

AN OVERVIEW OF GOVERNANCE

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“Sans une bonne gouvernance, sans des efforts sérieux pour s’attaquer aux causes sociales, économiques et politiques des déplacements de population, sans des systèmes efficaces pour la résolution des conflits, cette aide humanitaire fera toujours figure de pitoyage rafistolage.” Sadako Ogata, Haut-Commissaire des Nations unies pour les réfugiés.” *Le Monde*, 18 juillet 2000, p. 15

“Without good governance, without serious efforts to address the social, economic and political origins of the displacement of populations, without effective systems for conflict resolution, this humanitarian aid will only amount to pitiful forms of patching-up”. Sadako Ogata, High Commissioner for Refugees, *Le Monde*, July 18, 2000, p. 15 (Our translation).

I wish to thank Dr. Francine Godin for her very pertinent suggestions particularly concerning sections i) and iv) and her indispensable assistance in the material preparation of this paper.

i) Examines what governance means to Africans in different contexts.

Whether it be to contribute to solving the question of displaced people, the negative environmental implications of mining activities or problems of corruption, just to mention these issues, one may expect to find “good governance” high on the list of priorities of reform strategies proposed to the countries of Africa.

While the concept of governance has imposed itself over the last decade as central in the development strategies of international financial institutions and aid agencies, it should be noted that there exists no unanimity concerning the manner in which it has been conceptualised or implemented.

As we shall see, existing debates concerning what constitutes “governance” draw attention above all to the very wide variety of points of entry, differences in positioning and hence, diversity of strategies which evolve over time and place, of the multitude of actors who have come to adopt this notion.

First, and to help contextualize recent debates, it is worth noting that the term “governance” in the broad sense of the collective taking in hand, guiding, ruling, controlling or regulating of a society’s common destiny, may refer to situations as diversified and rich as have been the multiple forms of organisation of African societies throughout history. Societies which have been described as “stateless” because governed by a system of the rotation of age groups (classes-d’âge) were characterised by forms of governance, as much as were the numerous large centralised empires which has dotted African history at least since the 5th century. In this broad sense, the concept is not new.

Given this rich and diverse heritage, it would be difficult to summarise what governance has meant to Africans historically. It seems important however, to reset current

discussion on the subject in this broader context in order to underline the complexity of the issues at hand, and consequently, the modesty with which they must be approached. It must be underlined as well, that this paper reflects the positioning of a researcher situated outside Africa and one very much aware of the western values and concepts put forward in what follows.

In contrast to the existing rich heritage of forms of governance, the notion which has attracted considerable interest more recently is very specific. Its emergence at the end of the 1980's appears to be associated with the at times disappointing results of the liberalising strategies introduced over the preceding two decades and as a means to facilitate their implementation. In Africa, the question of governance is particularly complex in view of the weak capacity of social and political integration of local states and more generally, the fragile nature of nation-states, fragilised further by the process of liberalisation itself. These factors have contributed to the need for those concerned with development strategies to pay much closer attention to local political processes as a means to stabilise, to ensure greater legitimacy and ultimately the success of the proposed measures of economic reform.

However, even when taken in the more recent sense as an ensemble of prescriptions concerning the efficient management of a country's administrative and political affairs, there are nonetheless at least three reasons for the considerable amount of ambiguity and confusion surrounding the notion of "governance" as it has been used by multi- and bilateral funding and development institutions over the last decade.

1. First, it suggests that there exists a consensus concerning the procedures of good management, which are put forward as universally applicable and intended to serve as a reference model. However, in the more circumscribed area of the management of enterprises, "corporate governance" is not a model but rather a "modus operandi", referring to an equilibrium to be achieved among shareholders, members of administrative boards, external auditors and the directors of the enterprise.
2. Second, not only does the notion refer to a multitude of definitions which vary according to the strategies of the different actors – whether bi- or multilateral financial institutions, aid agencies or NGOs, but it may be shown, notably with regard to the World Bank, that the definition of the same notion is in constant evolution within the same institutions.
3. Finally, in spite of the use of administrative language formulated in terms of efficiency and good management, put forward as neutral, as if to address essentially technical issues, the notion of governance entails a particular concept of the state, of its role, of its desirable evolution, of state-market relations, of the exercise of power and of a particular political project. In this sense, the notion of governance may be shown to be eminently political.

While it is not possible to enter into details here (see Moore, 1993) (1), in contrast to bilateral aid agencies (USAID, CIDA, ODA, etc...) which right from the start included

specific elements such as democratisation, the creation of multiparty systems and the protection of civil liberties as indispensable attributes of governance (Crawford, 1999; (2) S. Kazi Aoul, 2000;), (3) the position of the World Bank at least initially, avoided prescribing a particular form of government in its notion of good governance which was defined:

“as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development” (1992, p. 1) (4)

In conformity with its role as a financial institution, the World Bank considered its mandate in the early 1990’s as residing in economic and administrative management and it explicitly stated in its publications at that time that it would not consider the political dimensions of the principles which it proposed – namely of accountability, (1992, pp. 50-51); of the legal framework for development (1992 p. 51); or of the human rights dimensions in lending decisions (5).

As we shall see and adding to the confusion around the notion of governance as used by the World Bank, this position had been significantly altered by the end of the decade.

Having stressed the diversity of points of view and experiences in the area of governance, it will be suggested here by way of a rapid overview permitting to make more legible so many different perspectives, that one may regroup interventions in this field along a continuum extending between two poles or two broad models which reflect the values and objectives on which they are based: a) a more managerial model oriented to promote technical efficiency; b) a more global model oriented to achieve sustainable development.

a) The first general model is put forward by the World Bank and may be seen to reflect the neo-liberal economic perspective which has inspired much of this institution’s reform strategies since the 1980’s. It is based on what may be described as a more “technicist” approach to development. At the centre of preoccupations in this perspective is a concern for the unhampered interplay of market forces and the creation of an environment favourable to private enterprise. It is the promotion and growth of the private sector which is seen as the best means to achieve socially equitable development. The notion of participation accompanying this approach aims above all at obtaining local support for the proposed structural adjustment measures, and hence warding off opposition which might arise because of their social effects and/or a questioning of the design of the reforms themselves. This model has been subject to critiques on various accounts which point to its a-historical and teleological nature, to the fact that it is very much externally driven and hence reflects northern values and models. (Moore 1993; Campbell, 1997; Hibou, 1999; Hugon, 1999) (6)

b) Emerging from numerous influences over several decades, the second framework is more global and is put forward by different organisations but notably by the UNDP. It seeks to distance itself from an essentially economic and technical approach by putting major emphasis on themes such as poverty, the environment, the absence of democracy, conflict resolution etc... Governance is resituated within the broader framework of

sustainable development, which in turn reflects concerns with regard to the basic needs of local populations, as well as the diversity of their experiences and cultures. This framework is seen as a point of entry in the struggle against poverty and to reduce inequalities between countries and within them. Participation is conceived as an associational principle of partnerships between civil society, the private sector and the state.

While there may exist a fairly large consensus concerning the values which this model seeks to put forward, the major problem is the fact that it would be difficult to operationalise it because of the lack of precise knowledge concerning the answers to such questions as: Who are the key actors (nationally and internationally)? Which actors are to be mobilised and to participate in political dialogue? On what social forces are such initiatives to be based if the objectives of sustainable development are to be achieved? It is this continuum which, it is suggested here to simplify, stretches between two models, is the context that defines the numerous strategies of governance put forward by multi- and bilateral institutions, development and aid agencies as well as NGOs. The respective weight given different components within a particular governance programme and clustered along this continuum, may be seen to reflect the nature and positioning of different actors, in different countries over time, of particular relations of power and more global political and economic issues both internally and externally.

As for the reforms and development aid programmes introduced within the broad field of governance, again to simplify, it will be suggested that these may be regrouped within two very broad categories.

Rationalisation/consolidation of public institutions

Programmes under this heading are generally designed to address in priority problems related to lack of efficiency and over-development of the state apparatus, lack of accountability and transparency, corruption, etc... The nature of programmes with such objectives entail those concerned with public sector reform, including fiscal reform, capacity-building for policy development and good governance and administrative decentralisation.

In this type of programme, sound management is synonymous with good governance. In Ghana, a programme of this kind, financed by CIDA, aims at strengthening democracy. It provides support for improving the administration of government policies. The main objective is to strengthen the capacity of the Policy Management Group (PMG) of the Office of the President, the Cabinet Secretariat and Policy Planning Divisions of key ministries such as the Ministry of Finance, and the National Development Planning Commission and as well, to develop, review and co-ordinate policies. The project entails establishing and redefining mandates, roles and functions among policy management bodies, developing management information systems which will facilitate co-ordination among all parties in the policy management cycles and strengthen record keeping. The project will also develop a human resources strategy for policy analysts throughout the

system, including job descriptions, selection processes and performance measurement and training programmes. (7)

While one would not beg to differ with the objective of contributing to and improving the sound management of the public sector, as will be discussed more fully in the next section, it is legitimate to question however: improved public management to do what? Based on what model and strategies of development? Promoting what social and economic policies?

Moreover, as legitimate are questions concerning the impact of such policies on the local population particularly in view of the fact that there are no mechanisms for associating them to the economic and social policies which affect their lives. As envisaged, policies are designed to support a favourable environment for private investment, which requires transparency of financial systems necessary for private sector controls. It is along similar lines that CIDA is also financing another Ghanaian project, targeting the Finance and Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, for enhancing the accountability and transparency of government spending. All these initiatives, aimed at improving the skills and knowledge of nationals in macro-economic and public finance are designed along a rather narrow technicist approach to governance which does not question the nature of the economic policies put forward, their compatibility with or impact on local political processes or local political systems more generally.

