WORKSHOP REPORT:
Collaboration for Research on Democracy (CORD)

Delhi, India
December 10th -14th, 2012

Organized by:

CENTRE FOR POLICY RESEARCH, Delhi, India

and

CORDnetwork
Collaboration for Research on Democracy

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SECTION1: OVERVIEW OF CORD

1.1 CORD Background

With the recent events in the Middle East, North Africa, and others, the idea that citizen engagement and action can contribute to improved governance and pro-poor development outcomes has become an accepted part of the policy discourse. Pro-poor social change as a result of citizens' struggles against durable inequalities and the exploration of new democracy-building strategies are increasingly evident in both transitional and already democratized countries. Yet there is still a great need to better understand how these citizen-centric strategies work and how we actually assess the wider democratic impact and developmental outcomes of citizen-initiated social mobilization.

The Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability (CDRC) was a previous research collaboration that aspired to attain a deep understanding of the complexities associated with citizen engagement in civil society and political processes. This was done, predominantly, through an examination and comparison of 150 case studies collected by 60 researchers from all over the world. While evidence suggests that *most* examples of citizen engagement appear to bring about positive change, indeed the processes are deeply complex and, in some circumstances, may lead to disempowerment or other negative effects for citizens.

Nonetheless, to complement the research, the CDRC initiative focused on building relationships between Northern and Southern institutes, as well as linking South-south institutions in a way that would further facilitate comparative research and learning processes. Upon completion of the CDRC after ten years, researchers agreed that future studies need to focus on the quality and direction of the differences that citizen participation can make, and how positive change can be attained. Often this type of research is best conducted in larger, multi-country research networks, which bring together researchers and practitioners from different contexts. These types of multi-context collaborations can go beyond merely sharing best practices to developing a deeper and more complex understanding of the conditions under which successful pro-poor democratic mobilizations and social arrangements work across different contexts.

Recently, despite the end of the CDRC, many of its affiliated researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers expressed an interest in continuing their collaboration through a new South-South network – the Collaboration for Research on Democracy (CORD) which aims to provide the framework for a new Southern-led network. Indeed, CORD aims to provide a unique platform for researchers, practitioners and policy-makers to build a policy-relevant research agenda on the new challenges associated with the development landscape of democratisation. Many of CORD's collaborators and participants have deep experience in working in different arenas - policy, research and advocacy – and have also accumulated deep methodological knowledge on policy-relevant comparative research.

With these things taken into account, some colleagues of the CDRC have been working since 2011 to bring the new Collaboration for Research on Democracy (CORD) into a reality. The first major CORD activity took place in February 2012 and consisted of a 4-day online conference on the topic of "Defining the Global South."

The workshop held in May 2012 at UTSC, Toronto, then, was the first opportunity for CORD members to meet face-to-face to discuss their research goals and objectives, and create an action plan moving forward.

1.2 - *Key Goals of CORD*

Cord focuses on the intersections between research and policy-making. It aims to achieve the following goals:

1. The generation of new knowledge across the contexts
2. The dissemination of new knowledge widely to decision-makers and practioners
3. Deepening the capacity of Southern partners to carry out high quality research, communication and policy engagement and
4. The fostering of dynamic engagement between researchers , practioners and policy-makers

SECTION 2: WORKSHOP OVERVIEW

2.1 - *Workshop Rationale*

Over the last two decades, the idea that citizen engagement and action can contribute to improved governance and pro-poor development outcomes has become an accepted part of the policy discourse. Yet there is still a great need to better understand how these citizen-centric strategies work and how we actually assess the wider democratic impact and developmental outcomes of citizen-initiated social mobilization. A network of researchers have created the Collaboration for Research on Democracy (CORD), which aims to provide a unique platform for researchers, practitioners and policy-makers to build a policy-relevant research agenda on the new challenges surrounding the development landscape of democratisation. CORD's goal is to build a network on citizen participation, development and democracy in the Global South.

This workshop, hosted by the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, aimed to follow-up and build upon the group's initial work (including two online conferences and a 4-day workshop in Toronto in May 2012) as well as to create long-term strategies to sustain the growth and activities of the network. Such face-to-face meetings are extremely important for maintaining the energy and enthusiasm of researchers separated by substantial geographical distances. The meeting in India offered researchers the chance to collaborate on a series of ongoing projects, as well as to brainstorm ideas for emerging work and funding strategies.

2.2 - *Workshop Objectives*

1. To welcome new partners into the CORD
2. To brainstorm a cluster of common research themes and shape collaborative programs within the three groups (Knowledge and Democarcy; Political and Economic citizenship; Marginality and Policy) and look at areas of interconnections for future collaborative research projects
3. To create "Mind Maps" of real cases of interface between knowledge, technology and democracy
4. To present and discuss book chapters for an edited volume (Mediation Group)
5. To finalise grant applications and plan for the next round of activities and outputs

2.3 - *Workshop Methodology/Approach*

As CORD aims to study practices of democratization around the world, it is important to also be democratic in the ways in which workshops are organized and how research is both conducted and disseminated. Thus, the sessions of the workshop were structured in such a way that almost all members had the opportunity to facilitate a particular session, if they wished to do so. Along with this mixed facilitation, other collaborative methodologies included:

- Individual paper presentations and feedback sessions
- Large-group discussions / small group discussions
- Mind-map creation
- Sharing of research methodologies (ex: digital story-telling projects, digital mapping, open access technologies)
- Public forum presentations and discussions on CORD members' research on the topic of "Mediating Urbanization in Democracies"
- Presentation of critical feedback from non-CORD members, about mechanisms of collaboration, and a critique on the chapters that will be submitted for an edited volume on "Mediation"

In terms of research methodologies, CORD plans to undertake many different ways of working. In particular, the group plans to make use of technology to enhance collaboration over geographical distances. For instance, online mapping of current practices of democracy have been discussed, as well as participatory research methods such as digital storytelling. While the network is currently using basic forums to hold "online conferences," we hope to enhance these discussions by making use of other technologies such as video conferencing applications to host meetings between face-to-face workshops.

2.4 - Workshop Activities

The workshop took place over a period of five days, beginning on Monday December 10th, and ending on Friday December 14th. While many different discussions and activities took place over those five days, the core activities were as follows:
1. Presentations and discussion of book chapters for an edited volume on the subject of Citizenship Mediation,
2. The solidification of key research objectives for the Knowledge & Democracy and Economic Citizenship sub-groups
3. The emergence of a new sub-group called Marginality, Alliance Building and Policy
4. The theoretical and empirical framing of development issues pertaining to urbanization through an open public symposium
5. Sharing of methodologies
6. Discussions on the future growth and direction of the network, including building key partnerships, long-term funding strategies, and structures of administration

2.5- Workshop Participants

In order to achieve Southern-driven research collaboration, CORD members consist of a diverse array of global researchers and practitioners, coming from different locations and with different skills, research backgrounds and ways of working. At the Delhi workshop, a total of 23 participants were able to attend, representing countries including India, Bangladesh, South Africa, Brazil, Egypt, the UK, Australia and Canada. The full list of participants is below:

1. Bettina von Lieres (International Development Studies Program, University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada)
2. Shylashri Shankar (Centre for Policy Research, India)
3. Varsha Bhaik (Centre for Policy Research, India)
4. Rebecca Hillyer (International Development Studies Program, University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada)
5. Dolf de Lintelo (Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK)
6. Claire Benit-Gbaffou (The University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)
7. Patrick Heller (Centre for Policy Research, India)

8. Andrew Charman (Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, South Africa)
9. Alex Shankland (Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK)
10. Ranjita Mohanty (Ind.Cons.)
11. Peter Taylor, Program Leader, Think Tank initiative, IDRC
12. Joanna Wheeler (Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK)
13. Laurence Piper (University of the Western Cape, South Africa)
14. Lopita Haq, (BRAC Development Institute, BRAC University, Bangladesh)
15. Laura Waisbich (Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP), Brazil)
16. Paul Kingston (International Development Studies Program, University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada)
17. Leslie Chan (International Development Studies Program, University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada)
18. Allison Mathie, COADY Institute
19. Simeen Mahmud (BRAC Development Institute, BRAC University, Bangladesh)
20. Partha Mukhopadhya (Centre for Policy Research), New Delhi
21. Pranav Sidhwani (Centre for Policy Research), New Delhi
22. Deepta Chopra (Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK)

SECTION 3: ACTIVITIES FROM DAY 1 & 2 (DEC. 10TH, 11TH, 2012)

3.1 Welcome to Participants and Overview of CORD's Ways of working

Facilitators: Shylashri Shankar, Bettina von Lieres, Simeen Mahmud

Welcome and Introduction

Dr. Shylashri Shankar initiated the workshop with a warm welcome to the participants. The participants then gave a brief round of introductions about themselves and their research interests. Dr. Shankar explained the agenda and the entire schedule of the workshop (Appendix A) for the next five days.

