Norwegian University of Life Sciences
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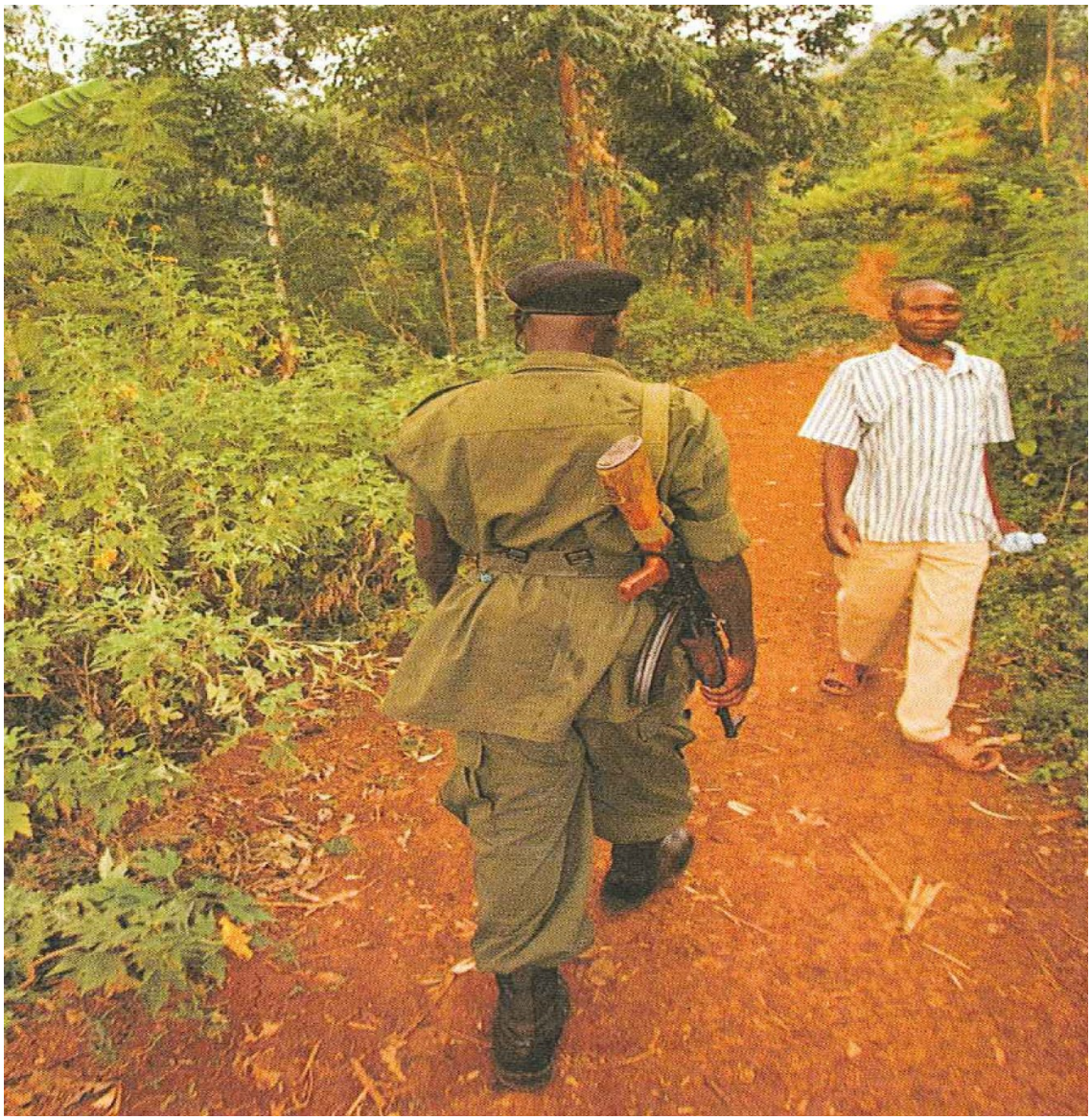
2017
ISSN: 0809-4934

Noragric Working Paper No. 50

“Something that the NGOs do”?

Notes on participation and governance in the environment and development policy field.

By Paul O. Vedeld



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Vedeld, Paul Olav.
"Something that the NGOS do"? Notes on participation and governance in the environment and development policy field.
Working Paper No. 50 (February 2017)
Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric
Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU)
P.O. Box 5003
N-1432 Aas Norway
http://www.nmbu.no/en/about-nmbu/faculties/samvit/departments/noragric

ISSN: 1892-8102
Photo (cover): Wayne Conradie
Cover design: Berit Hopland/NMBU

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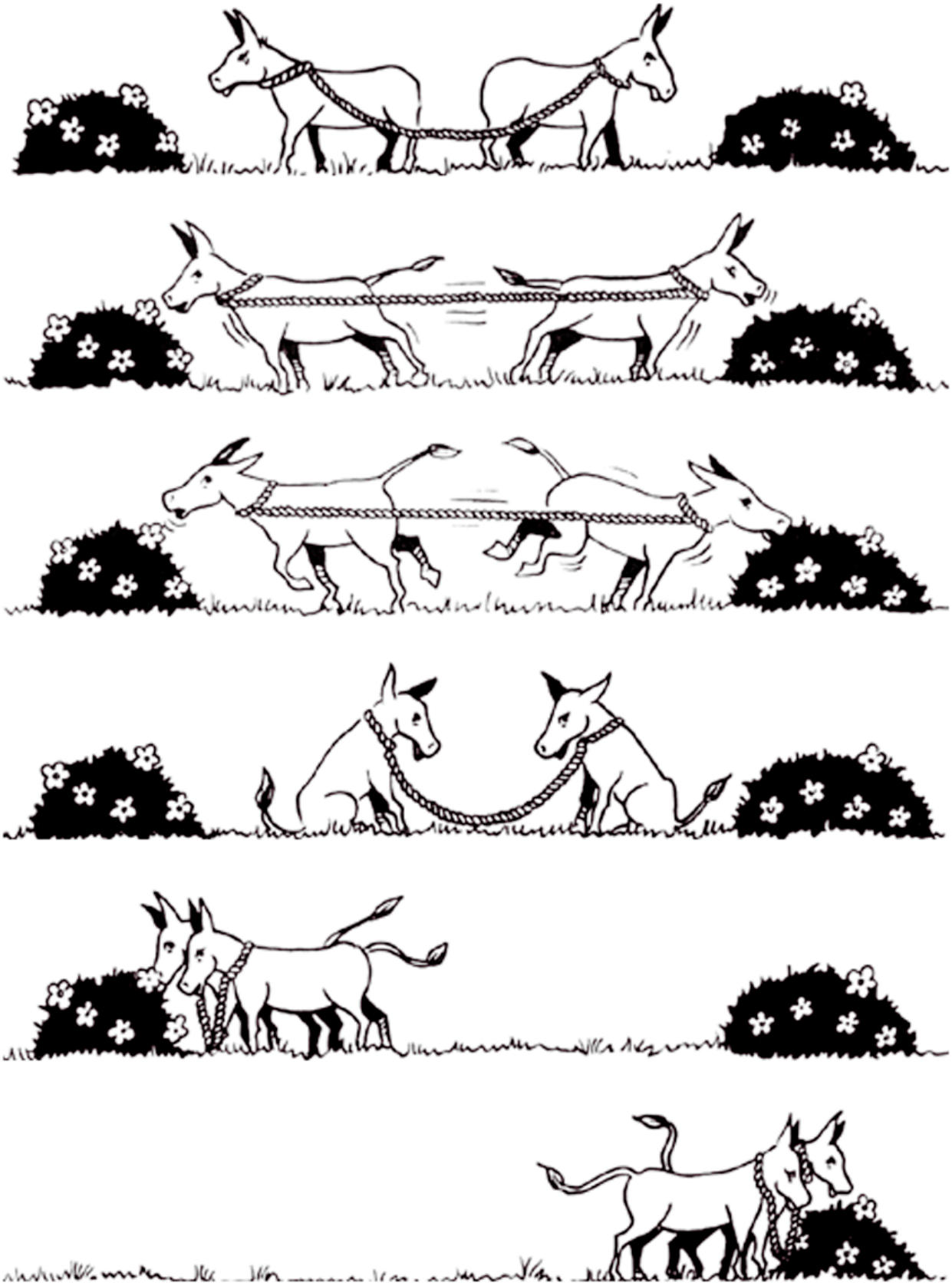

1. A BROAD, GOVERNANCE PERSPECTIVE ON PARTICIPATION

At the fundamental level, participation relates to the nature of relationships between human beings, often reflected in, through or by social institutions, through particular values, norms and reciprocal processes of interaction.

At the governance level, participation relates to power, its control, distribution and to classical democracy questions in a society concerning who decides what, when, where, how and why. Participation is thus a phenomenon or a concern within the state and public sphere, but also in the private sector, in civil society, in communities and/or between community actors and "even" within kinship groups and among household members. In other words, participation involves the rights and duties related to involvement, to decision-making and sharing of values in society.

At the overall level, debates about participation relate to theories of democracy and governance; to politics; to the content and distribution of power, resources and influence; and to how people through various organizational structures, institutions and political processes engage in political, economic, socio-cultural management or other social deliberations or decisions and implementations. Both structure and agency impact on, and are influenced by, participatory ambitions and interventions. Democratic participation is further a precondition for that authorities' use of power and attempts at resolving conflicts find legitimacy among people. This, again, has relevance for the effectiveness and efficiency of policies, also in a more instrumental way.

At the micro-level, participation can both concern self-empowerment and rights-based development, but will also relate to participation as an instrumental approach to make local people do or accept what someone else or society at large wants. Important debates here relate to how the "state chooses to treat its citizens and how this is manifested in action" and "every-day state-making", the processes in which citizens encounter state "machinery": state organizations; policies, institutions and people. Herein are further issues on human agency and how people actually act, both as

individuals and in groups relating to more ontological issues of motivation and adaptation. There are also links to how people feel they are treated by the state; where both issues about policy legitimacy and to rights and distributive and procedural justice, offer interesting meeting places (and research themes).

Returning to a more overall democracy governance perspective, we may contextualize participation in relation to an understanding of politics and political processes. Martinussen 2003 talks about three normative ideas concerning democracy at large: the competitive or representative democracy; the participatory democracy; and the deliberative (discursive) democracy (Table 1).

He stresses the analytical need to move beyond the traditional view of seeing democracy as competitive democracy in terms of politicians fighting for votes, power and influence. Citizens' roles in this competitive democracy approach are limited to having the right to vote, actually casting votes, organizing and participating in elections, and where elites of politicians and bureaucrats make or take decisions on behalf of a more or less competent electorate. A back-up or security valve against power misuse or illegitimate rule is that the electorate can call back their representatives in future elections.

Table 1. Characteristics of democracy models and participation

	The competitive (representative)democracy	**The participatory democracy**	**The deliberative (consensus) democracy**
Purpose of participation	Merge interests and redistribute power and resources through negotiations	To redistribute power and influence more to those directly concerned	Integration of differences of opinion through dialogue and reasoning seeking consensus
The political field	What takes place in public bodies, especially election based activities. The domain of politicians.	What takes place in all public, social institutions and impacts on the welfare of citizens	What takes place in all public, social institutions and other arenas, impacting on these and on the welfare of citizens, companies, the private sector, civil society and the media.
Main mechanism for popular rule	Political elections that form a basis for elites who are to govern in a certain period as a result of competition between political parties or persons.	Participation in decisions that secure influence for citizens in matters of interest to them.	Participation in the public debate that influences both who is elected in different positions and what decisions should be made in cases of public concern
Ideas about political freedom	Equal rights to vote, freedom of organisation and freedom of expression for all.	Equal preconditions to claim one's rights and promote own interests in all contexts.	Equal possibilities to participate in different fora for political dialogue.
Citizens' role in politics	Participation in elections and processes leading to real and effective competition between parties and securing that public positions are taken care of.	Comprehensive, high participation rates securing control of elites and that all views are heard, generating a process that secures social cohesion and integration.	Comprehensive participation in public debates, limited participation in decision-making processes. The political system is also, to a large extent, an expressive community.
Citizens preconditions for participation	People are not informed or competent to take part in complicated decision-making.	Preconditions for participation will increase with the experience that people generate as active participants in politics.	Through training in being active in spontaneous and planned debates, the competence in participation increases.
Design of democratic institutions	Political institutions must be adapted to a little informed and little competent population.	Active participation must be planned in all contexts where decisions are made.	Arenas for deliberation and discussion must be planned in all matters of concern for citizens and the public.

