



# **International Conference on Citizen Leadership and Democratic Accountability**

## **Conference Proceedings**

**30 November – 1 December 2009**

**New Delhi, India**

©PRIA 2010.

All contents of this publication are the sole and exclusive property of PRIA and may be treated as such. Any reproduction, publication, adaptation, translation, modification, extraction, import or export of the whole or any part of this work, without the express written consent of PRIA shall be deemed to be an infringement of its copyright. Such act(s) may be subject to the imposition of severe civil, criminal and/or other liabilities under applicable law.

**ISBN: 81 - 89021-72-9**

Published by PRIA in February 2010

Publication of this document has been supported by The Ford Foundation.

Published by:



42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area

New Delhi - 110 062

Tel. : +91-11-2996 0931/32/33

Fax : +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail : [info@pria.org](mailto:info@pria.org) Website : [www.pria.org](http://www.pria.org)

# **International Conference on Citizen Leadership and Democratic Accountability**

## **Conference Proceedings**

**30 November – 1 December 2009  
New Delhi, India**

# Contents

---

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1 – 3</b>
<b>Opening Session</b>	<b>4 – 6</b>
<b>Technical Session I: Democratic Spaces and Citizens' Voices</b>	<b>7 – 11</b>
<b>Glimpses of the Conference</b>	<b>12 – 13</b>
<b>Technical Session II: Citizen Leadership</b>	<b>14 – 18</b>
<b>Technical Session III: Intermediation in Accountability</b>	<b>19 – 22</b>
<b>Technical Session IV: Accountability Impacts</b>	<b>23 – 27</b>
<b>Closing Plenary</b>	<b>28 – 30</b>
<b>Annexure-1: Abstract of Case Studies</b>	<b>31 – 47</b>
<b>Glimpses from Fields</b>	<b>48 – 49</b>
<b>Annexure-II: List of Participants</b>	<b>50 – 57</b>

# Abbreviations

ADB	–	Asian Development Bank
ASoG	–	Ateneo School of Government
BPL	–	Below Poverty Line
CAA	–	Constitutional Amendment Acts
CEB	–	Basic Ecclesial Communities
CSO	–	Civil Society Organisation
CSS	–	Center for Civil Society
DENIVA	–	Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Association
DGG	–	Demand for Good Governance
DPR	–	Detailed Project Report
FGD	–	Focus Group Discussion
IBSA	–	India, Brazil and South Africa
IDP	–	Integrated Development Plan
IEC	–	Information, Education and Communication
IMF	–	International Monetary Fund
ISPS	–	Sustainable Sao Paulo Institute
JNNURM	–	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
MCD	–	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
MNSP	–	Movement Nossa Sao Paulo
NCT	–	National Capital Territory
NGO	–	Non-Government Organisation
PECSA	–	Programme to Enhance Capacity for Social Accountability
PIL	–	Public Interest Litigation
PRIA	–	Participatory Research in Asia
PT	–	Partido dos Trabalhadores
RTI	–	Right to Information
RWA	–	Residents' Welfare Association
SC	–	Scheduled Caste
ST	–	Scheduled Tribe
SUS	–	Unified System of Health
SWM	–	Solid Waste Management
UMPS	–	Union of Popular Health Movements
UN	–	United Nations

# Introduction

The reassertion of democracy at grassroots levels in different parts of the world has become a new reality. Citizens around the world are demanding and demonstrating new ways of relating with state institutions. This has led to the emergence of new contours of citizenship and relationship with the state. Democratic states have opened up many new mechanisms and spaces for citizen participation. These 'invited' spaces include planning, budgeting and monitoring of various social development programmes in different countries. To make participation more inclusive and responsive to the needs of the poor and the marginalised, several structural features have been added to these 'invited' spaces. Intermediary social and civil society organisations (CSOs) have intervened to enhance the understanding and capacity of the excluded to make use of these spaces in a meaningful manner.

However, the experiences of such spaces have been found to be somewhat limited in many contexts, and citizens themselves have organised, mostly spontaneously, many spaces to demand 'democratic accountability' from institutions and actors of the state. This has led to the emergence of a new cadre of active citizens and citizen leaders in many such local arenas. The discourses on 'citizen leadership and democratic accountability' have been most vocal among the experiences of new and emerging countries in the global context; various innovative and emerging forms of such initiatives have been practised in India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA). Given that IBSA is a new axis of South–South cooperation and assertion on the global stage, PRIA initiated a study to synthesise such lessons across these three countries. Supported by the Ford Foundation, the study was carried out over the past 18 months. The purpose was to develop a body of knowledge on methodologies to prepare and strengthen citizen leadership, which could facilitate participation of citizens in, and demand accountability from, local governance institutions. To foster systematic learning among citizen educators and share the insights and findings of case studies from India, Brazil and South Africa, PRIA organised a two-day international conference on Citizen Leadership and Democratic Accountability at Hotel Clarion Collection, New Delhi, on 30 November and 1 December 2009.

At the two-day conclave, representatives of CSOs and a host of scholars from Bangladesh, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, India, South Africa, Nepal, Germany, Uganda and the United States debated and shared the frontiers of community initiatives on advocacy and citizen participation in democratic governance. The expectations from the conference were:

- ◆ To share the emerging findings from the case studies.
- ◆ To find out whether these emerging findings resonate with other 'democracies' around the world.
- ◆ To draw broader, more general lessons on 'citizen leadership' and 'democratic accountability'.

The following case studies had been undertaken under the IBSA initiative:

### *Case Studies from India*

- ◆ Engaging Community in Solid Waste Management, Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan, PRIA
- ◆ Improving Urban Services through Citizens Initiatives, Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh, PRIA
- ◆ Using Right to Information for improving Basic Infrastructure and Public Distribution System, New Delhi, Kabir
- ◆ Engaging Community in Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Planning, Bachau, Gujarat, Unnati
- ◆ Community Engagement Solves Poor Sanitation and Water Scarcity, Dholka, Gujarat, Unnati.

### *Case Studies from Brazil*

- ◆ Housing Movement in Diadema for Improving Urban Services, São Paulo, Polis
- ◆ Movement Nossa São Paulo: An Effort for Making a Sustainable City, Polis
- ◆ Union of the Health Popular Movement - São Paulo: Struggle for Basic Health Services, Polis.

### *Case Studies from South Africa*

- ◆ Citizen Participation in Cape Town: A Tale of Two Communities (Langa and Green Point, Cape Town), University of Western Cape
- ◆ Women Leaders in Khayelitsha: Making Sense of Participatory Democratic Spaces, Cape Town, University of Western Cape.

The two-day conference was divided into four technical sessions, apart from the welcome session and a closing plenary. The structure of the sessions and the issues deliberated upon are given in the table below.

	<b>SESSIONS</b>	<b>ISSUES</b>
Session I:	Democratic Spaces and Citizens' Voices	What kinds of spaces for citizen participation are enabling their voices that demand accountability of governance institutions? How do 'invited' and 'structured' spaces interact with emerging and spontaneous spaces? How do these differ across democracies over time?
Session II:	Citizen Leadership	How do the excluded learn to practice active citizenship? How does leadership emerge? How is it nurtured? What is the dynamics of citizen--governance interface that empowers (or otherwise) citizen leadership? What conflicts and ambiguities are encountered in exercising citizen leadership?
Session III:	Intermediation in Accountability	What functions do intermediation performs in enabling citizens to secure democratic accountability? What forms do intermediation takes (CBOs, NGOs, media, political activists, etc)? What types of multi-layered and multi-party coalitions emerge in this intermediation? How is an intermediation mechanism held accountable?
Session IV:	Accountability Impacts	In what ways democratic accountability impacts on realisation of rights of the excluded? Do such efforts transform the nature of accountability politics? What types of dynamics are generated in respect of activating (or otherwise) citizenship? How do voices of citizens matter?

The presentations made by panellists and issues raised in the conference have been compiled in this conference report. We hope that this report is useful not only for the delegates who attended the conference, but also for people who are interested in participatory spaces, intermediation, citizen leadership and democratic accountability.

# Opening Session

The conference began with Dr. Kaustav K. Bandyopadhyay welcoming the participants. He provided an overview of the conference, a brief on PRIA's initiatives on strengthening citizen leadership since 2002, and the conceptualisation and partnership of the research project by the IBSA team, Ford Foundation and the Polis Institute (Brazil), University of Western Cape (South Africa), Unnati and Kabir (India).



Dr. Bandyopadhyay explained the important assumptions of the programme, which were:

- ◆ Citizen participation is essential for accountable democratic governance.
- ◆ Leadership development in marginalised communities amplifies their voices and participation in governance.
- ◆ Increased accountability from governance institutions leads to improvement in service delivery to the marginalised.
- ◆ Successful engagement with governance institutions enhances the feelings of citizenship among the marginalised.

Dr. Bandyopadhyay, in order to develop holistic understanding of the project, described the process flow of activities in the project:

Partnership building → Agreement on Concepts and Methodology → Identification of Case Studies → Face to Face Discussion on Case Studies → Exchange visits of Researchers → On-line Preliminary Discussions → First Draft of Case Studies → Preparation and Publication of Resource Book and Analytical Papers.

He outlined the following framework for exploration and learning:

## **I. Processes**

- ◆ Collectivisation
- ◆ Citizen leadership development
- ◆ Facilitation of mobilisation

## **II. Engagement with Governance Institutions**

- ◆ Nature
- ◆ Response
- ◆ Learning

### III. Outcomes

- ◆ Patterns of accountability
- ◆ Improved public service

To gauge the opinion of the delegates on various aspects of citizen participation and accountability, a spot opinion poll was held. The findings based on the responses of the participants are:

**Question 1:** Citizens' voice could be best represented in the governance processes by:

**Response:**

- (a) Citizens' own organisations and their leadership (75 per cent)
- (b) Intermediary CSOs (10 per cent)
- (c) Elected representatives (15 per cent)
- (d) Political parties

**Question 2:** Invited spaces provided by the government (by law or invitation) tend to be dominated by:

**Response:**

- (a) Development 'experts' (20 per cent)
- (b) Educated middle class (40 per cent)
- (c) Leadership from political parties (40 per cent)
- (d) Poor and marginalised

**Question 3:** What stimulates citizens the most to mobilise and engage?

**Response:**

- (a) Violation of own rights (70 per cent)
- (b) Injustices to others (5 per cent)
- (c) Corruption (10 per cent)
- (d) Patriotism/humanitarian causes (10 per cent)

**Question 4:** Governance institutions are most responsive when:

**Response:**

- (a) Government officials (bureaucrats) are made accountable to elected leadership (5 per cent)
- (b) Elected political leadership are made accountable to the citizens directly through election (15 per cent)

- (c) Both elected leadership and government officials are accountable to the citizens directly (80 per cent)

**Question 5:** There are enhanced chances of effective governance and policy reforms when:

**Response:**

- (a) Actions are initiated and led by the government (30 per cent)
- (b) Actions are initiated and led by the grassroots groups (35 per cent)
- (c) Actions are initiated and led by the intermediary domestic CSO coalition (20 per cent)
- (d) Actions are initiated and led by the international development organisations (INGOs and Official Donors) (15 per cent)

**Question 6:** What is the most important action to be taken that would promote civic engagement and democratic accountability?

**Response:**

- (a) Encouragement by elected leaders (5 per cent)
- (b) Media campaigns (0 per cent)
- (c) Social mobilisation by civil society (70 per cent)
- (d) Civic education (25 per cent)

**Question 7:** Citizen leadership is viewed as:

**Response:**

- (a) Negotiator on behalf of the community (50 per cent)
- (b) Aspirant political leader (10 per cent)
- (c) Civic educator and information provider (40 per cent)

# Technical Session-I: Democratic Spaces and Citizens' Voices

**Chair:** Dr. Rajesh Tandon, PRIA, India

**Speakers:** Jose Carlos Vaz, Polis Institute, Brazil  
Matt Leighninger, Deliberative Democracy Consortium, Colorado, USA  
Mirjam van Donk, Isandla Institute (RSA), South Africa



*The guiding questions for the session were:*

- ◆ What kinds of spaces for citizen participation are enabling their voices that demand accountability of governance institutions?
- ◆ How do 'invited' and 'structured' spaces interact with 'emerging' and 'spontaneous' spaces?
- ◆ How do these differ across democracies over time?

*The emerging findings from the case studies were:*

- ◆ Citizens and civil society groups have effectively used both 'invited' and 'claimed' spaces.
- ◆ The privileged section uses invited spaces.
- ◆ The poor and marginalised use claimed spaces.
- ◆ Claimed spaces lead to the creation of invited spaces.
- ◆ Invited spaces do support exacting accountability. However, this cannot be taken for granted as it leads to shifts in power relationships.
- ◆ Use of IT has emerged as a virtual public platform. However, traditional modes of mobilisation continue to be important.
- ◆ Media are important partners to promote open spaces.
- ◆ Gender, caste, ethnicity and religion-based divisive forces continue to be constraining factors for participation.

*Presentation 1: Jose Carlos Vaz, Polis Institute, Brazil*

Vaz provided a Latin American perspective, mostly Brazilian. Strong social movements all over Latin America have provided more space to people. He mooted some significant questions, "Who is participating?" Which participation enables more citizens' voices? The democratisation process takes place



through local-level neighbourhood groups. As we move up the system of participation, one finds strong social movement leadership often takes on political leadership. Social movement leaders become associated with a political party. Questions arise on how to keep civil society and grassroots-level leaders independent of political party/government. How does one check the issue of co-opting? Do governments provide participatory spaces to prevent rebellions?

