AN IMPACT ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA'S POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY PAPER (PRSP) PROCESS

By

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THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, NIGERIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION.

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DECLARATION

I, Agbonika, Henry Anibe hereby declare that this Thesis entitled "An Impact Analysis of Participation in Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Process" has been written by me in the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts under the supervision of Professor Jenkeri Zakari Okwori and Professor Samuel Ayedime Kafewo. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of reference provided. There is no part of this Thesis that was previously presented for another degree.

_____ _____ _____

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis titled "An Impact Analysis of Participation in Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Process" has been written by me, Agbonika, Henry Anibe in the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of M.A (Development Communication) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and it is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of Professor J.Z. Okwori, Professor S.A. Kafewo, Dr. M. Ayegba and Ali Nana Aisha.

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ABSTRACT

This study was carried out to investigate the impact of participation as a communicative act in Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process which was introduced by the World Bank and IMF as a new approach to tackling the challenges of poverty alleviation and economic development among their low-income clients. Acknowledged as a critical and integral part of the whole process by the World Bank and the IMF, was participation which was meant to induce ownership, ensure accountability, transparency and sustainability, and effectively contribute to the reduction of poverty. Deriving from the premise that communication is the lifeblood of participatory development…participation is communication …(Dagron 2007), this study investigated the extent to which participation induced ownership; ensured accountability, transparency, and sustainability, and contributed to the effective reduction of poverty in Nigeria. Adopting the case study approach and a triangulation of sources, the study arrived at the conclusion that participation in the PRSP in no way induced ownership, neither did it ensure accountability, transparency and accountability; therefore not able to contribute in any way to poverty reduction. The principal reason for the failure of the PRSP as evident in this study is the absence of participation. There was the absence of communication architecture upon which participation would be based; neither was there a system that participation could derive from. Rather it was the case of a team of technocrats who had arrogated the powers of participation unto themselves. Undergirded by Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action, the study advocates for the democratization of communicative spaces which would give people hitherto excluded the legal framework to be part of decision making processes affecting their lives and wellbeing; it also advocates for structural changes that would address issues of power and ultimately resource distribution and by implication poverty reduction. The democratization of communicative spaces and structural changes constitute the architecture and system upon which participation can thrive and have a meaning.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Development demands the participation of people in the debates and decisions that affect their lives. It is not just about receiving information or consultations, but about making their voices heard. Inclusive political processes, through which citizens can shape political agendas and hold their governments to account, are an essential foundation of successful development. Political processes are communication processes not only through formal elections, but also the ongoing dialogue between people and their governments and the shaping of public agendas (Panos, 2007).

According to Sen (1993), development requires 'real freedoms' which translates to a people's capacity to participate in diverse range of decisions that affects them and to enjoy specific 'functional' aspects that constitute a healthy life beyond the economic measurements of GDP growth. In 1999, when the World Bank asked 40,000 people across the world what they desired most, having a voice was second only to improved income and access to basic necessities(World Bank, 1999). Their inability to take part in the decision making processes affecting their own lives in itself constituted poverty. For development to be successful, the people who it is meant for should be part of it. They should have a voice; their say should be loud enough; clear enough; respected; and put into consideration by policy makers across the various strata of governance.

Having a voice translates to participation, and at the heart of participation is communication. When communication processes are used to inform people, enable them to offer their view points, reach consensus, and carry out an agreed upon change or development action together, communication is participation (Fraser and Restropo-

Estrada).Communication is the lifeblood of participatory development. Participation in development programmes and projects cannot occur without communication for a simple reason: participation *is* communication; the concepts are entangled, intimately knotted as the strings in a fisher's net (Dagron, 2007).

In recognition of the need for the people to have a voice in the decision making processes affecting their lives, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) a new approach to tackling the challenges of poverty alleviation and economic development among their low-income clients. Launched in September 1999, the PRSP replaced the old tripartite Policy Framework Paper (PFP) drawn up between the IMF, World Bank and a country government for concessional loans. Both the IMF and the World Bank are expected to align their respective lending programmes to a country's PRSP: in the case of the IMF, the Poverty Reduction Growth Facility (PRGF) - the old Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF)-and the Financial Programming Framework are expected to derive from the PRSP; with the World Bank, the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) and all loans and grants must be based on the PRSP.In theory, a PRSP is intended to be a document prepared by a country government—under the supervision of Bank-Fund teams—that identifies the incidence and causes of poverty, who the poor are, and strategies for overcoming poverty, including policy and expenditure targets.

It is supposed to be "locally generated and owned," developed through "wide participatory dialogue," and focused at both the micro and macro policy-making levels. Further, the PRSP framework is expected to "encourage the accountability of governments to their own people and domestic constituencies rather than to external funders," whereby, "the poor become active participants not just passive recipients" (Malallual and Guttal, 2003).

The focus of the PRSP is poverty alleviation; hence the expected impact of participation is effective development and poverty reduction strategies and actions. Participation is expected to contribute to the outcomes of accountable, transparent, and efficient processes for economic decision making, resourceallocation, expenditures and service delivery, to increased equity in developmentpolicies, goals, and outcomes, and to a shared long-term vision amongall stakeholders for development (Tikare et al. 2001). Participation is expected to contribute to three objectives: (broad-based) ownership, accountability, and pro-poor effectiveness. These in turn can be considered intermediate objectives that contribute to the two ultimate goals of poverty reduction and democracy.

1.1.1 Poverty Reduction in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the earliest poverty alleviation programme was in 1972 during the General Yakubu Gowon's Administration named "National Accelerated Food Production Programme - NAFPP" and the Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank – NACB". These programmes were entirely devoted to funding agriculture. After these first two was Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) enunciated in 1979 by Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo. Similarly, OFN expended more money and efforts in getting University graduates to go to the rural areas to teach the peasant farmers how to farm.

The programme had the specific focus of increasing food production on the premise that availability of cheap food will mean higher nutrition level and invariably lead to national growth and development. OFN lasted until Shehu Shagari's government took over in 1979. It must be stated though that lack of continuity and shift in approach trailed poverty alleviation programmes since the ouster of Shagari from power in 1983. Each subsequent military administration came with a different idea or no idea at all. Poverty reduction programmes

became more 'regime specific' because there was hardly any continuity with those initiated by previous governments.

The military regime of Gen. Muhammad Buhari/Brig. Tunde Idiagbon (1983 – 1985) did not have a specific poverty alleviation programme as it clearly focused on fighting indiscipline and corruption. This initiative better known as War Against Indiscipline (WAI), sought to inculcate a military-style regimen of discipline such queuing for public services, observing road signs, memorising the national anthem and generally sprucing up the national psyche on the distinctions of right and wrong, handling of public property etc. Some analysts argue that the fight against indiscipline and corruption were equal to a poverty alleviation programme in the sense that the two were partly the reason why many Nigerians are poor. The regime was also noted for "go back to the land" programme, which was a poverty alleviation strategy.

General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993) is known to be one Head of State that introduced a welter of poverty alleviation programmes. These include the Peoples bank, which sought to provide loans to prospective entrepreneurs on soft terms and without stringent requirements of collaterals. It also regulated to an extent the activities of community banks that also sprouted as adjuncts of the Peoples Bank and as sources of cheap funds for communities and their members. Another of his numerous programmes was the Directorate of Food Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI) which sought to open up rural areas via construction of feeder roads and provision of basic amenities that would turn them into production centres for the national economy. The DFFRI was on offer as the most comprehensive programme on the nation's war against poverty. Considering the truism that rural populations in Nigeria are significantly poorer than their urban counterparts, this programme targeted this core group.

Its premise was just not to open the rural areas, but the hinterland, which ordinarily would not have been accessible. It also aimed at promoting rural employment based on the assumption that if rural infrastructure, such as electricity, was available in the villages, many welders, for example, would operate from there, instead of scrambling for spaces in congested urban centres. On the other hand, DFRRI assumed that if the hinterland was linked by road, farmers would transport their products to the markets easily and at cheaper rates, thereby reducing the cost of food production as a way out of poverty. It is however agreed that this, like other programmes by the regime, were good but their impacts on the populace and poverty were minimal because of shortcomings in their implementation. Another programme that tried to head-off the scourge of poverty by targeting the agricultural sector was the Nigerian Agricultural Land development Authority (NALDA). The Authority was intended to reduce the prevalence of subsistence agriculture in the country and in its place infuse large scale commercial farming by assisting farmers with inputs and developing land for them to the point of planting, at subsidised rates. While all these programmes collapsed at one point or the other, nonetheless, at least one of these programmes enunciated by the Babangida regime –the National Directorate of employment (NDE) – has had some years of staying power up till date. By its mandate, NDE was to design and implement programmes to combat mass unemployment and articulate policies aimed at developing work programmes with labour intensive potentials. From its programmes and its staying power, this was a scheme that could be adjudged as the most successful of Babangida's poverty alleviation policies. Babangida saw unemployment as one of the key issues challenging the agenda of government since it posed a potential danger to the socio-political and economic system of the nation.

Until the 1980s, unemployment was not a serious problem in Nigeria. Global economic recession however took its toll on the country, because as that decade progressed,

inherent weaknesses were noticed in the nation's economy. The need for the creation of NDE is also traced to the drastic reduction in oil prices and the resultant economic policies at the time. The situation led to low capacity utilization in the nation's industries and the outright closure of some. Subsequent lay-offs due to closure and rationalisation informed on the need to introduce a system that would accommodate such people, so that the already bloated job market, will not suffer more congestion. The reduction in employment opportunities and rationalisation in both the public and private sectors formed the basis on which the Nigerian unemployment situation was viewed as a danger for the socio-economic stability of the nation. It is on record that hundreds of thousands of youths have benefited from the NDE scheme through its four-pronged approach that include Vocational Acquisition Training (673,000), Entrepreneurial (Business) training (373,366), Training for Rural Employment and

In 2000 alone, NDE reported that 21,708 youths received training in vocational skills in 36 states of the federation and Abuja, while 5,075 graduated in different trades. The scheme which has a special arrangement for women, said that several of them had been trained; on how to process, preserve and package food. However, the drawback on NDE's schemes was seen in that there was no follow-up programme for beneficiaries. Many of them who did not utilise the skills acquired and others did not properly invest the loans they received, thus, found themselves in a worse state. While the directorate asserts that it disbursed N526,901,313.11 since inception, for its various programmes, only 24.4% of this total or N129,048,757.63 was recovered from beneficiaries.

Similarly, the Agricultural Development Programme (ADP), and the Strategic Grains Reserves Programme (SGRP) have equally influenced poverty reduction. Some projects were also introduced in the health sector. The Primary Health Care Scheme and the Guinea worm Eradication Programme have a far reaching effect on alleviating the suffering of the poor masses, who could probably not afford paid health care services.

The regime of Late Gen. Sani Abacha (1993 – 1998) was known as the midwife of the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) in Nigeria's quest for a way out of debilitating poverty, as this was the period that marked Nigeria's relapse into the global bracket of 25 poorest nations. Significantly, FEAP existed for about two years (1998 – 2000) during which it received funding to the tune of N7 billion out of which about N3.3 billion was disbursed as loans to about 21,000 cooperative societies nationwide that were production oriented. Such projects targeted for assistance included poultry production, garri making, soap making and animal husbandry.

Introduced early in 2001, NAPEP is the current program which focuses on the provision of "strategies for the eradication of absolute poverty in Nigeria" (FRN, 2001, NAPEP is complemented by the National Poverty Eradication Council (NAPEC) which is to coordinate the poverty-reduction related activities of all the relevant Ministries, Parastatals and Agencies. It has the mandate to ensure that the wide range of activities are centrally planned, coordinated and complement one another so that the objectives of policy continuity and sustainability are achieved.

Upon consideration of the Joda Panel and Abdullahi Committee Reports, fourteen (14) core poverty alleviation Ministries were identified as follows:

i. Agriculture and Rural Development
ii. Education
iii. Water Resources
iv. Industry
v. Power and Steel
vi. Employment, Labour and Productivity
vii. Women Affairs and Youth Development

viii. Health

ix. Works and Housing

x. Environment

xi. Solid Minerals Development

xii. Science and technology

xiii. Finance, and National Planning Commission

Similarly, thirty-seven (37) core poverty alleviation institutions, agencies and programmes were identified. The poverty reduction-realted activities of the relevant institutions under NAPEP have been classified into four namely:

(i) Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES) which deals with capacity acquisition, mandatory attachment, productivity improvement, credit delivery, technology development and enterprise promotion;

(ii) Rural Infrastructure development Scheme (RIDS) which deals with the provision of potable and irrigation water, transport (rural and urban), rural energy and power support;

(iii) Social Welfare Service Scheme (SOWESS) which deals with special education, primary healthcare services, establishment and maintenance of recreational centres, public awareness facilities, youth and student hostel development, environmental protection facilities, food security provisions, micro and macro credits delivery, rural telecommunications facilities, provision of mass transit, and maintenance culture and

(iv) Natural Resource Development and Conservation Scheme (NRDCS) which deals with the harnessing of the agricultural, water, solid mineral resources, conservation of land and space (beaches, reclaimed land, etc) particularly for convenient and effective utilization by small-scale operators and the immediate community.

In effect, the current poverty eradication programme of the country is social welfare services and natural resource development, provision of social welfare services and natural resources development and conservation. Details about these are provided in the Blueprint for the schemes under the National Poverty Eradication Programm (as revised in June, 2001). In the attempt to overcome the inadequacies of provisions programmes, the NAPEP Blueprint has the following features (NAPEP, 2001):

- It adopts the participatory bottom-up approach in programme implementation and monitoring;
- It provides for rational framework which lays emphasis on appropriate and sustainable institutional arrangement;
- It provides for pro-active and affirmative action deliberately targeted at women, youths, farmers and the disabled;
- It provides for the participation of all registered political parties, traditional rulers, and the communities;
- It provides for technology acquisition and development particularly for agriculture and industry;
- It provides for capacity building for existing skills acquisition and training centres;
- It provides for the provision of agricultural and industrial extension services to rural areas;
- It provides for institutional development for marketing of agricultural and industrial products; and
- It provides for integrated schemes for youth empowerment, development of infrastructure, provision of social welfare services and exploitation of natural resources.

1.2. Statement of Research Problem

Participation at various stages of the PRSP process was meant to help build ownership over the strategy, make it more equitable to and representative of various stakeholder interests, increase the transparency of the policy formulation process and ultimately make the strategy more sustainable. The abrupt manner in which the NEEDS (outcome of the PRSP process in Nigeria) came to an end in 2007 however indicates a lack of ownership, equity, stakeholder representation, and sustainability of the strategy. It raises questions on the role of participation in the PRSP process in Nigeria. This research therefore sets out to ascertain the role of participation in Nigeria's PRSP.

1.3. Aim of study

The aim of this study is to ascertain the impact of participation in Nigeria's PRSP process. It also seeks to identify the constraints to participation within this Nigerian context bearing in mind that there could be other factors that enhance or impede participation.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The study is set to achieve the following specific objectives

i. To advocate for the democratization of communicative spaces that would give people hitherto excluded, the legal framework to be part of decision making processes affecting their lives and wellbeing
ii. To advocate for structural change that would address issues of power and ultimately resource distribution
iii. To deepen the understanding of the role of communication in reform process and governance

iv. To contribute to the body of knowledge on PRSP in Nigeria

1.5. Justification of Study

With the promise of poverty reduction through the PRSP process and the subsequent debt relief package of $18 billion granted Nigeria by the Paris Club on the 29th October 2005, it was thought that Nigeria could have witnessed some remarkable improvement in poverty reduction. According to a report released by the National Bureau of Statistics, 112 million Nigerians representing 61% of the population (NBS, 2012) are living in poverty.

According to the UNICEF, every 10 minutes, one woman dies on account of pregnancy or child birth in Nigeria, giving a total of 53,000 per annum, implying that about 800 women die in every 100,000 live births. Nigeria's newborn death rate at 528 per day, according to the UNICEF, is second only to India in the whole world. More than a quarter of the estimated one million children who die under the age of 5 annually in Nigeria die during the first 28 days of life. The wave of violence, killing, and maiming across the federation is an indication that indeed things are not well with Nigeria.

The wealth chasm between the rich and the poor is widening, and more people seem to be discontent with the economic and political system as seen in the Middle East uprising that has toppled some regimes and the 'Occupy movement' across America and Europe. These are uncertain times begging a fundamental question: is there a way out of this quagmire? Indeed the way out is to reject participation in its current forms as a 'mainstream approach' to development, and relocate it within radical alternatives that would leverage participatory approaches and methods into arenas of power.

This can be achieved by formation of communicative spaces where people can exercise communicative action or agency. Communicative space according to Wicks and Reason (2009) is the delicate space where the life world meets the system, a luminal, in

between two spaces where two opposing qualities meet. It also refers to the social arenas for constructive dialogue and creative problem-solving among stakeholders on issues of common concern. The quality of a communicative space can be judged by the building of trust and working relationships, the space for multiple forms of communication, and the creation of common ground for action. Inevitably, a communicative space involves transformations in the lives of participants. These transformations and changes take place at various levels (individuals as well as groups) and in various ways, such as through behavioural or value changes or acquiring new understanding. Communicative spaces can further be judged by the extent to which they provide a sense of agency for each person participating; ideally leading to the transformation of power relationships in the direction of a greater democracy (Greenwood & Levin, 1998), and broader and more equal participation.

