

## **Annex II: Background Literature Review for Strategic Framework for Mainstreaming Citizen Engagement in WBG Operations**

1. This annex is a review of the current state of knowledge on the outcomes and impact of citizen engagement initiatives, which draws on research and experiences of development practitioners both within and outside of the World Bank Group (WBG). Section I provides a brief introduction to the citizen engagement (CE) concept; Section II provides evidence of the impact of CE activities for five outcome areas, including service delivery, public financial management, governance, natural resource management, and social inclusion. Section III discusses contextual factors that contribute to impact. Section IV presents lessons learned, and Section V highlights existing gaps and proposed areas for future research.

### **I. CONCEPTUALIZING CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT**

2. While the growth of literature on CE attests to the interest in this area and its intrinsic value, it increasingly recognizes the need to harness its potential to improve development outcomes.

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you... (Arnstein, 1969).

3. **Open and inclusive policy-making is most often promoted as a means of improving democratic performance and efficient and effective administration (Shah, 2007).** By enhancing transparency and accountability, it helps to build legitimacy and trust in government. This helps to manage citizens' expectations, build ownership of development processes, and encourage compliance with policy decisions. It also contributes to improved utilization of public resources and quality of policy outcomes and, in doing so, promotes greater equity of access to public policy-making and services (OECD, 2009). Beierle and Cayford (2002) suggest that citizens are recognized as a resource for problem solving, and that based on their practical knowledge and day-to-day experiences, citizens can provide public managers with context-specific information that might not otherwise be available, or notify them of unforeseen factors and thus prevent costly errors. Moynihan (2003) asserts that citizens can provide "innovative solutions to public problems that would have not emerged from traditional modes of decision making", and that citizen input can help managers improve public efficiency—either allocative efficiency through better resource allocation choices or managerial efficiency through information that leads to improvement of the process of public service provision. Neshkova and Guo (2012) draw on data from state transportation agencies across the United States to show that on average greater CE is strongly and significantly related to better performance of public agencies, which can become more efficient and effective by seeking greater input from the public and incorporating it in their decision making.

4. From the perspective of citizens, Robbins and others (2008) note that opportunities to engage directly in policy processes promote citizens' active public spirit and moral character and provide psychic rewards to citizens, including a sense of belonging to a community. It also helps to protect citizens' freedoms and provides them with a voice to challenge the existing power structure. Nabatchi (2010) confirms the instrumental benefits for citizens including educative and

empowerment effects through increased knowledge of the policy process and the development of citizenship skills and dispositions, and instrumental benefits for communities through capacity building within the community.

5. **Citizen engagement is an essential aspect of open and inclusive policy-making and is shaped by both processes and outcomes.** ‘Processes’ involve (a) the extent of interaction between citizens and duty bearers (i.e., service providers and state institutions) and (b) the level of citizen involvement in decision-making processes. ‘Outcomes’ require that such processes motivate or compel state actors to address the feedback that citizens and their representatives provide. Multiple iterations of sharing and incorporating such feedback would strengthen the ‘feedback loop’, and the responsiveness of state actors would help to improve policies and development results.

6. **In order to strengthen the link between CE and better results, Fox (2007) and Joshi (2013) have advocated the distinction between ‘soft’ accountability, which involves only answerability, and ‘hard’ accountability, which combines answerability with sanctions when citizens’ inputs and actions remain unheeded.** Cognizant with this approach, Holland and Thirkell (2009) and Tembo (2012) have suggested that citizen-led interventions should be studied more closely, and linked more explicitly with desired development outcomes by using results chains. The WBG strategy builds upon this need to strengthen the link between CE and development outcomes, while taking into account the level of two-way citizen interaction and the extent of citizen involvement in decision-making processes.

#### **Box A2.1. Evolution of CE in development thought**

The intellectual underpinnings of CE have evolved over several decades. Arnstein (1969) used the term “participation” as the redistribution of power to “have-not” citizens excluded from political and economic processes. Nie and others (1974) used a narrower definition by referring to “those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take”. Subsequent efforts to define participation differed in the increasingly direct nature of collective action involved, either to gain control over resources and regulatory bodies (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994), or as a means of strengthening the relevance, quality, and sustainability of projects and programs (Narayan, 1995).

Parallel shifts in other related streams of development thought during the 1990s also influenced the approach to citizen participation. The emergence of the rights-based approach to development reframed participation as a fundamental human and citizenship right, and a prerequisite for making other rights claims (Ferguson 1999). Participatory development moved toward increasing poor and marginalized people’s influence over the wider decision-making processes that affect their lives (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999). And finally, the rise of the “good governance” agenda and its concerns with decentralized governance and increasing the responsiveness of governments to citizens’ voices (Goetz and Gaventa, 2001) naturally lent itself to increased social accountability.

## **II. EVIDENCE OF THE IMPACT OF CE**

7. Emerging evidence shows that CE can lead to improved intermediate and final development results in suitable contexts, though its impact on broader development outcomes is mixed. Citizen engagement initiatives have increased transparency<sup>1</sup> and citizen trust in government (Cooper and others, 2006; Yang 2005), enhanced governmental legitimacy (Fung 2006), improved outcomes of macro-economic policies (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2003), and

<sup>1</sup> Open Budget Survey 2012. International Budget Partnership. [www.openbudgetindex.org](http://www.openbudgetindex.org)

raised the frequency and quality of governmental responsiveness (Yang and Holzer 2006). From the perspective of development partners, Isham and others (2005) find a clear positive association between participation and project success by using evidence from rural water projects across 49 countries to assess participation and project outcomes. Sara and Katz (1998) find that greater participation is linked to more project sustainability, and Isham and Kähkönen (2000) find that CE leads to greater satisfaction with service design and also to superior health outcomes (Winters, 2003).

8. **At the same time, CE literature is cognizant of instances where CE either had no impact on development outcomes or led to adverse outcomes which were unintended.** For instance, Bräutigam (2004) concluded, based on a comparative study of five countries, that participatory budgeting is neither necessary nor sufficient for making government spending more pro-poor. Similarly, Shatkin (2000) found in his study of participatory planning of urban housing in the Philippines that the influence of citizens on government decisions has not increased and therefore the degree of government responsiveness has not changed. Lastly, Francis and James (2003) found that decisions on resource allocation to villages in Uganda do not reflect villagers' needs in spite of having been planned with them.

9. **This mixed state of evidence on broader development outcomes can in part be attributed to its highly contextualized nature and the validity and sustainability of intermediate changes that could induce improved policy, practice, behavior, and power relations (Menocal and Sharma, 2008).** However, it also demonstrates the need to strengthen the evidence base in this area to address the following issues:

- Since CE is used to refer to a diverse set of initiatives and activities, there is lack of consistency in what is being measured.
- This area is highly contextualized, so it is hard to distinguish between endogenous and exogenous factors and to isolate the interaction of specific inputs and enabling conditions.
- Even specific CE initiatives lack a theory of change, which makes it more difficult to define successes and examine impact. In some instances they may lead to one-off outcomes; in other cases where such outcomes become institutionalized, there is a dearth of longitudinal research to assess whether such initiatives continued to work and what type of outcomes they achieved.
- Rather than sectors (e.g., education) or outcomes (e.g., pro-poor budgeting), the frame of reference is usually based on a tool-based approach (e.g., community scorecards).

#### **Box A2.2: Methods to Measure the Impact of CE**

- **Randomized controlled trials.** Properly conducted experimental designs, especially randomized controlled trials, are considered a good research method to consult when looking for clear quantitative measures of causal effects and in overcoming attribution problems faced by other evaluation methods. However, they can be narrowly focused and often do not address seriously the question of causality.
- **Qualitative case studies and case study analysis.** There have been a number of qualitative case studies on transparency and accountability initiatives, using a range of ethnographic, historical, and observational techniques. However, case material can be more descriptive than analytical and requires the extraction of evidence on impact, rather than being impact-focused.
- **Participatory approaches.** These have been used to a limited extent. In service delivery, for example,

community scorecard initiatives have lent themselves to participatory evaluations or assessments as a natural progression from participatory deliberation or dialogue between dissatisfied community users and service-provider representatives. While participatory evaluations are useful for highlighting impacts that are important for users, they are often criticized for bias in reporting successes.

- **Indices and rankings.** These exist in various sectors. For instance, the International Budget Partnership's Open Budget Survey assesses how far national governments offer public access and opportunities to participate in budget processes.

*Source:* Joshi (2013).

10. **The following sections present an overview of evidence for the CE impact on five development outcome areas:** (a) public service delivery, (b) public financial management, (c) governance, (d) social inclusion and empowerment, and (e) natural resource management. These areas have been selected based on an illustrative review of the literature on CE and social accountability and stocktaking of nearly 420 World Bank projects for which improved beneficiary feedback or CE features as project development objectives or as components of various stages of the project cycle.

### **A. Service Delivery**

11. The framework proposed by the *2004 World Development Report: Making Services Work for Poor People* (World Bank 2003) defined a “long” and a “short” route to analyze accountability relationships among policy makers, providers, and citizens. Citizens can adopt the “long” route to influence policy makers who in turn influence service delivery through providers, or the “short route,” through which they can—individually and collectively—directly influence, participate in, and supervise service delivery by providers. There are multiple instances that provide strong evidence for CE impact on service delivery in health, education, infrastructure, water, and housing/urban development. In cases where it has had no impact, context and operational modalities have been important to determine such outcomes. Citizen engagement in this area can be particularly useful in countries (and sectors) where the government and the private sector have been unable to provide essential services to citizens due to the misallocation of resources and corruption, weak incentives or a lack of articulated demand (Malena and others, 2004).

#### **(a) Health**

- Cornwall and Shankland (2008) trace how Brazil's universal health system has utilized innovative participatory practices to engage thousands of citizens to deliberate over health policy from the municipal level to the national level, and to track the implementation of these policies to improve both access and quality of healthcare.
- In Andhra Pradesh, India, Misra (2007) shows how community scorecards were used to highlight discrepancies in the self-evaluation of primary health-care service providers and their evaluation by the communities they served. Subsequent discussion of these different perceptions led to an action plan in which providers agreed to undergo training to improve their interactions with users, to change the health centers' timings to better meet community needs, to institutionalize a better grievance redress system, and to display medicine stocks publicly.

- In Gujarat, India, activation of social justice committees has mobilized the redistribution of government provided development services to meet the needs of *dalit* communities, including provision of water and electricity, land and housing, roads and infrastructures, and access to welfare services available for the poorest of the poor (Mohanty, 2010).
- In Maharashtra, Murty and others (2007) document how a health and policy awareness campaign implemented in conjunction with the use of community scorecards led to increased clinic utilization rates and a decline in malnutrition in several villages over a period of just six months. Not only did client satisfaction improve, but several villages demanded that the scorecard process be repeated after three or six months, attesting to the value the local communities saw in the intervention.
- In South Africa, new opportunities for participation in health facility boards led to changes in the overall health approach, “from being curative in nature to one that is primary and holistic, addressing the impacts of socioeconomic issues such as unemployment and poverty on the well-being of the community” (Williams, 2007).
- Bjorkman-Nyqvist and Svensson (2009) found that when local NGOs in Uganda encouraged communities to engage with local health services, they were more likely to monitor providers. As a result, both the quality and quantity of health service provision improved as communities began to more extensively monitor the health providers. One year later there were perceptible improvements in the utilization of health services, significant weight-for-age z-score gains of infants, and markedly lower deaths among children.
- In Zimbabwe, four wards with Health Centre Committees performed better than four without, including in level of health resources within clinics, service coverage, and community health indicators (Loewenson and Rusike, 2004). The association between Health Centre Committees and improved health outcomes was observed even in highly under-resourced communities and clinics (Molyneux and others, 2012).

