

“Citizens are the owners of society. The government is made by the people. People are you and me simply.”

Zimbabwean<sup>1</sup>

“As citizens, we are responsible for how we are governed. The main issue is . . . to broaden citizens’ participation. . . especially in decisionmaking on crucial issues of security, peace, and military.”

Marina Liborakina, Russian activist<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to talk about people, power, and politics without discussing citizenship and democracy. These are highly debated concepts, much like advocacy. But some reflection on what they mean is vital for planning and doing effective advocacy. These concepts help us define what kind of political system we are striving for, and the roles, rights, and responsibilities of all the participants. In this chapter, we look at different perspectives on these concepts that have informed the Guide’s approach to advocacy. We also include exercises to guide your own discussions about citizenship and democracy. (In Part 2, Chapter 7, there are additional exercises.)

### The Meaning of Democracy in a Changing World

The many changes occurring around the globe are stretching and reshaping forms of social organization and decisionmaking processes. To meet the challenges of the times, advocates and organizers may find it helpful to revisit the meaning of democracy and citizenship in their work.

Throughout the world, many countries have undergone exciting reforms that have opened up political processes to people. In countries such as the Philippines and South Africa,

authoritarian governments have been brought down. In others, governments have taken significant measures to include women and other marginalized groups in public life. Countries such as Brazil, Bolivia, and Thailand have institutionalized laws about people’s participation in policymaking. Fairer elections have occurred without violence in dozens of countries where people have voted for the first time.

But there is a long road between successful elections and accountable governments. Along this road civil society continues to struggle for a legitimate voice and for honest, committed leaders to help guide the process. As economic globalization changes the terrain of economic development and the power of national governments, the challenges for improving political structures and relationships grow.

“The transition to democracy is a narrative of the exclusion of women. What is needed is a new geography to give women space. This new space which women seek is one where there is negotiation between those with power and those without.”

Aminata Diaw<sup>3</sup>

### Challenges for Democratic Governance

In *Citizens and Governance: Civil Society in the New Millennium*, the Commonwealth Foundation and Civicus spell out some of the challenges for democratic governance.

“After the end of the Second World War, newly independent countries attempted to consolidate national development efforts. During the second half of the twentieth century, the powers and responsibilities of the nation-states rose to commanding heights. Yet . . . these nation-states are under siege. Forces of globalization are taking control of economic development beyond their reach. Transnational corporations and global capital markets increasingly determine the economic agenda. International financial institutions are playing a major role in shaping decisions about trade, economy, and development.

“The revolution in telecommunications and information technology has brought another dimension to globalization . . . . What some have—or have not—is . . . more visible and known to others. . . . But the web is not world wide: those people, countries, and regions with no access to it become marginalized and fall behind. . . .

“Universal expectations for better standards of living are putting more pressure on governments to deliver. Yet, at the same time, governments find themselves with fewer resources and reduced capacities to respond meaningfully to those expectations.

“In addition, new problems face humanity that cut across the borders of nation-states. Terrorism, drugs, HIV/AIDS, degradation of natural resources, migration, ethnic and nationalist ‘identity politics’, and religious extremism are widespread. They require trans-border solutions. Yet existing institutions at national and international levels designed fifty years ago are proving inadequate to respond to these emerging problems.

“. . . a wide array of new development actors in civil society has emerged. These are NGOs, women’s organizations, cooperatives, self-help groups, and a myriad of other forms of civil society organizations, both secular and religious. More resources, human and financial, are going to these organizations. Their experiences and capacities are being increasingly used by governments and intergovernmental bodies. Greater attention, visibility and influence are being gained by them. At the same time, citizens themselves are being expected and exhorted to play their part in development.”

Commonwealth Foundation and Civicus, *The Way Forward: Citizens, Civil Society and Governance in the New Millennium*. London: Commonwealth Foundation, 1999.

## Discussing Democracy

Although democratic political reforms have been welcomed, the devastating side effects of other changes have been hard on some people, especially the marginalized. These economic and political negatives have stimulated analysis and reflection by a wide range of international organizations.