(Partly based on Martinussen, 2003)

After the Second World War, political debates started in Europe and the USA on widening the concept of democracy, and "participatory democracy" or a broader and popular political participation emerged in the 1960's in many stages of political decision-making as a supplement or alternative to the traditional competitive democracy. What is the alternative to governance through elections? Devolution and decentralization of powers and authorities closer to the concerned citizens and securing that all voices were heard, became important democratic virtues. These initiatives were, however, only partly successful and a debate about how to enhance improved popular communication and participation, and generate situations and arenas of more real communication, emerged. Habermas' and Arendt's ideas on "communication without power dominance" and the importance of generating public, free, open and democratic dialogue seeking consensus emerged. This assumed, according to Martinussen, active, engaged and enlightened citizens.

A broad debate about these three idealized democracy forms (Table 1) involves potent political issues relating to the division of labour between different decision-making institutions in any society and the explicit distribution of power and resources in this context.

A major concern lies with the kind of decisions that are, or ought to be, made by the public at large versus decisions that should be taken in the private sector and in civil society. This choice has substantial public and political impacts, often far beyond the ones controlling and making (taking?) the decisions. The general debate about "state versus markets" is thus one such discussion. However, the discussion extends much further; also to the state versus the private sector and the civil society; the state versus NGOs; the state versus local communities and individuals; and of course also interactions between various non-state actors.

The debates about participation also cut across these three forms of democracy but are strongly and structurally contingent upon and linked to them. The issue about (good) governance often defined in relation to qualities such as openness, accountability,

effectiveness, coherence, civic peace - and participation itself - has clearly inspired quests towards increased participation. Where public rule fails, often due to substantial power concentration and accompanying power misuse, the alternative of spreading power and resources by means of increased (vertical) participation to reduce impacts of bad governance is often sought. Ambition for and of the state may still be maintained, but through more indirect and reduced rule (such as MBO, NPM, MBI and VA type strategies).

Participation, and especially local participation, has become a major undertaking in the "development world circus" and the ambitions have been substantial in relation to what can, or could be, achieved, as we will see in the following sections of this Paper.

Whereas participation has a limited or constricted role in a competitive democracy, it has a more comprehensive or even all-encompassing meaning in a participatory democracy. This would relate to governance and decision-making as not only formulating goals, defining measures and instruments and making decisions in political processes for particular issues, but also more comprehensively being involved in defining the governance architecture. This includes the structures for governance (actor arenas and composition, legal and economic frames etc.) and the formulation of rules for political processes, thus stressing participation much more as a constitutive human right and as a goal itself in society. In this context, the distribution of material resources, power, authority, rights and duties becomes crucial. Rights-based approaches and participation, and self-empowerment are important elements here. In the deliberative democracy, participation has a more limited meaning in terms of active and physical engagement in the decision-making processes, but a broader content in ambition to involve citizens in developing insights and generating dialogue about development and public matters. There is thus a tension in views on what "participation" ought to be and what it should aim for.

In recent development cooperation debates, analyzed in this Paper, a distinction is made concerning to what extent participatory development (PD) forms a part of a limited

ambition to inform and develop dialogue with people. Or to what extent there is an ambition for a broader transforming or transcending participatory development (TPD) ambition of changing society and improving the position of the "have-nots" through participatory citizen empowerment and rights-based approaches (Pretty, 1995, Cleaver 1999; Cooke and Kotari 2001; Hickey and Mohan, 2003). A further ambition is on deeper cognitive and analytical agency perspectives, moving to more ontological concerns about human motivation and agency both at social and individual levels (Cleaver, 2012, Vedeld, 1997).

"Participation in development" is now found within a variety of organisational fields and sectors in society such as decentralization, poverty alleviation, social capital and social movements, civil society, social policy, educational programmes, gender studies and MDG/SDG processes. In this Working Paper, I mainly use examples from biodiversity and protected area management and from social organisation of water management in relating to the more theoretical discussions.

An important motivation for this Paper is that there is often a conspicuous lack of focus on theoretical research on participation in relation to governance, politics and organisational and institutional analysis in the policy field of environment and development.

The main focus in this paper is on governance and on sustainable livelihoods and how poor people fare in these participatory (CBNRM and others) policies. But research has, for a variety of reasons, tended to treat institutions, organisations and policy formulation, implementation and outcomes (apart from effects on local, poor people) often as black boxes (from which more and less intrinsic evil emanates). This is a problem.

We need more theoretical insights, not least from institutional perspectives on these black boxes and how policy processes interact with, and impact on, local actors and agencies. I believe in a thorough, analytical deconstruction and analysis of structures,

processes, institutions and organisations involved in or at play in these policy processes and in relation to participation. Also because this may help improve participatory governance, both in terms of legitimacy and efficiency.

This Paper first briefly defines participation, then gives a further historical introduction and finally offers a broad canvas of general issues around participation and governance. I discuss three approaches or discourses to participation: (1) the participatory development approach (PD); which is compared and contrasted to (2), Transcending Participatory Development (TPD), or a political economy perspective on participation; and (3)what could be called a "Critical Institutionalist approach to Participatory Development (CIPD) perspective, as developed in particular by Cleaver (1999, 2007, 2012). I conclude by describing "some emerging approaches and themes" within participation and outline a set of future research questions and recommendations.

This Working Paper is based on a series of lectures held at Noragric over the last 10 years, and includes interventions and insights from colleagues and students. I have extensively used insights in sections of the Paper in particular from Cleaver (1999, 2012) and from Cooke and Kothari (2001), also partly because they were used as (very useful and insightful)curriculum texts in taught courses. They are therefore extensively referred to in parts of the text.

2. "CONFINED" DEFINITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

In the following sections, participation is addressed within three different ontological frameworks; as such, offering an up-front definition is both difficult and perhaps premature. Dictionaries have the following definitions:

Participation is derived from Latin meaning "to take part in" (pars = part; capere = take) (Merriam Webster 2015). It often refers to sharing the governance of activities among actors. Relevant actors can be different groups of people: a family, kinship, local

community, NGOs, CBOs, private sector, civil society; and also political and bureaucratic bodies at different levels. In the broadest sense, participation could denote any social interaction regardless of societal level, type of activity and sector in society, private or public domain etc.

"***Participation*** *in social science refers to different mechanisms for the public to express opinions - and ideally exert influence - regarding political, economic, management or other social decisions. Participatory decision-making can take place along any realm of human social activity, including economic (i.e. participatory economics), political (i.e. participatory democracy or parpolity), management (i.e. participatory management), cultural (i.e. intercommunalism) or familial (i.e. feminism)". For well-informed participation to occur, it is argued that some version of transparency, e.g. radical transparency, is necessary, but not sufficient. It has also been argued that those most affected by a decision should have the most say while those least affected would have the least say in a topic" (Wikipedia 1.10.2015).*

"Participation activities may be motivated from an administrative perspective or from a citizen perspective… From the administrative viewpoint, participation can help build public support for activities. It can educate the public about an agency's activities. It can also facilitate useful information exchange regarding local conditions. Furthermore, participation is often legally mandated. From the citizen viewpoint, participation enables individuals and groups to influence agency decisions in a representational manner". (Wikipedia 1.10.2015).

3. BROADER ELEMENTS OF PARTICIPATION AND GOVERNANCE

3.1 Participation as a social institution

While the narrow definitions often focus on participation as a mechanism for information sharing and thus involvement, a broader perspective involve seeing

participation as a (comprehensive) social institution of generating and developing social relations. Doing this, we can interpret participatory approaches linked to the generation, regeneration and operation of such social institutions (values, norms, conventions; patterns for behaviour). Two important issues may be of interest.

Institutions can be intentionally designed and implemented and participation in development projects e.g. will often be staged as such. On the other hand, institutions may also reflect non-intentional, or less intentional, ordinary social interaction and agency. There is less instrumental form and direction – and it may often emerge or evolve without a clear masterplan.

Ambitions for participation can vary. In many cases, it is merely instrumental and even manipulative information, and communication activities are often linked to a set of formulated incentives to promote the inherent goals intended to be achieved through participation by the implementer. Participation as an institution has a direction often not communicated; the goal sought is achieved through a package of incentives (Hidden Agenda).

On the other hand, one could see a socially designed system where participation is both an outcome of social processes, but also an autonomous goal and a right people have or should have (self-empowerment). Structures and processes can be designed to cater for such ambitions.

Participation as a social institution is furthermore reciprocal. How does participation in different forms as a social institution over time impact in return on society at large? Participation is both constructed /created through conscious policymaking, but it also exists as a part of the social fabric and of social construction and reconstruction processes in society at large, as a basic feature of human agency. One would then believe that a self-empowerment approach would function stronger as cement for social cohesion than a more instrumental and/or a purely intentional one.

Reciprocity is furthermore relevant both between different actors in communities and society and, in a different reciprocal way, between actors and structures ("the State", policy frameworks, organizational structures). These relationships are dynamic and under constant change - and where more instrumental governance ambitions can prove both difficult and questionable.

3.2 Ontological issues

At a meta-level, the choice of basic analytical framework forms a major frame for how participation is defined, understood, implemented and evaluated. This can often be related to the distinction between rationalist and social constructivist (and critical realist) perspectives. Following a (conscious?) choice of ontology, different institutional perspectives will emerge or follow, also with implications for participation as discussed below.

3.2.1. A rational choice approach to institutions

A basic premise of rational choice is that actors relate to the "same world", that there is a unilateral coherent or consistent world speaking with one voice and with developed universal standards by which reality can be described, problems clarified, consequences elaborated and solutions assessed and suggested. An actor has a clear set of preferences and goals – he is intentional. He has, furthermore, full knowledge about alternative ways to ensure goal fulfilment and will rationally choose the optimal combinations of means to reach his goals. In a broad rationality concept, even his goals will be realistically informed (Elster, 1989). Decisions are made through a "self-centered, conscious, consistent and consequence-oriented process" (Vedeld 1997).

More specifically in relation to participation, one would then, first of all, assume that actors at individual levels instrumentally will choose to participate, but only as long as they individually benefit from this. Organisations and institutions promoting participation will be established and function only if it makes sense individually for actors to organise and participate. In a governance perspective, promoting participation

is instrumentally conceived; does it increase efficiency in governance through reducing transaction costs or actually directly reduce costs of planning, implementing and evaluating PPPs (policies, programs, projects) to reach politically determined goals? Power relations are typically analyzed related to powers in markets or analogies of these (new public management, public choice models etc.) and where power is understood as the ability to realize ones' own, individual interests in the face of other actors with competing interests. (See Table 2 for more details).

3.2.2 A social construction approach to institutions

I do not spend much time on the historical versus the sociological approach as outlined in Table 2, but stress the underlying social construction as the key factor differentiating this from the rational choice approach. In political science, in particular, there are both rational choice and social construction perspectives, but I concentrate here on the latter, with a focus on the sociological/anthropological institutional approach, which is also what I look into later when discussing different participation discourses.