Reorganising social order

One finds in this very broad category, programmes destined to resolve a wide variety of problems such as those involving political instability, the marginalisation of citizens from the political life of their country, the absence of formal democracy and democratic institutions, the fragmentation of civil society and accompanying crises of identity, the ethnic basis of parties in power, inequalities concerning the distribution of power from region to region and the absence of the freedom of expression. Programmes in this area aim to establish a social and political order which is compatible with the smooth functioning of market forces. They take the form of interventions which have as their objectives: reinforcing legal and judicial systems, establishing rule of law, supporting electoral reforms and reinforcing organisations of civil society with a view of making them increasingly responsible for social changes and increasingly involved in local political processes of decision-making.

To give but one concrete example within this category, United Nations Development Assistance in Mozambique is pursuing a multi-component approach to issues of governance. After supporting the peace process, mobilising and co-ordinating the electoral process which led to the 1994 elections, and actively participating in the elaboration of the national plan for reconstruction, UN on-going assistance seeks to continue reconstruction planning efforts, already initiated at the central level, but increasingly at the provincial and district levels. In addition, the programme includes

capacity building of the judiciary, parliament and national police, support to local elections, strengthening of public administration and NGOs, support to mass media services, support for the construction of social statistics, etc...

Emphasis on an approach to improve efficiency in this particular programme is evident from the impact indicators selected to measure programme effectiveness: increased number of newspapers per 1,000 persons, increased number of civil society organisations per 100,000 persons with higher percentages of advocacy organisations, monitoring of political parties participating in elections/and percentages of the total vote, monitoring percentages of national revenue allocated to local governments, etc... Democratisation and governance efforts are oriented towards ensuring formal participation and representation per se. As it will be suggested in the following sub-section, such an approach does not ensure that participation and representation are defined in such manner as to encourage and give rise to substantive change in policies, especially as other programme activities targeting civil society have not been elaborated on the basis of an understanding of socialisation processes specific to the society at hand. These are just a few issues which will be analysed in greater depth in the following section which presents a brief résumé of the state of research in the field of governance.

ii) Reviews and critically analyses the state of research in the area, taking into account analytical and methodological frameworks being used as well as emerging concerns in the field.

There is not the least element of doubt that a very considerable amount of research has been and is currently carried out on these issues. It is undertaken above all by the multilateral financial institutions, regional and bilateral agencies such as the OECD, USAID, ODA, CIDA, etc... specialised institutes on governance which exist in North America (the Carter Institute), in Europe (France, England, Italy and Spain) and by dozens of independent consultants and academic researchers. While there are individuals and research team working on issues of governance in the countries of Africa and Latin America, a rapid look at the production in this field shows clearly that it is “northern-led” not only in terms of the number of publications but more importantly in terms of the origins of the conceptual and methodological frameworks applied to the study of governance. This may no doubt be explained by the role of leadership which the international financial institutions have played in setting the research agenda in this area. What might be described as the “hegemony” of the Bretton Woods institutions in this field is not merely a reflection of their financial importance or capacity to fund research but may also be explained by their critically important role in the co-ordination and concertation of the initiatives of other aid and development agencies, including their research agendas. Not surprising, much of academic research has also been formulated in terms of the same priorities, using similar conceptual and analytical frameworks.

Consequently, it will be argued in this sub-section that although one may trace a continuum among multi- and bilateral agencies carrying out research, reflecting the existence of what was presented in the previous sub-section as the existence of two broad models of governance and identify numerous specificities and variations within this

continuum, the very vast majority of research that has been undertaken has tended to have been carried out with a view of making proposed economic reforms more effective or more sustainable from an essentially technical standpoint.

This would explain why so many of the concepts, analytical tools and choice of disciplinary approaches being used have been selected because of their capacity to bring answers to issues of good management and improved efficiency. While it is in no way my intention to suggest that these issues are not critically important – as indeed they are – the difficulty has arisen particularly since the 1980's as multilateral financial institutions and aid agencies have come to realise that the success of the development strategies which they proposed implied very wide ranging reforms which were not merely economic but above all, institutional and social in nature.

As financial and aid agencies have found themselves on new terrain which they most probably had no intention of entering just over two decades ago, there has been what might be described as a considerable degree of improvisation with regard to the choice of appropriate analytical and conceptual tools adopted to deal with new issues. For reasons which have to do at least in part with the original mandates of the Bretton Woods institutions, which need it be recalled, were not created as development agencies, it is the international financial institutions' technically proficient approach which has to a large extent dominated. Consequently, as funding and development agencies found themselves gradually addressing issues related to institutional reforms, the analytical and methodological frameworks adopted in the past which may be described as essentially instrumentalist and technical, remained for the most part largely unmodified and in place. As is well known, the results of such approaches may not have always been very pertinent, notably with regard to their contribution to the success of the reform policies which they were supposed to facilitate.

While new conceptions of governance have indeed been put forward, including the notions of democratic governance, participative governance, decentralised governance and effective governance, whose implications will be examined in section (iii), these have, for the most part, also been formulated largely within the same instrumentalist and technical frameworks. More specifically, to the extent that these redefined conceptions of governance do not distance themselves from methodologies which are essentially a-historical, teleological and because put forward as technical, are presented as having universal validity, they risk having the same drawbacks as the dominant frameworks themselves. More specifically they risk being tainted by northern values and models and consequently, being more or less pertinent in terms of eventual reappropriation by those whom they are intended to address.

In order to develop briefly this line of argument, this sub-section will begin by illustrating the application of what has been called above, an instrumentalist and technical approach with regard to the conceptualisation of the state as it is presented in the World Bank's documents on governance and those of the same organisation which subsequently set forward proposals for redefining its role.

It will then be shown that the issues raised by this area of research, namely the nature of the institutional reforms and redefinition of the role of the state which can be shown to be at the heart of the World Bank's publications on governance, far from being purely theoretical or academic, in fact imply the emergence of new normative frameworks both in the social and the political spheres. These may be shown to have critically important implications concerning access to social services and the protection of what in the past have been presented as fundamental social and economic rights.

The sub-section will conclude with a very brief discussion of emerging concerns, which illustrate the possibility of adopting alternative frameworks, introducing different concepts, giving rise to quite different research results.

a) Governance, the reconceptualisation of the role of the state and the emergence of new normative frameworks.

When the World Bank published *Governance and Development* in 1992, which was the most complete statement in this area until that time, the institution very explicitly specified as noted above, that it would not enter the political dimensions which it considered outside its mandate.

Two points are worth underlining in this regard. First, in spite of the fact that it was formulated in technical terms of good management, right from the beginning, the World Bank's proposal for governance in fact proposed a quite specific notion of the state, of its role, of its evolution, proper functioning and a quite distinct conception of a state-market relations.

Second, with the publication of the 1997 World Development Report, *The State in a Changing World*, the Bank found itself squarely on the terrain of the political dimensions of governance it had previously sought to avoid. Moreover with the 1999-2000 World Development Report, *Entering the 21st Century*, the Bank went beyond proposing the desirable role and functions of the state in promoting development as it had in 1997, to presenting proposals for quite specific forms of political regimes and institutional arrangements which were to be achieved notably through decentralised governance, issues which it had considered completely outside its domain less than a decade before.

Concerning the conceptualisation of the state contained in the Bank's 1992 publication, *Governance and Development*, it may be shown to be a very specific notion which on no account could be considered "universal" or even a widely accepted one. The document suggests (p.6):

"Even in societies that are highly market-oriented, only governments can provide two sorts of public goods: rules to make markets work efficiently and corrective interventions where there are market failures". (8).

This instrumentalist and functionalist notion of the state has been elaborated by drawing on particular currents of North American thought, compatible with achieving a particular

finality: the promotion of a specific form of development and as well, prescribing the means to achieve this end. Hence the Bank's 1992 document on governance is able to foresee how institutional arrangements should evolve:

“Productive institutional arrangements will vary between countries on the basis of their cultural traditions and historic relationships. And they will continue to evolve as the economy grows and becomes more complex and more integrated with international markets. Mature institutional frameworks take a great deal of time to develop, but there is no guarantee that arrangements which are supportive of economic growth and poverty alleviation will, in fact, emerge”. (1992, p.7)

According to the same document, there exists a correlation between the creation and the consolidation of efficient institutions, the reinforcement of property rights and the good functioning of the market. The principles of good administrative management which apply to private enterprise, apply as well to the administration in the public domain:

“Efficient institutions emerge when there are built-in incentives to create and enforce property rights, defined in the broadest sense”. (1992, p.7)

This point brings us to the key issue: the particular conceptualisation of state-market relations which is proposed. Distancing itself from what it considers the errors of the 1970's, the 1992 document on governance presents a non-interventionist and minimalist role of the state:

“Governments in the 1970's relied on this rationale (compensation for market failure) to rush into unwise policies and investments, although their own policy interventions were responsible for market failures, and the investments did not yield adequate returns. Governments now increasingly recognize the need for more restraint and for taking “market-friendly” steps to deal with problems”. (1992, p.6)

This conceptualisation is a reflection of the neo-classical paradigm which was at the origin and has influenced much of the thinking and strategies of the World Bank since the beginning of the 1980's. To summarise, this approach sees markets and the private sector on the one hand, and the state on the other, as entities competing with each other to occupy the same spheres of economic activity. Hence the withdrawal of the state permits market forces to interact more freely with a view of creating an equilibrium between supply and demand, and in such a way as to send appropriate signals to the private sector so that it can take optimal decisions concerning production and investment. It is from this quite particular perspective that can be traced the idea of “civil society” as somehow outside, as distinct to, and even in opposition to the state. * Although this is the perspective which one finds in much of the current literature on governance and notably that of the World Bank, it should be noted that it is contrary to many currents of thought which see the state as the product of social processes which are specific to particular societies, hence the state as “embedded” in society and as a reflection of particular historical trajectories.