The various dimensions of development (ecological, cultural, social, economic, institutional and political dimensions) should be understood in their systematic interrelationships, and action in its service must be integrated. Similarly, needs cannot be dissociated from each other: the satisfaction of each need is at one and the same time the condition and the result of the satisfaction of all others. Therefore if the core of development is about man, as an individual and as a social being, aiming at his liberation and at his fulfilment, it cannot but stem from the inner core of each society. It relies on what a human group has: its natural environment, its cultural heritage, the creativity of the men and women who constitute it, becoming richer through exchange between them and with other groups. It entails the autonomous definition of development styles and of life styles. This is the meaning of an endogenous and self-reliant development, which: Stimulates creativity and leads to a better utilization of production factors; for each product, it does not ask the question 'how much can we get through exchange', but 'how much can we produce ourselves

or with others'. Thus the basis is laid for a search for new resources, for utilizing known resources in new ways and, sometimes, for questioning the need for the product.

Regardless of the understanding of the development process held by various stakeholders it is changing; its future shape, its pace, sustainability and ultimate direction - for better or worse - will be determined by people, and the level of their awareness, participation and skills. Investment in scientific and material inputs will bear no fruit without a parallel investment in "human capital" - in informing people, opening up avenues by which they may reach consensus for action, and developing the knowledge and skills needed to put material investments to the best use.

1.6. Scope and Limitation

This study is aimed at analysing participation in Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which gave birth to NEEDS, SEEDS, and LEEDS, the bedrock of reforms initiated by the government of Nigeria between 2002 – 2007. In carrying out this analysis, the study will analyse participation in the PRSP process as contained in chapter seven of the PRSP source book Vis-ă - viz actual engagement and participation of stakeholders.

The study adopts the qualitative approach despite its inherent weakness in an impact analysis because the process of PRSP was donor driven and most of the participants are no longer available in the country and civil servants that were part of the process at the National Planning Commission have either been transferred or retired from service.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the review of related literature and the theoretical framework which informs this study. The chapter is arranged into the following subheadings: Introduction, the question of participation, historical reflections on participation in development; typologies of participation; theoretical framework that informs this study and communicative action.

2.2 The Question of Participation

Participation in development is a highly contested term with no final meaning. As one of the "buzzwords" of contemporary development discourse 'participation' lends itself to a multitude of applications. The content of this concept is blurry and its boundaries elusive (Chambers 2005: 104; Mikkelsen 2005: 53-54). Grasping participation, pinpointing the essence of the concept and providing a clear definition is therefore extremely difficult if not impossible, and from a post-modernistic viewpoint probably not even preferable. In the context of development, participation is defined by Guijt and Shah (1998:1) by focusing on its aim: "The broad aim of participatory development is to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalized peoples in decision-making over their own lives" (Guijt and Shah 1998:1).

Participatory processes promote truly successful long term development. These processes do not guarantee success. But an understanding of the centrality of open, transparent and participatory processes in sustainable development helps in the formulation of policies – strategies and processes – that are more likely to lead to long term economic growth, and that reinforce the strengths of the processes themselves (stiglitz 2009:1).

According to Stiglitz, a change in mindset is at the centre of development and the change has to come from within. The kinds of open and extensive discussions that are central to participatory processes are the most effective ways of ensuring that the change in mindset occurs not only within a small elite, but reaches deep down in society.

Participation is more than simply voting. Participatory processes must entail open dialog and broadly active civic engagement. It requires that individuals have a voice in the decisions that affect them. Processes, not just outcomes, are key to this broader interpretation of participation. It is essential to effect the systemic change in mindset associated with the development transformation, and to engender policies that make change more acceptable. And because individuals have had a voice in shaping the changes, in making them more acceptable, change is likely to be accepted or even embraced, rather than reversed at the first opportunity.

2.3 Historical Reflections on Participation in Development

Participatory development is generally considered a "relatively new frontier" (Mikkelsen 2005:54) in development studies and practice, and both governments and development organizations tend to promote participation with a ring of novelty and innovation. However, participation in the context of development can be traced back far into the Twentieth Century. According to Majid Rahnema(1997:156), the idea of participatory development made its first appearance on the screen in the late 1950s. Social activists and development workers disillusioned by the apparent failings of development started proposing alternative forms of development that focused on inclusion and participation of the local poor and challenged the dominating top-down strategies of mainstream development, which is perceived as responsible for the sobering results of Western-led development.

In two publications (2000; 2006: 51 - 52) dealing with the history of the concept Cornwall describes the different shifts of perspective on participation over the decades and puts them into the context of changes within the wider development discourse. Besides demonstrating that participation in development is not at all a novelty of 1980s and 90s development thinking, Cornwall also shows that over the decades certain arguments and understandings of participation re-surfaced in the mainstream development discourse after having been replaced for some years by seemingly different understandings. According to Cornwall, these changes in mainstream discourse have been cosmetic variations in rhetoric that served to provide participation with a new shine of innovation rather than serious alterations in the dominating understanding of the concept. At the same time, however, her historical overview shows that the concept of participatory development has always been subject to contrasting interpretations and understandings. Simplifying the complex of different understandings for the sake of clarity the major fault-line can be identified as running between instrumental understandings of participation and conceptions of participation as an end in itself.

The 1950s and 1960s

In the 1950s the concept of participation emerged as a form of community development. It was defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as 'participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living ... and the provision of technical and other services' to make participation of the people more effective (cited in Cornwall 200651 - 52). The underlying motivation of the UN as well as the USA in promoting community development, however, was to contain and control social unrest of subversive elements within the post-colonial developing world (Cornwall 2006:54). Citing Batliwala and Dhanraj (2004) and pointing to the de-politicizing effects that participatory development can unfold, Cornwall argues that community development and self-help-groups

of the 1950s can in many ways be conceived as fostering "exactly the kind of busy work that dissipates dissent by diverting people's energy from politics"(Cornwall 2006). The potential (mis)use of participation as a means to exercise control over people constitutes an important concern within the critical analyses of participation (e.g. Cooke and Kothari 2001; Rahnema 1997) and is also considered as a possible form of (illegitimate) participation in Sherry Arnstein's elaboration on citizenship participation.

The 1970s

According to Cornwall the 1970s are "the decade in which participation first hit the development mainstream" (Cornwall 2008:269). The rhetorical focus shifts away from 'community development' to 'popular participation' which promoted the inclusion of wider parts of society into a participatory development process. Main promoter of this understanding were the United Nations, presenting 'popular participation' as a 'central pillar' in the basic needs-approach to development which was concerned with a shift 'away from top-down, technocratic and economistic interventions towards greater popular involvement in the development process (Cornwall 2000:17).

The discourse on participation during the 1970s placed more emphasis on the political dimension of participation and connected its practices with the consolidation of democracy. The UN defined participation's requirements as to be voluntary and democratic, embracing the active participation of all elements of society in the economic, social, cultural and political spheres of the state to achieve the common goal of development (Cornwall 2006:55-56).

Compared to the more limited and political rather neutral understanding of 'community development' the discourse of the 1970s describes a rhetorical scale-up of participation from the micro-level of encased participatory exercises to the macro-level of popular participation in comprehensive national development strategies. An expression of this development can be

seen in UN ECOSOC's recommendation to governments from 1975 to encourage participation in the development process and to adopt popular participation in national development strategies (Cornwall 2000:17). Cornwall points to the striking resemblance that this form of advocacy for participation carries with the concern of the 1990s and 2000s to extend depth and breadth of participation to include civil society, foster ownership of recipient governments, and to move away from the narrow project approach that dominated development in the 1980s (Cornwall 2006:50 and 56).

The 1980s

Despite the existence of a quite vibrant participatory discourse from the 1950s, most academics and practitioners would pin down the breakthrough of participation to the 1980s and/or 1990s. The move of participation "from the margins to the mainstream of development" (Hickey and Mohan 2004:3) took up considerable pace in the 1980s, and the rhetoric of participation came to invade every sphere of development related activity. The promise of participatory development was soon to be incorporated into the official mission statements of governments and international aid organizations (Chambers 2005:101). To critics, the rise of participation in the development discourse during these two decades has been interpreted as the emergence of a 'new orthodoxy in the world of development' (Henkel and Stirrat 2001:168).

Robert Chambers - probably the most renown and influential proponent of participatory development states that, "it was only in the 1990s that participation entered almost every field of development activity and became a preoccupation on a global scale preached about and promoted by lenders, donors, INGOs (international NGOs) and governments alike. By the turn of the century, the words participatory and participation were embedded in development speak" (Chambers 2005:101). For Chambers this process describes nothing less than a paradigm shift in development; a move away from hierarchical

top-down procedures to a grassroots oriented and people-centred approach of development (Williams 2004:560).

But participation in the 1980s did not only mean radical grassroots-orientation and people's empowerment as enunciated by Robert Chambers from an alternative development perspective. Andrea Cornwall identifies two main contrasting versions of participatory development during that decade (Cornwall 2006:56-57). The more dominant current of participation was influenced and driven by the neo-liberal values of individualism, privatization, and consumerism that characterized the societal and political climate of the Reagan and Thatcher era. It was advocated under the label 'community participation' and materialized primarily in participatory exercises including beneficiaries in pre-designed development projects for mainly instrumental reasons related to project efficiency and cost-sharing (Cornwall 2000:23-24). In addition to that, the populist potentials of participation came once again to the fore. Cornwall states, asserting the similarities to the 1950s discourse of participation, that the development mainstream of the 1980s, highly infused by neo-liberal thinking, came to regard participation as a powerful means to encourage popular support for liberalizing reforms. She suggests that the promotion of participatory development by the World Bank during that time can be explained in reference to the opportunities that participation "afforded for countering grassroots resistance to reforms, providing a palliative that served to neutralise popular resistance to liberalising reforms" (Cornwall 2006:57). Participatory development again prominently served as a means of containment and control.

In direct contrast to this technocratic approach of development and its instrumental understanding of participation, proponents of an alternative development perspective propagated 'people's self-development' as a means through which excluded and marginalized populations could regain self-determined agency in the development process of their societies. This alternative vision of participation advocated a genuine grassroots orientation in

contrast to the top-down strategies of mainstream development and placed high importance on the concepts of capacity-building and empowerment as development goals in their own right (Cornwall 2000:26). This understanding of participation emerged from within an alternative development discourse that had started to assume shape in the 1970s, and pays much credit to the writings of the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire (1972) and the Latin American movement of popular education.

Freire rejects the authoritarian approach of most social institutions, especially the educational ones. He believes dialogue is the best way not just to acquire knowledge but to empower people: 'Dialogue is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another. The domination implicit in dialogue is that of the world by the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of mankind (Freire, 1997). Empowerment is needed to liberate both the oppressor and the oppressed, thus enabling a genuine participation. Freire states that years, or centuries, of mental indoctrination, economic exploitation and political domination have produced a perverse mechanism of dependency between the various social parties and the only ones who can change this are people themselves. He sees communication as a basic component of people's empowerment. A genuine revolution, aiming at eliminating the patterns of domination in society, can be achieved and legitimized only through dialogue with people. He believes that people's empowerment can be achieved through a process of awareness or "conscientization." This implies reaching a level of consciousness whereby the oppressed become aware of their condition through a totality of reflection and action. The most effective tool in this process is dialogue.

The 1990s:

The 1990s saw a convergence of 1980s mainstream participation, characterized by the parameters of neo-liberalism, with re-emerging arguments from the 1970s demanding

'popular participation'. The mainstream discourse proposed to move participation beyond the community level to the wider political and economical sphere. The inception of the term 'stakeholder' replacing 'beneficiary' symbolizes this extension of range in participation. The term 'stakeholder' embraces a wider scope of actors within the process of participation, beyond project beneficiaries (Cornwall 2000:37). The rhetoric of the participation of civil society became intertwined with the call for further economic liberalization and decentralization. Across wide swathes of development discourse 'popular participation' was attributed an important role in the transition to market economies and processes of liberalization and privatization (Cornwall 2000:31-32).

Cornwall asserts that by the early 1990s "the process of recasting 'popular participation' within the parameters of neo-liberal thinking which begun in the 1980s had secured its place in the mainstream" (Cornwall 2006). In this context the access to a free market economy became an essential requirement of 'popular participation'. As part of this development the concept of empowerment, popularized in the 1980s by the alternative development school was absorbed by the development mainstream and cleansed from its radical political vibe. Empowerment was re-casted to mean liberation from an interventionist state and a process of enabling people to participate in capitalist economy (Cornwall 2006:59). Empowerment was often presented as an automatic outcome of simple participation in development projects, of whatever form this participation might be, focused mainly on individual economic gain (Cornwall 2000:32). Peter Oakley describes this diffusion of empowerment very clearly when he states: "the term 'empowering' has come to be very loosely used to describe any development project, process or activities which might have some impact upon people's abilities to relate to different political and administrative systems; to skills training, management techniques, organisational abilities and so on" (Oakley 1995 cited in Cornwall 2000:32).

This understanding of empowerment is emptied of any radical political agenda that aims to genuinely tackle unequal power-relations. The dominant version of empowerment of the 1990s mainstream is de-politicized and de-radicalized as it disregards the analysis as well as the challenging of existing power-relations. Instead it has been economized and adapted to the demands of neo-liberal ideology (Cornwall 2000: 32-33). This version of empowerment stands in contrast with the empowerment that forms an important part of the alternative development school in the 1980s (Cornwall 2000:33). This portrait of participation in the 1990s is simplified in the sense that it concentrates very much on what can be conceived as the dominant current of participation brought forward by mainstream development. This is not meant to suggest that there have been no alternatives to the mainstream understanding of participation or tensions within the mainstream itself. As Cornwall points out in some detail and with reference to original documents, there is evidence that aspects of participation associated with an alternative perspective influenced the perception of major development institutions. Against the tendency of overlooking aspects of power the British Overseas Development Agency (ODA, now DFID) explicitly brought participation in connection with politicized questions of exclusion, rights and control, and with relations of power. And the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) emphasized participation as an end in itself calling it a "democratic right" (Cornwall 2000:37-40).

The 2000s

In some way one can say that the participatory development discourse of the new century continues to follow the direction of the 1990s: The move of participation from the micro- to the macro-level. This development is in accordance with development cooperation's general concern of shifting emphasis away from projects towards sector programs and macro policy environments which is, for instance, reflected in the inception of Sector Wide Approaches in development cooperation or the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (Cornwall 2006:59).

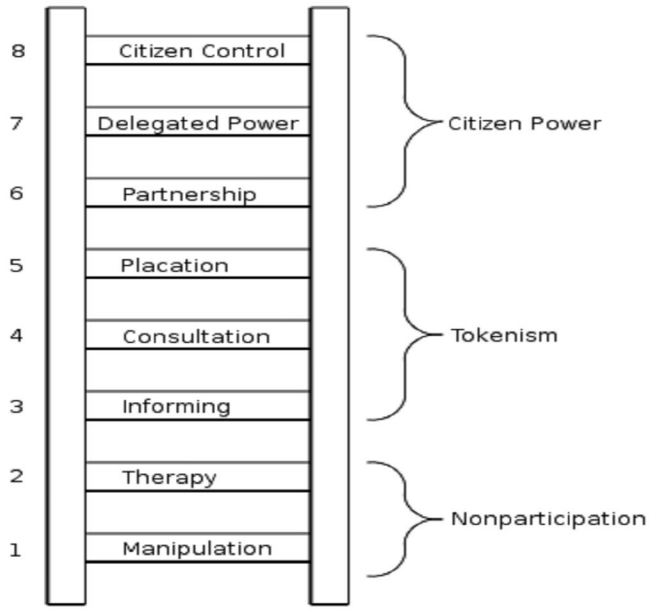
Furthermore, describing somewhat of a departure from the 1990s and 1980s disregard of politics, the discourse of the 2000s reflects the (re-)integration of a political dimension into the mainstream discourse of participation. Cornwall asserts that "politics, notably by its absence from participatory development discourses of the 1980s and 1990s, was to make a re-appearance as the turn of the century reconfiguration of the governance agenda recast the boundaries between social and political participation" (Cornwall 2006:61).

The convergence of the social with the political sphere of participation is reflected in the rhetoric pooling of two contrasting positions: the 'good governance' agenda with its emphasis on accountability and democracy on the one hand and 'an increasingly rights-focused articulation of participation as popular engagement in making demands of the state, on the other' (Cornwall 2006:61).

2.4 TYPOLOGIES OF PARTICIPATION

The literature on participation has brought forward several typologies in order to grasp and highlight different forms of participation. These typologies express the multi-dimensionality of the term and take into account its applicability for very different kinds of relationships between actors. Typologies of participation can be conceived as an attempt to bring some (theoretical) order into the bewilderment surrounding the concept, as well as analytical tools to facilitate the analysis of participatory practices. Typologies are often based on the degree or intensity of participation that takes place in a given 'participatory' interaction. They are presented in the form of ladders describing an idealizing gradation of participation. One end of the spectrum contains genuine or optimal forms of participation in which people have control over resources and the power to substantially influence or initiate societal processes reflecting their own interests. The 'negative' end of the ladder, usually placed on the lowest rungs, displays forms of nominal participation. They refer to essentially

non-participative processes of one-directional top-down interactions between 'uppers' and 'lowers' (to use with Chambers' terminology) in which the latter are degraded to a passive role of at best receiving external information and nodding through directives that have already been decided on by the former ('uppers', external power-holders).



Arnstein Ladder of Participation

An early example of a participation ladder is provided by Sherry Arnstein's classic article 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation' (Arnstein 1967). For Arnstein 'citizen participation' is a 'categorical term for citizen power.' The most essential aspect of participation is the redistribution of power, without it participation is merely 'an empty and frustrating process for the powerless (Arnstein 1967:2). Participation is therefore described as a process of power-redistribution aiming to enable the formerly powerless people (have-nots) to take substantial part in political and economic processes (Arnstein 1967:1).