Table 2. Institutional discourses

	Rational choice institutionalism	**Historical institutionalism**	**Sociological institutionalism**
Discipline	Rational choice; economics; games	Comparative politics; state theory	Sociology; anthropology
Ontology	Rationalist	Mixed practices	Constructivism
View of institutions	Generally formal rules of procedure, conventions and protocols	Mostly organizations and the rules they promulgate	Moral templates, cognitive scripts, frames of meaning in adds to more formal institutions
Decision logic	Calculus: logic of rationality. Preferences are stable and exogenously defined	Calculus: without denying completely individual rationality, they see preferences as changing and partly endogenous	Cultural: logic of appropriateness. Preferences are unstable and endogenously defined
Origins of institutions	**Functional**: institutions are created to serve the interest of members, i.e. to reduce uncertainty, lower transaction costs etc. Actor preference deduced from existing institutions.	**Contingent**: new institutions develop in a world replete with existing institutions. How, then, do old institutional structures shape the development of new ones?	**Contingent**: new institutions develop in a world replete with existing institutions. But how then, do old institutional structures shape development of new ones

Institutional change Actor preferences	Change occurs *only* when actor preferences change in order to restore equilibrium.	Sometimes slow, sometimes cataclysmic. Institutions usually stabilize politics, but certain forms (e.g. voting arrangements) can be a potent source of change	Institutions shape world-views: actors choose from a series of templates when designing new institutions. Institutions *define* what options are appropriate
Structure/agency	Agency	Structure	Mix, but emphasis on agency
Actor preferences	Exogenously defined: individual preferences and values taken as 'given' and or inert	Endogenously/ exogenously defined	Endogenously defined
Advantages	Clear precepts allow theory development and testing	Tries to link logics; eclectic	Analyzing preferences formation and value changes
Disadvantages	Weak at explaining change. Do institutions persist *only* because they are efficient? Do institutions persist *only* because they are efficient? Core assumption about rationally is unduly simplistic; view of institutions is too intentionalist/ functionalist.	Ambiguous about key relationships; Too inductive, too empirically oriented: insufficient theory building/testing; too inductive	Explanations sometimes unclear about actual actors involved; too deterministic? How to explain change? (How) do institutions think?
View of history	Generally efficient: changes in Preferences automatically; rapidly feed through to institutional change	Generally inefficient at matching outcomes to exogenous pressures	Generally inefficient at matching outcomes to exogenous pressures
Level of analysis	Micro	Meso	Macro
Main exponents	Shepsle, Weingast, Moe, North, Ostrom	March, Olsen, Hall, Skocpol, Steinmo, Longstreth and Thelen	Di Maggio, Perrow, Powell, Selznick Douglas
Summary	Institutional structures are shaped by the strategy of individual actors. Explanations framed in terms of thebenefits they confer on members. When preferences shift, the institutions shifts accordingly. They are *dependent* variables.	Institutions have lives of their own and resist re-steering. They are *independent* variables. Institutional structures shape and are shaped by the strategy of individual actors.	Individuals may behave 'rationally', but what is regarded as 'rational' is socially constructed. Organizations adopt certain practices because they are valued by society, even though they are "sub-optimal'.
Cultural theory Relationship	Individualist	Egalitarian/ hierarchical	Egalitarian/ hierarchical

Source: Hall and Taylor, 1996; Jordan and O'Riordan, 1995a/b and 1997

One basic assumption in a social construction approach to institutions is that man is an inherently social and cultural being. Through primary and secondary socialization processes, as e.g. within the family or local community, in school, higher education, school, church and through work, man internalizes social values and norms. These values and norms become guiding principles for selection of courses of action and decision-making and also for the establishment of patterns for problem-understanding and for both social and individual action. At a macro-level some understanding of problems and types of action will be shared by all members and emerge as joint cultural features of particular courses of action and a joint understanding of what kind of behaviour that is seen as right or wrong, proper or not in certain contexts. In the context of introducing participation, this is part of what one seeks to achieve; a "joint cultural perception" of what is "acceptable or appropriate behaviour". It is not participation primarily because it pays off to do it.

However, in different arenas in society, joint cultural perceptions will be(come) differentiated and developed further into established and routinized patterns for behaviour; role and norms guided behaviour. Typically, most involved actors in these arenas approve and internalise relevant roles and norms. We can define such established and internalised sets of roles and norms as social institutions. They are influenced by human activities and changes within particular frames, at the same time as they facilitate the execution of important social or common tasks. Local communities both are and contain such institutions and identifying and understanding these are crucial for competent participatory work.

Institutions can be seen as moral templates, cognitive scripts and frames of meaning and there is a logic of appropriateness that bears decision-making and participation. Institutions are seen as reciprocal, and are both created by man and influence man. Decisions are made through a logic of appropriateness, with more unintentional and less consistent, less consequence-oriented, more interpretive and negotiable thinking and behaviour.

Rather than staging a competition between ontologies, I have chosen in this work to focus on social construction in a weak form, but since many advocators of participatory approaches still adhere to rather rationalist approaches, I will touch upon these differences throughout this Paper..

3.2.3 Social construction, institutions and participation

Social institutions become alive and achieve meaning through realization in terms of social action. Social institutions are thus also "routinized courses of events" in terms of established and ongoing processes in society. The repetition of such routinized courses of events generates a reproduction of the social institution - an institutionalization of the courses of events. The introduction of participation in various forms as a principle for interaction between public bodies and local people can be interpreted in this light.

For example, by establishing resource use agreements for local people close to a national park together with the local people, one could find that social values and norms/behaviour over time develop into positive and participatory norms towards conservation. The concept and the practice of participation can be defined as a social institution. An obvious and important challenge then, is that when one tries to impose from above and outside a new social institution quite contrary to the present institution, what is reasonable to expect? And, furthermore, what about the local communities and their various existing social institutions? How prepared are they, how cohesive or fragmented?; and how willing are they to enter into dialogue? What are their historical experiences?

At the individual level, there is no universal standard to which all actors relate to in the same way. Actors are socialized into the world and their goals and assessments are strongly influenced by the social context they grow up in and become part of. Experience and learning are crucial. The evolution of habits, routines and rules of thumb following experience and learning further makes the distinction between goals and means blurred. Actors do not possess a set of preconceived and ranked goals. Goals or ambitions are often tacit or silent, and built into norms and action itself. Actors are thus strongly

influenced by social relations and their decisions are typically "socially contextualized, socially norm-based, negotiated and interpretive". In a participation context, a social constructivist perspective would imply that one would expect that actors consider involvement in relation to being socially responsible citizens more than being mere self-interested individuals, and that social considerations of right and wrong and of proper conduct become crucial. It also means that a motivation or incentive structure for generating participation does not have to confine to individual rewards, but can utilize a whole range of social values and norms, and not least networks.

Elements from organisational theory, from phenomenology and cultural theory are important in how institutions and organisations are seen to develop and change, and be linked together with surroundings in institutional fields or sectors (Scott 1995). Institutions also generate routinized capacity for action and interpretation, partly constraining other courses of action or interpretations. Institutions constitute both roles and rules providing resources and norms for the roles, which again help form identity. The establishment of new social institutions, such as participation in a new practice or adoption, may imply revamping the institutional and organizational landscape, offering substantial challenges in the process.

Powell and DiMaggio (1991:8) shed light on the meaning of 'institutions' by offering a definition of the (neo-) institutional field. "The new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives".

3.3 Governance, institutions and arenas for participation

I address the particular role of the state – and government - as arbiter and actor in its own right in governance below (section 3.4). Governance takes place in many different arenas in society and where the state, to varying degrees, assumes direct or indirect

roles in agenda-setting and decision-making and where levels of (popular) participation vary. Table 3 offers an overview of key institutional arenas, of governance purpose and of important issues to consider in relation to participation.

Table 3. Institutional arenas, governance and participation issues

Process dimension	Institutional arena	"Purpose" of governance	Important participation issues
Socializing	Civil society	To shape the way citizens /members become aware of, raise and act on issues in public	- Involve civil society? - Check against state power misuse - Government sceptical - What can civil society offer? And what not? - Ethnicity
Aggregating	Political society	To shape the way issues are combined into policy by political institutions (parties, voters, members)	- Participation - Pluralism or not? - Electoral system - Good governance/fair -Elections still challenge minority/majority
Executive	Government	To shape the way policies are made by government institutions (voter)	- The execution challenge - Provide policy outcomes, but also legitimate governance
Managerial	Bureaucracy	To shape the way policies are administered and implemented by public servants (clients/users)	- How implementation machinery is organized - Formulation/ implementation - Structure crucial - Everyday state-making
Regulatory	Economic society	To shape the way state and markets interact to promote development (customers/ agents)	-Secure efficient markets (missing, imperfect) - Market as social institution -Economic liberalism and democratisation as complimentary processes? -Costs; transaction, institutional, implementation, opportunity
Adjudicatory	Judicial system	To shape the setting for resolution of disputes and conflicts (clients, citizens)	- Reduce and solve disputes and conflicts - Regulate social relations, norms and structures -Both formal rules by law and informal - Independence

Governance may be defined as both the (institutional) formation of structures and processes in society and the stewardship of formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm. A governance arena is where the state (and other, strong actors) interacts with other, economic and societal actors (to participate) in formulating goals, making decisions and implementing them. One can thus study the structures, rules, bodies, powers, resources etc. and compare between entities and results.

One can also study the actual implementation process itself in terms of performance and the processes themselves, featuring governance qualities or properties, transparency, participation etc.

Actors are involved in governance through political, cultural, social, economic and even administrative involvement. This implies various roles of the public; as voters and political actors, but also as clients, customers and consumers, adding up to a composite role for people as citizens. This offers a broad participation concept. There is a need to conceptually differentiate, but also to see the links between participation, empowerment, involvement and the evolution of citizenship in this broader sense. Issues revolve around power, legitimacy, rights/duties, resource access and distribution, roles, and the status of involved actors.

An important aspect of social order relates to how power and resources are channeled through different "governance channels". Participation in governance involves to what extent and in what contexts the (participatory) formulation of goals and implementation of policy are or should be with the state, with the bureaucracy and politicians and to what extent the wider public including civil society, private sector, ethnic, regional groups etc. should be involved in different contexts (polycentric governance). One debate relates to the decentralization /de-concentration topic. Another to the state versus markets debate.

The governance architecture consists of structures (organisations, actors and arenas, legal and administrative frameworks, economic policies etc.) and processes of how and by whom goals, measures, instruments, governance structures and processes are planned, decided upon, implemented, monitored and evaluated.

The governance architecture also reflects participation ambitions of the state/society and by interpreting such structures and processes, we may infer much about power relations, interests and the existing participatory approaches and ambitions. Take the example from Mt. Elgon National Park in Uganda, where there is one person employed in community service and 100 in law enforcement, reflecting the ambition of local participation and involvement in park management by the state.

To participate means to take part in power sharing in society. Power sharing may consist of shared authority to formulate goals, measures and instruments and sharing decisions over distributing physical resources in society. Power sharing also involves finding compromises for production, dissemination and use of knowledge and meaning (traditional or scientific knowledge in biodiversity management). Taking part in the shared implementation of policies also has implications for distribution of both cost and benefit outcomes from policy processes. ”Who decides and gets what, where, when, how and why”.

The choice of policy, and also importantly of particular instruments, to reach stated goals reflects both a particular structure for governance and for power use. This again reflects on how the state “chooses to treat its citizens” - how people meet the state through every-day state-making.

Preventing power concentration and potential misuse is important to secure involvement and participation. Through various mechanisms, power and participation are spread through the establishment of the executive, legislative and judiciary systems, and we also find a vertical spread of power and participation through devolution of

powers and authorities from central, regional and down to local levels, even down to group and individual levels and from state and public to civil society.

As a political principle, participation reflects on how the state or government chooses to treat its citizens and forms a basis for a core debate in society about governance at large. People can be involved using the principal right they have as citizens in society ("rights-based development") or even from a principle of power sharing to avoid power misuse and/or improve governance.

Much of the critique of participatory measures in various forms is, however, more related to problems of (bad) governance; in one way participation may be seen as a measure in itself to improve governance as it clearly relates to crucial aspects of good governance such as openness, transparency, accountability, predictability, equality before the law, social protection etc.

3.4 The particular role of the state and governance in participation

The state has a particular role as both an arbiter (the referee that controls the game) and at the same time as an economic and political actor in her own right.

It is obviously important that the state secures good governance because, first of all, it is a precondition for both sustainable development and for legitimate rule. Actors need a predictable regulatory framework, a transparent and effective public service, and an independent judiciary where civil- and business matters can be settled. It also provides a framework where actors can exercise rights, meet obligations and articulate interests.

One may list four crucial criteria for assessing good governance:
1. **Legitimacy of government**: Participatory approaches, consent by involved partners.
2. **Accountability**: of both political and administrative systems for their actions; media, information availability, transparency of decisions; and mechanisms by which to call people into account.

3. **Competent governance structures**: Competence to generate good policy formulation processes, develop policies and implement these timely and effectively.
4. **Respect for human rights and rule of law**: Guarantee individuals' and groups' rights and security, provide a good framework for economic and social activity and allow and encourage all individuals to participate.

Presently, the role of the state is, however, in transition following pressures from both below and from outside and above. Without going into much detail here, this also has implications for participation and involvement. The transition has led to a reduction in the state's status and role as "a frame around political authority, economic system, public welfare goods and popular participation and involvement" (Østerud et al 2006).

Some of these processes have become quite globalised and also regionalized (through e.g. the EU), while some have been decentralised and de-concentrated, leaving the state with less power and ability to secure popular participation and involvement (see also Pierre and Peters, 2000).

The three different projects (the constitutional state, the competitive democracy and the welfare state) are not self-evident and may be threatened by processes of a weakened state and, as such, at an overall level, participation as a political aim or agenda may also be threatened (Pierre et al 2000). Popular rule/representative government seems to be "less under reconstruction than under disintegration" (Østerud et al 2006). A major feature relates to an increasing emphasis on markets, autonomous- and legal bodies and a general contraction of the state. The role of people becomes more that of clients and users and less of citizens.

The emergence of NGOs, action groups, community welfare organisations, lobbying groups etc. can, to some extent, reduce lack of involvement but will often not have the same kind of national coverage and power. Nor does it supply the same kind of legal rights and guarantees for different groups of people. Østerud talks about additional democratic sub-systems (particular rights, action, participatory, consumer, lobbying

rights) or what is termed barometer democracy, which has supplemented the formal democracy but cannot replace it. He warns that these forms of "democracy" may disguise and displace the formal democratic people's rule and makes the distinction blurred (Østerud et al 2006). Others argue that the death of the state is somewhat overrated and point to:

-The role of the state is, despite political attempts for state contraction, in many cases expanded. This has led to increasing mobilization of interests and increased conflicts of interests.