Vaz raised the issue about why government is comfortable with invited spaces. How does one prepare society to claim accountability? How does one presents information to people that they can understand well? How can one relate issues raised at the local level to the federal level?

In Brazil, housing and health movements resulted in the adoption of democratic spaces in the form of municipal health and housing councils. These are the spaces created by the state to promote participation by all sections of society. Participatory budgeting in the housing movement is an example of people's participation in state-invited spaces. However, such spaces are mostly used by bureaucrats. Such democratic spaces need to be strengthened to make them more accountable. Vaz also added, invited spaces are subject to state ideology. For example, the ruling party (Workers Party) played a significant role in patronising the democratic spaces in the housing and health movements in Brazil.

Touching another key aspect, which is going to be crucial in use of participatory spaces in democratic countries in technology. He pointed out that there is no evidence of use of technology changing power relations in democratic countries e.g. Information Technology is under-used in municipal governance in Brazil. Lack of resources and non-interactive ways of using IT and mobile technology have been the constraints in promoting participatory spaces in Brazil. Non-availability of information about the governance issues even to NGOs remains to be a big issue in Brazil.

In conclusion, Vas said, there is a need to reorganise the agenda of governance in developing democracies. The focus should be more on policy accountability, both the political and institutional dimensions.

*Presentation 2: Matt Leighninger, Deliberative Democracy Consortium, Colorado, USA*

Matt said that the government--citizen relationship in previous decades, namely that of parent-child, patron--client, is going to be outdated in 21st century. He underlined the need to re-think government--citizen leadership, which should be seen in the framework of rights-based approaches. It is bound to happen sooner than later, as citizens are more educated, aware, skeptical and they have little time to spare. Local government officials, on the contrary, are under pressure to perform, tired of conflicts with citizens, and find it difficult to hide behind jargon and data.



Matt laid out four successful democratic principles for enlarged participation. They include:

- ◆ Critical mass—proactive, network-based recruitment to reach a critical mass of people;
- ◆ Structure—use of a range of structured formats (small group, large group, online);
- ◆ Deliberation—people get the chance to share experiences and consider a range of views or options; and
- ◆ Action-oriented change—different levels of action-oriented change such as volunteerism, organisational change and policy change.

He further distinguished between temporary spontaneous efforts and permanent structures to reflect on the nature of interaction between structured and spontaneous spaces. Temporary, spontaneous efforts are open spaces, which are better at recruitment and group processes and prompt citizen action, but don't have long-term impact on the citizen–government relationship. Permanent structures are more durable, more linked to local policymaking. Their agendas are more open to citizens' concerns and ideas. However, they tend to be limited and less diverse.

Reflecting on Citizenship and the Obama Campaign, he said, the success of the campaign was that it used open spaces for online and face-to-face interaction. The campaign focused on network-based recruitment, connecting the personal and political, and used volunteers as managers and technicians. Matt maintained that for engaged citizen participation, communities need permanent structures, which are not only open but also active and inclusive. They should be centred on citizen needs and priorities, powerful, and focus not only on political, but also social and cultural issues.

*Presentation 3: 'Democratic Spaces and Citizens' Voices: Insights from South Africa, Mirjam van Donk, Isandla Institute, South Africa*

Mirjam described the legislative and policy provisions for citizen participation in local governance in South Africa: the constitution, White Paper on Local Government, Municipal Structures Act, Municipal Systems Act and Municipal Finance Management Act. Speaking on 'invited' spaces, she said that these were formal representative structures such as ward committees, Integrated Development Plan (IDP) representative forums and project steering committees. In addition to these, there are routinised momentary structures, which include activities like ward councillor meetings, IDP hearings, campaigns, public hearings, etc.



Highlighting the key concerns with 'invited' spaces, Mirjam said, participation in such spaces was more procedural than substantive. Nature of participation was more symbolic than meaningful; more ad hoc than sustained. The spaces were not inclusive in a sense that

only the political elites participated, who in turn dominated them. Participation was more of a consultation and communicative kind; there was no scope for negotiated decision making, planning and monitoring by citizens. The state dictated the terms of engagement. As a result of the 'provider paradigm', there was no meaningful engagement of citizens.

Mirjam said that people are getting dissatisfied with local governance. There is an increasing recognition that local government is in trouble. There have been protests, which are increasingly becoming violent, over poor service delivery by local governance institutions. Factionalism in political parties and dysfunctional municipalities in the economically weak areas are further denting the credibility of local governance. Other areas of concern include: quality of representative democracy, over-expectation of the role and capability of the state, the dominance of one political party and the 'Rolls Royce Policy' ('one size fits all' approach) of democracy does not match institutional capabilities in the country. Moreover, over-regulation local government promotes a compliance culture and constrains its ability to take decisions independently. There is little recognition of best practices by the government. Moreover, there is a lack of trust in local government and civil society in South Africa is relatively weak which reduces meaningful engagement of the government with the citizens.

She also spoke on the emerging spontaneous 'invented' spaces, which included a range of arenas providing opportunities to communities to either engage with the state informally or formally, or disengage with the state to protest through intermediary facilitated engagement, policy advocacy, issue-based social movements and community mobilisations. However, the risk of open and invented spaces is that they are not necessarily inclusive and informed by progressive principles. These spaces could easily be exploited for political gain.

'Invented' spaces involve intermediary actors using various measures to mobilise citizens through policy advocacy, accountability tools, capacity building, awareness raising and information generation, community-based enumeration and planning. Also included in 'invented' spaces are social movements and spontaneous, community-based protests. Mirjam said that there is a huge gap between 'invited' and 'invented' spaces. There are several examples of meaningful citizen engagement with local government initiated both by local communities and the local government, which need to be shared widely for multiplier effect. Because democracy is relatively new in South Africa, active citizen engagement is looked upon as threatening rather than as a potential force for change and empowerment. Mirjam concluded by stating that citizens are likely to make use of 'invented' spaces to protest against unresponsive local government, and demand more accountability and fairness in service delivery.

### *Floor Discussions*

Democratic spaces are partly 'invited' and partly 'invented', some as in traditional (indigenous) communities. Democratisation must look at the state democratisation agenda and the society's democratisation agenda. While there is a need for citizens' engagement, the institutions to serve the spaces have to be strengthened.

'Invented' spaces are dangerous for states, and government tries to weaken citizen leaders. Given this, how is one to sustain citizens' participation? Agreement on broader issues is a way to sustain citizens' participation. It will also help keep citizen leaders committed to the requirements of the civil society, even if they moved to the centre of power.

Citizens' empowerment and education will have an impact on the permanent structures. The experiences of Resident Welfare Associations in Delhi, India making local government institutions more accountable can provide some directions in this regard. One can also learn from the internship programme of the Centre for Civil Society (CSS), New Delhi, which helped to raise service delivery issues with the Delhi government, wherein the Delhi High Court quoted an action research by an intern at CSS on public toilets in Delhi. Action research can also be used to influence policies.

Effective citizenship depends on one's ability to speak up. The important question here is how to change the patron–client relationship. There is a problem of citizen becoming a spectator. There is a need to rethink the citizen–state relationship and responsibilities.

# Glimpses of the Conference



# Glimpses of the Conference



# Technical Session-II: Citizen Leadership

**Chair:** Neelima Khetan, Seva Mandir, Udaipur, Rajasthan

**Speakers:** Martha Farrell, PRIA, New Delhi  
Chris Tapscott, University of Western Cape,  
South Africa



*The guiding questions for the session were:*

- ◆ How do the 'excluded' learn to practice active citizenship?
- ◆ How does leadership emerge? How is it nurtured?
- ◆ What are the dynamics of citizen–governance interface that empower (or otherwise affect) citizen leadership?
- ◆ What conflicts and ambiguities are encountered in exercising citizen leadership?

*The emerging findings from the case studies were:*

- ◆ Citizen leaders are active citizens from the community, who individually and collectively seek justice and public solutions to the lack of citizenship rights and entitlements.
- ◆ There are agencies within civil society to facilitate mobilisation and collectivisation, to mediate conflicts and differences and reduce social exclusion (particularly of gender, caste and ethnicity).
- ◆ These agencies on behalf of the citizenry seek information, expose corruption, amplify voices in prioritisation and demand development services and accountability from the governance institutions
- ◆ When they emerge as a credible voice, however, they are contested by the dominant political leadership.

*Presentation 1: 'Women's Leadership and Political Empowerment', Martha Farrell, PRIA, New Delhi, India*

Farrell presented a comparative analysis of the quality and extent of women's participation in the political arena in India for the last three terms (five years in each term), since the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (CAAs). There has been progressive enhancement of the number of women in the political sphere from the first term to the third, and these increasing numbers are important to create that critical mass that is needed to initiate any substantial change in attitudes. The



move from 0 to 33 per cent and more recently to 50 per cent reservation for women in some states is very positive to create this critical mass and is essential in order to counter centuries of oppression and subjugation that women have faced in traditional Indian society. Women have also evolved from being reluctant in accepting leadership roles to standing in elections as independent candidates in the course of these 17 years. The support from family and society has also increased with the passage of time and there is greater acceptance of women performing different public roles.

There has also been a substantial shift from women being 'dummy candidates' to those who are articulate and have learnt to negotiate and conduct themselves in public roles. Thus the capabilities of women as leaders are being demonstrated continuously. The flip side is that there are still strong social constructs against the idea of women as leaders, and people indulge in character assassination and even resort to violence towards women who have political or leadership ambitions. Although their numbers have increased, women still need to prove their effectiveness in their role as leaders, which are gradually happening with increasing support from family, male colleagues and civil society.

Farrell went on to describe the inclusive and excluding factors that respectively encourage or inhibit women from entering the public sphere. She listed the following: continuous stereotyping of the reproductive and care-giver roles of women; role and place of women within the household; absence of female role models as figures of power; masculinity of political culture and processes (sheer numbers of men in a meeting can intimidate women); no consideration of needs of women (for example, a separate toilet, the time of the meeting, avenues to take action against sexual harassment, providing child care, etc.).

She then gave an overview of the structure and methodologies that have been adopted for the year-long training programme carried out by PRIA for political empowerment of women leaders. She also shared the experiences and challenges faced during the training interspersed with some anecdotal references. The training carried out by PRIA was spread over multiple levels of village/town, district, state and national. Women leaders were short listed at every level of the training. Thus, beginning with 1,500 women, eventually 20 women from every state participated in the final training. These series of trainings at every level built upon the experiences of the participants and included orientation on financial matters, basic budgeting and current affairs. There was special focus on gender sensitisation, which was an underlying principle of the programme, and how to look at issues with a gender lens before prioritising them. Importance of networking and collaboration and resolving conflicts were a few other aspects that were emphasised in the training.

The first challenges faced during the training was the design of the curriculum, as it had to be extremely innovative to retain the interest of women coming from different backgrounds who had not attended training before. Lecture and classroom modes would not be successful and thus participatory learning exercises were designed at each level. Knowledge and experiences of the participants had to be effectively used and validated by building them into the training. The multicultural identities of the participants had to be

respected and addressed in a generic way by acknowledging and firmly avoiding some regional, caste, and class hierarchies among them to form a shared national identity. The progression of women from private spaces and acceptable behaviour to a more formal and public representation was attempted. Women also found it difficult to accept peers as educators and a few who had some experience in the political arena were reluctant to pass on their learning to others. Training them on how to conduct oneself in public and changing the personalities of women used to subjugation was also difficult.

As concluding remarks, she discussed the agenda that must be adopted for capacity building and the implications for the future. The implications for the future are many as there are daunting numbers of women who need to be nurtured and supported as leaders before they get easily alienated or pressurised into stepping down. Institutions need to be prepared to move on from knowledge- to skill-based training and from lecture mode to more participatory ones. There is also immediate and great need of gender training of men.

*Presentation 2: 'Citizen Leadership in South Africa: Prospects and Challenges',  
Chris Tapscott, University of Western Cape, South Africa*

Chris gave an overview of the historical trajectories of democracy in South Africa. There was citizen initiative in the anti-apartheid struggle. The anti-apartheid struggle was the social glue for citizen leadership. It held communities together. In the post-apartheid context, with the 1994 attainment of formal legal rights, participatory democracy was built into new legislation and policy. New structures for citizen engagement were designed; however a sense of 'end of history'—a citizens' sense of no need for further struggles—emerged. Initially, in the context of policy, draft policies were circulated to people for inputs. Unfortunately this has dried up.



There were high expectations as to what democracy would bring. Leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle left communities for jobs in government and the private sector. During the Mandela regime, some improvements could be seen in the conditions of the people, but then community-based organisations were not provided space or involved in any way by the government. However, there was a peaceful transition to the next government, led by Mbeki. Mbeki's term was marked by neo-liberal macro economic policies. But disillusionment of people with the pace of service delivery continued. 'Invited' spaces were not really delivering and they were subverted one way or another. The ruling party, African National Congress, portrayed itself as the vanguard of citizens and supposedly represented revolutionary voices in the society. But the development indicators are not so optimistic; South Africa has overtaken Brazil as the most unequal country in the world, added Chris. Deteriorating living conditions accompanied by relative deprivation engendered dramatic social mobilisation in the country. Popular discontent led people to choose alternate means to express themselves. Protests became more and more common. They were initially very sporadic and unstructured, but people have a belief that this method works (as it did against the apartheid government also).