Arnstein's ladder is made up of eight rungs, each of them corresponding to the extent of power that the citizens have to influence social, political and economical outcomes. The

single rungs are (from below) manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control (Arnstein 1967:2). The rungs describe three different forms of participation. These are (from below) non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power. According to Arnstein 'real' participation only starts taking place at the level of 'partnership'. At this stage citizens gain power and are enabled to actually take some kind of influence in the process. 'Partnership' is the outcome of a negotiation process between 'citizens' and 'powerholders' that entails the re-distribution of power and an agreement among the partners to share planning and decision-making responsibilities (Arnstein 1967:9). The next two rungs, "delegated power" and "citizen control" describe the move from having genuine part in the decision-making process in a form of partnership to dominating that process, and eventually holding full-managerial power (Arnstein 1967: 10-13).

The three levels of participation under the headline "tokenism" describe a process of information sharing, in which the 'uppers' inform the 'lowers', and the latter are able to inform the 'uppers' ('consultation'). However, the lack of power-redistribution leaves the powerless without any ability to ensure that their views and aspirations have any influence on the process and its outcome. Arnstein argues, 'when participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-through, no muscle, hence no assurance of changing the status quo' (Arnstein 1967:2). Arnstein's typology includes forms of 'non-participation' which yet appear in disguise of participatory practices.

These types of participation, described on the ladder as 'manipulation' and 'therapy', enable the 'power holders' to remain in total control and determine the outcomes of a given process, while at the same time maintaining an appearance of legitimacy and moral authority by referring to the participation of the people in the process. Indeed manipulative is such a process in the sense that it attempts to give the so-called 'participants' the illusion that they have a say in the decision-making process (Arnstein 1967:4-5). Manipulative forms of

participation often make use of committees, advisory groups, and councils which have no legitimate function or power. Such bodies are used to legitimize pre-determined decisions by the 'power holders'. Through 'education' and 'persuasion', for example via selective provision of information or by exploitation of people's unawareness, 'power holders' may 'engineer' people's support for decisions and projects which actually run against the citizen's interests. By referring to attendance in committees and signature-lists the 'power holder' displays a participatory process and legitimizes his actions.

As Arnstein puts it, 'manipulation', the lowest rung in his ladder "signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by 'power holders' (Arnstein 1967:4). The second lowest rung labelled 'therapy' refers to participation as a mask for group therapies and is grounded in a discriminatory assumption that powerlessness and poverty is rooted in the individual itself, in the form of mental illness or some other pathologic characteristic. While engaging "participants" in "extensive activities" under the pretence of involving them in some planning- or decision-making process the administrators of such practices aim to cure the participants from their "pathology" (Arnstein 1967:5). As a common example for this form of participation Arnstein refers to public housing programs where tenant groups are used as vehicles for promoting control-your-child or cleanup campaigns. The reasoning behind the establishment of these groups, however, is to divert the tenants from dealing with issues that might trigger unrest or protest, such as arbitrary evictions, segregation of the housing project, or the existence of bureaucratic hindrances that are of disadvantage for the tenants (Arnstein 1962:5).

The idea of suppressing legitimate protest and the awareness of injustice contained in this level of Arnstein's ladder calls to mind the insinuated intention underlying the practice of community participation in the 1950s and 1960s of containing and defusing civil unrest. An example of participation as a public relations vehicle can be seen in the use of participatory

practices in development projects of the 1980s. The dimension of manipulation within the concept of participation as a critical concern has been dealt with especially by commentators affiliated to the post-development school. Majid Rahnema argues that in the context of the already manipulative mainstream development being mainly concerned with modernization and economic development, 'participation is easily transformed into manipulative designs totally opposed to what the people want it for' (Rahnema 1997). Within these manipulated, or teleguided forms of participation, ' the participants do not feel they are being forced into doing something, but are actually led to take actions which are inspired or directed by centres outside their control' (Rahnema 1997). Ilan Kapoor (2005) sees the manipulative character of participation inter alia in its tendency to appear open and transparent while obscuring the real distribution of power which remains in favour of the development facilitator. He argues that the ostensible renouncement of power in participatory community practices, such as PRA, by the development practitioner has the effect of increasing his or her power. He asserts that, 'pretending to step down from power and privilege … is a reinforcement, not a diminishment, of such power and privilege' (Kapoor 2005).

2.4.1 Typology by Pretty et al.

Typology	Characteristics of Each Type
1.Passive Participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals
2. Participation in Information Giving	People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.

3. Participation by Consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external people listen to views. These external professionals define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4. Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much on-farm research falls into this category, as farmers provide the fields but are not involved in the experimentation of the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation; people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.
5.Functional Participation	People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organisation. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent.
6. Interactive Participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7.Self-Mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power.

Another typology of participation of interest here is the one developed by Pretty et al (1995:30). It is based on experiences in rural development projects and research and was designed with its application in practical development work in mind. The described forms of participation can also be understood as possible stages of participation within a project cycle. The seven types of participation that constitute this typology are (from below, least participatory): passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by

consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilization (Pretty et al. 1995:32). This typology of participation is further explained:

(1) The form of participation at the very bottom of the participatory intensity scale describes a unilateral top-down approach of information sharing. The people participate in that they receive information on decisions that have been taken by the power holders (administration or project management). People are not given the chance to contribute or take influence.

(2) The next level on the scale describes a slight improvement of the participatory process as people are now included in information gathering, as they are subjected to questionnaires and surveys. The whole procedure, from focus of inquiry and generation of questions over to the analysis of data and its validation lies out of the peoples reach.

(3) Participation by consultation describes a form in which power holders consult people to find out about their opinion. On the basis of the extracted information the power holders might modify their pre-defined problems and solutions; they are, however, under no obligation to do so. Furthermore, the consultative process does not entail any share in decision-making.

(4) 'Participation for material incentives' means the utilization of people's labour or assets in development projects. In return the people are given food, money or other commodities. This form of participation, although incorporating people in a process by animating their contributions, does not subscribe any kind of decision-making power to the people.

(5) Functional participation includes the formation of social groups and committees through which people participate to achieve predetermined goals. Although the groups are usually dependent on external initiations and facilitators they might become self-dependent.

According to Cornwall (referring to Rudqvist and Woodford-Berger, 1996) this is probably the most common type of participation in development. Its underlying rationality is the increase of project efficiency and cost-reduction (Cornwall 2008:271).

(6) In the stage of 'interactive participation' people gain control over local decisions as a result of systematic and structured learning processes and their participation in joint analysis (together with the development agency) and formulation of action plans that lead to the constitution of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. The people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.

(7) The highest level of participation according to Pretty et al. is labelled 'self-mobilization' and is characterized by the independence of people from external actors to initiate projects or processes of change through collective action in systems.

The role of external agencies is to provide aid by through resources and technical advice, while the people retain full control over the use of these resources. Cornwall argues that self-mobilization was, and partly still is, the 'nirvana' of participation in the 1980s and 1990s, which was mainly conceived and practiced in the context of development projects and community development instead of comprehensive programs incorporating wider civil society and the government which have been increasingly promoted around the turn of the 21th century (Cornwall 2008:270). Unlike Sherry Arnstein, Pretty et al do not emphasize transformation of unequal power-structures as a normative objective of or end goal of participation.

2.4.2 Typology by Bhatnagar and Williams

A typology similar yet less differentiated to the one proposed by Pretty et al. was put forward by Bhatnagar and Williams for the World Bank in 1992:178-179. The typology explicitly refers to degrees of participation within 'Bank-supported operations' and distinguishes between four levels of intensity in participation. The authors furthermore clarify that different degrees of participation might co-exist in World Bank-supported operations (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:178-179). The four different intensity levels of participation are described as (from below): information sharing, consultation, decision-making, and initiating action. I will elaborate the four levels individually.

(1) Information sharing, the first stage of the typology is described as a "form of low-level participation", in which designers and managers of Bank-supported operations "may" share information with beneficiaries. This process is perceived as having a positive impact on projects as it facilitates collective or individual action and "equips people to understand and perform their tasks better" (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:179). The sharing of information which remains under total control of the external project manager or agency in regards of what kind and if at all information is provided to beneficiaries (designers and managers "may share information") is already conceived as a process of positive participation. The potential of manipulation that lies within this interpretation is not taken into consideration.

(2) The level of intensity of participation increases when people are not only informed but consulted on 'key issues'. *Consultation* provides the people with the opportunity to voice their opinion and to give feedback to the development agency. However the people have no assurance whatsoever that their opinions or comments will have any influence on project implementation. As formulated by the authors the agency 'can' take the people's feedback into account, implying that this is without guarantee of actually happening (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992: 179).

(3) Decision-making signifies the next higher level of participation. It describes a stage in which people "have a decision-making role in matters of policy, project design, and implementation" (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992: 179).

(4) The 'peak' of participation is reached with initiating action. It describes a stage in which especially disadvantaged people 'are able to take the initiative in terms of actions and decisions pertaining to a Bank-supported operation.' The authors define 'initiative' as 'a proactive capacity and the confidence to get going on one's own', instead of only acting or deciding on issues that are brought forward to one by the external development agency (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:179). Just like Pretty et al. and Kanji and Greenwood the typology provided by Bhatnagar and Williams does not understand the transformation of power-structures as a necessary goal of participation. A possible empowering effect of participation is primarily perceived as remaining within the boundaries of the "Bank-supported operation" which are defined by the external implementation agency or the World Bank itself.

The typology by Bhatnagar and Williams has to be seen in context of what objectives the World Bank subscribes to participation in development interventions. Bhatnagar and Williams list as possible objectives of participation empowerment, beneficiary capacity, effectiveness, cost-sharing, and efficiency.

As the authors make clear, however, Empowerment, understood as a 'more equitable sharing of power and a higher level of political awareness and strength for disadvantaged people' is not pursued as an end in itself within the World Bank development activities (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:177-178). The most important result of a development activity that is guided by the objective of empowerment might be the 'development of people's capacity to initiate actions on their own or influence decisions of more powerful actors' (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:178).

More attention than to political and social empowerment is paid to the aspects effectiveness, referring to the degree to which a given objective is achieved, cost-sharing with the beneficiaries, and project efficiency, meaning an improved cost-output relationship, as well as building beneficiary capacity in relation to the project, which might enable people to take a share in management tasks of an operation (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:178). Generally these objectives refer to an instrumental understanding of participation.

Instrumental / Transformational

The single typologies themselves as well as compared to one another relate to the question whether participation is understood as a means (of development) or an end (of development) in itself. Participation as a means, referred to as instrumental participation, emphasizes concerns regarding effectiveness and efficiency of a development intervention in reaching its goal, whereas the goal can be the improvement of a service delivery system or the extraction of popular support for economic reforms. Instrumental participation tends to be politically neutral and as it usually does not touch existing power structures.

Participation as an end in itself, referred to as transformational participation, focuses on the genuine empowerment of people. Participation is understood as a process of transformation of existing unequal power-structures, which are perceived as crucial causes of poverty in the first place (Mikkelsen 2005:38). As participation can take on various forms it is generally able to serve many different interests. Some suggestions regarding motives and interests underlying different forms of participation have already been made on basis of the three typologies elaborated on above. In this part I will provide some more elaboration on the dimension of interests and add them to the dimension of degrees. Identifying and distinguishing different interests and motivations is important for understanding and

assessing participation, especially when analysis is based on a normative understanding of the concept.

Sarah C. White (1996) provides a matrix which displays the connection between forms of participation with interests and expectations from two perspectives, the top-down perspective of development agencies (designers and implementers), and the bottom-up perspective of people participating in the given participatory action. Her matrix is completed by a column characterizing the overall function of each type of participation.

Whereas the typologies of Pretty et al. and Bhatnagar and Williams are rather a-political, paying little or no attention to power-structures, White brings a sharp political edge into her typology, by drawing attention to the importance of power-structures in shaping participatory processes.

Form	Top-Down (interests and expectations)	Bottom-Up (interests and expectation)	Functions
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Means
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

White's typology (1996)

However, typologies only display ideal types, and have the tendency to display the different groups of actors (development organization and people/community) as homogenous units and to de-politicize participation. In order to avoid that White complements her matrix with a graphic that takes into account the dynamics of different interests, forms and functions competing with each other in a single development intervention. It acknowledges that individuals within groups will most probably have different interests and expectations regarding a given project. One participatory project can also serve different functions, while

giving the participants a voice in project implementation, or even empowering them in a broader social aspect participation will most probably also serve the function of display without being only a nominal form of participation. The politics of development cooperation will also lead to actors presenting their interests and participatory form of their projects differently to different actors. An implementing NGO in the South might put more emphasis on transformation when reporting to its radical Northern funder whose dominant interest lies in empowerment, while at the same time stressing the instrumental form of participation while pointing to improved efficiency when dealing with the local elite and national government (White 1996:11). White also stresses the fact that the character of participation within a project will typically change over time. The intensity of participation, for example, may fall or rise during the project period. The form of participation may decrease from being representative to being nominal, or, in the positive sense, it can step up from being representative to transformative (White 1996:11).

Conflicts in projects are likely to emerge along the dimension of interests in participation, especially considering the many tiers within international development, from donor governments and international development organizations over national governments and agencies to implementing NGOs and participating locals. The interest of the national government in participation might lie dominantly in legitimizing a project to meet to donor's requirements, perceiving participation mainly as a nominal exercise. In contrast to that the NGO-staff in charge of implementing the project or the people participating in it might have a genuine interest in gaining a leverage to influence the project design and management. White asserts, however, that it is not always the top-down interests that prevail. Rather optimistically she argues that participation, in whatever understanding it might be encouraged by the development organization, has always the potential to be opted from below, and be re-

casted by the participants into a 'higher' form of representative or even transformational participation (White 1996:12).

White makes another interesting point when she argues that intentional non-participation by people who are encouraged to participate can sometimes be 'the most empowering option' (White 1996:12). Participation is not always in the interest of those who are being encouraged to participate; it depends on the context, the type of participation, and the terms on which it is offered. In a more negative formulation it means that participation can be disempowering. In a nominal or even instrumental form the participatory practice can divert people from the issues that (should) really matter to them. The manipulative aspect of participation and its disempowering effects is especially stressed by Arnstein, and is also suggested by Cornwall referring to the co-option of participation for reasons of control and disencouraging protest and, in another case, for generating support for neo-liberal reforms.
The final dynamic elaborated by White is the one that refers to the role of power in the construction of interests. As the graphic symbolizes, interests of both top-down and bottom up actors are shaped by two dimensions. First, the interests driving the participation process 'are not just „there□, but reflect the power relations in wider society' (White 1992:12). Second, these interests not only shape the process of participation but are also informed and re-shaped by the experience of this process itself; positive experiences might encourage the participants and increase their motivation and ability to discover new opportunities for action. Negative experiences might have the opposite effect, in that the people might lose faith in the project leading to their decreased, or only nominal, participation.

All of the above presented typologies describe a gradual move from a situation in which the processes are controlled by external authorities (power holders, experts, development agencies, international institutions) to one in which the people (citizens, have-nots, beneficiaries, disadvantaged people) who were previously without control gain control

over these processes. However, comparing Sherry Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation with the typologies of participation in development some interesting differences come to light. For example the intensity of the highest level of participation in the typology of Arnstein is higher than the in the highest level of the other typologies. Also is her normative view on participation more pronounced.

Both the typologies of Bhatnagar and Williams and Pretty et al. present participation primarily as an instrumental concept, paying little or no attention to the dimension of transformation and genuine political and social empowerment. The highest degree of participation in the typology of Bhatnagar and Williams is not envisioned to cross the boundaries of the development intervention which might be, after all, highly determined by the external development agency. Initiating action basically means initiating action within the World Bank-supported program. Effectiveness and overall cost-reduction are emphasized as objectives of participation. The typology of Pretty et al. leaves the question open whether participation will lead to a process of transformation, as 'self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power' (Pretty et al. 1995). Participation in this stage remains potentially open for co-option by external actors. As Cornwall notes, 'local self mobilization may be actively promoted by the state and international agencies as part of efficiency goals that are entirely consistent with a neoliberal approach to development' (Cornwall 2008:271).

Unlike Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation the typologies of Pretty et al. and Bhatnagar and Williams do not tie transformation and political empowerment as normative goals to the concept of participation. This lets both typologies seem far less political and normative than the one provided by Arnstein which has a radical and explicitly normative tone to it. Arnstein places high importance on the aspect of power and power-relationships. Her understanding of citizen control describes a degree of participation which entails the

transformation of an unequal distribution of power which is perceived as a cause for poverty and social exclusion and a process in which people regain 'power over live' (Arnstein 1967). Interesting about Arnstein's typology is furthermore that it explicitly acknowledges illegitimate forms of participation in contrast to legitimate forms, and the possibility that forms of manipulative non-participation is disguised behind a participatory veneer. Pretty et al. and Bhatnagar and Williams do not make any comments on illegitimacy and legitimacy. They are merely implicitly normative in that they suggest a progression from lower to higher degrees of participation.

However, whereas the types of informing and consultation within Arnstein's ladder, for example, are described as tokenism due to the absence of genuine power in the hands of the people and the potential of these forms to merely serve as a participatory window-dressing, Bhatnagar and Williams present information and consultation as legitimate forms of participation. The World Bank even equates the provision of information with empowerment (Cornwall 2008:70). It is quite obvious that there are different understandings of the nature of participation and what it should achieve, are underlying the different typologies. Sherry Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation provides for a more critical (and normative) analysis of participation than do the presented typologies that refer specially to participation in development. Arnstein distinguishes between illegitimate and legitimate forms of participation and draws attention to the potential of manipulation through participation. Pretty et al. as well as Bhatnagar and Williams pay no attention to that aspect and present all forms of participation as legitimate and in essence positive.