-Organised interests are more important than before, including environmental lobby groups, NGOs etc., partly displacing political decision-making.

-The political system is increasingly being sectorized with a decentralization and fragmentation of the state apparatus, often leading to overarching political goals becoming less prioritized than sector interests. There are more frequent contacts between the state and these interest organisations, with particular implications for those who are allowed and/or able to participate and those who are not.

-The differences between the state and the private sector are becoming more blurred.

-Globalization decreases state and national power, but increases pressures for broader and deeper approaches to participation. International governance trends move easier and faster.

3.5 Governance, policy tools and participation

The legitimate state and its representatives have a "given" right and even duty to steer resource use in a society according to the will and the interests of its citizens. The state has the overall power in society, but distributes power and resources in various ways, partly as a measure to counteract misuse of power, partly as measures to improve resource use by letting involved parties govern resource management more directly. Power is thus spread both horizontally and vertically in society; between sectors and

within sectors at different levels of governance. This also implies inviting citizens in different ways to be involved and participate in policy design and implementation.

There is an analytical important distinction concerning policy formulation. A **policy measure** is a concrete physical change in the resource use (input in production, production processes, output and consumption) that the actor should carry out in order to reach a particular **policy goal**. Some examples: stop land clearing and timber production, plant trees, stop poaching, stop hiking in vulnerable areas, etc. A **policy instrument** is a means under public control to make actors carry out measures necessary to reach particular aims in society. Examples: legal bans on land clearing and logging, subsidies for tree planting, campaigning against, policing, and fining poaching and trespassing, etc.). **The state controls instruments. The farmer controls measures**.

Instruments are, however, not neutral tools but imply a redistribution of powers, resources, costs/benefits and relative wealth between stakeholders. Instruments assign and impact actors' status, roles and interests in society. They furthermore also often have more or less un-intended side effects. This implies that the selection of instruments in itself constitutes key areas for conflict and conflict resolution in society - we often see that the instrument discussion carries as much heat in the public debate as the debate on the political goals. For example, a farmer or a landowner may be in favour of taking voluntary care of biodiversity values in the forest - but he can, at the same time, be very much against the legal instrument of formally conserving areas of high biodiversity.

Different actors furthermore **interpret** signals sent through a selection of instruments. **What kind** of power is exerted through the use of instruments? Etzioni (1966) makes a distinction between **coercive power**, where people are forced to obey, **remunerative power,** where people obey because they are rewarded to do so, and **normative power** where power is exerted through efforts of convincing people cognitively (see also Vedung et al 1999). People, on the other hand, may react or involve themselves through **calculative** responses, where costs and benefits of obeying are considered. They may

react through a moral, **normative** response; where they assess the power used as right or wrong, depending on whether they think the goal is cognitively right or wrong and to what extent they see the governance as fair or not fair. People may also respond in a **strategic** way; they may not agree or disagree, but rather cynically accept the verdict and act according to their own interests.

The choices of instruments are thus important for the degree of participation and/ or involvement linked to the use of instruments.

Let us take one example: if Norway agrees to protect its wolf population at a certain stock level, this may involve conserving a particular valuable habitat. If the government does not own this area, it has to consider expropriating the area, or at least certain usufruct rights linked to the area. Such coercive power use would inflict a negative moral response from landowners and from other actors affected by an increasing wolf population. It could also invoke a strategic response from their side. An alternative choice of instrument by the government could be to apply remunerative power: the government could offer money to the landowner to manage the resource, evoking a calculative response. The government may also use a co-operative approach, involving local participation and organizations and using a normative reasoning/power. This could activate a moral response from landowners and involved parties.

The government knows that the choice of instrument may contain 'political dynamite' and usually addresses two sets of criteria for the choice: efficiency and legitimacy. It is important that instruments are effective and efficient; the aims set should be reached and in a cost-efficient way. It is also important that the instrument is dynamically efficient; that it leads to long-term adaptations in line with the intention of the instrument. The government's ambition will often be that its rule is considered **legitimate** by the governed. This implies that the use of policy instruments is deemed reasonable, both cognitively and in relation to fairness. Cognitively means that the governed agree with the goal and with the implied instrument.

Is the goal of reintroducing wolves in an area where sheep graze sensible or reasonable? And is an instrument of banning sheep from the pastures acceptable? Fairness relates to whether one accepts the distributional effects of the instrument. If the sheep are banned, who will pay for the lost pasture values? It is important for the government that instruments are considered reasonable or legitimate, as legitimacy is the glue that binds together those that govern and those who are governed. There is also a feedback mechanism where the degree of legitimacy is linked to the degree of effectiveness, and commonly also to the economic efficiency of the instrument.

Policy instruments are typically categorized in four common types (see Table 4) according to how they are thought to impact actors and their frame conditions. One could also try to link these instruments to certain types of power use and responses. For example, the implementation of a tax could be seen as using remunerative power and evoking calculative responses. A legal ban could be seen as using coercive power and getting a strategic response. An information campaign may be seen to use normative power and evoke normative responses.

Table 4. Categories and mechanisms of policy instruments

Category instrument	Mechanism	Types and examples related to biodiversity
Administrative	Changes people's "attainable combinations" and perceptions of what is physically possible to do (coercive)	- Building structures and institutions (Directorate of nature conservation/local environmental bodies) - Establishing particular routines for handling cases - Assigning authority; rights and duties to different actors on resource use; market/state, central/local
Legal	Changes people's "attainable combinations" and perceptions of what is legally and normatively acceptable to do (coercive/normative)	- Issuing laws (general ban on hunting) - Bylaws (spec. ban on certain species) - Regulations, general and individual rules (ban on motor transp.) - Prohibitions and rights to resource use; including standards, non-tradable quotas etc.
Economic	Changes people's "attainable combinations" and perceptions of what is economically profitable to do (remunerative)	- Taxes (on charcoal production) - Subsidies (on tree planting) - Prices on inputs and outputs (min. price on pesticide) - Tradeable quotas/permits - (carbon quotas)
Pedagogic	Changes people's "attainable combinations" and perceptions of what is possible and acceptable to do (normative)	- Extension service to particular actors (biodiversity man.) - General information campaigns - influencing norms and action (on conserved species) - Particular campaigns for certain target problem, actors etc.

Governance in society involves - and reflects - the consideration of various interests, and actors' involvement, as goals and policy instruments are identified and selected. It means that questions of governance must be seen relative to the use of power and authority, the capacity, competence and proficiency of the public. Governance is also about relating to the response from concerned actors. The role of government is thus in part to strike a balance between aspects of efficiency and legitimacy. It does matter how the state decides to treat its citizens.

There are two concerns worth mentioning in relation to a participation profile of the choice of instruments.

1. Citizens should be closely involved in defining goals, measures and instruments.
2. Citizens should accept the signals sent by the instruments as cognitively reasonable, fair, and thus legitimate.

3.6 Resource properties, institutions and potentials for participation

The properties of a resource or an ecosystem has determining features on how man develops resource regimes or institutions around its management. Taking this one step further, the properties also have some implications for its participatory management potential; some resources and environmental services are for example more efficient, practical and effective to manage as a common resource than as a private good, implying stronger elements of participation, while other resources may be less so.

At a general level, both knowledge and use of environmental goods and services are encompassed by complexity, risks and uncertainties, and by a lack of knowledge. The paradox seems to be that the more we learn the more complex governance becomes. This has in many cases led to increased technocratic use of scientific knowledge in planning and decision-making, constraining citizen involvement and participation. Local and experience-based knowledge tend to be regarded less.

Using (TEEB) and the ecosystem services approach, we see that services related to provision (food, fuel, fibre), and partly to regulative (flood, water purification) and cultural (religious, spiritual) services in one sense are more tangible and, to a larger extent, would precondition participation in various forms. The more intangible, supportive (nutrient cycling, soil formation) and partly regulative (climate and disease) services are more difficult to assess, also in relation to local participation and involvement. An example is the REDD policy where we see that it is a major challenge to involve local communities in the concerns about global climate change and carbon sequestration.

The varying resilience qualities of different resources also pave the way for discussion about participation. An example is the discussion about grazing land and resilience to drought and climate change. If we look at resources that are rival in consumption and where there are difficulties of excluding others from access, one can easily get "open access" tragedies, unless cooperation and participation are introduced or evolve to overcome this management challenge. Through developing local management regimes people have, over the centuries, developed social values and norms through historical and practical experience to establish resource regimes that can handle such issues.

Looking back in time, we find that the original set of environmental challenges requiring policy reforms were local in both causes and effects. Over time, partly as some of the more extreme and often life threatening local challenges have been dealt with, there has been a general ambition of more global environment (and development) goals, caused by globally accumulated causes. In this, local participation has clearly been easier to motivate at the local level compared to the global ambitions. Though, this may be changing?

4. THE PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE (PD)?

In the following three sections, I discuss three different discourses on participatory development in more detail, also drawing upon the first three sections of this essay.

4.1 Historical roots of participation in development

Participation as a policy approach found in present "development work" has certain long-term historical roots, as discussed. (Even in the Garden of Eden there were rules for access to resources and sanctions if not participating/accepting the rules – 'we agreed on no apples, or did we?')

Participation in more recent times can be traced to the communitarian and emancipatory movements with origins in the USA (Arnstein, 1969; Etzioni, 1976, 1988) and in the social activism of Freire and Ramos, 1970. One stressed the devolution of power and resources from public to local governments and to local communities, both to improve legitimacy for public rule and also to secure that certain policy objectives were reached.

British research environments around R. Chambers (1980, 1989) and like-minded (idealist) researchers at IDS, Sussex and the IIED-environment voiced similar perspectives ("Farmers First", Participatory Rural Appraisal).

Over time and through implementation and practical policy experiences, participation as a concern - and a buzzword - became part of a mainstream component of governance interventions. Participatory development was adapted or co-opted well into neo-liberal approaches and ideology through issues like contraction of state and general principles of the "New Public Management" so that "more market orientation in the public sector will lead to greater cost-efficiency for governments, without negative side effects on other objectives and considerations" (Wikipedia.org, 2009). In the case of biodiversity management, one would accept a devolution of certain rights and resources with the

approach that "wildlife should pay its way". One would reduce public influence and control and secure a contraction of public expenditures (see e.g. Bromley, 1994).

The (bad) governance debate became to some extent dominated by a participation rhetoric where there was an ideological push towards state contraction. There were also financial crises of the state in many countries, linked to many examples of state failure, corruption and embezzlements, and also general globalization trends emptying the state of resources and content. This happened through both pushing resources and authority and placing political processes and decision-making up to global levels. But also downwards, through decentralization and de-concentration processes within the public- and from the public to the private sector and civil societies in their many forms (Pierre and Peters, 2000). The state was thus met with a critique also framed around (the lack of) participation, both from the political left and right.

The more orthodox conservationist NGOs supported these new participation ideas, but often from strategic and instrumental rather than ideological viewpoints. Less state often meant more to private sector, civil society and NGOs. Substantial funds were ploughed into projects with communitarian conservation approaches, according to Adams and Hulme (2001). This is still going on in the sense that especially ecologists with a social conscience see participation as a way to (instrumentally) improve environmental management (see Reed, 2008). The new, participatory approach had at least three ideal goals that also fit into the "principles" of neoliberal ecological modernization (Hajer 1996):

- To secure the biodiversity resource better than before (effectiveness);
- To increase local economic and social values added (efficiency);
- To improve the relationship between "rulers and those ruled" (legitimacy).

These goals were to be accomplished through information campaigns, discussions and benefit sharing and securing access to certain resources, and to a rather limited degree, some devolution of authority, resources, rights and duties from central to local levels of governance. The move also implied a shift of governance style; devolution of resources

and power from public to civil society, also including increased involvement of private actors and market integration.

A narrative of local participation and its basic tenets thus had appeal to a broad spectre of influential actors, including policy makers and donors, and the approach gained momentum in biodiversity management. The approach has been tried out in various forms in different contexts over the last decades - with somewhat varying degrees of success (see fi Reed 2008).

4.2 Policy studies

In the study of policy and politics, there is a distinction between comparative public policy and public policy analysis. The first has more theoretical, generalizing and comparative ambitions, while the second is more related to the normative and applied analysis with an ambition to be used in policy implementation (Reitan et al, 1995). In participation studies, much of present research has been put on the second type of analysis; whereas more theoretical ambitions on investigating theoretical foundations and generalized knowledge is less prevalent.