Background to CORD

Bettina Von Lieres, UTSC, started session I of the workshop with sharing of background information about the CORD network, its structure, partners and areas of research etc. through a power point presentation. CORD is a southern-led research and knowledge network of over thirty researchers and practitioners working in universities, research institutes and NGOs in the global South and North. CORD emerged from a ten-year research program at the Citizenship DRC (IDS Sussex). The Citizenship Research Center aimed at connecting research and action for a period of 10 years in over 25 countries with the support of 60 researchers, involving 150 case studies focusing on citizen participation and 450 outputs (both negative and positive). CORD emerged from the need to keep the trust and spirit of the network alive and take forward the CDRC work in the context of emerging new challenges faced by the citizens in the global South.

The partners of CORD have committed themselves to creating new knowledge and filling gaps identified during the previous work of the CDRC network on citizenship action. CORD is also committed to developing technology based research methodologies and creating policy-influencing research.

The list of CORD's current partner organizations is as follows:
- Centre for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP), Brazil
- Centre for Policy Research (India)
- University of the Western Cape, South Africa
- University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa
- University of Stellenbosch, South Africa
- BRAC Development Institute, BRAC University, Bangladesh
- Institute for Development Studies, Sussex University, UK
- Centre for Critical Development Studies (CCDS), University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada
- The COADY International Institute, Canada
- Centre for Internet and Society (CIS), India
- CORD is hoping to expand its partnerships in other regions as well.

The working groups formulated around the three thematic areas of research are:
1. Mediation group
2. Knowledge and democracy group (as well as new technologies in sustaining citizen movement)
3. Political and Economic citizenship group

Through these working groups, CORD is currently focusing on different research areas as follows:

1. Mediation:

- Emerging ways that citizens are mobilising and engaging with political authorities in the global South
- Extra-institutional and spaces and practices of citizen mobilisation
- How poor communities build agency and capacities to engage states for access to resources

2. Knowledge and Democracy:

- Emerging ways knowledges around democracy are being produced and disseminated across the global South
- Role of new technologies and digital social media in sustaining citizen mobilisation in fragile contexts
- Democratising access to knowledge

3. Political and economic citizenship:

- Emerging connections between economic and political citizenship, especially in the informal economy in the global South

4. Marginality and Public Policy

- Working group yet to be initiated

Working methodologies developed by CORD:

- Collaboration: participatory and iterative
- Link research and practice insights
- Face-to-face meetings in different contexts
- Exploring new online technologies for global development research collaboration
- Collaborate in comparative global projects to build research which is policy-relevant

The "Value Added" of CORD Membership:

Simeen Mahmud summarized the value addition of CORD collaboration as follows:

1. It's a forum for "coming up for air" – where independent research and experiences can be shared through linkages and the exhchange of ideas for supporting further research work
2. To enhance discussions and understanding around more democratic practices from around the world. Searching for ways to create a platform where inter-connections can be made at a global level.
3. Forum for sharing and learning, beyond sight-specific contexts
4. To emphasize on online and virtual collaboration, along with face to face meetings
5. Raise funds together to support the organization

Thus, CORD aims to share best practices on democracy and development, collaborate on new forms of research, enhance discussions on different practices of collaboration (including via technology), and to continuously develop the capacity of its members.

3.2 Framing the Context for the Sub-Groups

3.2.1: Presentation 1 - Framing of "Mediation"

By Laurence Piper, UWC

- Concept of "mediation" used by the CDRC to understand the ways that large groups are mediated during citizen participation
- **Mediation** = "The process of the transmission of demands from parts of civil society to other parts or to actors in political society or to the state"
    o Covers everything from clientelism to democracy
    o It is more than just communication, it is also about forming identities, 'sense of publicness' (or what Laurence would call citizenship)
- Mediation "opens up access to public decision-making institutions that otherwise would remain inaccessible"
- Legitimate mediation must be done in the terms of the excluded. It is a form of 'honest brokering'
- The practice of mediation is the story of enduring forms of political exclusion in the new democracies of the global south
- Is mediation a way of deepening democracy? Can it redress terms for the marginalized?
- Basis of Chatterjee's work on urban marginalization / politics → but mediation also has relevance to many other fields, particularly in the realm of national policy and the framing of more inclusive national policies
- Roberta Rice's and Alex Shankland's work on the "politics of representation" and the role of the states that wish to maintain and/or limit autonomy
- How are meanings of identity and agency formed within the process of democratic mediation?
- *Indigenous Autonomy* – some sense of self-determination against a specific state (Brazil, Yukon) but not quite similar in Egypt
    o Who are the mediators claiming recognition of autonomy?
    o Why And How are they mediating and for what? (ex – use of ICT?)
- *Urban Inclusion* – groups that try to manage the dissonance between the informal/illegal lives of the urban poor and the formal/legal rules of the modernizing city
    o *Who? Civil society, milita, street-level bureaucrats*
    o Why?
    o How? Forms of brokerage, case-specific agreements between the local state and communities. Often extra-institutional, particular and ad hoc

Discussion on the Presentation:

Dolf de Lintelo
• In the narrow versus broader definitions for mediation, what is the preference for the "narrow" definition?

Laurence
• In the case of urban politics / urbanization, it means that many communities are living in a rather perilous relationship with the state. Therefore, I don't think that a broader definition helps us to define this trend. However, the thinking is not completely advanced yet. But, having mediation that is reflected specifically in marginality brings more relevance than simply describing state-society relations.

Patrick Heller
• Are there two forms of non-mediation (coercion [state asserting power] vs. the "ideal" democracy which is technically non-mediated since citizens make claims to the state that are delivered upon; whereas in most democratic states, it is not simply coercion, but there is almost some sort of mediation). For instance, communities in Mexico city have the idea of self-provision (which don't bother communicating with the state); but in Sao Paulo, citizens go directly to the state to engage with state processes independently. Are you trying to engage with the ways these case studies differ?

Laurence
- Yes. Along with coercion, there is also a chance of ignoring certain issues within urban politics.

Partha
- If you take national politics and move it into the context of urban politics, is this, methodologically speaking, really different?

Claire
- I believe the difference is what is being claimed. Either access to the state or autonomy – but what is missing is "identity." Therefore, what is claimed through mediation and the scale at which it is claimed is important (identity, autonomy, scale are key differences).

Joanna Wheeler
- Not involved in mediation discussion, but was thinking about work with citizenship DRC around dichotomy between civil society and the state. Believes this is very relevant to mediation since mediators do not always fall into an "ideal type" and thus do not only act in one way. Therefore, sometimes there is "coercive" or "unmediated…" but really, in most instances, it is mainly "muddled." They often have different priorities and agendas…
- So how do we maintain the discussion between state-society relations and the discussion of mediation?

Ranjita Mohanty
- Maybe we need to unearth some questions like "Do mediation and representation inherently make the assumption that something good will happen? What else can also happen that we may not be able to see? Are there any negative aspects of mediation?" From some of my work on social exclusion, I find that in choosing a particular strategy, are we shutting the door for other possibilities, what types of frameworks are we not considering?

Laurence Piper:
- This is definitely something that we know is missing form our work. We do a lot of work on "democratic mediation" but not so much a discussion of the negative elements.

3.2.2: Presentation 2 - Democratizing economies to achieve substantive political and economic citizenship

By: Allison Mattie, COADY

The Economic and Political Citizenship group aims to bring together researchers and practitioners who are interested in exploring the intersections between political and economic forms of citizenship in the global South. The group is specifically interested in looking at popular ways of gaining control over economic activities and its effect on political empowerment and political citizenship. There is interest in exploring both formal and informal economic agency, formal and informal modes of political engagement and hybridized forms of economic and political agency. Two forms of citizenships have been identified: Vertical and Horizontal.
Focus on Active Citizenship: Coady's work in Asset- Based Citizen-led development, which actually contributes to a justice-based agenda.

Potential Research questions for this group:
1. Does economic agency translate into agency in political areas of life? Can political inclusion occur without economic inclusion?
2. How do vertical forms of citizenship (claiming rights and entitlements) intersect with the horizontal (associational) for economic inclusion?

3. How is economic citizenship articulated in protest politics given the tensions between demands on the state to improve services and resistance of the self-employed towards aspects of state control?
4. Emergent forms of politics in contexts of deep informality (slum areas etc.) and their relation to mainstream conceptualizations of citizenship and economic rights
5. Informal economic arenas: emerging forms of rights and resistance; the politics of access to informal sector opportunities and markets;
6. Local politics and emerging policies of regulation of informal sector; forms of mobilization or informal workers; impact of violence on informal activity
7. Recognizing the dark side of informality but learning how people can claim their rights
8. Linkages between informal and formal economies
9. Formal v informal economic citizenship

Discussion on Allison's Presentation:

Andrew
- It is important to note the differences between rural and urban contexts and the differences in resource availability. For instance, we are often talking about access to opportunities, spaces, etc. for economic activity in urban spaces. Relating it back to the broader questions "to what extent can CSO's act as mediators"? To what extent are they involved in determining who can have rights to particular economic opportunities (particulary in an urban context)?

Alex
- Do you focus on differences between economic citizens as "producers" vs. "consumers" etc? Is it useful to make this distinction?

Alison
- In its most limited sense, for example, economic citizenship could entail whether immigrants are actually able to get jobs in Canada. Everything that is happening in the solidarity is economic citizenship. - Horizontal approach = collective and Vertical approach = more individualistic

Simeen
- What about the rights of labour? This can be an association through collective bargaining, etc. but it is not always the case. Is that something that we could consider as part of the struggle to be recognized as an economic citizen?