***In contrast***

- In Benin, Keefer and Khemani (2011) trace how households exposed to radio programming on the benefits of using bed nets to avoid malaria ended up paying for these bed nets rather than holding local governments accountable for their distribution. These results show that in an environment with barriers to government responsiveness, greater access to mass media may not enable citizens to extract more benefits from government programs.
- In Nigeria, interviewee comments suggested that community participation was enhanced through the Bamako Initiative, with committees being involved in health activities, the provision of equipment, and identifying those deserving exemption from fees (Uzochukwu and others, 2004). However, committee members complained of exclusion from the co-management of user fees and revolving funds, and from priority setting or decision making (Molyneux and others, 2012).

- McNamara (2006) finds that the availability of publicly generated performance data through provider report cards in the USA health sector have not influenced citizens' decisions about which facilities to use even though better facilities may be available. In some cases, providers improved services in response to their performance on the indicators used in the report cards; in others, they improved their rankings by using strategies that improve scores but might undermine access and quality of healthcare. Key contextual factors that influence the effectiveness of such report cards include cultural characteristics (e.g., literacy rates, corruption indices, consumerism); health care market attributes (e.g., purchaser mix, provider supply); and information system capacity.
- Abelson and Gauvin (2004) find that community-level advisory boards in Nova Scotia, Quebec and Saskatchewan, which have a legal mandate to provide citizen input into regional health system decision making, did not involve meaningful engagement and served better as platforms for 'relationship-building' (Abelson and Gauvin, 2004).

(b) *Education*

- In Bangladesh, parents with girls attending school mobilized to encourage other families in the community to send their children, particularly girls, to school. In addition to providing school fees and supplies to facilitate girls' enrolment, parents also monitored teacher attendance to discourage absenteeism (Kabeer, 2005).
- Duflo and Rya (2012) found that in India enhancing incentives for teachers combined with strong accountability mechanisms improved teacher attendance rates in schools. During a randomized control trial experiment, cameras were given to schools to take digitally dated pictures of teachers at the beginning and end of each day. Teachers were guaranteed a base pay with additional increments linked to attendance rates. Absence rates in participating schools dropped to 21 percent—compared with a little over 40 percent at baseline and in comparison schools—and stayed constant even after 14 months of the program.
- In Kenya, a randomized experiment found that compared to hiring teachers through the civil service or parent-teacher association committees, hiring teachers on short contracts and working with communities to monitor their performance had a significant positive impact on student achievements (Duflo and others, 2008).
- Lassibille and others (2010) report on a random experiment in which different approaches were compared in schools in Madagascar. The findings showed that demand-led interventions led to significant improvements in teacher behavior and raised school attendance and test scores when compared with top-down interventions, which had minimal effects.
- A field and laboratory experiment of community-monitoring interventions in schools in Uganda found that when community monitoring involved a participation component to help collective definition of problems and indicators, it had a substantial impact on pupil test scores as well as absenteeism rates of both teachers and pupils (Barr and others, 2012).

- A review by Jimenez and Sawada (1999) on outcomes for children who attended community-managed schools in El Salvador showed that community-managed schools had fewer absences than comparable schools that were centrally managed. They find that enhanced community and parental involvement in EDUCO schools has improved students' language skills and diminished student absences, which may have long-term effects on achievement.
- In Mexico, the Quality Schools Program which included parent associations in designing, implementing and monitoring educational improvement plans led to a decline in drop-out rates, failure rates, and repetition rates. Qualitative data suggested this was due to increased parent participation in the school and supervision of homework (Shapiro and Skoufias, 2006).

***In contrast***

- Banerjee and others (2010) conducted a randomized evaluation of three different interventions designed to promote community monitoring of public education services in Uttar Pradesh: providing information on existing institutions, training community members in a testing tool for children, and training volunteers to hold remedial reading camps. These interventions had no impact on community involvement, teacher effort, or learning outcomes inside the school. However, in the third intervention, youth volunteered to teach camps, and children who attended these camps substantially improved their reading skills.
- In yet another example in Uttar Pradesh, village volunteers prepared report cards on the reading ability of children in 195 randomly selected villages, and a local NGO facilitated information-sharing sessions to share these findings with teachers, local government representatives, and residents in village-wide meetings. An evaluation found no difference in community participation, teacher effort, or learning outcomes in public schools between the villages where the meetings took place and 85 randomly selected "control" villages where no meetings were held. Reading scores did increase in 65 villages (among the 195), but this was only where a local NGO held additional classes to improve reading skills outside the public school system (Khemani, 2008).

**(c) *Infrastructure***

- Using data from Northern Pakistan, Khwaja (2004) finds that project maintenance improved substantially for infrastructure projects provided by the community in collaboration with the Agha Khan Rural Support Program, in comparison with similar projects provided by government line departments. At the same time he also cautions that maintenance for more technical infrastructure projects may be beyond the scope of the community.
- Guided by the Uganda Debt Network (a civil society organization), community monitoring committees verified the quality of the building materials and the share of local taxes that were being utilized to identify and correct substandard construction of classrooms by contractors who were not abiding with construction requirements (De Renzio and others, 2006).

- The Concerned Citizens of Abra for Good Government, a civil society organization in the Philippines, has worked with local monitors in Abra province to verify that road and bridge construction projects are executed according to contract norms. Their activities have resulted in the reprimand of government officials charged with corruption, revised directives regarding the payment of road construction contractors, and a partnership with the National Commission on Audit to conduct participatory audits of road repair projects in Abra province (Ramkumar, 2008).
- Over the course of two years, the multi-stakeholder group involved in the Construction Sector Transparency Initiative's pilot in Ethiopia managed to persuade the government to change its legal requirements for disclosure of information in the construction sector (CoST, 2011).

***In contrast***

- Based on a randomized field experiment on reducing corruption in over 600 Indonesian village road projects, Olken (2010) shows how increasing government audits from 4 percent of projects to 100 percent had a greater impact on curbing leaked expenditures by 8 percentage points as compared to increasing grassroots participation in monitoring these projects. This case suggests that grassroots monitoring can be more effective in circumstances in which there is relatively little free-riding. For example, programs that provide private goods such as subsidized food, education, or medical care, where individual citizens have a personal stake in ensuring that the goods are delivered and that theft is minimized, may be appropriate candidates for grassroots monitoring. For public goods in which incentives to monitor are much weaker such as infrastructure projects studied here, the results suggest that using professional auditors may be much more effective.
- Since 2006, the Civil Society Working Group for the Interoceanic Highway in Peru has raised concerns regarding major environmental impacts, an inadequate mitigation process, and a lack of transparency in funding flows and decision-making. However, while they have succeeded in participating in the discourse on the construction of the highway, the impact of their involvement to date is unclear. Reasons for this include concerns regarding the group's legitimacy since it includes more NGOs as compared to other stakeholders (such as local communities, local universities, or even the business sector), and the fact that it does not have grassroots support (Pieck, 2013).

(d) ***Water***

- In post-war Angola, the formation of associational water committees led to improved water services in urban Luanda, and extension of civic engagement into other aspects of urban development, such as sanitation (Roque and Shankland, 2007).
- In Hyderabad, Metro Water started a complaints hotline that enabled managers to hold front-line providers accountable by using this direct link with citizens. The findings of an evaluation of this intervention suggested that the performance of front-line workers improved, and corruption was considerably reduced (Caseley, 2003).

- Lamers and others (2010) describe how, between 2005 and 2008, the *Hoogheemraadschap De Stichtse Rijnlanden*—a water board in the Netherlands—successfully developed a water management plan for the Kromme Rijn region in cooperation with other water authorities, user interest groups, and the wider public despite major conflicting interests and doubts of these stakeholders at the outset.
- Narayan's (1995) review of 121 rural water systems projects in 49 countries found that increasing beneficiary participation led to better project outcomes, including a higher proportion of water systems in good condition, overall economic benefits, a wider target population, and environmental benefits. Katz and others (1997) and Isham and Kähkönen (2000) attest that the performance of water systems across a variety of countries are markedly better in communities where households were able to make informed choices about the type of system and the level of service they required, and where decision making was genuinely democratic and inclusive.
- Das Gupta and others (2004) compare the success of irrigation systems in South Korea and India. The Indian irrigation systems ended up being much less effective because the technocrats involved with operation and maintenance were not accountable to the farmers that they are supposed to serve; in South Korea, where participation resulted in a closer accountability relationship between the irrigation system administrators and the local farmers, service provision was superior (Winters, 2012).

***In contrast***

- The Molinos water project in Chile attempted to solicit feedback from community members about implementing a water treatment plant in the village but failed to integrate community inputs into decisions regarding the project and consult them regarding key project issues (Garande and Dagg, 2005).
- In their study of the influence of water user associations in Nepal, Meinzen-Dick and Zwarteveen (1998) found that the all-male organization for the Chhattis Mauja system in Nepal faced difficulties in enforcing its rules on women. Female heads of farms in the head end of the system always took more water than their entitlements while contributing less labor than they should. In other parts of the system, village irrigation leaders also mentioned water stealing by women as a problem that was difficult to solve because women were not included as members of the organization and could thus not be punished.
- During the development of Morocco's regional water master plan, the two river basin agencies involved the majority of stakeholders in the consultation process by establishing commissions, and publicized the master plan for discussion before submitting it for the approval of the National Council for Water and Climate. However, there was limited involvement of local associations, which represented all the groundwater users at the aquifer level, which decreased satisfaction with the consultation process (Wijnene and others, 2012).

(e) *Housing/Urban Development*

- In South Africa, social mobilization led to the courts overturning certain restrictive water service practices in Johannesburg as unconstitutional, thus making water more accessible to poor people (Mehta, 2005b).
- The citizens of Vietnam's Vinh City have been involved in improving designated housing areas and the city infrastructure from planning to construction and monitoring. In addition to supporting the approval of a detailed plan of wards and communes, communities have made investments to further the city's urban development process (DELGO'SEA, 2011).

*In contrast*

- Also in South Africa, mobilization through the courts on issues of housing led to a major victory known as *Grootboom* judgment, which upheld the right to housing, water, and sanitation for homeless people. While the combination of a social movement with action in the courts was an important development, implementation of the judgment has been inadequate in many ways (Williams, 2005).
- In Venezuela, the World Bank's Caracas Slum Upgrading Project outlined an enabling framework that would allow slum-dweller communities to effectively express their demands and participate in the relevant decision-making processes from the onset of the project. Nonetheless, over time the implementation of this framework suffered due to a resurgence of centralization in the country and the lack of independent social intermediaries who could work with communities (World Bank, 2004a).

12. There are several contextual factors that are involved in shaping the outcomes of CE interventions on service delivery. Lynch and others (2013) find that access to resources including education and training and enhanced access to information are necessary for people to hold service providers and policymakers to account. Thomas and Amadei (2010) focus on the sustainability of citizen-led interventions and emphasize the role of cultural context, strong leadership in a defined community, and direct compensation/benefits to ensure motivation for continued use of processes and systems established during such interventions.

