- It continues to struggle to adapt ministerial (and departmental) responsibility to the size and complexity of contemporary administration
- Emphasis on technical competency for civil servants has been at the cost of broader education, including history and languages.

A representative of the World Bank³⁰ focused on governance internationally and raised the important question of whether the current emphasis on governance matters for the poor in developing countries. He noted that in the 70s and 80s, social and economic development were seen as technical matters - and that the poor in developing countries would get less poor as national policies were improved and as skills were shared. What seemed to matter during that period was not governance but rather visionary leaders and good policies.

In his view, governance was rediscovered in the 1990s to help understand why the poor in developing countries were not getting richer as quickly as we had hoped. As a result, development organisations became obsessed with showing that governance is highly correlated with all manner of development outcomes, but remained ignorant about two key questions:

- Is better governance a cause or a consequence of poverty reduction?
- If it is a cause, since we cannot fix it all, which aspects matter most?

²⁷ Justice Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond. *Governance & Oversight: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Address to the Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, Ottawa, August, 2000.

²⁸ Robert Chiarelli, Chair, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton.

²⁹ Iain Gow, Professor of Political Science, University of Montreal

³⁰ Nick Manning, Senior Public Sector Management Specialist, World Bank

In his view, the discussion of governance will be helpful only if people are willing to separate out components of governance and target specific institutions. If, however, governance is left as a tangled set of ideas, which range from popular participation through to strengthened parliaments and more powerful press, then it is likely that governance will be used as a continuing critique of the state in developing countries, repeating the anti-government rhetoric of the 1970s.

Weiss³¹ traces changes in the conceptualisation of governance over the last two decades. He focuses on changes in the political landscape, particularly at the United Nations, which are shifting the nature of the discussion about governance:

- The need to capture the complex reality of governance
- The need to strike a balance between the state and the market
- The need to develop a better understanding of the subtleties of the relationship between democracy and democratisation and good governance.

He sees good governance as:

“... more than multiparty elections, a judiciary and a parliament, which have been emphasised as the primary symbols of Western-style-democracy. The list of other attributes, with the necessary resources and culture to accompany them, is formidable: universal protection of human rights; non-discriminatory laws; efficient, impartial and rapid judicial processes, transparent public agencies, accountability for decisions by public officials; devolution of resource and decision making to local levels from the capital’ and meaningful participation by citizens in debating public policies and choices.”³²

Good governance must also strike a balance between the state and the market, particularly to counterbalance the view that “anything the government can do, the private sector can do better.”³³ And he sees a movement toward common ground that “good governance does not necessarily mean less but sometimes more appropriate government,” particularly as a way of establishing proper roles and institutions so that the benefits of growth are more widely beneficial.³⁴

He finds the notion of ‘humane governance,’³⁵ to be a way of moving beyond ‘good governance.’ Humane governance is good political governance, good economic governance and good civic governance:

³¹Thomas G. Weiss. “Governance, good governance and global governance: conceptual and actual challenges.” *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 21, Number 5, 795-914, 2000. His definitions come from a number of sources already referenced in this paper such as the World Bank, UNDP, OECD, Institute on Governance (Ottawa), as well as those of the Commission on Global Governance, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Tokyo Institute of Technology

³² Ibid, 801.

³³ Ibid, 802.

³⁴ Ibid. 805.

³⁵ Weiss identifies ‘humane governance’ as a notion launched by Mahbub ul Haq (former head of UNDP) and researchers at the Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre, Islamabad.

“It involves those structures and processes that support the creation of a participatory, responsive and accountable polity (that is, good political governance) embedded in a competitive, non-discriminatory, yet equitable economy (that is, good economic governance). This requires the resources contributed by people to be ploughed back to serve their own basic human needs, which will in turn expand the opportunities open to them; people must be given the ability to self-organise (that is, good civic governance). Bounded together by such principles as ‘ownership’, ‘decency’, and ‘accountability’, the components of humane governance are inextricably linked.”³⁶

It is difficult to summarise the wide range of thinking on governance. A few things seem evident from the foregoing discussion. Each source reflects the need for change of some kind. This need is anchored in the experience of governments, citizens, development agencies and others. It speaks to problems with existing systems which are being raised at local, national, international and supranational levels.

Overall, the literature suggests that governance is, in essence, a relational concept. It involves relationships among a number of stakeholders or actors (the stakeholders and their roles are the subject of a later section of this paper). These relationships are shifting, are situation-specific and must, therefore, be considered in the light of their history and tradition.

The literature also indicates that there is a strong role for the state in governance, regardless of the roles and responsibilities of other actors. This is further highlighted in Tandon and Mohanty’s study of civil society and governance in India during the twentieth century.³⁷ In elaborating a number of principles of good governance for India, the study does not hesitate to place responsibility on all non-government actors. However, in concluding that “the existing democratic framework needs to be deepened and expanded to include the rights and voices of hitherto excluded citizens,” it places major responsibility on the state for facilitating and accomplishing this.

In the literature, the term, governance itself, is used in a variety of ways. Gow comments that governance is sometimes an analytical concept and sometimes a normative one, and that in its normative sense, it seems more of a slogan than a concept.³⁸ However, he feels that “governance” provides more intellectual space to look at the problems of organising and governing societies than does “government.”

Knight notes that “Governance” is, like ‘community’, a warm and persuasive word that people use to convey something slightly different from government. He also finds systematic variation in usage. One version suggests that governance is ‘a means of collective decision taking and action where government is one stakeholder among others’ and another suggests that governance is ‘the proper conduct of an organisation.’³⁹

³⁶ Ibid, 805.

³⁷ Rajesh Tandon and Ranjita Mohanty. “Civil Society and Governance Research Study in India.” A paper prepared for the Third International Conference on Civil Society and Governance, Amsterdam, September 25-28, 2000.

³⁸ Iain Gow, personal communication, March 7, 2001.

³⁹ Barry Knight, personal communication, January 16, 2001.

A recent paper sets out a framework which may help guide our thinking about governing, governance and government.⁴⁰ Lemieux first defines governing, governance and government. He then describes four models taken from the public policy literature that give different views of the role of government actors in governance, and compares these with actual governance processes as studied by public policy specialists. Finally, he draws a number of conclusions about the roles of government in governance and the characteristics of public policy that are linked to the various forms of these roles.

“Governing” refers to the processes through which political, administrative or social actors seek to apply solutions to problems of concern to society. Government’s role has traditionally been considered central in this process.⁴¹

Lemieux acknowledges, from the beginning, that the concept of governance gives rise to much confusion. He identifies a general consensus about two of its facets: first, governance is a new form of governing; and second, government’s role in governance is not the same as it is in traditional forms of governing.⁴² “Governance” denotes processes of governing by public policy networks that include both public and private actors. Government is one of the actors, but does not necessarily play a central role.⁴³

“Government” or “government actors” refers to elected representatives and their associates who occupy positions of highest authority in society.⁴⁴ They are part of all governing processes, even though the role they play in governance is less significant than the one they used to play in the more traditional roles of governing. This, in Lemieux’s view, gives them three advantages: greater legitimacy than other actors in the governance process; the final say (i.e. ultimate authority); and the ability to ensure that public policy is coherent and well coordinated.⁴⁵

The four models offer different views of the role of government actors in governance:

- A pluralist view in which government is one of several players, with private sector actors included
- Government as instrument in the Marxist sense, an instrument of dominant economic interests
- The “public policy entrepreneur” model in which government actors, supported by administrative actors, are most likely to act as entrepreneurs
- Government leaders as “symbol managers” in which leaders give the impression of controlling the machinery of government.

On applying these models to twelve cases (six Canadian and six non-Canadian) at different stages in the policy process (initiation, development and implementation),

⁴⁰ Vincent Lemieux. “Government Roles in Governance Processes.” In *Modernising Governance: A Preliminary Exploration*. CCMD, November 2000.

⁴¹ Ibid, 123.

⁴² Ibid, 120.

⁴³ Ibid, 123.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 120.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 122.

Lemieux finds that there are actually six roles that government can play in governance (with the possibility of others to be identified with further research): entrepreneur, symbol manager, referee, supervisor, one of several actors and instrument. And, these can vary from one process to another, from one political system to another and with changes in political parties within the same jurisdiction.

He notes that many of the studies reported in the paper focus on policy development rather than on the role of government in policy initiation and implementation, and he suggests that roles may well vary depending on the state of play in the policy process. He ends by identifying a number of promising areas for future research, including the relations between government and other actors, which would help improve understanding of governance processes and the network relationships that influence government into playing one role rather than another.

This study prompts a number of observations:

- It may not be possible to eliminate confusion over terms, roles or actors
- Government's role may not be consistent; it may vary from one process to another
- Identifying the particular model at play in a given situation may provide clues about how best to intervene
- With respect to strengthening citizens' voices in governance (and it is notable that Lemieux does not speak about the "beneficiaries" of governance, nor about the role for government highlighted in the Civil Society in the New Millennium project, that of enabler or facilitator of effective citizen action), it may be helpful to identify the point in the policy process where intervention is most likely to be successful.

Clearly, there are many unresolved questions about what governance is:

"Is it about public management, democracy, a participatory decision-making process, or simply legitimate authority? Or, all of these things and more? Governance has distinctly different meaning and implications in different regions of the world and in different regions within countries.....the concepts of both governance and sustainable human development must be better understood in international assistance programmes."⁴⁶

The literature examined here indicates that there have been significant shifts in thinking about governance. Governance currently seems to be a more relational concept, though primary responsibility for good governance continues to rest with the state. Great effort is underway to more clearly understand the many dimensions of governance, and the discussion seems to be moving in the direction of good governance and humane governance. With each shift, there seems to be additional recognition of the many stakeholders in governance and the need to consider the impacts of governance on each of them. As concern for citizens enters the discussion, which it is beginning to do, there

⁴⁶ ⁴⁶ *Reconceptualising Governance*. Discussion Paper 2. Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP, 1997, 85-86.

must be consideration of the many ways that governance actually impacts on people's lives. It should now be possible, in all discussions of governance, to take into account the need and desire for change on the part of citizens around the world, people who increasingly feel left out as the power of global markets eclipses the power of states, and who feel, at a profound level, that governance must serve their needs first and foremost.

III Do different stakeholders have different perspectives on governance?