Allison
- Yes, absolutely.

Paul
- Reflecting on my work on disability – disabled groups demanding access to employment (quotas in private sectors, etc.). How confined or defined is the group who is making the demand? How does the identity of the group and the demands of the group relate to economic citizenship?

Alison
- Wouldn't restrict the discussion to "informality." There is also a lot of space to discuss this topic in the formal sector

3.2.3: Presentation 3 - Knowledge, Technology and Democracy: Mapping practices of democracy
By Joanna Wheeler (IDS-Sussex) and Leslie Chan (UTSC)

What makes it important to be asking questions about knowledge and democracy at the present time?
- Three aspects to the "why now" argument:
  - 1. Political (technology can be used as a mode of "unruly politics")
  - 2. Technological (allows for rapid exchange of information and knowledge)
  - 3. Cultural (potential to adapt different technologies to particular cultural norms)

Therefore, we are trying to look at the relationship between knowledge and democracy in relation to the current context of politics, technology and culture with the hope is to create a real mind map of case studies. Technology allows for experimentation, representation, diversity and opportunity for variation.

Methodologies:
- Group sees participatory methodologies as a way to democratize research and online collaboration
- How can different forms of internet architecture both permit and restrict different forms of participation / collaboration?

What is the shape of the new democracies in the Global South?
- Emerging forms of engagement
- Emerging forms of marginalization
- Emerging forms of agency (unpacking the nature of agency: democratic or not)

Laura
- Was wondering if the group is interested in looking at the less "unruly" uses of Internet for political purposes (such as protests using online platforms)

Joanna
- Yes

Leslie
- A lot of our work (for instance) the Arab Springs is not well documented. We are trying to formulate a way of mapping theses strategies amongst different movements.

Partha
- In the market-driven economy, can we have the type of democracy that we are talking about? In the realm of facebook, the technology itself seems to disallow democracy…

Alex
- Information vs knowledge/ technology. Is the difference relevant to our discussion on democracy?

Leslie
- It is a difficult discussion because "knowledge" is often within the use of the technology itself. Therefore, they are one and the same. This is why it is important to understand the ways that the various technologies are actually used.

Ranjita
- What are the implications for democracy when people use fake identities to express views via public forums such as facebook or twitter? What dangers are associated with different forms of social media?

Andrew:
- Citing example of Shebeen project in South Africa in terms of interconnection: Mapping of different Shebeen localities in a poor community. Use of technology to generate citizens stories and a website to digitally map the community and Shebeen establishments.

3.3 Breakout Session I – Mediation Group Paper Presentations

3.3.1: Paper 1 - Disability Advocacy and the Challenge of Sustaining Policy Reform
By: Paul Kingston

The chapter is divided into three sections:
1. The **first** examines the historical roots of Lebanon's disability policy domain as it entered the postwar period – roots that have long generated powerful dynamics leading to the exclusion and marginalization of people with disabilities in the country.
2. The **second** section analyzes the rise of disability advocacy networks, ones that revolved around two, sometimes competing, sub-networks, both of which sought to take advantage of the perceived opportunities of the emerging postwar period to advance policy reform and re-shape the Lebanese state in the social welfare field. It was as a result of these efforts that the more formal institutional parameters of Lebanon's disability policy domain were created.
3. The **third** section documents the resilient, hegemonic power of informal sectarian dynamics, instrumentalised and reproduced as they were by the powerful elements within Lebanese civil and political society.
- The chapter concludes by arguing that while significant successes have been achieved at the level of both policy discourse and social awareness, particularly among people with disabilities themselves, rights-based institutional reform at the national level remains at best piecemeal and precarious, subject to constant contestation from the resilient hidden networks that surround them.

3.3.2: Paper 2 - Speaking for the People: Mediation, Representation and Governance in Indigenous Societies
By: Alex Shankland

Building on this case study, Alex seeks to outline a theoretical approach to "representation as mediation" that distinguishes it from traditional notions of representative governance. This approach centers on the role of representation in allowing legitimate and therefore binding decisions to be taken at the central locus of authority of a polity. It argues that from the perspective of some groups of citizens, especially those belonging to marginalized minorities, the notion that a representative has a mandate to bind constituents to decisions taken at the center of the polity as a whole is meaningless. Such decisions will, therefore, lack the necessary legitimacy to achieve "bindingness" unless their content has been validated across constituent micro-polities – a process in which the role of the representative as mediator is critical. A possible suggestion is that this perspective is not confined to indigenous peoples in multi-ethnic states, but may actually be quite widespread across contemporary democratic polities – and that the failure to address it is a factor in what Jürgen Habermas has famously termed the "legitimation crisis" faced by these polities. Alex proposes that in order to understand and address this crisis, research is required into the circumstances under which "representation as mediation" can work effectively with different forms of representative, participatory or deliberative democratic process to generate the binding consent on which legitimate political authority depends.

Discussion on Alex's Paper:

Shylashri
- Difference between the notion of representation and mediation?

Alex
- Problematizing the notion of representation and mediation: representation is different from governance. The diplomat vs. an elected representative. Durable indigenous representation is mislead. Comrade state (Brazilian state-society relations are less hostile than others), coercitive state (view of the white state that must be pacified).

Paul:
- Two arguments: asymmetrical power relations and the instrumentalization of sectarian divides. The State is not as monolith, opportunities for marginalized groups to break-through. Difference is highlighted. Universal rights-based advocacy is precarious.

Patrick
- Social exclusion and social exposure. Degree of marginality matters. Politically marginalized community may not matter as is the case with tribals in India. On Binding: politicians have to be responsive and responsible. Range of institutional mechanisms that can be used to solve community issues. Which can be seen against the concept of good governance.

Ranjita.
- In contextualizing the State, how to unpack who's doing what? For ex. When multiple versions of the State exist.

Allison
- Rights space discourse is normally secular. Is this a shift to secularization in Lebanon? Or religion is including rights in their discourse?

Simeen
- How mediators are selected in Brazil? What is the agenda of the disability NGOs in Lebanon?

Laurence
- There exists ambiguity of the contract. Does exception rule reaffirms the power of the state?

Claire
- On politics of claims-making: the difficulty to make rights-based claims. Balance between rights-based claiming and clientelist-based claims? With numerical inferiority you can't use the polity so, where does this rights-based discourse comes from? Cooperation with the state? Autonomy seeking?
- Leader's legitimacy: dissociation. How sustainable are they? Is a new relation between the excluded community and the state? How is it decided? Contradiction is seen in case of Lebanon: rights-based discourse does not resonate in Lebanon, but still it's being used as a strategy

Bettina
- Alex's paper shows what mediation and participatory processes can't deliver.

Alex
- Is the state comrade for everybody? Each of the sub-identities should be analysed separated (urban black movement, quilombolas, feminist movement). What are the trade-offs of allying with other groups? Terms of alliances were always negative for indigenous peoples for Brazil. Signification based for authenticity makes alliances difficult to be made. Sanitarismo:

coercitive practices, related to the idea of public-health. Is ambiguity enemy of bindingness? Not really.

Paul
- Real dilemma is universal claiming and use of difference? Minority or marginalized groups? Self-mediation is seen in the Global South. Who begins to act as a representative/mediator? Mediators: well-connected people with better economic assets plus communal connections (class and sectarian characteristics).
- Structural conditions are determining, but have holes. Agency is more important than contingency. Mix record of influence of international actors. Lebanese state is unable to enforce rights-based services.

3.3.3: Paper 3 - Development Organizations in Bangladesh: Mobilizing and Mediating
By Lopita Huq and Simeen Mahmud (BDI-BRAC)

The paper deals with how organizations in Bangladesh mediate between the poor and the state/non-state authorities. The paper is based on a survey conducted in 2007 of members of three NGOs, namely, Samata, Nijera Kori and Karnojibi Nari. The survey showed that the general perception amongst the members of the three NGOs was that the state is very powerful and inaccessible, with some even equating the state with a kingdom. Also, the idea of citizenship appeared to be unclear, with citizenship being associated with the locality, rather than the state.

The broad strategy followed by the three NGOs basically deals with access to resources, recognition of the marginalized as citizens, conscientization, and citizen action. The approach it follows is 'learning by doing', which basically deals with educating the landless about their rights to property and helping them getting access to records and to land that is rightfully theirs. A three-fold mediation approach is followed by the three NGOs.

As for the strategies of engagement, both Samata and KN maintain good relationships with the local elites and the local governments so as to ensure their support in the time of need. NK, on the other hand, does not engage directly with the local governments.

In conclusion, the three NGOs have led to the creation of spaces for engagements and have also led to the legitimisation of representation to some extent. The issues that need attention, however, are basically the need for accountability and the need for ensuring that the model developed is sustainable. There is a need for mobilisation before mediation, since the former is a pre-requisite for the latter.