4.3 Three different approaches on participation in development

I have tried to fill a canvas of some issues that the broad participation debate encompasses. It is a long way from being a discussion about participation as a mere project ingredient, or ”something that the NGOs do”,- to broader and deeper issues of democracy and rights-based involvement. In the literature, we can identify at least three distinct approaches or discourses that addresses Participatory Development PD in different ways, related to content, ontology, assumptions about human behaviour, purpose and execution, etc.

In the following three sections, I compare and contrast three perspectives or approaches (Table 5). The different perspectives address these participatory approaches in complementary and alternative ways, as I discuss in this paper. These three are partly

overlapping, partly complimentary, and to some degree, also alternative, incommensurable or incompatible. They do not form a mutual exclusive categorization, but reflect different ontological positions as well as different empirical orientations and not least different instrumental ambitions.

Table 5. Three approaches to participation

Perspective	**Main element**	**Research refs**
Participatory development **(PD)**	Participation; means to end.	World Bank, IUCN, FAO
Transcending participatory development **(TPD)**	Participation as an end in itself-rights-based approaches. A political economy approach	Hickey and Mohan
Cultural-institutional participatory development **(CIPD)**	Participation as a social institution and a right. A more ethnographic, institutional approach	Cleaver,1999, 2012 Vedeld, 2008

5. AN OUTLINE OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT (PD)

Local participation can be, and is seen by many as a strategy of partial devolution of authority and power, resources, distribution of rights and duties from state to local levels of governance and from public to civil society. Such devolution involves transferring some policy formulation and policy implementation powers and resources from central to local levels and from the public to civil society as discussed by e.g. Oakley (1991). It also involves the use of packages of policy instruments to facilitate or enable such processes.

5.1 Participation as a means to an end

PD views or practices local participation mainly as a **means** to increase effectiveness or efficiency; if people are involved, they are more likely to agree with and support the development effort. In this case, participation is used instrumentally in a goal-oriented

process, where key actors in designed groups identify measures and instruments in order to bring about local changes in relation to externally and or pre-conceived goals or ambitions. (By contrast, the Transcending Participatory Development approach (**TPD**) sees local participation more overarching as a **right**, where the main aim is to initiate mobilization for local and collective action, empowerment and institution building).

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein discussed eight types of participation in *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. These are broadly categorized as Non-participation, Tokenism and Citizen Power. She defined citizen participation as the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. Other "*ladders*" of participation have been presented by D.M. Connor 1988 (and also Wiedemann and Femers, A. Dorcey et al. and E.M. Rocha. Pretty (1995) has, with support from Uphoff (1992) and based on Arnstein (1969), made a useful overview of different levels of participation (Table 6).

From a pragmatic or instrumental PD perspective, it is not necessarily the “highest level” (rung 7) of local participation that is most appropriate at any given time. The level of participation should be seen relative to the issue in question and to its context. In some instances, mere information for people may be appropriate, whereas in other cases participation and capacity enhancement of people should be the main ambition. A high degree of local participation can also be more important in certain stages of a project, program or a process for change than in other stages. Participation in formulation of goals is on the one hand crucial for gaining local legitimacy and practical support but may often be omitted when actors implement or impose a PD strategy.

Table 6. A typology of local participation in planning (based on Pretty, 1995, and Arnstein, 1969)

Typology	Characteristics of each type of participation
1. Passive participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen /has happened. A unilateral announcement by an administration/ project management without listening to people's responses. Information shared belongs to external professionals.
2. Participation in giving information	People participate by answering questions posed by external researchers using questionnaires or similar approaches. People do not have opportunity to influence proceedings. Findings not shared/checked for accuracy.
3. Participation in consultation	People participate by being consulted/external agents listen to views. Agents define problems and solutions, and may modify these in 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 in this category, as farmers provide the fields but are not involved in experimentation or the process of learning. It is common to see this called participation. People have no/little stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation	People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives relative to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organization. Involvement does not tend to be at early stages but after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become independent.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of old 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 thereby people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independent 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 change inequitable distributions of wealth and power.

Pretty's (project) focus is mostly on meetings and information dissemination in the planning and implementation phase of a project. He is concerned about local people's roles in the interaction with authorities or external agencies. Important aspects are when and how local people are included in the process, and how the relationship is

between the stakeholders. Points 1-4 are similar in that achievements do not have durable impacts on people's lives since participation stops when the project is finished.

For successful PD outcomes, local people must be capable and willing to carry out what has been introduced and maintain this over time. To what extent people have been involved is thus crucial for continuity of the project or institutional intervention, or measure. When talking about participation in a broader and more long-term context, the community with its local people should therefore be in focus.

A need for competence and proficiency also relates to the planners and implementers. The new roles of outreach and participation preconditions that previous "officers" become conversant in working together with local people for a common good and that they have both theoretical and practical knowledge in handling social actors and agency in competent ways. It often assumes a reorientation of existing management cultures and practices, as well as changes in the more formal legal and organisational frames and decision-making structures and processes necessary to facilitate participation. As Chambers, 1999 stresses, "good participation requires facilitators that are sensitive to local heterogeneity and the weak groups, they need "unlearning of old ways", they must be willing to hand over responsibility and resources and they need a specific set of commitment, attitudes and behaviour".

5.2. Ontological traits

As I shall return to, many of the PD-inspired practical approaches may be sensible, experience-based and down to earth, but they are often featured by rather consistent positivist scientific views, with strong and often non-reflected rational choice perspectives on human behaviour, be it individual or social behaviour. This also leads to or is accompanied by a social and practical engineering type approach where getting it "right" (efficient) is an often observed ambition. Without having done particular research on this, it may be that this also reflects the researchers' background, often found in environmental engineering, agronomy, ecology and natural sciences in general.

5.3 Summary

PD reflects in many ways a pragmatic and instrumental approach seeing participation as a way to achieve goals in society in low-cost and economic efficient ways and, at the same time, can have improved legitimacy from a governance perspective. It does not take much ambition to rock basic power structures in society, nor move beyond the limited project or programme scale at local levels. As such, it becomes more easily acceptable for political mainstream forces, including developing country authorities, donors, development banks and other relevant actors.

PD within protected area management is, on the one hand, criticized by ecologists, and on the other by state public management supporters arguing for a retreat to firmer (state) rule and to less participation and NGO involvement. The critique is often related to its perceived lack of deliverance and its threat to important global and local biodiversity resources (Oates, 1999; Sanderson and Redford, 2003; Du Toit et al., 2004, Wilshusen et al, 2002).

I will not engage in this discussion here but rather look in the other direction, where critique comes from sources looking for more comprehensive ambitions for participation and, further, that improved participatory analysis and practice require a deeper ontological foundation in social science theory.

6. THE TRANSCENDING PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

In the following, I present a political economy critique of PD seen as a limited, apolitical co-optation of a participatory approach that held transcending promises, but that did not deliver. It is much based on Hickey and Mohan, 2003 and Cooke and Kotari, 2001.

6.1 The tyranny of participation critique

Cooke and Kotari, 2001 state that participation in many contexts has rather become "an act of faith in development, something we believe in and rarely question". And who can be against participation?

Cooke and Kotari, 2001 do in fact argue (in their book Participation, the New Tyranny?) against participatory development (PD) as a development strategy because they believe that it, in reality, **depoliticizes development** by imposing participation as a local, instrumental development intervention. Participation should rather be seen in a broader development perspective as part of the effort to generate historical and social processes of change in society at large. It should rather hold a promise of transcending the present social order.

They further claim that it is often difficult to ascertain whether participation (PD) functions well and that there often is a **delivery problem**; does participation really improve local people's material standard and/or social life, and does it lead to increased efficiency, effectiveness, empowerment, legitimacy or sustainability?

There is also a **relevance dimension** in their critique. There are often many other issues that are much more important and urgent for people's livelihoods and welfare than the objectives of the intervention where the (limited) participation offer is introduced. An example from Timberlake 1985: *A Maasai-woman was interviewed by an eager Danish female PhD student about the problem of deforestation and fuelwood scarcity for two hours, after which she opens up for questions from the old Maasai woman., who then asks: "Were these the small and insignificant questions that brought you so far"?*

There are furthermore other types of **interactions, institutions and organisations** of daily life that are more important in shaping co-operation than the often artificial public negotiations, institutions and organisations launched through e.g. CBNRM.

Social heterogeneity is prevalent in local communities (and institutions) and it is difficult to know who should be empowered: women, poor, different ethnic groups etc. A superficial perspective on local communities as harmonic and conflict free social institutions can give very problematic outcomes from a naïve PD approach. A community is often riddled with local politics and local conflicts over both material interests and ideational concerns. Cooke and Kotari, 2001 argue e.g. that PD approaches in practice often assume that committees or organisations represent 'communities'. Participatory approaches often take a substantial degree of social cohesion within a community for granted. Processes of conflict and negotiation, inclusion and exclusion, are only occasionally acknowledged and explicitly addressed. Furthermore, overlapping interactions through extended family, physical locality, wider cultural and resource-using localities, development-defined groups, church groups, clans etc. are all important elements or relationships to consider in understanding local communities and the levels of cohesion or conflict. It is often a problem when government or acting agencies try to reform old administrative and traditional systems by generating new organisational structures and institutions. They end up creating new and often additional sets of local conflicts and tensions - "every solution has problems".

PD may potentially reduce conflicts between external implementers and local people but paradoxically often leads to **increased local internal conflicts.** PD efforts with focus on establishing committee-like institutions through "democratic representation" and a focus on the elected committee members can easily inhibit other forms of social decision-making and interactions and create conflicts to the extent that local stakeholders are, or at least feel, excluded or alienated. They will, often unconsciously or implicit, challenge the local existing power structure and relations. And furthermore, existing local institutions are also often dubiously assumed to deliver proper and legitimate management; it is assumed that legitimate solutions can be established by involving persons with certain characteristics, representing legitimate empowerment. In many cases, local organisations and social institutions reflect local asymmetric power relations and are actually reasons for poverty, inequality and lack of welfare rather than being part of a solution to the same (see Vedeld, T. 2000)

It is often assumed in PD that involvement and **membership** is documented, proven and manifested in public meetings through individual verbal contributions. However, such practices are not necessarily congruent with local norms and practices. To just specify "membership when constructing a formal organization does not necessarily overcome exclusion, subordination and vulnerability, as wider structural factors that shape such conditions and relations are often left untouched" (Cleaver, 1999). One needs far more wide-reaching measures than oral meetings and committees.

An important issue is that participation is often constrained by the conspicuous **lack of resources** in many local communities. "Even where a community appears well motivated, dynamic and well organized, severe limitations are presented by an inadequacy of material resources, by the very real structural constraints that impede the functioning of community-based institutions" (Cooke and Kothari, 46:2001).

- PD involves an **obsession with "local"** as opposed to wider structures of injustice and oppression (see also Mohan, 2001, Mohan and Stokke, 2000).
- PD has an insufficiently sophisticated understanding of **how power operates** and is constituted and thus of how empowerment may occur (Kotari, 2001).
-PD has a **bias towards the civic and the social and ignoring the state** as opposed to the political. There is a tendency for certain agents of PD to treat participation as a technical method for project work rather than as a political method of empowerment (Cleaver, 1999, Rahman, 1995).
- PD has an **inadequate understanding of structure and agency** within notions of PD and a related lack of clarity concerning how participatory development interventions relate to the underlying historical and social patterns of exclusion and inclusion as framed by historical processes of citizen formation (Hickey, 2002, Cleaver 1999; Sletten et al 2008).

Despite this and other (substantial) critiques, PD has gained substantial momentum in development interventions and is still at present supported quite strongly. It is applied by most major development agencies. According to Hickey and Mohan 2003, it is now an integrated part of policy within diverse development fields such as poverty alleviation,

social movements, health etc. It has also become, in a post-conditionality sense, part of the mainstream development rhetoric, used and advocated by national, regional and local governments and not least by the NGO sector.

As one example, we can look at Hickey and Mohan's analysis of international NGOs and PD where they (first warn against sweeping generalizations) but then generally state that:

- NGOs serve more as market operators than civic actors building civil society;
- The trans-national development NGO community transmits "a neo- imperialist" project through concepts and strategies of how the "third world" should be managed;
- The relationship to local actors is more of a patron-client than a true participatory relationship based on solidarity and equity;
- The international NGOs tend to favour elements within civil society that can develop similar highly professionalized NGOs in their own image;
- Dependence on external funding leads to demand for upward accountability that often constrains efforts for downward accountability;
- A general urban bias constrains quality of rural PD efforts.