Taking a closer and critical look at the two typologies one can identify potential entry-points for manipulative behavior in virtually every described form of participation. Problematic is, that this aspect is not sufficiently acknowledged and discussed within the typologies. This might be connected with the ideological and institutional origin of the

authors. The potential of manipulation existent within participatory development practices and approaches is mainly addressed by commentators from the post-development school.

The manipulative potential of participation is directly linked to and rooted in its missing concern with issues of power and politics. The types of participation subsumed in the combined typology under the categories 'nominal' and 'instrumental' neither conceive genuine power-redistribution within the intervention (meaning a genuine turn from top-down to bottom-up) nor a transformation of unequal power-structures within the community or society as a central aspect of participation. Empowerment as social and political transformation is not a central concern in these types of participation, even though they might harness themselves with "empowerment" rhetoric.

The concept of participation in the National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP) of the Government of Nigeria which drew from the reform process of the PRSP typically exemplifies this. Its blueprint of implementation only adopts the use of participation in the implementation and monitoring of projects (NAPEP,2001), thus ignoring participation at the level of conceptualization. It does not consider poverty in relation to unequal power structures within communities or society or attempt to address these power inequalities. A preliminary investigation indicates that projects are decided upon at the agency's headquarters in Abuja where the implementation also commences from. A case in point is the agency's flagship poverty eradication program called 'Keke NAPEP' a $150 million project which has affected the standard of living of the operators but yet to significantly reduce the problem of poverty (Leke and Bankole 2013:19).

There is no evidence as to how the concept of 'Keke NAPEP was arrived at in the first instance as documents relating to the project are all missing at the agency's headquarters and several litigations have arisen as to the ownership of the project. But even at the level of implementation where participation is supposed to be evident; there are obvious issues of

power play, inequality and a lack of equity which true participation should have removed. The prevailing power structures therefore ensure that power holders at the national, sub national and micro levels determine the allocation of 'Keke NAPEP' thus excluding the poor who are supposed to be the direct beneficiaries.

It is therefore the position of this research that there are political economy dynamics to participation. Those who would benefit from the lack of transparency and participation by shifting public funds or preferred projects to their political supporters or by skimming profits directly, and those who simply would rather avoid the harsh light of public scrutiny, often hold powerful positions and are well organized to defend their interests. On the other hand, those who would benefit from increased openness and inclusion in fiscal processes and practices are typically numerous and poorly organized: they include government officials who have been excluded from the reform process and citizens who use public services such as health, housing, education, and transportation.

This research therefore argues that where participation in development is not firmly embedded in a normative and theoretically informed framework and connected to a genuine commitment for empowerment and transformation via re-distribution of power, the space for manipulative misuse remains wide open. This position is also held by Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan who see the lack of a 'strong theoretical basis' in mainstream participatory approaches as a reason for their tendency to be 'easily co-opted within disempowering agendas' (Hickey and Mohan 2005:238). They suggest the (re-)conceptualization of participation 'in terms of an expanded and radicalized understanding of citizenship' within a critical modernist approach to development (Hickey and Mohan 2005:238). Similar attempts to recover the concept of participation from its a-political and in effect disempowering character via re-imagination in a radical political perspective are undertaken by Williams

(2004) and Kapoor (2005). In conclusion, the normative and theoretically informed framework for participation in development should be undergirded by communication action.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action. Jurgen Habermas, one of the most distinguished Frankfurt scholars, developed the theory of the communicative action (1984) in an effort to leave the philosophy of consciousness, and to ground critical theory in an analysis of language use (Prasad 2005). The theory of communicative action, which is linguistic-based is constructed on the notion that to be human is to communicate, and embedded in communication is the ideal of genuine consensus. In society it is its members that in coordinated actions, in communication, strive toward an agreement, a shared understanding. It is striving for consensus that according to Habermas makes society's cornerstone. To be effective and ethical, this consensus has to be arrived at under conditions of rationality and equality.

An ideal speech community is when social agreements can be met without manipulation. This would introduce an affirmative agenda, not a utopia, but still a hope for how we might reform institutions according to a morally driven discourse in situations approaching an ideal speech situation. Communicative action allows an exploration of every statement, on the following (universal) validity criteria: comprehensibility, sincerity, truthfulness, and legitimacy (Alvesson and Deetz 2005).

According to Habermas rationality has less to do with the possession of knowledge, but more to do with how the speaking and acting subjects acquire and use knowledge. We can announce a competition to have begun, we can provide comfort to others by what we say, and at the same time we are able to stir up conflicts by our opinions. However, these actions

could be described as rational, when our knowledge, our ability to predict what the reactions would be is guiding the actions. Even so, the knowledge upon which we build our rational actions could be unreliable according to someone else. Then the listener could claim the truth of the assertion and the effectiveness of the action (Habermas 1984). Habermas separates two historical learning processes and forms of rationality: the technological-scientific strategy and the communicative-political ethical, where Habermas is trying to contribute to the latter (Alvesson and Deetz 2005).

Habermas believes that the discourses of these two traditions are inadequate, and that they reflect and serve the interest of those who use them. Further, Habermas stresses the idea that the structure of domination is embedded within our language and everyday discourse. He describes an 'ideal speech situation', in which 'symbolic interaction' is possible since genuine consensus can be arrived at between parties in communication, and there is no power problem. The other alternative is, 'communicative distortion', in which a supposed consensus is arrived at through discourse within the context of unequal power distribution (Prasad 2005). To achieve the ideal speech situation, there is a mutual wish to understand and believe the other. Furthermore, there is no power, status, prestige, ideology, manipulation or other form of mischief that influences the base for developing ideas. Decision-making becomes based on the strength of good, well grounded arguments provided in an open forum (Alvesson and Deetz 2005).

Communicative rationality signifies a way of responding to different validity claims. The response might be accepting the validity or questioning and testing it. Universal validity claims, criteria, put forward by Habermas are: comprehensibility, sincerity, truthfulness and legitimacy (Alvesson and Deetz 2006). In a discussion we want to know who seeks what ends and what purposes, interests, wants and intentions the speaker has. Furthermore, as Forester (2003) suggests we want to know much more than that as we enter discussions; we want to

know about the other actors, their allegiances and loyalties, their trustworthiness and integrity, in general about their political and social identities. We want to know how the speaker in shaping attention, and neglecting, selectively, shapes our sense of what is and what is not. As actors pursue ends, they refashion social and political relations, and when decisions are made, and texts written, relations of power are also refashioned (Forester 2003).

According to March and Olsen (1976) as cited in Forrester (2003): "Choice situations are not simply occasions for making substantive decisions. They are also arenas in which important symbolic meanings are developed" (Forester 2003:48). The consequence, for Habermas, is that human beings are defined as democratic beings, as homo democtraticus (Flyvbjerg 1998). As for the validity claims is defined as consequences without force: "a contested norm cannot meet the consent of the participants in a practical discourse unless…all affected can freely accept the consequences and the side effects that the general observance of a controversial norm can be expected to have for the satisfaction of the interests of each individual". Habermas (1990) calls this validity the '(U)', the 'universalisation principle', of discourse ethics.

The only 'force' used in ideal speech situations is 'the force for better argument'. Furthermore, in Habermas' work the participants in speech situations all respect five discourse ethics:

- No party affected by what is being discussed should be excluded from the discourse (the requirement for generality)
- All participants should have equal possibility to present and to criticize validity claims in the process of discourse (autonomy)
- Participants must be willing and able to empathize with each other's validity claims (idea role taking)
- Existing power differences between participants must be neutralized such that these differences have no effect on the creation of consensus (power neutrality)

- Participants must openly explain their goals and intentions and in the connection desists from strategic action (transparency)

This theory expresses the 'systematic improvement' of our life world through an expanded conception, focusing on the creation and re-creation of patterns of meaning (Alvesson and Deetz 2006). It also provides a framework for appraising participation within Nigeria's reform agenda.

Habermas distinguishes four kinds of action by individuals in society (TCA1):

- teleological action, with strategic action as a subset;

- normatively regulated action;

- dramaturgical action;

- communicative action.

Teleological Action. The actor makes a "decision among alternative courses of action, with a view to the realization of an end, guided by maxims, and based on an interpretation of the situation" (TCA1, p. 85). In the subset called strategic action the actor anticipates what other actors directed by goals will do, and a model that lies behind decision theory and game theory (ibid.). Certainly it seems to be what we might call the meat and potatoes of standard economics. However, while here strategic action is a subset of teleological action, later in the book Habermas uses "strategic" as more or less synonymous with teleological.

Normatively Regulated Action. Actors in a social group pursue common values or norms of the group, "fulfilling a generalized expectation of behaviour" (ibid.; "expectation" is in the sense of entitlement). This model of action underlies role theory in sociology (ibid.). Talk of values and norms suggests this kind of action is social capital in action, as it were. In

some places in TCA Habermas suggests that often this action is performed almost automatically, in rote fashion, from second nature, out of deeply entrenched shared habits and regarded as unproblematic by the actors, rather than in a calculated instrumental way, and I think this idea is important for social capital theory (see discussion in Section V below). One significant remark on this model helps us to understand teleological action better: normatively regulated action "does not refer to the behaviour of basically solitary actors who come upon other actors in their environment, but to members of a social group who orient their action to common values" (TCA1, p. 85). That suggests teleological action is by "basically solitary actors," but obviously the phrase refers not to solitary behaviour per se but to the formation of goals and values.

Dramaturgical Action. Sometimes an actor is neither solitary nor a member of a social group, but is interacting with people who are "constituting a public for one another, before whom they present themselves. The actor evokes in his public a certain image, an impression of himself …." (TCA1, p. 86). He has privileged access to his own intentions, desires, etc. but can monitor or regulate public access to them. There is a "presentation of self" (ibid.), not spontaneously but stylized, with a view to the audience. Habermas says dramaturgical action in one sense is an extension of teleological action, but teleological action in a certain style, a remark perhaps confusing because it casts doubt on why we should distinguish dramaturgical action as a separate model.

Communicative Action. Here two or more actors establish a relationship and "seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement. The central concept of interpretation refers in the first instance to negotiating definitions of the situation which admit of consensus. …" (ibid.). Habermas credits George Herbert Mead (1934) and Harold Garfinkel (1967) for helping give paradigmatic significance to communicative action.

The phrasing clearly opposes “communicative” to “teleological,” but isn’t all action really “teleological” in some sense? Habermas anticipates this criticism some pages later by admitting that yes, all action, even communicative action, has some teleological structure, since all actors pursue particular aims of their own. But the mechanisms of coordination are different. The teleological specifies coordination as the "interlacing of egocentric calculations of utility" (TCA1, p. 101), so that the relative importance of conflict and cooperation depends on the self-interests. But it’s the only kind of action that “rests content with an explication of the features of action oriented directly to success….” (ibid.). The other three actions are different: Normative specifies coordination as the “socially integrating agreement about values and norms instilled through cultural tradition and socialization …. “ (TCA1, p. 101), dramaturgical specifies coordination as consensus between “players and their publics” (ibid.), and, most important for present purposes, in communicative action “the interpretive accomplishments on which cooperative processes of interpretation are based represent the mechanism for coordinating action …. (ibid, italics added on “cooperative”).

Again on this theme of coordination, he says, “The concept of communicative action is presented in such a way that the acts of reaching understanding, which link the teleologically structured plans of action of different participants and thereby first combine individual acts into an interaction complex, cannot themselves be reduced to teleological actions” (TCA1, p. 288).

Habermas later introduces a different and simpler typology, which distinguishes social action according to two "orientations": orientation to success and orientation to reaching understanding.

Action Orientation / Action Situation	Oriented to Success	Oriented Understanding
Nonsocial	Instrumental Action	-
Social	Strategic Action	Communicative Action

Habermas' Typology

Instrumental action is oriented to success; strategic action is the special case when the actor tries to influence the decisions of a rational opponent. In contrast, "a communicatively achieved agreement has a rational basis; it cannot be imposed by either party, whether instrumentally through intervention in the situation directly or strategically through influencing the decisions of opponents …. what comes to pass manifestly through outside influence … cannot count subjectively as agreement. Agreement rests on common convictions" (TCA1).

2.6 COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

Habermas spends a great deal of time on language, and how the use of language differs in the different models of action. The very word "communicative" right away signals concern with language. In 1986 he said: "I am of the opinion that social pathologies can be understood as forms of manifestation of systematically distorted communication …." (1991, p. 226), and went on to say that if that is the case then one must be able to use a theory of communication to analyze the normal patterns of undistorted communication.

Nevertheless, he takes pains to emphasize the communicative model does not equate action with communication in the mere sense of speech. Language is a medium of communication, but communication is a broader concept, and "communicative action designates a type of interaction that is coordinated through speech acts and does not coincide with them" (TCA1). Yet in TCA Habermas devotes so much space to analyzing speech per se a reader may be tempted to conclude communicative action is not much more than "talk." Indeed, I think the emphasis on language is a significant obstacle to relate his ideas to conventional models of social capital in the social sciences.

On the other hand, defining "human" as essentially linguistic is an idea of long standing. Charles Taylor says, "We could take as our motto [the German poet] Hölderlin's phrase, 'Since we have conversed we are.' … Habermas attempts to understand society from the vantage point of language….society is to be explained by referring to the structures of discourse" (Taylor 1991, p. 23). Taylor points out the approach is very different from an atomistic conception of society and has clear implications for the role of the individual in society: the individual's plans are limited by "what has been handed down by the linguistic community. … The notion of a self-centred individual presupposes the community and consequently a framework of customs and norms within which s/he acts" (p. 24, italics added).

Some philosophers say Habermas is so concerned with language because he wants to use modern philosophy to support his views on democracy and participation, and to put the latter on a firmer scientific basis than can be provided by theories of instrumental rationality. David Rasmussen says Habermas's strategy is to "retrieve the project of modernity through a highly specialized form of the philosophy of language" (1990), his project is to show that "language as communicative discourse is emancipatory ….", and "his task is to rehabilitate

the project of modernity by reconstructing it vis-à-vis the theory of communication, i.e., communicative action, communicative reason".

Certainly one needs to understand that a concern for emancipation is consistent with Habermas's brand of critical theory. Maeve Cooke (1998) notes Habermas's picture of everyday communicative action thus has important implications for critical social theory …. In presenting social order as a network of cooperation involving commitment and responsibility, it opposes models of social order that take interactions between strategically acting subjects as fundamental, for example, models grounded in decision or game theory …. it situates reason in everyday life….

It is not surprising other philosophers criticize Habermas for the emphasis on language. Lenore Langsdorf (2000) argues his theory is not sufficiently applicable to real-world communication, because communication is much more than language, and she questions whether the theory really can be the basis for communicative rationality. She believes it is unfortunate the theory privileges language as a form of communication and privileges discourse as a use of language. The emphasis on language "disables the usefulness of Habermas's theory for theorizing actual communicative activity in its own right … rather than as equated with language use for epistemic [seeking knowledge] goals" (p. 32). According to Michael Sonis (2005) and others, reliance on communicative action for coordination privileges those actors who have a special facility in argument by communication in social situations.

Whatever one concludes about the value of such a concern with language, Habermas's many comments on how language differs in the action models help show us how communicative action differs from teleological action. He argues that in the first three models language is "one-sided" (TCA1, p. 95): In teleological action it's aimed at "getting

someone" to do something, and the action is “communication of those who have only the realization of their own ends in view” (ibid.); the speech act is what is called perlocutionary. In normative action it’s a medium to transmit cultural values and a consensus "that is merely reproduced with each additional act of understanding,” and the action is “consensual action of those who simply actualize an already existing normative agreement" (ibid.). In dramaturgical model it is the medium of self-representation to an audience. By contrast to such one-sidedness, communicative action “is a medium of uncurtailed communication …. that takes all the functions of language equally into consideration” .

Also, he says communicative action use of language is, in some sense, primary, and strategic or instrumental use of language is parasitic on the communicative action use. When a speaker uses language strategically, he or she manipulates language and instrumentalizes the listener for his own advantage; “… the use of language with an orientation to reaching understanding is the original mode of language use, upon which … instrumental use of language … is parasitic” (TCA1). Habermas repeated the argument in later writings after TCA. For example, if a speaker achieves success by concealing information from the hearer - “leaves the hearer in the dark” (1998a, p. 224) - it is parasitic because the hearer is assuming the speaker is using language for the purpose of reaching understanding (Habermas1998b).

LIFEWORLD

Another major subject of The Theory of Communicative Action is the “lifeworld” and the relationships between lifeworld and communicative action, the two being highly complementary. Habermas makes fairly clear what the lifeworld is in traditional societies and how it is changed - how it is rationalized—during the course of modernization and capitalist development, but is less clear on what the resulting lifeworld is by the late stages of

modernization. The term "lifeworld" comes from the philosopher Edmund Husserl and was elaborated by Alfred Schutz. Habermas says:

> Subjects acting communicatively always come to an understanding in the horizon of a lifeworld …. formed from more or less diffuse, always unproblematic, background convictions …. [it] serves as a source of situation definitions that are presupposed by participants as unproblematic …. The lifeworld also stores the interpretive work of preceding generations. (TCA1)

A vital argument for Habermas is that in the course of history the lifeworld must be "rationalized." Rationalization is part of social evolution and necessary for an emancipated society (TCA1, p. 74). As usual, rationalization is a process in which claims of validity increasingly are exposed to criticism and discussion rather than accepted merely on faith.