Looking at the challenges of leadership, Chris said that new social leadership is slowly emerging in South Africa. Some social movements have been more successful leaders than others. Some of the smaller movements are in themselves not democratic. Some people have used these movements to advance their political ambitions. Many of these social movements are apolitical. They use multiple strategies to engage with the state. Apart from the resources, knowledge of political/legal/administrative systems is a challenge.

On the role of the legal system and courts in citizen leadership, Chris said, people like to go to courts. It gives some publicity for their causes and helps to mobilise the community. Courts have become a vital component, as they are places for confronting the state in its own terrain. Chris then added that they should be places of last resort.

Speaking on the role of intermediaries, he said, they play a major role in supporting social mobilisation. However, they are a two-edged sword, as they can undermine a community's role and also change the focus of social movements. Sometimes, intermediaries come with their own agenda not necessarily matching community issues.

The role of media has not been neutral. Many political parties use media. Social movements that are media savvy also use it for their own purposes, and thus the justness of the cause takes a back seat.

New forms of citizen engagement are emerging in the country. Leaders of social movements are not taken seriously in ward committees, but people do participate. They have also taken part in elections. Protests in South Africa are getting institutionalised through multiple forms of engagement with the state—petitions and legal actions.

Chris dwelt on the future challenges of citizenship. There are concerns on whether there will be 'protest fatigue'. One cannot protest forever; there is a need to show the results of mobilisation. There is a need for sustainability of citizen action to hold the state accountable, and to build knowledge of the functions of legal and administrative systems. Co-option of citizen leaders is a big challenge. People are co-opted into local politics by the state, as they are successful protest leaders. There is also the problem of the white elite and black elite. Engagement with the state is still adversarial. Chris concluded by stating that deepening of democracy is a very long process, a journey without end.

### *Floor Discussions*

Women's leadership brought up the issue of no-confidence motions against women presidents and chairpersons. Such no-confidence motions should ideally not be allowed and, if allowed, only another woman should be allowed to fill the post.

An important challenge in the capacity building of women in leadership roles is the time available for it. The issue of existing culture and traditions in society subjugating women was also raised. It was pointed out that training of women, especially deprived sections (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) women, in leadership roles was effective. There is a need to provide more inputs to them. There was a very engaging discussion about how women's self-image and perceptions need to be changed as well as the attitudes of the

society as a whole. It was felt grooming could help women. Women are generally stigmatised and typecasted. They need to overcome this. They need to come out themselves, rather than because a training programme was designed for them. Unfortunately, for women to take on leadership roles on their own, family support cannot be considered a positive variable for women. Family support to men is assured. It is taken for granted. It is equally essential for women and needs to become a positive indicator for effective leadership.

Even though there were some success stories from the women's empowerment training, the sustained impact of the training was an issue. There is a lot of stereotyping of roles in our society. The media too sends wrong signals. There is a need for more affirmative action and education for effective women's leadership. It is important to have more women in numbers. Women in numbers also bring quality, if properly groomed.

It is not a woman's responsibility to change the world. But if women are represented in leadership positions, represented in decision-making, it will help to push women's issues further. There was also general agreement on the fact that the onus of transforming attitudes is not on women alone but men should carry more of this burden.

In the context of South Africa, it was felt protest actions vibrate citizenship. Protests should be viewed as a culture that builds democracy. Litigation, however, is the worst form of protest. It is difficult to organise people in a non-political way. How ordinary people get access to media is a very big challenge. The residual impact of apartheid will continue for sometime.

# Technical Session-III: Intermediation in Accountability

**Chair:** Trilochan Sastry, Indian Institute of Management, Bengaluru

**Speakers:** Mohsin Ali, WAVE Foundation, Bangladesh  
Patrick Kayemba, DENIVA, Uganda  
Binoy Acharya, Unnati, Gujarat, India



*The guiding questions for the session were:*

- ◆ What functions do intermediate organisations perform in enabling citizens to secure democratic accountability?
- ◆ What form does intermediation take?
- ◆ What types of multi-layered and multi-party coalitions emerge in this intermediation?
- ◆ How are intermediation mechanisms held accountable?

*The emerging findings from the case studies were:*

- ◆ Capacity building is possible through training, exposure visits, information dissemination, citizen support cell, facilitating participatory planning.
- ◆ Mobilisation and organisation are built around issues through regular meetings and campaigns (including using web-based technology).
- ◆ Community-based research and field surveys and information gathering are important tools.
- ◆ Alliance building is necessary through aggregating grassroots groups, local, national and international organisations, and political parties.
- ◆ There are different strategies to relate to the state, such as confrontation, negotiation, collaboration, etc.

*Presentation 1: Mohsin Ali, WAVE Foundation, Bangladesh*

Mohsin Ali shared the experiences of Bangladesh and highlighted that with the help of various networks, CSOs in Bangladesh have been able to build pressure on the government to become more accountable on issues like gas, mineral resources, etc. He said that engagement of various stakeholders as a strategy promoted the issue of transparency and accountability in the governance system. The various intermediary bodies in Bangladesh include, Lok Morcha; Governance Advocacy Forum; Policy Advocacy on



Decentralisation; Trinamool Shaka (Grassroots Forum); National Committee to Protect Wells, Gas, Ports, Mineral Resources and Power; Parliamentary Standing Committees and Journalists' Forums. Ali shared that the most effective mechanisms for accountability are transparency of financial transactions and the scrutiny of operational aspects by people. He posed some very relevant questions related to capacity of the various communities on planning, budgeting, etc., and concluded by stating that there is still a lot to be done in Bangladesh to promote accountability.

***Presentation 2: 'Intermediaries in Accountability', Kayemba Patrick, DENIVA, Uganda***

Patrick in his presentation shared information on the functioning of DENIVA, a CSO network of more than 700 organisations working in Uganda. He raised the issue of legitimacy of the intermediaries and argued that in countries like Uganda, it is very difficult for any CSO to establish and prove its legitimacy before government officials. However, depending on the type of situation, the network of organisations could attain legitimacy through the people with whom they are working at the local level. Patrick highlighted some challenges in the process of accountability of intermediaries in Uganda, many of which can



find an echo in other developing democracies, such as the changing operational environment in a country, frequent changes in perspective of the government about NGOs, different concepts of networking as perceived by different organisations, competition among organisations of the same network for resources from a particular donor agency, managing donor's policies which have different priorities, sectoral priorities of CSOs themselves, etc. Patrick concluded by stating that genuine accountability should be guided by the values of equity, quality, participation, transparency, democratic principles, freedom and tolerance.

***Presentation 3: 'Intermediation in Promotion of Social Accountability: Process, Issues, Dilemmas and Way Forward', Binoy Acharya, Unnati, Gujarat, India***

Binoy Acharya focused his presentation on services and accountability of service delivery agencies. There are different forms of social accountability. Conventional forms include social movements, public interest litigation and jan sunwai (public hearing). New forms include demand for information disclosure, citizen monitoring and mainstreaming social audit. By citing two examples (one of Kankariya Lake of Ahmedabad and the other one of social audit processes in Gujarat), Acharya showed how different people have different perspective of development. Given this, he emphasised that there is a need to work with different stakeholders, including government. He said that it is important for the NGOs, which are working for social causes to fearlessly intermediate and they must raise



their voices, whenever they find any space. Activism, as an option, should not be given up. We need fearless forums where people talk/distribute popular papers. People must continue to voice their positions.

On the aspect of barriers to intermediation, Acharya said, threats by vested interest groups, disruption/violence to subvert the process, offloading of states' responsibility to monitor and effectively deliver its services, disinterest, hostility or over-enthusiasm and cooption by the government are risk factors. Speaking on the dilemmas involved in institutionalising social accountability, he said, civil society should take only those processes which can be completed and help vulnerable people gain confidence to ask queries. Acharya concluded by stating that civil society should facilitate and strengthen citizens' voices, establish a set of tools, techniques, process and aggregation methodology that can be replicated, and enable the government to create systems for social accountability.

### *Floor Discussions*

What role do intermediaries serve? What besets us as a society? Average person's notion of democracy is very different from that of CSOs. Intermediation is two-sided—taking citizen's voices to the powerful and elite and also about influencing what society thinks. What is the role of intermediaries in accountability and accountability of intermediaries to their constituents? Is part of the role of intermediation then to power the notion of citizens? Sometimes confrontation with government can work as a good tool of intermediation. Over time, less the citizens need intermediation, the better it is.

A question was raised on the power relationships between intermediary organisations and grassroots organisations. Do intermediaries sometime determine the agenda of grassroots organisations?

If political parties have been included in the space of intermediation for the citizen, as in Bangladesh, how will they work beyond the political domain? Political parties are interested in social mobilisation for political mobilisation. What benefits does civil society get by including political parties as intermediaries? Often political parties jump on issues raised by CSOs because they also want to show they are close to the people. The question of when CSOs should ally with political parties and when not to was also raised.

Applying pressure is important for ensuring accountability. Pressure should be applied for making NGOs accountable. Yet, donors are unwilling to fund Annual General Body Meeting of NGOs, a necessary tool which forces accountability. Without this the public is suspicious of NGOs. It is essential to ensure pressure for accountability.

If social audit is to become a powerful tool of accountability, the quality of social audit by local bodies needs to be improved.

The participants also called attention on how to achieve scaling up/create a self-sustaining model. Can NGOs scale up free from donor support? Scaling up of issues from the local

level to national level requires help of professionals to quantify scientific data before national governments will listen to or recognise the issue. It will require handing over of the issue by the local CSO to national level advocacy groups.

On the issue of legitimacy of CSOs, it was pointed out that many a time CSOs fumble when asked the question: 'Who are you to ask questions/demand accountability?' What are the factors that can increase legitimacy of CSOs? Elections are not the only source of legitimacy. 'Created spaces'/work on the ground creates legitimacy. The example of Mahatma Gandhi shows that there is no need to prove legitimacy if people are with you and supporting your activities. CSOs should not be constrained by the questions of legitimacy. If they follow the simple principles of human life, there's no need to be self-critical about legitimacy. There are illegitimate powers/players influencing decisions—big business (they do not soul search about what their legitimacy is), international donor agencies (World Bank, UN, ADB, IMF), and powerful nations (particularly of the West). Listen to your conscience, that is a CSO's or individual's legitimacy. Related to the issue of legitimacy is an important issue of the devaluing of the role of professional expertise in intermediation. One of the legitimacies of CSOs is their constituency, but professionals do not seek legitimacy from anyone.

Who is framing the debate and who is framing the discourse are important questions, which need to be pondered over. Are intermediaries merely reacting to IMF/World Bank sponsored policies/programmes? Are intermediaries also going to play a role in framing the debate/policy? Intermediaries need to come together in one voice to frame policy rather than merely react to it, was the point raised by one of the participants.

# Technical Session-IV: Accountability Impacts

**Chair:** Wajahat Habibullah, Central Information Commissioner, India

**Speakers:** Manish Sisodia, Kabir, India  
Manoj Rai, PRIA, India  
Chet Charya, Cambodia

*The guiding questions for the session were:*

- ◆ In what ways does democratic accountability impact on realisation of rights of the excluded?
- ◆ Do such efforts transform the nature of accountability politics?
- ◆ What types of dynamics are generated in respect of activating citizenship?
- ◆ How do the voices of citizens matter?

*The emerging findings from the case studies were:*

- ◆ Achieving positive impact on governance accountability through civic engagement is a step-by-step process.
- ◆ Mobilisation and engagement have created recognised spaces for inclusive public debate, dialogue and negotiation.
- ◆ Protest, resistance and opposition are very much part of the engagement spectrum to protect rights and entitlements or at least extract concessions from the state.
- ◆ Sustained citizen action, perseverance and alternative proposals have 'helped' the state to respond better.
- ◆ Substantive and sustainable improvement in service delivery in the face of enormous development backlog is far from satisfactory.
- ◆ Political allegiance as a strategy at the local level provides slightly better access to services; however, it does not guarantee required policy changes, which requires larger coalitions.

Wajahat Habibullah began the session by highlighting the importance of ensuring participation of the excluded. He framed the discussion beginning with the fact that democracy does not merely mean the holding of and participation of citizens in elections. It requires participation of the public in governance. How is this to be ensured? Only governments change through elections. And nowadays for effective governance, man has been replaced by machines. But believing in people, not machines, will lead to effective governance.



He quoted Barack Obama's Inaugural Speech on 21 January 2009, where he highlighted the importance of democratic accountability. Accountability is important for the citizenry and the government. If government is accountable and transparent, it will assist in plan benefits reaching the poor. The poor can then become participants as well as beneficiaries of the development process. Referring to former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's speech, Habibullah highlighted the democratising power of information, especially in alleviating poverty. He explained how the RTI Act of India, 2005 is an intrinsic part of the democratic process. RTI is one step forward to ensure government accountability. Accountability is in the interest of government and citizens alike. For democracy to be real, it has to be accountable and transparent. Institutionalisation of the same through statutory means thus becomes important. Habibullah also stated the need for reform in the police structure.

*Presentation 1: Manoj Rai, PRIA, New Delhi, India*

Manoj Rai shared PRIA's experience in strengthening deprived sections, the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) leadership for democratic accountability. Despite SC and ST leadership (in the context of political leadership in local self-governance institutions) being legitimate, SCs and STs are still deprived of their basic dignity of life. He shared two cases of PRIA's experience in the field, which gave legitimacy to the voice of the powerless.