Discussion on Simeen and Lopita's Paper:

Dolf
- Do the the NGOs position themselves as mediators or mobilizers? Looking at the dynamics they use would help solving this issue. Importance of place of context: transition from the military to the multi-party. Aid flows directly to NGOs: Donors are circumventing the state. What's the role of ideology? Are NGOs as service delivers and not having a political right of struggling for rights? Poor are seen as resource-less and far away from the state- is it NGOs perspective or author's perspectives? Poor are really unable to mobilize without the NGOs? Ex. of top-down approach to mediation. *What is* NGOs role in Bangladesh: is the State being marginalized? Negotiations with NGOs are more enduring that negotiation with the State? Benefits don't spill-over (as if it was a generalized through a state action). Engagements seen with the bureaucratic state but not with the political society. Women's could achieve something

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after those encounters. Where does mediation end or under what conditions mobilized communities become mediators?

Peter
- Where does mediation start? Mobilization as a prerequisite for mediation? Mediation is definable or it's contextual? Sustainability: learning by doing can have some good impacts

Simeen
- State is seen as a kingdom, it's a common perception among NGOs workers. Poor have resources and also have access to entitlements but NGOs have framed poor as powerless. Not the state redrawing, but it was happy to allow NGOs to do because of its lack of capacity. Complementary to the question asked. NGO work has finally put some pressure on the state to better perform. Poor have been able to hold on the lands they have acquired, but there is no guarantee. We see Changing nature or aims of NGOs as some are turning into purely microfinance agents

Ranjita
- How is the state responding to this mobilization/mediation?

Lopita
- Groups are dependent on the organizations, but independent of many organizations such as MFIs (microfinance ones)

Laura
- Consequence of the mediation: State marginalization or state learning?

Alisson
- Are NGOs playing a mediating role with the private sector?

Simeen
- State is becoming smaller as public employment is reducing. But state is there (particularly the media, sectors regulations). But because NGOs are so spread out and provide a fall-back from the State (pro-poor, gender neutral, etc) it has an impact on how people see the State. People do tend to give more value to what government says.

Laurence
- Mediation in a broad sense never ends (communications between CS and the political society). But in the narrow sense, actors claiming that "democracy is not working and we are here to fix it", then mediation can have a start and an end.

Claire
- Bangladesh case shows the limits and boundaries of mediation. Is mediation really happening? Mediation includes a form of collaboration and giving back, so the aim is dialogue and cooperation. Frontal opposition to the State would be another type of relation. Mobilization is now always a precondition, some groups just self-proclaim themselves mediators, without any previous mobilization.

3.3.4: Paper 4 - Mediation - Re-negotiating Social Contracts in Fragile States: The Politics of Mediation in Angola

By: Bettina von Lierres

No evidence that there has been a significant impact on engagement of the marginalised with public authorities. The challenge is to build a political society based on reciprocity- legitimising the claims of

the marginalized. Can the mediators play a significant role in building a robust relationship between the state players and the marginalized?

Discussion on Bettina's Paper:

Question (unknown)
- How do the marginalised strategize for greater interaction with the public authorities What methods seem most useful? Do these methods of mediation help at the ground level?

Bettina
- Mediation is about engaging with public authorities. Angola presents a contrasting case, where the engagement with public authorities has not grown. A minimum level of participatory governance is a pre-requisite for mediation.

3.3.5: Paper 5 - Baazaris and the State in Modern Hyderabad

By Shylashri Shankar, CPR

The paper explores the relationship between clientalism and active citizenship. The distribution of power between the state and the citizens is less unequal than what is generally presumed in the literature. The forms of negotiation (use of slogan shouting, public shaming, direct informal agreements between citizens and the state, use of political party mediators, and traders associations) have deeper antecedents in history rather than being simply a response to weakness in democratic representation (as is often argued). The case study discussed in this paper illuminates claim-making by political society.

Discussion on Shylashri's Paper:

Question (unknown)
- How valuable are historical accounts for generating frameworks?

Shylashri
- Looking at historical accounts is important. We currently look at different groups as autonomous entities, but history shows us otherwise. History also shows us how to deal with specific issues. Historical antecedents are sticky; as subjects become citizens, they realise that they can make demands.

3.3.6: Paper 6 - Democracy
Patrick Heller (CPR)

- *Democracy* is defined as blocking the translation of social power into political power
  - Distributive power vs. Collective power
  - The reciprocity issue: there is a need to shift the trust from networks to institutions
- There are two axes of democratic deepening:
  - Representative Democracy: This is the vertical problem which deals with how preferences are aggregated.
  - Participatory Democracy: This is the horizontal problem which deals with the formation of preferences and interests. This also deals with whether all citizens enjoy equal associational capacity.
- Political Society: Has a set of actors (individuals or institutions) that compete for political power

- Civil Society:
  - Is non-market and non-familial
  - It also gives a normative base for political society
  - The discussions carried out are not influenced or are not for money and/or power.
- Citizenship is a foundational relationship
- Comparison between India, South Africa and Brazil:
  - India is low on democratic local government and follows a top-down bureaucratic delivery system. South Africa is also low on democratic local democracy, is technocratised and has the ANC acting as the gatekeeper. Brazil, however, is high on decentralisation.
  - India has multiple intermediaries for mediation with the state. South Africa has contractual patronage- you don't follow, you get sidelined or ignored. Brazil has autonomous engagement and associational networks that blur state-civil society boundaries.

Discussion on Patrick's Paper:

Claire Benit-Gbaffou
- How are collective preferences formed and how are they different from brokerage? What is the importance of invited spaces? There are some social movements that are non-democratic (SA xenophobic 2008). Collective forms of clientalism can have positive outcomes? Democratic voting rights at the centre. A Uniqueness (Chatterjee). Finding legitimacy in our constituency and in an upper institution. Preference formation – is it autonomous preference formations? Always in negotiation with other groups as in CS and with State? How do we understand mediation in a complex democracy like India? Wouldn't it be useful to put civil society at the centre of the virtuous cycle? Are citizens made in the civil society or the local government or both?

Alex
- The missing dimension of power: power over, power to, power with, power within and hegemony (situation when some issues are even not legitimate to be put on a public debate).

Allison
- What are the different understandings of obligations?

Shylashri:
- Difference between clientelism and citizenship. Are they mutually exclusively? Is there a possibility to move from clientelism to citizenship? On the IBSA table: can you move between one type of society to another? If yes How?

Heller
- In a negotiated democracy- where is the State? Both are weak, citizens are compromising their associational autonomy and State is there, but can't rule. Discourse of rights is an attack on clientelism. Obligations: solidarity is the meta-obligation of citizenship (to care about someone you've never met)

*Laura (responding to Claire)***:**
- A very optimistic view on the Brazilian invited spaces... Much deliberation and few policy outcomes.

Alex
- Imbalance between inputs and outputs. Political contestation is violent-free. Fatigued Participation. Need to re-invent those participation spaces?

Simeen

- The missing bubble- the private sector. What are the developmental outcomes in all the IBSA models? Can the virtuous cycle be linked with developmental outcomes?

Heller
- There is more accountability in China, than in India. State is a great mediator (chain of command; responsive bureaucracy without democracy). Mobilization goes down when institutionalization goes up.

3.3.7: Paper 7 - The Art of Mediation: between Populism and Cooptation? Informal Leadership, Popular Claims and Formal Development at Community Level in South Africa

By Laurence Piper and Claire Benit-Gbaffou (UWC and Wits U)

This paper explores some of the dynamics of leadership at the community level in poor urban settlements of South Africa. Reflecting on an in-depth case study in an informal settlement in Cape Town, the paper analyses the challenges of local leaders' practices of mediation between communities and the state. The argument presented is that local leaders need to develop and maintain networks with local authorities (government and party) – at the risk of being co-opted and losing their ability to be critical to its policies and practices; and at the risk of being perceived as 'sell outs' by their communities, and delegitimized as such by competing leaders. Democratic mediation requires:
- populist and disruptive rivals
- management of different sedation pressures
- resisting co-option by the state and the temptation to betray one's community
- The challenge lies in the framing of what is a "public good".

Comments by Paul Kingston on paper presented by Laurence and Claire:
- We observe the Character of mediators and dilemmas they face.
- A battle to be a mediator
- Shows extra-institutional framework
- Suggestions:
  - Could have more of the history of the competition before/after the event
  - Explain the use of populism: as a disruptive form of political action by the State
- Questions:
  - Where do citizens fit in? Why there is absence of citizens?
  - Why is there no violence?
  - Party competition would suppress clientalism?

Responses by Claire and Laurence:
- Leadership is seen as a livelihood strategy for accessing social and economic resources. Explains the informality of legitimacy of leadership. Dominance of SA politics is based on identity politics which frequently shifts towards the pragmatic leadership. Who follows which leader is more fluid depending upon the resources and constantly changing needs. Populism is a way of defining destructiveness of the informal leadership. What is the role of opposition-conflict vs cooperation betraying the community's identity or building a citizenship? There is a lot of violence, threats, use of resources discredit the other.
- Mediation: soft way of conceiving participation. Weakness of leadership is often the result of a weak mass base.