13. Commins (2007) confirms that asymmetries of information across different sectors, and depending on the nature of the service, even within the same sector, can determine the level of difficulty of the monitoring of service outputs by citizens. For example, the nature of clinical health services like the treatment of complex illness is different from a basic health service such as encouraging the use of bed nets and hand washing; and community groups and local governments especially can play a strong role in making sure these practices are being more widely adopted. In contrast, clinical services are far more complex. Commins also refers to the differing characteristics of each service that lead to different conditioning factors and relationships between government and citizens such as technical-economic characteristics (e.g., monopoly, networked services), different levels of political salience, different balances of power between principals (clients, citizens and policymakers) and agents (e.g., professions, unions), and ideologies or values attached to specific areas of public life in particular cultures (water, sanitation, education and healthcare).

14. Commins (2007) also highlights the relevance of overarching institutional factors (e.g., political system, legal frameworks), which while relevant to all sectors, may have varying effects due to the nature of the service systems. More specific local contextual issues (e.g., systems of land tenure and land ownership, ethnic and caste relations) that directly relate to the structuring and process by which community participation occurs are also relevant. Hossain (2009) recommends that it is worthwhile to learn from informal means that poorer citizens may be using to gain access to services.

15. For the education sector, Westhrop and others (2012) outline contextual factors that have implications for how citizen-led interventions can affect education outcomes. In addition to adequate funding, an equitable national education policy, and bureaucratic culture, the role of civil society institutions and local power relations that accommodate adequate participation of diverse groups also has an impact on education outcomes. The nature of CE interventions (e.g., extent of capacity building, responsiveness to local priorities) and the nature and scale of participation by parents, students, marginalized groups and local leaders is also relevant.

16. For the health sector, Shayo and others (2012) indicate a substantial influence of gender, wealth, ethnicity and education on health care decision-making processes and greater influence of men, wealthy individuals, members of strong ethnic groups, and highly educated individuals. Khan and van den Heuvel (2007) document how semi-authoritarian political structures have limited broad participation in health policy-making, and how changes in governments have disrupted health planning and implementation. An evaluation of participation in Malawi's health sector notes impediments to CE such as perceptions of ineffective responses by service providers or the expectations of community members that their complaints will be met with retribution by the health personnel on whom they depend (except in urban areas); insufficient distribution of information on the availability of formal accountability channels and how to use them; and lack of choice of health providers due to distance and the monetary and opportunity cost of travel. Institutional capacity and incentives of health management structures and oversight committees, which limit the internal mechanisms for monitoring of activities by citizens and implementation of sanctions against poor performance, are also pertinent factors (NORAD, 2013).

## **B. Public Financial Management**

17. The literature consulted here shows that CE in public financial management processes has produced strong intermediate and final results such as citizen mobilization, more inclusive budget processes, and pro-poor fiscal policies. The majority of evidence in this area is based on qualitative case studies and case study analysis, though there have been attempts to generate empirical evidence and substantiate links between increased budget transparency and improved governance (Islam, 2003); positive development outcomes (Fukuda-Parr and others, 2011); improved socio-economic and human development indicators (Bellver and Kaufmann, 2005); fiscal balances of national governments (Benito and Bastida, 2009); reduction in public debt and deficits (Alt and Lassen, 2006); risk premia for financial markets (Bernoth and Wolff, 2008); and higher credit ratings and lower spreads between borrowing and lending rates (Hameed 2011). Torgler and Schneider (2009) find that citizens are more willing to pay taxes when they perceive that their preferences are properly taken into account by public institutions. Frey and others (2004) and Torgler (2005) suggest causal linkages between citizen participation processes and

levels of tax compliance, particularly when it comes to direct citizen participation in budgetary decisions.

18. There are several examples of how CE has led to improved budgetary outcomes at the formulation, approval, execution, and oversight stages of the budget cycle as well as procurement activities.

- **Formulation.** Among other examples, Wehner (2004) draws attention to how the South African Women's Budget Initiative was set up in 1995 by the parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance and two civil society organizations. This partnership arrangement enabled parliamentarians to draw on civil society's research skills to carry out gender analyses of 26 votes of the national budget, while the CSOs benefited from direct access to policymakers.
- **Approval.** By drawing on case study research on reproductive health in Mexico, child support grants in South Africa, and tribal development expenditure in India, Robinson (2006) describes how analysis carried out by independent budget groups has led to positive improvements in budget policies in the form of increased allocations for social welfare expenditure priorities.
- **Execution.** Reinikka and Svensson's (2005) examination of education expenditures in Uganda using Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys (PETS) showed that on average only 13 percent of the expenditure meant for schools actually reached them. When this information was made public through an experimental information campaign, the transfer of funds to these schools increased by 90 percent.
- **Audit.** Cornejo and others (2013a) and the World Bank (2013a) highlight a number of examples where supreme audit institutions in Argentina, Costa Rica, Honduras, and South Korea have collaborated with citizens to plan and conduct audits successfully. Furthermore, in their case study to measure the impact of social audits in Andhra Pradesh on the implementation of the flagship National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, Singh and Vutukuru (2010) examined the effectiveness of social audits to enhance accountability. They concluded that there was a statistically significant improvement in the overall uptake of the social audit program in Andhra Pradesh, and that the detection of corrupt practices during the implementation of the program led to the recovery of a total amount of Rs 20 million of program funds.
- **Participatory budgeting.** Available evidence suggests that participatory budgeting leads to significant shifts in priorities and policies and toward expenditures that directly benefit poor sections of society (Avritzer, 1999, Navarro, 2001, Blore and others, 2004). In a similar vein, quantitative analysis by Melo and Baiocchi (2006) finds that participatory budgeting is strongly associated with a reduction in extreme poverty and increased access to basic services. More recently, a World Bank report demonstrated that participatory budgeting is positively and strongly related to improvements in poverty rates and water services (World Bank, 2008). These findings are supported by Gonçalves (2014) and Touchton and Wampler (2013) who associate participatory budgeting with increased expenditure on health services and significant reduction in infant mortality rates across municipalities and cities in Brazil; as well as Díaz-Cayeros, and others (2013) who

confirm similar findings for participatory budgeting in the municipalities of Oaxaca, Mexico which gained increased access to electricity, sewerage, and education.

- **Procurement.** Ramkumar (2008), the World Bank (2013a) and Transparency International have documented how citizen oversight of procurement activities has led to less corruption, better service delivery, and more savings in contexts as diverse as the Philippines, Pakistan, Germany, and Colombia.

***In contrast***

- A study of participatory budgeting in China concludes that even though participatory budgeting experiments have promoted a degree of transparency and fairness in the interaction between government and citizens, the fundamentals of budget processes have remained the same, and in most cases the budget is still considered to be a state budget rather than a public budget (He, 2011).
- Boampong (2012) notes how the efforts of civil society organizations to improve the overall governance of mining revenues in Ghana's Asutifi district failed due to the unwillingness of hierarchical authorities to be more accountable about their use of mining royalties and difficulties in supporting the creation of functional and multi-stakeholder consultative platforms among other issues.
- In Ireland, the National Economic and Social Council was composed of civil society partners and trade unions as well as government representatives and producers' associations. The fact that the Council's efforts to negotiate changes in tax policy and expenditures did not lead to pro poor outcomes illustrated how, in addition to the participatory nature of the process, it is also important to address who is involved and whether the institutional framework in question promotes pro-poor participation (Bräutigam, 2004).
- In their case study of two Kansas cities in the United States that used a variety of input mechanisms in the budget process, Ebdon and Franklin (2006) find that citizen input had limited impact on budget decisions, and that neither city institutionalized participation in the budget process. The authors attributed these outcomes to the timing of the input, unstated or unclear goals, implementation difficulties, and political and environmental constraints.

19. In terms of context, Ebdon and Franklin (2006) deem **environment, process design, and mechanisms** as being critical to structuring citizen participation in the public budget process. The *environment* refers to the structure and form of government, political dynamics and culture, legal requirements, and population size and heterogeneity. For instance, cities with a council-manager form of government may be more likely to encourage citizen participation, and facilitate public participation in policy-making through methods that are not specifically related to the budget such as citizen surveys and strategic planning. *Process design* includes timing, type of budget allocation, participants, and gathering sincere preferences when designing the budget participation process. For example, timing is important because input that is received late in the process is less likely to have an effect on outcomes. Although participation is deemed to be more beneficial when it involves *mechanisms* that promote two-way communication, Ebdon alludes to results of surveys and multicity interviews that show relatively little use of two-way input

mechanisms in the budget process. LaFrance and Balogun (2012) refer to the number of opportunities citizens are given to voice their budget preferences; whether the nature of government efforts to solicit citizen input is passive or proactive; and the relationship between citizen attendance of prior budget hearings and the outcomes of those hearings.

20. For participatory budgeting, Zhang and Liao (2011a; 2011b) note that relevant contextual factors to engage communities in such initiatives include municipal officials' attitudes and perceptions of general public involvement in the budget process, diversity of stakeholders, and healthy politics that is more likely to embrace a two-way dialogue. Franklin and Ebdon (2013) attest to the importance of legal guarantees, including citizen participation, municipal autonomy, and access to budget documents; active civil society organizations capable of mobilizing participation in budget processes; and a commitment to shared decision making. Shah (2007) confirms the relevance of these factors as well as the capacity for participation both inside and outside government and the existence of functional and free media institutions.

### C. Governance

21. Evidence that substantiates the positive impact of CE on corruption and improved governance is still limited and uneven, partly because this area is so broad. Yet there are a number of relevant interventions that attest to intermediate governance changes such as changes in policy, regulation and reform, improved transparency, more active community-level participation, and improved responsiveness to citizen demands.

- Using data from a specifically designed lab experiment, Serra (2008) suggests that “combined” accountability systems involving both bottom-up monitoring and top-down auditing are highly effective in curbing corruption in contrast to using purely top-down auditing.
- An in-depth empirical case study conducted by the World Bank and the IMF in Bolivia in 2002 sought to identify the relative importance of the various determinants of governance at the micro-level. *Voice*-related variables were found to be a significant determinant of governance, corruption, and quality of public services, accounting for a much larger share of the variation than more traditional public sector management type of variables (Kaufmann and others, 2002).
- A public expenditure tracking survey (PETS) exercise conducted in Sierra Leone in 2002 by the Ministry of Finance and repeated in 2005 by an independent civil society organization revealed that due to independent auditing of disbursements following the findings of the first study there was significant improvement in the delivery of fee subsidies and teaching materials at 28 randomly selected schools. (Transparency International, 2005).
- Banjeree and others (2009) assigned civil society organizations in Uttar Pradesh and Delhi, India, to conduct campaigns designed to reduce caste-based voting, persuade citizens to vote against corrupt politicians, and mobilize women to vote. In rural Uttar Pradesh, voter turnout increased. Further, survey data collected to track voting patterns showed that the likelihood that an individual would vote for the party that represented their caste decreased from 57 percent to 52 percent in villages which received this

campaign. There was also a reduction in the vote share of candidates facing heinous criminal charges. In Delhi, voting patterns made it clear that the poor have distinct preferences for representatives who focus on issues that are important for them.