The following quote from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED-UK)<sup>4</sup> summarizes this thinking:

“In many countries, representative democracy has been heavily criticized for its inability to protect citizens’ interests. Marginalized groups in both the North and the South often do not participate effectively in such representative democracy. The poor are often badly

## Overload of commercial messages...



organized and ill served by the organizations that mobilize their votes and claim to represent their interests. The crisis of legitimacy faced by institutions in the eyes of poor people (and a growing number of middle-income citizens) is now widely documented. Drawing from participatory research in 23 countries the recent 'Consultations with the poor' report, prepared [by the World Bank] for the World Development Report 2001, concludes: 'not surprisingly, poor men and women lack confidence in the state institutions even though they still express their willingness to partner with them under fairer rules.'<sup>4</sup>

The meaning of democracy is often controversial among activists. In many workshops, people have resisted a full discussion of democracy because it often provokes heated,

even angry, debate. This is partly because some people seem to equate democracy with the external imposition of models that do not seem to fit the reality of their context. This is especially true where the promise of democracy has not materialized. This resistance also sometimes arises out of confusion about the relationship between political democracy and economic liberalization. In some places, democracy means "free market", and people's experience with the free market has been mixed and the subject of considerable debate.

It is precisely these sensitivities that make the subject worth discussing. The following exercise, "What is Democracy," helps people begin to grapple with the meaning and practice of democracy in more depth.

## Purpose

To explore diverse understandings of the concept of democracy, and to identify how our views of democracy shape advocacy strategies.

## Process

(Time: 1 hour)

1. Explain the purpose of the activity. You may want to introduce the topic with a discussion about how the world and a specific country have changed, or as a follow-up to the “Historical Analysis of the Political Landscape” exercise in Chapter 7.
2. Divide participants into small groups to discuss three questions:
  - What is democracy?
  - What are some of the most difficult barriers to building democracy?
  - What can be done to address these barriers?

### Common Responses to “What is Democracy?”

- Leaders are accountable
- The will of the majority
- Competition for political power
- Right to voice your opinions
- Freedom to be part of any organization
- Governments change and can be rejected
- Equality
- Rights
- Representation
- Free market
- Citizen action
- Elections

### Common Responses to “Difficult Barriers to Democracy?”

- Poverty
- Apathy
- Corruption
- Abuse of power
- Traditional ways of doing things
- International forces like globalization and the IMF
- Political parties don’t change
- Discrimination
- Inequality: in reality, people are not equal
- Intolerance
- Violence, hatred
- Conflict
- Resistance to change
- Lack of information

### Common Responses to “What Can Be Done?”

- Systems that force leaders and officials to talk directly to citizens
- More citizens involved in decisions
- Respect for difference and rights
- Less fear and violence
- Less destabilizing external forces
- More ethical leaders
- More organized citizens
- More economic resources and opportunities
- More information
- Respect for sovereignty

Responses from workshops in Asia and Africa

3. After 30–45 minutes, ask the groups to share their responses in plenary. The second and third groups should only add to what the first group presents. Encourage participants to identify differences, disagreements, and common points.
4. Synthesis: Note that there are many different models and definitions of democracy. This is a topic that is being shaped by new leaders and citizens every day. You may want to clarify the differences between economic liberalization and democracy. You can also hand out and discuss the different definitions of democracy found on the following page.

## Democracy in Theory

Different concepts of democracy implicitly inform our approach to advocacy and participation. The following definitions, taken from a dictionary on political theories, show some of the basic conceptual differences.

**“Democracy:** Form of government in which supreme power is held by the people and exercised directly or through elected representatives. The word comes from the Greek for “people’s rule.” Although democracy comes in many forms, nowadays the concept generally implies majority rule, minority and individual rights, equality of opportunity, equality under the law, and civil rights and liberties.

- **Liberal democracy** is government characterized by the twin pillars of democratic institutions, on the one hand (e.g. elections, representative legislatures, checks and balances), and democratic protections on the other (e.g. the personal freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Bill of Rights). Liberal democracies typically occur in capitalist economies and stress private property rights. The approach emphasizes individual rights over the popular will.
- **Popular democracy** stresses self-rule by a free and equal people, sees government as an expression of the “people’s will,” and thus seeks to maximize citizen participation. It does this both electorally and in other ways, as it recognizes that the outcomes of elections do not always reflect the popular will.
- **Representative (or indirect) democracy** is the form of government in which legislation is enacted by representatives who are elected by the citizenry. In contrast to direct democracy, the majority delegates power to a minority nominated to act in their interest. The minority is mandated to do this either in response to the majority’s express wishes or according to the representatives’ own judgment.
- **Direct (or participatory) democracy** is a form of government in which the citizenry itself makes legislative decisions instead of delegating the power to elected representatives. This is often considered the “purest form of democracy”. Referendums and petitions, in which all voters can participate, are examples of direct democracy.
- **Social democracy** is based on the belief that . . . economic equity and social equality—can be achieved through democratic institutions via redistribution of wealth within a mixed-market economy in a welfare state.”