3.3.8: Paper 8 - Parallel Power' In Rio De Janeiro: Coercive Mediators Between Citizens And The State

By Joanna Wheeler (IDS Sussex)

Paper is based on the authors' PhD (2007-2009) research work. It explores the role of violence in shaping the state-society relations in Rio. The relationship between citizens and the state is mediated by different kinds of armed actors (drug dealer's factions, militias, UPPs and the army) and institutions. It will trace several examples of how people are able (or not able) to act as citizens and attempt to claim their rights, the ways that their rights are mediated by armed actors, and how the state can respond to these claims given the influence of mediators. This paper argues that mediation is an aspect of the fragmentation of citizenship, because mediation by armed actors can both enable and constrain access to rights for citizens. Examples of mediation mentioned in the paper: *security, urban services and social protection, education, and social mobilisation.* These examples show the complexity of mediating relationships to access rights and services. Unevenness of Brazilian reality goes beyond its image of good spaces for participation. Fragmented nature of citizenship is observed as a consequence of the coercitive mediators, geographic boundaries' control, and difficulty by the state to recover its legitimate authority in those contexts.

Paul Kingston, on paper presented by Joanna:
- Manifestation of fragmentation of citizenship
- Militias replacing drug gangs
- Efforts of local communities to deal with militias (people have no choices)
- *Questions:*
    - Does mediation gives community more choice?
    - What are the origins of militias? How different they are from drug gangs? The issue of their legitimacy? Are they Bandits?
    - Why people are not using militias to do a boomerang effect?

Joanna:
- There is multiple and simultaneous emergence of mediation groups
- Community mobilization outside of violence is difficult. Militia is an in-between state agency. Militia act as "community self-defence committees", delivering some degree of certainty. Each favela is one militia negotiated territory.

Heller
- Why should mediation be coercive? Rio appears a stateless arena. Here mediation is replaced by racketeering. SA: absence of functioning democracy in that community (preferences being debated). There is unevenness of democratic state in Brazil.

Alex
- These do not appear like modern democracies and looks like feudal regimes. Territorial domination shows reality of simultaneous existence of the state and non-state (a hybrid).

3.3.9:Paper 9 - Mediation and Interactions in Policy Making in India

By Deepta Chopra (IDS-Sussex)

Paper critically examines the role of various actors and their interactions in the making of a social policy in India, thereby providing an example of mediation in policy processes. The process through which the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) came about is discussed through the

lens of state-society interactions for recognising a Right to Work. Making of the NREGA involved the following processes:
- Genesis: The idea of an employment guarantee
- Articulation of the Draft NREG Bill
- Enactment for Negotiating the NREG Bill to an Act
- Notification and early Monitoring

Some aspects that have come out are:
- Mediation is a process through which the boundaries between state and non-state are constantly redefined.
- Strategies of mediation differ depending on the nature of the relations between the state and non-state actors, but also on the phase of policy making (and thus outcomes) that is being negotiated.
- Mediating actors include individuals as well as organisations/ institutions/ collectives.
- Mediation implies power but this is not uniform across all mediators. This leads to inclusion and exclusion of interests (urban demand and gender issues were left out)
- Power to mediate and ensure successful outcomes also depends on networks and personal connections that mediators have.

3.3.10: Paper 10 - Mobilizing for Democracy: Civil society mediation and access to policy in India

By Ranjita Mohanty (Ind.Cons.)

The paper locates mediation in the context of state- society relations, both the overall micro context of that relation in a democratic set up (through the example of Right to Information Act 2005) as well as local micro contexts where mediation actually takes place (specific examples of civil society organizations). Access to RTI thus unlocks information about a plethora of development and welfare programmes the state has instituted for the poor. Civil society attempts to translate the policies into action. There are varying degrees of co-operation from the state as well as conflict with it that characterize the overall process of civil society mediation. The process of mediation thus deepens democracy even as it contests it. It happens in two significant ways – impacting on governance as well as empowering the citizens. Mediation and its outcomes are influenced by both formal as well as informal processes, and at times by there also overlap. Mediation has more durable impact on citizenship action than it has on governance. Participatory forms of mediation do not necessarily generate better and positive response from the state.

Comments by Andrew
- How do people see the State?
- What we see is that mediation provides a human face to the State. It rather changes than reproduces.
- Commonality in both papers is that we learn the art of mediation. Whereas what is missing is how mediation acts for democracy to work.
- They offer successful strategies of mediation, but what are the democratic outcomes?
- Does mediation requires a certain level of social/intellectual capital?
- Both formal and informal forms of mediation are discussed as well as micro and macro level mediation.
- What is talked about are the strategies and not the failures.

Deepta:
- Mediation does show its human face but a distinction between us and we are still there. Idea that the State need to be the provider and need to be held accountable

- How successful strategies leads to learning to be used elsewhere: ex. The right to food case
- Mediation is successful because of the social capital (networking amongst the actors), on intellectual capital only not sure
- Mediation highlights complexity of state-society relations

Ranjita:
- Battle is over but the war is still there
- We see footprints of democracy

3.4 Breakout Session II: Economic and Political Citizenship Group

Potential Areas of Interest for each group member:

Andrew:
- Informal economy and participation
- Political citizenship and interface with economy/economic rights
- Livelihood
- Spatiality of informality / work / economic opportunities
- Unpacking informal economy
- Street as a space for work, leisure, and conflict

Simeen
- Was a part of a team that conducted a large survey in Bangladesh, looking at women's economic activities (particularly access to paid work) in 8 districts
- Most women involved in paid work at home
- Women outside of home often face poor working conditions
- Growth of information sector goes along with the shrinking of the public/formal sector
- How to improve working conditions for women?
    o Empowerment through collective bargaining
    o Political organization / mobilization (welfare associations)

Allison
- Meanings of "economy" and "economic citizenship"
- Citizen-led 'development' (often mediated by NGO's)
- Brazil:
    o Citizens able to secure basic infrastructure through Residence Associations
- Asset-focused lens

Bettina
- Does political participation entail economic citizenship?

Peter
- Relevant programs at IDRC:
- "Supporting Inclusive Growth"
- "Security & Justice"

Leslie
- Example of mixed CD's and dances in Brazil (entrepreneurial)
- Similar to Egypt (informal economy)
- Economic empowerment often tied to technology and regulations around intellectual property
- Piracy – market failure

Shylashri
- interested in cities

- how do citizen committees monitor rights, etc?
- What are positive and negative aspects of these committees?
- How are spaces and forms of power organized?

Ranjita
- How are economic rights secured in contexts of growth?
  - o Ex: displacement from mines
- What happens to people economically, in these circumstances?

MIND MAP (below)
- this is a rough sketch of some of the key concepts captured in everyone's introductions about themselves and their research areas of interest

Theoretical Boundaries:
(drawn from the mind map, below)
- Intersection of politics and economy in citizenship
- Definition of political end economic citizenship?
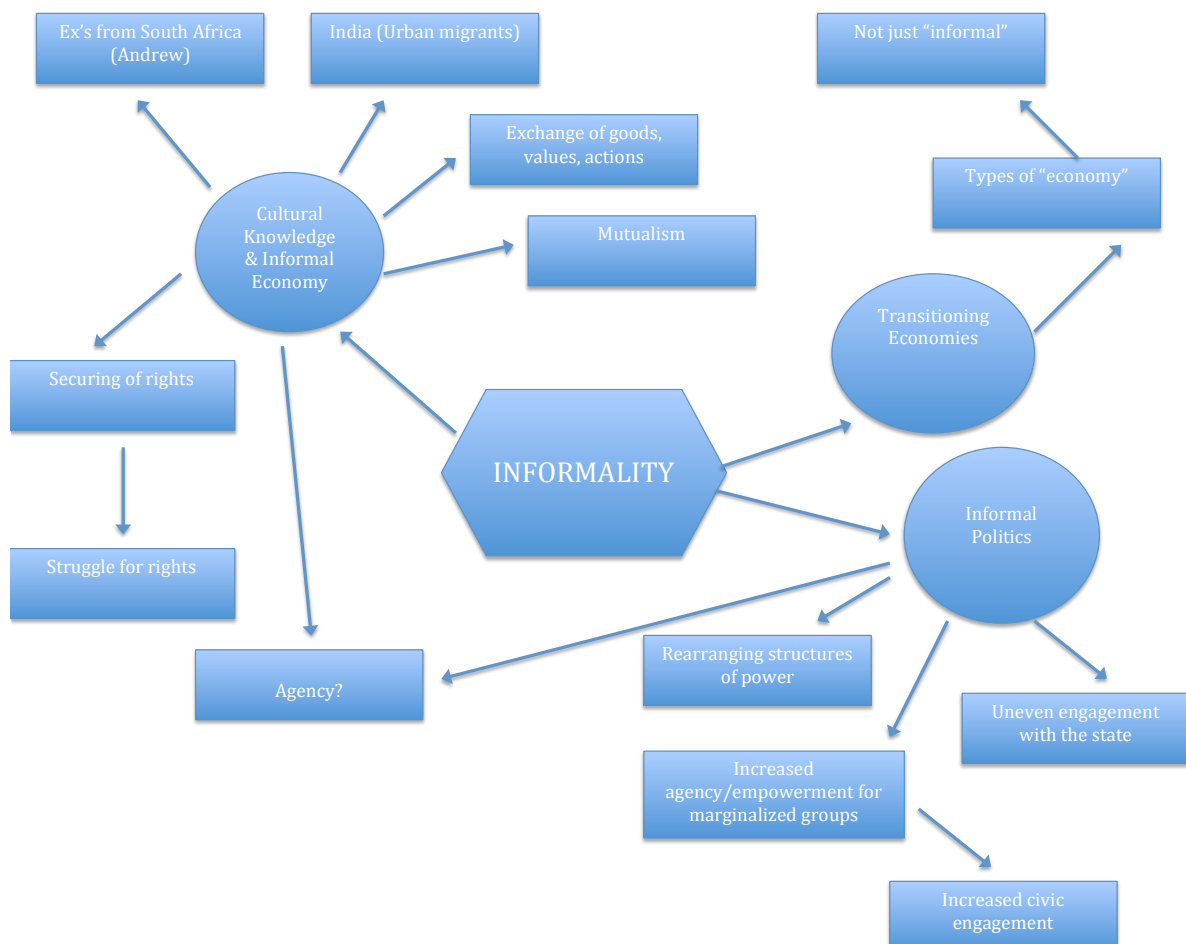
Value of Collaboration for this group:
- Methodology sharing
- Funding
- Skills training and sharing across disciplines
- Sharing data and existing frameworks
- Mapping informal economy/spatial analysis
- Field visits during workshops
- Skills mapping