- In Madagascar, a study regarding the role of media and monitoring in reducing capture of public expenditures by local officials finds that such types of elite capture could be constrained through a combination of media programs and intensive monitoring (Francken, 2009).
- In Brazil, Ferraz and Finan (2008) find that publicized municipal audits reduced re-election among incumbent mayors found to be more corrupt than initially believed. Cities with local media were even less likely to vote for these corrupt mayors.
- In Indonesia, when decentralization led to the capture of public resources by regional elites through budget misappropriations, a group of lawyers formed a civil society organization in the province of Padang, mobilized and, with the help of the provincial prosecutor's office, secured the conviction and sentencing of a large number (43) of members of the Padang province legislature (Davidson, 2007).
- A World Bank (2013a) stocktaking of social accountability mechanisms describes how, beyond detection/prosecution of corruption cases, citizen-led initiatives had an impact on mobilizing public opinion against corruption, increasing transparency of procurement processes and development projects, and influencing laws and policies.

#### ***In contrast***

- Peruzzotti (2006) documents how members of the executive branch in Argentina bribed senators to support a piece of labor legislation. This incident led to a media scandal after a senator leaked information to a major newspaper about the bribes. Civil society organizations became involved and sought to trigger several different mechanisms of horizontal accountability. Despite hearings in the courts, three agencies from the executive branch, and a number of legislative commissions and committees, the incident did not lead to a single conviction.
- In India, Rajasthan, an experiment to enhance police performance, improve public trust, and gather objective data on crime rates and performances involved researchers testing the impact of improving police training, freezing administrative transfers, introducing a weekly day off and duty rotation system, and community-based monitoring. Training and the freezing of transfers were found to be the most effective interventions in terms of higher job satisfaction and victims' perceptions of police investigations; community monitoring had little to no effect on the public perception of police performance since it was not implemented in a sustained manner (Banerjee and others, 2010).
- In another example from India, a civil society organization was selected by the government to monitor the attendance of assistant nurse midwives using time- and date-stamping machines and random unannounced visits. In addition, a district health officer altered the wage structure so that a large part of nurses' wages was based on attendance bonuses. Initially the increased monitoring and incentives decreased absenteeism.

However, this impact was mitigated over time as nurses got around the new regulations by getting absence approval from nurse managers and using more exempt days (Banerjee and others, 2008).

- In Liberia, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Tracking Network, a coalition of eight Liberian civil society organizations, monitored the implementation of the National Development Plan. The researchers and communities found that, despite the recent passage of the Freedom of Information Act, project beneficiaries could not access sufficient information about development initiatives that affect their communities or counties. In Lofa and Bong Counties, for example, participants responded that they cannot hold responsible bodies, including government and contractors, accountable because affected communities are often left out of the decision-making process (Schouten, 2011).

22. There is a wide range of contextual factors that have an impact on citizen-led initiatives for anti-corruption reform. Francken (2009) describes that an active and well-targeted media can serve as a relevant factor to hold public officials accountable for corruption. However, examples of less rigorous and less widespread information dissemination in India (Banerjee and others 2009) and Indonesia (Olken, 2007) found unsuccessful in reducing the election of corrupt officials. Here Lindstedt and Naurin's (2005) findings that the effect of press freedom on corruption is dependent on the level of education prove that in addition to access to information, an ability to process the information is necessary. Furthermore, Brunetti and Weder (2003) find that the form of corruption determines citizens' incentives to act on corruption-related information. In cases where corruption is collusive private agents have no incentive to report corruption, but when it is extortive effective channels of information (e.g., independent and active media) can be useful to lower the costs of complaint for private agents.

23. Grimes (2008) uses case study evidence to highlight the importance of effective institutions, political will, and international organizations that can influence national governments and viable political competition. She also notes that attributes of civil society organizations and networks such as preexistence of community and regional associations, precedence for collaboration, and the nature of such organizations (professional vis-à-vis grassroots) have a bearing on the effectiveness of anti-corruption efforts. Griebhaber and Geys (2012) find empirical evidence, which associates perceived corruption in a country, is shown to be significantly associated with a society's degree of civic engagement in formal social networks.

24. Several scholars have identified the potential of decentralization to reduce corruption. For instance, Estache and Sinha (1995) report a positive association between expenditure decentralization and levels of infrastructure provided by local governments, but only when both revenue generation and expenditure responsibilities are decentralized. Fisman and Gatti (2002) find a negative association between expenditure decentralization and perceived corruption using cross-country data from 1980-95. Asthana (2008) points out that an increase in community participation combined with effective decentralization may have greater success in reducing corruption and improving public services as there is greater transparency and the community can hold local elites more accountable.

25. At the same time, the literature also underscores the risks of decentralization—overall, the evidence indicates that corruption tends to be higher in communities that have low education

levels, low exposure to media, and are more remote from the center. Asthana (2008) cautions that anti-corruption efforts are unlikely to be successful when decentralization is introduced abruptly into communities that do not have the capacity to direct the allocation of funds, maintain regulations, and lead projects. Porter and Onyach-Olaa (2001), Crook and Sverrisson (2002) and Devas and Grant (2003) draw attention to factors that are consequential for decentralization to result in reduced corruption, which include local history, politics, tradition and skills/capacity, central monitoring of performance, and the length of time that reforms have been in place.

#### **D. Natural Resource Management**

26. Based mainly on studies of transparency and accountability initiatives and community-based natural resource management systems, the literature in this area upholds (with exceptions) the influence of CE on process-driven outcomes such as increasing participation of civil society organizations, promoting disclosure of contracts, and/or demanding increased revenue transparency. Although community-based natural resource management has been recognized as an effective governance approach for sustainably managing commons or common-pool resources (Gruber, 2011), the literature is less clear regarding how citizen-centered initiatives have led to institutionalized changes in policy outcomes or influenced corruption and poverty in resource-rich countries.

27. The fact that natural resource management is a cross-cutting theme—from non-renewable resources, including oil, gas, minerals and metals, to renewable resources such as forests, fisheries, and land—and that there are important variations in the challenges presented by these sectors also makes it more difficult to assess impact.

- Mainhardt-Gibbs (2010) found that in a CSO survey, the EITI process was felt to have resulted in enhanced CSO engagement in the extractives industries sector. This especially relates to increased availability of information and government recognition of civil society as part of the policy-making process.
- Rainbow Insight (2009) finds that the EITI is making a number of direct and indirect contributions to good governance with respect to natural resource revenues. This is through establishing an emerging standard to report natural resource revenues; providing a model of multi-stakeholder dialogue on a critical public policy issues; and forging an international network composed of civil servants, corporate executives, and representatives of global civil society who share a commitment to revenue transparency.
- Aaronson (2011) concludes that EITI has had important spillover effects in terms of encouraging firms to listen to and respond to stakeholder concerns, and in building civil society capacity to engage in governance. Governments in some cases have used the EITI process to develop dialogue between policymakers and citizens on resources utilization. Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sao Tome, for example, have organized public forums and seminars to encourage citizens to participate in discussions and debates about extractive issues and governance. Civil society activists have also relied on the EITI process to push for government to sign on to EITI, as occurred successfully in Sierra Leone.

- Edmonds (2002) uses data from Nepal to determine the impact on the level of extraction of wood for fuel of a government-initiated program that transferred management of forests to local user groups. The evidence suggests that there was a significant reduction in wood extraction in areas with forest user groups. In their study to assess the impact of local forest councils (*van panchayats*) on forest degradation in the Indian state of Uttaranchal, Somanathan and others (2005) found that community management was far more cost effective than state management.
- In east Cameroon, four villages formed a community forest association to oversee the Ngola-Achip Forest and to involve village inhabitants in the sustainable management of their forest to help poverty alleviation. Within the first five years, the forest association had made a profit that was used by the community development fund to build new houses; provide school fees and emergency medical care; and invest in a generator, satellite dish, and two television sets for the village (Kenneth, 2006).
- In Bangladesh, the efforts of Samata (a national CSO) to support landless poor to work for rights to land culminated in its substantial contributions to the Land Rights Program. Among other provisions, these included the recovery and redistribution of approximately 93,000 acres of land and water resources among 1.9 million landless families, the election of 458 landless men and women group members to local government, and the amendment of government legislation related to land—Transfer of Property Act, Registration Act, and Specific Relief Act (Hinds, 2013).
- In India, research shows that in the early stages of the watershed management programs that were launched in the 1970s, financial leakages were of the order of 30-45 percent of approved amounts, with overestimation of costs by at least 15-25 percent. The government managed to reduce financial leakages to 20-35 percent of approved amounts by measures aimed at involving citizens in project implementation, devolving funds to a village body, and issuing new financial guidelines. This was largely achieved because beneficiaries became more aware of how much money was received and for what purpose (Chêne, 2009).
- In Kompong Thom, Cambodia, the community and the provincial Department of Fisheries have made fishing maps available to citizens showing lot boundaries and public access areas. The community undertakes patrols to enforce the regulations and has also argued for the right to arrest and fine wrongdoers, citing delays in the responses of authorities (Fisheries Action Coalition Team).

***In contrast:***

- In an assessment of the impact of EITI, Ölcer (2009) finds that governments' public endorsement of the EITI principles does not, on average, improve the corruption perception levels of the country; control of corruption in EITI countries is worse than in non-EITI resource-rich countries; and in both EITI and non-EITI countries World Bank Worldwide Governance Indicators scores have on average deteriorated between 2002 and 2007 (Ölcer, 2009).

- Suich (2013) refers to the evaluations of two community-based natural resource management interventions in Tchuma Tchato Project in Mozambique, and the Kwandu Conservancy in Namibia that found little or no impact in terms of reducing poverty. She notes that the lack of incentives or inability to deliver appropriate benefits that have a sufficient impact at the household level makes it difficult to maintain participation in such initiatives.
- Smith and others (2012) document how the lack of participatory mechanisms in Madagascar's EITI processes has resulted in little participation of civil society and local populations in deliberation and decision-making and led to few projects with mutual benefits. This poorly managed and exclusive process also has local communities that protest directly against mining companies rather than sharing their concerns through formal forums.
- The *Oficina General de Gestion Social* (General Social Management Bureau) created by the Government of Peru sought to address increasing public discontent with extractive activities by revising regulations to promote public participation in the hydrocarbon and mining sectors and by making it mandatory for developers to ensure public involvement in the Environmental Impact Assessment approval process. However, this resulted in a one-way information channel in which communities were duly informed of planned activities, but which provided no provisions for dialogue and consensus building (Barrera-Hernández, 2009).
- In Sierra Leone, Chiefdom Development Committees were created to ensure that project decision-making regarding the Diamond Area Community Development Fund was carried out in a more equitable and accountable manner. Even though each Chiefdom Development Committee was supposed to be composed of a wide, cross-section of elected Chiefdom residents so that a broad range of community interests could be represented, they have instead reportedly been composed entirely of rural elites such as section chiefs. This has undermined the concept of local ownership of the fund and further alienated many stakeholders such as women and youth. In addition, no reporting or oversight mechanisms have been established (Maconachie, 2011).
- Songorwa (1999) describes the ineffectual efforts of the Selous Conservation Program in Tanzania attempted to recruit communities to conserve wildlife on their lands. Since community interest in this program was incumbent on expectations of socioeconomic benefits, it waned quickly when such benefits did not materialize.
- In both Brazil and Indonesia, government efforts to implement decentralized coastal management has empowered local and regional authorities but has not resulted in the active participation and empowerment of communities. This is due in part to an inadequate framework to include them in institutional design and implementation (Wever, and others, 2012).