Speaking on local leadership and accountability, Rai said, transparency and accountability are bigger issues at local levels and primarily the marginalised sections (women, Dalits, tribals) suffer due to lack of it. For the most disadvantaged in society (SC/STs), democratic accountability is for the service delivery for a better quality of life. Delivery system and dignity are most important for them. Hence, building political leadership of SC/STs is critical. He shared that despite financial resources being earmarked for the SC and ST community (Special Component Plan for SCs and STs), resources are not reaching them due to poor implementation by governance structures. There is a lack of devolution and lack of capacity. The emergence of strong local leadership often leads to accountability and vibrancy in the delivery system. Accountability in the governance system brings qualitative changes (economic development and social justice) in the lives of the people.

Rai detailed the various steps to build and strengthen political leadership among marginalised sections:

- ◆ Rapport building—community develops confidence in facilitators.
- ◆ Identifying potential leaders and interacting with elected leaders (in groups and at individual levels).
- ◆ Community builds confidence to move forward.
- ◆ General awareness of community on social and economic issues, existing legal provisions, role of leaders, etc., increases.

- ◆ Sensitisation of non-Dalit/tribal people, especially the significant leaders of non-Dalit/tribal communities.
- ◆ Leaders accept their roles.
- ◆ Help leadership to build their capacities (training, exposure, interface, advocacy, etc.) to play their role effectively.
- ◆ Potential leaders/coalitions/networks act as support system for elected leaders to deliver public goods.
- ◆ Acceptance' of leader by the community—leader and community get strengthened by each other.

*The impacts of developing leadership among the marginalised are huge. They include:*

- ◆ Sensitised/organised communities.
- ◆ Articulate citizen leaders.
- ◆ Effective leadership.
- ◆ Regular meetings of gram sabhas.
- ◆ Responsive delivery system.
- ◆ Better delivery of public goods.
- ◆ Inclusive economic development and social justice.
- ◆ Emergence of new leaders.

Rai cited the non-acceptance of SC/ST leadership by other community members, the culture of silence by majority of people and the entrenched bureaucratic delivery systems, resistance from powerful authorities, conflicting socio-economic interests, lack of data and unverifiable records as some of the challenges related to strengthening SC/ST leadership.

SC leadership at local level (panchayats and municipalities) is ineffective; it has not done anything so far, has made little change (but the little change it has made is positive). Rai concluded by stating that in building SC/ST leadership, we need to think beyond reservations as a mechanism to address leadership issues. This needs to be taken into consideration when developing SC/ST leadership.

### *Presentation 2: Manish Sisodia, Kabir, India*

Manish Sisodia began by asking, 'What is freedom and what is independence in a democracy? How do citizens' voices matter?' He then went on to share how the government machinery is accountable to its own hierarchy but not to the citizens, with the help of a case study of an old man in a Bihar village. The citizen through elections can supposedly change the top, but it is impossible to win/change elections because of money/muscle power, so where is the accountability in the system?



Narrating the case of Nannu, a daily wage worker, who used Right to Information (RTI) to get a duplicate BPL card, Sisodia effectively brought out the power of RTI. He shared the history of the RTI Act and the details of a nationwide campaign, 'Drive against Bribery', which resulted in 21,000 RTI applications being filed in 11 days during that campaign. He stated that successful use of RTI has assisted citizens in getting access to basic amenities without paying bribes. RTI has been used to check bribes and financial corruption, fight fake cases and harassment by the police and to address problems in banks and other government offices. It has helped in ensuring transparency and accountability of the state to the citizens. Sisodia concluded his presentation by stating that 'Right to Know is Right to Live'. RTI is one step forward, but an essential step. It is an effective tool against bribery, a tool against corruption, is good for transparency, but not sufficient for accountability. For effective accountability, we need a governance system where people control funds, functions and functionaries.

### *Presentation 3: Chet Charya, Star Kampuchea, Cambodia*

Chet Charya shared the experience of PECSA (Programme to Enhance Capacity for Social Accountability) in Cambodia, which is supported by the World Bank and is facilitated by Silaka, Cambodia, in collaboration with PRIA, Delhi and Ateneo School of Government (AsoG), Philippines. PECSA helps in capacity building of CSOs of Cambodia by Silaka, PRIA and ASoG, supports the NGO network, and acts as a resource centre on social accountability and grant-making facility for social accountability. It also has an evaluation component. She shared details of the Demand for Good Governance (DGG) project, started in 2009. DGG is supported by four ministries, and focuses on networking, strengthening resource centres and providing access to social accountability information. The impact of PECSA includes enhanced capacity of CSOs of Cambodia on social accountability, a better relationship between government and civil society, access to information on how to improve service delivery, NGOs incorporating social accountability in their projects, and enhanced understanding of NGOs on ensuring greater responsiveness from the government.



### *Floor Discussions*

In building SC/ST leadership, we must realise STs are not homogeneous. Within these marginalised communities, there are claims, denials, contestants of citizenship. Tribals question every non-tribal. How do we take stratification among STs over the past 60 years into account?

How do you push out uncivil elements in CSOs?

Making state bureaucracy more responsible is more important than making political leadership accountable. RTI gets into the 'belly of the beast'. In entrenched bureaucracy it is very difficult to find who is actually responsible.

RTI has to work with other freedoms/legislation (e.g., grievance redressal, anti-corruption). To make RTI more effective, the gram sabha should be the nodal agency for passage of information downwards and for passing on RTI applications (not only for panchayat level information, but also for higher levels). But there is an issue of incentives that can make a gram sabha perform.

RTI is the only act that empowers an individual, not a leadership or a particular community. Empowering an individual leads to effective democracy. The information asked through RTI has to be leveraged into policy framework. RTI should be used as a starting point: the kinds of questions asked from a government department should inform the functioning of the department, because questions are asked in the areas which are not working properly or because people are dissatisfied with it (and are expressing it through seeking information).

Do civil society structures reflect the same power relations of social realities? What is the role of individualistic rights vs. collective reforms in bringing about change? Both are not exclusive; they need to go together to frame a more explicit democratic agenda.

It is important to change the mentality of civil society. We must work to empower the citizen and encourage the citizen to engage with the state. In Cambodia, for example, the government thinks citizens have no right to ask questions of it—the state/citizen relationship is one of patronage, of parent–child. How does one make the citizen more demanding to ask for their rights? Getting the marginalised (SCs/STs) to demand is about helping them realise asking questions is legitimate, is non-threatening, and will help them live better lives.

# Closing Plenary

**Chair:** Bishnu Mohapatra, The Ford Foundation, India

**Speakers:** Syed M. Hashmi, BRAC University, Bangladesh  
Thida Khus, SILAKA, Cambodia  
Budd Hall, University of Victoria, Canada



Bishnu Mahapatra dealt at length with discussion on democracy. He suggested that democracy should be rethought in terms of working of democracy, limitations of democracy and expectations of democracy. He also observed that governments are more responsive when officials/representatives are held accountable. The relation between citizen and state and how a government views its people differs from country to country. Relationship between transparency/accountability/effectiveness has a lot of assumptions. Transparency is the 'what' questions. Accountability is the 'why' questions. The assumption is that when 'what' and 'why' are brought together we will come to the 'how' question (i.e., how to be effective). These assumptions have to be tabled/discussed. For example, we assume asking the 'why' question through RTI is transforming the quality of the institution.

Budd Hall presented a case for building a partnership/mentoring for academia in countries which do not have enough qualified researchers for social research. He looked at CSOs as places for creating knowledge. There is a need to change the way people think about civil society/knowledge/how it is used. Knowledge resources should be placed in the service of communities. Contemporary political and social theory is dominated by Western knowledge. Ancient/indigenous knowledge is not accessible. Hence, we are not operating from a true knowledge commons. Going deeper into other pools of knowledge will help build this. We need to create a knowledge democracy—the way in which we use knowledge as a political/economic/democratic lever, and put knowledge resources in the service of communities.



Hall said conversations about democracy have changed. The conversations have become more democratic in recent times. It is important to rethink the model of democracy/working of democracy and democracy should be thought afresh. We should bring fresh players and create intellectual spaces for a significant breakthrough. People from political parties, social movements and some parts of the community should be invited to the discussions. He also stressed the need to sustain the power of the social movements, the change-oriented liberal life that movements represent.


Participating in the deliberations, Dr. Rajesh Tandon said most of the discussions on democracy are based on a statist or institutional perspective. How do we foster a teaching

of democracy, which is not based on statist/Western models of discourse? What lies 'beneath' the word democracy? Can we create a new theory of democracy? We need to nurture the teaching of democracy in post-secondary education. Civic education in schools is all about how the state functions, not about citizenship and democratic practice. We also have to look at the hierarchical, differentiated, societal realities, including economic inequalities, on the one hand and the functioning of democratic institutions on the other. There is also the question of relating individual wants and state concerns.

Thida Khus shared the experiences of citizenship education in Cambodia.



These critical concerns raised some interesting areas for future research and the way forward:

- ◆ Syed M. Hashmi said that Bangladesh has some of the best service delivery organisations, but is less successful in developing effective citizenship and social accountability. It has failed to demonstrate effective models for strengthening accountability. Hence there is a need to develop such models. There is also the related issue of the problems of the commons in the context of climate change—we need action/research/models on how to exercise accountability (at local and national levels) for protection of livelihoods and access to resources. There is a need to broaden the understanding of citizen participation and accountability.
- 
- ◆ There is also a need to promote democracy (workers' rights) in Export Processing Zones.
  - ◆ How can we build long-term sustainability of intermediaries? How do we get beyond dependency on NGOs? We need to think beyond donor dependency. Sustainability of the voluntary sector has to be raised at the societal level. The sector cannot raise the required resources and invest those resources. We need to tap societal resources (through taxes?) or even corporate/business resources.
  - ◆ We need to improve impact assessment, which should go beyond presentation of anecdotal evidences. How can we prove causality between the change and the intermediary interventions/the social institutions to develop accountability? Comparison against baseline data is not sufficient.
  - ◆ Study how a country can be transformed and how to get citizens to respond.
  - ◆ More insights are required into women leadership.
  - ◆ Build a partnership/mentoring for academia in countries, which do not have enough qualified researchers for social research.

- ◆ Combine thinking on political democracy with economic democracy.
- ◆ Research development/civil society/accountability in countries, which are not true democracies (like Singapore and China). We are otherwise engaging among believers of democracy. By including some not-so-ready believers we will extend the study of the practice of democracy. Also, more North–South debate is required.
- ◆ We need to keep speaking out about the kind of world we want. We need to imagine a different type of world. Without this imagination, how can we get people to participate? Why should they?
- ◆ What is the cost of accountability (not merely the economic cost)? What is the cost of creating a transparent set of institutions? When competing for scarce resources, why should the dollar be spent on creating accountable and transparent institutions, and not on roads or health or education?
- ◆ How can the accountability story be told? Can our understanding of accountability take from/aggregate all the parts currently being studied? The need is to create an accountable culture. You might create rights/spaces, but if citizens have to access these through undemocratic ways, then you are not creating a culture of accountability. How do we create this culture in societies, which are hierarchical?
- ◆ Is strong civil society enough for democratic accountability? Can active citizen leadership alone promote accountable democracies/democratic accountability? There is a need for more dialogue spaces for democratic accountability and create a global civil society. We need to study outcomes and impacts of democratic accountability. Democratic accountability can be made more effective through impact assessment of global/federal decisions at the local level. The impact assessment needs to involve more government officials/elected representatives/political parties in our discussions. Discussions cannot be restricted within/between CSOs.
- ◆ Study the power of social movements on democracy and accountability.
- ◆ Who are the citizens whose voices we are talking about? How are citizens to be heard? Who's listening? And if they are listening, what are they doing about what they've heard? Who is the custodian of this democracy we talk about? Can the voiceless give voice to their demands themselves or do intermediaries have to bring out the diversity of the voices? Role and accountability of intermediaries in getting citizens to respond, given these realities, need to be researched.

# Annexure-I

## Abstract of Case Studies

### I. India

#### 1. *Engaging Community in Solid Waste Management (Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan)*

*Dona Kurien, PRIA, India*

Jhunjhunu is a small town located in northern Rajasthan and is the trade and administrative centre of the Shekhawati region. Being the hub of administration and trading activities, the town generates a tremendous amount of waste. Due to lack of awareness among the citizens of the town and poor waste management by the municipal authorities, the solid waste generated is primarily dumped in the open. As a result, environmental and health problems like plague, dengue and gastroenteritis regularly affect the citizens. Moreover, waste being littered all over the town gives the town a poor image, which adversely affects tourism and other service industries. The municipal administration of the city was not able to tackle the problem adequately as it did not have sufficient staff and the funds. Further, spaces for peoples' participation in municipal administration was very limited which resulted in implementation of urban plans and programmes without any consultation with the citizens of the town.

Spaces for participation widened with the launch of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) by the Government of India on 3 December 2005 across 63 cities in the country. The Mission aimed to create 'economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive cities'. Its main thrust was to improve and augment the economic and social infrastructure of cities and ensure basic services to the urban poor, including security of tenure at affordable prices. For this, a detailed project report (DPR) with the participation of the people for each infrastructure project needed to be prepared by the municipalities and sent to urban departments for sanction of funds.

Significant effort has to be made to mobilise citizens to build meaningful engagement of the community in preparation of the DPR. One of the ways this can be achieved is through raising community awareness on the issue. Enhanced awareness garners community participation in the planning process.

In Jhunjhunu, an intermediary organisation (PRIA) was associated in raising community awareness and from the initial stage of mobilisation right up to the stage of DPR preparation. PRIA played a predominant role in mobilising the community, and convening multi-stakeholder dialogue and interface between the community and the state.