*For a more thorough discussion of various notions of civil society, see among other sources: Michèle Leclerc-Olive, “Décentraliser la coopération: Enjeux théoriques et politiques”, Communication à la 9e Conférence générale de l’EADI, Paris, 22-25 Sept. 1999.

Not only does one find in the World Bank’s notion of state-market relations the idea that competition between the public sphere and the market is to be avoided through state withdrawal, and that the private sphere should not be subordinated to the public sphere, but also the idea that the good functioning of the state should be based on that of the market:

“Moreover, the institutional arrangements needed to provide these public goods must be managed efficiently” (1992, p. 7)

The essentially functionalist and instrumentalist notion of the state contained in the 1992 document, *Governance and Development* leads to the problematic idea that changes of an organisational and technical nature will, of themselves, lead to an improvement of ‘efficiency’ – which explains why one finds central emphasis placed on public service management; accountability; rule of law for development; information and transparency. The questions which naturally follow however from this functionalist perspective are of course: “governance” and “capacity-building” for what? To what end? Defined by whom?

In view of the careful avoidance of the ‘political dimensions’ of governance in the World Bank’s 1992 document, certain analysts were surprised to see the 1997 World Development Report devoted to “Rethinking the State – The World Over”. Without entering into a detailed analysis here, (9) it may be shown that although the object of the Report is to present a framework to increase the administrative capacity and efficiency of the state, the document is based on the same specific functionalist notion of the state contained in the Bank’s earlier publications on governance and one which has its origins in quite identifiable currents of North American political science.

Beyond the fact that the recommendations for redefining the role and functions of the state are presented as purely technical issues of efficiency, which allows these proposals to be put forward as universal rather than reflecting certain values and models, the notion of the state proposed does not and cannot take account of the social, political, cultural and historical processes specific to any particular society. It should be underlined that other scientific traditions and schools of thought consider these fundamental for understanding the specificity of state forms and essential in order to take account of the particular manner in which states are “embedded” in any particular society.

What is common to the role of the states, as conceptualised in the 1997 World Bank document is that their interventions should contribute to creating an environment favourable to the free play of market forces and the promotion of private enterprise (10). To this end, what are defined as the economic functions of the state are clearly spelled out. Its redistributive functions may be shown to be subordinated to the state’s principal

economic function which is the promotion of the private sector. Moreover, its redistributive role is seen to be conditional on its capacity to fulfil its primary economic functions.

As has been argued elsewhere, the manner in which the state has been reconceptualised, although presented as concerning essentially technical issues of efficient administration, may be shown to give rise to new normative frameworks with far reaching implications in the social and political spheres. (11) To summarise briefly, one may note the following:

1. The notion of ‘social equity’ no longer appears as an end in itself, even less a right, but as a means intended to permit and stabilise a particular economic project: the improvement of the performance and the efficiency of the private sector and maintaining the confidence of investors. (12)

2. The notion of social justice is now seen by certain authors of the 1997 World Development Report to be in evolution:

“While economists traditionally approached these questions using a social welfare function, development economists have often taken a different tack, emphasizing ‘basic needs’. But more recently, the focus has turned to opportunities. Social justice should not be evaluated in terms of equality of outcomes as in terms of equality of opportunities.” (13)[i]

3. One is now in the presence of a process of the transnationalisation of norms. Not only has the locus of the production of norms shifted increasingly from the national to the multilateral level, but one may also trace a process of the shifting of boundaries between the public and the private spheres often involving the subordination of national social rights to those of private economic interests.

4. It is recommended that priority be given to institutional reforms as proposed by multilateral institutions rather than, as organisations such as Social Watch recommend, to social spending in areas such as health and education for the sectors of the population with the lowest incomes. Such spending would be considered wasteful if not preceded by recommended institutional reforms according to studies prepared for the DAC of OECD by those responsible for poverty issues at the World Bank. (14)

These brief elements seek to point to the very concrete social and political implications of the emergence of new normative frameworks which appear to be accompanying the proposals for institutional reforms, governance and the redefinition of the role of the state as put forward by the Bretton Woods institutions.

As noted earlier, these organisations are by no means alone but among the numerous agencies which have put forward strategies and carry out research in this field. Particular attention has been drawn to what has been described as an instrumentalist and technical approach which characterises their publications, and notably those of the World Bank, on

the one hand because it may be shown to be quite dominant not only in terms of strategies put forward but also in much of the research carried out by other actors in this area. On the other hand, such an emphasis seems merited because of the very far reaching potential social implications, notably in terms of the redefinition of social and economic rights that would seem to flow from the emergence of new normative frameworks accompanying current proposals for institutional reforms recommended by multilateral financial institutions, an area which so far has received rather little attention.

b) Emerging concerns in the field of research in this area

If a strong case can be made in favour of the hypothesis suggesting that much of the research undertaken within multilateral financial institutions (and development agencies and institutes which share their analytical and methodological frameworks concerning the need for and the nature of institutional reforms) seeks above all to contribute to ensuring the smooth implementation and stabilising both socially and politically of current economic development strategies, these concerns are by no means unique points of entry or shared by all.

The forms of political activity in which people engage are multiform, evolve over time and place and in general, not well understood. Consequently, at quite a different pole of the research spectrum one may identify extremely innovative initiatives which would seem to broaden rather than to restrict the very notion of “political space”, notably as a result of careful empirical study and analysis.

One such example is that of the “political settings” approach to understand local political activity” in a volume edited by J. Barker. (15) This perspective starts from a good descriptive grounding, to which is added “more familiar approaches built around conceptions of social movements, local institutions, civic associations, and acts of resistance. It also takes into account changing spatial configuration of politics that follows from the effects of nation-states of proliferating organisations and associations within them and shifting global forces around them.” (p.3)

More concretely, this approach sets out “to focus upon the most fundamental units of collective public action and to address basic issues of grassroots public life: how popular action arises, what form it takes and what it can accomplish”. (p. 4) In terms of methodology, three dimensions characterise the “political settings” approach: identification, description and interpretation. “The first dimension... is to identify the smallest and most basic units of collective public action in localities undergoing significant change and to make them a focus of field research” (p. 21). The second dimension is descriptive: “research examines in detail how specific political settings are formed and changed and how discussion and action in them are regulated” (p.21) The third dimension of the research method “is to interpret the features of the political settings identified and described by the research. Each case study (in this collective volume of six studies) has its own mode of interpretation, but they all share one important principle: good interpretation is grounded in good factual accounts of political settings. The interpretations relate to issues selected by the researchers but also to the issues that the

people in the localities and countries in question select by their actions and words...”
(p.22)

To summarise, the case studies undertaken using this approach: “seek to demonstrate that political settings are a useful tool for understanding the continuing contest to construct freedom in a time of extensive and rapid changes in patterns of political power. Theories of democratic practice and free communication give us standards for evaluating the degree of democracy in political settings, and studies of the controlling power of class, gender and cultural inequalities alert us to the powerful forces that often throttle freedom”. (p.23)

To the extent that it is recognised, as do the terms of reference prepared by the IDRC, that “democratisation has not really taken root” in Africa, the approach proposed here may provide interesting insights as to the potential contribution of alternative research methods to our understanding of the conditions which open rather than restrict political space – a point to which we shall return in the last sub-section of this paper.

Before concluding, it is useful however to describe briefly the type of research which has been carried out using the “political settings” approach as it is illustrated by two African case studies.

In his contribution: “Empowerment from Above? Development Programs and Public Space in Northern Nigeria”(16), Kole Shettima seeks to go beyond the findings of existing studies which tend to focus mainly on the delivery of services, and which to put it simply, tend to be characterised by what I would call a “top-down” approach. While the results of Shettima’s research will be developed more fully in section (iii) below, it should be underlined that these results depend on the introduction of concepts such as “spaces of empowerment” which permit bringing answers to the question at the origin of this piece of work and a critically important one for those concerned with governance: “What kind of impact does the intervention of both national and global agencies have on the nature of local politics, and vice versa” (p.59)

Using the same approach, Christie Gombay’s study “Eating and Meeting in Owino: Market Vendors, City Government and the World Bank in Kampala, Uganda” (17) argues as a point of departure that:

“the World Bank’s technically proficient approach to ‘improving urban management’ ignores a powerful new reality of life in cities: the vitality of ‘informal politics’ and local community organizing.” (p. 151)

The study suggests moreover that the World Bank’s approach at the municipal level has “significantly reduced the scope of the formal political arena by establishing fiscal restraint, privatization, and cost-effectiveness as the primary considerations for public-sector management at all levels” (p. 151). The result, continues this piece of research:

“... has been to push politics underground, to informalize politics to such an extent that while many decisions may continue to appear to be taken in the public arena, many important ones are being forced into the streets as well as into the offices of municipal bureaucrats and politicians”. (p.151)

While the findings of this study will be summarised in section (iv) as an illustration of interactions between social actors, our concern here is to underline that new approaches exist and that these can shed important light on issues central to questions of governance such as the question of participation.