28. In terms of relevant contextual factors, Claridge (2004) emphasizes the importance of social capital in the forestry and water sectors that can improve the outcomes for natural resource management through CE by decreasing costs of collective action; and increasing cooperation and knowledge and information flows, more investment in common lands and water systems, and

improved monitoring and enforcement. Pretty and Ward (2001) also support the notion that where social capital is well-developed, local groups with locally developed rules and sanctions are able to make more of existing resources than individuals working alone or in competition. However, Koontz (2005) cautions that local contextual factors, rather than internal group characteristics may be more relevant for policy changes in this area. Among such factors, Mansuri and Rao (2013) identify the level of inequality within communities, prospects for community members to benefit from natural resources, clear mechanisms for downward accountability, and adequate local management capacity.

29. Nelson and Agrawal (2008) find that stronger public institutions, notably lower levels of corruption, and lower resource value that state actors could capture emerged as conducive factors for central managers to devolve authority over wildlife to local communities. In the mining sector, studies show that reforms succeed when interventions understand the needs of mining communities and ways of involving them in research and policy development (Hilson 2006). In the oil sector, Klassen and Feldpausch-Parker (2011) highlight the role of competent and experienced interlocutors who can secure opportunities for community members to be heard, enabling an otherwise neglected public to help set the local agenda while engaging with powerful external stakeholders. Isham and Kähkönen (2002) attribute poor project quality and maintenance of infrastructure in the water sector to limited community capacity in understanding the technical aspects of such projects, and Leino (2007) maintains that water projects are better maintained when water management committees have access to funds for regular maintenance.

Schwarte (2008) on the other hand focuses more on supply-side challenges such as the culture of secrecy within government bodies and the politics of patronage. This approach is also adopted by Ribot and others (2010) who provide a comparison of the role of forest oversight committees in Tanzania and Senegal and note the former case was successful because there was clear support from higher levels of governments and mechanisms to sanction the grasp of local leaders. Baird (2006) emphasizes the impact of donor and government reporting requirements and incentives on the quality of local management, and cautions how they may have misguided effects despite good intentions. It appears however that more often than not, increased public revenues for local investment, which can be attributed to more effective management of common-pool resources, serve as the biggest incentive (Ribot and others, 2010).

## **E. Social Inclusion and Empowerment**

30. Evidence regarding the impact of CE in this area is mixed. The literature acknowledges the positive economic impact of conditional cash transfer (CCT) and community-driven development (CDD) programs/projects subject to caveats, though their influence on promoting inclusiveness and social cohesion is disputed. For instance, Menocal and Sharma (2008) find that when voice and accountability interventions are targeted directly to women and marginalized groups, there is some impact on empowerment. On the other hand, Mansuri and Rao (2013) maintain that CDD efforts have had a limited impact on income poverty, cohesion, and inclusiveness; and that the transfer of funds to communities without state oversight can result in capture of decision-making by elites. For ease of analysis, this category has been divided into (a) economic empowerment and (b) social empowerment.

(a) *Economic empowerment*

- Rawlings and Rubio (2005) reviewed results of CCT programs launched in Colombia, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Turkey. They found “clear evidence of success from the first generation of programs in Colombia, Mexico, and Nicaragua in increasing enrollment rates, improving preventive health care, and raising household consumption”. Ferreira and Robalino (2010), Glewwe and Kassouf (2012) and Souza (2006) also provide evidence that CCT programs have improved enrolment rates and timeliness of school enrollment. However, these studies present more mixed evidence for CCT impact on repetition rates of school enrollment.
- Based on analysis of the impact evaluation results of World Bank CDD programs over 25 years, Wong (2012) found generally positive evidence for poverty welfare reduction, poverty targeting, and increased access to service. Evidence is limited and mixed on governance, social capital, and conflict resolution.
- Through a randomized evaluation of a CDD program that delivered village-level technical assistance and block grants in Sierra Leone, Casey and others (2011) found positive impacts on the establishment of local development committees, local public goods provision, interactions between communities and local government officials, household economic welfare, and village-level market activity. However, the program had no impact on community social norms, the role of women and youths in local affairs, more egalitarian decision-making, or the capacity for collective action beyond the immediate sphere of the project.
- In Bangladesh, Mahmud (2007) investigated two models of community management committees in the health sector: (i) Community Groups, set-up by elected local government body of the Union Parishad; and (ii) Health Watch Committees established with the assistance of advocacy CSOs. It was found that although both models were weak on exacting accountability, Health Watch Committees performed relatively better. In the villages with Health Watch Committees, awareness of health issues, available services, and the number of people accessing the services increased; and doctor punctuality and attendance improved in some clinics.
- Blattman and others (2011, 2013) indicate that at the end of the second year of the Youth Opportunities Program in Uganda there was a gap of 157 percent between the intervention group and the control group in terms of income. Given their actual increase in income, the intervention group reported a 14 percent increase in perceived economic well being compared to peers. However, these perceived economic gains were significant only for men.
- The fact that financial insecurity led a high percentage of orphaned children to drop out from school made the use of child savings accounts highly relevant to the SEED project intervention. SEED (Save for Education, Entrepreneurship and Down payment) encouraged families and caregivers to save for the young person’s education or business start-up costs, and they in turn received matching funds up to the equivalent of \$20 a month. Findings from the SEED project suggest that a simple economic empowerment

scheme eased the immediate financial burden on families and caregivers, kept young people in school and could potentially lift them out of poverty (Ismayilova and others, 2012).

***In contrast***

- While Voss (2008) finds that the Kecamatan Development Program in Indonesia had a positive influence on household welfare and access to services, the redistributive effects of this intervention are mixed to negative. Traditionally disadvantaged groups, including female-head households and households with heads lacking primary education, did not see the same benefits for measures of economic welfare.
- Hargreaves and others (2010) used a randomized, customized trial to assess the impact of the Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) program in South Africa. Their findings suggest that while the program had a strong capacity-building component, its impact in terms of economic capacity was unconvincing. The drop-out rate from the IMAGE cohort, although low at the beginning, was high: during the first 18 months of the trial, records of the pertinent microfinance organization showed that the drop-out rate was 11.1 percent, lower than its overall average (16.2 percent), although later the rate approached this average. Cumulatively, 134 out of 428 clients (31.3 percent) surveyed at 2-year follow-up were no longer members of the microfinance organization.
- Based on their review of more than 60 impact evaluations of CCT programs, the Independent Evaluation Group (2011) found that these evaluations mainly measured short-term achievements and found that while immediate goals (e.g., improving school enrollment or attendance) were achieved, there was no monitoring of long-term impacts such as learning outcomes.
- Bouillon and Tejerina's (2007) review of evaluations of CCT programs in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, and Nicaragua reveals mixed evidence on the impact of these interventions. For nutrition, the evidence is positive in Mexico and Nicaragua, mixed in Brazil and Colombia, and ineffectual in Honduras. The impact on health indicators is more diverse across countries and clear, positive impacts on health indicators have been found only in Mexico.

**(b) *Social empowerment***

- Blattman and Martinez (2011) examined the impact of the Youth Opportunities Program cash transfers on young underemployed people in Uganda. The diversity of skills and abilities in the group served as a strength to support the empowerment of the young people as a group, with stronger and more able members serving as role models and supporting weaker members. The intervention was shown to be effective in building social capital for youth.
- Friis-Hansen and Duveskog's (2012) evaluation of the Farmer Field School (FFS) intervention in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda confirmed that FFS group-based learning could lead to empowerment and act as a pathway toward increased well-being. The fact

that the data from the three countries all pointed toward the same trend, despite contextual differences in the countries studied, strengthened this finding.

- In the study by Ismayilova and others (2012) on the SEED project, AIDS orphans were enabled by the child savings accounts to continue with education or training, and as such were given the opportunity to access the benefits of remaining within a supportive and caring community environment. Reports from teachers and community leaders suggested that this had a positive effect on their sense of self and their involvement in school and community life, and contributed to a reduction in risk-taking behaviors.
- In Nigeria, the use of forum theatre provided a unique opportunity for villagers to express in the public sphere their grievances about divisions arising from traditional community hierarchies and wealth inequality (Abah and Okwori 2005).
- In South Africa, participation in the Treatment Action Campaign became a way to challenge the stigma of HIV/AIDS and for members to gain a new sense of their own dignity and self-worth (Friedman 2010). Robins (2005) describes the importance of “experiential dimensions of belonging” for group members, many of whom are “often exposed to stigma and rejection from their families and communities”.
- Kroecker’s (1995) case study of a state-sponsored agricultural cooperative community in Nicaragua and Aslop and others’s (2001) cross-sectional comparative study of the impact of collective community management of three natural resources projects in India reported that participants felt more empowered to report their views and concerns. Participants in these studies also reported that they felt that their opinions and views were important in shaping the direction and outputs of the individual programs.
- Changing attitudes to domestic violence and making it much less acceptable behavior, the IMAGE program in South Africa resulted in enhanced capacity of the community to protect women. At the individual level, the skills and knowledge gained by individual women made them more confident and capable of protecting themselves against the threat of domestic violence (Hargreaves and others 2010).

***In contrast***

- Both Kroecker (1995) and Aslop and others (2001) also highlight that internal hierarchies, frequently shaped by socio-cultural norms, often meant that the most vulnerable members of the respective groups (most notably women and those from the poorest socio-economic backgrounds) were the least likely to assert their opinions and views.
- Gugerty and Kremer (2008) conducted a randomized control experiment in a program supporting women’s community associations in Kenya to evaluate its impact on civic participation among the disadvantaged. There were no significant differences between treatment and control groups in terms of outcomes such as organizational strength, participation, assistance to neighbors, or contribution to public goods. However, there was substantial evidence that funding changed group membership and leadership. It led younger, more educated, and better-off women to enter the groups and for older, more socially marginalized to depart.

- Humphreys and others (2006) used a unique nationwide experiment in democratic deliberation in São Tomé and Príncipe in which the discussion leaders were randomly assigned across meetings. They found that “leader effects” (the possibility of manipulation by political elites) was extremely large, which led them to question whether participatory decision-making processes in other countries are as vulnerable to elite capture.
- In the Philippines, Labonne and Chase (2011) find that CDD projects increased participation in village assemblies and interaction between residents and village leaders but did not initiate broader social change and, in fact, may have crowded out other avenues for collective action
- Casey and others (2011) find that women who participated in the GoBifo initiative in Sierra Leone were no more likely to voice an opinion during observed community meetings after the project ended or to play a leading decision-making role. No evidence was found of any increase in the role of women in the capacity to raise funds or to “act collectively outside the project”, or any change in how decisions were made.

31. Overall, Conning and Kevane (2002) conclude that communities are only more effective than outside agencies in targeting programs to the poor when they are relatively egalitarian, have open and transparent systems of decision-making or have clear rules for determining who is poor. Other evidence also suggests that inequality can worsen access to private transfers. Galasso and Ravallion (2005), for example, find that greater land inequality and geographic inaccessibility significantly worsened targeting in their study on Bangladesh. Communities that have a low capacity to mobilize information and monitor disbursements are more vulnerable to corruption and elite capture as are more heterogeneous communities, where multiple and conflicting identities can create competing incentives (Araujo and others, 2008).

32. Wong and Guggenheim (2005) refer to project design and management structures, conducive local social environments, and transparent direct fiscal transfers to communities as determining factors for the effectiveness of CDD programs. Binswanger and Aiyar (2003) note the need for rules, transparency, and accountability to prevent corruption or elite capture of community resources; effective capacity building; field-testing of pilot projects in different conditions; systems for sharing and spreading knowledge to clarify roles and help create common values; relevant incentives aligned with the new roles of stakeholders; and ease of replication. Strong political commitment to decentralization and local governments to facilitate coordination across communities and allocate resources to encourage more inclusive and pro-poor CDD initiatives is necessary (Grootaert, 2003).