A number of initiatives were taken for engaging community in the planning process.

- i. *IEC (Information, Education and Communication)*: Pamphlets, posters and banners (electronic as well as print) were used to raise awareness on the issues of sanitation and waste management. Pamphlets and posters were distributed in group meetings and ward meetings, and also during house-to-house contact.
- ii. *Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)*: FGDs with residents, shopkeepers and hawkers were instrumental in catalysing thinking on the issue of sanitation and waste management.
- iii. *Constitution of Committees*: Lok Samitis (Citizen Committees) proposed in the Rajasthan Municipality Bill 2005--06 were formed at the mohalla, ward, zone and city levels, which ensured participation of citizens in the development of the area. They provide the platform for citizens to discuss local issues and use local resources and knowledge for creating a sustainable development plan. PRIA published brochures mentioning the functions, membership and benefits of Lok Samitis. Sensitisation of citizen leaders on the need for Lok Samitis ensured participation from the community.
- iv. *Field Surveys*: Surveys were conducted to get details of waste generated from each household and institution. This was instrumental in detailing the grave situation with respect to Solid Waste Management (SWM) and the need for urgent action.
- v. *Engagement of Media*: Media engagement in the campaign added impetus to the efforts.
- vi. *Stakeholder Dialogue on SWM*: A detailed citizen-centric report was prepared and shared at the district and state levels. Multi-stakeholder dialogue was convened by PRIA, where a DPR on SWM was put forward for feedback from other stakeholders.
- vii. *Citizen Leaders*: They undertook the important task of planning the campaign methods and the location of the campaign. They also carried out the field surveys to ascertain the state of SWM in the town. They played a catalytic role in the formation of Lok Samitis and in organising subsequent meetings.

These multi-pronged mobilisation efforts by PRIA and citizen leaders of Jhunjhunu yielded active citizen participation. This is evident in a number of small initiatives such as doorstep collection of waste by citizens in select wards.

Another tangible outcome was the preparation of a DPR on SWM with active participation and inputs from the community. This was one of the first instances in the country where citizens actively participated in preparation of a DPR on SWM. Sharing the DPR with state government officials during multi-stakeholder dialogue sensitised them to the benefits of a citizen's approach to planning. Learning from this experience, a similar initiative of citizen-centric planning in the state under JNNURM was planned. Engaging the community in SWM for their own town illustrates that development plans should be designed in consultation with the community. In doing so, it builds ownership of the plan by the community, which is a prerequisite for the sustainability of any project.

## 2. *Improving Urban Services through Citizens' Initiative (Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh)*

*Bhavita Vaishnava, PRIA, India*

Dharamshala, the headquarters of Kangra district, Himachal Pradesh, lies on a spur of the Dhauladhar ranges in the Pir Panjal region of the outer Himalayas. It has sub-tropical climatic conditions. Dharamshala Municipality was established on 6 May 1867. It covers an area of 10.63 square kilometres divided into 11 wards with a total of 20,187 citizens (2001 Census).

As the town is a major tourist destination, it attracts more than 100,000 Indian and foreign tourists every year. The floating population of Dharamshala at its peak is about 5000 persons per day. Although this creates enormous economic opportunities, it also poses a threat to the natural ecology of the town as increasing tourism and commercialisation result in depletion and subsequent dearth of natural resources. With the growth of tourism, an increasing number of commercial and business establishments have also come up in the town contributing to substantial solid waste generation. Solid waste generation is about 10--12 tonnes/day and the municipality is able to collect only 70--75 per cent of the waste generated. This is due to the hilly terrain and steep slopes that make certain areas inaccessible for municipal vehicles to collect garbage. There is no proper system for disposal and garbage is presently being dumped in open places. People often throw solid waste on the hillside and into open drains.

At the same time, there are problems related to urban services, e.g., poor water quality, drainage and street lighting in public places. The municipality has not addressed these problems. Hence, the community, with help of civil society organisations, decided to solve the problems by themselves.

A beginning was made with campaigns like 'Clean Upper Dharamshala' initiated by the Tibet Welfare Society and Gamru Youth Club. But they were only able to address the problem in small pockets like McLeodganj. PRIA undertook the initiative to broad base the campaign through a number of initiatives like:

- ◆ Formation of mohalla/ward committees
- ◆ Mobilisation of Mahila Mandals
- ◆ Household survey on municipal performance
- ◆ Media engagement
- ◆ Right to Information mobilisation drives
- ◆ Structured programmes for nurturing selected citizen leaders.

Community members were also taken on exposure visits to Pitthoragarh, Uttarakhand, a town, which has taken excellent initiatives in solving the problem of SWM. Local sanitation committees had been formed in Pitthoragarh on the initiative of citizens to

effectively manage solid waste in different localities. It was thought formation of such forums could be an important method of mobilisation in Dharamshala as well since it was facing similar problems.

The mobilisation drives not only ensured engaging citizens in the process of democratic governance but also ensured improved service delivery. For example, the municipality of Dharamshala took active steps to engage citizens when preparing the Detailed Project Report (DPR) on SWM before it was submitted to the state government for approval. It was the first time widespread consultations with the community for preparing a DPR on SWM were organised, which certainly set in motion the processes of democratic participation in policy making. Substantial improvement can also be seen in the service delivery of sanitation, water supply and streetlights in public places. The mobilisation drives also made possible more frequent interaction between citizens and elected representatives which helps build peoples' confidence in democratic institutions. Subsequently, the exposure of collusion between the forest department, hotel builders and government departments in building a five-star hotel on forest land by a RTI activist which led to the project being stopped can be cited as evidence of citizens demanding accountability from their governments.

### ***3a. Using Right to Information for Improving Basic Infrastructure in Delhi***

*Manish Sisodia, Kabir, India*

Right to information is a fundamental right of any citizen of India. The Right To Information (RTI) Act 2005 clearly specifies that any citizen of India can seek information from the government. The Act also provides for suo moto disclosures of information relevant to citizens by the government from time to time. Various citizen groups and the media played an important role in getting the Act passed. Although the national Act was enacted in 2005, the Delhi Right to Information Act was enacted four years earlier (October 2001) by the Government of NCT Delhi. The noteworthy application of right to information in Delhi has been in the implementation of government development and citizen welfare programmes and highlighting instances of corruption in these programmes. There are instances when the people have collectively organised themselves in campaigns and when individuals, aided by their activism and the RTI Act, have successfully transformed the way government does business.

Parivartan (a community-based organisation working for change) adopted the innovative method of jan sunwai (public hearings) to make government agencies accountable. Public hearings were organised in the locality where a number of officers, journalists, activists, elected representatives and people gathered to discuss huge diversion of funds from infrastructure development projects. The public discussion here was based on data related to infrastructure development like drains and roads collected from the engineering department of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) through an RTI application. The data for nearly two years were collected and collated by Parivartan. These data were shared with the community to verify whether the infrastructure had been developed as per the MCD records in the locality or not. A number of people testified that very few development

works had been carried out in the area in the last two years and they were quite surprised to find that in the records huge amounts of money were shown to have been spent on development projects in their areas. Sharing of the information revealed that around 40 per cent of the development work as mentioned in the municipal records had never been carried out. It showed huge embezzlement of government money in development projects. In order to force the government to take action, Parivartan filed a Public Interest Litigation (PIL). The court in response to the PIL instructed the Delhi Police to file corruption cases against the accused officers. This demonstrated that the struggle by the poor and marginalised can ensure accountability of the state.

If the previous case showed the struggle of the poor, the following cases demonstrate the struggle of the middle class to expose corruption and ensure accountability. Residents' Welfare Associations (RWAs) of three colonies—Rajender Nagar (in west Delhi), Model Town (in north Delhi) and Defence Colony (in south Delhi)—have waged a crusade for transparency and accountability. RWAs have used the RTI Act to access information related to construction of roads in their colonies. Parivartan and Kabir (an NGO in Delhi) played an active role in enabling RWAs to file their RTI applications. The information revealed showed huge embezzlement of funds in the construction of roads. Public exposure of this embezzlement forced the government to take action against erring officials.

These success stories in Delhi prompted individuals to file RTI applications in other parts of Delhi. Street construction and maintenance is seen as one of the development works, which has high potential for large-scale corruption. Citizens such as Ajay Goyal in Pandav Nagar and Uday Gosain, on their individual initiative, questioned the authority regarding its role in road construction.

The efforts of citizen leaders, intermediary organisations like RWAs and activists along with huge support from the community helped to expose large-scale corruption in development works in Sunder Nagari and other colonies of Delhi. These efforts not only resulted in the punishment of corrupt officials but also better civil amenities in Delhi.

### ***3b. Improving Public Distribution System through Right to Information in New Delhi***

*Manish Sisodia, Kabir, India*

The Public Distribution System (PDS) in India is a national food security programme, which provides food grains, sugar and kerosene at subsidised rates to families below the poverty line. The PDS has always been viewed as a component of the government's strategy to alleviate poverty. It is a very good policy, which has failed to give results as it has always been marked by huge corruption and leakages. In some states, leakage is to the extent of nearly 70 per cent. The government has failed to check corruption in the PDS, which has forced civic action in several locations across India. These civic actions have been successful in some places and have failed in others. One of the prominent examples of success is the movement for checking corruption in the PDS in Delhi.

This movement was launched by Parivartan with strong community support in Sundarnagari, Delhi. Parivartan mobilised all the people who were not getting timely rations/subsidised food grains from PDS shops to file RTI applications. The application was to access information about monthly stock of food grains, numbers and names of people who were provided food grains in the last six months, rates at which the food grains were supplied, etc. To their surprise, people found that they were being charged higher prices than fixed by the government, they were not provided food grains even when stock was available, the beneficiaries' list had a number of fake names, etc. It exposed huge corruption in the food distribution system in Delhi, which created pressure on food distributors to deliver food grains on time and at the rate fixed by government.

These success stories spread the message around; more people filed RTI applications to access information on the working of the food grain distribution system. The campaign gained momentum and Parivartan started similar campaigns in other resettlement slums. The activists taught members of the community the nuances of using the RTI Act in order to obtain information from the concerned authorities. The residents were persuaded to file RTI applications and demand records of ration dealers and the reasons behind the siphoning off of their rations. Citizen leaders along with Parivartan activists obtained the sale and supply registers of ration dealers and started investigating them. Surveys were conducted alongside to verify the records. The surveys and investigations revealed that the rations of genuine cardholders were being sold in the open market and entries in the book were being fabricated.

Parivartan also employed public hearings to share the records accessed through RTI applications and to collectively discuss and analyse the data. It was also a forum where the community testified about their problems in getting food grains under the PDS. The public hearing is a huge gathering attended by civil society, activists, media, retired judges, elected representatives and government officials. Exposure of malpractices in such a huge gathering becomes big news, which is covered by media and it also creates pressure on the government to take action.

This huge campaign was not without conflicts or confrontation. Activists and people who filed RTI applications faced threats from officials and PDS shopkeepers. They were often physically assaulted but this did not deter them from filing RTI applications and mobilising people.

This huge mobilisation and campaign against corruption helped in keeping a check on the corrupt and fraudulent practices within the PDS. Vigilant organisations such as Parivartan made it possible for citizens to raise their voice against the unfair treatment meted out to them. Parivartan pushed for reform where all the records related to the PDS should be made available for public inspection. The government finally yielded to public pressure and framed the rule that all records related to PDS be opened for public scrutiny on two Saturdays of every month. It brought all the records into the public domain and made the system transparent and accountable.

#### **4. Engaging Community in Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Planning (Bhachau, Gujarat)**

*Alice Morris, Unnati, India*

The earthquake in Gujarat in 2001 completely destroyed Bhachau town. Life in Bhachau, with a population of approximately 35,000, came to a standstill. All the buildings in the town—community buildings, water tanks, hospitals and communication centres—had turned into rubble, severely crippling life-support systems. With the loss of property, livelihood options of the people were also destroyed. The entire economy collapsed leaving its citizens helpless, traumatised and without work and shelter.

Rehabilitation and reconstruction was required in order to rebuild the socio-economic lives of those who had survived the disaster. Post-disaster recovery actions had to be identified carefully. A number of institutions and organisations came forward and supported the rehabilitation and reconstruction process, addressing the issues of compensation, food and shelter. In addition to relief and rehabilitation work, the challenge was to prepare a plan for the town, which had been completely destroyed. The Government of Gujarat delegated the responsibility to the newly created Bhachau Urban Development Authority (Bhada) and the Urban Development Department. These bodies were specifically directed by the government to prepare the plans with people's participation. Some community meetings and consultations were organised to involve the people in preparing the plan but they were largely cosmetic in nature. It showed up in the draft plan, which completely neglected the concerns of the poor, slum dwellers and women. Some dominant sections of society were able to influence the plans in order to protect their own interests. The draft plan caused considerable discontent among marginalised sections, as they had not been provided any dwelling space in the plan.

Unnati, an NGO working in the area, tried to raise the concerns of the marginalised to the government. In order to present the government with a people's perspective of the plan, it organised multi-stakeholder consultations in August 2001. The agenda was to discuss the draft development plan of Bachau. This consultation was attended by senior officers from Gujarat Urban Development Authority, Bhachau Urban Development Authority (Bhada) and the poor and marginalised sections of society. The concerns of the poor with regard to the draft plan were raised which ultimately led to modifications in the urban plan. Further, establishment of a Citizen Support Cell by Unnati in Bhada office facilitated participatory urban planning and acted as a bridge between the people and government.