At a superficial level, this seems like a rhetorical question. Of course, different stakeholders have different perspectives on governance. At the same time, it warrants a closer look. First, it begs the questions of who the stakeholders in governance are. It then leads us to consider how the differing perspectives are characterised as well as what roles and expectations are identified for the various stakeholders.

Identifying stakeholders in governance

The Civil Society in the New Millennium synthesis report began by identifying its roots in the dominant model of societal development which emerged during the 90s:

- Democracy as the most widely accepted form of government⁴⁷
- Private enterprise and the free market as the primary engine of economic development
- The emergence of a wide array of new development actors in civil society – NGOs, women's organisations, co-operatives, self-help groups and others, both secular and religious.⁴⁸

Starting from this report, we can begin to identify stakeholders in governance.

Governments or governing institutions – also known as the state - according to UNDP⁴⁹, include governing institutions - legislatures, judiciaries and electoral bodies. Legislatures mediate differing interests and establish policies, laws and resource priorities that directly affect people-centred development. Electoral bodies ensure independent and transparent elections. Judiciaries uphold the rule of law, bringing security and predictability to social, political and economic relations. These are public institutions with legitimacy to impose collective decisions.

The public sector, according to UNDP, embraces the civil service, economic and financial management and urban management. UNDP, along with government centres

⁴⁷ It is useful in this connection to look at Amartya Sen's article "Democracy as a Universal Value" in the *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 10, Number 3, July 1999, 3-17. Sen identifies the rise of democracy as the preeminent development of the twentieth century and highlights three ways in which democracy enriches the lives of citizens: it has intrinsic importance for political participation and freedom; it has instrumental importance as a political incentive in keeping governments responsible and accountable, and it has a constructive role in the formation of values and in the understanding of needs, rights and duties.

⁴⁸ *Citizens and Governance: Civil Society in the New Millennium*, page, 15.

⁴⁹ *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*, A UNDP Policy Document, 1997.

for management development and training of public officials recognise the need for leadership development, management of changes and civil service reform.

The private sector includes profit-oriented businesses and corporations.

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), sometimes called the voluntary sector or the Third Sector (which, according to Tandon⁵⁰ is truly the First Sector). Civil society organisations encompass people working together for a common purpose and are seen to be essential for good governance. These are also known as citizens' associations, peoples' organisations, or NGOs.⁵¹ What tends to be common among groups that define themselves as CSOs is:

“some focus on inclusiveness, popular participation, participatory methods, communication, networking, and deliberate efforts to address and redress imbalances relating to issues of race, gender, class, age, and origin.”⁵²

There is some question about whether intergovernmental organisations should be included with CSOs or whether they are in a group of their own.

Intermediaries include the media, trade unions, religious institutions, social movements, and academia.

Civil society. Efforts to define and characterise civil society occupy conferences and attract academics, social commentators, development specialists, political theorists, journalists and many others. There is some question about whether civil society is an entity or whether it is the training ground for citizens. And, the interpretation chosen has significant implications for the ways in which civil society is considered a stakeholder in governance. Milner⁵³ has prepared a review of the concept and makeup of civil society. This paper includes a small number of efforts to capture the essence of civil society.

Naidoo sees civil society as the institutional forms that occupy the space between government and business. This raises the question for him of how we distinguish between “what we might call the full universe of associational life and civil society which, in addition, captures certain core values about promoting the common good in an unambiguous way.”⁵⁴

Hanson, working with a group of field practitioners, policy makers, private citizens and others, defined civil society as “an evolving relationship based on inclusiveness, respect

⁵⁰ Rajesh Tandon. Presentation to the International Society for Third Sector Research, Dublin, July 2000.

⁵¹ Caren Wickliffe. *Voices of the Pacific Tide*, Pacific Regional Report for the Civil Society in the New Millennium Project, 2000.

⁵² Suzanne Francis Brown. “The Caribbean Context” in *Spitting in the Wind*. Suzanne Francis Brown (ed). Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000, xiii. While this characterisation was developed in the context of the Caribbean, it seems applicable to CSOs around the world.

⁵³ See Andrew Milner, “Civil Society: Towards a New Definition.” Discussion/Occasional Paper No. 3, Commonwealth Foundation, 2001, for an exploration of the concept and makeup of civil society.

⁵⁴ Kumi Naidoo, Keynote Address to The Third Commonwealth NGO Forum, Durban, South Africa, November 2000.

of differences, equal access to basic needs and shared responsibility.” It includes notions of shared leadership, collective thinking, organisation and action.⁵⁵

Barber claims that civil society is the training ground for citizens, the traditional arena in which individuals become citizens as they engage together in civic actions. In so doing, he draws some useful distinctions between civil society, government and the private sector. According to Barber,

Civil society occupies the middle ground between government and the private sector. It is the space we occupy when we are engaged neither in government (voting, jury service, paying taxes) nor in commerce (working, producing, shopping, consuming). And it is a space defined by such activities as attending church or synagogue, doing community service, participating in a voluntary association, contributing to a charity, assuming responsibility in a Parent-Teacher Association or a neighborhood crime watch or a hospital fund-raising society. Civil society shares with government a sense of publicity and a regard for the general good and the commonweal, but unlike government it makes no claims to exercising a monopoly on legitimate coercion. Rather it is a voluntary and in this sense “private” realm devoted to public goods. It shares with the private sector the gift of liberty; it is voluntary and is constituted by freely associated individuals and groups; but unlike the private sector, it aims at common ground and consensual (that is, integrative and collaborative) modes of action. Civil society is thus public without being coercive, voluntary without being privatised.⁵⁶

In general, “civil society” tends to refer to the range of players in society, particularly individuals, governments and NGOs acting in a common interest (the public good). Civil society, as a normative concept, carries with it the notion of active citizenship which itself assumes forms of learning, training, and education to prepare people for involvement in community life.⁵⁷

Experts can be found in each stakeholder group. They bring knowledge and experience to bear on the full range of issues related to governance.

Ordinary citizens are the basic building block of civil society. They include the poor, the disenfranchised, the marginalised, and the vulnerable and the young - “visibles” and “invisibles” in terms of the Civil Society in the New Millennium Project.

According to Ellsworth,⁵⁸ the term citizen refers to all members of civil society - individuals, governments and non-government organisations (voluntary and for-profit).

⁵⁵ Mirja Hanson. “Facilitating Civil Society” in *Beyond Prince and Merchant*, John Burbidge (ed). New York: Pact Publications, 1998.

⁵⁶ Benjamin Barber cited in R. Claire Snyder. *Shutting the Public out of Politics*. An Occasional Paper of the Kettering Foundation, 1999, page 1-2

⁵⁷ See Juliet Merrifield, “Learning Citizenship.” Discussion/Occasional Paper No. ?, Commonwealth Foundation, 2001, for an discussion of education for citizenship and some of its lessons and challenges.

⁵⁸ Jim Ellsworth. *Justice Stewardship: The Modern Sustainability Challenge*. A paper prepared for the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) 2001 International Conference, 2001, 4.

Within this context, citizen engagement refers to how members of society govern themselves collectively in the development and pursuit of common goals.

Community, according to Ellsworth,⁵⁹ refers to all citizens (including government) who share a sense of place, purpose and communal values. Its spatial boundaries can be as small as a classroom or as large as the planet. It can be a rural village, an urban centre, a neighborhood, a watershed, an ecosystem, a coastal zone, an Aboriginal homeland, a state, a province or a country.

Wolfish and Smith⁶⁰ argue that decision makers today are working in an environment marked by a proliferation of power centres affecting policymaking and governance. They identify six types of participants in governance processes:

State actors, those government structures operating in an official role on behalf of the state or jurisdictions within the state. By recognising each of the branches and levels of government as a centre, the state can be recognised as a system of power centres, each having an impact on policy and governance.

Global city-regions, which are not governmentally imposed and whose borders are determined by the “naturalness” of their economic zones. They can be dominated by a strongly developed core, or be more polycentric. They make effective points of entry into the global economy and are constantly evolving.

Intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), including executive-oriented organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (where national governments determine membership and policy), and international parliamentary institutions. These are creatures of states and their power is limited by the commitment of member states to comply with their rules and by the effectiveness of their enforcement mechanisms. They are often dominated by their most powerful members.

Non-state actors, include non-governmental organisations and firms. NGOs often exist to establish standards of behaviour and influence state policy. Private corporations can be very powerful and go well beyond the ability to lobby governments to pressuring governments to adopt particular policy positions.

Quasi-state institutions, such as central banks, embody a tension between democratic accountability on the one hand and maintaining support from the business community on the other.

Transnational communities range from benign yet potentially influential ethnic diasporas to more malevolent groups such as transnational criminal organisations.

It is notable that citizens do not appear here. Wolfish and Smith note the growing number and influence of NGOs, IGOs, and multinational corporations, the emergence of global

⁵⁹Ellsworth, 4.

⁶⁰ Daniel Wolfish and Gordon Smith. “Governance and Policy in a Multicentric World.” *Canadian Public Policy*, Volume XXVI Supplement 2, 2000.

city-regions, and the intensification of global interconnectedness, along with the growing impact of these shifts on the processes of governance. They do not, however, include citizens in their analysis.

Citizens' perspectives on governance

There is little doubt that different stakeholders have different perspectives on governance. The emphasis here, however, is on perspectives and expectations that citizens have of stakeholders in governance.

Bhatta⁶¹ notes that "Governance, in general, is said to consist of the following core elements: accountability, transparency, openness, and rule of law." Citizens certainly agree. According to citizens, good governance involves transparency and accountability, being accepted - and having CSOs accepted - as respected partners in policy formulation and implementation, and genuine ongoing engagement (that is, not cursory consultation and not only during election periods).