33. While CDD initiatives are vulnerable to elite capture, parameters that may be useful to ensure that such initiatives are pro poor and inclusive include electoral incentives and capacity of higher levels of government to enforce accountability on lower-level bureaucrats, adequate managerial capacity and clear mechanisms for downward accountability among key considerations and project investments in capacity building; and democratic and actively contested selection of local leaders across a sub-district’s community blocks (Fritzen, 2007).

34. Among other groups, the risk of excluding females is a concern for community-driven development for several reasons. Mansuri and Rao (2013) indicate that social norms exclude women from participating in public spaces or relegating them to work on women-specific tasks. Women also face negative stereotypes about their ability to contribute effectively to proceedings that have public implications, and community groups may have exclusionary rules that are not favorable for female participation such as allowing only one person per household to belong to a forestry group, which effectively exclude women. However, incentivizing communities to include women and young men in community governance structures and setting minimum quotas for participation of groups (e.g., women) may improve the likelihood of female participation in community-driven development interventions (Lynch and others, 2013).

### III. CONTEXT ANALYSIS

35. Citizen engagement literature points toward a growing recognition that context-specific factors are fundamental to achieving both intermediate and final development outcomes. The majority of CE literature that has focused on the outcomes of specific types of interventions (e.g., CDD programs) or the use of specific mechanisms (e.g., the use of community score cards) has been useful to identify contextual factors. However, it is only more recently that the issue of context has been examined more closely by the World Bank (2014a) SDV Flagship, O' Meally (2014), Bukenya and others (2012), and Joshi (2013) to determine why certain interventions work in some contexts but not others and how CE initiatives can be tailored to contextual variations.

36. **One of these factors is the availability of timely, user-friendly, reliable, and comprehensive information, a pre-condition for effective CE.** Effective access to local public information and institutionalization of participation mechanisms create a virtuous circle based on relationships of trust that, in addition to giving legitimacy to the actions of local authorities, reduces the gap between the local state and society thereby strengthening relations not only among civil society actors but also with the local government and the private sector and among the various citizens' groups. This creates conditions conducive to local development and improvement of development outcomes. For instance, Peisakhin and Pinto (2010) draw on a field experiment on access to ration cards among New Delhi's slum dwellers to demonstrate that India's Freedom of Information Law is almost as effective as bribery in helping the poor to secure access to a basic public service. Pande (2007) documents how a Delhi citizens group used the Freedom of Information Law successfully to address corruption and accountability issues, and posits that this was due to the combination of a sensitive bureaucracy, enabling legislation and grassroots activism. Similarly, field experiments on local accountability in primary health care in Uganda suggest that efforts to improve beneficiary control of health care delivery and performance would have no measurable impact on the quality of care without addressing users' lack of robust information on the performance of the healthcare clinics (Björkman-Nyqvist and others, 2014).

37. **On the other hand, Lieberman and others (2014) and Banerjee and others (2010) describe information sharing and dissemination interventions that had no perceptible impact on civic participation or service delivery.** For instance, initially Reinikka and Svensson's (2005) examination of education expenditures in Uganda using Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys (PETS) presented information explaining how on average only 13 percent of the expenditure meant for schools actually reached them; this information was widely publicized

through an experimental informal campaign after which the transfer of funds to these schools increased by 90 percent that resulted in improved school enrolment and student performance. However, a later re-analysis of the case questioned whether the observed changes were also significantly affected by other concurrent changes, including abolition of school fees, and increased requirements for fiscal accountability to donors (Hubbard 2007). This example attests that outcomes of citizen participation are influenced by myriad factors besides information provision.

38. Baland and Platteau (1999) suggest that entrenched social inequalities and limited space for civic engagement may deter poor and marginalized citizens from questioning the lack of effectiveness and equity in the provision of public goods. Keefer and Khemani (2003) highlight weak incentives for service providers to improve their performance based on the support of political agents. Fox (2007) argues that transparency does not always translate into accountability, and that the outcomes of citizen-centered interventions are contingent on whether transparency is 'clear' or 'fuzzy' and whether accountability espouses sanctions in addition to answerability. Hubbard (2007) cautions that while evaluating the outcomes of citizen-centered initiatives other contextual factors besides information disclosure need to be taken into account. Darch and Underwood (2010) draw on case studies from Angola, Guatemala, Philippines, South Africa, and Zimbabwe to postulate that access to information has the potential to improve democratic process only if (a) the bureaucracy is capable of collecting and managing politically salient information but sufficiently professional to implement a law that cuts against its own institutional interests and (b) the political elite is politically and financially dependent in a nontrivial sense on those subject to its rule.

39. **Another theme relevant for CE interventions is emphasis on the inclusion and empowerment of females (in addition to other disadvantaged or marginalized groups).** For example, Agrawal (2009) uses data for forest management groups in India and Nepal to provide evidence that groups with a high proportion of women in their executive committees (decision-making bodies) show significantly greater improvements in forest condition in both regions. Oxfam's Raising Her Voice (RHV) program in Honduras confirms the value that female participants contributed to the audit committee on public budgetary transparency and expenditure by gradually gaining the trust of the men (Evans and Nambiar, 2013). In Mali women members of agricultural producer self-help groups benefit from increased mobility and greater autonomy over the use of agricultural incomes, and they were consulted more on community and organizational decision-making.

40. **At the same time, some studies show that efforts to empower women have not always led to positive development effects.** While studying the effect of political reservation for women running for local office on the provision of government services and local public goods to households in West Bengal, Bardhan and others (2008), for example, find that women in reserved positions are no more effective than officials in unreserved positions at getting benefits to their villages. In fact, they appear to be worse at targeting benefits to landless households and housing benefits to disadvantaged castes, and performed worse in generating revenues. A field experiment in Kenya that aimed to increase women's participation in the maintenance of water sources by encouraging them to attend community meetings had no impact on the quality of infrastructure maintenance as compared to control communities (Leino, 2007).

41. Outcomes of female engagement in CE initiatives also depend on context. For instance, Ban and Rao (2009) find that women presidents in reserved *gram panchayats* are unambiguously more effective when they are more experienced and that they perform worse when most of the land in the village is owned by upper castes. This suggests that caste structures may be correlated with structures of patriarchy making the job of women particularly difficult when they are confronted with entrenched hierarchies. They also find that women presidents in reserved gram panchayats perform best in states where reservations have been in place the longest, indicating the salience of the maturity of the reservations system (Ban and Rao, 2009). Results of Oxfam's Raising her Voice Portfolio indicate that women's care responsibilities and lack of financial autonomy have a substantive impact on their efforts to participate sustainably in project activities, and their ability to assume positions of community or political leadership. The costs involved, for community groups and national coalitions alike, in convening meetings, running activities, and supporting women's participation and attendance also impact heavily on the likelihood of these spaces continuing to function once donor funding comes to an end (Beardon and Otero, 2013). The 2012 World Development Report on Gender Equality and Development (2011a) finds that female participation in civic or political initiatives can be strengthened through both formal or informal channels, though which channels will be most effective depends on the issue and the extent to which it challenges norms, beliefs, and social institutions.

42. The remainder of this section provides a broad overview of other relevant contextual factors (demand side, supply side, and other) for CE.

#### A. Demand Side

- **There is limited scope for demand-side initiatives without the willingness of citizens to participate in such interventions.** Irvin and Stansbury (2004) refer to instances where citizens are too complacent to participate, or when they have had to contend with instances of limited representation and strong pursuit of self-interest by other interest groups. Citizens may have difficulty in establishing a causal relationship between providers' actions and final outcomes such as test scores or health status (Banerjee and others, 2010), or they may simply be too consumed with more pressing priorities such as securing food and meeting other basic needs to provide feedback on service delivery (Banerjee and Mullainathan, 2008). Women in particular may participate to a lesser degree due to their multiple responsibilities (Bräutigam, 2004). Alatas and others (2011) note the cost of time and a sustained attention span by alluding to a collaborative village meeting that ran longer than one and one-half hours.
- **The issue addressed by CE initiatives needs to be of significant interest to citizens.** For instance, Shankar's 2010 study of social audits in the three Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh finds that villagers were more likely to monitor the performance of public officials on the wage component of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme— implying that social audits are more effective in reducing thefts when citizens have a private stake in the outcome but less so when the supply of public goods is involved (Shankar, 2010).
- **There is evidence that participation competence is positively associated with the outcomes of CE interventions.** Yang and Pandey (2011) confirm that while competence is necessary, this does not imply that incompetent citizens should not be involved.

Competence can be improved through the participation process since citizens' knowledge and skills for collective action are cumulative and can be enhanced with engagement (IDS, 2011). Furthermore, there is evidence that argues for expanding participant representativeness in policy-making (Yang and Pandey, 2011).

- **The authority and credibility of the lead actor(s) and interlocutors is crucial to shape the outcomes of CE interventions.** Lead actors need to demonstrate that they can extract and present reliable data and can disseminate it regularly. For instance, in Robinson's (2006) independent budget analysis work, the legitimacy of the budget groups came from the fact that the agencies were authoritative sources of information on budget issues and that "in several cases were the only source of information and expertise outside government". Tembo (2012) also notes that since citizens' actions per se may not lead to required outcomes in specific contexts; it is therefore necessary to identify interlocutors (individuals, organizations, or groups of organizations) within civil society, the private sector, or inside the state "that work with or alongside ordinary citizens in engaging with state actors at various citizen–state interfaces".
- **The nature of civil society, in particular the depth, extensiveness, and character of the relationships among CSOs, plays a critical role in determining the success of CE interventions.** This was the case for South Africa's Treatment Action Campaign that worked with scientists, academics, and health professionals to generate scientific evidence in order to convince the government to change its HIV/AIDS policies. It also sent activists and health workers to villages to provide the medicine and care that HIV-positive people needed; used the media and public events to chastise inaction by the government and international pharmaceutical companies and to fight stigma; and mobilized citizens through awareness-raising campaigns.
- **There is an inherent risk that participatory initiatives may not end up benefiting the poorest and the marginalized sections of society.** In this context Haque (2008) confirms that such interventions are subject to elite capture and benefit elites and men more than the poorest. Isolated and poorer localities benefit less from programs due to capacity barriers and limits on access to information and media. In South Asia, this is also reflected in the caste structure in that higher castes make up the local elites who have political representation and government posts while lower caste participation is low due to social hierarchy and economic status. One case in point is how a program supporting women's community associations in Kenya precipitated the departure of older women, the most socially marginalized demographic group, which in turn led younger, more educated, and better-off women to join the community associations (Gugerty and Kremer, 2008).
- **Most available evidence of impact is based on collective rather than individual action because they are more likely to result in improved *public good* benefits as opposed to the *private* benefits** that can be the outcomes of individual action (Joshi, 2010). In this context, Olken (2007) shows how state audits were more effective in monitoring leakages for village road projects rather than grassroots monitoring. The community had fewer incentives to monitor public goods in contrast to private goods where individual citizens have a personal stake.