In this regard, as C. Gombay details concerning the approach used in the Uganda study:

“By looking at how vendors organized themselves, at how they conducted meetings and discussed critical issues related to resources within and outside the market, we can gauge the extent of participation at the grassroots level and derive a more profound understanding of the complex forces at play.” (p. 151)

These two brief illustrations merely wish to underline that among emerging concerns there exist very innovative approaches which represent a significant break with other more instrumentalist and teleological approaches. Such emerging alternative theoretical frameworks imply an intimate knowledge of the situations which are analysed, and a quite different positioning of researchers with regard the communities observed. The carrying out of such research also implies much longer time perspectives than those that usually characterise and constrain the concerns of financial institutions or aid agencies. Consequently, the possibility of successfully undertaking such research will very probably imply creating conditions guaranteeing a certain degree of scientific and financial autonomy for researchers, notably with regard to bilateral and multilateral agencies which do not accept to learn and modify their positions concerning the conceptualisation and implementation of development strategies.

iii) Establishes why citizens often are not actively engaged in governance and identifies processes by which citizens can become more actively engaged

Towards the end of the 1980's, the more multilateral financial institutions took responsibility for global measures concerning more and more aspects of society, the more these institutions tended to become the object of criticism notably for the at times repressive frameworks within which these measures were introduced. For to the extent that the proposed economic reforms confronted former modes of political regulation and altered the patterns of the distribution of resources, these measures risked provoking a crisis in the political viability of the states concerned, a crisis in their redistributive capacity – a crisis which at the same time was a crises of ideological hegemony, namely that of the legitimacy of the economic reforms themselves.

The manner in which attempts have been made to build alternative bases of legitimacy for the proposed reforms is a critically important element, while of course not the only one, in understanding why citizens are or are not actively engaged in governance.

If at the end of the 1980's emphasis was put on "empowerment" and "consensus building" (18), in the early 1990's various organisations such as the OECD undertook studies on the "political feasibility" of the reform measures, notably with reference to Morocco and Ivory Coast. But most central and as set out in the World Bank's 1992 publication on governance, was the notion of "participation". However, and this point is crucial, the concept was defined in a very specific and rather narrow sense of the "articulation of preferences or demands":

"Participation enables the public to influence the quality or volume of a service through some form of articulation of preferences or demand." (19)

As certain observers had noted with regard to the notion of empowerment in the 1980's, the notion of participation was introduced to ensure and facilitate the smooth implementation of economic development strategies largely determined by the funding agencies themselves. For reasons which we shall see, this heritage largely excluded effective participation in the sense of the exercise of power with a view of participating in the conceptualisation or redefinition of the particular model of development introduced and the resulting strategies necessary to implement it. *

In this sense, the notion of participation in much of the documentation, notably that produced by the World Bank has tended to refer to:

- a means by which to obtain local support and co-operation;
- a means to ensure popular legitimacy but legitimacy in favour of those who introduce rather than the legitimacy of those who oppose the reforms measures.

Subsequently, a great deal of attention has been given to the links between "participation" and "governance", not only in the studies produced by the Bank, but also as we shall see more recently by the OECD. The important point I would put forward is that given the frame of reference of these studies, what is at stake is very often a "functional" form of participation, participation in institutions and strategies whose *raison d'être* has been identified in advance and consequently, participation seen as necessary to achieve and legitimise specific economic reforms.

* The notion of participation is of course extremely complex and historically specific. My concern here is to bring out the particular notion used by the Bretton Woods institutions which is often put forward and taken up as if it had a much more broad and widely accepted conceptual bases than is in fact the case.

It is on these dominant trends, which help explain why citizens are not actively engaged in governance, that emphasis will be placed in the rest of this sub-section. At the very

end, an example will be given of how research can contribute to alternative approaches in this area and in so doing, advance our understanding of the conditions and processes through which citizens can become more actively involved in issues of governance.

In World Bank publications, participation is seen as the basis of political legitimacy which in turn is seen as a strategy which should permit “liberating” civil society. The object of participation is to return power to the population in order to permit the implementation of development programmes through the reinforcement of grass roots organisations and notably, those capable of promoting an entrepreneurial spirit.

In the 1992 World Bank publication on governance, the sub-section entitled “Micro-Level Accountability” spells out the operational significance of the notion of participation. This concept is juxtaposed to that of competition, for participation in the perspective presented here is a pre-condition necessary for competition. This perspective is a reflection of a particular current of political thought for which what is important is the existence of competition to permit the rotation of political elites. The resulting analogy of seeing “politics as markets” is at the origin of much of the literature in this field which has attempted to use the methods of economics for the study of politics.

To the extent that what has been seen to be desirable political process is equated with the rotation of political elites, this has led to a particularly restrictive concept of democracy which has been criticised on various accounts and by numerous authors. To mention but two sources, Barya (1993, p.17) hypothesised that this definition of democracy is limited to “mere political pluralism, namely equating democracy with multi-party politics”. (20) For Gills et al. (1993), the critique of formal political democracy focuses on its detachment from social reform, in their view rendering the term “democracy” “largely devoid of meaningful content” (quoted by Crawford).

We shall return below to the broader issue of current trends which have a tendency to restrict political space and to what is described in the volume edited by J. Barker as the “informalisation of politics”. First, it is important to underline certain conceptual and political implications, notably concerning the notion of participation, which arise because of the manner in which strategies of governance have been defined by the Bretton Woods institutions.

By presenting the concept of governance and the institutional reforms which it implies as essentially technical issues implemented largely from ‘above’, in order to achieve greater efficiency, this manner of proceeding avoids raising critical questions such as: how has development been defined? by whom has it been defined? It avoids as well the issue of control over the development process: who controls development? with a view to what end? and in favour of what interests?

In many ways such discussions are reminiscent of the manner in which the measures concerning the social dimensions of adjustment were implemented in the 1980’s so as to stabilise adjustment programmes while avoiding to call into question their conceptualisation and social implications. They recall more generally, the manner in

which the issue of poverty has been treated as somehow being located outside politics, or how discussions concerning “adjustment with equity” were formulated in the early 1990’s.

More recently, similar reservations can be formulated concerning the notion of “participative governance” which derives from studies undertaken by the DAC of the OECD (1995 and 1997). While clearly intended to respond to the critique concerning the political nature of poverty, a more recent study (21) proposes that participative governance may be seen as the missing link in the struggle against poverty. Although a case is made in favour of mobilising the energies of the local population, the efforts to reduce poverty and the nature of participation proposed remain functional to the extent that no place is given for the local population to question, shape or redefine the nature of the economic and social reforms which have been introduced and in which they are asked to participate. In other words, the issue of the choice of development strategies is excluded, as is the question of control over the development process and most importantly, the key question of the possibility of the reappropriation and redefinition of the issues concerning: What development? Defined by whom? And in whose interests?

In this sense, it may be questioned as to whether the notion of ‘participative governance’ as defined in these studies, does not serve above all the role of legitimising development strategies defined in advance and often abroad – rendering such studies more prescriptive than effectively mobilising.

Failing to clarify such issues which raise the key question of the positioning of the research undertaken, may well lead to a generation of research proposals which end up as recipes to construct consensus among populations whom planners and aid agencies would like to see more closely associated with the strategies which are to be implemented. The danger is that under these circumstances the notion of participation will be introduced as an adjunct to strategies which are already pre-determined, and introduced ‘top down’. Similarly, there is a real danger that research undertaken in such a perspective may be characterised by forms of paternalism reminiscent of enlightened colonial initiatives which sought to associate local populations to their projects. (22)

As to the political implications of the above, to the extent that the notion of participation is introduced into situations in which the central parameters of proposed development strategies are in fact predetermined, again the issues raised are similar to those raised concerning the notion of empowerment in the late 1980’s. With reference to Nigeria, Bjorn Beckman noted at the time, that the fact of permitting public debate does not transform an authoritarian regime into a democratic one:

The context is that of enlightened management rather than democratic politics. It suggests consultation, not contestation”. (23)

It is ironic and revealing to note that the usefulness of the notion of participative governance put forward in recent research at the OECD is also formulated explicitly in

terms of ‘enlightened’ political management which seems rather at odds with the ideal of effective democratic participation:

“Ainsi, le renforcement du pouvoir des populations défavorisées peut être considéré comme le fruit de l’intérêt bien compris du gouvernement, qui peut contribuer à le modérer plutôt que de le percevoir comme une menace vis-à-vis de ses propres prérogatives. Dans ce schéma idéal du gouvernement ‘éclairé’, le renforcement du pouvoir des populations déshéritées peut revenir à rassembler leurs ressources et leur énergie et à les combiner aux ressources publiques pour poursuivre des objectifs définis conjointement”.(24)

Concerning the issue as to why certain reforms may contribute to the narrowing of political space, I would like to suggest the importance of much closer attention and eventually research concerning the potential impact of current World Bank proposals for decentralised governance.

If the 1997 World Development Report addressed squarely the question of the redefinition of the role of the state, the 1999-2000 Report “Entering the 21st Century” goes further in enlarging the scope covered by governance by addressing the area from which the Bank had previously explicitly abstained from entering, that concerning the particular form of a political regime.

The title of Chapter 5 of this document is in fact eloquent concerning the broadening of the World Bank’s concerns. In this section “Decentralisation: Rethinking Government”, one finds formulated in the language of good administrative and fiscal management, the argumentation in favour of a process of decentralisation which entails quite specific forms of political regimes and which rests on a particular conceptualisation of politics, of liberal pluralism, of participation and ultimately, of what constitutes democracy. As for the primary objective of decentralisation, it is clearly, according to the Report, the devolution of powers which formerly rested with central governments and their transfer to regional or local echelons which the document defines as ‘subnational’. As for the justification given, it may be seen to be very broadly based and consequently, is presented as convincing:

“The experience of the last 15 years shows that the devolution of powers affects political stability, public service performance, equity and macro-economic stability”.(p. 107)

However, the methodological framework permitting to choose the most appropriate measures to be adopted in order to implement decentralisation is presented above all in terms of good management. Consequently, the analysis concerning the choice of structures, functions and the distribution of resources between different levels of government is presented as determined by considerations of efficiency:

“What is the best structure for subnational governments? The traditional approach of public finance economists to decentralization, known as “fiscal federalism” calls for a

subnational government structure with several tiers, with each tier delivering those services that provide benefits to those residing in the jurisdiction”. (p. 114)

The detailed discussions concerning the issues arising from implementing decentralisation, whether these concern the role of fiscal transfers between levels of government (p. 11) or the control of debts of sub-national governments, are formulated strictly in terms of the lessons of good fiscal administration.