When the cultural stock of knowledge is strong it may be that the "need for understanding is covered in advance by an interpreted lifeworld immune from critique"

"The authority of tradition is increasingly open to discursive questioning … the latitude for interpretation and the need for reasoned justification increases; the differentiation of individual identities grows, as does the sphere of personal autonomy" (McCarthy 1984). For Habermas, communicative action is crucial in the rationalization process:

> socially integrative and expressive functions that were first fulfilled by ritual practice pass over to communicative action; the authority of the holy is gradually replaced by the authority of an achieved consensus …. a freeing of communicative action from sacrally protected normative contexts. The disenchantment and disempowering of the domain of the sacred [goes along with] a release of the rationality potential in communicative action. The aura of rapture and terror that emanates from the sacred, the spellbinding power of the holy, is sublimated into the binding/bonding force of criticizable validity claims …. (TCA2, p. 77)

That is why the theory of the lifeworld is complementary to the theory of communicative action. The "lifeworld can be regarded as rationalized to the extent that it permits interactions … guided by … communicatively achieved understanding" (TCA1).

Now, rationalization does not mean inevitably that the lifeworld loses its power. It might remain a powerful force even as rationalized, with communicative action the predominant model of social action. But the actual result in modern capitalist societies is different: the lifeworld loses power at the expense of powerful forces Habermas calls "system." Examples are the monetization of transactions, markets, law, and bureaucracy. Originally designed to reproduce the lifeworld materially, these grow increasingly complex, uncoupled from the lifeworld, and accomplish more and more of the coordination necessary in society. The lifeworld "gets cut down more and more to one subsystem among others" (TCA2)

In earlier stages of rationalization, it is communicative action that has the functions of "cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization" (TCA2, p. 374), but eventually systemic forces squeeze it out. The lifeworld survives, but has become colonized by system, and colonization of the lifeworld is one of his metaphors most quoted by social scientists and planning theorists.

As mentioned earlier, when he took pains to distinguish teleological action from the others, Habermas said normative action specifies coordination as the "socially integrating agreement about values and norms instilled through cultural tradition and socialization …. (TCA1,). "Cultural tradition and socialization" suggests the lifeworld at work. Recall also when he described the role of language in the three models he said in normative action language is a medium to transmit cultural values and a consensus "that is merely reproduced with each additional act of understanding," and the action is "consensual action of those who simply actualize an already existing normative agreement" (TCA1). Again, we see the working of the lifeworld. It appears the lifeworld, once rationalized by communicative action, can support normative action that is somewhat automatic, unproblematic, from second

nature, based on shared values and trust, and it can do this without privileging religious dogma or political autocracy.

Habermas provides a theoretical basis for a view of planning that emphasizes widespread public participation, sharing of information with the public, reaching consensus through public dialogue rather than exercise of power, avoiding privileging of experts and bureaucrats, and replacing the model of the technical expert with one of the reflective planner.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Methodology

Haven discussed the significance of participatory communication and the increasing recognition of its role in field practices, this study intends to investigate how participatory communication has been conceived and applied in a project or policy process that has to do with Nigerian farmers (rural poor farmers). The researcher believes that by exploring the issues, the constraints and potential associated with this approach, on both a theoretical and practical level, this study can come up with new insights into our nation's quest for development. Through a case study approach, this study investigates the conception and application of participatory communication in development. .

3.2. Research Approach

Paulo Freire (1983:76) refers to participation as the right of all people to individually and collectively speak their word: "This is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every (wo)man. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone—nor can he say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words" if participation is not the privilege of a few men, and true words not the exclusive preserve of a few privileged (wo)men, then what guarantees the right of every (wo)men to participate, and speak of the true word? This study seeks to investigate the participation of Nigerian communities in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) that undergirds the nation's reform programs since 1999. The processes leading to the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), a key outcome of the PRSP would be reviewed with the view to ascertaining levels of participation. The framework for participation as contained in the

PRSP source book would also be reviewed with the view to locating the World Bank's conception of participation.

Since this study is about the people and their rights to participate in decisions that concern their well being and development, it analysis the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper process that gave birth to NEEDS. The essence of this is to locate the level and scale of participation of stakeholders

An analysis of the participatory component of the PRSP and NEEDS, provides the basis for understanding how participation has been conceived and implemented by the World Bank and the Federal Government of Nigeria in relation to development. In the study's conclusions, the way participation has been defined and used is also contrasted and compared with the current literature on the subject. This study will go further to advocate for a more effective participatory communication approach in development having established the inadequacies and short comings of the regime of participation in practice.

3.3. Assumptions and Biases

The researcher believes that no researcher can be value neutral as such this research is largely influenced by several values that have moulded my perceptions and thinking over the years. If sustainable development is "*development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need*s" (Elliott, 1994).

Then, 'the present' should be involved in deciding what the 'needs' are, and how they can be met. Why make policies or embark on projects for the benefit of the people without the people's participation? Our understanding of the theory and practice of participatory communication views communication as an empowerment tool allowing all stakeholders to play an active part in the decision- making process. In this respect, our value system is largely steeped in Participatory Action Research(PAR) which builds on the critical pedagogy put

forward by Paulo Freire as a response to the traditional formal models of education where the "teacher" stands at the front and "imparts" information to the "students" that are passive recipients. This was further developed in "adult education" models throughout Latin America. Friere (1990) wrote,

> *The silenced are not just incidental to the curiosity of the researcher but are the masters of inquiry into the underlying causes of the events in their world. In this context research becomes a means of moving them beyond silence into a quest to proclaim the world.*

In carrying out this study, the researcher did not follow the positivist tradition which holds that the only authentic knowledge is that which is based on sense, experience and positive verification, but embraces constructivism as the paradigm of reference. This carries a number of implications at an ontological, epistemological and methodological level (Guba, 1990). Ontologically, it does not matter if reality is one or multiple, since even if there was a single one, it would be too articulated and complex to be fully and objectively understood. Reality is constructed through exchanging and sharing knowledge and experiences among individuals. The implications that follow are that there is not a single, objective and verifiable true reality, but a multiplicity of realities, all equally valid in the eyes of their "builders". Truth, then, can no longer be regarded as an absolute concept. The implications at an epistemological level are that the separation between the researcher and the object of the study is no longer desirable or possible, as the two are part of a single reality. To investigate and interpret reality, the researcher adopts subjectivism as the perspective of reference, or better inter-subjectivism to signify the mediation of different subjective perspectives among the various actors. Interpretation of reality becomes a key issue, since as Wilkins noted (1994): "inter-subjective meanings constitute shared realities produced and maintained within social communities."

Methodologically, constructivism relies heavily, but not exclusively, on qualitative methods and the main task of the researcher is to identify and interpret the various constructions of reality through a number of methods usually based on a dialectic mode (Guba, 1990).In the conclusion of this study, possible directions indicating how to push the development boundaries further away from the traditional paradigm towards social change shaped by a more participatory decision-making process are highlighted.

3.4. Methodological Issues

The objective of this study is to investigate the theory and the practice of participatory communication through a case study of a major reform process aimed at:

- Poverty reduction,
- Wealth creation,
- Employment generation,
- Value re-orientation.

The theoretical connotations of the concept and the practical implications of the process make this research study particularly well suited to qualitative design. According to Berg (2001) quality refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing-its essence, and ambience. With that in mind, qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, symbols and holistic in depth descriptions of things. For this to happen, qualitative research is conducted in the natural setting of the problem. On examining his/her role, the researcher realises the capacity to be introspective as to the effect (s)he might be having on the research process. Simultaneously, as an instrument in the process of data collection, (s)he gathers narrative , texts, visual images, analyses them inductively, focusing on deriving a meaning or an interpretation which is true to that of the participant. Qualitative researchers are inherently concerned with representing the richness, texture, and feeling of raw data as their use of the

inductive approach emphasizes developing insights and generalizations from within the data collected (Neuman, 2003; Lincoln and Guba, Denzin and Lincoln, Halmi in Creswell 1998).

As Denzin and Lincoln (in Creswell, 1998) add Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials- case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts- that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives.

Taking also into consideration the fact that the study is carried out within the context of a wider framework (i.e. The World Bank, its mission and approach), case study research appears to be the best strategy to investigate the issue for a number of reasons. First of all, investigating how participation has been conceived and applied in Nigeria's post military era development meets one of the basic criteria for selecting such a strategy; i.e. when "a how or when question is being asked about a contemporary sets of events over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin, 1994). Yin argues that case study has been proven to be particularly valid when investigating contemporary phenomena within their contextual situation. As for most other research strategies, case study can be used for one of three purposes: exploratory, descriptive or explanatory, or a combination among any of them. The main purpose of this study is exploratory and descriptive at the same time.

In investigating how participation has been conceived and applied in a major development project this study will not attempt to pre-define or operationalize these terms, as usually done along the lines of the positivist tradition. Instead, it follows a constructivist approach and, after having discussed them in the literature review, the participants define and conceptualize these terms, and then the researcher looks for patterns that provide a common basic definition or a number of definitions (Mefalopulos, 2003). Finally, in the last chapter, the findings are compared with the available literature and highlight differences and

similarities which might provide a minimum common denominator according to which participatory communication could be considered to occur

A consistent interpretation of participatory communication is needed to understand in a clearer way to what degree it is applied throughout the process. That is why findings are synthesized and discussed along the lines of four different types of participation levels, which are by no means exhaustive but are suitable for this case study. These categories are derived through field experiences and the literature on the subject, relying especially on the well-known typology developed by Pretty (1995). The four categories are:

Passive Participation: primary stakeholders participate by being informed about what is going to happen or has already happened. People's feedback is minimal or non-existent and participation is assessed mainly through head counting and occasionally through participation in the discussion.

Participation by Consultation: primary stakeholders participate by providing answers, in an extractive way, to questions posed by outside researchers or experts. Their input is not limited to the meetings but can be provided at different point in time. In the final analysis, however, this consultative process keeps all the decision-making power in the hands of the external professionals who are under no obligations to incorporate stakeholders' input.

Functional Participation: primary stakeholders forming groups to participate in the discussion and analysis of predetermined objectives set by the project. This kind of participation, while not being usually resulting in dramatic changes on "what" should be accomplished, which is often already determined, requires an active involvement in the decision-making process about "how" to achieve it. This kind of participation carries a component of horizontal communication and capacity building among all stakeholders. Even if initially dependent by outside facilitators and experts, with time it has the potential to evolve into an independent form of participation.

Empowered Participation: primary stakeholders are capable and willing to initiate the process and participate in joint analysis, which leads to joint decision making about what should be achieved and how. While the role of outsiders is that of equal partners in the development effort, the primary stakeholders have a role of primus inter pares, i.e. they are equal partners with a decisive say in decisions concerning their lives. Dialogue is the basis for identifying and analyzing critical issues, seeking solutions through an exchange and sharing of knowledge and experiences, while ownership and control of the process rest in the hands of the primary stakeholders.

Within each of these categories, communication is implicitly considered to be consistent with the degree of participation being experienced, i.e. the higher the level of participation the stronger the horizontal nature of the communication flow. It should be stressed that this categorization it is not an attempt to define participation inductively. Rather, it intends to provide a basic benchmark against which provide an indication against which the level of participation within each of the phases can be assessed, to facilitate comprehension despite the complexity and ambiguity hidden by the categorization of such an approach. It is clear that the first type can hardly be considered participatory and the second only partially so.

The research for this study takes place on two fronts:

1. Secondary: this involves the collation and analyses of existing data or information on the focus of the research. In this instance, the existing data and information materials include the World Bank PRSP Source Book, the NEEDS document, and other relevant documents. .
2. Primary: after gaining considerable insight through the secondary research, the focus here would be to gather original data from primary sources which in this case are

stakeholders who participated in the process particularly communities and civil society organizations.

3.5 Approach to Data Collection

Relevant World Bank and Nigeria Government reform documents have been identified for review and analysis. While reviewing the documents emphasis will be paid on two main issues: how participatory communication has been conceived by the agents of reform and supposedly advocates of sustainable development; and what framework exist for participation.

Open ended interviews are conducted following the ethnographic approach, not by merely asking a pre-determined list of questions, but rather utilizing a number of "question-asking strategies from which to draw as the moment seems appropriate" (Agar, 1996). The questions are meant to probe on the place of communication within the program cycle, the understanding and concept of participation within the program cycle, and the relevance of participatory communication. The questions also seek to probe the impact or otherwise of projects under the program with the view to ascertaining the participation of the local communities. No doubt open-ended interviews constitute a major source of data collection.

Direct observation is another means of gathering data. Visits are conducted to the field with the view of seeing first-hand the situation on ground. This provides for a balancing of the information or data gotten from the review of documents and open-ended interviews.

3.6 Approach to Data Analysis and Interpretation

This is not an explanatory case study, but a descriptive and exploratory one. Therefore, its analytical strategy follows a double path. In the descriptive part, the analysis involves a case description following the sequence spelt out in the World Bank Source Book. The exploratory part investigates the basic theoretical proposition, i.e. the adoption of

participatory communication, originally presented. Data concerning how this approach has been defined, conceived and applied are discussed, compared and contrasted in the final section. The analytical description of the project cycle is meant to shed light on the various stages of the whole process, thus highlighting crucial steps and bottlenecks if any. The descriptive strategy also provides the organizing framework for the analysis by providing the logical and chronological framework for the case study. In addition, adopting a descriptive strategy does not necessarily rule out the possibility of identifying causal links leading to the explanation of certain phenomena (Yin, 1994).

3.6.1 Validation/Reliability

To ensure the validity and reliability of data, the following steps will be employed:

3.6.2 Data Gathering on Site: This will help to insure the accuracy of the findings by providing me with more concrete information upon which to formulate interpretations.

3.6.3 "Triangulation": Use a variety of data sources as opposed to relying solely upon one avenue of observation. One example of such a data check would be what McClintock, Brannon, and Maynard (1985) refer to as a "case cluster method," that is, when a single unit within a larger case is randomly sampled, and that data treated quantitatively." For instance, in Emig's (1971) study, the case cluster method was employed, singling out the productivity of a single student named Lynn. This cluster profile included an advanced case history of the subject, specific examination and analysis of individual compositions and protocols, and extensive interview sessions. The seven remaining students were then compared with the case of Lynn, to ascertain if there are any shared, or unique dimensions to the composing process engaged in by these eight students.

3.6.4. Conduct Member Checks: Initiate and maintain an active corroboration on the interpretation of data between myself and those who provided the data.

3.6.5. Collect Referential Materials: Complement the file of materials from the actual site with additional document support. For example, Emig (1971) supports her initial propositions with historical accounts by writers such as T.S. Eliot, James Joyce, and D.H. Lawrence. Emig also cites examples of theoretical research done with regards to the creative process, as well as examples of empirical research dealing with the writing of adolescents.

An account of the research philosophy, strategy, and methodology according to which this research would be conducted has been rendered. This research embraces constructivism as the paradigm of reference, utilizing a case study approach. Going further, it is expected that this approach coupled with the methodology would navigate through the theory and practice of participation within Nigeria's reform process with the view to achieving the objective of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1. Introduction

In the Sourcebook, produced by the World Bank to assist countries in preparing the PRSP, a whole chapter is devoted to participation. The authors of the chapter hold a view of participation which they describe as "the process by which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy making, resource allocations, and/or program implementation" (Tikare et al. 2001:237). According to the Sourcebook, the focus of the PRSP is poverty alleviation, hence the expected impact of participation is effective development and poverty reduction strategies and actions. Participation is expected to contribute to the outcomes of accountable, transparent, and efficient processes for economic decision making, resourceallocation, expenditures and service delivery, to increased equity in developmentpolicies, goals, and outcomes, and to a shared long-term vision among all stakeholders for development (Tikare et al. 2001:239). Summarizing, participationought to contribute to three objectives: (broad-based) ownership, accountability, and pro-poor effectiveness. These in turn can be consideredintermediate objectives that contribute to the two ultimate goals of povertyreduction and democracy.

Higher civil society participation leads to higher accountability, and this inturn leads to more poverty reduction, and also to higher democracy, whichgenerates some extra poverty reduction. This interpretation reflects the widespreadview among donors that, for both principled and practical reasons, participation cannot go wrong. Democracy figures in the chain both as a finalobjective and as an instrument. The former expresses the conviction thatparticipation is an exercise in political freedom, and thus an onset, howevertimid, of democratic practices. This link imparts intrinsic merit to civil societyparticipation. Yet it is

also instrumental in reducing poverty, and this just reinforcesits importance. Turning to the intermediary goals of ownership, pro-pooreffectiveness and accountability, surely there will be chances to alsocontribute to these and hence to the other ultimate goal of poverty reduction, if NGOs and other civil society actors sensitive to the plight of the poor arebrought to the table.

The Sourcebook defines participation in the PRSPs as the process 'by which stakeholdersinfluence and share control over priority setting, policymaking, resource allocations, and/or program implementation' (Klugman 2002: 237). Though it emphasises that there is noblueprint, some guiding principles on how to create an effective participatory process are laidout. The two most important principles are inclusion and the adoption of an outcome-orientedapproach.

4.1.1 The Inclusionary Approach

According to the Sourcebook, the key stakeholders of the PRSPs include the general public, poor and vulnerable groups, organised civil society, the private sector, the government, representative assemblies/parliament, and donors (Klugman 2002). In order toincorporate the views of these stakeholders, a widening of governmental and civicparticipation at the national and local levels is promoted.

On a governmental level, particular emphasis is given to the inclusion of local governmentand representative assemblies, promoting a reversal of the prevalent trend in which 'most policy-level decisions, including budget allocation, are made by a core group of ministries,which excludes Parliament, district and local governments, and sometimes even the line ministries' (Klugman 2002).