(based on Hickey and Mohan, 2003: 21-22)

They argue in favour of a more reflected and more critical approach to participation, not seeing participation as a mere technical input in an instrumental approach to achieve preconceived goals. One should instead re-conceptualise participation in a broader and deeper governance context within a social change development perspective (critical modernization). **Citizenship** and related political space, political capabilities, political capital, institutional arrangements and development, and power relations should be given due emphasis. Referring back to the three democracy models (Martinussen, 2003), one could argue that they try to combine a participatory with a deliberative model policy model in a reconfigured and transcending approach (TPD).

Hickey and Mohan introduce the **citizenship concept** to improve the understanding of participatory governance and development as it:

- "offers a means of covering the convergence between PD and participatory governance" (Gaventa 2002);
- "links to rights-based approaches since it is inevitably and necessarily bound up with the problem of uneven distribution of resources";
- "helps to establish participation as a political right that can be claimed by excluded or marginal peoples, and thus provides a stronger political and legal and normative imperative for focusing on people's agency with development than is currently the case".
- And "..analysis may also provide a means of transcending the distinction between PD interventions and general participatory development processes in society, particularly because it seeks to situate participation within a broader political, social and historical form perspective that draws attention to the politics of inclusion and exclusion that shape popular agency beyond particular interventions".

Summing up, they argue that "*The notion of citizenship thus offers a useful political, social and historical form of analysis within which to situate understandings of participation, as located within the formation of a social contract between citizenry and authority, in particular political communities. More broadly, then, citizenship is an inherently political perspective on participation, arguably the chief requirement of post-tyranny approaches to development*" (Hickey and Mohan, 2003: 41-42).

6.2. Viewpoints on the tyranny critique

This debate has some elements of being a "sham debate" where a duck is set up and shot down. It can be argued that the presented political critique is shooting at the wrong target in the sense that much participatory development effort does not at all portray to be transcending or generating a new type of governance strategy for society at large. It is rather a pragmatic approach to achieve some particular policy goals that either require local involvement or where local involvement can be economically efficient or technically effective. And how bad is that?

However, and along another line of reasoning, much of the critique of PD's practical performance or execution in the field seems quite warranted and it reflects how difficult it is to generate good participatory policies and practices even if goodwill and resources are available. There can be many reasons for this, relating to both local communities, to complex power structures in the wider society and not least to the delivery systems and actors and the public, or civic bodies', skills and competences in delivering this kind of work. Participation in itself as a social change process is slow and difficult. The stick and fence policy in protected area management has been tried out for more than 100 years without becoming successful. The new models of participation in this field are still less than 25 years old.

Maybe the expectations have been too high? Especially in the case of limited project or programme efforts, limited in time, resource inputs and scope in general, how much transcending participation (TPD) is reasonable to expect? A paradise island in a sea of sharks? Or, as was said in a previous age: a socialist paradise island in a sea of capitalism may not be possible.

Lastly, how radical or encompassing can we expect donors and (local) governments to implement principles of transcending participation? Or local elites? And, what is the alternative? Retreat from participation is not particularly tenable. Let us return to this discussion after the next section.

7. CULTURAL - INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

This section uses extensively ideas and excerpts from the paper "Paradoxes of development " (Cleaver, 1990) and ideas also partly assembled in her more recent book from 2012. The paper elegantly formulates a critique "from below" and from "inside." From a social constructivist, and with phenomenological and institutional, perspectives, Cleaver critiques both a lacking ontological consciousness and understanding in PD analyses and a lack of institutional perspectives that constrain important analyses of issues concerning power,

knowledge, rights, institutional and social agency. This again has quite practical implications for participation policies and practices.

7.1 The PD discourse

I have termed Cleaver's insights a critique from below and from within. With this I mean that she is utilizing both critical institutional and phenomenological perspectives and she is also founding her critique on social constructivist perspectives of PD.

Cleaver offers a detailed analysis of PD, both in theoretical terms and in relation to her field research experiences. The PD narrative argues for a rather naïve and shallow participation concept in her view, where proponents basically assume that PD is a "positive thing". From this tenet, it becomes important to get things done right ("tyranny of techniques"). This easily implies avoiding deeper issues over political, cultural, social and economic power and conflicting interests. There is an "individualized concept of action, empowerment depoliticized" (Cleaver, 1999; 599).

Lack of clarity prevails around ***who*** is to be empowered: individuals, communities, poor, women etc. The same applies for ***what*** to empower in relation to individual cash transfers, rights of resource access and level of control, right to participate in decisions etc. She also sees as a naïve perception that (all) individuals in principle are best served by participating. She stresses the need for getting away from narrow project approaches and go for social contextualization and better understanding of the:
"*non-project nature of people's lives, the complex livelihood interlinkages that make an impact in one area likely to be felt in other and the potential for unintended consequences arising from any intervention or act*" (Giddens, 1984, Long 1992) (in Cleaver 1999:599).

7.2 Structure and agency

Following this, Cleaver argues for a closer look at the ontological models and assumptions on institutional and organisational structure and performance; on individual motivation and behaviour; on their interlinkages; and that all this underlie

and feed into the more technical interventionist design and implementation approaches to participation. Criticizing a conspicuous ***eclecticism*** (illiteracy/confusion?) in the field, she states:

”Concepts of the individual underlying participatory approaches swing widely between rational choice and social being models. The former attributes individual behaviour to calculative self-interest, the latter to culture and social norms. Social structure is variably perceived as opportunity or constraint but little analysed; the linkages between the individual and the structures and institutions of the social world they inhabit are ill modelled. A convenient and tangible alternative is found in the ubiquitous focus on the organizations of collective action; organizing the organizations then becomes a central plank of participatory approaches to development” (Cleaver; 1999:600).

This is an important ontological critique, re-found in debates about issues concerning individual actors within institutional frames such as social capital, sustainable livelihood analysis, the various uses of Ostrom’s design principles, stakeholder analyses and other types of conflict analyses, to mention a few areas where analytical models and approaches are ontologically mixed in use. The livelihood approach with its roots from Chayanov and Sen, and a neoclassical household economic model with its rational choice assumptions, are often mixed together with theories of social and other capitals within a social constructivist frame. Even the concept and models of social capital can be found and used with a methodological individualist flavour. Concerning Cleaver’s last point: Reed, 2008 writes e.g. that “stakeholder participation must be institutionalized, creating organizational cultures that can facilitate processes where goals are negotiated and outcomes are necessarily uncertain”.

7.3 Institutionalism

Cleaver argues that PD reflects an instrumental institutional perspective assuming that (local) institutions (commonly conceptualized as organizations) are generally conducive or positive for involved policy makers, practitioners and theorists as they help “*render legible community” translating “individual into collective endeavor in a form which is*

visible, analyzable and amenable to intervention and influence" (Scott, 1998) in Cleaver 1999:600). The inclusion or participation are seen as intrinsically good and interpreted as:

- Enhancing efficiency, reducing free-riding and cheating
- Generating responsible citizens
- Providing a sense of ownership
- Securing good citizenship and political engagement
- Increasing cooperation and social capital
- Enhancing collective action

Exclusion is, she argues, "*conversely seen as undesirable, marginalizing and inefficient*" Cleaver 1999:601). Much of present day development policy documents, project plans and practice in the field display such basic and often un-tested assumptions.

Formalization and functionalism

Cleaver argues that even if the PD literature often recognizes the importance of social and informal institutions, the emphasis and practice in development work reveals a preference for building formal institutions with an emphasis on "*contracts, associations, committees and property rights to reduce transaction costs and to institutionalise cooperative interventions*" (Cleaver 1999;601). She refers to Ostrom, 1990 and her design principles, that in essence argue that the "crafting" of formalized institutions by default will be more robust and long enduring (membership, clear boundaries, formal systems for monitoring and sanctions etc.) than the traditional (or weak) systems. By contrast, Cleaver points to how people really adapt in social institutions (social values, norms, social networks, practice). Institutional arrangements are fluid, contested, interpreted, negotiated, multipurpose, complex, conditioned by practical everyday life and decisions are often made in multi-purpose arenas. A belief that formal institutional (often organizational) structures and democratic representation or decision-making in public meetings yield participation is, in this context, in her opinion naïve, as the formal organizations do not necessarily overcome exclusion or inequity, especially because the

"*wider structural factors which shape such conditions and relations are often left untouched*" (Cleaver 1999:601).

This critique by Cleaver is much to the point and the phenomenon is typically found in the design of programmes and projects where the establishment and formalization of "institutions" and organisations form a key element of participatory approaches. On the other hand, insights into how formal organisations *de facto* operate and how their social values, norms and practice as independent variables or entities function, are crucial in understanding why and how participation is "delivered" and how participation performs as a policy intervention. One could speculate about the conspicuous lack of research in this field; most likely it falls outside the traditional fields of sociology, economy and anthropology; and for much of the livelihood research that traditionally more focuses on poor, local people and how external actors and organisations impact (constrain) their livelihood outcomes. Such external actors are often treated or left out from detailed analysis - often as an input-output black box from which evil or good emanates.

Myths of community

- The **unitary community** is a myth according to Cleaver, and there is not necessarily a perfect fit between social, cultural, administrative, political and even natural boundaries, as is very often assumed in development projects, excluding those who do not fit in. Communities are overlapping, permeable, shifting and subjective in both space and time. Complexities of local networks, decision-making and social interactions crisscross community "boundaries". Interaction can also be linked to church belonging, kinship and clan, and to other social networks crossing community boundaries.
- **Power and process**. Where PD efforts often assume a solidarity model within local communities, or just actively try to avoid taking up issues about power and local conflicts of interests, Cleaver (1999:603) argues for a view seeing "the community as the site of both solidarity and conflict, shifting alliances, power and social structures". Following this, one should rather utilize local communities' own abilities and skills in managing internal conflicts.

- The **resourceful community**. Contrary to much PD rhetoric, most local communities are constrained by a severe lack of resources and are subject to external structural constraints, severely inhibiting local resource mobilization, even for tasks of substantial interest to the local community.
- **Culture and foundationalism**. Culture is in different PD contexts seen as a resource and the glue that binds a community together (local common values, norms and knowledge) and on the other hand as a key constraint for development (women and participation). Deeper understanding of culture is typically not commonplace.

There are thus two pitfalls. On the one hand, Cleaver's points on heterogeneous and conflict-ridden local communities contain important advice for future work - in fact, also within a PD context. On the other hand, there are also reasons to stress the substantial degree of common interests and local homogeneity, especially in relation to external actors - and even natural vagaries –landscapes and local resources that also generate common identities and social institutions within local communities (see e.g. Vedeld and Krogh 2000).

7.4 Models of individuals and motivational assumptions

Carrying out practical PD activities is, in one sense, quite far from research or scientific endeavours and one may ask to what extent we should expect coherent or consistent perceptions of individual actors (motivations, decision-making and agency) or perceptions relating to social structure in project documents or in practical implementation of development activities. Cleaver argues that one often sees references to and assumptions about the "rational economic man" on the one – individual - hand and at the same time references to "social beings" that are willing to invest for the common good in relation to community social action and citizenship. And, she continues, "*in both abstractions, the complex positions of real individuals and real groups are lost*" (Cleaver 1999: 605).

Incentives, rationality and participation

PD proponents often argue that participation can make economic sense; that participation is economically rational and that is why people will or ought to participate. It is, on the other hand, often also argued that participation is the only socially responsible action and that it implies fulfilling social norms, generating community wide long-term benefits. There will often be an underlying tension between anticipated social behaviour and individual utility or profit maximization behaviour, often not clarified in development interventions in relation to response to participation incentives.

Should, then, planning and/or implementing agents assume social or individual motives driving (local) actors, and accordingly should they use instruments that assume and/or reward social or individual behaviour - or both- in different contexts? Or can they let it rest, leave it to local people themselves? Concerning offering rewards, that is an option, but concerning how people think and are motivated at a principal level, and the "I/we type" rationality discussion (Vatn, 2005), the distinction should at least be thought through.

Located identities, differential costs and benefits

Cleaver (1999:606) points to located identities and that "little recognition is made of the changing social positions of people over life-courses, of the various costs and benefits of participation to differently placed people, of contending and complimentary concerns with production and reproduction".

Factors such as age, education, gender, resource access, class kinship and individual agency all have bearings upon people's perceptions on participation. Cleaver (1999:606) argues that in many cases, individuals find it easier, more beneficial and even form habits of not to participate; "Non-participation and non-compliance may be both a rational strategy and an unconscious practice embedded in routine, social norms and an acceptance of the status quo".

One should study both costs and benefits of participation, as they often distribute differently between actors. In addition, participation can be a result of necessity rather than choice, as the resource in question may be scarce.

