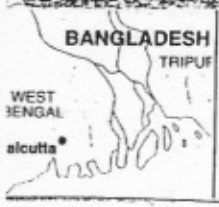

Twelve Challenges for Public Participation Practice

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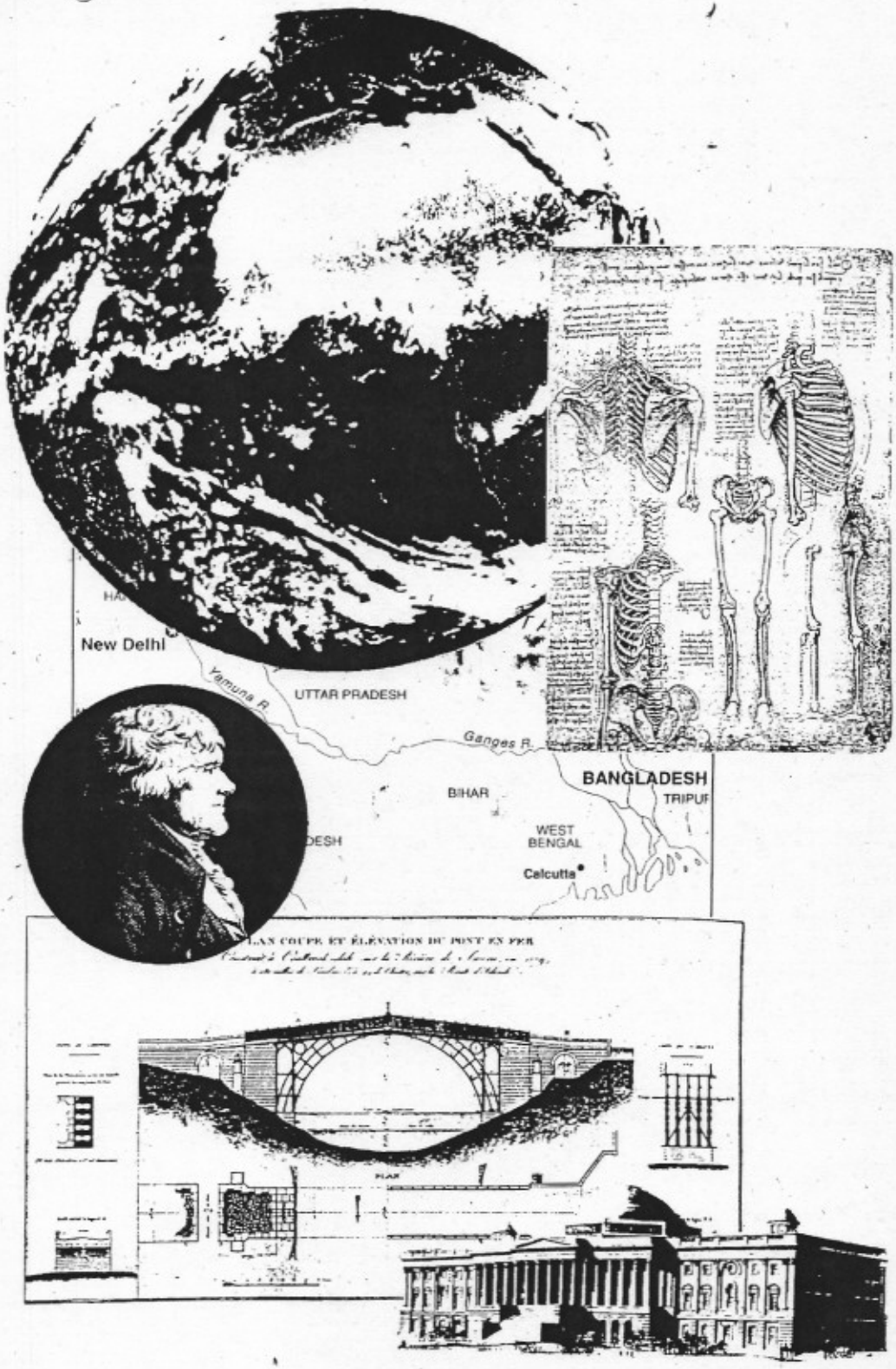
Introduction: Participation and Bureaucracy—The Dimension Less Discussed

As we enter the 21st century, we often seem attracted to diametrically opposed spirits. A demographic spirit calls us to individual freedom, empowerment and transformation, while an ecological spirit calls us to a new collective consciousness and restraint and a new relationship with nature.