Accountability – political, financial and legal - is about being able to hold public officials responsible for their actions. Transparency refers to the fact that the methods of governments (from central to local) are clear to the public and they can see for themselves how the policies are being formulated and implemented. It requires that governments do things in a manner that is open to scrutiny. Openness refers to the availability of opportunities to the public to critique any actions they perceive as not being transparent.⁶²

By genuine engagement, citizens mean having the ability – and the right - to influence the public agenda. Engagement means being able to participate in consultation processes that are open and accessible processes, that provide relevant and understandable information, as well as adequate time and resources to be effective.⁶³ Citizens also believe that good governance includes the participation and voice of the poor, the marginalised and under-represented.⁶⁴

Citizens see their own role in governance as acting in the common good - in their own interest and in the interest of their communities and societies:

"People want to be citizens, not merely voters and consumers. As citizens, they have rights and obligations. They want their rights to be respected and they also want to fulfill their obligations. Citizens now demand a greater say in shaping their lives. They are asking for a fuller, active, and enlarged role in decision-making. They want to participate in discussions and decisions. They want to know why some policies are not

⁶¹ Gambhir Bhatta. "Decentralised Governance: Empowerment Without Capacity Enhancement is Meaningless." In *Governance Innovations in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Gambhir Bhatta and Joaquin L. Gonzalez, III (eds). Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998, 232.

⁶² Bhatta, 232.

⁶³ *Report of the Third Commonwealth NGO Forum*. The Commonwealth Foundation, 1999, pages 68-69.

⁶⁴ Rajesh Tandon and Ranjita Mohanty. *Civil Society and Governance Research Study in India*. A paper prepared for the Third International conference on Civil Society and Governance, Amsterdam, September 25-28, 2000, page 8.

implemented. They want to know why some people (political leaders and public officials) are above the law. They demand information and transparency from the government. This is, in short, a demand for participatory and responsive governance by citizens ...”⁶⁵

Citizens see their role as vitally important for creating social change, for advocacy on different for promoting the rights of vulnerable or marginalised groups, or for the delivery of education, awareness and training, and for the delivery of social services.⁶⁶

And citizens have very clear expectations of government:

“Do what you say, implement policies fairly, address economic security, assure public safety, and consult citizens regularly.”⁶⁷

Citizens expect governments to place people at the centre of decision making, to consult with people and communities, to provide for basic needs and infrastructure, and to be more open, democratic, transparent and accountable. They also expect governments to enable the economic, social, cultural, intellectual and spiritual well-being of its citizens.⁶⁸ In other words, citizens increasingly see governments as playing an enabling and facilitating role.

Citizens see important roles for intermediary organisations in drawing attention to issues, playing an important watchdog role, and giving visibility to citizens’ efforts. Media, trade unions, religious institutions, social movements and academia are all expected to enable discourse, promote citizen activism and responsive governance.⁶⁹

Citizens want the private sector to contribute more to the societies and environments in which they profit. Citizens expect the private sector to recognise that its role is to create employment, reinvest profits in local economies, and deliver quality goods and services at reasonable cost.⁷⁰ And they emphasise that the private sector should pursue profit in “as unselfish and socially responsible a manner as possible.”⁷¹ These expectations fit with a growing move toward corporate responsibility in which corporations audit and report on working conditions, environmental performance and community activity.

Citizens see important roles for civil society organisations in mobilising and sensitising citizens about their rights and obligation and the measures they could take to influence policy-making; encouraging voluntarism and self-help; helping to form strong power bases to lobby for specific needs and interests, lobbying for debt relief, intervening in

⁶⁵ Rajesh Tandon. *A Common Dream*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Asia Regional Report, 2000, 13.

⁶⁶ Caren Wickliffe. *Voices of the Pacific Tide*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Pacific Regional Report, 2000, 12.

⁶⁷ Tandon, 7.

⁶⁸ Wickliffe, 11.

⁶⁹ Tandon, 16.

⁷⁰ Wickliffe, 11.

⁷¹ Hope Chigudu and Ezra Mbogori. *Harnessing the Creative Energy of Citizens*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Africa Regional Report, 2000, 10.

areas of greatest need (rather than where there is good infrastructure and services), protecting the environment, and in demanding accountability. Citizens expect CSOs to be at the forefront of the debate about governance, transparency, and accountability.⁷²

And citizens see experts as providing intellectual guidance and leadership.⁷³

Roles for citizens in governance

From the standpoint of citizens and those who advocate on behalf of a greater role for citizens in governance, it is clear that citizens are able – and entitled - to participate in decisions and policy-making, to provide input and ideas, to express concerns and to know that they will be heard. Further, they expect to be able to come together with others to share their views.

Other roles that citizens maintain include:

- Holding legitimate expectations of governments
- Bringing forward their concerns in all their dimensions - social, economic, cultural, scientific, environmental, etc
- Inspiring/prompting necessary changes. According to Dowdeswell, current attention to governance reflects the understanding that institutions have not kept pace with changes and challenges.⁷⁴

Governments typically see themselves as providers of information and services for citizens. They less often see themselves in an enabling or facilitating role, though this is beginning to change in some countries. Governments, for their part, see a number of roles for ordinary citizens. Voting, of course, heads the list. Governments also want citizens to play a role in the economy by working to sustain themselves and their families, paying taxes, spending money (even when there is little to spend), saving money (in ways that help generate funds for businesses and governments), and producing children who will, in their turn, contribute to the economy. Participating in the voluntary sector is also considered important - in community affairs, in caring for and helping others. Citizens are expected to benefit from education and training opportunities over the course of their lives, and to be peaceful and law-abiding.

Increasingly, governments are recognising citizen's desire and capacity to participate in decisions that affect their lives and communities. Issues and events at all levels from local to international are pushing governments to recognise that they must somehow accommodate challenges to governments' priorities. Nonetheless, implicit in many government discussions of citizens' roles is the question of whether ordinary citizens are truly capable of participating:

⁷² Chigudu and Mbogori. 19-20.

⁷³ Chigudu and Mbogori, 9.

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Dowdeswell, Former Head of UNEP, "Unfinished Business" an address at the University of Toronto. January 31, 2001

“[p]olitical elites have tended to be skeptical about the capacity of the public to absorb, comprehend or intelligently engage with matters of public policy.”⁷⁵

Business and industry raise this question as well, particularly in an increasingly globalised marketplace, where their focus on profit and productivity is often in conflict with needs of workers and communities. At the same time, there is growing evidence (or at least growing rhetoric) in developed countries of corporate responsibility, social investment, and community involvement.

For the most part, governments and businesses tend to see their roles as initiators of citizen involvement or participation; they too rarely pay adequate attention to citizen concerns or include themselves in citizen-initiated processes.

This makes it extremely important to address the question that underpins so many discussions of governance – the extent to which ordinary citizens are able to participate. While the Commonwealth Foundation’s research helps to dispel this notion in very significant ways, the concern surfaces not infrequently in discussions with elected and non-elected officials (certainly in Canada) and in business circles. Concerns are expressed about lack of experience, difficulty in understanding the issues or the complexities of policy making. And increasingly, these doubts are being framed in the context of the additional complexities of a globalised world.

There seems to be an unspoken hierarchy among governance stakeholders. Elected officials tend to see themselves as representatives of the public interest and working on behalf of the common good. Non-elected officials (in particular, senior civil servants) are, by definition, accountable to their political masters. However, they hold the institutional memory for their departments’ issues and concerns, and often have a carefully developed sense of what is needed. The private sector, particularly large and well-funded businesses and industries, focuses on profit and productivity, and by virtue of their economic (and increasingly supra-national) clout are able to bring their concerns to governments with considerable authority and ease. While the value of CSOs is acknowledged, they too often struggle for the resources needed to fulfill their mandates and meet expectations. There is somehow a sense that experts are needed to negotiate territory which is complex and complicated, and that Herculean efforts would be required on the part of citizens which they are unable or unwilling to expend.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Citizens are willing – indeed are clamouring - to be more involved and are demonstrating over and over again that they are well able to do so. It is no wonder that they are feeling disconnected, disenfranchised and powerless. Somehow, it goes unnoticed that each person, regardless of their role or position in society, is, first and foremost, a citizen.

Looking at model of citizen participation may be helpful in identifying or clarifying the extent to which citizens have been “allowed” to enter into decisions that affect their lives

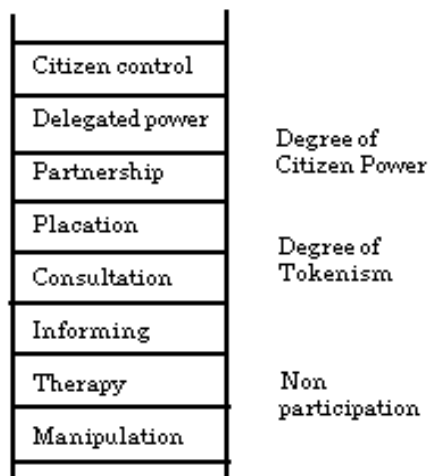
⁷⁵ Jay G. Blumler and Stephen Coleman. “Realising Democracy Online: A Civic Commons in Cyberspace” The second in a series of IPPR/Citizens Online papers. 2001, 6.

and communities. Arnstein's model continues to be the leading prototype.⁷⁶ As the former Chief Advisor on Public Participation in the Model Cities Administration of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Arnstein evaluated the degrees of citizen power given to participants in the first 75 model cities programs the agency funded. From this information and similar research into 1 000 antipoverty and urban renewal programmes, she developed a stark typology of citizen participation that was equated to eight rungs on a ladder of progressive citizen empowerment.⁷⁷

Arnstein's typology includes three degrees of citizen empowerment: nonparticipation, tokenism and citizen power. These are demonstrated by eight distinct (and value laden) approaches to public involvement: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control. At the highest level, it is conceivable that power sharing may result from power being taken by citizens rather than freely given or initiated by power holders.

Figure 1

Arnsteins' Ladder of Citizen Empowerment.



Levels 1 and 2, manipulation and therapy are both non participative. The aim is to cure or educate the participants. The not so tacit implication is that the proposed plan is best, and the job of participation is to achieve public support by public relations.

Level 3, informing, is a most important first step to legitimate participation. However, too frequently, the emphasis at this level is on a one-way flow of information, with no channel for feedback.

Level 4, consultation, is a further legitimate step. It can include attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public enquiries. Nonetheless, Arnstein feels this is still a "window dressing" or token ritual.

⁷⁶ Sherry R. Arnstein. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Volume 35, Number 4. July, 1969, 216-224.

⁷⁷ Cited in Sharon M. Stroick, "The Evolution of Public Involvement Practice," unpublished, 1997.

Level 5 is placation. This might, for example, include co-opting hand-picked 'worthy people' onto committees. It allows citizens to advise or plan, but retains for power holders the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice.

At level 6, partnership, power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders, and planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared.