Hence the role of the central government is formulated in terms of “responsibility for the stability of the financial system” (p.118) (25). This emphasis rests on a notion of political space as the site of the management of resources, rather than a site of access to power and to the decision-making process with a view of elaborating or determining a collective project for society.

The political implications raised by the notion of decentralised governance are in fact considerable as the Report recognises itself:

“Successful decentralization improves the efficiency and responsiveness of the public sector while accommodating potentially explosive political forces”. (p. 107)

The distribution of powers, the role and functions of public institutions and electoral rules are in fact spelled out:

“Rules should be explicit, stable and self-enforcing. But how should a country decide what their substance should be? The answer involves three broad areas of analysis: the division of national power between national and subnational governments; the structure, functions and resources assigned to subnational governments; and the electoral rules and other political institutions that bind local politicians to their constituents”. (p. 112)

Consequently, the notion of decentralised governance which is to be implemented in terms of rules, procedures, the creation of structures and institutions which are presented as technical issues and justified in terms of the efficiency of the management of resources, is in fact highly political and implies a quite specific notion of the political sphere and of the desirable forms of participation which would seem to merit more attention than they have received so far.

Several elements are worth underlining. First, is that the application of economic approaches to the field of politics results in the authors of the Report considering the political sphere as a market. Consequently decentralisation is presented as an instrument, notably in conflictual situations, and providing:

“...an institutional mechanism for bringing opposition groups into a formal, rule- bound bargaining process”. (p. 107-108)

Hence,

“decentralization can create competition among local governments to better satisfy citizens’ needs”. (p. 108-109)

However, and of considerable importance, the notion of interest groups which is at the centre of liberal pluralist thought seems to have been redefined and narrowed by the notion of decentralised governance. There is a clear wariness with regard to interest groups and electoral systems that encourage them such as proportional voting systems. Furthermore, in order to ward off specialised interest groups, the notion seems to have been redefined to coincide with a territorial or geographical basis. To the extent that political stability is seen to be tributary to establishing an equilibrium between ‘local’ and ‘central’ interest groups, by extension, pressure from groups which are situated elsewhere than at these levels of government or the relations of power foreseen by the rules of decentralised governance, could well risk being assimilated to destabilising forces. Consequently, pressure groups whose interventions and actions were at the heart of liberal pluralist thinking could well find themselves excluded from the political terrain, which is now presented as ‘effective governance’.

“Effective governance requires stable coalitions and an executive with reasonably strong and clear powers”. (p. 121)

Under these circumstances, it would not seem exaggerated to question whether with the publication of the World Bank Report “Entering the 21st Century”, in which the notion of decentralised governance is seen, at least in text, as a tool of political management, we are not confronted with a proposal which, if implemented, might well contribute to the gradual distancing from a liberal and pluralist model based on the principle of participation, in favour of a more authoritarian one inspired by a technocratic ideal.

The putting forward of the notion of decentralised governance – which no doubt in practice might give rise to quite different results than might first appear on paper, signals nonetheless an interesting moment in the thinking of the Bretton Woods institutions concerning the conditions favourable to the social and political stabilisation of the societies and regimes where governance reforms are introduced. Each of the four points which follow however, may be seen as elements which help explain why, under the above circumstances, citizens are not actively engaged in governance, or more precisely why their involvement has been limited to such a restrictive measure.

First, the concept of decentralised governance which is put forward as an essentially technical term and as having universal validity, contains in fact a notion of the state and political practices which is not intended and cannot take account of the processes of social, political and cultural regulation specific to the historical paths of the countries into which decentralisation strategies are introduced.

Most important in this regard, political processes are reduced to processes of technical management. The result appears to be an attempt to depoliticise political issues which has the effect of denying the legitimacy of political objectives. As Jean Coussy has eloquently argued in this regard:

“L’affirmation qu’il existe des normes ‘ indiscutables’ résultant de la seule théorie économique est même la principale méthode rhétorique utilisée par les conseillers étrangers pour déposséder les Etats de ce qui fait l’essence de leur pouvoir politique (à savoir la faculté de procéder à des arbitrages et des compromis en fonction d’objectifs et de rapports de force).”(26)

Second, and in a related manner which could well be interpreted as a way to depoliticise political issues, with the introduction of the notion of decentralised governance, it is suggested that the emphasis of development thought should be shifted away from the role of states and markets and should be refocused in favour of “processes, rules and institution building” (p.2), thus viewing political processes in terms of good management:

“Structural aspects (of development) focus on the need for good governance, transparent decisionmaking, efficient legal and judicial processes, and sound regulatory systems. This identification of rules and processes as a critical foundation for sustained development adds a new dimension to mainstream development thinking.” (p. 3)

The attempt to treat political processes above all, in terms of efficient technical management, in effect “depoliticises” these processes with the result of denying the legitimacy of a whole range of political objectives. What is at issue here moreover, is the risk of the “informalisation of politics” or in the words of C. Gombay (see p. 23 above), of pushing politics underground. This trend is contrary to a notion of political practice requiring a formal framework which certain western traditions have equated with the existence of “the rule of law” and consider a precondition for effective democratic citizenship.

Third, what is striking in this proposal is the attempt to approach development issues not only in the absence of discussion of the role of the state, but without reference either to social groups or social movements.

Finally, the project which aims at the gradual dismantling of national states contained in the Bank’s proposal of decentralised governance is quite explicit (page 9) and may well have considerable implications notably, for notions of social and economic rights as we have known them in the past. Among the reasons for this is the fact that the services and infrastructures which formerly were the responsibility of national governments are to be transferred to local levels and these include water, sanitation, roads, telephones, electricity and housing (p.10) The critical question, however, is the availability of resources to fund such services. Rather than projecting some form of public funding in order to ensure equitable access, the report suggests that:

“Private capital markets are a promising source, but they require an adequate legal framework and a firm central government commitment against bailouts.” (p.10)

Each of these areas of social amenities (water, roads, etc..) are areas where new rules and procedures proposed by decentralised governance imply new legal frameworks,

potentially transforming in a significantly restrictive manner the conditions of access and the possibility of defending rights which in the past guaranteed these services and made the protection of such rights an obligation.

Ultimately what would appear to be at stake is a process of redefinition of the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and yet there seems little discussion so far of these issues formulated in such terms.

Before concluding this section, it is important to underline the role of research in pointing out that the outcome of current processes is in no way pre-determined and on the contrary, there are approaches to studying these issues which help understand the conditions under which citizens can engage more actively in governance.

One of such study “Empowerment from Above? Development Programs and Public Space in Northern Nigeria” by Kole Shettima undertakes to compare three development projects for their success in promoting popular participation. (27) In order to do so, the research sought to bring answers to the following question:

“What kind of impact does the intervention of both national and global agencies have on the nature of local politics, and vice-versa?” (p. 59)

The researcher noted at the outset that existing studies tend to focus mainly on the delivery of services:

“The development literature tends to note the negatives roles of international development agencies, but most of the analyses select large structures and programs without looking at micro-relations and projects.” (p. 59)

His interest was in the role of development agencies especially international bodies, in creating public spaces under repressive politics.

At a formal level which is that of most of the literature in this area, it was found that most government offices “were service delivery sites with very little involvement of the communities”. (p.65) This finding confirms the restricted notion of participation developed earlier in this sub-section which suggested that the preoccupation with participation tended to exist only to the extent that it ensured the efficiency of service delivery.

However, in Kole Shettima’s research the pertinent questions went far beyond this functionalist approach and included:

- Who has access to the public space?
- How is access shaped both by economic status and by gender, age, ethnicity and other forms of social differentiation?

· How do the languages of politics, the nature of associational activity, the quality of public discourse, and the structure of public spaces come into play? (p. 58)

Using alternative concepts such as “spaces of empowerment” and an alternative methodology, the study permits innovative insights concerning the questions raised.

The methodology proposed a three steps approach: 1. identify community spaces (settings); 2. community settings that met the criterion of containing participatory or empowering activities were analysed under the authority of three types of organisations; 3. Finally, the last step was to map out the various community spaces in the two towns studied (p. 61)

The research findings in the study underline to what extent it is possible to understand certain conditions permitting citizens to engage actively in local politics or more broadly in governance.

The following conclusions summarise certain of the findings of the research carried out in northern Nigeria:

1. “Development projects have the very important role of creating, expanding and constraining community spaces in which development officials, government officers, and local people meet to discuss issues of importance to the community: claims are foregrounded and negotiated”. (p. 73)
2. “These projects are also forums for asserting and proclaiming community citizenship” (p. 73)
3. “However, discourse in the public sphere reflects not only socio-economic status of the participants, but also cultural values, historical-political antecedents and gender relations...” (p. 73)
4. In the particular context where this study was carried out :“the development project that has been most successful... is the one most insulated from governmental politics by overseas funding and its independent management.” (p.73)
5. Finally, the study concludes that: “the relatively autonomous development institutions created public spaces of empowerment at the village level where community organizations also operate...” (pp. 73-74).

As this piece of work clearly indicates, research can be very instrumental in advancing our knowledge of the conditions and processes through which citizens can become more actively engaged in the issues of governance which directly shape their lives. This is particularly the case if the people who are the object of such studies are closely associated with the research process.

iv) Examines the interactions/synergies between the variety of social actors involved in governance and analyses some existing leadership roles and styles in the SSA context.