*A World of Ideas: A Dictionary of Important Theories, Concepts, Beliefs, and Thinkers* by Chris Rohmann, New York: The Ballantine Publishing Group, 1999.

## Citizens as “Makers and Shapers”<sup>5</sup>

A discussion of democracy inevitably reaches the subject of citizenship. And like democracy, the meaning of citizenship is also open to debate. For example, some political theorists argue that a good citizen is one who displays trust and obedience. Some believe that ordinary people lack sufficient judgment and knowledge and should therefore rely on their

leaders to solve problems. Other theorists argue that the individual as active citizen is rapidly disappearing, and is being replaced by the individual as consumer.

“Citizenship is very tied to the idea of democracy. Democracy is the first name and citizenship is the last name.”

Latin American activist, 2001



In contrast, people concerned about participation and advocacy say that the problem is not that people are politically incompetent or distracted by the consumer economy. Rather, the problem is the continued concentration of power in the hands of a few. They believe that more involvement by people in decisions affecting them would improve both government and people's quality of life. Some believe that people's participation is a basic right (regardless of whether one is a "legal citizen"), and that constructive engagement with government, if possible, is the best way to address social and economic problems and conflict. Below, scholars from the Institute of Development Studies in the U.K. describe active visions of citizenship.

"New approaches to social citizenship seek to move beyond seeing the state as bestowing rights and demanding responsibilities of its subjects. In doing so, they aim to bridge the gap between citizen and the state by recasting citizenship as practiced rather than given . . . This recognizes the agency of citizens as 'makers and shapers' rather than as 'users and choosers'. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Citizenship is learned through education, socialization, exposure to politics, public life, and day-to-day experiences. Promoting active citizenship among people who have been marginalized from politics is not a straightforward task. Citizenship does not just happen naturally in response to increased public space or political opportunity. Citizenship is more than voting or fulfilling public obligations. It is not only choosing officials and using the system; citizenship involves making and shaping the system's structures and rules.

A common vision of citizenship is helpful for advocacy. It is also important to recognize that the values of citizenship vary from context to context. For example, in South Africa, people

might define a good citizen as someone who actively fights racism. In Russia, being a good citizen might be associated with economic liberalism, and individual self-reliance might be valued over collective action. In countries that have emerged from years of conflict, often a good citizen is seen as one who seeks peaceful resolutions and reconciliation. In older democracies, where a significant portion of citizens are not exercising their right to vote, citizenship is often expressed through participation in activities such as volunteer neighborhood crime watch and clean-up efforts.

In all contexts, the changing views of citizenship are marked by battles that determine whose concerns get incorporated as legitimate and whose get excluded. The outcomes decide who is considered a full citizen and who is not.

So, what kind of citizenship do we want to promote? What skills, aptitudes and values will this citizenship demand? What are the responsibilities of the state? How can advocates build constructive alliances between government, the private sector, and citizens? How can we integrate learning of this kind into the advocacy process? What does all this mean for organizers and advocates?

"The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: No one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy—a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. But when the have-nots define participation as the redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of *outright radical, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition.*"

Sherry R. Arnstein, *The Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, vol 35, no 4, July 1969

## Purpose

To enable participants to explore their understanding of what it means to be a good citizen and what responsibilities governments have in promoting citizenship and citizen rights.

## Process

(Time: 1 hour)

1. Introduce the topic, explaining that there are many debates about the meaning of citizenship.
2. Organize participants into small groups to discuss the following questions.
  - What makes a 'good' citizen?
  - What can governments do to encourage 'good' citizenship?
  - What can citizens do to encourage 'good' citizenship?
3. After 20–30 minutes of discussion, ask groups to share their responses in plenary. As before, ask the subsequent groups only to add to what has already been said.
4. Synthesis: Summarize the responses of the participants. Highlight similarities and explore some of the differences. This exercise can be complemented by the exercise on page ###, which looks more closely at rights and responsibilities. Alternatively, you can introduce some of the thinking about citizenship described on the next page.