At level 7, delegated power, citizens hold a clear majority of seats on committees with delegated powers to make decisions. The public now has the power to assure accountability of the programme to them.

At level 8, citizen control, citizens handle the entire job of planning, policy making and managing a programme with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds.

The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) has adapted Arnstein's ladder to focus on increasing levels of public impact. Their public participation spectrum begins with informing and moves through consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering citizens.⁷⁸

In *Learning to Engage*, Wyman et al.⁷⁹ propose to extend the continuum of engagement to include space for citizen-initiated processes and mutual engagement. Citizen-initiated processes include those processes where citizens attempt to engage government on issues that are important to them. Mutual engagement goes even further by providing for ongoing deliberation and communication between citizens and government.

Clearly, most efforts to involve citizens in governance tend to rest at the lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder, though there is some evidence of change in some countries, largely in response to citizens' clamouring for greater involvement. It is a long road from token participation (where the state or proponent knows best) to mutual engagement.

IV Issues and Challenges

Issues with respect to involvement from the perspective of citizens are well known, and much has been written about them. They are grounded in a hierarchical system and traditional models of governance which put citizens low on the hierarchy if they include citizens at all.

It seems clear that interest in governance on the part of both citizens and governments is underpinned by awareness of deep dissatisfaction and need for change. From the perspective of citizens, the list is familiar – basic needs remain to be met; disparities - economic, social and political – are increasing; information is not accessible, timely or

⁷⁸ The IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum can be seen at www.iap2.org.

⁷⁹ Miriam Wyman, David Shulman and Laurie Ham. *Learning to Engage: Experiences with Civic Engagement in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2000, 4.

relevant; there is little transparency or accountability; there is inadequate access to decision-makers and to consultation processes; citizens' input is not apparent in decisions; government priorities do not adequately reflect citizens' concerns.

In this section, we try to focus on those issues and challenges which limit or constrain citizens' involvement in governance and are, perhaps, less familiar. While each is, undoubtedly, deserving of much more than a few words, the purpose here is to highlight them so that collective attention can go toward addressing them.

State responsibility

A strong and responsive state is fundamental to good governance. A good part of this responsiveness lies in attending to citizens' needs – beginning with basic needs, and also concerning itself with communitarian and associative values and norms as well as needs for equal rights and justice and responsive and inclusive governance. This was a key finding of the Civil Society in the New Millennium study and is borne out by the literature. In this connection, UNDP notes that:

“[t]he state must take steps to enhance participation in governance, from fostering civil education to create new values to restructuring state institutions (the executive, judiciary and parliament), decentralising real power and resources to lower levels of government and deregulating the economy. Good governance implies that citizens trust in and in trust themselves to the rule of law. The state must have mechanisms to limit arbitrary power and authority in government and in the private sector, but it must also find more effective ways of guaranteeing human rights and preventing abuses of discretionary power.”⁸⁰

While the state has important responsibility for good governance, there is also evidence that this can be used in contradictory ways. Subramaniam,⁸¹ for example, contrasts the current situations in Malaysia and in Singapore, and finds different ways in which the rhetoric of good governance is interpreted and played out in each.

In Malaysia, he finds good governance to be a reformist discourse contributing toward greater liberal democratisation. However, in Singapore, good governance is an integral part of the dominant discourse of the state at the same time as it seems to be a barrier against more liberal democratic ideas.

Islam and Morrison bring an additional contradiction to the rhetoric of good governance when they point out that:

“Ironically, just as *good governance* – including the postulates of democracy and human rights – has emerged as a priority for aid agencies in the past decade, democratic public institutions have faced mounting cynicism and questions about their legitimacy in the donor countries themselves. The state in developed societies has failed to deal with

⁸⁰ *Reconceptualising Governance*. Discussion Paper 2. Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP, 1997, 71.

⁸¹ Suhraim Subramaniam. “The Dual Narrative of “Good Governance: Lessons for Understanding Political and Cultural Change in Malaysia and Singapore.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Volume 12, Number 1, April 2001, 65-80.

burgeoning budget deficits and public debt, double digit unemployment, inefficient social service delivery, growing poverty and homelessness, and a rising tide of crime and violence. The world's industrial democracies themselves are suffering a crisis of governance.

Despite this endemic crisis of governance and the erosion of legitimacy of the liberal democratic state in the industrial countries of the North, the governance paradigm assumes that democratic evolution can and should be encouraged in the developing countries of the South.”⁸²

Clearly, it is essential to go beyond rhetoric to an understanding of what governance is in a particular political and cultural context and how it affects citizens.

Voter turnout

Voting is a fundamental political act in a democracy and an important pillar of a democratic society. In newly democratic and democratising countries, voting is eagerly anticipated and celebrated as it should be. However, throughout North America, low voter turnouts have characterised elections at local, provincial/state and national levels for some years. (*This Magazine* has labeled this phenomenon “electile dysfunction.”⁸³) Further, the recent stalemate in the 2000 American presidential election highlighted problems of low voter turnouts and also drew attention to inconsistencies in the way elections take place in that country.

Electoral system

One of the reasons put forward for low voter turnout is the nature of the electoral system itself. Canada, like many Commonwealth countries, uses Westminster rules: whoever gets the most votes gets the seat, regardless of whether they win in a landslide or by a few votes. This is known as the First Past the Post (FPP) system.⁸⁴ Other countries have deemed the FPP system antiquated and unfair and have discarded it.

Proportional Representation (PR), developed in the mid-19th century, has been adopted by South Africa, New Zealand, Israel, Australia and most of Europe. Democracies implementing it have seen increases in voter turnout, more women and minorities have been elected and “big money” has become less important in determining who is elected.

Germany and New Zealand now use a mixed member proportional system (MMP) where the legislature is filled using both FPP and PR. Under the new MMP system in New Zealand, voters are given two choices at the ballot box: a vote for the candidate in their riding and a vote for their party of choice.

⁸² Nasir Islam and David R. Morrison (eds). “Introduction: Governance, Democracy and Human Rights” in **Governance, Democracy and Human Rights**, Special Issue of the Canadian Journal of Development Studies. Ottawa: University of Ottawa and the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development, 1996, 12.

⁸³Paul Jay. *Cure electile dysfunction*. In *Seven Habits of Highly Effective Nations*. *This Magazine*, Volume 34, Number 4, January/February 2001, 25-27.

⁸⁴This can mean, as it does in Canada, that a party with a smaller percentage of the popular vote can control Parliament.

The point is that with MMP voters feel that their vote actually matters and, therefore, that they can vote for someone or something they actually believe in. As Jay puts it, “It’s democracy in action, baby.”⁸⁵

Pace of change

Governments are slow to change and reluctant to adapt to new ideas. Traditionally, governments have evolved institutions – including internal bureaucracies to ensure efficient administration and long-range survival - to ensure the social good of the country, continuing public order, some form of social justice, and the maintenance of sovereignty on the world stage. Governments and elected bodies tend to be reactive, rather than proactive, by nature.⁸⁶

Decentralisation

For Bhatta, empowerment means “decentralising authority and powers to the local level.” He makes an important case for the need to build the capacity of selected leaders, managers, and key participants of civil society.⁸⁷

The views of decentralisation seem to vary quite considerably between developed and less developed countries. In developed countries like Canada and the United Kingdom, what governments call “decentralisation” often refers to downloading of responsibility to local levels, without the funds necessary to carry out these responsibilities. Decentralisation of services and programmes is concurrent with increasingly centralised decision making at all levels.

Less developed countries, on the other hand, are often beginning to emerge from a situation where the state has held tremendous power and authority. In these contexts, decentralisation of responsibility and an increase in the number of players in governance is a welcome – indeed, a necessary – development: “decentralisation is an ideological principle, associated with objectives of self-reliance, democratic decision-making, popular participation in government, and accountability of public officials to citizens...”⁸⁸

Private sector models for government

In recent years, the public sector has been heavily influenced by private-sector practices, with its emphasis on reducing spending and balancing the ledger. These practices have shaped many initiatives, including downsizing, re-engineering, privatisation, partnering, electronic services, client focus and new accounting practices. According to Armstrong

⁸⁵ Jay, 27.

⁸⁶ Thomas Riley. *Electronic Democracy and Change*. The Riley Report January, 2001 [http://www.rileyis.com] @ 2001-02-20 17:26:57

⁸⁷ Gambhir Bhatta. “Decentralised Governance: Empowerment Without Capacity Enhancement is Meaningless” in Gambhir Bhatta and Joaquin Gonzalez III (eds) *Governance Innovations in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1998, 232.

⁸⁸ D. Rondinelli et al. “Decentralisation in Developing Countries: A Review of Recent Experience.” Staff Working Paper No. 581 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1983) cited in Gambhir Bhatta “Decentralised Governance” in Bhatta and Gonzalez, 235.

and Lenihan,⁸⁹ this approach is no better suited than the traditional “command and control” model to responding to the public’s call for higher levels of accountability for performance or innovative approaches to service delivery.

As with decentralisation, there are differing perspectives on emulating corporate practices. Bolongaita⁹⁰ is enthusiastic about adapting Total Quality Management with its emphasis on customer satisfaction to governments. He sees Total Quality Governance as an opportunity to overcome poor service delivery, often arrogant and complacent government employees and elected officials, lack of incentives to serve people efficiently and effectively, and low citizen expectations. He feels it is important for governments to view their people as more than subjects who pay taxes and obey laws, and as citizens who deserve to be treated equally regardless of rank or status or customers who deserve to be served well.⁹¹

By contrast, citizens in developed countries are resentful of governments’ emphasis on the “bottom line.” What seems common to people around the world is that they want to be treated equally, they deserve to be served well, and they want governments’ priorities to be determined by citizens.

Territorial government departments

It is increasingly important for government departments to talk and work together, since more and more problems and issues are cross-cutting. The “silo” thinking of many government departments makes it very difficult to create new ways of working and communicating across departments or ministries, and similarly, makes it difficult to restructure in ways that better reflect current realities. From a citizen perspective, this territoriality means that citizens may be invited to participate in consultations on similar issues by several different departments in a short time period, resulting in what is known as “consultation fatigue” and further disillusionment.