To help the government in the rehabilitation process, a committee for rehabilitation was formed. This committee was further divided into area (falia) committees. Each area committee represented a small cluster of the town. The town of Bachau had 15 to 16 such committees. These committees organised regular meetings to discuss the problems of rehabilitation and officials were also invited to listen to the grievances of the people. The falia committees also undertook the task of identifying vulnerable families, monitoring the material provided to them by various agencies and reported any mismanagement to the appropriate authority. A cadre of citizen leaders raised through structured training programmes by Unnati played a very important role in the functioning of these

committees. These leaders organised marches and meetings for to raise awareness on rehabilitation and urban planning. Involvement of people in planning and reconstruction of houses not only led to citizen-centric plans, it created a sense of satisfaction and ownership about the whole process. Active engagement of the community in rehabilitation and reconstruction planning certainly yielded good results in Bhachau.

### ***5. Community Engagement Solves Poor Sanitation and Water Scarcity (Dholka, Gujarat)***

*Alice Morris, Unnati, India*

Dholka, a town with dry, arid climate, is located in Ahmedabad district in Gujarat. As per the 2001 Census, Dholka has a population of 61,569 and its growth rate is 7.96 per cent. The town is divided into 12 wards (electoral divisions) and most of the working population is involved in manufacturing, processing, service and trade. The town has a large number of power looms and cotton processing units.

The quality of municipal services available in Dholka is poor. Citizens' complaints are primarily related to bad condition of roads, water supply and drainage and lack of health facilities. Land encroachments have added to citizens' woes. There has been little or no attempt at improving services by the official machinery and citizens were not organised to demand improvements in their living conditions. Though the government passed the 74th Amendment Act<sup>1</sup> making municipalities self-governing, these institutions remained unutilised due to poor awareness among people. Despite these landmark provisions, the lack/absence of invited spaces within the decentralised system has made it difficult for ordinary people to participate in the development process. People, especially marginalised groups, felt alienated and excluded from governance.

Unnati, an NGO, had assumed a pre-dominant role in awareness generation in the community on the poor civic conditions in their town. It started mobilising the community by involving them in assessment of civic amenities in the town. Attempts were made to collect, first-hand, information about socio-economic status, slum clusters, basic services provided by the municipality, budget and expenditure for development schemes, etc. The purpose of primary data collection by the community was to expose them to development activities undertaken by the municipality, thereby making them aware about the role and responsibilities of the municipality. Citizen leaders played an active role in collecting data from different clusters of the town. This prepared them for the future when they could question the municipality.

Other relevant official documents like ward maps, development maps, land use maps, census records and data on slum clusters were also collected. Infrastructure mapping of roads, water supply, sewerage system, garbage disposal, schools, health centres and other services was also carried out. It gave a clear picture of the town in terms of land use patterns, available services, etc. which could be used for participatory town planning.

---

<sup>1</sup>The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) created mandatory local self-governing institutions, municipalities and corporations in urban areas across the country. This amendment provides space for ordinary citizens to participate in the decision-making process of their area.

Another community-based initiative was preparation of a report card for monitoring the services provided by the municipality. A citizen report card is a user-end assessment of basic services that measures access, adequacy, appropriateness, affordability and user satisfaction. The data for the citizen report card is collected, collated and analysed by the community. In recent years, it has been extensively used in India to monitor and evaluate basic services and the community uses it as a tool to pressurise the municipality to improve services. The citizen report card on drinking water supply and garbage collection prepared for Dholka brought out startling facts about the poor condition of these services. It showed that only 50 per cent of the households had water connections; the rest used public taps. Infrequent supply, muddy water and poor maintenance of water pipes were some other problems faced by the community. The release of the citizen report card forced the municipality to fix all the problems related to water supply. Thus, the citizen report card is a form of community-based monitoring which makes people aware and organises them in their struggle with the state.

Citizen leaders were the important actors in such civic actions. These leaders in Dholka were identified by Unnati from different clusters of the town and provided training through structured programmes. These leaders were given orientation on citizenship, urban governance, accountability and community-based monitoring. Some common qualities, which were found in these leaders, were communication skills, credibility among the community and commitment for improving the lot of their brethren (These three qualities are often referred to as the three Cs). Despite possessing tremendous skills, they had to battle against the odds of poverty, poor literacy and apathetic government machinery, which always tries to keep them down. Moreover, they were operating in a highly politicised state, and taking up the cause of the community while maintaining political neutrality is a difficult task.

Despite these constraints, the citizen leaders of Dholka undertook intense mobilisation drives. They visited individual households in their areas and discussed the problems of poor sanitation and water scarcity. They tried to solve these problems by organising face-to-face meeting with officials and other political leaders. They also organised campaigns for creating awareness about disposal of garbage, and the role of the community in cleaning their surroundings and in conserving water.

Winning the trust of the community was another great challenge. Mobilisation of citizens for a common cause was also difficult as majority of the community were poor and they were going to lose their daily wage if they attended meetings and sit-ins in order to raise their demands. Battling these odds, citizen leaders continued mobilising their communities and were able to win their trust. Regular interface with officials helped them understand rules, regulations and procedures of government departments and also created networks and linkages with officials that could be utilised by the community.

It can be said that citizen leaders in Dholka played a catalytic and strategic role in spreading and enhancing social accountability and improving the quality of basic services, particularly water and sanitation. Civic action resulted in crystallising some social accountability tools, which can frequently be used to access basic services from government departments.

## II. South Africa

### 1. *Citizen Leadership in Cape Town: A Tale of Two Communities (Langa and Green Point, Cape Town, South Africa)*

*Chirstopher Tapscott  
University of Western Cape  
Cape Town, South Africa*

Liberal democracies, in their intent, imbue citizens with an array of rights and entitlements, including the right to respond to and shape policies, which can impact negatively on their general welfare. However well intentioned these principles might be, a number of studies have shown that the poor are disadvantaged in competitive politics, which typically manifest a distinct elitist bias. While this remains a challenge in consolidated democracies, it is particularly problematic in transitional democracies and in societies, which have extreme social differentiation and where understandings of democracy and citizenship are both variable and dynamic. In such contexts, despite the existence of enabling legislation and policy frameworks, the marginalised segments of a society are unable to take advantage of the rights of citizenship assigned to them.

The constitutional and legislative framework in existence in South Africa reveals a policy environment that is actively supportive of citizen participation and one that exhorts decision-makers and administrators to actively canvas the views of the public on matters affecting their welfare. However, in what is a highly differentiated society, the channels for expression open to different communities to exert voice and influence decision-making are themselves extremely varied and unequal. This paper looks at attempts by two Cape Town Communities distinguished by race and class to exercise their democratic rights and to redefine administrative decisions, which they perceive to adversely affect their interests. The study serves to contrast the somewhat idealised notion of participation portrayed in national legislation and policy with the lived reality of ordinary citizens struggling to exercise voice in social and political contexts, which are complex and dynamic. This case study also illustrates the ways in which the existing system of participatory democracy is failing the marginalised urban poor.

### 2. *Women Leaders and Intermediary Organisations in Khayelitsha (Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa)*

*Lisa Thompson and Ina Conradie  
University of Western Cape  
Cape Town, South Africa*

This study examines the role of women leaders at the grassroots level in attaining their rights to service delivery through a variety of participatory mobilisation strategies—from organising through street committees (SCs) to direct dialogue with local government through representatives such as ward councillors, NGOs and community-based organisations linked to local government. In particular, the ways in which grassroots forms

of organisation like street committees interface with government is scrutinised to understand the ways in which parallel structures reinforce or duplicate each other.

The study aims, as a primary analytical goal, to unpack the role of gender in leadership: to what extent are women in patriarchal societal structures such as those found in urban townships like Khayelitsha able to successfully lead communities? How do they achieve their goals? From where do they derive their leadership status and support base? And what are the challenges they face in building community cohesion and moiling power?

The study examines the roles of women leaders involved in the process of creating an economic centre in Khayelitsha to understand their multiple roles as citizens, care givers, entrepreneurs and leaders. It focuses on the ways in which women enhance their quality of life through processes of economic and political empowerment. The fieldwork consisted of offsetting broader survey case study work on service delivery and citizen perceptions in township areas against the experiences of the women involved in the economic empowerment processes. The ways in which local government representatives can help to facilitate or hinder such processes is also a key aspect of the analysis. In the case of the women's empowerment groups in Khayelitsha, their ward councillor played a critical role; yet, against the broader backdrop of the failure of ward councillors to actively encourage participation as well as their failure to represent the interests of broader communities, we probe the meaning of such forms of local democracy to help bring about democratic practices at local government level.

### III. Brazil

#### 1. *Movement in Diadema for Housing Rights and Urban Services* (Diadema, São Paulo)

*Lizandra Serafim  
Viviane Nebó Carlos Oliveira  
Polis Institute, São Paulo, Brazil*

Diadema is located in the metropolitan region of São Paulo, Brazil. Its central economic activity is the automobile industry, which is responsible for the high growth of population and increasing the importance of the city since the 1950s. The city has been able to cope up with a huge influx of population, so management of houses, infrastructure, sanitation, etc., has not kept pace with rising demands. As a result, most of the migrants who came to work in these industries lived in irregular areas with no infrastructure, sanitation or legal right of ownership.

The housing movement emerged after the 1970s, supported by popular and trade union organisations, the church and Comunidades Eclesiais de Base (Basic Ecclesial Communities or CEBs), all of which played an important role in developing leadership and organising the community. As trade unions in the metropolitan region got stronger and gained in popularity, even suffering violent repression from the military dictatorship, the

housing movement garnered more support and became structured with their help. The unions were directly attached to the movement since the factory workers who were union members were also inhabitants of the Diadema slums. Through the 1970s and 1980s, trade unions lived with the housing problems, evictions, lack of infrastructure, high population density and lack of housing in Diadema. The trade union movement assisted the inhabitants in the struggle for proper housing and helped to organise the community and local leaders. It also provided material support (buses, pamphlets, etc.) for the housing movement. In return, the communities participated in the demonstrations organised during workers' strikes.

Before supporting the housing movement, trade unions (and particularly the wives of trade union members who were often more active regarding local problems) were already participating in demands for water and electricity supply. These claims, always sectoral and restricted to a neighbourhood, were generally related to problems regarding access to tap water and electricity, construction of houses, improvements in education and health care, etc. It was from these local claims in favelas (slums) that the Associação dos Favelados (Association of Slum Inhabitants) emerged. This association gathered leaders of the favelas in search for solutions to the housing problem that pervaded the whole city.

The movement started taking a different shape in the early 1980s when the Worker's Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores or PT) acquired power in local government. The Worker's Party tried to incorporate people's demand into public policies by creating participatory mechanisms. Diadema was a pioneer in the adoption of social participation instruments such as the Municipal Housing Council in the formulation and implementation of public policies. The democratic spaces for dialogue between public authorities and civil society—organised and mobilised for the fulfillment of social rights—contributed to co-authoring of decisions, sharing of responsibilities and to the establishment of pacts between public authorities and social actors in public policy management.

This relation with the government also played an important role in the political and citizen development of the communities, since they stimulated organisation and capacity building of the poor. It also helped them turn the struggle for basic services into a struggle for rights and citizenship in a broader sense. This is one of the aspects that makes Diadema's experience unique and worth analysing.

The struggle in Diadema had substantial achievements to its credit:

*Accountability:* Mechanisms for dialogue between civil society and government that frames the policies for the city were created. Many such bodies like the Municipal Housing Council; councils for social assistance, health, children and adolescents; other related mechanisms of participation and accountability such as participatory budget, participatory city master plan, public hearings, etc., paved the way for participation of people into public policies.

### *Improved Service Delivery:*

- a) Process of slum upgradation started with building infrastructure in partnership between government and the housing movement. The areas occupied by favelas were integrated into city plans.
- b) Popular amendment to the national constitution of 1988, inserting the Urban Policy Chapter in articulation with other social actors such as the Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana (National Movement for Urban Reform).
- c) Building houses in partnership between government and the inhabitants through a system of collective effort (*mutirão*) due to lack of resources from the state and federal governments.
- d) Approval of the use of the Concession of Rights of Actual Use (*Concessão do Direito Real de Uso*) under pressure from the housing movement.
- e) Approval of a law (1993) that instituted the *Fundo Municipal de Apoio à Habitação de Interesse Social* (Municipal Fund to Support Social Interest Housing or FUMAPIS), whose resources are managed by the *Conselho Municipal de Habitação* (Municipal Housing Council) and the actual application of its resources in the construction of houses.
- f) Favela urbanisation and land regularisation by the municipal government; approval of the city master plan in 1994 with the participation of the community.
- g) Actual improvement of the conditions of life. The housing and urban policies significantly altered the city's urban and housing characteristics. In 1996, after favela urbanisation works, 60 per cent of the city's houses were linked to the sewage network, 95 per cent had tap water and 96 per cent of the streets were paved. In 1995, out of the 197 existing favelas, 121 were entirely urbanised and integrated into the city, with access to public services and equipment.

The infrastructure built in the old favelas helped to improve other sectors, such as health and public security. With improvements in the area, collective health improved as a result of a drop in diseases, which were caused by lack of basic sanitation infrastructure. The urbanisation works created conditions for the appropriation of previously abandoned and badly illuminated public spaces. With these improvements, delinquent action was inhibited, bringing down rates of violence in most of the areas. Having an official address also helped inhabitants obtain better employment.