In this section, after a brief general introduction, which raises several theoretical and empirical difficulties, three concrete examples will be presented. By this approach, the object is to illustrate not only the considerable complexity and diversity of the subject at hand, but as well to point to the role which alternative analytical and methodological frameworks can play in enhancing our understanding in this area. The examples include:

a – A case study of decentralisation in Tanzania

b – A study of the reappropriation of political space in Owino Market, Kampala, Uganda

c – A study of the potential narrowing of political space during the current process of political transition in Côte d'Ivoire.

The attempts to redefine the interactions among states, markets and civil society as set out in proposals for governance, raise conceptual, as well as theoretical and empirical difficulties of considerable importance.

On the one hand, the particular nature of the social and economic bases of states in Africa has often led to various types of authoritarian regimes and to the infiltration of the military apparatus in political processes, with the effect that the logic of power and politics has often worked against democratisation processes (28). Such tendencies, which perpetuate authoritarian forms of rule, have been explained by the fact that states are frequently sustained and reproduced by a narrow social bases. Their lack of legitimacy is often seen as a reflection as well, of their weak economic foundations, a factor which explains the centrality which states have assumed in the process of the accumulation of resources and the creation of opportunities. (See Yusuf Bangura, "Authoritarian Rule and Democracy in Africa: A Theoretical Discourse", UNRISD, Discussion paper no. 18, March 1991. In his explanation of the persistence of authoritarian and military rule in a large number of African countries, the same author has identified three dominant patterns of accumulation which interact with a number of socio-economic variables).

On the other hand, civil society is a difficult concept to operationalise in Africa. Initially, civil society was a concept exported from the western world and consequently its application to African settings is problematic. Not only do the origins of the concept differ, but also its evolution has varied according to the particularity and the diversity of socio-political contexts.

On an empirical basis, the fragmented nature of African societies, along ethnic, class, religion, tradition, gender lines, also helps explain why the extension of democracy, as conceived in the western world, to civil society, is quite problematic. In addition, as Yusuf Bangura has recalled, the structural adjustment programmes applied since 1980 in Africa have seriously undermined the forces of civil society (29). These limitations explain the difficulties faced in revitalising civil societies.

Moreover, the mobilisation of the civil groups, their ability to organise and mobilise themselves around political agendas, depends largely on their economic and social rights. Until now, such efforts have often been undertaken in terms of the empowerment of individuals rather than of collectivities, and in terms of co-optation rather than challenging the existing power relations. This individualistic focus is evident from the numerous micro-credit and income generating activity initiatives supported everywhere in Africa to empower people and especially women. Without collective action, however, bargaining power may be limited. If the scope of the democratic agenda is to be broadened, there is need to move beyond a narrow conception of democracy and extent it to embrace social and economic rights.

“However, it is now widely recognised that formal democracy does not address distribution issues and may ignite latent social tensions if not backed by further institutional reforms. Indeed, formal democratisation can reproduce – even create – social and economic inequalities”. (30)

Crucial to the process of empowering and mobilising civil society groups is the issue of gender inequalities. How can women’s needs be translated into the political agenda and how can they be articulated with the poverty agenda? So far efforts for empowering women have been conceived in terms of self-reliance and entrepreneurship and in terms of policy advocacy but rarely in terms of formation of coalitions and articulation with the poverty agendas.

To give but one example, reviewing the Local Government Capacity-Building Programme of the Women’s Development Foundation in South-Africa supported by UNDP since 1995, which aims at promoting political participation of women at the local level, it becomes evident there is an assumption that women active in local government would promote the women’s agendas. In the first phase, the Foundation’s programme helped women prepare to vote, identified potential participants through party lists, undertook a training needs assessment for women councillors and planned a training programme. The second phase of the project was implemented after elections and focused on briefing councillors on the mechanics of local government, enabling women to understand their responsibilities, developing management skills and enabling women to develop strategies of integrating gender in all levels of local government. (31)

While the programme is successful in the important task of voicing women’s concerns, questions could be raised concerning the extent to which this project serves as a catalyst for poor women’s collective action, and to what extent women’s organisations will promote a broader political agenda. In other words, if poor women’s interests are to be taken into account, a synergy must be built between the women’s agenda and a pro-poor agenda that challenges the existing division of labour, power relations between sexes and challenges poverty. So far, the efforts of women’s groups to build such synergies between a poverty and a democratisation agenda have been constrained by numerous cultural and sociological factors, which may include the specific characteristics of such groups based along ethnic, or the specific social affiliations of the individuals, such as age and kinship. For very similar reasons, the nature and the organisation of political

practice is not favourable to the expression of women's aspirations and perceived needs. For synergies to emerge, the capabilities and entitlements framework developed by A. Sen, which has been central to the construction of UNDP human development index and the UNPD gender development could be more useful than the more economic growth approach typified by the Bretton Woods institutions.

With this brief general introduction in mind, the rest of the sub-section will be devoted to three case studies, which seek to illustrate the diversity and complexity of interactions among social actors under governance reforms at different levels, and the potential contribution of research in these areas.

a) A case study of decentralisation in Tanzania

The case of the Life Initiative Programme in Tanzania, funded by UNDP, illustrates how the policy agenda on state decentralisation and partnership building with civil society can lead to the establishment of sub-national control mechanisms when development programmes are sustained by a technicist approach. The Life Initiative Programme in Tanzania (which has been implemented in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam and which was to be extended to nine municipalities by the year 2000) seeks to encourage a culture of participatory democracy, local self-reliance and development. The approach adopted is to strengthen local governments by assisting local officials interacting more effectively with the civil society. However, there is no clear vision in the programme as to who are the key actors to be involved and for what purposes. Local community leaders and government officials were brought together to sort out local needs and priorities and to plan and implement joint low-cost and small development interventions. The role of the community leaders was basically limited to the identification of needs. The programme was able to support fifteen small-scale public works projects which have helped to improve storm drainage systems; established community based solid waste management initiatives; disseminated environmental education information; and improved significantly various sanitation facilities and services. (32) These initiatives are valuable per se although questions can be raised concerning their sustainability since no reference is made to mechanisms for maintaining such schemes. In this sense, the case study illustrates what has been identified as a rather narrow vision of decentralisation noted above, to the extent that is essentially limited to the management of services.

This initiative was supported by UNDP- Life project, which used modest funding (under \$200,000 for two municipalities). The extension of the Life experience to other municipalities will, however, pose some crucial financial problems as communities lack the necessary resources for funding. As mentioned, among the programme's objectives, the project will seek to ensure the co-ordination and effective mobilisation of resources at the local level. Most likely, the local self-reliance objective will mean basically shifting the cost from the paid to the unpaid economy, especially in the prevalent context of the reduction of public expenditures.

While the programme sensitises key 'stakeholders' to planning, there are no attempts to explore alternative development scenarios nor is there a clear vision as to who are the key

actors to involve in the decision-making process. There are no built-in mechanisms in the programme to ensure the participation of the majority of the population. As a matter of fact, it is assumed that local powers will encourage people to participate in decision-making processes. Also women's needs, perspectives and demands are not likely to be addressed given existing power relations at local level. Here also, governance, whether local or national, is assumed to be gender neutral (men and women having the same interests), managerial and technical, rather than political.

b) The reappropriation of political space in Owino Market, Kampala, Uganda

As noted in the section ii) above, this study by Christie Gombay started from recognition of the tendency towards the informalisation of politics at the local level in urban areas. Using a "political settings" approach, the "overview of the various meetings in Owino Market in 1992 provides a sharply defined picture on how the institutions of the state and the organisations of civil society relate to one another on an everyday basis" (p. 178).

In fact, research found that:

"The level of organization and the frequency of meetings among the vendors suggest a high degree of legitimacy and participation". (p. 178)

The author notes with regard to the methodology used:

"The political settings approach... helps to build an understanding of the scope of organization and conflict in Owino Market and how organizations in civil society cope with, come into conflict with, and depend upon states agencies". (p.181)

Most interestingly, it was found that:

"The breadth of the issues plus the need to maintain a continuing working relationship means that relations between organizations in civil society and the state remain inextricably linked to one another" (p. 181) (My underlining).

Here, the methodology described in section (ii) above which entails identification, description and interpretation from the bottom-up rather than "top to bottom" brings quite different and more nuanced interpretations to the conceptualisation of civil society as compared to the vast majority of studies where, as for example in the World Bank Report: "Entering the 21st Century", civil society is conceptualised as distinct, outside and even in opposition to the state.

As interesting, is the new light which alternative approaches can throw on the nature and the locus of political activity and the capacity of communities to reappropriate political space:

"With the lens of the political settings approach focused on Owino Market, a large disorganised mass turns out to be a highly sophisticated and organized entity with an

extremely articulate and subtle approach to politics and regulation. Indeed, while the research spotlight on local politics tends to fall on riots and political violence from below, these events may represent the culmination of much more elaborate political strategies worked out far in advance. By looking for, and engaging with the politics of everyday life, local governments can deal more effectively with improving their cities”. (p. 181)

c) The study of the potential narrowing of political space during the current process of political transition in Côte d’Ivoire

If one focuses at the national level, the examples of situations of political transition where decentralised governance is proposed by the World Bank to be particularly appropriate are revealing of quite different forms of leadership roles and synergies. The following example may be seen to illustrate the possibility of particular situations arising in which the language and strategies of governance and sound administration are accompanied by political and economic circumstances, which may well contribute to a gradual drifting towards much more authoritarian forms of political intervention.