For governments, this concern surfaces particularly as they move toward online delivery of services and programmes. Thus, it is important to remember that the values which underpin institutions are more important than the institutions themselves.⁹²

Privatisation

In some countries, the non-profit sector provides services that in other places are provided by the state (for example, Children’s Aid Societies). Privatisation is often associated with decentralisation in developed countries, with mixed reviews. Rebick, a staunch supporter of a strong and responsive public sector, points out that there is no

⁸⁹ Jim Armstrong and Donald G. Lenihan. *From Controlling to Collaborating: When Governments Want to Be Partners*. Ottawa: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1999, 19.

⁹⁰ Emil P. Bolongaita, Jr. “Total Quality Governance (TQG): A New Model for Government-Citizen Relations. In Ghambir Batta and Joaquin L. Gonzalez III, *Governance Innovations in the Asia-Pacific Region*, 1998.

⁹¹ Bolongaita, 103.

⁹² Justice Mary Ellen Turpel Lafond, Address to the conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, August, 2000.

inherent cost advantage to this, and that downloading and privatisation typically increase costs for citizens and reduce services and access.⁹³

Locus of involvement

Governments (and governance) exist at many levels - tribe, town, city, province/state, and nation. Citizens are involved at each level and may be involved at more than one. Increasingly, they are also establishing communities of interest that transcend even national boundaries. This raises issues around where best to become involved, where citizens can have an impact and also feel that their voices are making a difference.

Access

There are a number of aspects of access that are issues with respect to citizen involvement:

Equity is not sameness

It is important to recognise and include historically disadvantaged groups; however, it is also important not to impose norms and values of the majority as universal. For example, indigenous peoples are seeking recognition of privileges and rights not available to other nationals on the basis of their standing under the law as peoples. This is quite different from forced (or even expected) integration.⁹⁴

Hierarchy of relationships and power

The nature of the relationships among and between stakeholders in governance is not equal, and this affects access to influence and authority. Citizens do not have the same access as NGOs, small NGOs do not have the same access as large NGOs, and business and trade interests appear to have ready access and considerable influence.

Gendered governance

UNDP speaks explicitly to concerns about gender and governance:

“Governance is presumed to be gender-neutral, but the discourse, procedures, structures and functions of governance remain heavily skewed in favour of men. This unequal sharing of power leads to an unequal sharing of resources – time, incomes and property – between men and women.... Redressing these inequalities requires a gendered analysis of the processes and structures of governance. Such analysis suggests that the family (or household) and the community are sites of governance, in that they are spaces where people interact and where power is exercised.Indeed a gendered analysis of governance erases the conventional distinctions between private and public spheres, regarding them as mutually dependent spaces in which gendered norms, values and traditions are played out.”⁹⁵

⁹³ Judy Rebeck. *Imagine Democracy*. Toronto: Stoddart, 2000, 119.

⁹⁴ Jenson, page 22.

⁹⁵ *Reconceptualising Governance*. Discussion Paper 2. Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP, 1997. 73.

No other sources were found during preparation of this paper which reflect on gender and governance. This may not be an issue at a conceptual level. There is little doubt, however, that women and men are rarely dealt with equally in their interactions with governments and other partners in governance

Social exclusion

“Social exclusion is a phenomenon of alienation and distance from society...Exclusion is the fact of preventing, even temporarily, someone from participating in social relationships and the construction of society.”⁹⁶ Social exclusion has unfairly limited involvement of women, the poor, youth, the disabled, immigrants – those identified for the Civil Society in the New Millennium Project as “invisibles.”

Disaffected youth

According to a recent article,⁹⁷ young people in Canada offer a valuable map of this generation’s political paradoxes. They don’t read newspapers, hear or watch news broadcasts, and many do not vote. All are well educated and employed, and many conduct their day-to-day lives in a highly politicised manner. They are full of political emotion and a desire for change, at the same time, scornful of mainstream debate because it comes across as hollow and dry. They are epitomising the desire for something different, especially when one looks at the many young people involved in recent protests at international political gatherings. It is important to find ways to engage young people who claim to want civic engagement while deliberately tuning out the political process.

Social inequalities

Real social inequalities, such as those of gender, race, and class, exist and will take a toll on interactions within civil society. Just because the state has granted equal citizenship to all adult individuals regardless of gender, race and class does not mean that inequalities – whether due to differential socialisation, social practices, economics, or old-fashioned prejudice – will not adversely affect the ability of those individuals in traditionally subordinate groups to participate fully in civic practices.⁹⁸

Sustainable participation

It is important to build enduring relationships (and outcomes) into institutional frameworks in which changes inevitably take place. Elected officials come and go, staff members change positions or move on as do volunteers. It is important to consider how sustainable participation, indeed sustainable governance can be created that honours and respects all players.

⁹⁶J.B. DeFoucauld and D. Piveteau. “La société in quête de sens” (Odile Jacob, trans.) cited in *Horizons*, Volume 4, Number 1, February 2001, 12.

⁹⁷ Leah McLaren, *Globe and Mail*, Saturday February 10, 2001

⁹⁸ R. Claire Snyder, *Shutting the Public out of Politics*. An Occasional Paper of the Kettering Foundation, 7.

Whose perspective?

Opportunities for citizens to be involved in governance appear to vary depending on whether one is talking with government representatives or with citizens. It is not unusual for elected officials and non-elected officials to feel that they are approachable or that their consultation processes are successful, while citizens feel quite differently.

Lack of institutional memory

Systems need to survive particular people. This can be a challenge when so much of the communication between citizens and governments (staff as well as politicians) is based on informal communication and networking. When the situation changes (eg., amalgamation, or election of new people and the new staff that accompany them) there is often little institutional memory, and citizens have to recreate working relationships. Documentation is an important aspect of institutional memory. It is problematic when so much is informal and as electronic communication becomes more common that written communication.

Clearly this is not an exhaustive statement of the issues which act as barriers to citizen participation. They do, however, highlight the range of issues which deserve attention in order to strengthen citizen's voices in governance.

V Actualising citizens' roles: Tools and principles

“Strong, aware, responsible, active and engaged citizens along with strong, caring, inclusive, listening, open and responsive democratic governments. This is the basis on which a good society can be built for the next millennium.”⁹⁹

“A change in direction is called for – change which will ensure that people can make their own choices and where they are firmly positioned at the centre of governance and decision-making. Governments have a responsibility to nurture the future citizens of tomorrow and they must begin by adopting citizen solutions to those limitations inhibiting the manifestation of a “good life” as they navigate their way forward into the future.”¹⁰⁰

A focus on citizens is the premise of The Commonwealth Foundation's Citizens and Governance Programme. The examination of the literature has provided fruitful material related to governance and the stakeholders or partners in it. From this and from extensive experience and research with citizens and CSOs, we have been able to identify the kinds of roles that citizens can, and are willing to play, in civil society. We have also identified a range of issues and challenges which serve, to date, to keep citizens from fulfilling their potential. While part of the responsibility for this can certainly be placed at the feet of citizens themselves, by far the greatest responsibility lies with other partners in

⁹⁹ Citizens and Governance: Civil Society in the New Millennium, 83.

¹⁰⁰ Caren Wickliffe. *Voices of the Pacific Tide*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Project, Pacific Regional Report, 2000, 18.

governance for promoting a culture of engagement, creating opportunities, and opening doors and hearts to citizens the world over.

Given the need for a strong and active state, much of the change that is needed seems to be the responsibility of the state – to demonstrate political will and commitment to hearing citizens, to take actions that put citizens at the centre of governance, to build capacity within government and within civil society for involvement, to attend to all stakeholders, and to make it easier for citizens to bring their concerns to the attention of governments.

Considering the roles citizens play – and increasingly want to play - in governance raises important questions related to expectations (both of governments and of citizens), and to how citizens develop a sense of belonging and capacity to participate in governance:

- Is government genuinely concerned for the well being of its citizens?
- How do stakeholders in governance come to fulfill their roles and learn to take on their responsibilities?
- How do stakeholders know what the state owes to citizens, what citizens owe to the state and what citizens owe to each other? And how do we ensure that there are mechanisms in place to guarantee their realisation?¹⁰¹
- How does a sense of belonging - being part of a specific political community, to participate in its economic and social life and to enjoy its support – come about?

This section identifies a number of principles and tools that may help.

Principles for Actualising Citizens' Roles

The Civil Society in the New Millennium Project identified the principles which characterise a good society. First, basic needs must be met – for economic security, for social services and for physical security and peace. Next, citizens want a good society to promote association. This includes respect for traditional culture and for the heritage of countries and families, as well as an ongoing tradition of caring and sharing. The third principle is participation, which includes equal rights and social justice along with responsive and inclusive governance. Much can be added to the principles of association and participation. The following three principles provide good guidance.

Doctrine of Legitimate Expectations

The “Doctrine of Legitimate Expectations,” a concept which exists in law, basically says that, when two parties enter into an agreement, there is a legitimate expectation that each party move toward what the agreement is about – not away from it... as citizens the least

¹⁰¹ These are among the questions raised by Jane Jenson and Martin Papillon in *The Changing Boundaries of Citizenship. A Review and a Research Agenda*. In *Modernising Governance: A Preliminary Exploration*, November 2000, 10.

we can expect is reciprocity between those who govern and those who are being governed.”¹⁰²

Acceptance of such a principle sets the stage for mutual identification of roles and responsibilities. It could help recognise the legitimate right of people and community organisations to speak and ensure independent monitoring of this right, as well as freedom from retribution. As Sen puts it,¹⁰³ “Democracy is not just majority rule. It’s also toleration – tolerance of minority views and tolerance of criticism.”

This principle would make it possible to set ground rules for citizen involvement, build capacity for citizen involvement within government, monitor and evaluate state efforts to involve citizens, and make it easier for citizens to engage governments.

Social inclusion

Inclusion is the principle that counters the issue of exclusion. Inclusion is characterised by a society’s widely shared social experience and active participation, by a broad equality of opportunities and life chances for individuals and by the achievement of a basic level of well-being for all citizens.”¹⁰⁴

Good governance must include the voices of the poor, the marginalised and the under-represented, including young people, all of whom bring unique perspectives, ideas and experiences to the table, which serve to make better policy decisions.

Inclusion and social equality are important aspects of real democracy that involves holding a view of citizens and CSOs that values similarities as well as differences.