Diadema's experience shows us that even with scarce resources it is possible to improve local housing policies through participation of the city's inhabitants in the discussion, design and implementation of programmes and projects, which contribute to improving the quality of life of families by offering basic urban equipment and infrastructure.

## 2. *Movement Nossa São Paulo: An Effort for Making a Sustainable City*

*Agnaldo dos Santos  
Polis Institute, Sao Paulo, Brazil*

Movement Nossa São Paulo (MNSP) traces its roots to rising corruption cases among members of major political parties including the Worker's Party, lack of serious debate in political parties about any programmatic development initiatives and lack of clarity about development goals or models among political parties. Many actors from civil society felt that this malaise would affect the development process in Brazil, so efforts should be made to protect the participatory spaces earned after years of struggle and political debates about development of São Paulo city should be carried out with greater vigour.

With this goal in mind, MNSP was born in May 2007. It sought inspiration from the Movement Bogotá Como Vamos and a similar movement that took place in the Spanish city of Barcelona, which had promoted a wide process of public debate in their cities aimed at upgrading the public space through fair and sustainable development proposals. MNSP was motivated by a pursuit of sustainable development, ethics and participatory democracy. It represented nearly 500 institutions including NGOs, trade unions, banks, companies and popular movements. It was a movement with no ideological leanings and was mainly non-political in nature.

MNSP called for public discussion on public policies and goals of development so that more humane, sustainable and fair urban space could be constructed which would ultimately lead to a sustainable São Paulo. For ensuring greater participation of people in public policies, it worked around four axes: a) citizen mobilisation; b) citizen education; c) citizen monitoring; and d) preparation of indicators and goals on quality of life indicators in the city.

To be able to institutionally respond to its actions the Instituto São Paulo Sustentável (Sustainable São Paulo Institute) or ISPS was created. Twelve researchers and technicians are responsible for the movement's activities (organising events, coordinating strategy for communication, management of available resources) and supporting the working groups in the areas monitored by the movement in the city and regional forums. MNSP also produces material to educate leaders of social movements and citizens in general.

The non-partisan and inter-religious constitution of MNSP created a formal, friendly relation with the government, although many of its findings are against the municipal government. In fact, the MNSP's relations with the government have swung between close collaboration and animosity. In 2007, MNSP supported the municipal government in organizing its 'Car Free Day' campaign. But its report about regional inequalities and sub-municipal budget analysis annoyed the municipal government which then distanced itself from MNSP. Therefore, MNSP has always tried to protect its autonomy and has tried to be an advocate for people's causes.

In June 2007, MNSP along with an ensemble of other social movements and political actors in the city sent a letter to the Municipal Chamber asking for postponement of the

revisions to the Strategic Master Plan, which had not been implemented. The proposed revisions would have satisfied real estate businesses and would have comprised the interests of the common man.

Another important achievement of MNSP was exposing misrepresentation by Petrobras (a Brazilian petroleum company), which was advertising that the company was contributing to sustainable development and protecting the environment. In April 2008, a network of civil society institutions and government institutions, with the support of MNSP, was successful in convincing the National Council of Regulation for Advertising (CONAR) to suspend the Brazilian petroleum company's advertisements as it had violated the norms of the National Council of Environment by supplying poor quality of sulphur in the diesel.

MNSP was also successful in rectification of Organic Law 30 in February which obliged mayors to present detailed government planning with clear goals and biannual accounting (also known as Law of Goals) . This law was important because it was going to force the government to make information available and explain its past and future actions, every year, in public hearings.

MNSP inspired similar movements in a number of cities in Latin America. Movements like Rio Como Vamos (Rio de Janeiro-RJ, June 2007), Movimento Nossa Ilha Mais Bela (Ilha Bela-SP, October 2007) and Movimento Nossa Teresópolis (Teresópolis-RJ, March 2008) have been inspired by MNSP. Similar initiatives are being conducted in cities such as Belo Horizonte (MG), Bertioga (SP), Guarulhos (SP), Belém (PA) and São Luís (MA). A Latin American and a Brazilian network of citizen cities is also emerging.

MNSP has often been criticised for being elitist in nature as it has carried out its campaign through media and web-based discussions. But it needs to be remembered that the campaign for a sustainable city concerns all, rich or poor, as pollution does not discriminate between the rich and poor. Nevertheless, the movement is making an effort to create channels of participation and dialogue with grassroots movements such as neighbourhood associations and community leaders, and specific movements such as health and education.

### ***3. Union of Popular Health Movements: Struggle for Basic Health Services (São Paulo)***

*Lizandra Serafim  
Viviane Nebó Carlos Oliveira  
Polis Institute, Sao Paulo, Brazil*

In the 1970s, the East Zone of São Paulo was the scene of intense mobilisation of civil society organisations—women's communities, Health Pastorals, Clubs of Mothers, Societies of Neighbourhood's Friends (SABs), Basic Ecclesial Communities (CEBs), Workers' Movement, sanitarian physicians, the Catholic Church and the Workers Party (PT)—all for the purpose of improving health conditions in the municipality through better sanitation, water supply, fighting against scarcity and construction of public health facilities. The struggle took place through regular meetings, newsletters distributed in the community, marches, protests, assemblies (where the demands were presented and discussed with the public manager) and monitoring of services by popular councils.

Between the 1970s and 1990s other health movements took place in other regions of São Paulo, and were unified in 1997 with the formation of the Union of Popular Health Movements (UMPS). Its aim was to organise, coordinate and strengthen the health movement in each region of the city in its struggle to protect public health, right of citizenship and participation. UMPS was organised through assemblies, committees, working groups and regional sessions, and executive coordination is by elected representatives every two years from every region of the city (north, south, east, west, central and south-east).

Dialogue with local government became central to the movement's struggle with the implementation of the Unified System of Health (SUS) during the mandate of Luiza Erundina (of the Worker's Party between 1989 and 1992). During this period, there was great enthusiasm to implement the SUS. UMPS had positive relations with the mayor, who opened channels and tools for the participation of society in public management, like creation of the Municipal Health Council. Many members of the movement became part of the governance structures as councillors, deputies, advisors, etc. Hence UMPS was engaged in creation and revitalisation of participative spaces during this period.

The picture changed during the mandate of the next mayors—Paulo Maluf and Celso Pitta (of the PPB, between 1993 and 2000). During this period, the government questioned the legitimacy of the Municipal Health Council and the elected representatives of the popular movement. The government did not open spaces for popular participation in their agendas, did not respect SUS law and presented a managing system, called Plan of Health Attendance (PAS), which was considered retrogressive. UMPS protested against shrinking participative spaces, which had been created after long struggle. It organised and mobilised support against PAS—the Anhanguera highway (the main highway that connects the countryside to the capital) was closed, several protest marches were organised, etc., and they continued holding civil society conferences.

During the municipal elections in 2000, the movement's leaders actively supported and campaigned for Marta Suplicy (of PT) since she was known as an ally of the movement and of popular participation. During her mandate (2001–2004), relations with the municipal government once again became positive. During this period, UMPS contributed to the creation of the municipal participatory budget (OP) and encouraged dialogue between the OP and the Municipal Council in the health sector. The proximity to the government brought new challenges to the actions of UMPS, especially in the process of consolidating SUS.

During the mandates of Serra/Kassab (PSDB/PFL, 2005–2008), relations between UMPS and local government again soured. UMPS fought against the implementation of a model accelerating subcontracting practices through agreements and partnerships with private entities. According to the movement's leaders, the municipal government was not implementing participatory decisions. Considering these challenges, UMPS representatives sought support of the Public Ministry, denouncing the lack of execution of decisions.

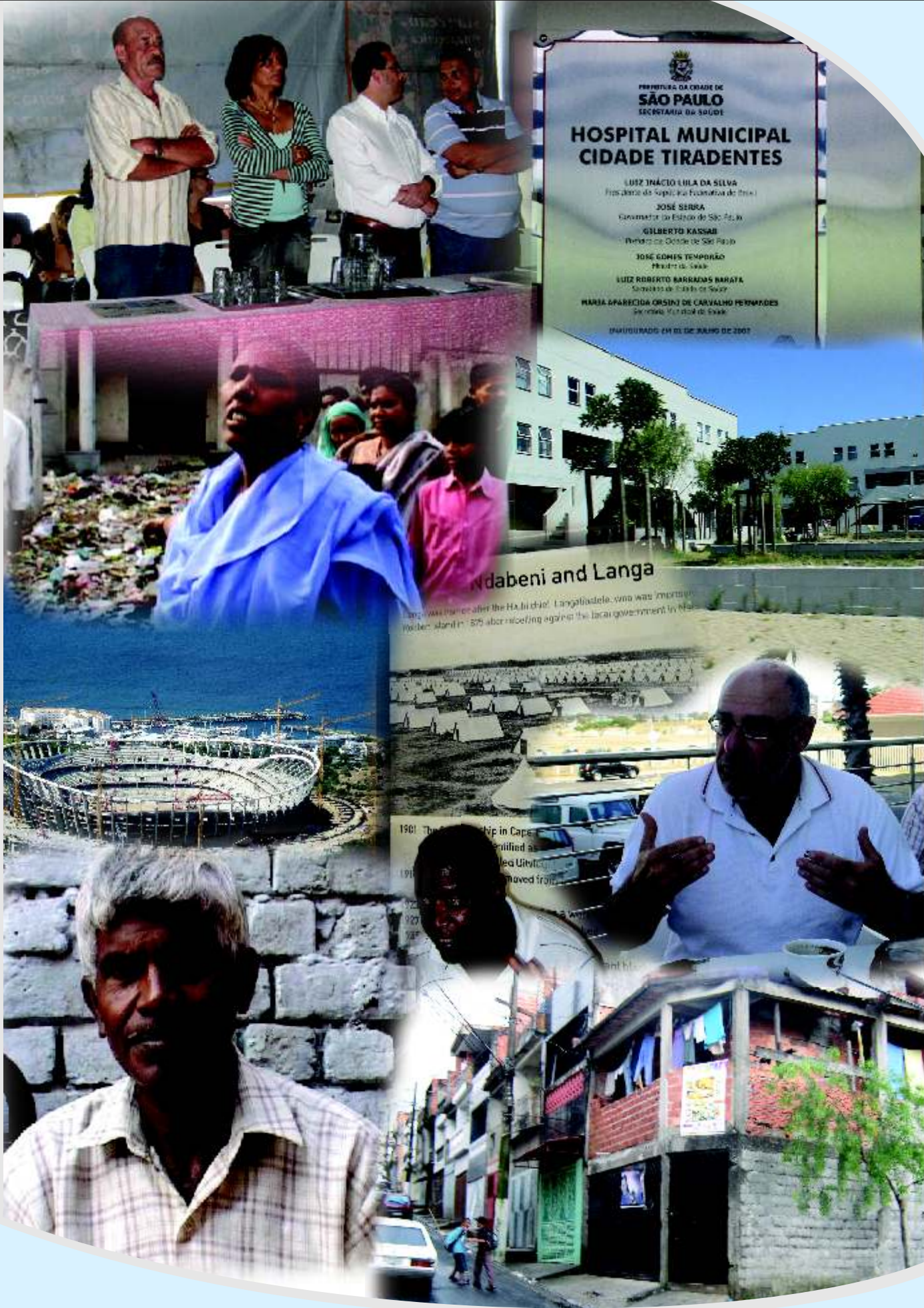
The dynamic turn of events from 1988 to 2008 in UMPS shows complexities of relationship with the state. In 1988 when the Worker's Party was in power in São Municipality, several members of the UMPS joined the government. The relationship between them was very cooperative and they brought about several reforms in health administration together. This closeness soured the relations of UMPS with other political parties. When opposition parties were in power, it stalled all the reforms initiated by the Worker's Party. It left no option for the UMPS, but to launch protests against the government actions. Besides, UMPS has tried hard to re-install the Worker's Party in power. This has eventually led to politicisation of the 'Third realm'.<sup>1</sup> In Brazil, close relationship between UMPS and the Worker's Party has pushed them into political conflicts thereby completely encroaching upon their autonomy. They, however, faced a difficult choice as their struggles for participatory spaces were identified with the Worker's Party. They had no option but to continue the struggle without worrying about the perceptions of political parties.

UMPS's struggle over a period of twenty years has substantial achievements to its credit. It brought about tremendous changes in health administration in São Paulo. For example, creation of the Municipal Health Council and Manager's Council (councils in hospital units) allowed UMPS to participate in institutionalised spaces for decision making and monitoring of health policy and service delivery. In 2007, UMPS-supported councillors were elected into Municipal Councils who pushed reforms in health administration (SUS). These reforms led to substantial improvement in health services, more health clinics and a big hospital in the East zone of São Paulo.

---

<sup>1</sup> Neera Chandhoke defines civil society as the third realm to be differentiated from economy and the state (Carolyn M. Elloitt, *Civil Society and Democracy: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 239).

# Glimpses from Fields



  
**PREFEITURA DA CIDADE DE SÃO PAULO**  
 SECRETARIA DA SAÚDE  
**HOSPITAL MUNICIPAL CIDADE TIRADENTES**  
 LUIZ INACIO LULA DA SILVA  
 Presidente da República e Fundador do Brasil  
 JOSÉ SERPA  
 Governador do Estado de São Paulo  
 GILBERTO KASSAB  
 Prefeito da Cidade de São Paulo  
 JOSÉ EDNÉS TEMPORÃO  
 Prefeito de São João del-Rei  
 LUIZ ROBERTO BARRADAS BARATA  
 Secretário de Saúde de São Paulo  
 MARIA APARECIDA ORSINI DE CARVALHO FERREDES  
 Secretária Municipal de Saúde  
 INAUGURADO EM 02 DE JUNHO DE 2007

ndabeni and Langa

Langa was named after the Xhosa chief Langalibalele, who was 'murdered' by British soldiers in 1875 after rebelling against the local government in Natal.