Since the December 24, 1999 coup d’état in Côte d’Ivoire, the country has undertaken a delicate period of political transition which aims to permit a return to a constitutionally elected government and more generally a situation of rule of law. This period has been characterised by extreme economic austerity as both bilateral (France, the United States and Canada) and multilateral funding agencies and institutions have opted to withhold funding until the transition is completed and because the former regime dilapidated public funds and left government accounts very much in debts. (33)

Moreover, given this context and the heritage of the institutional reforms which have characterised the last decade, rather than creating a setting which could permit debate concerning the country’s future social and economic development strategies, the period of political transition and the constitutional debates which have taken place have been limited essentially to much more narrow electoralist concerns. Consequently, in the absence of the widening of political space during this critical period of transition, and as a result of the enormous economic constraints currently imposed from abroad, there appears the possibility of the emergence of new more authoritarian forms of political intervention, at least in part, in order to compensate current shortages of financial resources. In this regard, one learnt that the three priorities of General Mathias Doué, Minister of Youth and Sports in the current transitional government, rested on communication, transparency and accountability. (34) These are precisely the terms at the heart of the institutional reforms recommended by multilateral financial institutions in governance proposals. Moreover, in view of the financial constraints weighing on the Ivorian public sector, this mode of management is accompanied by resorting increasingly to the private sector. According to the same source, “General Mathias Doué intends to develop a genuine partnership between the state and the private sector, so that progressively the private sector takes the lead in the financing and the promotion of sports, in order that the state limits itself to setting up a reglementary framework and providing the necessary incentives”. (35) What is striking in this regard, is to see the language of good management applied to public affairs, together with the privatisation of

areas of jurisdiction which formerly belonged to the state, proposed as well to deal with deeply rooted structural social and economic problems such as social exclusion and poverty. According to the same source:

“The eradication of the problem of street children is part of the results expected from this reform ‘because we do not wish any more begging’ hammered out General Mathias Doué”. (36)

What may be feared in this case, is that the absence of necessary financial resources and a sufficient political margin of manoeuvre needed to resolve problems which are as deep as those at the origin of child begging and poverty, may well condition the type of solutions proposed and the forms of intervention chosen to implement them. This might well result in seeking to make the symptoms of the problems disappear rather than addressing their causes, that is the origins of social issues which are as complex as they are critically important.

Clearly, this is an area where alternative approaches to research in the area of governance, which distance from more technicist approaches and seek to take account of social, economic, cultural and political factors which explain the current narrowing of political space, are without doubt urgently needed.

v) Identifies some potential strategic entry points for IDRC.

This paper has argued, notably in the conclusion of subsection (iii), that the role of research is critically important in pointing out that the outcomes of current processes are in no way predetermined and moreover, that there are approaches to studying these issues which help understand the conditions under which citizens can engage more actively in governance.

Furthermore, if it is recognised that much of current research in the area of governance is in fact “northern-led”, that there are serious limitations to certain current analytical and theoretical frameworks which propose essentially technical and instrumentalist approaches which have their origins largely outside Africa, and finally, if it is true that the results of much of research carried out often fail to address issues such as the active engagement of citizens in political life, then there is indeed a very strong case which can be made for encouraging the creation and the reinforcement of alternative African research capacity and networks in this area.

What is at issue however, is not simply a question of encouraging that research be done in Africa by Africans, any more than it is of favouring one disciplinary approach over the others or privileging a particular analytical and theoretical framework in lieu of those which may be considered dominant at any particular moment. What is needed is the creation of conditions which will encourage a capacity for research in this field, permitting a critical distancing where necessary from current trends which tend to be rather monolithic, instrumentalist, externally driven and claiming to have universal

validity, without possibility of any form of empirical evaluation or validation concerning their results by those who become in a sense the “objects” of this research.

This implies that there is room for conceptual and theoretical innovation in this field, enriched by various currents of thought and borrowing from different disciplines. While much has been said above concerning the tendency of current approaches to be inclined to treat social and political issues as if they were essentially technical questions and consequently, could be better managed by the appropriate choice of “rules, procedures and institutions”, the point is not however to oppose different disciplines but to select the most appropriate contributions and points of entry from different currents of thought and disciplines. To give but one example of the limitations of certain current theoretical approaches in political science, as J. Barker has pointed out, theories of the state, the political system and the ruling class:

“tell us about the most central institutions of government: how stable, hierarchical, integrated, and encompassing they are (or should be). But they tell us little of the immediate context of central politics or of how it connects with the political practices and contexts of citizens of various conditions and situations” (p. 12-13). (36)

The response to this shortcoming, as noted above, was to innovate and the manner in which this has been done by J. Barker and the researchers associated with him appears to have considerable potential for overcoming certain difficulties identified to the extent that:

“The political settings approach... helps to build an understanding of the scope of organization and conflict... and of how organizations in civil society cope with, come into conflict with, and depend upon state agencies.” (38)

From a conceptual standpoint, there is still a generalised assumption among scholars and developers that governance is gender neutral. In fact, gender, like governance, is about politics and power. Gender differences are reproduced in governance processes and institutions, which in turn reproduce gender inequalities. Until now, efforts to take into account gender concerns in the study of governance have been done along a narrow vision of “adding-on” a gender perspective in the governance agenda (such as adding the number of women in the electoral process), instead of treating gender as a structural ingredient of governance. Perhaps this is because genderising governance calls for a transformation of the institutions of power:

“A gendered analysis of governance exposes the reality and severity of women’s subordination. In so doing, it challenges power structures and encounters resistance.”(39)

If governance is about involving men and women in the policy process, there is a need to genderise governance. If the goal of governance is the reduction of poverty, there is just as much need to genderise governance given that poverty reduction efforts do not necessarily reduce gender inequalities. The last decades have witnessed a real explosion of research on gender in development. Some research has highlighted how the lives of

women are controlled and liberated by the state through a diversity of social, economic, political and legal policies. Others contributions have also shown how family is central in structuring inequalities. The process of women's subordination therefore, lies in the intra-household arenas as well as resulting from the interplay between institutions.

In an effort to articulate the relationship between governance, gender and poverty, S. Ballen (1999) refers to the concept of the "family governance", the missing link in the governance debate:

"Higher priority should be given in governance debates to issues of family governance not as a separate 'women' domain, but in recognition of the ways that gender biases in this domain permeate wider social institutions". (40)

The institutional rules, norms and practices governing families and institutions are of particular significance in reproducing gender differentials in entitlements and endowments. Women's engagement in paid labour, for example, is constrained by their care responsibilities at home, while women's domestic work frees men to engage in market production. The family is the key site of gender disadvantage, which underlies and is reinforced by institutional biases in the public sphere.

Women's poverty is mediated by social relations of gender. Their experience of poverty is different from that of men given the social differentiation in entitlements and endowments in Africa. A systematic governance framework should address both the needs for gender and social equality of access to opportunities and assets. It also raises the need to address constraints related to the participation of poor women in governance processes and to ensure that participation leads to the articulation of women's interests and to their impact on resources allocation, political processes and decisions. This requires bringing in an analysis of power relations within the household, as a site of socially constructed relations.

With these theoretical and conceptual considerations in mind as examples of the scope and possibility of innovative and creative research, it is possible to set out in a very tentative and suggestive manner potential strategic entry points.

1. Public space and effective participation in development

To the extent that governance is seen to concern participation in the sense of the power which local people have over their own existence and the activities of their communities, there would seem to exist a pressing need for more research concerning the "politics of everyday life" articulated with the "politics within the household". Studies in this area would entail taking account of the fragmentation of political space and the impact of global forces and power on national institutions, in such a way as to be able to map the broadening or on the contrary, the restriction of public space and the possibilities or obstacles for local political action. Disaggregation of the household on the basis of gender, and an understanding of how gender inequalities are reproduced in community

structures and how this determines policy agendas in general and women's participation in particular, should be part of such studies.

Obviously various approaches could be selected or new ones created in order to undertake such research. What seems most important, however, is that to the extent possible, researchers be closely involved with the communities which are the object of the research, and that such studies include indicators, disaggregated along a gender basis, which permit tracing empirically the processes which are analysed.

By way of illustration of the possibility of undertaking such empirical validation or evaluation, the Appendix of the series of case studies contained in the volume edited by J. Barker and entitled "Mapping Local Politics: Methods, Measures and Morals" contains under the section "Power and Autonomy" fifteen questions to help evaluate to what extent a particular setting is controlled from within the community or from higher levels of authority in government or in the private sector (41).

Among very general research questions at the origins of such studies one might find ones similar to the following: To what extent can one measure the impact of governance reforms on public space and political action? How is participation which is encouraged at the local level seen to affect decisions and strategies at the national level? To what extent are women's interests taken more into account? How are these processes affected by reforms favouring decentralisation?

2. Public sector provision

Another area of research which quite clearly merits close attention, is that concerning the provision of social services. Approaches which may be described as "bottom-up" such as the "political settings" approach, (and no doubt there are others and this one could be adapted to specific situations) might well contribute to a better understanding of the social and political context resulting from decentralisation and consequently, understanding of the "politics of service provision". Again it would be important to be able to do this in close association with the beneficiaries of the services studied, in such a manner as to permit empirically tracing how different reforms impact on service provision, and how they impact differentially on men and women, and finally, of undertaking such studies from the standpoint of the social and economic rights associated with access to such services, highlighting in this manner the attributes of democratic citizenship involving both responsibilities and rights.