4.1.2 The Outcome-approach

The Sourcebook emphasises the need for an outcome-based approach to participatoryprocesses. As opposed to open-ended participatory processes, considered to be vague andunable to effect anti-poverty strategies, 'outcome-based approaches to participation at themacroeconomic level should provide policymakers with concrete inputs into their decision makingand policy implementation' (Klugman 2002).

4.2. Content Analysis of NEEDS

> Before drafting this plan, for the first time, the government investigated how ordinary Nigerians live. The process began in 2001when people from all walks of life and all parts of Nigeria were given the chance to tell the government about their needs and ambitions. Information collected from farmers, labourers, factory workers, teachers and university professors, community based organizations, charities and other stakeholders was used to draft an interim poverty reduction strategy.
>
> NEEDS builds on the information gathered for that strategy paper. We continued to consult with stakeholders in preparing the first draft of NEEDS ... this process gives us confidence that the final version of NEEDS reflects the true feelings of the Nigerian people about where the country stands today, and how it should develop and grow over the next three years.'
>
> *National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, 2005(pgX111)*

The commitment of government to the participation of a wide range of stakeholders in the reform process is captured in the extract above, but there is little or no mention of the government consulting with ordinary Nigerians. It says 'information was collected from farmers, labourers, factory owners, teachers and university professors, community based organizations, charities, and other stakeholders was used to draft an I-PRSP(p.XIII). The document was circulated nationwide and debates with government officials and stakeholders were incorporated in the final document (P. vii).' It is however silent on the process, methodology and actors involved in the collection of this information.

ISSUE	
Who oversaw the process?	The National Planning Commission
Describe the consultative process	There is vague mention of the government consulting with ordinary Nigerians
Who was consulted in the drafting of the PRSP and through what means?	Executive: each state drafted its own SEEDS (State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy) which is complimentary to NEEDS and identifies priority programmes for key areas of development. The National Planning Commission developed a Guidance Manual and workshops for the states on issues of preparing, monitoring and evaluating state plans (p.xiii). Legislative: there is no mention of the participation of members of the legislature Judiciary: not mentioned Sub – National: The Federal ministries collaborated with the National Planning Commission and with the respective government representatives (p.vii). Political Parties: not mentioned Civil Society: not mentioned Private Sector: not mentioned
What were the suggestions of those who participated?	Not mentioned
What was accepted and rejected from those consultations?	Not mentioned
Which donors were involved in the PRSP?	The document states that the National Planning Commission collaborated with donor agencies to provide technical assistance to the states in developing their SEEDS (p. Vii).
What is the envisioned role for donors?	NEEDS will cost about $4.5 billion through 2007, much of which has to come from external assistance. ODA in the form of grants, loans and technical assistance is being sought (p. Xxi).

Fig 1 **Process of the PRSP in Nigeria**

According to the Joint Staff Advisory Note on the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) prepared by the Staffs of the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) 'The authorities have deepened civil society consultation and participation during NEEDS preparation and

implementation. Core information is being provided to theNigerian public on the management of public expenditures and on the NEEDS objectives.This is empowering Nigerians to demand accountability from the government. The federalgovernment has also begun efforts to bring civil society into consultations on budgetpreparation.'(JSAN-PRSP 2005)

In investigating the claims above, this study sought to get the views of key government and development institutions said to be involved in the PRSP process through unstructured interviews and review of archives.

Information Required	National Planning Commission	Ministry of Finance	World Bank
Framework used for stakeholder participation	No record available	No record available	No record available
Number of community based organizations, faith based organizations, Non Governmental Organizations and allied institutions that partook in the process across the six geopolitical zones	No record available	No record available	No record available
Frequency of participatory sessions	No record available	No record available	No record available
Process for measuring or assessing participation	No record available	No record available	No record available

Views of key stakeholders

In response to perceived shortcoming the civil society autonomously organized some parallel activities to deliberate on the PRSP. One such activity was a workshop called by the Centre for Public-Private Cooperation in the northern Nigeria city of Kaduna and funded by OXFAM. Attended by over 80 representatives of CSOs (including FBOs) drawn from the six

geopolitical zones, the workshop noted that the Federal Government had not consulted adequately with stakeholders in preparing the PRSP, and more fundamentally, that there is a discernible lack of coordination and cooperation in the relationship between the government, civil society and the private sector on crucial issues of economic and political governance.

Similarly, Taiwo (2006) in Odumosu et al., (2011) reported that the coalition of civil society groups called "Civil Society Coalition for Poverty Eradication (CISCOPE)" which evolved as a mechanism for rapid social mobilisation around the issue of poverty reduction could not make inputs into the almost completed I-PRSP. The development and eventual adoption of the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) led to the abrupt termination of the PRSP process in December 2003 (NPC 2005, 2006; CEDAR, 2005 in Odumosu et al). Consequently, NEEDS is widely considered Nigeria's equivalent of the PRSP.

The Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) on its part labels the process leading to NEEDS a caricature of participation which took the form of consultation at the draft document stage involving a 35-member committee comprising various stakeholders. Thus the process of drafting the NEEDS turned out to be similar to IPRSP in terms of the measure of involvement of CSOs (including FBOs). According to Taiwo (2006), akin to what occurred during the IPRSP process, CISCOPE autonomously carried out zonal consultations to deliberate on the NEEDS vision and strategies. Again the coalition adjudged the process as faulty and devoid of real participation. In a communiqué issued by the CISCOPE South-South of Nigeria, it submitted that "we are not aware of any consultation in the region preceding the preparation of the NEEDS document". The CISCOPE consultant in the South-West concurred that the exercise that was carried out at the time ought to have come before the drafting of the NEEDS document and that the outcome of the consultations ought to have been considered as input into the NEEDS.

In her book 'Reforming the Unreformable, 2012' Dr. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala reveals that 'even before the reform team had coalesced, some of us who formed the core of the reformers had begun to brainstorm on a strategy that would encapsulate the reforms.' She also hinted that:

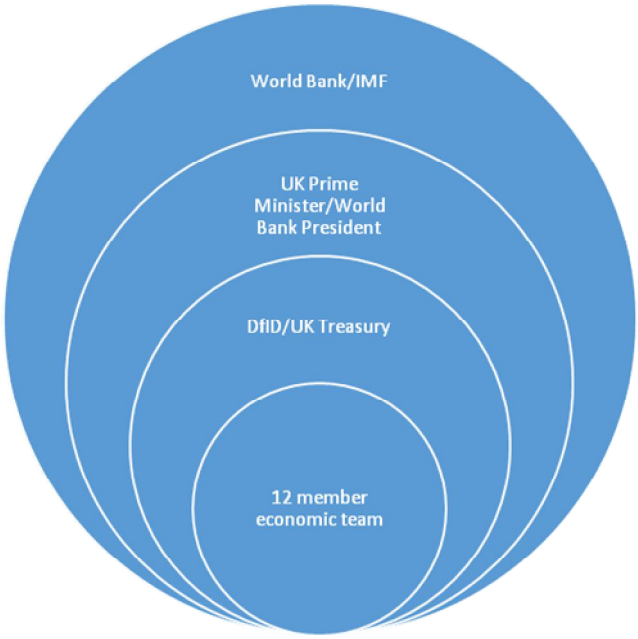
> for example, over a weekend, using their inputs, I produced a 17 page paper outlining the major economic and social problem and especially highlighting the problem of Nigeria's huge external debt overhang, which was a drag on investment and economic growth. I proposed a set of macroeconomic and structural reforms focusing on budget management and priority setting; fiscal reforms; liberalization and deregulation of important economic sectors; privatization of important public enterprises; governance and institutional reforms, including public service reforms; and anti-corruption actions, especially concerning public procurement.
>
> After completing the first draft, I invited comments and inputs from team members, then translated the paper into a PowerPoint presentation for the president's review and comment, including a set of matrixes of specific reform actions with a time line. I presented the plan first to a joint technical team from the Department of International Development and the Treasury, which wanted to make sure we had something serious to share with the prime minister, and then to the prime minister himself. Prime Minister Blair also invited World Bank president Jim Wolfensohn to the meeting to get his views on Nigeria's reforms'. ... during that visit to the UK, the economic team stayed late into the night further debating the content and even name for the strategy. We bandied various names around. It was Nasir El-Rufai who came up with the name that we would eventually use for the strategy: the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).
>
> *Iweala, 2012:150*

The above largely explains the lack of information on the participatory process as the task of identifying the issues with the country and developing a strategy for reform was the exclusive preserve of the President's Economic team made up of 12 technocrats headed by Dr.Ngozi Okonjo Iweala formerly Vice President and Corporate Secretary of the World Bank, and with preliminary approval from the technical team of the DfID and UK treasury, and final approval from the Prime Minister Tony Blair of the UK with the World Bank President at hand to also give his nod. Furthermore, Iweala states that:

> Charles Soludo successfully argued that the planning agency (which he led in addition to his job as Economic Adviser) was the rightful place to lodge the preparation of NEEDS.
>
> He also made two additional important points. First, it would be good to reach out to the academic community, the private sector, civil society, government employees, and other stakeholders and involve them in the task; the strategy should be seen as much as possible

as a bottom up as well as a top-down exercise, with as broad an ownership as possible.' Pg 170

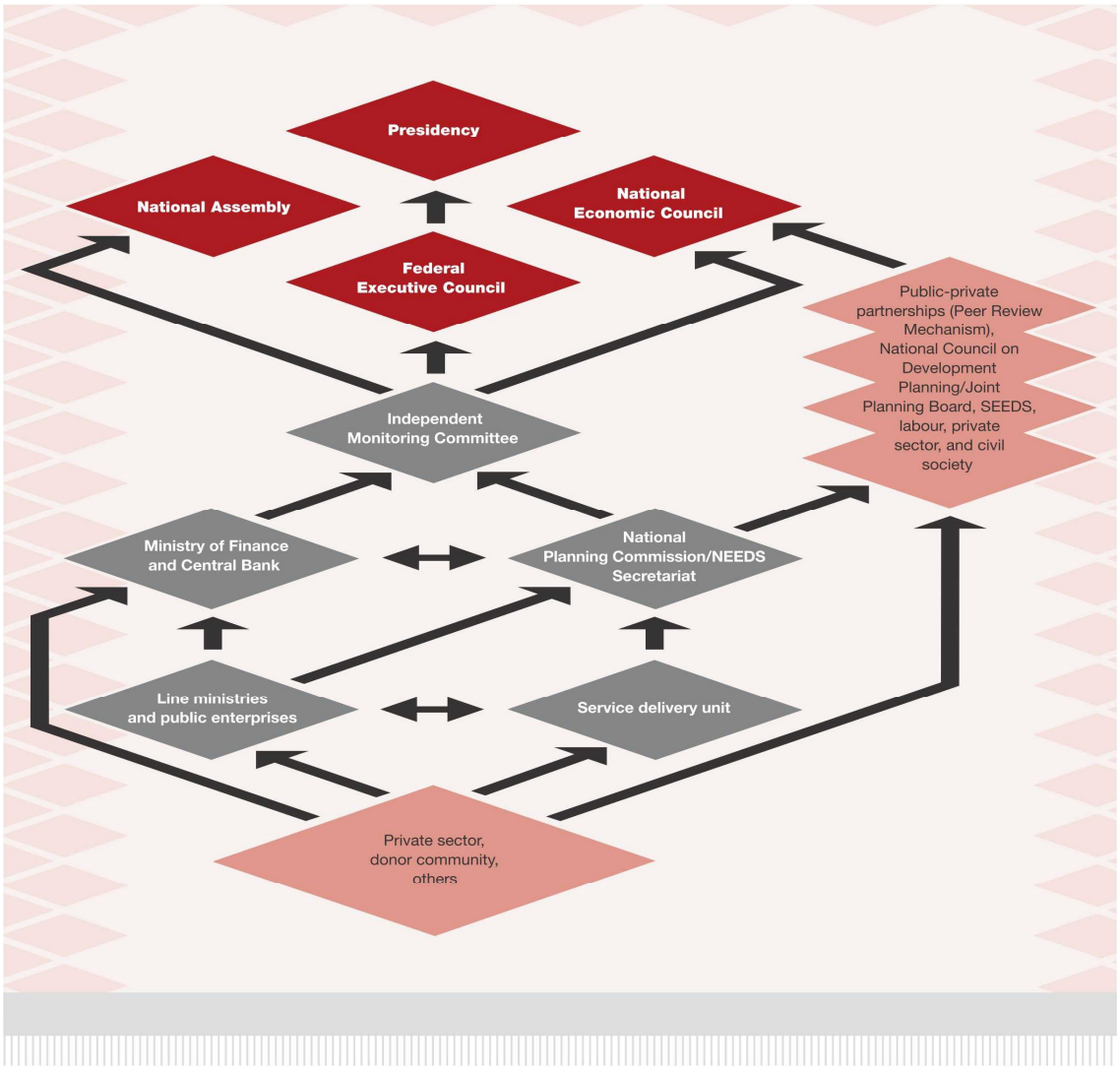
Reaching out or participation of stakeholders was therefore not part of the original plan for the reform strategy but an afterthought.



Conceptualization and approval of Nigeria's PRSP

The institutional framework for the implementation of NEEDS also presents little or no thought for participation at least as contained in chapter seven of the PRSP Source Book which dwells on participation. It presents a model of the bottom-up approach beginning with the private sector and donor community to the federal executive council, national assembly, national economic council, and the presidency. The framework of implementation allows for interface, dialogue, or participation at two levels: first between the ministry of finance/central bank and the national planning commission/NEEDS secretariat. Secondly interface occurs between the line ministries/public enterprise and service delivery unit. There is no deliberate attempt to shift the discourse and design of poverty reduction policies from a technocratic to political space, where various voices are heard and inputs made into the policy process as envisioned in the sourcebook.

Figure 2 **How NEEDS Will Be Implemented**



Framework for the Implementation of NEEDS

Shedding more light on the reform process Okonjo states:

> Under this provision we tried to rope the states into better economic management by extending several of the reforms to the state level. The states developed the State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) and they were dragged in as participants in the new budgeting approach and its outcome. ... the team began to be seen by others as a powerful club backed by the president – and by politicians and others, something of a threat. The team probably fed this perception by not reaching out sufficiently to other cabinet members who were not in the team. So just like state governors, non team members felt excluded and did not like or support the team. On the surface at least they had to support the reform agenda because it was owned by the President. P175

This study notes the use of 'rope' and 'dragged' in the quotation above which implies that the governors were coerced into participating in the NEEDS process. Members of the

cabinet who were not part of the economic team felt excluded from the process which completely negates the aim of participation in the process. This therefore questions the ownership of NEEDS and the reform process by the people of Nigeria, and governments across the three tiers.

The statement credits the president with ownership of the process rather than the people of Nigeria. A strategy that cannot find immediate ownership and accountability within its immediate constituency (the federal executive council) cannot be said to have enjoyed broad based participation which contributes to ownership as a result of consensus it engenders. Ownership was not even achieved by the political or technocratic elite.

'we could probably have spent more time cultivating cabinet members who were not on the reform team and better explaining the reforms to them' shows that there was little influence, and ownership is about influence and access, about agenda setting and decision making, about processes and outcomes' she adds.

4.3 Accountability:

The PRSP participation process in Nigeria didn't produce accountability mechanisms. Although the Joint Staff Advisory Note on the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy by staff of the World Bank and IMF in Nigeria states that 'the NEEDS strategy is comprehensive and broadly sound, its specific elements include greater budget transparency; transparency in the oil sector; procurement reform, strengthening on anticorruption agencies such as the EFCC and ICPC, and review and strengthening of relevant laws and regulations. Implementation of these measures has been rigorous. The government has raised the profile of its anticorruption drive through the arrest and trail of high level officials.' The staff of these Breton wood institutions are however silent on how all

of these were achieved. Nothing is said of how the participation of stakeholders enabled this much talk about accountability. The advisory note further claims that:

> 'the authorities have deepened civil society consultation and participation during NEEDS preparation and implementation. Core information is being provided to the Nigerian public on the management of public expenditure and on the NEEDS objective. This is empowering Nigerians to demand accountability from the government. The federal government has also began efforts to bring civil society into consultations on budget preparation.'

The extent to which information provided empowered Nigerians is blur, as there is no known system or process for demanding accountability from political office holders. It is therefore one thing to publish money shared among the three tiers of government as done by the Ministry of Finance under Ngozi Okonjo Iweala, it is another for the people to follow up when they didn't even understand the figures posted. Moreover the information was on the Ministry's website and pages of newspapers, which also raises the question of accessibility. How many Nigerians have access to the internet? How many could afford to buy or read the newspapers? And for those who could read the papers, was there a capacity to understand the information so divulged?

The claims by the advisory notes that the government had begun efforts to bring civil society into consultations on budget preparation leaves much to be desired as there is no clear cut process of how this took place. With 47.32% of government revenue accruing to the states and local governments it is expected that processes and mechanisms for accountability would start from these levels upward. Committees and systems at these levels would have become the most important actors in exercising the social control function. Bringing civil society into consultation does not equate the participation of the vulnerable or of people at the local level. Whose mandate do the civil society organizations carry? How many people do they represent? To whom are they accountable? Accountability in civil society organizations can be linked to the source of financial support: donors. Accountability to donors is upward and outwardly directed thus very cosmetic, lacking depth and sustainability. Civil society is

just as much characterised by power differences and tensions as any of the dimension of society. (Howell, 2000)

4.4 Effectiveness of Participation:

The UNDP using its Human Poverty Index (HPI) showed an increase in poverty from 34.0 percent to 38.8 percent during the period 2001-2007 (UNDP, 2009). The HPI ranges from 0 (for no deprivation) to 100 (for extreme deprivation). Nigeria ranks 114th with HPI-1 value of 36.2% among 135 selected countries (UNDP, 2009). The UNDP□s HPI-1 measures severe deprivation in health, education and standard of living. Similarly, in a research about how far the globe was doing on poverty and hunger reduction that included 81 countries of the world (Gentilini and Webbb, 2008) found that Nigeria was seriously behind when measured against a new poverty indicators they called poverty-hunger index. Specifically, they found that Nigeria had 0.156 values on matching towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which interprets to mean low. More important revelation about the poverty situation in Nigeria in their research was the negative values of -0.392 and -0.355 on poverty and poverty gap composites respectively. The negative values on the two composites of the poverty and hunger index (PHI) were indicators of reversing trends in the Nigeria's performance towards reducing poverty and poverty gap that formed part of PHI. In the 81 countries included in the (Gentilini and Webbb, 2008) poverty study, Nigeria was ranked 73rd. in terms of poverty and hunger index.