Many people live in countries or communities where they have never witnessed active, critical citizenship. Some cultures value obedience to authority more than independent thought and action. Activists from these countries may feel conflicted about what being a citizen means. Debates on the meaning of citizenship can be empowering for people who are trying to understand and shape their role as citizens.

### Common Responses to "What Makes a Good Citizen?"

- Is concerned about others, particularly disadvantaged
- Promotes collective action and a collective spirit
- Respects others, encourages respect for human rights
- Mediates conflict
- Encourages tolerance
- Is hopeful about change
- Is well-informed
- Participates in community and national affairs
- Monitors powerful interests
- Knows how to make demands
- Promotes participatory democracy in politics, at home

### Common Responses to "What Can Governments Do?"

- Protect and promote rights
- Make clear information available so people understand what's going on
- Encourage sensitivity to differences based on gender, age, race, etc.
- Provide easily understood information about policy choices and final outcomes
- Involve citizens directly in policymaking
- Provide citizenship education
- Implement affirmative action to include women and poor people in the political process

### Common Responses to "What Can Citizens Do?"

- Be well informed about their community and the world
- Encourage people to work together to solve problems
- Encourage people to respect differences
- Help to negotiate conflicts
- Educate others
- Inspire others
- Organize others

Responses from workshops in Asia, Africa, and the former Soviet Union

### History of Citizenship Concepts

*Civil citizenship* took shape in the 18<sup>th</sup> century western world. It refers to the rights that are necessary for individual freedom, such as the rights to free speech and assembly, property rights, and equal rights before the law. Over the years, excluded groups have fought to have these rights extended.

*Political citizenship* emerged from struggles in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It emphasizes rights to participate in the exercise of political power—whether as a voter, a candidate, or public official. Women, minorities, and poor people waged battles well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century to gain universal suffrage, which was previously granted only to male property owners. In some countries those struggles continue into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*Social citizenship* emerged against the background of the growing inequities of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It focuses on minimum rights and standards of economic, cultural and social well-being. Disadvantaged groups and their allies are currently still working to gain legitimacy for this view of citizenship and rights.

Adapted from T.H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*, Westport: Greenwood Press 1973 and Virginia Vargas, *Procesos de Formacion de las Ciudadanias Globales en el Marco de Sociedades Civiles Globales*, Lima Peru, 1999.

## Citizen Rights and Responsibilities

Debates about citizenship are shaped by our understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the roles and responsibilities of government. People's struggles for dignity have produced various definitions of citizenship emphasizing different dimensions of rights (see box below), likewise, with responsibilities. The range covers a wide political stretch and provokes vastly different responses. Some people believe that mayhem will result if all citizens jump into the decisionmaking process with their diverse interests. Others feel that accommodating diversity is the only way to avoid the conflict that would result if the political process were not responsive to differences.

We have found that it is important for people to explore government roles and responsibilities (see "Good Citizen" exercise on the next page) and also identify areas where government and citizens have joint responsibilities.

The following exercise has been used to help participants explore their own beliefs about citizen rights and responsibilities. This exercise will probably elicit more concrete responses than the previous exercise. The previous exercise encourages participants to look at general questions of good citizenship and government responsibility. The next exercise builds on that discussion and draws out ideas about obedience and respect for authority, and explores whether rights come from governments, or citizens, or both.



## Purpose

To enable participants to define citizen rights and responsibilities, and examine their evolution.

## Process

(Time: 1 hour)

1. Divide participants into small groups. Ask them to brainstorm two lists, one of rights and one of responsibilities. You may want to introduce the exercise highlighting the changing meaning of citizens. For example, traditionally citizen duties were conceptualized within the notions of the “common good”—voting, obedience to laws, and military service in wartime. Today, citizenship involves expanding duties.