1901 The ... ship in Cape ...  
 identified as ...  
 the Liberty ...  
 1910 ... removed from ...

# Glimpses from Fields



# Annexure-II

## List of Participants – International

### **Budd Hall**

Director  
Office of Community-Based  
Research Room 352  
Continuing Studies  
PO Box 3030 STN CSC Victoria  
B.C. V8W 3N6, Canada  
Tel: 250 721 8474, 250 477 5655 @,  
Fax: 250 472 4358  
E-mail: bhall@uvic.ca

### **Chet Charya**

Executive Director  
Star Kampuchea, Cambodia  
No. 67, Street 123/468, Sangkat Tuol Tum Pong I  
Phnom Penh, Kingdom of Cambodia  
Tel.: (855) 23-211-612  
E-mail: star-deputy@starkampuchea.org.kh

### **Christopher Brown**

Executive-in-Residence  
School of Public Administration  
University of Victoria  
E-mail: cbrown1@uvic.ca

### **Christopher Tapscott**

Dean, School of Government  
University of Western Cape  
Cape Town, South Africa  
E-mail: ctapscott@uwc.ac.za

### **Darlene E. Clover**

University of Victoria  
Faculty of Education, Leadership Studies  
MacLaurin Building, P.O. Box 3010  
Victoria, British Columbia, V8W 3N4  
Tel: 250-721-7785  
Fax: 250-721-6190  
E-mail: clover@uvic.ca

**Jennifer Meyer-Ueding**

Research Associate  
Humboldt University Berlin  
Department of Agricultural Economics and Social Sciences  
Division of Cooperative Sciences  
Luisenstr.53 10099 Berlin  
E-mail: [jennifer.meyer-ueding@staff.hu-berlin.de](mailto:jennifer.meyer-ueding@staff.hu-berlin.de)

**Jose Carlos Vaz**

LogoLink América Latina  
Participação Cidadã  
Instituto Pólis, Sao Paulo  
Brazil  
Tel: 55-11-2174-6800  
E-mail: [josecarlosvaz@gmail.com](mailto:josecarlosvaz@gmail.com)

**Kayemba Patrick**

Hon. Secretary DENIVA Board of Directors.  
Programs Director FABIO  
Plot No. 9 Main Street  
P.O. Box 1890  
Jinja - Uganda  
Tel: 2564312255/ 256772469156  
E-mail: [kapaga2006@yahoo.com](mailto:kapaga2006@yahoo.com)  
Website: [www.fabio.or.ug](http://www.fabio.or.ug)

**Krishna Man Pradhan**

President  
Rural Development Foundation  
P.O. Box. 5473, Babarmahal,  
Kathmandu, Nepal  
Tel: 9771-4246650  
Fax: 9771-4267739  
Cell: 9851033540  
E-mail: [kmprdf@mail.com.np](mailto:kmprdf@mail.com.np)  
Website: [www.rdfnepal.org.np](http://www.rdfnepal.org.np)  
<http://www.nls.org.np/>

**Matt Leighninger**

Executive Director  
Deliberative Democracy Consortium (Washington, DC)  
131 Chedoke Avenue  
Hamilton, ON, L8P 4P2  
Canada  
Tel: 905-972-0550  
E-mail: [mattleighninger@earthlink.net](mailto:mattleighninger@earthlink.net)  
Website: [www.deliberative-democracy.net](http://www.deliberative-democracy.net)

**Mirjam van Donk**

Isandla Institute  
PO Box 12263  
Mill Street, Gardens 8010  
Tel: 27-21-683-7903  
Fax: 27-21-683-7956  
Cell: 072-399 9324  
E-mail: [mirjam@isandla.org.za](mailto:mirjam@isandla.org.za)  
Website: [www.isandla.org.za](http://www.isandla.org.za)

**Mohsin Ali**

Executive Director  
WAVE Foundation  
3/11, Block # D  
Lalmatia, Dhaka  
E-mail: [mohsin@wavefoundationbd.org](mailto:mohsin@wavefoundationbd.org)

**Paavani Reddy**

Programme Associate  
Oslo Governance Centre  
Norway  
Mobile: 47-46261163  
E-mail: [Paavani.Reddy@undp.org](mailto:Paavani.Reddy@undp.org)

**Syed M Hashemi**

Director  
BRAC Development Institute  
BRAC University  
Mohakhali, Dhaka  
Bangladesh  
Tel: 88-171-409-1399  
E-mail: [hashemi@bracu.ac.bd](mailto:hashemi@bracu.ac.bd)

**Thida C. Khus**

Executive Director, SILAKA and  
Secretary General of the Committee to Promote Women in Politics  
6 S Street 21 Tonle Bassac I  
Khanh Chamcar Mon, Phnom Penh  
Cambodia  
Tel: 855-12-838-464  
E-mail: [thida\\_khus@silaka.org](mailto:thida_khus@silaka.org)  
Website: [www.silaka.org](http://www.silaka.org)

# List of Participants – National

## **Arvind Damora**

Nodal Officer  
Mountaion Development Research Institute  
H. M. B. Garhwal University  
Sri Nagar, Garhwal, Utrakhhand.

## **Ashok Singh**

Director, SSK  
Sahbhagi Road, Behind Police Fire Station  
Chhatta Meel, Sitapur Road, Lucknow – 227 208  
Phone: 0522-2734888 / 2734889  
E-mail: info@sahbhagi.org, www.sahbhagi.org

## **Anil Kumar**

PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail: anil@pria.org

## **Alok Pandey**

Manager  
PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail: alok@pria.org

## **Barsha Poricha**

National Foundation of India  
India Habitat Center, Zone IV A  
Upper Ground Floor, Lodhi Road  
New Delhi – 110003  
E-mail: barsha@nfi.org.in

## **Bishnu Mohapatra**

Local-Global Governance  
The Ford Foundation  
55 Lodi Estate, New Delhi – 110 003  
Phone: 2461 9441, Fax: 2462 7147  
E-mail: b.mohapatra@fordfound.org

## **Binoy Acharya**

Director  
UNNATI-Organisation for Development Education,  
G-1, 200 Azad Society Ahmedabad - 380 015  
Phone: 079-26746145, 26733296, 26730365 direct  
Fax: 079-26743752  
E-mail: psu\_unnati@unnati.org/ unnatiad1@sancharnet.in

**Bala Posani**

Centre for Policy Research  
Dharam Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi – 110021  
Phone: 91-11-26115273-76 (4 Lines), Fax: 91-11-26872746  
E-mail: cprindia@vsnl.com

**B. Devi Prasad**

Director  
Centre for Social Studies  
V. N. S. G. University Campus  
Udhna-Magdalla Road, Surat-7  
E-mail: bdeviprasad@yahoo.com  
Website: www.css.ac.in

**Dona Kurian**

PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail:dona@pria.org

**Harsh Jaitli**

CEO  
Voluntary Action Network India (VANI)  
BB-5, 1st Floor, Greater Kailash Enclave,  
Part-II, New Delhi – 110048  
Phone: 41435536/29228127, Fax: 41435535  
E-mail: info@vaniindia.org  
Web: www.vaniindia.org

**Kanak Tiwari**

Asst. Manager  
PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail:kanak@pria.org

**Kashi Nath Vajpai**

PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

**Kaustuv Kanti Bandyopadhyay**

Director  
PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail:kaustuv@pria.org

**Mathew Joseph**

Director

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail: mathew@pria.org

**Manish Sisodia**

Executive Director

KABIR,

D - 59, Third Floor, Pandav Nagar, Delhi - 110092

Phone: +91-11-22485139

E-mail: msisodia@gmail.com

**Manoj Rai**

Director

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail: manoj@pria.org

**Martha Farrell**

Director, PRIA Continuing Education

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail: martha@pria.org

**Mandakini Pant**

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail: martha@pria.org

**Neelima Khetan**

Chief Executive, Seva Mandir

Fatehpura, Udaipur-313004, India

Phone: +91 294 2450583, Fax: +91 294 2450947

Cell: +91 94141 56960

E-mail: neelima@sevamandir.org

Website: www.sevamandir.org

**Prabhat Kumar Dutta**

Centenary Professor of Public Administration

Department of Political Science

Calcutta University, West Bengal

E-mail: dattaprabhat@gmail.com

**Pradeep Patjoshi**

Executive Director

CYSD

E-1, Institutional Area, Gangadhar Meher Marg,

Bhubneshwar, Orissa, India

Phone: +91-674-2300983, 2301725

www.cysd.org

**Prasanta Ghosh**

Visva-Bharati University, West Bengal  
E-mail: prasanta1958@gmail.com

**Payel Sen**

Associate Professor  
West Bengal State University, West Bengal

**Parth J Shah**

President  
Centre for Civil Society  
K-36, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi 110016 India  
Phone: +91 11 2653-7456 / 2652-1882, Fax: +91 11 2651-2347  
E-mail: parth@ccs.in

**Rajesh Tandon**

President  
PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail: rajeshtandon@pria.org

**Ramesh Sharan**

Professor of Economics  
Ranchi University  
252 New A.G. Colony  
Kadru , Ranchi  
E-mail- rsharan58@gmail.com

**Rita Sarin**

Member  
Governing Board, PRIA  
E-mail: rita@thp.org

**Rajan Choudhary**

1/129, Housing Board, Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan  
Phone: +91-1592-234664  
E-mail srkpsjn@sancharnet.in, rajan\_ch1@rediffmail.com  
Web: <http://www.srkps.org>

**Sanjay Bhatt**

Head, Delhi School of Social Work  
Campus 3, University Road, University of Delhi, Delhi- 110 007  
Telefax: +91-11-27662620, 27667881, 27667725, Extn.-1544  
E-mail: sbhatt@socialwork.du.ac, sanjaibhatt@gmail.com

**Sumitra Srinivasan**

PRIA  
42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065  
Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail:sumitra@pria.org

**Singmila Shimrah**

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail: singmila@pria.org

**Shabana S. Charaniya**

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183

E-mail: shabana@pria.org

**Swati Dogra**

Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC)

New Delhi, India

**Trilochan Sastry**

Professor and Dean (Academic), Indian Institute of Management

Bannerghatta Road, Bangalore 560076, India

Phone: +91-80-2699-3003, Fax: +91-80-2658-4050

E-mail:- trilochans@iimb.ernet.in

**Yamini Aiyer**

Senior Research Fellow

Centre For Policy Research

Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi – 110 021

Phone: +91-11-26115273 , Fax: 91-11-26872746, 26886902

E-mail: yaiyar@gmail.com

**Vikas Jha**

Asst. Manager

PRIA

42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi-110 065

Phone: +91-11-2996 0931, Fax: +91-11-2995 5183,

E-mail:vikas@pria.org



## About PRIA

PRIA is an International Centre for Learning and Promotion of Participation and Democratic Governance. Since its inception in 1982, PRIA has embarked on a set of key initiatives focusing on participatory research, citizen-centric development, capacity building, knowledge building and policy advocacy. With a combination of training, research and consultancy, it has grounded its work with conceptual rigour and understanding of social reality to command the strategic direction of interventions. PRIA works with diverse range of partners at local, national and global levels.

PRIA's professional expertise and practical insights in the following areas are being utilised by other civil society groups, NGOs, governments, donors, trade unions, private business and academic institutions around the world:

- Participatory development methodologies
- Institutional & human capacity building for social sector
- Women's leadership & political empowerment
- Empowerment of SC/ST leaders in panchayat
- Citizen monitoring & social accountability of services
- Participatory governance in panchayats and municipalities
- Municipal reforms & participatory planning
- Environmental & occupational health
- Corporate social responsibility (CSR)
- Adult education & lifelong learning
- Gender mainstreaming in institutions (including preventing sexual harassment at workplace).

PRIA **adopts three broad approaches in its ongoing programmes:**

**First**, it intervenes directly in the field primarily in the northern and eastern poorer regions of India, in order to promote 'citizen's collective voices' to make demands on governance institutions to claim their rights, access services and ensure accountable utilisation of public resources in development programmes. In recent years, PRIA's interventions have specially targeted Right To Information (RTI), National Rural Employment Guarantee Schemes (NREGS) and Urban Basic Services.

**Second**, PRIA provides on-demand advisory and consultancy services to a wide variety of clients internationally. It utilises its practical knowledge and professional expertise in various areas to offer '**participatory and sustainable solutions**' to improve supply sides of development and democracy.

**Third**, PRIA offers educational programmes in numerous human and social development themes, drawing from its field experiences, advisory services and extensive research projects. Within the framework of 'learning for social change', these educational courses are offered in face-to-face and distance modes, sometimes specially designed for a client, and many times in partnership with such premier educational institutions as Indira Gandhi National Open University (**IGNOU**), India, University of Victoria (**UVic**), Canada and Institute of Development Studies (**IDS**), UK.

Through its campaigns, research, education and policy advocacy interventions, PRIA's overarching mission is to '**make democracy work for all citizens**'.



42, Tughlakabad Institutional Area, New Delhi - 110 062  
Tel. : +91-11-2996 031/32/33 Fax : +91-11-2995 5183  
E-mail : [info@pria.org](mailto:info@pria.org) Website : [www.pria.org](http://www.pria.org)