The reform measures have left much to be desired on the Nigeria's local manufacturing sector. The sector confronts with myriad of constraints including acute power shortage, multiple taxations, insecurity of life and property, high interest rate, poor infrastructure, inefficient port administration, among others leading to more than 45 percent decline of industrial capacity underutilization and closure of more than 60 percent of

industrial companies (Amanze, 2010). The privatization process of Nigeria's reform regime was marked by lack of transparency and institutional capacity, weak private sector, poor management and absence of popularly acceptable regulatory framework. The sales of public assets were mostly without competitive bidding and were largely sold off to the political class, politically well-connected individuals and family members of political elites (Adogamhe, 2007; Izibili and Aiya, 2007).

Relative to lack of transparency and institutional capacity, Nigeria's Senate investigations had revealed the corrupt involvement of the top two political power holders of Nigerian State in the privatization process. The sum of $145m was found to be diverted as loans to the friends of former Nigerian Vice President from the Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF). Similarly, the investigations have indicted the former Nigerian President of diverting funds from same PTDF for purchase of public assets to the tune of $27m (Alechenu and Josiah, 2007; Orilade, 2007). Specifically, privatization process in Nigeria was manipulated to generate new opportunities for rent-seeking and corrupt business practices, in a manner that undermines rather than enhances economic efficiency (Daily independent editorial, 16/08/2010).

Because the focus of NEEDS was on the private sector and donor communities and not the citizens of Nigeria, NEEDS didn't ameliorate poverty; rather it increased it, failing to improve the basic infrastructure that have direct link to poverty reduction. In spite of the reform structures and institutions established by the Government to ensure economic efficiency, transparency and proper management, there is enough evidence that the reforms did not achieve those noble objectives (Adogamhe, 2007). Critics and analysts have claimed corruption is on the increase and could not allow any meaningful reform such as NEEDS to make impact on the economy. Tilde (2010) reveals that US$16billion was stolen between 2004 and 2007 on electricity projects alone.

In a similar fashion, from 1997 to 2010 the EFCC puts the economic and financial crimes at an approximate sum of N1.2t. In the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2009 report by Transparency International (TI), a global anti-corruption watchdog, Nigeria received 2.5 out of a possible 10 marks, emerged 27th out of the surveyed 47 nations in sub-Saharan Africa, and 33rd out of the 53 countries in Africa. Nigeria's CPI index in the span of an eight year period dating back to 2001 did not improve until 2006 when it ranked 142nd out of 163 countries. For four years consecutively from 2001 to 2005 Nigeria ranked second to last in CPI ranking with 1.0 (Edet, 2009).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary

Accountability, ownership, and transparency can only be achieved amidst effective communication predicated on participation. Unfortunately communication was missing from the NEEDS process. Okonjo Iweala (2012) in lessons learnt in the NEEDS process gives ten key lessons learnt from the process out of which six are key communication issues. Specifically she notes that:

> Communication is important. The public needs to know what reformers are doing and why. Thus, effectiveCommunication is necessary. It is best to develop a communication strategy that will focus on outreach to all geographical Parts of the country as well as to the different constituencies for reform. Communication is not a one off or intermittent affair. It should be continuous, provided there is substance to report about the approach taken, main challenges and results.

But communication in a reform process is beyond knowing what the reformers are doing and why. It is beyond information dissemination and reporting. Communication is crucial to upholding the element of participation in the PRSP process and ensuring several other aspects of the PRSP process. It is at the heart of the reform process and invariably at the heart of change. It is about communities and citizens being centrally involved in the process because they are most likely to understand relevant traditional knowledge, local past practices and their situation. Communities and citizens should be involved also because they must "own" the reform if anticipated changes are to take root and operate on a sustainable basis.

Communities and citizens themselves must operate not only as program beneficiaries but also as program partners. Key to this is the recognition that participation is precisely voice. It goes beyond narrow technical consultations between specialists and beyond periodic citizen plebiscites. In the words of Stiglits, "Participation does not refer simply to voting. Participatory processes must entail open dialogue and broadly active civic engagement, and it

requires that individuals have a voice in the decisions that affect them" (2001). There should therefore be a clear cut mechanisms to take up idea from the communities and citizens, refine those ideas, filter them, and feed them into the reform process. The partial, fallible, and self-interested opinions held by each citizen or citizen group must be subjected to the corrective force of the opinions of others and of the many. Thus, citizen speech cannot become citizen voice unless the media process and transmit citizen speech into the reform and governance system. In the end, politicians and technocrats must listen, but first this voice requires a public sphere and a functioning media system.

The public sphere is a figurative space where private citizens discuss matters of common concern. It comprises sets of processes including the discussion, analysis, and production of opinions by real people, as well as large-scale organizations and businesses. These opinions are selected, processed, and represented in limited or wide- spread ways. The opinions, in turn, are fed back to stakeholders who treat them afresh as input for further discussion and analysis. Each of these processes of discussion, analysis, opinion formation, selection, processing, and distribution involves norms of free speech, as well as professional skills and legal systems. The "public sphere" a term created by Jurgen Habermas is the sum total of information and communication "spaces" that people use when they exchange views and formulate opinions. It is upon and with these "spaces" that a democratic society is created and maintained. Without a thriving "public sphere" the people's ability to participate in the reform process is none existent, and the thoughts of managing their affairs equitably and effectively is impossible.

To have an understanding of the public sphere and the path of communication and participation for the ideal NEEDS process, there is the need for an analyses of the political economy of the reform. This analysis focuses on identifying those who are stakeholders and finding ways to facilitate dialogue through which differences can be expressed, understood,

and negotiated. Understanding a political context requires consideration of multiple societal levels, including the national socio-political landscape of institutional frameworks and interrelationships (macro level), stakeholder networks, and incentives/ disincentives (mesolevel), as well as particular policy domains and their impacts on society (micro level). From a reform perspective, gaining understanding of each of these levels requires taking stock of their unique aspects, as well as their overlaps and interrelationships. Moreover, attention must be paid to the ways in which actors engage political processes at these different levels of analysis. Core components of effective engagement include gaining both a depth and breadth of actionable information at multiple levels, as well as the ability to communicate persuasively within various local, national, and global networks.

This analysis can be phased in the following sequence: (1) a preparatory mapping approach of national socio- political and economic indicators and cultural anthropological characteristics; (2) a multidimensional network analysis approach under which customary stakeholder and institutional mappings are augmented by analyses of power relationships, as well as decisional structures and processes; (3) a communication- based approach to needs assessment which is useful for gaining an understanding of communication environments and the strategic challenges inherent in each.

Preparatory Mapping: The activity would provide members of the Economic Management (EMT) Team and drivers of the reform process with an analytical framework and menu of options for studying the macro-socio-political and cultural characteristics of Nigeria.

Multi-dimensional network analysis: The network analysis can provide the EMT with an understanding of stakeholders' capacities and interests, decision-making processes and structures, and power relationships. These analyses also make explicit the communication challenges and opportunities that reside within policy networks, especially based on the view that policy networks are essentially communication networks populated by stakeholders and

decision makers of particular policy domains. (Laumann and Knoke, as cited in Maman 1997: 269).

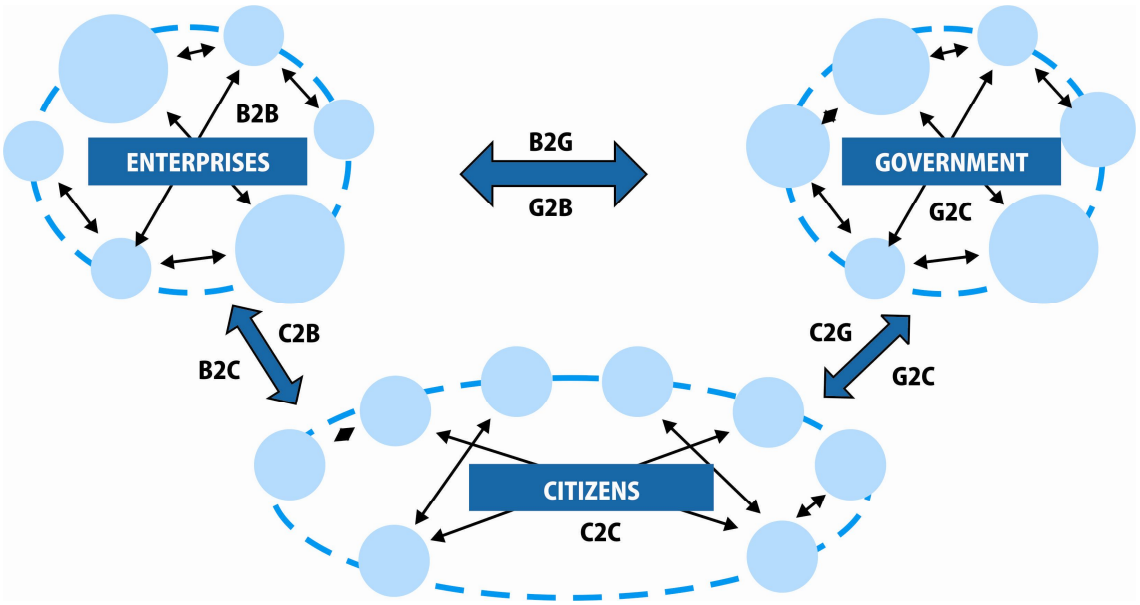
It should be clear that understanding a political context requires consideration of multiple societal levels. From a reform perspective, gaining an understanding of each of these levels requires taking stock of their unique aspects as well as their overlaps and interrelationships. Moreover, it is important that attention be paid to the ways in which actors engage political processes at these different levels of analysis. Core components of effective engagement includegaining both a depth and breadth of actionable information regarding the multiple levels enumerated above as well as the ability to communicate effectively within them. Fully functioning communication environments enable bridge building between stakeholders and decision makers, facilitate decision-making processes, and can connect particular policy networks with larger macro socio-political and cultural contexts.

Public spheres do not exist in a vacuum. To put it one way, there can be no realm between the civil society and the state if there is no state. First, legal frameworks are necessary to establish rules of the road not only for politics, strictly speaking, but also for communication regulation and practices. Furthermore, discussion must be taken up from the everyday talk of citizens and then be directed into governments that listen, in general, and in specific cases of government offices devoted to the delivery of social services. For this to happen within the NEEDS context in Nigeria, there should have been the situation of participation within a legislative framework that allows not just for the transfer of powers and resources to local authorities, but creation of opportunities for citizens to participate in matters that affect their lives. It thus means that participation in Nigeria's PRSP process should have first of all started with some form of structural or constitutional review that recognises public participation as a critical factor at all levels of government. There should be several government policy documents that should serve as the legislative cornerstone advocating for

and promoting the need of public participation. The constitution should be clear about the need to legally streamline public participation starting from the local government level by providing for the right to:

- Contribute to the decision making process of the local government areas
- Be informed of decisions of the local councils
- Full disclosure of the state of affairs of the councils.

This legal framework will provide the basic communication infrastructure for participation. Instead of the NEEDS implementation framework as seen in Fig….. , the framework for the reform process should have taken this flow:



It must be stated however that the existence of the legal framework for participation does not necessarily guarantee success in participation and the success of any reform predicated on it. A case in point is South Africa where the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) provides for the establishment of three separate, yet interdependent and interrelated spheres of government: a national government, 9 provincial governments and 284 local municipalities. The creation of these spheres sought not only to transfer powers and resources to local authorities, but also to

create more opportunities for citizens to actively participate in matters that affect their lives. It was envisaged that reaching out to civil society would strengthen participation in political, economic, and social activities that could harness the process of democratization. Section 152 of the South African Constitution requires of a local authority to 'encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in matters of local government.' The new government has recognized public participation as a critical factor at all levels of government. It became even more endorsed at a local level where municipalities are charged with an enormous responsibility of providing services to disadvantaged communities. Against this background, several government policy documents, (including principles for the Reconstruction and Development Programme; White Paper on Local Government; Municipal Service Partnerships, Rural Development Framework and Municipal Community Partnerships), served as the legislative cornerstone advocating for and promoting the need of public participation.

The participation process became structured and institutionalized through the enactment of the Municipal Structures Act, which endorsed the creation of municipal councils for which citizens may elect their own representatives (Mayors and Councillors). Although these legislative guidelines sought to ensure transparency and accountability in the management of local government affairs, they have been proven inadequate in practice due to:

- Party politicization of development and participatory structures,
- Lack of commitment by municipalities to prioritize public consultation,
- The slow pace of basic service delivery.
- The lack of access to basic social services does not only hamper participation but also deters ordinary South Africans from enjoying a decent standard of living.
- General lack of capacity amongst stakeholders,

- Access to information,
- Failure to recognize and work closely with community based organizations

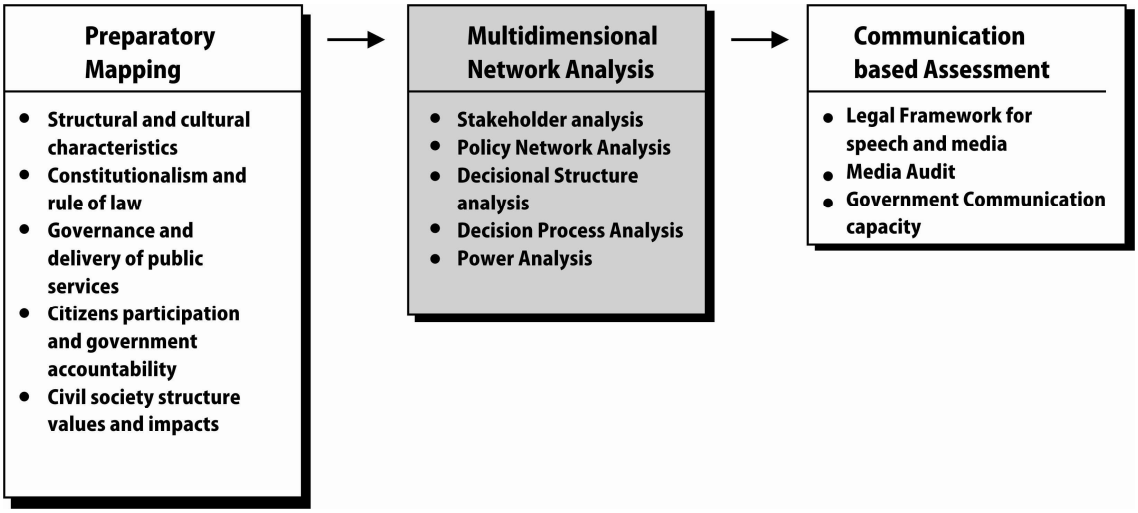
Steven Friedman (2004) believes that the post-1994 constitution order, has only freed South Africans from racial minority rule, and has not offered citizens effective channels for participation in government decisions. This is to argue that despite the progressive legislative frameworks sought to create a conducive atmosphere for meaningful community participation, in practice there has not been any major progress, the legislations have not yet yielded any major results in as far as transparency, consultation, accountability in the management of local government affairs. What accounts for this is that not all local government stakeholders are involved or represented in community structures as per the requirements of the Municipal Structures Act. The lack of representation is exacerbated by the relationship of mistrust that continues to haunt stakeholders. The attitude of 'us' and 'them' is very rife and severely deters public participation from flourishing. (Nyalunga 2006)

The 'us' and 'them' alluded to by Nyalunga above speaks to the issue of power relations. Power can be understood as a kind of mutual interaction of agency and structure, and empowerment as a process that requires shifts in both dimensions. Yet the magnitude and depth of the less visible, structural dimensions of power are not always evident (Pettit, 2012).

There is therefore the need for continuous political economic analysis that would guide communication practices with the understanding of economic and legal aspects of social change, as well as normative and social action processes. There was the need to engage with questions of political economy and, in particular, with how political choices, institutional structures, and forms of governance influence the economic choices made by governments and citizens, and how, in turn, these structures reflect deeper forces, such as the patterns of settlement and conflict, physical geography and natural resource endowments, the disease ecology of societies, and ethnic diversity, as well as a host of other cultural factors.

Unfortunately this need was not seen. This study looks at three phases of Political Economic Analysis that would have contributed significantly to making the PRSP a success in Nigeria.

Three Phases of Analysis for Generating Communication Challenges



Phase 1: Analysing Socio-political Environments in Mapping Political Context:

Structural and Cultural Characteristics: Structural and cultural characteristics make up the big-picture environment within which reform work at any level takes place. Political, institutional, and cultural factors, as well as sectorial relationships, can manifest as either restraining or enabling forces at national, regional, and local levels. The impact of these factors will be forced on reformers by circumstances even if they are not analysed deliberately. Reflection on them early on improves chances for effective planning and sensitive engagement with stakeholders.