### Common Responses to “Rights”

- civil and political rights: freedom of association, speech, movement, religion
- the right to vote
- property rights
- right to advocate and demand government accountability
- equal rights before the law
- right to organize and protest
- right to information
- right to protection and freedom from sexual or domestic violence

*Some participants may also include social and economic rights, such as*

- right to adequate schooling
- right to healthcare
- right to sexual preference
- right to a job with a decent wage
- right to decent housing
- right to clean environment
- right to food security
- rights related to reproductive health
- right to development

### Common Responses to “Responsibilities”

- being aware of social issues
- engaging in public debate and political life, voting
- being concerned about and taking steps to combat disadvantage and injustice
- promoting collective action
- treating others equally
- fostering tolerance and respect for human rights in all relationships and institutions
- joining others to demand that rights be enforced

Responses from workshops in Africa, Asia, and the former Soviet Union

2. After about 30–45 minutes, bring groups together in plenary to share their definitions. To avoid repetition, have the second, third, etc. groups only add to the common list.
3. Discuss the list. The following questions have been used to deepen understanding:
  - Who decides who has which rights?
  - Are rights changing?
  - If so, who is changing rights and how are they changing?

## Synthesis

One of the important lessons of this discussion is that the meaning of citizenship, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens are changing. Citizens themselves are playing a big role in that change. Governments also play a role in shaping the rights of citizens, but that role also seems to be changing. The important political and civil rights that shape basic freedoms may not be sufficient to ensure that everyone has equal rights because people are not all equal in reality.

## Citizenship and Rights: Some Tensions

Centuries of human struggle and scholarship led to the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 by the countries of the United Nations. But beyond just *defending* and *protecting* these rights, many people argue that we now need to *expand* human rights so that the disadvantaged, who have less access to resources and protections, get a fairer deal. As a result, new rights, such as the right to a clean environment, or reproductive health, have been introduced through national and international initiatives.

Although modern-day conceptions of citizenship are grounded in the notions of equality and universality, there are tensions about the gap between theory and reality.

Some activists reject the concepts of universality and equality altogether, even the validity of a rights approach. They emphasize that

differences, such as race and gender, can never be reconciled. Other activists point out the advantage of using these universal rights as aspirations for change. Despite the problems, they argue that the concept of universal rights gives legitimacy to struggles for justice.

It is in these tensions over difference and inequality that the struggle for rights and citizenship unfolds. Rights are not simply bestowed on people from a larger authority. They are a product of a long history of political activism. Through such struggles, excluded populations can gain a strong sense of their role as protagonists and citizens.

## Perceptions of Power and Political Change Strategies

What prevents and what enables citizens to engage actively in democratic processes? What kinds of skills and values do citizens need and how can these be communicated through our advocacy activities?

### Identity Politics and Beyond

The current struggle over rights, responsibilities, and citizenship has emerged in part from the efforts by some groups to fight discrimination through what some academics call “identity politics.” Identity can be both individual and collective. Each person has multiple identities—defined by race, gender, religion, class, age, ethnicity, sexual preference, among others. People of certain ‘identities’, such as ethnic and racial minorities, have been consistently excluded from many societies. By becoming aware of their own particular identity and the forces that discriminate, these groups become engaged politically. They express their citizenship by exercising and working to expand and enforce their rights.

Identity politics can, on the one hand, help to build political bonds of solidarity among people of shared identities. On the other hand, such an approach can also lead to discriminatory forms of politics that focus narrowly on individual group interests.

By forming alliances with others on issues of common concern, excluded groups can more effectively advance their rights and build more inclusive societies. In the process, their efforts hold the potential for generating new ideas about the practice of politics and citizenship which, in turn, can encourage the creation of new rights.

See Outhwaite, William and Tom Bottomore, eds. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.

### Gender and Citizenship

Recent contributions from women's groups and gender scholars have expanded the citizenship debate. The concept of *engendered citizenship* takes the rights and responsibilities of individuals in the formal political arena and applies them across all social relationships and institutions. Feminist activists and scholars argue that the concepts of democracy, equality, and rights are as important in the home as they are in the legislature. They extend the boundaries of the 'common good' beyond the public arena to include the family. They say that it is *as* important for a "good" citizen to share the responsibilities for the caring of children and older family members *as* it is to be involved in public activities. They argue that if men took more responsibility for domestic duties, women would be more active in public and economic life. Further, men's contribution at home would help reduce social problems that are linked to parental neglect. They argue that this could also reduce male-related problems, such as violent crime, because men's lives would be more balanced. At present, society treats what happens in the private world of the family as unrelated to citizenship. For women however, the chance to be a citizen is often determined by what goes on in that private world.