Collaboration

Collaboration refers to a mutually beneficial partnership between two or more parties sharing responsibility, authority and accountability for achieving results beyond the purview of any single party. According to Ellsworth,¹⁰⁵

“Collaboration is the science and the art of integrating interests, adding value and distributing value in order to achieve common goals while strengthening relationships in, and between, communities of interest. Collaboration unites people and resources in new ways that spark innovation and build commitment.”

Collaboration is required to find workable solutions to complex problems. Within governments, departments must learn to work together, cooperating across divisions and departments, communicating more openly, demonstrating transparency and accountability. Collaboration is also needed among partners or stakeholders in governance.

¹⁰² Ursula Franklin. “Legitimate Expectations”. In *Canadian Perspectives*, Newsletter of The Council of Canadians, Winter 2001, 5-6.

¹⁰³ Amartya Sen in an interview with *Atlantic Unbound*, December 15, 1999.

¹⁰⁴ *Horizons*, *ibid.* 12.

¹⁰⁵ Ellsworth, *Ibid.*, 4.

Tools for Actualising Citizens' Roles

Most of the tools identified here are familiar to those interested in civil society. And, as with many aspects of this paper, volumes have been written about each one. The aim here is to focus attention, albeit briefly, on a number of tools which exemplify legitimate expectations, inclusion and collaboration.

Education for citizenship

The question of roles for ordinary citizens broaches on a broader discussion of citizenship, in particular ways to foster responsible citizenship.

Much has been written about how individuals become citizens. Merrifield's recent paper is of particular note for its review of the history of education for citizenship, how people learn and some of the lessons and challenges for citizenship education efforts.¹⁰⁶ The comments that follow are drawn, not from that paper, but from the literature considered in the preparation of this one.

For De Tocqueville, it is only through participation in civic practices that individuals begin to see the connection between their private interest and the public good. This, in turn, can help counteract the fragmentation of democratic society¹⁰⁷

As noted earlier, Barber talks about how citizens come to take on their roles in civil society. He claims that civil society is the training ground for citizens, the traditional arena in which individuals become citizens as they engage together in civic actions.

Like Barber, Snyder, too, believes that engagement in civic practices creates citizens and posits that the "citizenship of civic practices"¹⁰⁸ happens in two key ways, through public deliberation and through participation in community life:

"First, public deliberation requires that individuals work together to govern themselves for the common good, rather than simply pursuing their own interests. During this process individuals become citizens. Second, engagement in nondeliberative civic practices such as parades, picnics, and sing-alongs, fuels the desire of individuals to pursue the common good by instilling in them a love for the community and what they share in common. nondeliberative civic practices actually function to undergird public deliberation."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Juliet Merrifield. Learning Citizenship. An Occasional Paper for the Commonwealth Foundation Citizens and Governance Programme, 2001.

¹⁰⁷ R. Claire Snyder, Ibid, 5.

¹⁰⁸ R. Claire Snyder, Ibid, 1. He further notes that this concept of citizenship contrasts with two others: *citizenship of land* and *citizenship of blood*. A *citizenship of land* defines citizens as a group of individuals living on a particular piece of land. One does not have to do anything to be a citizen, besides residing in a particular locale. A *citizenship of civic practices* also contrasts with a *citizenship of blood*, which restricts citizenship to members of particular ascribed groups.

¹⁰⁹ R. Claire Snyder, ibid. 10-11.

Tonn and Petrich¹¹⁰ set out a six-element model of environmental citizenship which identifies the requirements (or responsibilities) of citizenship and is relevant to our purposes:

Capability: Each citizen needs to have the capability to fulfill her or his responsibilities to civic society. While it is the responsibility of each citizen to develop the required capabilities, society also has a responsibility to provide public education, training and other opportunities to build capability.

Identity: Effective citizenship must be accompanied by socio-psychological ties to a community.

Ideology: Ideology is a filter through which one determines what is important in life. Citizens need an ideology to provide guidance in making difficult judgments and behavioral decisions. One's ideology also requires a reference point for participation in politics and public policy.

Mental models of governance: Citizens must have a "civic culture," a mental model of the political process to guide their behavior.

Social networking: A civil society is knit together through its social networks. A capable citizen who understands how the system works and knows what must be done will nevertheless be ineffectual if not part of one or more strong social networks.

Effort: Each prerequisite for effective citizenship requires effort. Citizens need to learn what effort is appropriate in specific contexts.

The authors then note that most government public participation programmes do not adequately support the development of these capabilities.

While the emphasis here is on the characteristics or capacities that make it possible for citizens to be more engaged, Jenson, in her review of the changing boundaries of citizenship, cites Kymlicka and Norman who identified four schools or groupings with respect to sustaining responsibilities of citizenship:¹¹¹

- Proponents of participatory democracy, who see empowerment as a response to apathy. The attention of this group most often goes to those parts of the population disempowered by exclusion.
- Adherents of civic republicanism, who see an intrinsic value in political participation. The attention of this group focuses on instituting new forms of civic engagement.

¹¹⁰ Bruce E. Tonn and Carl Petrich. "Can Government Public Participation Programs Foster Environmental Citizenship?" In *Interact, The Journal of Public Participation*, Volume 4, Number 1, July 1998.

¹¹¹ Jane Jenson, *ibid*, 47-49 [page references are to pre-publication version of paper]

- Civil society theorists, who seek to strengthen the voluntary organisations of civil society because they see in them the locale for learning the virtues of mutual obligation. This can be seen currently in the social capital approach of Robert Putnam, for example. They find the roots of well functioning democratic institutions in the private associations which foster trust relations in civil society.¹¹²
- Liberal virtue theorists who seek to foster the underlying forms of behaviour which will provide a solid foundation for citizenship. They often stress the importance of education for citizenship, and in particular the teaching of certain values in schools.

This suggests that, for virtually every style of democracy, promoting and sustaining citizenship is important. At the same time, Bhatta reminds us that education for citizenship must also apply to leaders, managers and key participants of civil society - particularly at the local level - since, in his view, “the most pressing – and possible – task at the local level is to enhance opportunities for the communities to participate in development projects.”¹¹³ He believes that empowerment and capacity building must go hand in hand.

An analysis of lessons in empowerment from the Caribbean provides important insight:

“Empowerment cannot be handed to anyone. People can be taught, but for them to learn requires their own engagement in the process of education; their acceptance that there is something to be achieved and somewhere to be reached, through greater knowledge and understanding; their recognition that the new knowledge connects in some way with their own environment and knowledge which they already have; their connection of their own knowledge base with that which is being offered, in a common exploration of the places where both sides of the process intersect.”¹¹⁴

Democratising public administration

Rebick¹¹⁵ argues in favour of democratising the administration of the state by opening it to participation from outside the administrative structures. Citing two recent examples in Canada – the disasters in the fisheries on both east and west coasts and the near-decimation of the nursing profession – she suggests that bringing the stakeholders

¹¹² Jenson notes that unresolved issues for this group include: what to do with unsavoury forms of associations which contravene fundamental principles of citizens; and which mechanisms work best and are most relevant for translating private association into public virtue. And in a not so subtle reference to Putnam’s *Bowling Alone*, Jenson asks whether bowling is really as productive of good democracy as parent-teacher associations.

¹¹³ Gambhir Bhatta. “Decentralised Governance: Empowerment Without Capacity Enhancement is Meaningless” in Gambhir Bhatta and Joaquin L. Gonzalez III (eds) *Governance Innovations in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998, 234.

¹¹⁴ Suzanne Francis Browne. “Lessons in Empowerment” in *Spitting in the Wind*, *ibid*, 183.

¹¹⁵ Judy Rebick. *Imagine Democracy*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company, 2000.

together to identify potential solutions, that is, “[D]emocratising the administration of public policy could have avoided both calamities.”¹¹⁶

She also challenges the practices typically used in establishing the boards, agencies and commissions that make up much of government administration (most notably patronage), and proposes models for appointments that would much more closely resemble the population, that would better understand the lives of the people on whose behalf decisions were being made, and that were largely taken out of the hands of the government of the day.

Democratising the public service

Rebick proposes improving accountability in public services through creating citizen watchdog groups and establishing goals and measures that include the public good; these can be modeled on the experience of England’s Greater London Council and the United States’ experience with Citizen’s Utility Boards, voluntary, public interest organisations that are entirely self-supporting and reflect a strong consumer advocacy voice.

Democratising the public service also means developing leadership capacity among current public servants and continuing to recruit young, new leadership.

The Internet, a tool for citizens

The Internet is making it possible for citizens to mobilise in new ways. Canada’s National Report for the Civil Society in the new Millennium project documented two cases in which citizens were able to mobilise internationally and influence decisions taken with respect to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment and proposed restructuring of the financial sector in Canada.¹¹⁷ While there are important questions of access and equity that must be considered with respect to new information technologies, the Internet holds enormous promise for citizens around the world to connect with one another, to share experience and strategies, and to make concerns known to decision-makers.

The Internet coverage of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre is a case in point. There are Internet sites for every topic imaginable (and then some). Znet is one internet community of people committed to social change. The World Social Forum itself drew citizens together around things that deeply concern them, in a location characterised by other participatory actions that fit with their beliefs, notably Porto Alegre’s participatory budget process. Solomon’s letter highlights the goals of the forum, and the basis for its appeal¹¹⁸:

“The gathering in Porto Alegre is dedicated to another set of goals, under a banner profound in its simplicity: ‘A different world is possible.’

¹¹⁶ Rebick, *ibid*, 105.

¹¹⁷ Miriam Wyman, David Shulman and Laurie Ham. *Learning to Engage: Experiences with Civic Engagement in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 1999.

¹¹⁸ Norman Solomon, Letter from Porto Alegre to Znet, ZNET Magazine <http://www.znet.org/weluser.htm> Daily Commentaries, January 29, 2001.

Some say 8,000 or 10,000 people are here at the World Social Forum (including 1,700 journalists from around the globe). But the numbers are much less important than the energy and spirit.....

In the air at the World Social Forum is very intense belief in what goes by the label "civil society" -- not in some stuffy way, but in an on-the-ground sense of praxis and possibilities now just coming into reach because of all that has come before. It's moving to think about how fervent this belief is, at a conference based in Latin America, where so much repression and suffering has been inflicted with military and economic mechanisms, where so much hope for liberation was placed in armed struggle -- largely replaced by different forms of struggle, with neo-liberalism as the named enemy and advocates for civil society as the declared combatants.