- **Mobilization and advocacy may be necessary to induce when there is little willingness on the part of citizens or when there is a need to scale up citizen-led interventions.** Goodwin and Maru (2014) indicate that programs involving use of advocacy strategies are most likely to influence participants' willingness to take action. Sirker and Cosic (2007) draw attention to risk factors for poor mobilization and ineffective participatory interventions, including poor partnerships across different CSOs or between CSOs and government; difficulties building alliances with socio-political movements; and weak links with grassroots groups and communities resulting in limited to no engagement with poor marginalized groups.
- **CE accountability or transparency mechanisms that have the potential to trigger strong sanctions are more likely to be used and improve responsiveness by providers.** Without the threat of effective sanctions and resulting impacts, citizen mobilization is difficult to sustain in the long run. One example of this is the struggle of Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI), a CSO in Kenya, which has gained access to constituency development fund (CDF) records and organized social audits to track whether these funds have been used for community development projects. Since there is no freedom of information law in Kenya, public officials have shared CDF records or have refused to do so at will without any repercussions, which has made it more difficult for MUHURI to sustain its activities (IBP, 2008).

## B. Supply Side

- **The willingness of state functionaries to either support or respond to citizens' demands and close the feedback loop will determine the outcomes of such efforts.** For instance, Irvin and Stansbury (2004) question the assumption of open policy-making on the part of governments by citing cases where political suasion and avoiding litigation costs was the motivation to involve citizens in policy-making processes. Gaventa and Barrett (2010) describe examples where authorities either refused to respond to citizen demands, or made tokenistic concessions such as declaring policy changes but not implementing them. Some of these outcomes can in part be traced to underlying perceptions regarding the relevance or importance of CE.

Matthews (1999) observes that fear of public involvement, which can be traced to potential difficulties, can result from the involvement process: for example, increased conflict in the political system, increased problems of government policy-making, and decreased equality in society (see also Kweit and Kweit, 1981). Instrumental difficulties such as overload and lack of resources are also sources of fear (Checkoway and Van Til, 1978; Rosenbaum 1978). The relevance of public engagement in policy processes could also be in doubt if there is a sense that citizens are not competent in public decision-making (Rosenbaum 1978), that they have no definite preferences (Dahl 1966), and that they are too apathetic and uncommitted to participate (Rosenbaum 1978).<sup>2</sup>

- **Values and incentives of specific state actors regarding public participation in policy-making will influence their willingness to engage.** For instance, Yang and

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<sup>2</sup> See Yang, K. (2005).

Callahan (2007) find that bureaucratic values are more important than external political forces in determining government decisions and outcomes (Krause, 1999; Meier and O'Toole, 2006). Their values and priorities influence the participation process and can enable or constrain meaningful involvement (Yang and Callahan, 2007). They also confirm that communities in which elected officials are ranked high with respect to pressuring for citizen participation are likely to have greater citizen involvement efforts by government. Therefore, elected officials significantly affect how administrative decisions are made with regard to official procedures and processes, including space for public participation.

- **Characteristics of ‘target’ state institutions can determine the space for CE.** Yang and Pandey (2011) show that red tape and hierarchical authority are negatively associated with good participation outcomes, confirming the argument that bureaucratic structures are a major hurdle for effective participation (e.g., King and others, 1998). They also find that organization size is not a harbinger of limited opportunities for engaging with citizens since “small organizations can face burdensome circumstances that are not conducive to citizen participation, and even large organizations can be flexible, ‘flat,’ and ready for change resulting from citizen participation” (Yang and Pandey, 2011).
- **The majority of initiatives that have led to improved intermediate and development results have involved working across different sectors spanning the private-public divide.** For example, Transparency International’s Integrity Pacts in Germany and Pakistan have been successful in bringing together governments, private sector companies, and citizens to monitor procurement processes and outcomes (World Bank, 2013a).
- **State actors and providers cannot respond to citizen feedback without a corresponding increase in their capacity to respond to their demands.** Limited capacity in terms of time and financial and personal resources can lead to inaction and frustration on the part of government officials and providers. For example, while integrity pacts turned out to be beneficial to curb procurement corruption in Colombia, during their implementation it became apparent that the time required of public officials to respond to contract-related queries and to ensure transparency of the procurement process had not been taken into account at the onset (World Bank, 2013a). Yang and Callahan (2007) also support this conclusion: managers feeling overloaded are less likely to involve citizens in decisions that relate directly to administrative power and require more administrative attention. At the same time they also find that administrative resources are not a major concern when government feels the need to involve citizens in dealing with urgent strategic problems that require broad participation and that in fact the results show that resource shortages had a positive impact on the use of involvement mechanisms such as public hearings, which do not normally require significant financial investments.
- **A higher level of democratization may help to facilitate better outcomes of CE activities, yet its influence on the emergence and effectiveness of such interventions remains unclear.** Crook and Booth (2011) suggest that in addition to formal democratic institutions and frameworks, there are informal institutions and the underlying political settlement that explain what happens and why. Furthermore, different forms of social

contract or developmental accountability can emerge within weakly democratic or semi-authoritarian regimes (Stasavage, 2005).

- **The presence of certain legal accountability mechanisms and the extent to which they are legitimate and enforceable in a given context will shape the form and prospects of different types of CE initiatives.** Barrera-Hernández (2009) documents how Peru's revised regulations, *Oficina General de Gestion Social*, made mandatory the public involvement in the Environmental Impact Assessment approval process, but in the end officials paid lip service to these regulations by merely sharing information with citizens and providing no avenues for dialogue and consensus building.
- **Competitive party politics can act as an enabling factor to encourage CE and associated policy outcomes.** In an evaluation of a Revenue Watch Institute pilot program for parliamentary strengthening to improve extractive industries governance in Ghana and Tanzania, Acosta (2010) argues that members of Parliament acting in the more competitive (multi-) party system in Ghana have greater incentives to use their increased knowledge to advocate and hold governments to account because their own electoral prospects may benefit from delivering greater transparency outcomes to voters. At the same time, Fritz and others (2014) maintain that preoccupation with winning and maintaining electoral support makes it difficult for politicians to commit collectively to a consistent and sustainable policy approach.
- **The CE results are more likely to translate into positive development outcomes when governments can make credible inter-temporal commitments.** Barma and others (2012) maintain that a stable policy environment is conducive to develop rapport and a mutually agreeable course of action and for deviations from those agreements to be sanctioned.

### C. Others

- **A high degree of media competition can ensure good quality of available information necessary for public engagement.** Kolstad and Wiig (2009) argue that the existence of effective channels of information such as a free and active media can lower complaint costs for private agents about issues of corruption and that it can play a significant role in shaping public policy debates (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001). On the other hand, the use of media may in fact discourage citizen participation; for instance, Yang (2005) finds that government criticism in the media leads to lower levels of willingness to implement citizen involvement and Gibson (2004) demonstrates that local reporters cover urban development debates from a perspective that advances the position of those in power. Finally, Goodwin and Maru (2014) discovered relatively limited use of media in legal empowerment interventions, and Wang (2001) found no relationship between a cynical media and government's use of participation mechanisms.
- **The private sector may be instrumental in garnering support for increased CE, but even its motivation to push for citizen involvement may be ambiguous.** Since businesses will likely promote their interests, they may prefer exclusive participation forums. Nevertheless, businesses help create participation channels and opportunities that

may work for other citizens and therefore contribute to an increase in overall involvement. Evidence also shows that business organizations play a role in community services since more than 50 percent of American business leaders meet regularly with charitable and other nonprofit leaders; give employees paid time off for community service; and serve on boards, commissions, and committees that address community problems (Yang and Callahan, 2007).

- **Citizen engagement interventions need to take into account the ‘cultural match’ between existing and new institutions and processes.** Brett (2003) proposes that people must develop their own sense of the benefit of participation for a participatory approach to be sustained and effective. Facilitating CE approaches within hierarchical and deferential cultural contexts—where social differences based on social class, customs and tradition, and gender are pervasive—may fail if this approach is radically different from existing norms and value systems. Swindler (2009) advocates that analysis of the structure of patron/client ties; practices that adapt culturally meaningful, local institutional forms to new purposes (i.e., building on and extending local patterns of organization); and the identification of local brokers/international actors with long-term local knowledge and contacts are all key to learning how to make existing structures more responsive and how to embed interventions within a particular community or locality.
- **Efforts to strengthen citizen-state interaction need to be based on the conceptualization of citizenship, which may vary across contexts.** Cornwall and others (2011) recommend that such interventions need to analyze the history of colonial and post-colonial institutional reforms and how these have been shaped by or have impacted changing notions of citizenship. Rather than a strong sense of citizenship as individuals vis-à-vis the state, citizens in developing countries have multiple identities linked to class, gender, ethnicity, and religion, which shape the ways in which they engage in collective or individual action which usually involve multiple strategies for accountability and security. Joshi (2008) also advocates that any conjecture regarding the effectiveness of CE reforms should be based on the trajectory of reforms that have shaped collective action and outcomes to date.
- **Interactions among various CE interventions and multiple iterations of such initiatives may lend themselves to facilitate positive outcomes.** For instance, Robinson (2006) notes how independent budget analysis had to be accompanied by targeted advocacy of key decisionmakers to improve budget processes and outcomes. Furthermore, a World Bank global stock-taking of budget transparency initiatives describes examples from South Africa where earlier citizen-led interventions that did not meet their objectives set the precedent for later initiatives to promote pro-poor budget outcomes more successfully (World Bank, 2013a).
- **The duration of CE interventions is relevant since they need to be sustained for results to emerge.** This is necessary to ensure that reform commitments are implemented (Robinson, 2006), citizens gain trust in the initiative, and changes are institutionalized to the point that clear and positive results begin to emerge (Paul, 2011). While Blair (2000) agrees that many participation mechanisms may take a long time to begin to function effectively because of contextual constraints like entrenched local networks of power, he

also presents the caveat that effectiveness is not always linked to the length of time reforms have been in operation. He does so by alluding to Bolivia's more recent democratic local governance program that had a larger number of mechanisms for governance and civic engagement that were functional as compared to the system with the longest experience (Karnataka), which had performed less well.

- **If the timing is not right, CE interventions may not translate into desired outcomes.** Political transitions, including upcoming or ongoing elections, measures to curtail fiscal crises, new legislation, policy commitments at the international and domestic levels, and high-profile corruption scandals can provide “windows” of opportunity to advance CE initiatives. The prospect of upcoming elections, for example, enabled MUHURI in Kenya to obtain previously unavailable constituency development fund records from one parliamentarian who had a political incentive to be transparent (World Bank, 2013a). However, whether citizens and other stakeholders utilize these windows depends on a number of contextual factors since they may already be contending with “feedback fatigue” or may be engaged in additional interactions with the state which they believe might be more relevant for them or which may have greater potential for successful outcomes (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012).
- **While ad hoc or one-off CE initiatives can make a difference, experience shows that impact is greatest and most sustainable when the outcomes of such initiatives are institutionalized.** Where possible, the legal institutionalization of participatory mechanisms—from the level of individual programs and agencies through the overall system level—should be considered as a means to enhance long-term effectiveness and sustainability. An illustration of this is FUNDAR's campaign to convince the Mexican Government to increase budget allocations for the *Arranque Parejo en la Vida* program that sought to reduce maternal and child mortality. FUNDAR, the Center for Research and Analysis, and its partners were able to successfully lobby the federal government for a tenfold increase in the budgetary allocation for the program in the 2003 budget. However, by 2004, the Government had included these funds in a highly aggregated budget for a blanket health-protection scheme, making it impossible to determine whether or not the resources for the program's implementation had been impacted by that year's budget cuts (World Bank, 2013a).
- **Sectoral characteristics, and the nature of the public goods involved can shed some light on the outcomes of citizens' efforts to improve access and quality of public services.** Mcloughlin and Batley (2012) highlight (a) whether the characteristics of a particular service can influence incentives for politicians, providers, and users to commit resources to produce it and for politicians to be accountable to citizens for service performance and to determine the balance of power between policymakers and other actors; and (b) whether they set the broad parameters for when and how citizens can collectively mobilize around services and make demands on delivery organizations. Goetz and Gaventa (2001) describe other factors such as (a) the level of service complexity (lower technology services may be easier for citizens to engage with and influence or co-deliver); (b) the cost of services or service disruption to the client (which may trigger greater client interest in influencing how fees are spent or collective action for improved quality); (c) the presence of a strong private market for the service (creating a greater chance of ‘exit’ pressures for responsiveness); (d) whether the service provides

an individual or a collective good (the latter being more likely to provoke collective action); and (e) whether the service is delivered face to face (thereby creating greater opportunity for engagement on both sides).