See Maxine Molyneux's *Gender, Citizenship and Democracy: Reflections on Contemporary Debates*, 1997

Scholar-practitioner John Gaventa argues that understanding citizenship and citizen competencies demands a clear analysis of power. Different views of political power embody different ideas about *why* citizens do not engage in public life, and *what* is needed to build citizen activism. He draws on contributions by others to help us decipher how our assumptions about the political process shape our strategies. In the chart on the following page, Gaventa<sup>7</sup> compares three alternative and overlapping theories about political power. He explains:

"... democracy ... is not played on a level field. Vast inequalities of power and resources separate the haves and the have-nots, the powerful and the powerless. The answer to the question 'what are citizen competencies ... critical for democracy building?' depends in part on one's answer to the questions of 'What is power? How does it affect citizens' capacities to act and participate for themselves?'

"If we approach the question of citizenship with the first view of power in mind, our emphasis will be on building political efficacy

and advocacy to participate in and influence decisionmaking on key issues. If we use the second dimension of power ... then our focus will be on organizing to build broad-based citizen organizations to overcome ... barriers. Who participates will be as important as how to participate effectively. But if we are empowering citizens to deal with the third dimension of power, then the questions of knowledge and values, of what people are participating about, become the critical variables, and the development of critical consciousness the crucial strategy.

"... to be effective, citizenship requires the capacity to empower oneself in each of these areas. It requires the ability to advocate, the capacity to organize and to build lasting citizens'-based organizations, the capacity to develop one's own critical capacities, strengthened by popular knowledge, information and culture.

"In practice, this becomes very difficult to do, and tensions develop within and across grassroots organizations around which goals are most important. Those who are 'at the table' and working on strategies of coopera

tion and collaboration with the powerholders may shy away from groups who are perceived as taking a conflict approach because they are questioning 'who sits at the table.' Groups that are working to organize to win a local campaign on a specific issue, may not want to focus on education and leadership development, or to debate what the table ought to look like. Groups focusing on leadership development and education may be not very good at creating sustaining organizations, or on understanding the intricacies of the political process, once they find that they have

gotten to the table. Funders upon whom many of the groups are dependent may encourage the support of one approach over another.

“... The critical challenge ... is ... to develop a unified approach that educates for consciousness, mobilizes for action and advocates on the issues simultaneously. . . Such an approach requires developing new networks and constellations of organizations in differing sectors who can work together for common goals.”

Citizenship and Political Power <sup>8</sup>				
	HOW DOES POLITICAL POWER WORK?	WHY DON'T CITIZENS PARTICIPATE?	HOW TO BUILD CITIZENSHIP	LIMITATIONS OF HOW-TO
1st view	Pluralist; power is the result of open competition; fair winners and losers; public arena is free and equal.	Individual choice; satisfied; apathetic or lack of information and skills.	Advocacy training; public interest (see Chapter 1 definition) and lobbying with professional media and lobbyists.	No direct citizen participation; ignores power dynamics, privilege and disadvantage; no consultation or accountability to grassroots.
2nd view	Bias against the have-nots where power maintained through systemic discrimination and privilege; need clout, bargaining skills and resources to compete and win; power conflictual; public arena only.	Systemic barriers demand that citizens develop citizenship skills and organization to make voices heard and place issues on agenda.	Build broad-based citizen organizations and alliances around common grievances; use power of numbers to get to the bargaining table and win issues; organizers to train citizen leaders and organizations.	Dependence on outside organizer; emphasis on skill-based organizing neglects questions of consciousness and values; accepts politics as usual; ignores power abuses among grassroots; assumes homogeneous needs of poor and marginalized.
3rd view	Power maintained through ideology, values and institutional barriers in both public and private; hegemony prevents conflicts from arising.	Institutional bias combined with internalized oppression; have-nots have no resources and are paralyzed by self-blame, lack of self-esteem; hierarchy and privilege are justified by ideology and socialization.	People's knowledge and critical consciousness to resist dominant values; promote alternative relationships and structures; education and analysis as basis of citizenship; indigenous leadership and organizing.	Emphasis on consciousness and local reality gives too little attention to skills and organization needed for political action; need to match local understanding with information on global issues.