The first World Social Forum is happening in Porto Alegre because the Workers' Party (PT) is in power in this city's government now, as it has been for the past 12 years, with one election victory after another. The Forum has been nurtured in the logistical, political, ethical, and spiritual contexts of the PT. As one Brazilian speaker said yesterday, the emphasis is on genuine participatory democracy, which includes the ongoing systematic process of drawing up the city budget of Porto Alegre."

The Internet, a tool for governments

Governments are looking to the Internet to change not only the ways they communicate with citizens but also the ways they communicate internally and the ways they communicate around the world.

Canada aspires to be, by 2004, the government most connected to its citizens: "Our goal is to be known around the world as the government most connected to its citizens, with Canadians able to access all government information and services online at the time and place of their choosing."¹¹⁹ Currently, Canada's Federal government site www.gc.ca receives some seven million hits a month.

To facilitate this new world of online access, the government is working to make sure as many Canadians as possible have access to the Net. The SchoolNet initiative (<http://www.schoolnet.ca>) is a multi-sectoral partnership to wire the nation's schools and classrooms; community access programmes are putting Web-connected computers into libraries and community centres across the country; and a new website which is under development, www.access.ca, which will provide access, according to postal code, to everything from soccer schedules to links to local shops and up-to-date information on tax accounts or the weather forecast.

The Internet: a tool for democracy?

Riley distinguishes among e-government, e-governance, and e-democracy.¹²⁰ He characterises e-government as the way public sector institutions use technology to apply

¹¹⁹ Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson, Speech from the Throne. www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/sft-ddt/doc/index_e.htm

¹²⁰ Thomas Riley. *Electronic Democracy and Change*. The Riley Report January, 2001.

public administration principles and conduct the business of government. He sees e-governance is the movement of governments online to electronically deliver their services and programmes, provide government information, and interact with the citizen. And e-democracy is about how the citizen interacts with government or influences the legislative or public sector process. He comments that,

“Electronic democracy is all about participatory democracy as opposed to representative democracy, which is now the currency of elected, democratic governments around the world. Electronic democracy is also about how citizens can interact with each other to use the Internet and other new technologies as organisational tools to reach their goals of aspiring change.”

In the wired world, online citizens are increasingly playing a greater role in the democratic process. There are now hundreds of groups involved, from the community and local level to the national and international stage, in some way working to have an influence on government policies and programmes, and on societal issues of our age.

Citizens are engaged online in connecting to governments, groups, groups that connect to governments, and most often in connecting to other citizens on a range of social, cultural and political issues.

Because of these changes, Riley believes that the process of government will soon no longer be controlled from the top and micro-managed by a few. In the changing wired world, citizens are voicing their say. Governments may not necessarily be listening, but the people engaging in discourse on this issues of the day are certainly listening to each other. This is resulting in powerful currents of change, which are only beginning to manifest themselves.

This is making great demands on governments themselves. They are forced to communicate across traditional departmental divides, and to be much more open and transparent. While they are currently expending tremendous energy and resources to getting information out, similar attention must be given to dealing with the huge amounts of information, questions and concerns being sent by citizens in all of their roles.

Sen highlights both the concern and the promise:

“At the moment, access to the Internet is very class-based, and to the extent that public resources get diverted from those things that benefit the underdog to those things that benefit the top dog, this is a retrograde movement. . . . If properly thought through, the Internet can do a lot of good. I think it’s ultimately in the interest of the world that people communicate with each other much more.”¹²¹

Access to the Internet is more than class-based, and Khor reminds us that there are many digital divides. He is very concerned that the divide is about much more than hardware and software. He feels that the divide actually represents a clash of paradigms. The dominant paradigm views information and communication technologies as hugely

¹²¹ Interview with Amartya Sen, Atlantic Unbound, December 15, 1999.

beneficial with respect to technology, knowledge and economics. The paradigm that values wisdom, creation of meaning, traditional or indigenous knowledge is in danger of being eclipsed. He feels that people must be well prepared for the risks and dangers of the “seductive attraction” of information and communication technologies and that the real costs and benefits must be explored.¹²²

Models of Corporate Governance

Corporate governance is considered one of the critical issues in business today. For companies, good governance means securing access to broader-based, cheaper capital. For investors, a commitment to good governance means enhanced shareholder value. For both, good governance equals good business.¹²³

Corporate governance is a field in economics that investigates how corporations can be made more efficient by the use of institutional structures such as contracts, organisational designs and legislation.¹²⁴

Corporate governance structures can provide useful models for rebalancing relationships among governance stakeholders, and in particular strengthening citizens’ voices. Typically, corporate governance structure specifies the distribution of rights and responsibilities among different participants in the corporation, such as, the board, managers, shareholders and other stakeholders, and spells out the rules and procedures for making decisions on corporate affairs. By doing this, it also provides the structure through which the company objectives are set, and the means of attaining those objectives and monitoring performance.

There is no single model of good corporate governance. However, the OECD has identified some common elements that underlie good corporate governance, and has identified a series of principles that build on these common elements.

The Principles are meant to serve as a reference point. They are non-binding and evolutionary in nature, and are meant to be revisited in light of significant changes in circumstances. The following statement is worth noting for what it suggests with respect to a comparable contract between states and their citizens:

“To remain competitive in a changing world, corporations must innovate and adapt their corporate governance practices so that they can meet new demands and grasp new opportunities. Similarly, governments have an important responsibility for shaping an effective regulatory framework that provides for sufficient flexibility to allow markets to function effectively and to respond to expectations of shareholders and other stakeholders. It is up to governments and market participants to decide how to apply

¹²² Martin Khor, Panel presentation “ Canada’s response to the wide world: digital divide or digital opportunity,” International Cooperation Days, Ottawa, Canada, June 19, 2001.

¹²³ www.governance.co.uk/

¹²⁴ www.cncycogov.com

these Principles in developing their own frameworks for corporate governance, taking into account the costs and benefits of regulation.”¹²⁵

The Principles cover five areas:

- The rights of shareholders
- The equitable treatment of shareholders
- The role of stakeholders in corporate governance
- Disclosure and transparency
- The responsibilities of the board

The corporate world and governments see their relationships as defined by rights and responsibilities for their own actions as well as in relation to one another. They include fundamental concerns with protection (of rights and of property), with equity and redress, with legal rights and cooperation in creating wealth, with transparency, with monitoring and accountability. These are remarkable in their similarity to what citizens want and expect of themselves and of their governing institutions. Perhaps, models for corporate governance can offer models for rebuilding relationships between citizens and states.

Models of indigenous people’s governance

In Canada, and in other parts of the world, a range of self-government negotiations are ongoing with indigenous people, and treaties that have been concluded contain a significant self-government component. Since that time, momentum has been gathering slowly.

It is likely that comparable information is available for such other countries as the U.S., Australia and New Zealand, where self-government negotiations may have much to offer citizens and civil society.

As with corporate governance, the questions raised throughout these negotiations have important implications for relationships between non-indigenous citizens and their states. The website of the Institute on Governance offers some examples¹²⁶:

- What form(s) of Aboriginal governance are appropriate to the 21st century and suitable to the needs of indigenous peoples?
- How can this new order of government harmonise its activities with existing federal, provincial and municipal governments?
- What is the appropriate balance between contemporary and traditional forms of government for Aboriginal peoples?

¹²⁵ The International Corporate Governance Network (ICGN), www.icgn.org, has analyzed the OECD model, strengthened its objectives (to optimise return to shareholders) and expanded a number of its notions to bring greater emphasis to matters that concern shareholders.

¹²⁶ www.iog.com

- What are appropriate strategies for creating Aboriginal capacity to successfully manage their new governance responsibilities?
- How can Aboriginal communities create a substantive economic base to help support their new governments?

How states and citizens manage these and other issues will have an important bearing on other levels of government, the private sector, civil society and citizens in general.¹²⁷

While these models raise important questions about power relationships between the governed and the governments (and who decides), they offer potentially useful ways to re-think relationships between citizens and their states. Perhaps, they could lay the foundation for developing a “contract” for governance which would identify reciprocal expectations and obligations for all parties, jointly negotiated (for example, what people can expect from elected officials and from public servants and vice versa, written information/newsletters, kinds of assistance, resources, availability for meetings, how to put issues forward (i.e. how to represent interests, etc).

Collaborative citizen engagement

In Canada, a number of Members of Parliament are studying the potential for new ways of relating to citizens. As part of this effort, they have initiated conversations with constituents on the appropriate role of the MP and the citizen;¹²⁸ these conversations are taking place in forums, in face-to-face-meetings and on the Internet, and are addressing such issues as:

- Rise in reliance on polling
- Rising interest in direct democracy
- Increasing use of non-elected bodies for decision-making
- Skepticism of formal public consultation
- Need for Parliamentary Reform
- Deliberative democracy
- Confusion between political and partisan

These efforts represent new forms of citizen engagement, which are moving toward what Ellsworth characterises as collaboration. In his view, collaborative citizen engagement is guided by the following assumptions:

- There must be equality among participants.
- Citizens will pick the level and nature of their engagement.

¹²⁷ Many websites offer information that can help strengthen citizens’ voices. One additional example is the Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security (PDGS) website <www.pdgs.org.ar/> which offers a forum for debate focused on the exchange of experiences, ideas and standpoints regarding governance, civil-military relations and security. It is particularly intended to help strengthen the ability of civilians in emerging democracies to guarantee civilian control of the armed forces. Such strengthening is accomplished by offering information and education to civilian authorities, thus enhancing the needed capacity for leadership in management, administration and training of the military.

¹²⁸ Carolyn Bennett, MP, “Democracy Between Elections.” *St. Paul’s Parliamentary Report*, Winter 2001.

- Planning and decision-making are within the collective authorities and resources of the partners.
- Participants empower themselves by aligning their resources and authorities behind a common set of objectives and by adopting a common set of success indicators.¹²⁹

Strong, independent public media

Strong, independent public media have an important role to play in governance. They provide information about local, national and international issues and can contribute to training, community building and the enrichment of civic life.

At the same time, it is increasingly difficult to have strong, independent media in a world characterised by media concentration and commercialisation. Barber finds media concentration a challenge “not just to economic competition in the domain of goods, labor and capital, but to democracy and its defining virtues.”¹³⁰ These virtues include free and autonomous information, social and political diversity, and full participation by citizens in deciding public policies and securing public goods.