As an example, Khemani (2008) indicates that the varying outcomes of community monitoring in India and Uganda can be explained by the differences in the health and education services that were being monitored. Users can more directly observe poor health services than poor teaching, which can remain invisible to parents. As a result, the users of health clinics could be more easily motivated to demand better services they did not know they were entitled to.

- **The effect of decentralization on CE and inclusion is determined by other context-specific factors.** DFID's (2013) review of the link between decentralization and development outcomes alludes to both positive and negative instances in this regard. There are encouraging qualitative studies such as Dauda's (2004) study in Uganda in which the adoption of school fees in a specific locality provided strong incentives for parents to assume school management responsibility, and Jones and others' (2007) work on Andhra Pradesh found that health and education user committees enabled participation of a broad cross-section of villagers. On the other hand, Poteete and Ribot (2011) attest to the uneven effects of decentralization in Botswana and Senegal, which empowered certain local actors and weakened others. Gershberg and others' (2009) comparison of two community-based education reforms in Guatemala revealed that schools allowing a greater level of parental involvement struggled more with human resource management issues.
- **Global actors and processes can support or undermine CE efforts to promote accountability and improve development outcomes.** First, donor accountability and donor-state relations, especially in highly aid-dependent countries are relevant because aid conditions may create or limit space for national deliberation and accountability over appropriate policies and measures, or aid flows may provide (dis)incentives for political elites to be more responsive to local citizens and for tax bargaining. Second, the accountability of other international power-holders beyond the state such as multinational corporations or international nongovernmental organizations have been found to shape domestic accountability in more or less positive ways, especially when the state is unwilling or unable to regulate these actors' activities. Finally, a range of international economic and political processes can help to shape domestic accountability such as the implementation of international human rights norms, which can exert pressure on certain states and open spaces for greater accountability and so on (Ringold and others, 2011).
- **Structural factors such as a country's geography, resource endowments, or demographic dynamics can influence stakeholder incentives.** These factors may also include elements that may be subject to change but that are outside the control of stakeholders such as shifts and swings in commodity prices that can have significant effects on stakeholder incentives and opportunities, for example, by increasing rents or, conversely, by contributing to growing fiscal pressures (Fritz and others, 2014).
- **CE interventions can be undertaken in fragile contexts.** More limited space for civic engagement in fragile states may not lead to required development outcomes.

Goldfrank's (2002) analysis of the decentralization/participation program implemented by the *Frente Amplio* in the municipal government of Montevideo revealed that even though the program contributed to improvements in city services by providing the government with better information about citizens' needs and preferences, it failed to boost civic engagement among city residents because the channels of participation offered did not convince average citizens that their input in public forums would have a significant impact on governmental decisions. Coelho and Von Lieres (2010) suggest that unlike in stronger democracies, associations are very important for citizenship building and processes of political learning in more fragile contexts, while social movements are less common and often focus on a single issue such as elections. Diani (2008) argues that collective action in such regimes is mainly based on the community and embedded in non-political forms of organization (Earle, 2011). The Citizenship DRC has identified six factors that, depending on the context, may be useful to design CE interventions. These include the institutional and political environment, prior citizen capabilities, the strength of internal champions, history and style of engagement, the nature of the issue and how it is framed, and the location of power and decision-making (IDS, 2011). Batley and McLoughlin (2010) while acknowledging the urgency and prevalence of service delivery by non-state actors (including communities and CSOs) in several fragile and conflict situations, also caution against undermining the role of the state in this area and risks such as limits to scalable and sustainable local capacity as well as the accountability of service providers.

#### IV. LESSONS LEARNED FROM EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

43. The substantial level of expertise and knowledge that development practitioners and academics have amassed in this area over the past few decades will continue to help in implementing and learning from CE initiatives. This section draws on strategic and operational lessons from external stakeholders.

- **Build or sharpen 'political intelligence' in developing CE policies and undertaking such interventions on the ground.** As a first step, this requires the recognition that development cooperation is political and not simply technical in nature. It also calls for greater awareness that paths of change are not linear, and there may be embedded tensions in some of the assumptions that donors make about what brings about (positive) transformations (Menocal and Sharma, 2008).
- **Establish a set of clear rules in order to avoid frustration among participants.** These should specify both the procedural aspects (e.g., time available for debate, length of oral or written submissions) and the respective rights and duties of the participants (Caddy and others, 2005). Maintaining public interest and involvement in CE initiatives will also require initiators to tighten the "feedback loop" and demonstrate how people's contributions have been used. The challenge is two-fold: demonstrating efficacy and immediate results and building support and momentum over time (Caddy and others, 2005).
- **Think about the time and scale of CE interventions.** Where possible, development providers should invest in longer-term and more flexible support. Strengthening CE

requires longer-term commitments than those usually made in project planning. Building relationships with key strategic actors (both state and non-state) over the long term seems essential to ensure positive outcomes (UNDP, 2010). Mansuri and Rao (2013) also refer to this implementation challenge and caution that participatory projects should not be expected to follow the assumed trajectory and three- to five-year cycles as infrastructure projects.

- **Develop M&E systems to measure the impact of CE.** The variability of local context and the unpredictable nature of change trajectories in participatory interventions underscore the need for effective systems of monitoring and assessing impact. Such projects require constant adjustment, learning in the field, and experimentation in order to be effective—none of which can be done without tailoring project design to the local context, carefully monitoring implementation, and designing robust evaluation systems (Mansuri and Rao, 2013).
- **Focus capacity building not only on technical but also on political skills.** Caddy and others (2005) recommend capacity building for civil society user’s committees or advocacy groups in techniques to assess service quality or introduce technology to monitor service quality as well as policy cycles, data systems, and modes of presentation that officials find accessible. They also advocate for support to independent media efforts to expose poor-quality service delivery or poor accountability of institutions. At the same time, there should also be efforts to address the lack of substantial political capacity of both state and non-state actors such as the capacity to forge alliances, develop evidence and build a case, and contribute to the decision-making and policy-making processes (Menocal and Sharma, 2008).
- **Work with a wider range of partners.** CSO partners should be carefully selected with due regard to issues of integrity, quality, and capacity; it is also advisable to select experienced partners that have ties to the grassroots and can reach otherwise marginalized and isolated groups (especially in the rural areas). This is important to ensure that participatory processes are more inclusive and representative (UNDP, 2010).
- **Build both sustainability features and exit strategies into the design of CE interventions.** There should be more attention to empower partners for taking over donor roles and working to build the sustainability of projects. In this context there is also a need for much greater donor coordination of CE initiatives—beyond the basics of information sharing and basket funding—with the aim of moving toward joint objectives, with activity streams focused on areas of donor comparative advantage. Improved coordination is highly desirable in order to maximize funding, reduce transaction costs, avoid duplication, allocate management roles, and develop M&E systems (Menocal and Sharma, 2008).

## V. AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

44. The preceding review of CE relevance for development outcomes makes it clear that there is room to strengthen this evidence base, not only to measure its impact but also to gain a better understanding of how, when, and where CE can help to serve clients better and improve development results. This section proposes areas for further research that would be useful in this regard.

- **There is a need to generate a much more extensive evidence base regarding how context shapes the impact of CE interventions.** This focus on context needs to inform all stages of data gathering around such interventions, from the construction of baselines through M&E systems to impact assessments.
- **The effects of sector characteristics on relationships of accountability and control should be tested systematically through further inquiry.** Such examinations could focus on the following:
  - (a) Links between the visibility, measurability, and attributability of different services and functions and the political dynamics that emerge around them;
  - (b) Implications of task-related characteristics for political control and bureaucratic policy coherence; and
  - (c) Influence of demand characteristics of territoriality and frequency and predictability on the scope for direct user accountability.
- **More explicit investigation of the impact of CE interventions on the outcomes of services rather than simply outputs would be useful.** These would involve efforts to focus on appropriate solutions such as the types of interventions that are likely to improve quality of education and learning outcomes, rather than simply dealing with teacher absenteeism.
- **Further insight into the trajectory of citizen–state relationships as well as the influence of other citizen-led activities is important for macro-level, socio-political analyses.** By tracing the extent to which collective actors engage in social accountability actions over time, one can trace the evolution of citizen–state interactions around accountability, including whether previous actions elicited positive or negative responses from the state. We can also understand the conditions under which state actors are likely to respond (for example, if they have the required resources and capacity, if they are well linked to social actors, or if they are the subject of trust). Another option in this regard could be to expand the number of robust studies and build the evidence base for conditions under which different mechanisms work; although this path is resource intensive and the payoff seems attainable only in the distant future.
- **Even though the key expectation of CE initiatives is that they will lead to official responses, current literature provides limited understanding of why officials might take certain actions rather than others.** Unpacking the assumptions in expecting official responses to citizen action would be important to understand the micro-contextual

factors at play (Joshi, 2013). Along the same lines, the influence of local government institutions on the impact of CE activities on outcomes such as service delivery has not been studied adequately in theoretical or empirical literature.

- **Research and evidence on the link between horizontal accountability mechanisms and their ability to strengthen vertical accountability relationships** could include focus on the role of the judiciary, legislature and government agencies such as anti-corruption commissions to strengthen citizen's voice and accountability relationships.
- **Further research should also provide a deeper understanding of how CE initiatives fare when they target a diverse set of non-state actors.** This is because increasingly the state is only one of an array of legitimate actors who exercise public authority and provide services.
- **It would be beneficial to identify different characteristics of the communities that tend to support social accountability measures compared to groups where these mechanisms do not evolve or work (World Bank, 2009).** In the same context, evidence is lagging on how civil society could solve accountability problems in politics and thereby strengthen incentives of higher-tier governments to pursue appropriate interventions for improved compact and client power. For example, there is little rigorous impact evaluation of the role of mass media and cutting-edge communication technologies (Devarajan and others, 2011). In this context, is it necessary to isolate the impact of ICT on CE both on citizen mobilization/participation and, if possible, on final development outcomes.
- **Future research should generate case study evidence that includes a review of CE initiatives that have not managed to meet their objectives of contributing to development results.** This will provide further insight about the problems and complexities involved and inform ongoing learning in this regard (Newig and Fritsch, 2009).
- **CE interventions should be assessed comparatively for their durability, scalability, and contexts that are more amenable to specific mechanisms.**
- **Analysis of the costs of existing and upcoming CE initiatives should be undertaken.** The current lack of information on the true costs of such initiatives prevents any serious debate on their merits or drawbacks and does not serve the interests of either proponents or detractors of these new governance models.
- **There is need to better understand the risks of mainstreaming CE for all of the stakeholders involved, as well as potential unintended consequences.**