Research Themes for the Group:
- What is the relationship between "economic citizenship" and "political citizenship" ?
- Economic participation as a form of empowerment
- Engagement in collective economic activities
    - Ex: protecting "the commons"
- How do vertical forms of citizenship (claiming rights and entitlements) intersect with horizontal (associational) for economic inclusion?
- Does economic agency translate into agency in political or social areas of life? Can political inclusion occur without economic inclusion?

3.5: Breakout Group III: Discussions from Knowledge and Technology Group

Important questions for the group to consider:
- What forms of knowledge do we want to bring forth through our research on this topic?
- How do different research methods identify or create varying forms of knowledge?

Current relevant issues:
- Collaborative, online teaching and learning
    - Unwillingness to participate
- What elements create active learners?
- How do certain forms of curriculum contribute to democratic learning environments?
- Construction of citizenship
- Practices of participation and collaboration
- Responsible and accountable states
- Inclusive society
- Construction of the "learner"
- Responsive and accountable facilitator/mediator
- Inclusive university systems/administration

Framing case studies as examples of collective "problem solving"
- Digital story telling is more about process & effects on the participant than the actual information received
- Idea is to provide a counter-narrative to allow the marginalized to express their independent voices
- The concept of "voices "can be problematic as it is difficult to align individual stories with conclusions of the entire group (in terms of policy making)
- Concept of "hacking" – or altering existing tools/frameworks to create something that is more responsive or useful in a particular context
- Requires Problem solving but also challenging power
- The power of "visuals" is in the ambiguity. It is not complete until the person who sees it provides it with meaning. However, this can also be a challenge, depending on the meaning that is assigned to the image.

Questions for the group
- What are some things that this group could look at outside of our individual case studies?
- What are the relationships between research and policy? It depends on how the researchers themselves envision this relationship.
- Circulating the Impact Story (web-based software that tracks research to see how and who is accessing it)

- What is the theory of change for the research? How do we track the research and the changes it might make?
- *Most research evaluation is based on attribution instead of contribution*

Potential Projects for the Knowledge & Democracy Group:
1. Mapping of the DRC research reach
2. Andrew's project about life on the street in Gauteng
3. "Making All Voices Count" → going to fund research and interventions in programming looking at issues around voice, accountability and citizen participation through a focus on technology
    i. Hevos, Ushahidi, and IDS in the running
    ii. DFID, USAID are the funders
4. Economic livelihood projects (Scrap-collecting films)
5. Peer to Peer methodology/tools swap
    i. Evaluating technology tools based on a set of factors (cost, resources required, ability to track results, etc)
6. Online mapping of K,T,D. examples
    i. Set criteria/framework
    ii. Scope
    iii. Format
7. Tracking/influencing/evaluating research and projects

→Planned for a three-minute video of CORD researchers to record abstract of their papers.

4.1 Listeners' Responses about the Workshop so Far

4.1.1 Peter Taylor's Feedback

Been trying to grasp the themes coming out of the discussions over the past few days, particularly the paper presentations. I see a lot of interest in the "Collaboration" component of the group. As well, there appears to be a central thread of mediation in all discussions. I have also noted the following ideas...

1) *People* - All CORD members are intent on the value of collaboration, and there is a powerful set of relationships that exist amongst members of the group

2) *Process* – The work on mediation built on working relationships. There is a sense that everyone is very respectful of each other's knowledge/expertise. The group can offer a very diverse set of case studies, research backgrounds, skillsets that may *seem* to be quite different and unrelated, but we are still willing to actively engage, work with each other, and contribute towards helpful feedback. We are engaged (in real life) with the research we are pursing.

3) *Conceptual side* - Different framings of mediation (broader understandings of state / society issues and their relationships) as well as narrower definitions (such as opening up spaces for the marginalized). Suggests that this needs to be more focused, and perhaps the narrower definition is the way to go. There is a central thread in the mediation group that can be easily fed into the work of other groups. The concept of "mediation" is still quite fuzzy. "Where does mediation start and finish?" "What is the relationship between mediation and mobilization?"; "What does non-mediation look like?"; "What contributions does mediation make to democracy? Does it deepen democracy? What can we learn about democracy from the study of mediation?" "Who or what is/are an effective mediator?"; "Why are select individuals mediators at a particular point in time?" ; "Can mediation only be understood in its specific context? Or are there overlying principles that are more universal?"; "Are there certain conditions in which mediation appears to be less relevant or appropriate?".

4) *Power* – Different mediators have different levels/sources of power. What do we learn from who is included/excluded in different mediation roles? How does mediation influence preference formation? Preferences are mediated through *power relations*. Issues of power appear to be applied throughout the discussions, but it is not currently explicit in the framing of the book.

5) *Mediation in Practice* - Paul's case study on disability in Lebanon; building constitutencies and networks amongst very heterogenous groups (Bettina's study of Angola) → Is that one of the great contributions that mediation can make? Through mediation, we can often see changing roles that emerge over time. Ex: Brokers → sellers ; purveyors of knowledge. (Alex, Sanitoristas). How do mediators become ambassadors for particular causes? What are the issues with mediation and bindingness? Mediation can lead to identity formation, institutional strengthening, increased voice, rights awareness... there are many "outcomes" of mediation (practically speaking); Mediation helps in strengthening organisations and helps in creating identities.

6) *Methodologies* - Really fascinating historical accounts of mediation (ex: Shylashri's case study); can use historical case studies to bring light and context to current situations. Role of new technologies in examining case studies. Importance of "ground learning and practice" ; this group is not just about debate, but situation debate and research in real life experiences. There is a risk of

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"over-theorizing", so research should be grounded in real life experiences What do different actors perceive as being effective mediation? Rich case studies using multiple methods were presented; Different ways of application and role of new technologies; Deepta's case study highlights the process and role of mediation which will be important for the group. Lastly, through the methodologies – try to look in mediation in different places, situated in real life practices which may have different purposes. While we may be drawn to looking at cases such as between citizens-state, it may be useful to look at more small-scale examples in existing case studies that we are already working on. Ways to identify pathways that are looking at entire processes and different acts of mediation ; citing sucessful case studies. Although we might be drawn to look at mediation at specific cases ; other too might be useful for us. Such lateral research can bring useful insights to the work we are trying to do at present. There is a need to work at the ground level and avoiding over-theorising.

4.1.2 Patrick Heller's Feedback on the Workshop so Far

Patrick made the following comments:
→ CORD has fleshed out the "relational approach" to working and research.
- Critiques the typical belief around liberal notions of "citizenship"
- Citizenship is relationally constituted
- Literature on citizenship is good theoretically but weak practically
- Citizenship is above the question if how relationships are created and exercised
- The subaltern have always mobilised, tried to leverage for whatever resources they have. Relationship is directly mediated by power.
- A lot of democratice theorists have recogized massive deficit of representation in democracy
- Horizontal dimension – do citizens regard each other as rights-bearing individuals?
- The book is really about how "democracy" works and we need to flesh out "democratic practices" with real, empirical work ;explaining outcomes in the stories.
- Relationships are always mediated by power. There is no institutional space been state and society where power can be negotiated. Therefore, power needs to be *authorized* in a democracy.
- The mediation book is filling a lot of gaps in existing literature on state and society realtionships
- But its important to have an analytic frame.
- Comparison can provide interesting analytic leverage → we need to leverage this more systematically
- Thick description often has "no outcome"
  o It is important to have an outcome
- We need to understand complex forms of causality
- History matters and is a great lens through which to figure out modern day configurations and connections

Actors in mediation
- There were stories of self mediation; not mediators but different actors.
- Ex. Taking Shylashri's case study "mediators" seemed quite self-organized with their own agenda
- In case of Joanna's case study "Racketeering" as a form of medaition – no real negotiation is taking place; which is different from general brokerage
- SANCO- delegated leaders (mediators) -are they real representatives or leveraging to advance their own interests?
- Category of "purveyors" in NREGA→ Unrepresentated group in Right to Food (RTF) people in India and what is the source of their legitimacy? (or Amnesty, etc. etc.)