Blumler and Coleman see a central role for “the existence of healthy and robust channels of public communication.”¹³¹ They see the media – print, broadcast or electronic - as key in providing “a locus for participation and a facilitator of a national conversation in which the represented learn to present themselves to one another and to their elected representatives.”¹³²

Identifying allies or champions

There are supporters inside as well as outside government for strengthening citizens’ voices in governance. The Report of the Third Commonwealth Forum includes a chart identifying modes of collaboration to strengthen civil society.¹³³ It identifies all of the sectors in society who can help to improve citizens’ leadership and management skills. Citizens can only benefit from finding such allies and champions wherever they may be.

VI Conclusions

“New notions of the active citizen... envisage participation as a facet of civic duty. New forms of governance are increasingly consultative and alive to experiential evidence. There is a public expectation that communication with those they elect to manage affairs on their behalf should be more intimate and sharing, less deferential and condescending.”¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Jim Ellsworth, *ibid*, 23.

¹³⁰ Benjamin Barber. *Globalising Democracy*. The American Prospect, Volume 11, number 20, September 11, 2000, 3.

¹³¹ Blumler and Coleman, *ibid*, 8.

¹³² Blumler and Coleman, *ibid*, 19.

¹³³ *Report of the Third Commonwealth NGO Forum*. London: The Commonwealth Foundation, 1999, 60.

¹³⁴ Blumler and Coleman, *ibid*, 7)

The notion of governance has resurfaced in the last two decades as a way of thinking about the relationships between the state and other players in society. This exploration was undertaken to develop a better understanding of how governance is conceptualised, and where citizens fit. This paper began from the position of the Commonwealth Foundation that citizens are the chief actors in civil society and embarked on an exploration of views on governance and on those who participate in it.

Governance increasingly is seen as a joint enterprise, a relationship, in which each set of players has roles and responsibilities, though primary responsibility for good governance continues to rest with the state. Great effort is underway to more clearly understand the many dimensions of governance, and the discussion seems to be moving in the direction of good governance and humane governance. With each shift, there seems to be additional recognition of the range of stakeholders in governance and the need to consider the impacts of governance on each of them. As concern for citizens enters the discussion - which it is beginning to do - there must be consideration of the many ways that governance actually impacts on people's lives. And, attention must be given to ways to not only include citizens in the cast of governance characters but also to put citizens at the centre.

There are many issues and obstacles which limit citizens' ability to participate effectively in governance. There are also a number of principles and tools which can help overcome many of them and, in so doing, help strengthen citizens' voices in governance.

Citizens around the world are alienated, disaffected and cynical because the state and mechanisms of governance are letting them down and leaving them out. They have high expectations of governments and of themselves, and they want and are able to have a significant role in governance. They know, at a profound level, that governance must serve their needs first and foremost.

What, then, are the next steps? Clearly there are no universally applicable prescriptions for good governance. However, there are a number of possibilities which flow from this discussion. It is important to:

- Enlarge the discussion of governance and the role of citizens in it
- Discuss the issues which limit citizens' ability to participate. Are there others? Which are priorities? How best to address them?
- Involve citizens in the discussions. Draw on the wealth of available experience, expertise, willingness, and desire for involvement
- Work together to determine how best to build capacity at all levels for more collaborative, inclusive governance
- Continue to move up the ladder of citizen participation toward good, humane and genuinely participatory governance.

And, perhaps most important, develop more accessible information about governance – what it is, what it means for people in their everyday lives. As with sustainable development, the language of governance is difficult but the ideas are not. People want basic needs met. They want respect for culture and heritage, caring and sharing, and a reassertion of values. They want healthy food, clean air, pure water, access to education, shelter and sustainable livelihoods. And, they want opportunities to participate. Citizens are articulate and wise about their needs and about their willingness to participate in making their world good. It is time to attend to their voices.

“Democracy is not and should no longer be perceived as a spectator sport. In a democracy all voices need to be heard, even if it is impossible to hear them all together.”¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Blumler and Coleman, *ibid*, 20.

References:

- Armstrong, Jim and Donald G. Lenihan. *From Controlling to Collaborating: When Governments Want to Be Partners*. Ottawa: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1999
- Arnstein, Sherry R. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Volume 35, Number 4. July, 1969
- Baker, Peta Anne. *Equal Rights and Justice*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Caribbean Regional Report, 2000.
- Barber, Benjamin R. "Globalising Democracy." *The American Prospect*. Volume 11, Number 20. September 11, 2000.
- Bhatta, Gambhir and Joaquin Gonzalez III (eds). *Governance Innovations in the Asia-Pacific Region: Trends, cases and issues*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998.
- Blumler, Jay G. and Stephen Coleman. "Realising Democracy Online: A Civic Commons in Cyberspace" The second in a series of IPPR/Citizens Online papers. 2001.
- John Burbidge (ed). *Beyond Prince and Merchant: Citizen Participation and the Rise of Civil Society*. New York: Pact Publications, 1998.
- Canadian Perspectives*, Newsletter of The Council of Canadians, Ottawa, Winter 2001.
- Chigudu, Hope and Ezra Mbogori. *Harnessing the Creative Energy of Citizens*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Africa Regional Report, 2000
- Citizens and Governance: Civil Society in the New Millennium*. A report prepared by the Commonwealth Foundation, in partnership with CIVICUS. London: The Commonwealth Foundation, September 1999.
- Citizens and Governance: Outcomes of Durban*. London: The Commonwealth Foundation, November 1999.
- Ellsworth, Jim. "Justice Stewardship: The Modern Sustainability Challenge." A paper prepared for the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) 2001 International Conference, 2001.
- Francis Brown, Suzanne (ed). *Spitting in the Wind: Lessons in Empowerment from the Caribbean*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000,
- "Governance for Sustainable Human Development". A UNDP Policy Document, 1997.
- Graham, Katherine A. and Susan D. Phillips. "Citizen Engagement: Lessons in Participation from Local Government," Number 22. Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1998.

Hawken, Paul. "The Resurgence of Citizens' Movements." *Utne Reader*, No. 102, November-December 2000.

Horizons, the Newsletter of Policy Research Initiative of the Policy Research Secretariat. Volume 4, Number 1. Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services, Canada. February 2001.

Islam, Nasir and David R. Morrison (eds). *Governance, Democracy and Human Rights.* Special Issue of the Canadian Journal of Development Studies. Ottawa: University of Ottawa and the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development, 1996.

Jenson, Jane and Martin Papillon. "The Changing Boundaries of Citizenship: A Review and a Research Agenda" in *Modernising Governance: A Preliminary Exploration.* Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Management Development, May 2000.

Kothari, Rajni. *State Against Democracy: In Search of Human Governance.* India: Ajanta Publications, 1988

Knight, Barry. *Acting Together.* Civil Society in the New Millennium, Developed Countries Regional Synthesis, 2000.

Lemieux, Vincent. "Government Roles in Governance Processes." In *Modernising Governance: A Preliminary Exploration.* CCMD, November 2000.

Merrifield, Juliet. "Learning Citizenship." Discussion/Occasional Paper No. 1, London: The Commonwealth Foundation, 2001

Milner, Andrew. "Civil Society: Towards a New Definition." Discussion/Occasional Paper Number 3. London: The Commonwealth Foundation, 2001.

policy.com

"Reconceptualising Governance." Discussion Paper 2. UNDP: Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, 1997.

Report of the Third Commonwealth NGO Forum. London: The Commonwealth Foundation, 2000.

Riley, Thomas. "Electronic Democracy and Change." *The Riley Report* January, 2001.

"7 Habits of Highly Effective Nations." *This Magazine*, Volume 34, Number 4. Toronto: January/February 2001.

Sen, Amartya. "Democracy as a Universal Value," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 10, Number 3, July 1999, 3-17.

Snyder, R. Claire. "Shutting the Public out of Politics: Civic Republicanism, Professional Politics, and the Eclipse of Civil Society." An Occasional Paper of the Kettering Foundation. Dayton, Ohio, 1999.

Stroick, Sharon M. "The Evolution of Public Involvement Practice." Unpublished, 1997.

Subramaniam, Suhraim. "The Dual Narrative of "Good Governance: Lessons for Understanding Political and Cultural Change in Malaysia and Singapore." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Volume 12, Number 1, April 2001, 65-80.

Tandon, Rajesh. *A Common Dream*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Asia Regional Report, 2000.

Tandon, Rajesh and Ranjita Mohanty. "Civil Society and Governance Research Study in India, Preliminary Findings." An unpublished paper prepared for the Third International Conference on Civil Society and Governance, Amsterdam, 25-28 September, 2000.

Tonn, Bruce E. and Carl Petrich. "Can Government Public Participation Programs Foster Environmental Citizenship?" *Interact, The Journal of Public Participation*, Volume 4, Number 1, July 1998.

Turpel-Lafond, Justice Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond. "Governance & Oversight: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow." Address to the Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, Ottawa, August, 2000.

Weiss, Thomas G. "Governance, good governance and global governance: conceptual and actual challenges." *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 21, Number 5, 795-914, 2000.

Wickliffe, Caren. *Voices of the Pacific Tide*. Civil Society in the New Millennium Pacific Regional Report, 2000.

Wolfish, Daniel and Gordon Smith. "Governance and Policy in a Multicentric World." *Canadian Public Policy*, Volume XXVI Supplement 2, 2000.

Wyman, Miriam, David Shulman and Laurie Ham. "Learning to Engage: Experiences with Civil Engagement in Canada." Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, August 2000.

Annex

Glossary of Key Terms¹³⁶

Biographical Note: Miriam Wyman is a Canadian consultant whose work focuses on bringing citizen's voices into decisions that affect their lives and communities. She has close to 30 years of experience working with women's groups, environment groups,

¹³⁶ Governance for Sustainable Human Development, A UNDP Policy Document, 1997.

health and development groups, government departments and diverse communities nationally and internationally.

She is the editor of *Sweeping the Earth: Women Taking Action for a Healthy Planet* (gynergy press, 1999). She coordinated Canada's national report to the Commonwealth Foundation's *Civil Society in the New Millennium Project*, an international research project which examined citizens' view of a good society and is a member of the Citizens and Governance Programme Team.