In a paper by Norgrove and Hulme, 2006, local people are found to utilize the strategies outlined by Scott, 1985, in the "weapons of the weak". How do local people respond to an external participation intervention? They show how people in different ways (overt and covert) instrumentally try to resist what they perceive as unwanted dictums of participation and interference from above. They use the case of Mt. Elgon National Park, Uganda, and the various activities employed by IUCN (2002) and the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) to promote participation in order to achieve goals of improved biodiversity conservation and enhanced livelihoods (see also Sletten, Vedeld et al, 2008) . An important lesson is not to assume that people (always) will benefit from and will want to participate, and that reasons for not participating may be both material but can also be strategic and/or norm-based, avoiding being taken hostage by a project one opposes or fears the long-term effects of. It is along these lines that much of peasant life is about avoiding the state and the wider society and choosing adaptation to the point that this may not be short-term economically profitable but at least secures some independence from a less than benevolent state (Bunker 1985, Hyden 1980).

Negotiation, inclusion and exclusion

It is an obvious dilemma that structures and processes of participation implementation empower and enable, but also bind involved persons. Research indicates that local people are well aware of this dilemma and address it; they are in fact often more aware than implementing agencies, according to Cleaver. She stresses the links between inclusion and subordination. An important additional point is that "community" may also mean exclusion of poor people, of people not invited, of people not allowed to or able to participate etc.

Neighbouring people e.g. are often defined as being out or excluded from being part of "the project" or intervention, such as in Mt. Elgon, Uganda, where only communities

physically bordering the park are allowed access, instead of inviting all communities or people that traditionally have had access or have used the resources in question (Sletten et al 2008). Cchildren, often the physical harvesters, are not at all involved in the planning activities.

From a deliberative perspective, one may talk of a "broad unending, inclusive, reflective and open dialogue" (Arends, in Straume 2001) between authorities and the civil society as an aim for inclusion. It would imply a project where politics ismore than strategy; like a "joint investigation of social arrangements and institutions, of what is good or bad, right and wrong, true or false" (Straume, 2001).

In such perspectives, the facilitation of arenas and processes s important. One sees political debates not as processes where individuals try to reach goals relative to predetermined values and interests, but as a process where different perspectives meet and form a base for assessment and decision-making from an extended viewpoint (Torgerson, 1999). People are not primarily customers or clients, but citizens.

This is an important distinction but for some reason, in development work worldwide, this distinction is often not made clear. According to Rahnema (1992, in Pretty 1995:168),"...*almost everyone now says that participation is part of their work. This has created many paradoxes. The term 'participation' has been used to justify the extension of control of the state, and to build local capacity and self-reliance; it has been used to justify external decision making; and to devolve power and decision making away from external agencies; it has been used for data collection and interactive analysis. "But more often than not, people are asked or dragged into participating in operations of no interest to them, in the very name of participation*".

It is thus possible to state, as Pretty (1995:169) does, that "*governments both need participation and fear it, because a larger involvement is less controllable, less precise and so likely to slow down planning processes. But if this fear permits only stage-managed forms of participation, distrust and greater alienation are the most likely outcomes*".

So, in many PD documents, activities and research, the models of behaviour for individuals and communities need rethinking.

7.5 Community, social capital and the state

Cleaver lastly warns against the conventional view of translating participation into a managerial exercise based on "'toolboxes', procedures and techniques". She claims that "*it has been domesticated away from its radical roots; we talk of problem solving, participation and poverty, rather than problematization, critical engagement and or class…. The focus needs to be expanded away from the nuts-and-bolts of implementing PD projects in order to consider the wider dynamics and "institutions" that incorporate social networks and recognize dispersed and contingent power relations and the exclusionary as well as the inclusionary nature of participation. It is also necessary to develop a more complex modelling of livelihood concerns over life-courses, of the negotiated nature of participation and a more honest assessment of the costs and benefits to individuals of becoming involved in agency and state directed development processes"* (Cleaver 1999: 608).

7.6 Summary on Cleaver's critique

Cleaver's critique of PD can be understood along three dimensions. The first critique is on analytical unclarities in PD over **basic ontological assumptions** concerning individuals, institutions and concepts of participation and social agency, where rational choice and atomistic behavioural assumptions are mixed together with social constructivist perspectives in concepts such as "socially responsible behaviour", in understanding goal formulation and decision-making processes as inherently social instead of individual etc.

A second critique she shares with "the Tyranny critique" relates to the **political limitations** of a narrow PD approach, where a broader, transcending, rights-based, more interpretative and negotiating approach ought to have been applied.

The third line of critique is that she goes into a dialogue using ethnographic and institutional insights to discuss and also to **suggest improvements in present PD practices**.

One field that is missing from the development/ participation debate and not raised much by Cleaver (1999) is how participation links to wider aspects of society and governance at large, and how we see the state's role and function in this context.

The PD assumes a **consensus model** for society, that we are all in the same boat and that we have common interests where participation can help facilitate outlets. Society is maintained and held together by shared values and norms, "collective conscience" (Durkheim).

The ontological alternative **rejects any kind of clear social contract or consensus**. There is no clear social contract or agreement of interests, values or norms. Social order is maintained mostly through dominance. And consensus is seen as coercive because people will (have to) give up elements of their individual interests for the "greater common good" or for the interest of more powerful groups. From this, the transcending participation alone holds the promise for a participatory approach that can work. This because it realizes, or has as a point of departure, that society is basically conflict-driven more than anything else. Ruling groups impose their interests, values and norms onto others. In this context, the state is a body and an arena reflecting existing power relations. It may not want to involve itself (?) in a "true" or committed devolution of resources and power that in essence is what a more comprehensive participation ambition reflects.

The state is often a key actor in these conflicts. In the very particular or exceptional Scandinavian governance model, state and society may be seen to merge in many ways, not least because there are many substantial elements of participatory approaches high and low, in different arenas, fields, sectors and segments. I argue that an implication or a

tacit assumption of the TDP is that real or comprehensive participation involving self-empowerment and applying a rights-based approach to participation is generally strongly constrained within a naïve PD implementation because no pronounced social contract will exist in most cases.

8. EMERGING PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION

8.1 Overview

There is a need for more theoretically consistent approaches in studying participation as a social phenomenon. In this paper, I have focused on contrasting some perspectives on participation. Below I briefly compare some key elements of the two main approaches and I suggest some possible research areas for the future.

Table 7. Participatory and emerging participatory approaches to NRM

Theme	Mainstream approach (PD)	Emerging views (TPD/CIPD)
Ontological underpinnings	Rationalism, rational choice, rational comprehensive planning, individuality	Social construction, social choice, social institutions values and norms, reciprocity
Role of state	Consensus, social contract, conflict avoidance	Conflict, no social contract, contradictions, conflicts reflect social structures and agency
Politics	Instrumental, strategic; participation as a means	Comprehensive, encompassing, inclusionary; participation as self-empowerment and a right
Governance	Separated levels: international, national, local, micro- level focus. Participation as an instrument	Multilevel governance approaches, fuzzy/messy interactions, locally and globally interconnected. Participation and involvement as a goal.
Power and control	Transaction cost focus, elites, community leaders.	Differentiated actors, conflict, bargaining, negotiations and power relations are central
Knowledge	Linear transfer, science as a sole source of expertise. Participation as transfer of knowledge	Multiple sources, plural and partial perspectives, negotiated understandings. Participation as shared knowledge, with emphasis on local knowledge and experience-based knowledge
Community	Local, specific user groups; homogenous, bounded, participation as common practice	Multiple locations, diffuse, heterogeneous, diverse, multiple social identities; participation sensitive to local power relations and groups
Institutions	Static, rules, functionalist, formal. Important to formalize participation.	Social interaction and processes, embedded in practice, struggles over meaning, formal and informal, interlinked with knowledge and power. Participation as interpretive, interactive slow processes of social change
Organisations	Seen as appropriate and necessary means to formalize social institutions and secure formal representation and participation	Local heterogeneity and asymmetric and existing power relations make new organisations on top of old, existing organisations and institutions problematic. Needs careful attention.
Property regimes	CPR as a set of participatory rules based on collective action outcomes; clear boundaries, memberships, access rights and duties, monitoring, sanctions etc.	Practice, not rule determined, strategic, tactical, overlapping rights and responsibilities, ambiguity, inconsistency, flexibility; more fluid participation.
Legal systems	Formal legislation anchoring participation rules and institutions	Law in practice, different systems co-existing more flexible and dynamic systems for participation. Bricolage
Resources	Emphasis on material, economics, direct use-value, property outcomes of participation	Material but also symbolic, with meanings that are locally and historically embedded and socially constructed. More emphasis on distribution and power relations in participation.
Livelihoods and nat. resource use	Links between single resource and use (e.g. rangeland, forest, fisheries) forming narrow participation mode	Multiple users, complex and diverse livelihood systems, forming encompassing and locally adapted participation through empowerment and negotiated rights

Source: Partly based on Mehta, Leach and Scones IDS, 2001

8.2 Comparing and contrasting

Contrasting theoretical frameworks through the empirical work of different researchers is a challenge. Contrary to documents, real life is more than black and white. PD and emerging views can conceptually be pushed apart and delineated, much more than involved researchers and development practitioners do in their everyday work and through their field-based experiences. Along certain dimensions, researchers like Robert Chambers and Jules Pretty could, to some degree, be seen to belong to the PD group, even if some and maybe the most important parts of their works and ambitions clearly point in a TPD direction. So instead of trying to place or even attack researchers from different angles, it seems more fruitful to concentrate on some issues dividing the two discourses and maybe think of the two idealized types as reflecting a continuum, especially in empirical works, more than a dichotomy. However, some of the basic ontological assumptions and key preconditions are still incompatible and as such form a basis for the distinctions made.

It seems sensible to differentiate an *ontological theory of science investigation* of the theoretical foundations and practical implementation of PD from a *political investigation* or debate of PD versus TPD concerning participation as a political project - with all its ramifications.

The *theoretical critique* concerns raised by Cleaver, Hickey and Mohan, and Cooke et al stress the importance of "*walk(ing) away from a naive, reductionist, a-theoretical, a-political, modernistic, context-independent approach*" advocating the need for sounder ontological perspectives in theoretical analysis. Cleaver in particular raises important issues related to the ontological models PD builds on, where she argues that social constructivist and rational choice perspectives on institutions, organisations and individual levels are often mixed together generating internally inconsistent concepts and analytical approaches. Both translate into unclear planning and less than competent implementation of development interventions. From Table 7, we see that these differences are analytically incompatible on basic issues concerning issues such as

explaining and understanding individual and social behaviour, on how actors understand and relate to power, to knowledge, governance etc. and how institutions and organisations are constituted and continuously reconstituted.

The *political critique* hoisted by Hickey and Mohan, Cooke et al., and also partly by Cleaver, claims "*that mainstream development interventionists have "domesticated PD" away from its radical roots*" (Cleaver 1999:608). One should rather apply TPD as a more comprehensive effort, where one - from a critical modernist point of departure - sees participation as a broader effort to develop citizenship. Participation becomes a right rather than an instrumental intervention, and the ambition to develop **citizenship** is an important practical ambition of building society.

Participation in a PD context has been regarded as one of many development project inputs or instruments where the overall and conventional project approach otherwise has not changed notably. Following the emergent views implies viewing participation more as a slow process of broad social change where a series of activities over time may lead to goal fulfilment and where participation and citizenship are seen as an important or even as the main outcome of the project or policy. Seeing "participation as a process" is contrary to the notion of participation as a managerial input in "Management by Objectives", where "*one sees the whole project outcome as directly related to strengthening the basis for and the abilities of rural people*" (Oakley, 1991:173). Different activities conducted to develop participation are seen as tools to reach conditions where continuing participation takes place.

Expectations of effects of local participation on biodiversity conservation have most likely been too high, especially at the project level, but also for more encompassing efforts such as decentralization reforms. There has been a systematic lack of competence among planners, donors and implementers in how to think about, plan for and actually implement local participation. One has, in most cases, seen local participation as a means to reach one's own aims. Local Agenda 21 initiatives often thus became more the

"Hidden Agenda" for biodiversity conservation interests rather than true local participatory approaches for sustainable use and rural development.

Can we, as Winnie the Pooh, have both milk and honey? The dream or vision was raised by Arnstein, 1969, defining citizen participation as "the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future". Was and is it reasonable to expect that governments, states or societies at large would enter into this? Under what conditions is this a reasonable assumption?

Much of the critique raised towards PD can be applied to development efforts or even to government or NGO/private sector policies at large. It could be that many researchers and citizens in general are particularly disappointed or disillusioned because participation intrinsically held a promise of a principally sensible and politically "sound" idea, but that design and not least implementation failed - or was compromised or co-opted by forces not really intending to or sharing the idea of a comprehensive and transcending participatory ideal.