"Institutional Settings and Opportunity Structure" of mediation
- o 1) Strengths of State and Society
- o 2) Institutional Surfacing → What are the points of leverage for activists?
- o 3) Party Competition → Difference between Brazil, S. Africa; its important to recognize differences/tensions between parties in civil society
- o 4) State can be quite porous; quite colonized by civil society → Brazil has been "colonized" by civil society. Blurring state-civil society boundaries have a significant impact on State- Society relations
- Mediation is inevitablyembedded in these complex institutional relations
- As in NREGA-What is the point of leverage for the activists?
- Another ex. Is of decentralization in Kerela- colonised by civil society
- Bring in the "Party" story
- States can be quite porous
  - o Somewhat colonised by civil society
  - o Blurring state-civil society boundaries have a significant impact

Categories of mediation
- There are modalities of mediation – Typologysing ways of mediation will be helpful like clientelism (classic modality of mediation), coercion, indigenous rights movements, Ethnic entrepreneurs (people who mobilize around particular identities), representation without compromise, corporatism –South Africa etc. Ideal type of mediation being "citizenship". There are stories of exclusion
- Two modes of mediation –
  - o Corporations (ex Africa)
  - o Quasi- corporation as in India
- Further categorization
  - o State corporation
  - o Society corporation

Outcomes:
- Disconnect stories - ex. Mexico
- "Containerization" → Angola case study
- Isolated stories mabybe for SA stories
- "Projection" → When a mediator is able to project into the state ex NREGA

Meta-outcomes → cultivating citizenship (when mediation works); Participation (intrinsic value with outcomes such as dignity, self esteem); Institutional transformation (leveraging new points of access to the state, strategic alliances, etc.);
Finally mediation/mobilization can have power-transferring effects → shifting the balance of class power in some cases like NREGA case study
The Book is a normative project, we also need to identify case studies with transfromative successes.

Comments on Peter & Patrick's Feedback:

Claire
- Mediation has risks and possibilities. We need to unpack both risks and possibilities. For instance:
  - o Accumulation of power by a singular leader
  - o Issue of gate keeping
  - o Issue of sedation
  - o Issue of cooptation
  - o Impossibility to govern

- We need to reflect on these risks of confrontation as forms of obstacles in mediation
- How do we manage such risks?
- Mediation as "translation" (Alex paper) → culture of the state (translation of state laws, policies, etc.)

Laurence
- As we are talking about relational concepts – perhaps we need to understand state-driven mediation agendas ; instead of just citizen-driven agendas
- There are some instances where the state wants to have a representative that can both break down state culture/laws/policies for people

Shylashri
- Joanna's paper: notion of power imbalances.
- Who controls the ways that mediation occurs? As in Hyderabad case
- Might be interesting to see, in the different cases, where the control /power lies and who has the power to make choices

Alex
- Does mediation require an identity separation between the two parties?

Bettina
- Interested in outcomes and creating a typology of outcoems from the various case studies
- One question missing though is what the are institutional outcomes of mediation ?
- We have stories about representational outcomes, citizen participation etc but we don't have a case study about mediation and participatory governance.
    o We need to include a case study about this to solidify the book

Joanna (responding to Bettina)
- there might be examples of mediation circumventing participatory governance
- It could be reinforcing these institutions but possibly not. Could it be an "either or" situation?
- CDRC has always struggled with taking rich case studies up to the analytical level
- Fragementation of citizenship- mediation is good in understanding that
- Legitimacy → what does legitimate political authority look like in practices of mediation and what are the implications for democracy?

Lopita
- Realization that mediation is not necessarily about a "third party"; mediators are negotiators as well.

Shylashri
- Can multiple parties be mediators in the same context?

Paul
- Issue is forms of representation
- Would be interesting to create a typology of the various forms of representation in mediation

Deepta (responding to Claire's points on "risk")
- Are we assuming that mediation will lead to positive outcomes only? what are the risks of being " too positive " about mediation?

Patrick
- Might be useful to distinguish between "mediators" and "mediums"
- Courts, institutions → these allow the space for mediation
- Need analytic material about which forms of mediation deepen citizenship

Joanna
- Does "democratic mediation" contribute to citizenship?
- It could both promote and weaken at the same time. It may not be clearly defined as one or the other.
- If we are trying to get beyond a simplistic idea of mediation, we need ways of taking into account these differences in the outcomes

Paul
- Can we get away from "snapshots" or moments of mediation?
- Think it's important to understand historical pathways of mediation in order to understand processes

Laura
- It will be risky to define the outcomes as democratic/ non democratic and to analyze just one "snap shot" of mediation in order to predict outcomes

Claire
- Institutionalization of mediation
- How do we make sense that mediation does not betray the citizenship?

Alex
- State logic requires regularization

These discussions were followed by a "Networking Afternoon"

5.1: Group I - Report-back from Marginality, Alliance-building and Policy Group:

This group aims to examine a series of question regarding the relationship between marginality, alliance-building and policy-making. How does alliance-building distinguish itself from mediation? Alliance building is the creation of power. This group would focus more on those who require mediation

- policy and the inclusion of the mediated
- building alliances horizontally as a method of jumping into policy process
- "deeply" marginalized groups / "complex" marginalized groups
- policy focus on "universal" rights
- What is the role of "Participate" in all of this?
- Guiding question: *What makes rights work in the lives of the deeply marginalized?*

Research Questions:
- How do marginalized groups build power through alliance building?
- What kind of policy achievements do different kinds of alliances produce?
- How can alliance-building sustain policy successes?
- What are the factors affecting life-cycles of policy networks/alliances?

Potential Groups of Study:
- Complex marginalized groups
- Gender marginalization in Bangladesh
- Regional networking amongst the disabled in the Arab World (Paul)
- Indigenous communities in Brazil (Alex)
- Pastoral Nomadic communities in the Horn of Africa
- First Nations Groups in Canada
- Youth in Ghana
- Dalits/Adivasi in India (Varsha)

What is lacking:
- We are lacking an understanding of how the concept of *alliance building* relates to policy change for marginalized groups
- Stems from our discussions on mediation
- We need to do a formal literature review to identify gaps

Concepts to Identify in the Literature:
- Concepts of Marginality, marginalized identities (Paul K.)
- Literature around Network Analysis (Becky)
  - Researach mobilization literature (linked to social movements)
  - Associational network
  - Horizontally constructed networks
  - Networks that cross-cut civil and political society
  - Transnational or globalized networks
    - How is power created and projected?
  - A key issue here is power asymmetries and networks
- Social and economic policy making (Paul, Laura)

What are the activities?
1. Devise a concept note (**Jan)**

2. Compile a list of individuals who may be interested in collaboration and who could add to the discussion (including TTI members)- **March**
   a. Have a short, informal webinar in March
3. Compile annotated bibliography – **May**
4. Webinar discussion (small group) – **June**
   a. Online group meeting – Common set of conceptual approaches
5. Initial presentation of research papers **(late 2013/ early 2014)**
   a. Think about policy spaces or venues that we can target for research dissemination ; or create this space ourselves
   b. Aim to have an edited volume of research papers

Budget

Items	Cost	Notes
CORD Meetings (2)	$100,000	
Policy Dissemination Costs	$20,000	4 or 5 workshops with policy makers worldwide
Webinar Costs	??	
Research Pool Fund	$20,000	
Publication of Policy Briefs	$5000	
Research Assistant(s)	$12,000	
TOTAL	**$157,000**	

Who are the participants?
- UTSC
- BRAC University (Lopita Huq)
- CEBRAP
- IDS-Sussex
- Members of TTI
- Naila Kabeer (SOAS)
- Others in result of our consultation sessions
- (potentially) "Participate" (who aims to bring those in poverty into global decision making processes) – linked to *Beyond 2015*

Deliverables:
   o 1 Marginality book
   o Multiple peer-reviewed collaborative papers + Policy briefs
   o Seminars with multiple local stakeholders
   o Policy Brief to IDRC

5.2: Group 2 - Report-back from Economic and Political Citizenship Group

Plans for this group are to…
1. Unpack the concept
2. Sharing of methodologies
3. Research questions:
   - Relation between economical agency and political agency?
   - Horizontal and vertical citizenship: what is the trajectory of change ?
   - How economic inclusion can be translated into political inclusion?
4. Use people's current work and sharing data

Discussion

Joanna
- How can CORD make use of past work (ex. DRC)?

Leslie/Alisson/Bettina
- Hyperlink to DRC website as a minimum, but we should use new technologies to connect our work (and become a hub, such as Participedia).

5.3: Group 3 - Knowledge and Democracy Group Report-Back

Objective:
- Collective problem solving and adapting technologies and methodologies for each case.
- Technology and mediation and re-mediation and
- Importance of the context

Activities:
- Mapping existing case studies
- Critical knowledge
- Reflective knowledge
- Instrumental knowledge

Discussion: Comments and Questions

Claire
- Are you just looking at the positive uses of technology? For example Informal actors that gain with invisibility or open data exacerbating inequality since we know knowledge is empowering, as opposed to information.

Leslie
- We are trying to be agnostic to the uses and outcomes of technology

Ranjita
- What about the ethical aspects and its consequences for people taking part in research?