Foundational Political Factors: Is there a political community or an imagined national community? Does a national level socio-political space exist for citizens to participate in the political community? What are the general characteristics of this space? To what extent does meaningful competition take place in the political system and in other arenas of society? Are competitive arenas accessible? To what extent are there elections, competition of ideas, free

media, and a vibrant civil society? Are meaningful checks and balances present in government? Is competition allowed and institutionalized? Is competition fair? Is the political contest formalized, routine, and regulated by publicly accepted rules and norms?

Institutional Factors: How strong or weak are institutions that enable the functioning of the bureaucracy, policy mechanisms, political parties, and civil society organizations? What are the bases of political competition and the composition of the political elite? Are ethnicity, gender, and economic background barriers to elite sector entry? How is power shared between the political executive, the military, the legislature, the judiciary, other levels of government, the private sector, and religious organizations?

Cultural Factors: What are the societies' widely held values, beliefs, and master frames? How have the history of state formation, political geography, geostrategic position, and embedded social and economic structures shaped the basic characteristics of the political culture?

Sectorial Relationships: description of state–civil society relations; private sector–civil society relations; private sector–state relations? Description of citizen-state relations, including citizens' acceptance of the state and recognition of state institutions.

Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: Political factors, institutional conditions, and cultural values make up the big-picture environment or foundation for governance. But the essential means for arbitrating disputes during the give and take of reform is ultimately the medium of positive law (Odugbemi and Jacobson, 2008). This medium manifests itself in constitutionally enshrined principles of governance, as well as formal institutions for the legislative crafting and enforcement of law. Here reside overlapping domains of social, legal, and political concerns that must be understood in relation to lawful practice.

Conventions of the Constitution: What are the usages, customs, and understandings that supplement the constitution and help it to work? How embedded is the constitution in the institutions of government, in the private sector, and in civil society?

Political Consensus: To what extent is there consensus on the fundamental rules of the game and to what extent is the political contest played according to those rules?

Rights and Liberties: Is there ordered liberty? Are politics bound by a rule of law? Are political, civil, and human rights provided and respected? Is there provision for physical safety?

Regulatory Quality: What is the incidence of market-unfriendly policies?

Control of Corruption: Are there effective efforts toward curbing the exercise of public power for private gain, including both petty and grand corruption as well as state capture?

Political Stability and Absence of Violence: How high is the likelihood of violent threats to, or changes in, government, including terrorism?

Enforcement Capacity of the State: What is the quality of contract enforcement? What is the sectorial scope of state enforcement capacity? How wide is the territorial scope of the legitimate monopoly of power? How is the monopoly of power enforced? Is there competition between and among various regulatory systems? How effective are efforts toward interstate conflict management?

Quality of Governance: To what extent do social institutionsboth public and private demonstrate a capacity to make and meet commitments, deliver reliably a minimum of social services, and be held accountable for their performance? What is government's bureaucratic

and financial capability? What political resources are available during and in between elections?

Government Effectiveness: How competent is the bureaucracy, and what is the quality of public service delivery?

Civil Society's Structure, Values, and Impact: Civil society is the least formal, most unruly, and most important social sector in relation to governance reform. Government institutions and practices exist in principle to serve the members of civil society. But as a matter of functional effectiveness, civil society provides the best measuring stick against which to gauge the effectiveness of economic and governmental mechanisms. Individuals and groups within civil society constitute an enormous storehouse of information and energy useful for governance, through self-governance. These same institutions and groups can provide the most economical means for social stability if they operate with the support of democratic governance mechanisms that serve the public interest.

Structure of Civil Society: How diverse is civil society? Is civil society organized? To what level? Are there active interrelationships between organizations? What resources are available to organizations? Values of Civil Society: To what extent do civil society actors support the following: transparency of governance, tolerance of rival groups and positions, nonviolence, gender equity, poverty eradication, and environmental sustainability?

Impact of Civil Society: How often does civil society succeed or fail in influencing public policy? Is civil society able to hold state and private corporations accountable? Is civil society responsive to social interests? Are citizens empowered by civil society? Does civil society meet social needs?

Citizen Participation and Government Accountability: Civil society is by definition separate from the state. However, the state is ultimately responsible for serving civil society's members. The role of representative political mechanisms, in association with the public sphere, is precisely to monitor the interests of citizens, analyse expressed needs, then weigh and balance conflicting needs against one another. The balancing act between citizen interests and government power illustrates the complexity of modern governance. Democracy embraces a high standard not only of principles but also of performance. Nowhere is it done perfectly, and incremental improvement should usually be considered the short-term goal of reform efforts.

Breadth and Depth of Citizen Participation: What is the rate of voter turnout? Are citizens able to participate through activities of political parties? What is the quality of citizen communication with elected representatives?

Citizens' Expectations of the State: Are there sufficient opportunities for citizens to express opinions? Do citizens have opportunities to participate in governance? Is the state responsive to citizen demand? What mechanisms are used to identify public needs?

Inclusion and Exclusion: Are there problems of inclusion and exclusion? Are parts of the population formally excluded and disenfranchised from meaningful political, social, or economic participation? Are there formal guarantees of inclusion?

Accountability Mechanisms: What are the key mechanisms for vertical and horizontal accountability?

The categories and components listed above should have provided the reform with an analytical framework and menu of options for studying the macro socio-political and cultural characteristics of Nigeria.

Phase 2: Mapping Policy and Stakeholder Networks: A reform initiative is usually linked to some specific issue of concern to the public interest. The scope of stakeholder and policy networks can range from local to national to global contexts. These networks may be interlocking.

Stakeholder Analysis: Stakeholder analysis is a mainstream approach to understanding networks and can be a useful place to start. It is a technique that provides reformers with a picture of the interpersonal and organizational relationships surrounding a particular policy issue. According to Nash, Hudson, and Luttrell (2006: 27), it is carried out in the following three phases: Phase 1 (defining context): "Define the policy change and outline the likely consequences of such a change." Phase 2 (gathering data): "Identify, map, profile, and communicate with stakeholders." Phase 3 (analysing data): "Identify the power, position, and perspectives of stakeholders. Stakeholders should be prioritized and analysed."

Although stakeholder analysis can paint a vivid picture of the various players engaged with a policy issue, as well as their interests and capacities, it would not have provided the reformers with information on two key considerations: relative power relationships and decision-making processes. To fill these gaps, the reformers needed to carry out the following types of analysis: policy network analysis, decisional structure analysis, decisional process analysis, and power analysis.

Policy Network Analysis: Policy network analysis can be carried out at the local, national, or global level. "Policy networks" or "policy forums" are defined as "institutional settings for encounters between state and non-state organizations, through their elites; importantly, these encounters establish exchangerelationships among the participants" (Maman 1997: 267). Communication plays an essential role in the functioning of these networks as policy filters and gatekeepers. Mintrom and Vergari (1998) argue that "network

communications . . . serve to screen proposed innovations based on merit" (128). Maman (1997) contends that "the networks of policy . . . establish communication networks—a prerequisite for the exercise of influence" (280). In fact, Laumann and Knoke (1987) define policy networks as communication networks (cited in Maman1997). Reinicke (1999) defines global public policy networks as "loose alliances of government agencies, international organizations, corporations, and elements of civil society such as nongovernmental organizations, professional associations, or religious groups that join together to achieve what none can accomplish on its own". Because of their scope, these global networks can "sort through conflicting perspectives, help hammer out a consensus, and translate that consensus into actions its members will be more inclined to support and implement". Legitimacy can be enhanced if large inter- national organizations (often involved in building these networks) take a back seat and "lead from behind" once a network has been established, while encouraging smaller organizations with clear sectorial mandates to take on more prominent leadership roles.

According to Mikkelsen (2006), the following steps should be carried out in conducting a policy network analysis. The same steps should likely be carried out whether the analysis is done at the local, national, or global level: Map the interpersonal and inter-organizational structure of the policy domain, taking account of known relationships, experience, and research to analyse the advocacy coalition; Plot the main features of any rival coalitions; Determine relevant policy brokers and agency resources; Make sure this exercise is broad, inclusive, and repeated over time. The policy staff, volunteers, and sympathetic individuals should be requested to map their contacts, including the nature and extent of relationships; Include important characteristics of individuals in the analysis: skills, willingness to tackle tasks, policy preferences, and their additional contacts; Include contacts who may not be directly interested in policy, but may be able to contribute knowledge,

expertise, or both. This type of analysis would have given the reformers answers to the following questions: Who are the central network brokers? Who are the connectors? Where are relationships and linkages strong or weak? Is there a dearth of relationships in some areas of the network? Are parts of the network over dependent on particular individuals? Are there enough relationships to sustain critical portions of the network? Are too many network resources concentrated in one aspect of the policy domain? Is there need for more personal outreach? Are there untapped outreach opportunities? This would have helped them overcome the challenges posed by the governors.

In addition, performing a network analysis should include the following considerations: What is the decision structure of a policy network? What are the characteristics of network relations (tight or loose, consensual or conflictual)? Do you understand that external policy networks, composed of people from across the nation, are important for facilitating agenda setting, while internal policy networks, made up of people within the decision-making structure of government, are useful for both agenda setting and approval of policy innovations (Mintrom and Vergari 1998)? It is thus necessary to understand the ways in which decisions are made within those bodies.

Decisional Structure Analysis: Decisional structure analysis (Eulau 1969) focuses on the membership structure of rule-making bodies (e.g., supermajorities versus stable two-party competition) and their predicted impact on decision-making processes. In contrast, decision process analysis (Jesuino 1986 cited in Olugbemi and Jacobson 2008) focuses on the impact of procedural rules, especially as regards leadership (e.g., mechanisms for strong versus weak parliamentary leadership), adopted by rule-making bodies. Eulau argues, “For all political activity, be it that of an individual or group, or even that of an ‘amorphous mob’ on the streets, is limited or constrained by the structure of the relationships that obtain in the group” (1969). According to Eulau (1969), decision-making bodies can be categorized under the

following three types of decisional structures: Unipolar—"All members nearly always vote together, although there may be an occasional deviant. " Countries with one-party political systems exemplify this type of structure (for example, China). Bipolar—"There is relatively permanent division between two factions, although there may be swing voters who from time to time shift between factions." Two-party political systems exemplify this type of structure (for example, the United Kingdom).

In addition, each type of decisional has three dimensions (Eulau 1969): Harmony and conflict - whether voting splits often or rarely. In highly conflicted environments, the feeling of friendship among like-minded decision makers is a strong motivation for voting in one direction or another; Integration or fragmentation—whether the body is strongly or weakly bonded (regardless of disagreement over policy); In fragmented bodies, "joint sponsorship of proposals" and harnessing the power of "opinion leadership" can help bring about a winning coalition; Permissiveness and constraint—the degree to which conformity to expected voting behaviour is rewarded and deviation is sanctioned. The need for "respect among peers" is an implicit sanction that reformers can use to their advantage.

Decisional Process Analysis: According to Jesuino (1986), decisional process analysis can be categorized into three general types: directive leadership, consensual leadership, and emergent leadership: Directive: the adopted rules allow leaders to display directive behaviour, and group members enjoy minimal participation in deliberations; Consensual: adopted rules require leaders to display "democratic behaviour," and group members enjoy maximum participation in deliberations; Emergent leadership: adopted rules do not specify particular people as leaders, although they do emerge in the course of deliberation.

These types of decision processes bring about differential outcomes in terms of group polarization (the tendency for subgroups to form and calcify into opposing camps).

Polarization can help or hinder reform efforts depending on the findings of the network analysis—that is, in some cases it may be better for people to form strong coalitions, whereas in other cases it may be better to avoid strong coalitions and maintain supportive but weakly linked relationships.

Power Analysis: Power analysis focuses on power asymmetries, access to resources, and influence over politics (SIDA, cited in Nash, Hudson, and Luttrell 2006). It identifies holders and brokers, and it maps the distribution of power within networks.

Data gathered through analysis of secondary sources, interviews, and questionnaires include the following information: Who sets the policy agenda? Whose ideas and values dominate policy? Who gets what, when, and how, and how do formal institutions shape the distribution of costs and benefits? Who knows whom, why, and where? How do informal social networks shape the policy process?

The network analysis techniques described here can provide change agents with an understanding of stakeholders' capacities and interests, decision-making processes and structures, and power relationships. These analyses also make explicit the communication challenges and opportunities that reside within policy networks, especially based on the view that policy networks are essentially communication networks populated by stakeholders and decision makers of particular policy domains (Laumann and Knoke, as cited in Maman 1997: 269).

Phase 3: Communication-Based Assessment According to Mitchell and Chaman-Ruiz (2007 as cited in Olugbemi and Jacobson 2008), communication-based assessment from a development communication perspective includesgathering information about stakeholders' knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, expectations, and practices that can tailor the design of the development initiative. This research can identify indicators for ex ante evaluation, analyse

the social and political risks for the development initiative, and assess the capacity of government to implement and supervise the communication strategy. . . . The communication objectives are identified and probed further.

This phase should be a distillation of the communication specific techniques of communication-based assessment into three primary categories: the legal framework for speech and media, the elements of a media audit such as access and reach, and government communication capacity.

The CBA would give the economic management team relevant information in four key areas of analysis to assist in decision making and to adjust in the design and implementation of development initiatives:

- Governmental and political risk analysis,
- Stakeholder analysis,
- Media, communication research environment, and local capacity, and
- Social and participatory communication analysis.

A complete CBA raises a set of questions in each of these areas. The final outcome of these analyses provides enough input to develop an initial strategic communication guideline.

5.2 Recommendations

This study identifies the areas of communication that need emphasis and the research variables to consider for more in-depth analysis.

Governmental and Political Risk Analysis

Public policies and development interventions cannot be effective without an understanding of the political environment. The CBA provides details on political risk,

transparency, communication capacity, institutional support, human resources, and legalconsiderations.

Political Risks of the Reform, Policy, or Project

The opposition of key political actors can affect the design and implementation of the project. It is critical, therefore, to anticipate the risks that the reform or project presents to the status quo for the political actors in the system. This is not only a matter of identifying the key politicians, but also the degree of influence they might exert over the project. The analysis must be attached to the general perceptions of the government success in delivering services, programs, and achieving results. The PRSP in Nigeria failed to identify appropriate political champions, which in turn has led to public mistrust and lack of credibility in the process.

Government Capacity to Communicate with Stakeholders

An analysis of the government's traditional model of communication with stakeholders is crucial to reveal how it might shape the communications activities of the reform. A government's ability to communicate effectively with its people is the key to the success of its development agenda, which includes stabilizing and building the macro-economic framework; enhancing transparency and good governance; improving sector development (health, education, agriculture, transportation, and so forth); building consensus among politicians and stakeholders for development policies.

Stakeholder Analysis

Stakeholder analysis is one of the most complex and important components of any reform program. It assesses not only stakeholders' acceptance of the government but also their perceptions and the priority they place on the development initiative. Identifying,

disaggregating, and tracking stakeholders' perceptions and expectations leads to a better understanding of the opportunities and limitations of the project. The information the CBA reveals includes audience segmentation, identification of opinion leaders, and recognition of relevant social topics, similar experiences, and expectations.

Segmenting Stakeholders and Audiences

The project must identify its main beneficiaries and other key actors both within and outside the country. These include "hidden" stakeholders who have particular interests thatmight affect the implementation of the project. Mapping stakeholders helps to prevent the unexpected by providing a clear idea of the potential degree of influence each group has toward the project. Based on the stakeholder analysis, the development initiative can define its main audiences and those audiences to be addressed by the strategic communication campaign.

There are two major strategic advances in the segmentation and targeting of messages, according to Rice and Atkin (2001). The first implies segmenting the audiences according to their importance and receptivity to the messages. For instance, the direct beneficiariesof any given project—properly segmented by age, gender, or other relevant criteria - belong to this segment. The second refers to segmenting audiences by predisposition andability. In this case, one community leader who is not directly affected by the project buthas the ability to influence relevant groups might be considered as an audience as well. CBA brings enough information to develop a strategic approach to addressing messages to theidentified and segmented audiences according to their interests and expectations.

5.3 Conclusion

The PRSP framework is supposed to result in a long term, comprehensive, results-oriented, country-driven and participatory strategy to reduce poverty. However, it is the understanding of this study that the "quality" of a national poverty reduction strategy acceptable to the World Bank and the IMF is incongruous with the main pillars of the PRSP framework: national ownership, participation and public accountability.

PRSP processes have been extremely narrow in both their substance and participation. Participation has by and large been limited to inviting prominent and well- resourced NGOs to offer their perspectives on pre-prepared documents. Unions, workers' organisations, farmer and fisher groups, women's groups, indigenous peoples, medical associations and even academics have not been included in the process. The implication of this is that the PRSP process did not result in accountability, ownership, and transparency.

When advising governments on PRSP preparation, Bank-Fund missions come prepared with their perspectives on the country's poverty situation, their analysis of the country's obstacles to economic growth, their menu of policy options, and their views on how to mobilize resources for the PRSP, including external donor assistance. These perspectives provide the overarching frame of reference for discussion between the missions and government about the content of the PRSP. Ownership in this context is reduced to a rich big brother invitation to resource- starved national governments and CSOs to sign on as can be seen in the conceptualisation and approval of Nigeria's PRSP which flowed from the economic management team to the DfID/UK Treasury, UK Prime Minister, and the World Bank President.

In conclusion, it is not just enough to clamour for participation, but to have an understanding of the preconditions for participation; moving away from the one size fit all best practices of the World Bank and associated institutions, towards paradigms that take

account of cultural, political and historical contexts. This understanding requires that the discourse of participation in reform be broadened to explore issues of governance, identity, agency, and power.

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