Has participation proved so difficult and complex that only competent social science researchers can "do participation" in acceptable ways, on their drawing table from the third floor of their ivory tower? One point stands out, similar to the "stick and fence" debate: the alternative to participation is not non-participation and a retreat to centralized (state) rule or no rule at all, but to find ways to improve both analytical understanding and practical implementation of participatory approaches.

8.3 Some possible research agendas

At an overarching level, and from a political economy point of departure, concern with participation is part of a larger discussion around power structures, legitimate and good governance and citizenship in a broad sense.

It is also important to investigate how participatory approaches at social institutions and various policy interventions involve and impact on local people and other relevant stakeholders in relation to factors such as livelihood outcomes, policy, programme- and project effectiveness, cost-efficiency and governance legitimacy.

And, again, from a research perspective choices around ontological and epistemological issues form a base for relevant research (and development) work in the field.

8.3.1 Ontological issues

1. How consistent and explicit are research works and practical policy documents and implementation of underlying basic assumptions on actors, agency, institutions, processes and structures?

a) Rational choice and methodological individualism versus social construction concerning group and individual behaviour;

b) How clear are the underlying assumptions and general understanding of institutional structures, change and performance?

c) How clear are the underlying assumptions of interactions between individuals and institutions and social behaviour?

d) How clear is the relationship between social institutions and formal organizations?

e) Identification and acknowledgment of social institutions (fluid, contested, interpreted, negotiable, multipurpose, complex, experience-based rather than fixed, consensus, clear, rational, rights-based, formal.)

2. How clear are the ambitions of PD versus transcendence properties of the participatory interventions? How reflective?

3. What underlying assumptions are found in the role of (civil) society and the state; consensus or conflict perspectives?

4. What are the underlying power, knowledge and conflict perspectives, understandings, descriptions, explanations, prescriptions?

5. How explicit is the participation defined in relation to a means/end continuum ambition?

6. Continued analysis of different participatory discourses.

8.3.2 Political economy

1. What is the degree of transcendence of participatory interventions to wider social issues?
2. Research approaches on roles of the state; statist, society centered or relational perspectives?
3. To what extent do interventions reflect rights-based approaches; devolution of power, resources, rights and protection of rights against new interventions?
4. To what extent and in what ways does the intervention generate interactive and even self-empowerment among stakeholders?
5. How important are the particular participation issues or themes for local people?
6. To what extent is participation sought in different stages of the intervention process; planning, goal formulations, selection of instruments, implementation, monitoring and control, sanctions and evaluation?
7. How well are the participation interventions designed from goals, measures and various types of policy instruments (economic, legal, pedagogic, administrative)?
8. How competent are the delivery organizations and institutions and what are their key relationships to involved actors?
9. What are outcomes of participatory interventions in relation to production of economic and socio-cultural values, to cost-efficiency, effectiveness, political feasibility and to governance legitimacy?

8.3.3 Getting techniques right

Building enduring institutions

1. Who are invited to participate and who are excluded (socio-economic, cultural, gender, political, location)? How open is this process of decision-making?
2. What are relevant institutional, social, cultural and ecological boundaries of intervention in relation to participation?
3. How do the institutional and organizational frames around the intervention cater for congruence between inputs and outputs of different groups of actors?
4. What are the costs and benefits of being involved?
5. To what extent can poor people participate and what resources are needed?

6. How are monitoring and sanction mechanisms operating and; how are they organized in relation to participation and in relation to issues of efficiency, effectiveness, equity and legitimacy? What are the levels of social capital formation?
7. How do people try to avoid interventions, weapons of the weak?
8. How are conflict-resolution mechanisms established, and how do they function?
9. What are the competence, skills and motivation of planning, financing and delivery organizations for establishing participation?
10. How do institutions from above and outside impact on local participation of different groups of stakeholders?
11. How are feedback mechanisms set up to revise and improve interactions?
12. Perceptions and reality around communities (unitary, communal, common interests, legitimate local power structures, resourceful (ample labour resources), culture as glue (not constraint) etc.
13. The tyranny of participation and dynamics of local peoples' needs and resources over time and space.

Building competent delivery organizations

1. What are the key physical structures and boundaries involved, and how do properties of these structures impact on different participation aspects?
2. What are relevant actors (who, properties, status, roles, etc.) to involve in the intervention; actor structure?
3. What is the distribution structure of power and authority; rights, duties, resources between different involved actors?
4. What are the key decision-making arenas established for the interventions and how do they function in relation to various levels of participatory ambitions?
5. How do the involved organizations and their management culture see, understand, analyze and practically handle participatory approaches? What are their competence and skills, their proficiency?
6. How do the design and sequencing of implementation processes impact on quality and extent of participation?

7. How do external actors and various external frame conditions (legal, economic, political, administrative, technological) impact on quality and the extent of participation?

Handling conflicts

1. How do material and ideational properties of relevant local conflicts impact the participation interventions?
2. How do conflicts over resource scarcity, population growth, economic competing interests, external political agendas, and agencies impact participation interventions?
3. How do conflicts over ethnicity, socio-cultural differences, religion, gender, knowledge, etc. impact participation interventions?

8. 4 Overview of frameworks for participatory research

Many analytical models can be used for assessing or researching participation in various contexts and for various purposes. In Table 8, I briefly outline some of the more common research approaches, analytical models and bodies of theory that can be found studying participation in various forms. Detailing this would easily form another - an interesting - working paper or review article.

Table 8 Research approaches on participation

Research approach	Participation application focus	Level	Ontolog. position	Sources
The livelihood approach; household econ. approach	Investigate individual adaptation to participation: effects on assets, production processes, livelihoods outcomes, poverty, distribution.	Individual	Mainly rationalist	Pretty, 1995 Chambers1987 Ellis 2000
Entitlement/endowment approaches	Investigate individual adaptation to participation; effects on assets, livelihoods, poverty with more emphasis on "development as a right", on relationships between participation and poverty etc.	Individual community	Both rationalist and social construction	Sen, Sengupta, Leach et al, 1997
Actor-structure networks	Study of participation at individual and community level combining economic, sociological and anthropological perspectives; combining social constructivist, phenomenological approaches, impact of knowledge and	Individual, Community Meso	Both rationalist and social	Long 1991

	skills in the "encounters at the interface" where experts and state meet local communities and actors.		construction	
Pretty's and Arnfields participation ladder	Specially designed for classification of participation in relation to degree of involvement; less focus on material outcomes and effects on issues such as poverty, biodiversity quality, effectiveness, efficiency, etc.	Individual, Community	Mainly rationalist	Pretty 1995 Arnfield 1969
Common pool theories	Investigate how participation as a principle is included in institutional arrangements: membership, distribution of costs and benefits, collective choice arrangements, monitoring and controls, sanctions, external actors.	Community Meso	Mainly rationalist	Ostrom, 1990 Agarwal 2000
The stakeholder analyses	Study groups of people's rights, relationships, power relations, returns, responsibilities and conflicts in relation to participation.	Community, Meso Macro	Mainly rationalist, also social construction	Grimble et al, 1996 Vedeld 2005
Social capital	Analyse participation as an attempt to build social capital; looking into impacts on generation of social values and norms, networks and vertical and horizontal links or ties.	Individual, Community, Meso	Both rationalist and social construction	Bordieu 1971
Narrative approach	Investigate how different groups of actors relate to particular participation paradigms, and to how they see it has developed in context specific situations.	Community, Meso Macro	Social construction	Roe, 91.95,99 Adams et al, 2002
Rights based development	Investigating to what degree participation at large is seen as a right people have and how it is secured and not see participation as a charity or as something that may be devolved by benevolent rulers.	Macro	Social construction?	Sen 1991 Sengupta
Structure-process model	Investigate relationships within and between different ***organisational structures*** (and institutions within) concerning change, such as introducing principles of increased participation and impacts on physical structures, actor structures and arenas for decision-making, organisational distribution of authority, rights, duties and resources, management cultures etc.	Meso Macro	Social construction / critical realism	Vedeld, 2002 Krogh et al 1998
Discourse analysis	Investigate how different groups of actors position themselves around debates on participation as a concept, as a policy input and in implementation and outcome assessment; systems of knowledge and beliefs and shared perceptions and how they develop.	Macro	Social construction	Foucault 1984 Hajer 1995 Dryzek 1997
Policy analysis	Investigate how a principle of participation is permeated into policy goals, measures and instrument selection, and implementation processes. Study outcomes for system, for regions and for different groups of people. Deconstruct economic, legal, pedagogic and administrative tools and how actors respond	Macro Meso Micro	Both	Vedung Vedeld Ezioni

9. CONCLUSION

In this Paper, I have discussed issues concerning governance and participation and I have also contrasted three perspectives of participatory development. These views are to some extent complimentary but they are also alternative, incompatible or even incommensurable along important dimensions, meaning that one should carefully assess the relative merits of the three perspectives.

Participation is a fundamental property of social interaction between people. The social institutions are not a variable or an aspect that people have or possess; they are what constitute people and form, in a rather strong sense, people's abilities to describe, explain and understand, to reason and not least to interact with other people, be it at individual or at group levels. As such, participation is well understood as a fundamental "mechanism" of the social fabric. A deeper understanding of participation as a social institution helps us to see it as a phenomenon of socially constructed interactions and deliberations: interpretive, negotiable, fluid, contested, etc. Social institutions are, in addition, perhaps more commonly non-intentionally evolved than intentionally created to serve particular purposes; though, the latter maybe has been a focus of this paper.

The relationship between actors is featured by different social factors. A crucial element in participation relates to power and power relations. As we have seen, an ideal could be the "masterless relationships and power free communication" as set up as an ideal by Habermas, Arends, (even Rawls) and others. How realistic this ideal is, is another discussion but it can been seen as one extreme on a continuum from complete power or domination over others to a situation of, ideally, power-free relations.

In this broader light, the rather limited PD approach becomes instrumental and non-contextual; Pretty's ladder with emphasis on information and how to communicate addresses one important but still very confined theme of a broader contextualization of

participation. Where and how is the ladder situated - and who owns the ladder and the ground on which is stands?

Similar critique could and indeed is directed to Ostrom's (1990) design principles that in one way still portray a broader understanding of social agency and how people both interact and construe institutions to secure participation and cooperation.

The overall political critique of PD is linked to how we see participation in a broader political context where participation is a right citizens have and where participation is not seen as a dole to be handed out where and when those in power find it opportune. There are elements of rights-based development and of a rights-based state, as it "does matter how the state chooses to treat its citizens".

From this political perspective, a focus is further on the fact that "structure matters". How governance bodies, organisations and institutions and a framework of policies are designed, frames any ambition or policy on participation in a strong way. Yes, it is true that much participation is linked to informal, serendipitous, informal social institutions that often evolve more or less as "results of natural evolution", but there is also much intentional and conscious institution-building and both processes obviously influence or even forms the social fabric and quality of participation. A crucial arena in this context is where policies are developed through processes of policy goal formulation, identification of measures and selection of policy instruments.

In a broader policy perspective, the political and organizational architecture is important as it shapes, enables and constrains participation in various ways. How are the legal, economic, and socio-cultural organisations and institutions set up to encompass broader concerns of participation? In a policy context, we are used to talk about policy goals of economic growth, of poverty alleviation, of security, of rights of access to school and health; all these goals have clear distributional and participatory elements that should not - in a broader TDP - be ignored (see Stiglitz 2002)

To what extent is present architecture seen to be handling concerns of participation, to be raised within the context of "institutional fit" (Young, 2002) where the debate is exactly on how institutions seem fit to address the policy goals and processes intended.

In what we have called a deeper sense, the participation efforts as observed in research, project documents and through practical implementation, reveal underlying assumptions of human behaviour and through agency, as well as assumptions related to social institutions and social interaction.

Last words: In real life, much has to do with compromises. It seems important to include more of the political and the cultural-institutional or ontological critique of new quests for participation in society at large and in particular programs or projects. There can be little doubt that participation as ideology has been co-opted by neo-liberal policy perspectives and that it has partly been motivated by a wanted state contraction where rights are privatized and commercialized, and where there has been a lack of implementing competence and lack of real policy willingness to implement.

Some issues are clearly incompatible, such as the principles of participation being an opportunity, an obligation, non-participation and to being a right. As much as the TPD critique is sensible, reasonable, and basically fair - the decent or appropriate thing to do - there is also a reason to ponder about its lack of success (lack of being followed up in practical policies) compared to the less ambitious and less provocative PD approaches. Rights-based approaches often lack political flexibility, pragmatism and governance qualities; in essence, this is also stressed as important by cultural critics. New models are needed.

The gauntlet is thrown!

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