5.4: Discussion of the Links between the Groups

1. Conceptual linkages/interconnections
2. Practical activities

Claire
- Are we establishing a Triangle?
- Mediation: unpack the concept. How has the concept been used in media studies and in political theory arena? How do mediators use technology?
- Knowledge and Democracy to to Eco/Pol Citizenship- Informality as invisibility. Process of "visibilization." Politics of claim making)
- Mediation to Eco/Pol Citizenship→ Role of mediators in making this visibilization process possible
- In the middle of the triangle: sharing methodologies/ visiting one another's field work

Laurence
- Commonalities:

- o   1. Citizenship cross- cutting concept (unfulfilled promises)
- o   2. How to overcome this marginality

Alisson
- Looking at technology as a mediator for new forms of economical and political citizenship. Collective forms.

5.5: Collaborative Grant-Writing Session

Facilitators: Shylashri Shankar (CPR), Bettina von Lieres (UTSC), Laura Waisbich (CEBRAP), and Becky Hillyer (UTSC)

The following IDRC funds grant template for each of the working groups was formulated after a thorough in-house discussion:

1. Concept note (2-3 pages for each group)
- Rationale for the study/activity
- What has already been achieved by CORD?
- What are the literature gaps?
- How does the proposed activity fill that gap?
- What are the activities to be planned? (meetings/methodology sharing/book/articles/policy interventions/working papers/ digital space)
- How much will each activity cost?
- Who all are the participants?
- When will these activities take place or timeline?
- What are the methodologies planned for sharing and creating knowledge (This links to the knowledge hub)
- Dissemination
- Policy linkages
- Deliverables

2. Link with CPR's institutional objectives
3. Total Budget
4. Deliverables
5. Impact

Lines of proposals/groups
1. Marginality, Alliance Building and Policy (Paul Kingston)
2. Urban politics and violence (Joanna Wheeler)
3. Political and economic citizenship (Alison Mattie)
4. Follow up on mediation work (Bettina/Laurence)
5. Platform for the website (Leslie)
6. Knowledge and democracy as a hub – focus on how it will facilitate methodology creation/sharing among partners (in all groups)
7. The mediating aspect of knowledge and democracy (media studies)

A few Grant details:
- Funded by: IDRC TTI
- Amount: $ 200 to 300 thousands dollars
- Time period: Use the funds by the middle of 2014
- Proposal deadline: Apply by the end of January

SECTION 6: PUBLIC FORUM – MEDIATING URBANIZATION IN DEMOCRACIES

Chair: Prof. Philip Oldenburg, Columbia University
Speakers: Patrick Heller (CPR), Joanna Wheeler (IDS-Sussex), Laurence Piper (UWC), Laura Weisbach (CEBRAP), Paul Kingston (UTSC), Bettina Von Lieres (UTSC), and Hani Morsi (IDS-Sussex)

6.1: Background for the Public Forum

In recent years, there is an increasing recognition that the future of humankind is to be found in cities, and that the dramatic growth of mega-cities, especially in the south, is accompanied by the rise of large populations of the urban poor. But political decision-making over these spaces and populations is increasingly framed in terms of 'informal governance', based on the recognition that informal institutions and practices play a critical role in poor people's everyday lives. There is a greater need for us to understand the ways in which the burgeoning influx from rural areas navigates the physical, cultural and political spaces in the cities. The speakers, whose work focuses on Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, address the ways in which the marginalized populations, whom Partha Chatterjee refers to as 'political society', negotiate with the state in gaining access to basic services and urban public goods such as sanitation, habitation, and schools, among others. The presentations also address the nature of mediation -- the practice of political brokering between the formal system and informal practices and institutions -- and the use of digital media in brokering successful outcomes.

6.2: Overview of Pubic Forum Presentations

The session was chaired by Professor Philip Oldenburg, Columbia University. Background information about CORD was provided by Professor Bettina Von Lieres, University of Toronto, Scarborough.

- *Professor Paul Kingston* (University of Toronto, Scarborough)
    - o   discussed the failure of mediation in relation to the uprising in Syria and the Arab Spring.

- *Laura Weisbach* (CEBRAP, Brazil)
    - o   gave a presentation of Brazilian context and background of CEBRAP. She highlighted on the participatory democratic processes in Brazilian neighborhoods and how CEBRAP analyzes the outcomes of these "invited spaces" and the impact on policy development.

- *Laurence Piper* (University of the Western Cape, South Africa)
    - o   discussed the State-Society relations in South Africa and the major growth of informal settlements in urban areas.

- *Dr. Joanna Wheeler* (IDS, Sussex)
    - o   showed the digital story telling project and its impact.

- *Alison Mattie* (COADY)
    - o   presentation on COADY International Institute and discussed the book-" From Clients to Citizens"

- *Patrick Heller* (CPR, India)
    - o   discussed Urban Governance in India.

7.1: Future Planning Session

Facilitators: Alex Shankland (IDS-Sussex) and
Leslie Chan (UTSC)

Goals of the Session:
- Finalizing collaborative projects and future institutionalization
- Next Steps
- Timelines

7.1.1: CORD Activity Matrix

GROUP	ACTIVITIES	Jan-13	Feb	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan-14	Feb	Mar.	Apr.
Beyond Mediation																	
	Send out framework on Bindingness	X															
	RA support for Bindingness	X															
	Reflection on Bindingness cases			X													
	Possible meeting brazil or India				X	X											
	Introduction to Book					X											
	Start discussion on poliitcs of claim making					X											
	Possible meeting- Summer Intstitue-UTSC						X										
	Posssible meeting									X	X						
	Guidance of Book Chapter											X					
	Book launch; field work													X			
	Research Support PCM													X			
	Meeting															X	
	Intro to politics of claim making															X	
	Possible Meeting in Jo'berg																
Urban Politics and Violence																	
	Survey/Map cases S. Africa or India			X													
	Methodology meeting					X											
	Webinar							X									
	Analysis Meeting										X						
	Policy engagement events											X					
Marginality, Alliance Building and Policy																	
	Identify contributors	X															
	Plan participate case studies	X															
	Key articles and annotations					X											
	Webinar						X										
	Participate case studies				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Conceptual framework of chapters (draft)													X			
	Meeting with complete papers															X	
Economic Citizenship																	
	Review of key literature	X															
	Review cases			X													
	Engage across network				X												
	Grounded theory					X											
	Proposals for specific issues							X									
	Cord wide e-conference or Face to face										X						

7.1.2: Mechanisms for Internal communications

Word Press as the basic platform – cordnetwork.org
- Internal communications
  - o News and updates
  - o E-forum
  - o Database
  - o Working group – only closed area for the moment. Each group should use the platform for its communications, share conferences and grants
- External communications
  - o Publications
  - o Digital stories
  - o Social Media
- Impact Analytics (built-in)
- To be built in:
  - o Methodologies Inventory (Joanna/Andrew/Lopita) – see also with Vera
  - o Mapping knowledge and democracy (Leslie/Joanna)
  - o Case studies (starting with the abstracts of the mediation book) (Laurence)
  - o Data sharing (Simeen/Pranav)
  - o Public events/seminars/policy events
  - o Teaching tools

7.1.3: CORD Coordination

Members of the CORD Steering committee were Leslie, Bettina, Simeen, Vera, Laura and Becky. There were minimal coordination activities i.e. skype every 6 weeks since 2011 and for the last 3 months Shylashri was also brought in for the Delhi workshop and Bettina being the focal person. Suggestions for better CORD workings:
- Rotating coordination every 2 years (Bettina)
- Anchor person for each group, reporting to the steering committee (Laura/Simeen)
- Alex: DRC experience – mix composition for the steering committee (institutional leaders and working groups leaders). For the assistants: combining editorial assistant for the outputs and assistant for the managerial tasks.
- Periodical communications between the working groups and the steering committee essential

7.2: CORD and CPR Urban Agenda
Speaker: Partha Mukhopadhyay –

Partha began with an introduction about the various projects, which the Urban group of CPR is currently associated with:
- Decentralization amendments,
- India's regions (mega-cities),
- Special economic zones, new town (planned corporate),
- Urban electoral geography,
- Urbanization outside big cities,
- Internal migration,
- Citizens and State in India (perceptions/interactions),
- Political economy of cities,

- Urbanization in India and China,
- Informal city,
- City and Climate Change, theindiancity.net (network).
- Some of these have funds from the government, others from CPR (through TTI), national foundations/trusts and others from international donors (Ex. Ford, French Agency of Development, ISRC, DFID).

7.3: Workshop Evaluation

A short exercise for evaluating the workshop was done by all. Summary is as follows:

It was good that...
- CPR hosted a successful workshop
- Shylashri's engagement
- Collaborative work
- In-depth discussions

It was a shame...
- Few field visits/research site
- Only one grant discussion
- Some partners could not come
- 5 days was too long/ agenda too packed
- Groups were split up so not all sessions were attended by everyone

Why don't we...
- Continue looking for funds
- Free-time for informal collaboration
- More Field trips
- Find a balance between ambition and feasibility

7.4: Concluding remarks
By: Shylashri Shankar

The workshop hosted by Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, was successful in achieving the mandated set of activities for the workshop and on building upon the group's initial work focusing on creating long-term strategies to sustain the growth and activities of the network. The meeting in India offered researchers the chance to collaborate on a series of ongoing projects, as well as to brainstorm ideas for emerging work and funding strategies.

The workshop was concluded with a warm thanks to all the participants for their efforts and meaningful participation and making the workshop a great success.