3. Governance, new normative frameworks and the transformation of legal codes and statutes

To the extent that institutional reforms entail the production of new normative frameworks implying a redefinition in a more restrictive sense of certain notions such as social equity and social justice and even the notion of poverty, another area of research which seems important is tracing to what extent, in the context of diminishing public resources and the privatisation of certain public services, there can be said to be occurring

a redefinition of social and economic rights as we have understood them, and consequently a transformation of legal codes and statutes designed to protect these rights. The object would be to analyse the extent to which institutional reforms presently being introduced as part of governance modify, redefine, constrain and in what manner, and for whom, the rights of citizens to benefit from access to legal recourse and consequently, their rights to lay claims on their governments. Particular attention should be given in this regard to women's rights, that are already unequal, and may well risk becoming more so in the context of the dismantling of welfare measures in many countries.

4. Decentralisation and democratic citizenship

Decentralisation, which may be seen to be a recurrent theme, might provide an interesting point of entry in itself. The fact that reforms in this area are often put forward as a means to improve overall administrative efficiency has meant that certain other social and political consequences of decentralisation have received much less attention. These include the impact of such reforms on equality of access to service provision, access to legal services and what certain researchers have called "spaces of empowerment". In this regard, it would be interesting to analyse in close association with the communities concerned, including women whose participation in the political process is usually informal and invisible, how decentralisation strategies have affected who has access to public space, the nature of associational activity, the quality of public discourse, the interplay of how decisions taken by local and regional governments impact on the national level. To the extent that different forms of decentralisation inevitably have implications for the rights and responsibilities of individuals, research in this field also raises in a very immediate way the notion of democratic citizenship.

5. Can governance be measured and monitored?

Reforms concerning governance have been put forward in numerous areas which affect in a very profound manner the lives of the men and women and the communities into which they are introduced. In view of this, it is rather surprising to note there has been so far little attempt to measure the impact of these reforms. While there is a considerable amount of discussion concerning the creation of indicators in this area, the exercise would seem to have little meaning if it is not reappropriated by those concerned, that is, if the indicators are not constructed so as to reflect the values and aspirations of local communities.

While this is an area of research which can be developed with research teams outside Africa already working to develop indicators, it does imply that local actors be closely associated with the conceptualisation, monitoring and interpretation of such indicators.

To conclude, it would seem most appropriate and timely that the IDRC encourage the creation and reinforcement of alternative African research capacity and networks in the area of governance, including in the field of gender and governance. In order that the IDRC's contribution be unique, it is crucial that the conditions created for such research aim to:

1. Permit where necessary and appropriate a critical distancing from existing analytical and theoretical frameworks to the extent that these may be shown to be instrumentalist, externally driven and to claim, on basis of technical expertise, universal validity which disregards historical, cultural, social and political specificities.
2. Permit treating gender as a structural ingredient of governance by an “engendering” of every stage of research from the identification of research questions, through to the choice of concepts, of research methods, to implementation and evaluation.
3. Permit that the research agendas and strategies of any particular proposal, the choice of concepts, of theoretical and analytical frameworks and approaches be reappropriated by those responsible for the research. The identification of research strategies needs to be done moreover, in close collaboration with the communities concerned, in order to ensure that the results produced may be reappropriated by those who are its objects so as to permit that they may become more actively engaged and have greater control over the strategies of governance which directly shape their lives.

(1) Mick Moore, “Declining to Learn from the East?, The World Bank, on ‘Governance and Development’” in IDS Bulletin, Sussex University, vol. 24, no.1, 1993, pp. 39-49.

(2) Gordon Crawford, "Promoting Democratic Governance in the South", Presented to the 9th General Conference of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, Paris, September 22-25, 1999. Gordon Crawford is at the Centre for Development Studies, University of Leeds, England.

(3) Samia Kazi Aoul, "Etats des débats autour de quelques concepts concernant la mondialisation", CRDI, Document d'appui préparé pour le 2e forum dans le cadre du Programme canadien de formation à la recherche pour le développement en Afrique, 2000. CRDI-UQAM. This study contrasts the definition of governance put forward by different institutions.

(4) World Bank, *Governance and Development*, World Bank, Washington D.C. 1992, p. 1

(5) World Bank, *Governance. The World Bank Experience*, World Bank, Washington D.C. 1994, p. 53

(6) M. Moore, *op.cit.*;

B. Campbell, "Quelques enjeux conceptuels, idéologiques et politiques autour de la notion de gouvernance" dans *Bonne Gouvernance et Développement en Afrique*, Institut Africain pour la Démocratie, Dakar, 1997, pp.67-92

B. Hibou, "Banque mondiale: les méfaits du cathéchisme économique. L'exemple de l'Afrique subsaharienne, dans *Esprit*, Paris, août-septembre 1998, pp.98-140

Philippe Hugon, "Le 'consensus de Washington' en questions" dans *Revue Tiers-Monde*, t. XL, no. 157, janvier-mars 1999, pp. 1

(7) see CIDA, *Central Governance pages: Planned project summary information*, p. 12.

(8) McLean, 1987, ppp.19-21, quoted in *Governance and Development,op.cit.*, p. 6

(9) See B. Campbell,"La Banque mondiale prône un État efficace: pour faire quoi?" in *Revue Québécoise de Droit International*, vol. 10, 1997 and David Moore, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, forthcoming, 2000

(10) For a detailed presentation of this perspective see J. Stiglitz: "The Role of Government in the Economies of Developing Countries" in *Development Strategy and Management of Market Economy*, Malinvaud, Edmond, et al, Clarendon Press for the United Nations, 1997. It was J. Stiglitz who supervised the production of the 1997 World Development Report.

(11) Bonnie Campbell, "New Rules of the Game. The World Bank's Role in the Construction of New Normative Frameworks for States, Markets and Social Exclusion" in *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, vol. XXI, no 1, March 2000

(12) Samia Kazi Aoul, *op. cit.*

(13) J. Stiglitz, 1997, *op. cit.*,p. 79

(14) Lionel Demery and Michael Walton, "Are Poverty and Social Targets for the 21st Century Attainable?". Text prepared for the DAC/Development Centre Seminar of the OECD on 'Key Elements in Poverty Reduction Strategies', OECD, Paris, Dec. 4-5, 1997. Michael Walton at the time was the Principal Economist and Director of the Section "Poverty Reduction" at the World Bank.

(15) Jonathan Barker (Ed.), *Street-Level Democracy. Political Settings at the Margins of Global Power. Between the Lines Press, Toronto and Kumarian Press, Connecticut, 1999, 279 pages.* The volume includes six case studies using this approach.

(16) Kole Shettima, "Empowerment from Above? Development Projects and Public Space in Northern Nigeria" in J. Barker, *op.cit.*, pp.58-78

(17) Christie Gombay: "Eating and Meeting in Owino: Market Vendors, City Government and the World Bank in Kampala, Uganda", in J. Barker, *op.cit.*, pp.150-182

(18) World Bank, *Sub-Saharan Africa, From Crisis to Sustainable Development. A Long Term Perspective Study*, 1989, Washington, pp.60-61 and 192-193

- (19) World Bank, *Governance and Development*, Washington D.C., 1992, p.22
- (20) These references are taken from the discussion of the literature developed more fully by Gordon Crawford: "Promoting Democratic Governance in the South", paper presented to the 9th General Conference of European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, Paris, September 22-25, 1999
- (21) Harmut Schneider: "Gouvernance participative: le chaînon manquant dans la lutte contre la pauvreté" in *Cahier de Politique Economique*, no 17, OECD, 1999, 37 pages
- (22) The term "constructing consensus" was in fact suggested in an earlier title of an interesting research project in Burkina Faso and part of the "Programme post-adjustment" financed by CODESRIA. The project is directed by Abdoulaye Zonon, FASEG/CEDREC, Ouagadougou, "Développement par le consensus dans les communautés rurales: Cas des programmes nationaux des terroirs au Burkina Faso".
- (23) Bjorn Beckman, "Empowerment or Repression? The World Bank and the Politics of African Adjustment" in *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment. The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa*, Edited by Gibbon, Y. Bangura, A.Ofstad, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1992, p. 93.
- (24) Harmut Schneider, *op.cit.*, p. 18
- (25) Such a view may be contrasted with one which gives priority to responsibility for the well being of the state's citizens.
- (26) Jean Coussy, "Les ruses de l'Etat minimum", in *La réinvention du capitalisme*, sous la direction de J.F. Bayard, Karthala, Paris, p. 238
- (27) Kole Shettima, "Empowerment from Above? Development Projects and Public Space in Northern Nigeria", in J. Barker, *op.cit.* pp. 58-78
- (28) Y. Bangura, "New Directions in State Reform: Implications for Civil Society in Africa", Discussion paper no 113, Sept. 1999, UNRISD
- (29) *Ibid.*
- (30) *Ibid.* p. 13
- (31) UNDP, "Reconceptualizing Governance", Discussion paper 2, Jan. 1997
- (32) UNDP, "Decentralized Governance" Monograph, A Global Sampling of Experience, UNDP, <http://magnet.undp.org/Docs/dec/monographs>
- (33) The following example is developed more fully in B. Campbell, "Réinvention du politique en Côte d'Ivoire et responsabilité des bailleurs de fonds multilatéraux," in *Politique Africaine*, Paris, no. 78, July 2000, pp.142-156.
- (34) Germaine Boni, "Les trois priorités du Général Doué" in *Le Jour*, Abidjan, 29-30 April, May 1st 2000, p. 1 and 12. (My translation).
- (35) *Ibid.* p. 12
- (36) *Ibid.* p. 12
- (37) J. Barker, "Power Shift: Global Change and Local Action", Chapter 2, *op.cit.*, pp.12-13
- (38) C. Gombay, *op.cit.*, p.181
- (39) UNDP, *Gender in Development Programme*, UNDP, (n.d.)
- (40) S. Ballen, Background Paper no 2. "Gender, Governance and the 'Feminisation of Poverty'" Institute of Development Studies, Sept. 1999, p. 10
- (41) J. Barker, *op.cit.*, pp. 261-262.