Everywhere we are confronted with more complexity when increasingly we are mesmerized by 60-second sound bites. We must try to understand and accept uncertainty at the same time we are seeking a risk-free environment. While we complain about government and bureaucracy, it seems that our dependence on technical experience expands, adding to bureaucracy and regulation. As we realize the need to anticipate and to use long-term vision, we seem inexorably pushed by rapid rates of change into a short-term focus.

Will these forces work to bring people together or will they create more adversarial relations?

The demand for public participation is a symptom of the broad discontinuities among our institutions and the decisions their leaders are called to make in this environment. It is also a symptom of the changing nature of administration in the democratic state. Some observers suggest that current forms of democracy are no longer sufficient: we are trying to make relics of the steam engine era work in the era of cyberspace. They say that the gap between the ordinary people and their legislators is far wider now than a hundred or so years ago, and that our systems suffer from an increasing vulnerability to lobbyists.[1]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Others look to recapture America's early democratic energy and civic activism. Benjamin Barber notes:

> Once, between the poles of government and market, there was a vast vital middle ground known as civil society. . . Its great virtue was that it shared regard for the commonwealth, yet unlike government, made no claims to exercise a monopoly on legitimate coercion. . . It was a private realm devoted to public goods.[2]

Will Marshall sees the origins of change as more technological than ideological. He notes that the information economy is diffusing information and leading the transfer of power from large institutions to individuals. He sees "public entrepreneurs as creating a civic alternative to bureaucratic problem-solving." This is leading to a new citizenship which has four themes: "reciprocal responsibility; catalytic government; civic culture; and civil society."[3]

Evidence of these trends abounds. The Communitarian movement and the Civic Journalism movement are only two examples. These and similar movements point to the creation of a new civic-dialogue, new civic space and new relations between the governing and the governed.

Many are calling for regeneration of the civic values which underlie and are preconditions for our democratic governance. In short, we are struggling to find new balances in traditional social tensions: between the individual and community, centralization and decentralization, private and public, efficiency and equity.

Throughout this debate, the role of bureaucracy and administration is often forgotten, downplayed, or assumed out of existence. Bureaucracy is usually viewed as the problem. In fact, advocating public participation in government programs is often criticized as a return to participation in failed large-scale social programs. However, no matter where the balances are struck, complexity will not go away. Technical administration, and therefore bureaucracy, will remain. While some decry efforts to transform bureaucratic culture as quixotic, it is more naive to assume it out of existence. Whether private or public, centralized or decentralized, it will exist.

The struggle to make bureaucratic administration responsible, participatory, accountable, and transparent is the front line of

transforming the democratic state as we enter the 21st century. As presidential advisor William Galston pointed out in the 1994 IAP3 conference in Washington, D.C., it goes to the heart of a question democracies have struggled with for thousands of years: "What is the role of specialized knowledge in democratic societies?"[4] Even its most vigorous critics often implicitly assume the existence of some form of bureaucracy to administer their various visions of preferred states.

We would do well to heed Max Weber's adage, "Kings will come and go but bureaucracy and administration will remain." Our immediate challenge is to transform bureaucratic behavior, attitudes, and values—to create a new bureaucratic culture. Participation is central to this effort. The participatory transformation of bureaucracy is the "dimension less discussed." It is the arena in which many practitioners labor. Here are some challenges it presents.

Twelve Challenges For Public Participation Practitioners

1. To Negotiate the Gray Areas Between Administration and Legislation

Traditionally in the U.S., we have seen a separation between the political, usually viewed as legislative majority voting, and the technical, usually seen as implementation by the executive agencies of government.[5] When confronted with complex decisions, however, this distinction breaks down. Often it is not until the implementation or administration of general laws that the distribution of impacts becomes clear. As political scientist Harold Lasswell says, politics is "who gets what, when and how."[6] In many cases, the what and when become apparent only in implementation. Thus, administrators of technical agencies begin to appear as the bestowers or deniers of political benefits, and people ask, "Who elected you?" Many of us who encourage public participation in the administrative process are asked, "Are you trying to replace the legitimate representatives of government with some new and less

accountable form of government?" This is an old debate in the U.S., especially since the New Deal.

Robert Reich describes two paradigms which have guided attempts to deal with the technical and political: intermediating interest groups and maximizing net profits.[7] While both have their place, he goes on to call for a new paradigm of public deliberation which leads to civic discovery. This call reflects the chief goals of public participation: to foster deliberation, to encourage social learning, to create new alternatives, and to build or enhance through empowering experiences the civic infrastructure.

Ecological, natural resources, and infrastructure-related legislation of the 1970s and 1980s included a litany of impact assessment requirements for such issues as social impact, community impact, risk, and environmental impact. They recognized that traditional decisionmaking processes somehow did not include significant and appropriate values. Unfortunately, many have come to see even these kinds of impact assessments in purely technical, rational, and value-free terms. The truth is that most impact assessments fall somewhere between the clearly technical and clearly political. Essentially we are seeking the reasonable, not just the rational. While the rational may be a necessity, it is not a sufficient condition for implementable alternatives.

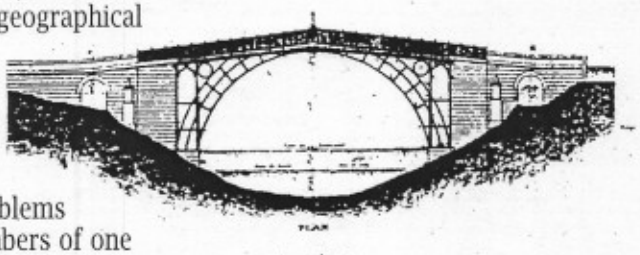
A U.S. study, done by the Kettering Foundation, finds that two systems of participation, formal and informal, seem to be emerging in the United States. Participation in the formal system of voting is decreasing, while participation is increasing in informal activities on decisions of community or regional development or with significant environmental impact. The study concludes that the problem is not to bring the informal to the formal, but how to get the formal to recognize the informal. In other words, people are eager to participate in decisions that will affect their lives, but they often are unaware of what decisions are being taken or how they will be affected until administrative implementation is upon them. This first challenge leads us to find ways to manage this gray area between the technical and political and to provide representative participation in such technical/administrative decisions.

In the United States, there were several attempts during the 1980s to deal with the separation of the legislative, political,

and executive administration. Regulatory negotiations (Reg-Negs) bring stakeholders together *before* the technical/administrative agencies promulgate regulations based on legislation. Policy dialogues bring stakeholders together to generate areas of agreement and/or disagreement and options which then affect eventual legislative debate. Legislation has been passed to encourage regulatory negotiations (Reg-Negs) in the United States. Dialogues, Reg-Negs, and other approaches continue. But so does the stalemate between the legislative and the executive.

2. To Cope with Growing Transformation of Traditional Boundaries

A second challenge for public participation, especially prominent in natural resources areas, stems from the frequent discontinuity between geographical and jurisdictional boundaries. Neither effluent from waste facilities nor polluted groundwater can be contained within traditional jurisdictions, nor can the problems they create be solved by members of one jurisdiction: resources are spread across state, local, federal and even national boundaries. Throughout the world, such issues will increasingly drive political and international decisions. But organizations and institutions built on traditional jurisdictional boundaries seem deadlocked by the NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) syndrome.



Ultimately, public participation is a "bottom-up" phenomenon regardless of what those of us who live in national capitals may think. Public participation processes often become a driving force for the vertical (state, local and regional) as well as the horizontal (across agency) negotiation vital to decisions that don't fit traditional jurisdictional boundaries.

This is also clear in the long history of river basin planning throughout the U.S. and the world. In the U.S., droughts in humid as well as arid areas are spawning water wars, such as those between Georgia and Alabama, in Louisiana, on the Missouri and Colorado rivers, and in other areas. Each of these cases brings a regional logic, forced by participation from the grassroots level, to strongly felt local needs. Essen -

tially, public participation confronts us with the notion of shared ownership in decisions.

At the international level, the practice of public participation blends with the theory of affinity groups proposed by John Burton in his international relations theory.[8] New publics are demanding new institutional forms for negotiation which often cross traditional jurisdictional and/or national boundaries. The issues themselves are also spawning new affinity groups, such as environmental groups, which cross those boundaries. The influence of such cross-jurisdictional groups could become important in certain regions. Examples abound in Eastern and Central Europe, where we have seen how grassroots/non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and environmental groups can transform old institutions.[9]

International law does not have strong sanctions in the traditional nation-state system. However, there is increasing need for joint problem solving and decision sharing on transboundary resource issues. The growing functional necessities presented by technological decisions could generate demands for more participation in decisions. This participation itself could begin to transform our political institutions and structures.

For example, towns along the border of Slovakia and Hungary recently initiated a series of joint meetings to discern pollution sources and to devise remediation actions. These meetings among Slovaks and Hungarians, held in a politically charged atmosphere of ethnic competition, produced cooperative agreements that went beyond the immediate public health issues. Slovaks and Hungarians succeeded in convincing their respective national governments to create the first open-access foot bridge to cross the frontier between these two countries.[10]

3. To Help Democratize Third World Development

Public participation is also emerging as important in the Third World. For example, the World Bank, which lends money to governments for development projects, is now examining how stakeholder participation could enhance institutional sustainability in selected cases across the world. Preliminary information indicates that the high failure rate of many projects can be reduced and performance enhanced through

meaningful stakeholder participation in their design and implementation. One internal World Bank evaluation of 42 bank-financed irrigation projects concluded that economic returns were consistently higher for those projects which involved farmers in planning and management. Another 1990 U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) study of 52 projects of different types showed a positive correlation between participation and project success. An ongoing study of 110 completed rural water supply projects under the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)/World Bank Water and Sanitation Program is also affirming such findings. A key message of the Bank's 1992 World Development Report is that "local participation in setting and implementing environmental policies and investments will yield high returns."[11]

The World Bank, funded by the Swedish Development Agency, is completing a "learning process" on participation. One result is that the Bank has begun a training program in participatory development for its task managers. It has produced numerous support papers that are rich with participatory experiences. They have been collected in *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook*,[12] which supports a new policy statement on participation signed by the World Bank's president. The Bank also has produced a new Policy on Information Access and Disclosure and is beginning to address the problems of participation in cross-sectoral, country assessment or policy development. In fact, such requirements are part of its Water Resources Assessment Policy. At the same time, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is producing a guide to participation in environmental assessments.

UNDP, UNICEF, and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), among others in the United Nations' system, have been major proponents of participation. Since 1980, FAO has promoted its people's participation program. Donors and lenders are examining ways to reach the poor more directly through the support of intermediary institutions and NGOs. USAID, which gave considerable groundbreaking support to participatory development in the 1970s and early 1980s, has begun a participatory forum, where AID professionals exchange views about participation. A variety of participation newsletters and electronic networks have also emerged throughout the world, such as the new International Network

One issue is the slow progress of public participation in the former Soviet Union. The region's few practitioners face deep citizen mistrust of government, conflicts involving ethnic groups, and assumptions that simply having public participation laws is enough. But, despite extremely limited funds and overwhelming development and environmental cleanup needs, people are beginning to insist on their rights to be informed, heard, and involved.

Bruce Stedman
Concord, Massachusetts

on Participatory Irrigation Management and the International Association of Public Participation Practitioners' newsletter.

Good governance (the rules and means by which decisions are made) is now recognized as a crucial element in technical performance. Experience supports the notion that building a civic infrastructure can be an important result of citizens participating in what are traditionally viewed as technical programs. In effect, the search for development has led us back to the pragmatic fundamentals of creating participatory experience and civic culture.

4. To Transform Bureaucratic Cultures: Public, Private, and Non-Profit

A fourth challenge concerns the decisionmaking style of professional and technical agencies. Frequently, the traditional style is to decide, to inform the client community, and then to justify a decision; in other words, DAD: decide-announce-defend. This process is increasingly being replaced by another model in which the participants jointly share information, diagnose the problem, reach an agreement about a solution, and implement it. The decide-announce-defend approach usually builds on a paternalistic (albeit often nobly motivated) professional ethic. That is, the professional, like father, knows best. The professional formulates alternatives or determines options, and then, for the good of society, informs the public and thereby justifies those decisions.

However, the ethical basis of such professionalism is changing. For example, few of us go to the doctor and say, "Heal me." Instead, we participate in the diagnosis as well as in the healing process itself. So, too, when we turn to traditional, technical, and governmental agencies, we must find new ways to jointly diagnose problems, to decide on plans of action, and to implement them. The new notion of professionalism is driven by an ethic of informed consent as opposed to one of paternalism. The challenge calls us to create ways for participation to pervade hierarchy. It also must address the legitimate concerns of professionals who exclaim, "There are no standards left, anything goes!" It is not that society wants to jettison professional technical expertise and enter a new age of irrationalism. Far from it—we need the expertise. But a new relationship among experts and those whom they serve must be established to liberate this expertise.

Participation has been and continues to be a catalyst for organizational change. Two of the best recent examples in the U.S. are from the Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) in the Pacific Northwest and the recent managerial changes in the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). For example, by opening up its decisionmaking processes to the full range of its publics, including its severest critics, BPA's solutions to Northwest energy problems became more innovative. It relied less on traditional engineering solutions, and engineers were rewarded for saving money and energy, not just for building bigger and better transmission lines.

Organizations and agencies cannot do participation with external constituencies without becoming more participatory internally. To start, simply talking about public participation can encourage a transformation. Actually doing public participation over a period of time will precipitate either the transformation of internal values or a major debate about such values. And internal cultural norms ultimately will be affected by agency actions outside its building.

5. To Understand and Help Decisionmakers Deal With Ethical Dilemmas

When is the decision *not* to decide a greater evil than to decide and possibly to incur unexpected negative effects? Meaningful participation often brings both decisionmakers and participants into a new awareness of this ethical reality. Lack of participation or non-meaningful participation can allow stakeholders the luxury of negative "nay-saying" without confronting the reality of decisionmaking pressures—and that is dangerous. Admittedly, getting the public in touch with such realities, which often are described in obscure and esoteric language, is difficult. But we must.

Nowhere is this dilemma clearer than in ecological decisionmaking. There was a time when some environmentalists were saying "no" to a lot of developments, using the environmental impact statement to do that, as a way to make people stop and think about the damage those developments were doing. For a time, society needed a shock—an instrument to make us stop and take notice, and the EIS was that blunt instrument. At the time, it was sufficient simply to stop the action. Now, however, people are demanding that developments go forward, but in a sound ecological manner, and they are thinking

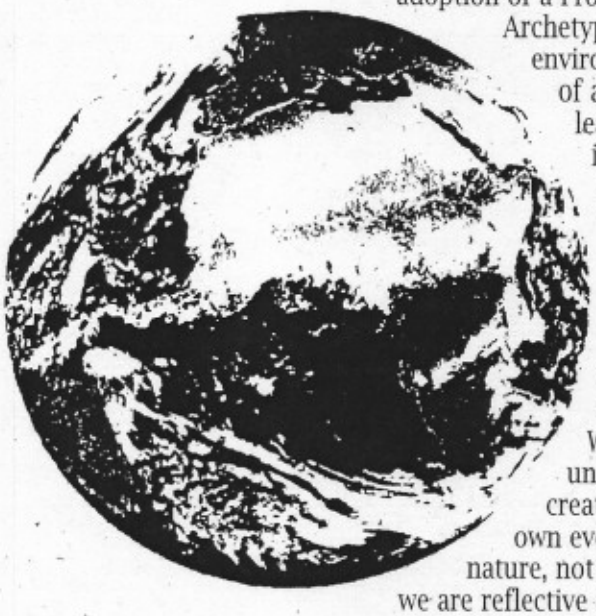
about environmentally sound ways to meet a need, not simply about how to build a better dam or to compensate later for its damage.

Participation is one of our main tools to encourage the dialogue about such difficult choices among decisionmakers and the public.

6. To Create and Actively Choose Futures

We have not one but many possible ecological futures. We are now confronted with the need for and the awareness of our responsibility and accountability to actively choose our environmental future. I think our growing consciousness of this choice is at the root of our anxiety over the future, more than even our doomsday visions.

Our need to choose our future leads us right to participation. The challenge of environmental design is the co-creation of our ecological future. We already see this in new programs that engage in proactive ecological design, such as environmental restoration and wetland construction. This is similar to what Lewis in his book, *Green Delusions: An Environmentalist's Critique of Radical Environmentalism*, calls the adoption of a Promethean Environmental Archetype (which leads to proactive environmental design) and rejection of an Arcadian Archetype (which leads to passive preservationism), to fuel our search for sustainability.[13] It is close to what Easterbrook calls "Environmental Optimism."[14]



In the end, our increased environmental knowledge has brought us to a major point in the evolution of consciousness. We humans are coming to understand that we are co-creators of, and participants in, our own evolution. We are in and of nature, not separate from it. In some way, we are reflective consciousness in nature. By

forcing us to experience multiple viewpoints, each often couched in the certainty of pedigreed science, public involvement has been a vehicle to bring us to such realizations.

Caught between an apocalyptic pessimism for earth and an optimistic hope for a savior technology, many people nevertheless express fear of the future. Indeed, our fixation on the short term could be a collective avoidance. However, the fear of the future could stem from another source of anxiety deep in our collective subconscious. That source might be the awesome responsibility stemming from realizing that we are co-designing our environment, whether by explicit choice, non-choice or avoidance. Built on a democratic faith, public participation will not let us run from this collective responsibility. In classical theory, democracy is defended because citizens participate in decisions that affect their lives, and this experience will educate and build responsibility among citizens. What issues could be more important and affect us more than designing our future?

7. To Help Give Voice to the Voiceless

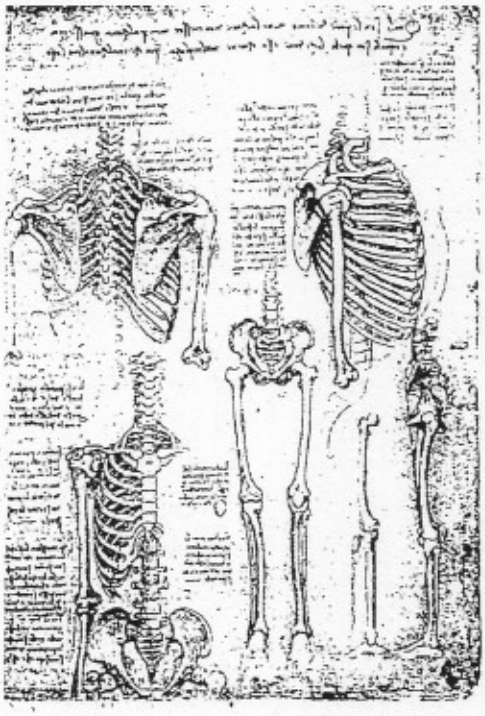
This challenge can be presented as a question: "What about those who are likely to be affected but do not (and will not) know until the impacts are present?" Unresolved variants of this question are at the heart of much debate over participation within international development organizations. When such organizations look to participation, who are the public? Does the international organization go beyond the established state and develop special relations with NGOs? Can it? If it does, what happens to its espoused technical role, as it becomes viewed as a political change agent? Participation in this context leads us rapidly to ethical dilemmas which then bring us to debate the purpose of development assistance.

This question is also important in the U.S. A new U.S. study finds that

> . . . those who already have economic clout are involved in politics in ways that disproportionately increase their influence, making the practice of democracy increasingly biased against the economically disadvantaged.[15]

8. To See Participation in Decisions About the Physical Infrastructure as Reinforcing the Civic Infrastructure

Public participation in physical infrastructure projects can be used to reinforce the civic infrastructure. As Thomas Jefferson once noted, the great engine of democracy is responsibility. Citizen responsibility is enhanced when citizens meaningfully participate in making the decisions that affect their lives. They take responsibility for tradeoffs. Such experience becomes a powerful means to educate and to inform—both prerequisites for democratic political culture.



Actually, we could view technical decisions on infrastructure, engineering, and environmental problems as opportunities for building democracy. Such decisions confront us with new experiences, new knowledge, and new information needs. By increasing citizen participation in what have been viewed as technical decisions, we may, in effect, strengthen those elements of the civic infrastructure so critical to democratic decisionmaking. Public participation builds on a classical notion in democratic theory: that those citizens who are affected by decisions should have a say in decisions which affect their lives because they will become better citizens.[16] And it is often the physical infrastructure and environmental projects that citizens see directly affecting their lives.

9. To Go Beyond the Impact Assessment Fixation

Public participation has taught us the need to move beyond an "impact fixation" and to get participation early in the decisionmaking process. For example, environmental impact assessment has attracted much public attention to high technology decisions. However, the impact assessment stage is often so late in the development process that the public can only participate in discussion of how to mitigate the damages

of options already chosen. The public must be involved in the diagnosis and option-generation stages of decisions, as well as the impact assessment. Public participation also brings alternative values into the design and configuration stages.

Getting the public to participate in planning is difficult. Planning often appears esoteric, and sometimes it is unclear which decisions planners are asking people to participate in. Will the plan be presented to a decisionmaker at a future date? Some experience indicates that it is easier to involve people in issues which they can see immediately affect their lives. For example, it is easier to generate public participation in regulatory decisions about the short-term issuing of a permit. In such cases, people can understand the decisions and see their immediate impact and consequences. This experience, however, begs the question of whether public participation enhances our capacity to deal with long-term perspectives. Successful public participation has been achieved in alternative futures planning, but it requires considerable design and facilitation effort.[17]

In many regions, resource issues, especially concerning environment and water, now confront industrialized nations with the politics of redistribution versus the more traditional politics of distribution. A critical question is how to reallocate uses to meet new demographics within an established system of rights. But it is not clear how to foster stakeholder participation in major decisions over realignments in social structure, such as reallocations of water between agricultural and municipal uses. Powerful bureaucratic structures have been created around these uses and are hard to change.

10. To Put Technology in Service of Participation

Technology is more than inanimate machines or abstract programs—it is us. It is also closely intertwined with bureaucracy. We both produce and are a product of our technology. Technology in its broadest sense is what defines our civilization. We must find better ways to put that which we do—technology—into service of that in which we say we believe—democratic participation. For many years, when we brought computers into the participation process, we soon found ourselves marching to the agenda of the machine and not vice versa. But new advances in interactive software, object-

oriented programming, decision support systems, geographic information systems (GIS), and others are changing that reality.

For example, in the national drought study in the U.S., an interactive software called STELLA is being used. It allows stakeholders to jointly create (in real time) descriptions of water systems. In essence, the software allows stakeholders to use icons on a computer screen as a single-text negotiating device.

STELLA is just one example of the many technological aids to participation. When we think of satellite links and other communication advances, the possibilities for using technology to improve participation are boundless.

11. To Meet the Challenge of Dispute Resolution

Public participation succeeded in many ways in the 1970s and 1980s. But some problems and discontent lingered. A major concern was that public participation got people talking about their needs and bureaucrats listening, but they didn't seem to come to closure and reach agreements.

In response to this sentiment and to the growing litigiousness in U.S. society, the field of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) emerged in the early '80s, and many bureaucratic and large organizations turned to it. ADR used much of the rhetoric and process skills found and developed in public participation experiences. For example, facilitation, mediation, neutral-party assistance, and the early notions of interest-based negotiation (which is parallel to value-based alternatives) began to be used for resolving disputes before going to court.

The public participation experience was born of multi-party, multi-issue disputes usually precipitated by new ecological value challenges. ADR began by focusing on mediation and various forms of nonbinding arbitration born of the more traditional model of labor-management disputes, which involved a limited number of parties and more discernible interests. Practitioners in both traditions have come together in a variety of professional societies and publications. Indeed, the growth of environmental mediation has been noted by numerous commentators in the 1980s.[18]

Beyond these convergences, differences between public participation and ADR should also be noted. Public participation has been driven primarily by values of empowerment, creativity and open access to government. ADR, while not ignoring such values, has been sold more on the values of efficiency, timeliness, and cost-effectiveness of decision-making processes. These values of empowerment, open system access, efficiency and timeliness can conflict. Parallels can be seen in traditional political science literature with the concept of interest articulation (i.e., public participation) and interest aggregation (i.e., ADR).

While success stories can be found, there also are cases where good ADR attempts have ignored the need for public participation. For example, mediated policy dialogues and negotiations recently were completed among principal U.S. federal agencies responsible for producing a manual defining wetlands. However, the negotiated agreement was eventually challenged by adversely affected business interests and communities on a variety of bases, one of which was insufficient public participation. Some private cases of toxic waste disposal have been negotiated and agreements achieved through ADR, with the caveat that records would be sealed; but stakeholders left out of the negotiations threaten to overturn the agreements. During the 1990s, the question of how ADR and public participation relate will be a major question for those interested in new forms of participation.

12. To Meet the Challenge of the Market

Frequently people suggest that the market is the most efficient public participation strategy. They see it as the primary alternative to bureaucracy. They say that people can show their preferences by where they spend their money, or with boycotts of companies they consider irresponsible. Without lengthy theoretical discussion of equities and social distribution, a few notions should be mentioned. Markets also can create the illusion of efficiency while hiding social costs. For example, water resource experts commenting on the use of water in the western U.S. have noted that major environmental values and interests of smaller communities may be ignored in the process of using markets for facilitating reallocation of water supply, such as when cheap agricultural water is sold to urban utilities willing to pay higher prices.[19] Thus, mediating institutions are often needed to facilitate the working of such

markets. Thinking of markets as a public participation tool also raises the question of how those who will be affected, but don't know it, will participate. While markets could clearly play a greater role in problems frequently addressed by participation, they are not the total solution.

Conclusion

Demands for public participation in technological and other decision processes are both indicators and symptoms of problems in our democratic institutions. The values held by those whom administrators and executives serve are changing. Older administrative organizations and institutions, which themselves are the embodiment of values from previous times, have often lagged behind their publics. New publics bring new demands. At the same time, the complexity of decisions increasingly raises the question of how to achieve democratic accountability and transparency. Our natural resource demands do not conform to traditional jurisdictional boundaries. The ethical basis of professionalism is moving from paternalistic to informed consent.

Public participation is a means to adapt and to make our democratic institutions work better in this context. It can achieve important psychological transference within our publics from passive victims of, or reactors to, risk toward active choosers of levels of risk.

At its best, public participation can connect us and perhaps break down stereotypes. It can help us walk in the "other's" shoes. It can be a symbolic act of reconciliation and a vehicle for forgiveness and healing, which are prerequisites for management of ethnic and distributive conflicts.[20]

Thomas Jefferson once wrote:

> I know of no safe repository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves, and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.[21]

The contemporary political theorist Robert Dahl noted:

> Whatever form it takes, a democracy of our successors will not and cannot be the democracy of our predecessors, nor should it be . . . for complexity threatens to cut the policy elites loose from effective control by the [people]. The result could be—and to some extent already is—a kind of quasi-guardianship of the policy elites [bureaucracy]. . . indeed we have some reason for thinking that specialization, which is the . . . grounds for the influence of policy elites, may itself impair their capacity for moral judgment . . . if the democratic process is not firmly anchored to the judgments of the [people], then the system will continue to drift over to quasi-guardianship.[22]

End Notes

1 *The Economist*, June 17, 1995, p. 13.

2 Benjamin R. Barber. "The Search for Civil Society." *In* Civic Practices Network, http://www.journalism.wisc.edu.80/cpn.

3 Will Marshall. "The New Citizenship." *In* Civic Practices Network, http://www.journalism.wisc.edu.80/cpn.

4 William Galston. Opening Plenary Session, "International Principles of Public Participation: Prospects and Challenges" at 1994 Conference of International Association of Public Participation Practitioners, Washington, D.C., September 12, 1994.

[5] For review of the debate over representativeness of administration, see: Jerome Delli Priscoli. *Public Participation in Regional-Intergovernmental Water Resources Planning: Conceptual Frameworks and Comparative Case Studies.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 549.

[6] Harold Lasswell. *Politics: Who Gets What, When and How.* Meridian Books, Cleveland, 1958.

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[11] This example was reported in the annual program of Partners for Democratic Change, which is located in San Francisco, CA. Its title was "Conflict prevention conference on common drinking water supply of Satoraljuajhely, May 25-27, 1994"; it was carried out by the National Conflict Resolution Centers in Slovakia and Hungary.

[12] From "Interim Report on Progress of the Bank's Participation Learning Group" (Draft). External Affairs, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1992.

[13] *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook* (Final Draft). Environmental Department, World Bank, Washington, D.C., May 1995.

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[15] Gregg Easterbrook. *A Moment on the Earth: The Coming Age of Environmental Optimism.* Viking Press, New York, NY, 1995.

[16] Op. cit. *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook.*

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