## Transforming Strategies

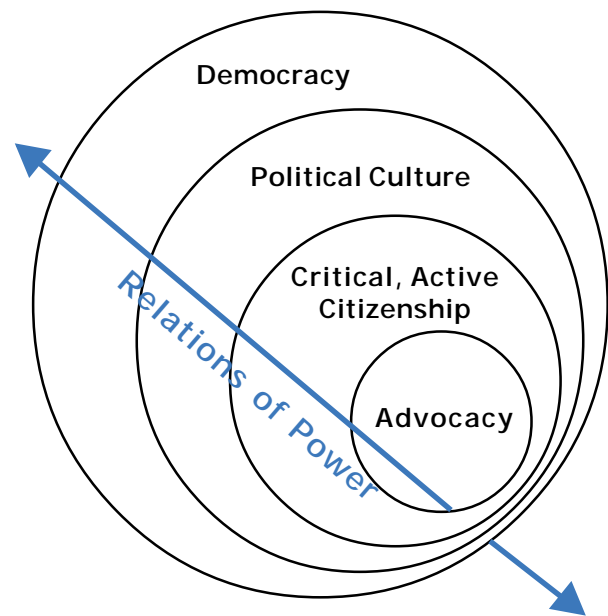
As Gaventa points out, a combination of all three approaches are necessary to open the political process to diverse voices. For example, we may need the highly skilled lobbyists and media expertise emphasized in the first approach to influence an increasingly diffuse global policy process. On the other hand, lobbying may change policy but, no matter how slick, it will not change the structures and culture that perpetuate exclusion. Lobbying without citizen organizing will not address the roots of exclusion and discrimination that shape power.

The problem with the second approach is that organizing, too, is unlikely to address the deeper structural and social causes of inequality. In fact, many citizen organizations imitate the same patterns of discrimination that they were formed to combat. A new practice of citizen leadership requires an integrated strategy involving participatory education processes to build people's ability to analyze their reality and internalize their rights as citizens. It also takes new alliances and broad-based democratic organizations that tap the power of working together as well as respecting and using people's difference.

Advocacy that is geared to building citizenship and reshaping political culture draws heavily on the theory and practice of participation and popular education. The Guide's approach to advocacy focuses more explicitly on addressing power relations, as they express themselves through social conflicts and problems ranging from reproductive health to land rights.

So, at the heart of our approach to advocacy are the ever-changing dynamics of power. The following graphic<sup>9</sup> describes the Guide's vision of advocacy where citizenship, political culture,

and democracy are connected like layers of an onion and all shaped by relations of power.



In the next chapter, we look more closely at power and empowerment, and discuss linking learning and action for citizen empowerment. This discussion provides the methodological base for the rest of the Guide.



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**NOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> *Democratic Governance in Zimbabwe: Citizen Power*, Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust and the Commonwealth Foundation, Harare, 1999.
- <sup>2</sup> *Public Policy Advocacy: Women for Social Change in the Yugoslav Successor States*, The Star Project, Zagreb, 1998.
- <sup>3</sup> In Taylor, Vivienne *Marketisation of Governance: Critical Feminist Perspectives from the South*, SADEP/DAWN, 2000.
- <sup>4</sup> Pimbert, Michel and Tom Wakeford, "Overview—Deliberative Democracy and Citizen Empowerment" in *PLA Notes* (Notes on Participatory Learning and Action), International Institute for Environment and Development, February 2001.
- <sup>5</sup> Cornwall, A and Gaventa, J, "Bridging the Gap: Citizenship, Participation and Accountability" in *PLA Notes* (Notes on Participatory Learning and Action), International Institute for Environment and Development, February 2001.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>7</sup> Gaventa, John. "Citizen knowledge, citizen competence and democracy building", in Stephen L Elkin, (ed.), *Democracy and Citizen Competence*, Penn State Press, 1998. Previously published in *The Good Society*, 5 (3): 28-35, Fall, 1995.
- <sup>8</sup> Adapted from Gaventa, John. "Citizen knowledge, citizen competence and democracy building", in Stephen L Elkin, (ed.), *Democracy and Citizen Competence*, Penn State Press, 1998.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid.