K4D | Knowledge, evidence and learning for development

Resources on governance and inclusion

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Question

An annotated bibliography of evidence reviews and other resources related to governance and inclusion. In particular the bibliography will include evidence reviews on: 1) Whether and how an inclusive society can lead to better governance; and 2) What kinds of governance interventions can lead to greater inclusion.

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Overview

Inclusion is a prominent concept – some say "buzzword"[1] – in current international development thinking and debates. The recently adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promote inclusion – to "leave no one behind" – and place governance at the heart of achieving this[2]. For example, SDG 16 aims to "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels".

This ten day rapid review provides an annotated bibliography of recent reviews and other resources on the relationship between inclusion and governance. It explores this in two parts: looking firstly at the literature on whether and how an inclusive society can lead to better governance, and secondly on what kinds of governance interventions can lead to greater inclusion.

"Inclusive society" or the related term "inclusion" are complex and contested concepts – as are "governance" and "better governance". This review has not sought to identify literature pertaining to a specific definition of inclusion or governance. A wide range of search terms have been used, to reflect the complex nature of these concepts and to include a broad selection of relevant literature and evidence. Useful guiding definitions found during the research are provided below.

This rapid review aims to provide a guide to the literature, and therefore has prioritised including reviews and other resources (such as professional development reading packs) that summarise evidence and debates. The report signposts syntheses which list relevant individual studies, rather than providing a complete bibliography. The review also provides links to relevant reports from the GSDRC[3] – a predecessor resource centre to the Knowledge for Development (K4D) programme.

The review looked in particular for resources on gender inclusive governance interventions. It also searched for but found less research on other social groups including young people (although there appears to be a growing literature on youth participation and empowerment); people with disabilities; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people; and ethic and faith minorities.

Key findings

There are ongoing debates at all levels of development theory and policy on "whether inclusion is a necessary ingredient or more a long-term outcome of development" (Hickey, 2015). Policy implications include a focus on stability and capacity ahead of inclusion. Reviews find convincing evidence that in the short to medium term more inclusive elite political settlements[4] are critical to

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[1] Rocha Menocal, 2017b, p. 559.

[2] Rocha Menocal, A. & Wild, L. (2013). *The relationship between governance and progress.* In Samarasinghe, N. (Ed.). *Global development goals. Leaving no-one behind.* London: United Nations Association – UK

[3] www.gsdrc.org

[4] Laws (2012) finds that "a growing body of recent scholarship puts political settlements at the centre of the development process". "However, alongside a lack of detailed empirical case studies, the usefulness of the framework as it stands is hampered by a lack of consensus over how to define and understand the key concepts." Laws (2012) sets out that "political settlements are on-going political processes that include one-off events and agreements between elites, but are not defined by them. … They are typically the outcome of

avoid violent conflict reoccurring and lay foundations for more peaceful political processes, while over the longer term countries with more inclusive institutions are better at promoting sustained and broadly shared prosperity (Rocha Menocal, 2015; also see Evans, 2012). One review finds that empirical evidence suggests that non-elites' ability to shape political settlements is uncertain (Evans, 2012). Other research highlights settlements need to represent the interests of social groups (DFID, 2010). Significant research highlights that the processes of bargaining between state and society can themselves strengthen opportunities and incentives for collective action as well as the capacity of the state to respond (Unsworth and Moore, 2010).

A 2013 review of the evidence found that "Democracies are wealthier, more likely to sustain growth, and less likely to go to war with one another than non-democracies. However, "There is no systematic link between a country's democratic status and its ability to reduce poverty or improve human development" and "Political competition … is a more effective predictor of executive constraint than a country's democratic status;" (Evans and Ferguson, 2013; also see Dal Bo and Finan 2016).

There is cross-country empirical evidence on the impacts of exclusion and exclusive institutions on governance and other development outcomes. Horizontal inequalities, or inequalities among groups, raises the risk of conflict (Stewart, 2015), with ethnic distribution of power a strong predictor of national violent conflict (World Bank, 2017). Meanwhile norms excluding groups such as women and minorities reinforce power asymmetries and perpetuate inequitable outcomes (World Bank, 2017).

There are many different kinds of governance interventions which intend to improve inclusion for different social groups, ranging from establishing the principles of inclusive practice; supporting underlying institutional change; and implementing sectoral policies (Arauco et al, 2014). This bibliography provides evidence reviews for a broad selection of types of interventions.

Common themes include: the difficulty in evaluating the impact of complex inclusive governance interventions; a growing evidence base but still limited evidence in many key areas; and mixed and in some cases disappointing results, with some isolated success cases. The research highlight the lack of straightforward or automatic links between interventions and impact, and the importance of various contextual factors, including pre-existing power relations, social norms, levels of equity or exclusion, leadership, and the capacity and will of both state and civil society actors (Mcloughlin and Combaz, 2014).

Key findings on the individual types of intervention include:

- **Democratic development assistance**: overall, the results of donor support to democratic development have been disappointing, although there are isolated examples of good (or improved practice) (Foresti et al, 2011)
- **Inclusive legal and regulatory frameworks**: affirmative action measures are patchy, with few groups benefitting across the board and some (e.g. people with disabilities) neglected across a range of domains. There is extensive evidence from India and some from Latin America and Africa on political reservations and quotas for women, with success in increasing numbers, but less clear evidence of transformative change. (Marcus et al, 2017)

bargaining, negotiation and compromises between elites. … Typically they involve not only the horizontal negotiations between elites but also vertical relations between elites and their followers."

- **Public sector reform**: available evidence suggests little overall improvement from public sector reforms, particular civil service reforms. The experiences of the few countries that have significantly strengthened their public sector over last 10-20 years support the understanding that political commitment is fundamental. (Fritz, 2016) There are well-known examples of successful gender responsive budgeting (GRB) work (Birchall and Fontana, 2015). There are recommendations on integrating lessons from GRB initiatives into PFM reforms to make both polices and systems gender equitable and ultimately gender transformative (ibid.).

- **Inclusive peace-building interventions**: direct participation in a decision-making arena does not by default translate into substantial decision-making power (Dudouet et al, 2016). There are few hard and fast relationships between negotiations, inclusiveness and the sustainability of peace processes, or the ability of peace processes to re-shape the political settlement (Evans, 2012)

- **Voice, empowerment and accountability (VEA) interventions**: evidence of the impact of VEA interventions is limited and inconsistent – identifying both positive and negative effects. For example, voice and participation have had positive effects on education and health outcomes, and empowerment is positively associated with improvements in health-promoting behaviour and women's protection against violence. Transparency and accountability initiatives have had mixed results, although some positive impacts on access to services have been documented. (Mcloughlin and Combaz, 2014)

- **Interventions for women's empowerment**: Progress on gender equality over last twenty years has been slow and uneven and interventions piecemeal (Gender and Development Network et al, 2015). Focusing on opportunities for individual girls and women hides the real barrier – the underlying power inequality between women and men (ibid.). Rocha Menocal (2015) finds there is no straightforward or automatic link between women's empowerment and more inclusive political settlements. Key factors affecting women's inclusion include: clientelist and personalist politics and the nature of political competition; vibrancy of women's movement and elite support; transnational discourse, advocacy and actors.

- Literature on governance interventions for the inclusion of other population groups apart from women appears to be limited. Recommendations of how to better include **young people, LGBTQ people, people with disabilities and indigenous people and ethnic minorities** were found in the literature; common themes include using a rights-based approach to end discrimination and to support empowerment across political, economic, social and legal domains. (Walker et al, 2014; Handicap International, 2010)

Recommendations for development actors

- Think about institutional function not just form, power asymmetries and the role of law (World Bank, 2017);

- Understand that governance transitions are inherently political and involve multiple processes of change in the underlying rules of the game that may not be mutually reinforcing (Rocha Menocal, 2017);

- Be problem-driven, politically informed, adaptive and entrepreneurial; and support change that reflects local realities and is locally led (Wild et al, 2016).

Evidence gaps

There is a critical gap in understanding how a political settlement with a narrow focus on elite inclusion can be transformed into a more broadly inclusive political order (Rocha Menocal, 2015). Reviews of inclusive governance interventions highlight evidence gaps, including for example a lack of evidence on the long effects of empowerment on social and political inclusion (Mcloughlin and Combaz, 2014). In particular there is little research on measures to combat discrimination against refugees, migrants, older people or LGBTQ people (Marcus et al, 2017). Moreover, existing evidence is geographically patchy: there is limited or no evidence on many countries with large populations that face substantial governance challenges (Philips, 2017).

A collaborative exercise by academics and representatives of non-governmental (NGOs) has identified 15 research questions on governance participation and rights of social groups (women, young people, indigenous peoples and marginal communities) not yet satisfactorily addressed and of critical importance for the new development agenda (Oldekop et al, 2016).

Oldekop, J. A., Fontana, L. B., Grugel, J., Roughton, N., Adu-Ampong, E. A., Bird, G. K., ... & Agbarakwe, E. (2016). 100 key research questions for the post-2015 development agenda. *Development Policy Review, 34*(1), 55-82. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dpr.12147/full

1. What governance arrangements best empower local communities to shape development in their area?

2. How can the accountability and capacity of parliaments be strengthened in low- and middle-income countries?

3. What support or alliances do women leaders and politicians need in the Global South and how can they best be provided or enabled?

4. What are the most effective ways to encourage women's political participation in contexts of resistance to gender equality?

5. What interventions promote youth participation in development and how can they be best operationalised?

6. How can governments engage effectively with citizens who mobilise outside the formal arena of politics and in informal spaces of participation?

7. What are the consequences for development outcomes of the shift from national sovereignty to global governance?

8. To what extent are human rights conventions successful in protecting vulnerable groups?

9. How do different actors and agencies deal with conflicts between competing rights' categories and rights' holders, and how can these conflicts be addressed?

10. How can businesses be encouraged to better understand and deliver on human rights?

11. How can the rights of marginal and vulnerable groups be protected and enhanced in the process of large-scale infrastructure development?

12. How can the rights of geographically remote and/or mobile social groups be integrated and promoted in national development agendas?

13. Under what conditions are indigenous peoples best able to protect their rights, including land rights?

14. What approaches most effectively protect and promote the rights of children with disabilities and significant mental and physical impairments?

15. What are the barriers to the full realisation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) rights and how can they be overcome?

Guiding definitions

Inclusive development

Hickey S, Sen K & Bukenya B. (2014). Exploring the politics of inclusive development: towards a new conceptual approach. In Hickey S, Sen K & Bukenya B (Eds.). The Politics of Inclusive Development Interrogating the Evidence. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"… a process that occurs when social and material benefits are equitably distributed across divides within societies, across income groups, genders, ethnicities, regions, religious groups, and others. These benefits necessarily comprise not only economic and material gains but enhanced well-being and capabilities as well as social and political empowerment being widely experienced". (p.5)[5]

Governance

Oldekop, J. A., Fontana, L. B., Grugel, J., Roughton, N., Adu-Ampong, E. A., Bird, G. K., ... & Agbarakwe, E. (2016). 100 key research questions for the post-2015 development agenda. Development Policy Review, 34(1), 55-82. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dpr.12147/full

"Governance is exercised through laws, norms, language and power at formal or informal levels, through bureaucracies or participation and through the state or other forms of organisation. … The definition and creation of spaces for economic and political interactions, and decision-making processes, are central to the relationship between states and citizens and to the capacity of states and other actors to achieve their goals (Grindle, 2004). Governance mechanisms at the subnational, national and international levels constitute the arenas where rights are negotiated, legal frameworks established and implementation measures designed and put into action (Weiss, 2014)."

World Bank. 2017. World Development Report 2017: Governance and the Law. Washington, DC: World Bank. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-0950-7

"…, governance is the process through which state and nonstate actors interact to design and implement policies within a given set of formal and informal rules that shape and are shaped by power. This Report defines power as the ability of groups and individuals to make others act in the interest of those groups and individuals and to bring about specific outcomes." (p.3)

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[5] Rocha Menocal (2017) presents this as a useful definition in Political Settlements and the Politics of Transformation: Where Do 'Inclusive Institutions' Come From? *Journal of International Development*, *29*(5), 559-575.)

Part 1: Whether and how an inclusive society can lead to better governance

1. Inclusion: the means of inclusive development or long-term outcome

Hickey, S. (2015). *Inclusive Institutions. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 29.* **Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham.** http://www.gsdrc.org/professional-dev/inclusive-institutions/

The reading pack provides an overview of the topic, a selected list of key literature and a short video of Sam Hickey presenting the key points. He stresses that this is a highly contested area, both in terms of the evidence but also people's normative ideas. Key points include:

- "Inclusive institutions are usually portrayed as both a means through which inclusive development itself can be achieved and as an end in themselves. This has prompted debates at all levels of development theory and policy which hinge mainly on whether (a) the focus should be on inclusion itself, (or rather on the terms of inclusion and the power relations that shape this) and (b) whether inclusion is a necessary ingredient for development or more a long-term outcome of development."

- Recent theoretical and historical work on the long-run drivers of development include proponents for the critical driving force of 'inclusive' or 'open access orders' institutions.

- Other recent scholarship highlights the critical role for fairly exclusive institutions, including state capacity and ruling coalitions largely free from the pressures of other powerful groups at elite and popular levels.

- Important policy implications include a focus on stability and capacity ahead of inclusion.

Further reading

Hickey, S.; Sen, K. & Bukenya, B. (Eds.). (2015). *The Politics of Inclusive Development. Interrogating the Evidence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://www.oapen.org/download?type=document&docid=622850#page=280

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2. Effects of inclusive peace agreements and longer-term political settlements[6]

Rocha Menocal, A. (2015). *Political settlements and the politics of inclusion*. **DLP State of the Art Paper, 7. Birmingham: Development Leadership Programme, University of Birmingham.** **http://publications.dlprog.org/PoliticalSettlementsSOTA.pdf**

From a review of the evidence (drawing particularly on Evans 2012 and bringing in other research), Rocha Menocal finds that the literature suggests that:

- "At least in the short to medium term, more inclusive political settlements at the elite level are crucial to avoid the recurrence of violent conflict, and to lay the foundations for more peaceful political processes." Evidence includes cross-country case analysis (including analysis of the postcolonial trajectories of civil war versus political stability in different states across Sub-Saharan Africa); all post-Cold War cases of civil war and relapse); the factors behind fifteen cases of civil war recurrence in Africa, Asia, the Caucasus and Latin America.

- "Over the long term, states and societies underpinned by more open and more broadly inclusive institutions are more resilient and better at promoting sustained and broadly shared prosperity". (p.3) This is based on "More sweeping quantitative and qualitative historical research and conceptual analyses" (p.14).

Rocha Menocal finds that "there is a big gap between these two findings: further research and learning are needed on how a political settlement with a narrow focus on elite inclusion can be transformed into a more broadly inclusive political order"[7].

Evans, W. (2012). *A review of the evidence informing DFID's 'Building Peaceful States and Societies' Practice Paper. Paper 1. Political Settlements, Peace Settlements, and Inclusion.* **London: DFID.** **https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08a64ed915d622c000701/Evans_PoliticalSettlements.pdf**

This paper analyses evidence underpinning DFID's 2010 "Building Peaceful States and Societies" framework, looking at the objective on supporting inclusive political settlements and processes. Key findings include: (p.4)

- A combination of conceptual research and empirical evidence seems to support the claim that peacebuilding and state-building is underpinned by the formation of inclusive political settlements, where the political settlement refers to elite bargains;

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[6] For a survey and clarification of academic, policy and conceptual work on 'political settlements', see Laws, E. (2012). *Political Settlements, Elite Pacts, and Governments of National Unity A Conceptual Study.* Background Paper 10. Development Leadership Program. http://publications.dlprog.org/Political%20Settlements,%20Elite%20Pacts,%20and%20Governments%20of%20National%20Unity.pdf

For a summary of the history of political settlements in theory and in development agencies, and a mapping of political settlement types, see Kelsall, T. (2016). *Thinking and working with political settlements.* Overseas Development Institute. https://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10185.pdf

[7] http://www.dlprog.org/publications/political-settlements-and-the-politics-of-inclusion.php

- The evidence relating to the ability of non-elites (i.e. wider society) to shape the political settlement is typically more empirical, but also more mixed. Based on the research surveyed, non-elites' capacity to change political settlements is uncertain.

- There is some strong empirical evidence that democratic states are more stable, and democracy is in high demand. However there is also strong empirical evidence that the democratisation process can induce conflict; and that democracy itself may not be conducive to re-shaping the political settlement or to forging a pro-poor developmental state. (p.13-14)

- Evans finds that the durability of institutions is only as great as their compatibility with the interests of those who hold power. Research (preferably empirical) is required to understand the conditions under which elite configurations of power (common in many developing countries) pursue interests that in turn require them to develop institutions likely to serve not just themselves, but also wider society. (p.23)

Department for International Development. (2010). *The politics of poverty: elites, citizens and states: findings from ten years of DFID-funded research on governance and fragile states 2001-2010–a synthesis paper.*
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08af4e5274a31e000089a/dfid_Politics_ BOOKMARK_SINGLESNEW.pdf

This paper provides a brief overview of what four different DFID-funded programmes say about governance, fragility and conflict in the developing world. These are: the Centre for Future States and the Citizenship, Accountability and Participation Programmes (Institute of Development Studies, Sussex); the Crisis States Research Centre (London School of Economics); and the Centre for Research on Inequality and Ethnicity (CRISE, Oxford University). Conclusions from the research include:

- "… the political settlement is central to all development; and one that does not exclude powerful players is more likely to prevent conflict. But settlements also need to work at the grass roots level, representing the interests of social groups."

- "… in countries where cultural or ethnic groups feel there is economic, political and social inequality, wars are more likely."

- "When citizens actively participate in society through local associations and movements outside the state, there are benefits to both state and society."

Further reading

Unsworth, S., & Moore, M. (2010). *Societies, States and Citizens: A policymaker's guide to the research.* **Centre for the Future State, the Institute of Development Studies.** http://www2.ids.ac.uk/gdr/cfs/pdfs/Future%20State%20DRC%20Policy%20Briefing%20SS C10.pdf

Based on a ten year programme of DFID-funded research by the Centre for the Future State, the central message of this report "is that achieving better governance is not a precondition for development but an integral part of the development process." (p.3) A key finding is that "Bargaining between the state and society – between people who hold political/military power

and organised social groups – is fundamental to achieving progressive change (.3) Productive bargaining between public and private actors can result in better inclusion while the processes of bargaining between state and society can strengthen opportunities and incentives for collective as well as the capacity of the state to respond (p.14).

3. Links between governance, institutions and development

Dal Bo, E., & Finan, F. (2016). *At the Intersection: A Review of Institutions in Economic Development.* **Economic Development & Institutions.** https://edi.opml.co.uk/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/WhitePaper-Nov2016_sv.pdf

This review presents the main debates and empirical evidence on the role of political and legal institutions in development. On political institutions, the authors find that research over the last 20 years has identified some basic patterns: (p.8) "In general, countries with 'better' political institutions also adopt more 'inclusive' economic institutions. … More specifically, there is an association between economic performance and the political regime that is in place. … countries that are better off economically also tend to have political systems that are more open and democratic". However, these correlations do not imply causal links between political institutions and economic development; the authors find that arguments for causality have been made in both directions. They recommend that future research focus on understanding "the links between political institutions and growth, both in terms of causal effects as well as the details of which institutions matter and how". (p.9)

Evans, W. & Ferguson, C. (2013). *Governance, institutions and poverty reduction: a literature review.* **London: UK Department for International Development (DFID).** https://www.gov.uk/dfid-research-outputs/governance-institutions-growth-and-poverty-reduction-a-literature-review

"This paper explores the linkages between governance, institutions, economic growth and poverty reduction, as presented in the academic literature." Key findings include: (p.8)

- "Democracies are wealthier, more likely to sustain growth, and less likely to go to war with one another than non-democracies. However, the evidence does not demonstrate that democracy causes higher incomes or is a direct outcome of higher incomes;"

- "There is no systematic link between a country's democratic status and its ability to reduce poverty or improve human development."

- "Political competition … is a more effective predictor of executive constraint than a country's democratic status;" Political competition is characterised by stronger, inclusive, issues-based political parties, staffed by competitively-recruited individuals (and including women).

- "Civil society may have pro-poor benefits, both through the mechanisms of participation in public spending, and transparency and accountability. However, the degree to which civil society is effective is likely to depend upon the extent to which participation is politically motivated and organized (the more the better), and the context in which it

operates: civil society is relatively ineffective at achieving political change in quasi-democratic or semi-authoritarian states;"

- "Exclusive focus on institutions may underplay wider political, economic and geographical factors that are key for development. In addition, it is clear that different sets of institutions may matter for different countries at different stages of their development."

4. Impacts of inequalities and exclusion

World Bank (2017). *World Development Report 2017: Governance and the Law.* **Washington, D.C.: World Bank.** http://dx.doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-0950-7

The report explains how power asymmetries matter for security, growth and equality. One manifestation of power asymmetries is the exclusion of individuals and groups from the bargaining arena (p.7). The report summarises evidence that this can be particularly important for security) (p.7-8). The report finds that "Exclusion, which can take the shape of lack of access to state institutions, resources, and services, often occurs along identity fault lines. The distribution of power among ethnic groups, measured by their access to central state power, is a strong predictor of violent conflict at the national level" (citing cross-country statistical analyses using the Ethnic Power Relations data set from 1945 to 2005) (p.8). The report goes on to find that "The existence of norms that exclude certain groups, such as women and minorities, from the bargaining arena where disputes are settled tend to reinforce power asymmetries and perpetuate inequitable and insecure outcomes" (p.8). The report also provides an explanation of the vicious cycle of inequality and governance, in which initial conditions of inequality promote a policy arena that further entrenches that inequality, (p.169-170)

Further reading

World Bank. (2013). *Inclusion matters: The foundation for shared prosperity.* **Washington, D.C.: World Bank.** http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/10/09/inclusion-matters

The terms 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' are often used imprecisely and without clearly differentiating them from inequality or poverty. This World Bank report develops a comprehensive framework for understanding inclusion, arguing that inclusion has both intrinsic and instrumental value and is manifested through opportunities to take part in society through markets, services, and spaces. It discusses how countries have practiced social inclusion, highlights the importance of dignity alongside opportunity and ability, and presents options to help policymakers address issues of inclusion and exclusion.[8]

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[8] Summary taken from: http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/human-rights/rights-groups-and-discrimination/

Stewart, F. (2015) *Horizontal Inequalities. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 8.* **Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham.**
http://www.gsdrc.org/professional-dev/horizontal-inequalities/

The reading pack provides an overview of the evidence and debates on **horizontal inequalities**, a selected list of key literature and a short video of Frances Stewart recorded at the GSDRC Seminar on Conflict and Development (March 2015). Key points include:

- "There is increasing evidence that the presence of **horizontal inequalities (HIs), or inequalities among groups, raises the risk of conflict** … ."
- Horizontal inequalities occur along **economic, social, political and cultural dimensions**.
- "Frequently, …, it is **ethnic or religious differences** that constitute the unifying banner under which people mobilise."
- "Where there are **large inequalities in access to socio-economic resources** between major groups, people in low-income groups may be ready to mobilise to improve their position, while those in the richer groups may mobilise to protect their privileges. Such differences **can lead to violent conflict**, if there are no peaceful ways of securing change. In the presence of socio-economic HIs, violent conflict is especially likely where groups are also excluded politically (i.e. also face political HIs) … ."

GSDRC topic guide

Khan, S., Combaz, E. & McAslan Fraser, E. (2015). *Social exclusion: topic guide.* **Revised edition. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/social-exclusion/**

This GSDRC topic guide introduces key literature on definitions, causes, and impacts of social exclusion, as well as how exclusion can be measured and addressed. The guide finds that social exclusion – understood as the product of unequal power relations in social interactions – can produce ruptures in relationships between people and society. Impacts include a lack of social participation, social protection, social integration and power. The guide highlights that many authors … see social exclusion as a useful perspective because it offers an actor-oriented approach, which points to who is doing what, in relation to whom. It also helps identify and tackle issues of power.

Part 2: What kinds of governance interventions can lead to greater inclusion

There are many different kinds of governance interventions, across different fields (political, economic, social) and interlinked arenas of formation, implementation and influence (transnational and national; community, household and individual; state and non-state; formal and informal). This section is not intended to provide an exhaustive coverage of all types of governance interventions that aim to and/or can lead to a more inclusive society. Instead the bibliography provides a broad representation of the main kinds of inclusive governance interventions that are the focus of academic and other grey literature. It is hard to categorise the interventions into discrete groups as they tend to be interrelated. This review has been guided by categorisations provided in the literature, and has some overlapping sections.

1. State of the evidence

Phillips, D, Coffey, C, Gallagher, E, Villar PF, Stevenson, J, Tsoli, S, Dhanasekar, S & Eyers, J, 2017. *State-society relations in low- and middle income countries: An evidence gap map. 3ie Evidence Gap Map 7.* **London: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie). http://www.3ieimpact.org/media/filer_public/2017/03/15/egm7-ssr.pdf**

This report consolidates evidence on the effect of interventions to improve state-society relations in low- and middle-income countries. The map contains 18 completed systematic reviews, two systematic review protocols and 365 impact evaluations (p.37). The report uses a framework built around two of the United Nations SDG 16 domains: inclusive political processes and responsive and accountable institutions (p.37). The studies are categorised according to 16 intervention types and 15 outcome types (p.ii), including participation and inclusion in public institutions and services, as well as service access, utilisation and performance. The report's key conclusions are:

- "Although an increasing number of systematic reviews and impact evaluations addressing this topic are being published, some clear gaps in the evidence remain. The spread of studies across countries and geographic regions is uneven. There is limited or no evidence on many countries with large populations that face substantial governance challenges.
- A number of interventions with an extensive body of impact evaluations are yet to be the subject of a high-quality systematic review. This is particularly true for several interventions designed to enhance the transparency, effectiveness and inclusivity of political and electoral institutions and processes." (p.iii)

2. Types of inclusive governance interventions

General

Arauco, V. P., Gazdar, H., Hevia-Pacheco, P., Kabeer, N., Lenhardt, A., Masood, S. Q., ... & Scalise, E. (2014). *Strengthening social justice to address intersecting inequalities post-2015.* **ODI Report. Overseas Development Institute: London.** **https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9213.pdf**

The report identifies lessons from policies and programmes in seven countries[9] that have addressed "intersecting inequalities" faced by people most likely to be left behind by development, to inform the development of the post-2015 global development targets. The report identifies three sets of issues governments and other actors need to address in order to tackle directly the causes of inequality, which in most cases should be implemented in some combination or sequence: (p.11-12)

- Principles of inclusion (engaging citizens in change): balancing equality with difference; group based solutions to group based exclusion; a new social contract (states, citizens, global governance); achieving transformative change.
- Underlying institutional change (devolution, public information/transparency): fiscal policies, legal and affirmative action (including gender equality).
- Sectoral policies: inclusive growth and livelihoods development; land reform, infrastructure and area development; migration and urbanization; services and social protection. These can be grouped as: Rights based approaches and social guarantees (universal); Opportunity enhancements for labour and self-employment; Developmental affirmative action - combining affirmative action with targeted capability enhancement (educational and financial capital)

GSDRC helpdesk reports

These two helpdesk reports summarise evidence on outcomes of the broader inclusive societies approach, including governance interventions:

Browne, E., Carter, B., Avis, W. & Blackburn, D. (2015). *Evidence on outcomes of an inclusive societies approach* **(GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1235). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/publications/evidence-on-outcomes-of-an-inclusive-societies-approach/**

Carter, B. (2015). *Benefits to society of an inclusive societies approach (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1232).* **Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/publications/benefits-to-society-of-an-inclusive-societies-approach/**

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[9] Country examples include Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Nepal and Pakistan (Arauco et al, 2014).

Democratic development support

Foresti, M. & Harris, D. with Berts, H., Bye, V., Disch, A., Domingo, P., Moberg, L., Moen, .L., Sanchez, M. & Vigeland, E. (2011). *Literature review: What have we learnt about donors' support for democratic development? Report 10/2010 – Evaluation.* **Oslo: Norad.**
https://www.oecd.org/derec/norway/48085855.pdf

This literature review covers seven dimensions of democratic development support: human rights; justice and the rule of law; parliaments and watchdog organisations; electoral assistance; gender and democracy; promotion of democracy; and the media and access to information. (p.xi) The report finds an increasing body of evidence on the effectiveness of donor support to democracy promotion, and concludes that the results of donor support to democratic development are found to be "in the main, disappointing" (p.xiii, xiv). There are good (or improved) practice and innovative initiatives in most areas but these tend to be isolated examples. The report provides a summary of key conclusions on each area of support. For example, on gender and democracy the report finds that "increased representation of women does not guarantee a substantive impact on politics or a reduction in structural and gender inequalities in the short run. Success is seen to be driven by long-term commitment, agenda ownership, having men on board and adaption to the local context" (p.xiii). For all areas of support, the report stresses "democratisation is a deeply political process, contested mostly at the national and local level, where external actors like donors can play only a limited role" (p.xiv).

Inclusive legal and regulatory frameworks

Marcus, R., Mdee, A. & Page, E. (2017). *Do anti-discrimination measures reduce poverty among marginalised social groups?* **Expertgruppen för biståndsanalys (EBA).**
http://www.chronicpovertynetwork.org/resources/2017/3/6/do-anti-discrimination-measures-reduce-poverty-among-marginalised-social-groups

This rigorous review synthesises evidence from low and middle income countries on the effectiveness of large-scale anti-discrimination policies and programmes for different social groups. It identifies four key strategies for reducing discrimination: legal change; attitude change; quotas and reservations; and social investment programmes, both broad-based initiatives and programmes targeted at particular groups. It explores evidence of the impact of these approaches through large-scale initiatives in the political arena, education, and labour markets. The report focuses on women and girls, children, young people, disabled people, marginalised ethnic and racial groups and marginalised castes.

The review finds that affirmative action measures are patchy, with few groups benefitting across the board and some (e.g. disabled people) neglected across a range of domains (p.16). Looking only at political reservations and quotas, the report finds: (p.17-18)

- Extensive evidence from India and some from Latin America and Africa on political reservations and quotas for women, with success in increasing numbers, but less clear evidence of transformative change.
- Very little evidence on political reservations and quotas for people with disabilites, youth and marginalised racial and ethnic groups; evidence available reporting mixed impacts.

The report also finds very limited evidence on measures to combat discrimination against refugees, migrants, older people or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people. Also, very little evidence on the role of civil society in advocating for, and holding governments to account for the implementation of antidiscrimination policies (p.24).

GSDRC topic guides

Carter, B. (2014). *Inclusive Institutions Topic Guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/inclusive-institutions/

The topic guide has a section on inclusive legal and regulatory frameworks. It provides a summary of key literature on 1) rights-based anti-discrimination legislation; 2) affirmative action (including gender quotas); 3) redistributive public expenditure.

Chrichton, J., Haider, H., Chowns, E. & Browne, E. (2015). *Human rights: Topic guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/human-rights/

This topic guide has a section on rights, groups and discrimination. It provides an annotated bibliography on rights-based approaches to development, which emphasise non-discrimination, inclusion, and empowerment. It lists literature focused on vulnerable or marginalised individuals and groups such as women, children, people with disabilities, older people and migrants.

Inclusive public sector reform

Fritz, V. (2016). From Form to Function to Sustainable Solutions? Reforming Public Sectors in Low Income Countries: New Approaches and Available Evidence of "What Works". *Public Administration and Development*, *36*(5), 299-312. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/pad.1779

The article reviews the evidence about success of public sector reforms in low and middle income countries and recent ideas for improving support to the reforms. Although the empirical picture is "fuzzy", available data suggest that there has been little overall improvement from public sector reforms, but with considerable variation in specific country ratings. Fritz reports that "Disappointment has led to a scaling back of support for public sector reforms, and for civil service reforms in particular, which are seen as having had particularly limited traction" (p.309). At the same time a small number of countries have significantly strengthened their public sectors over the past 10 to 20 years. Fritz finds that "the strongest fit of the success cases is with a perspective that emphasizes the degree and drivers of political commitment as fundamental." (p.309).

Prichard, W. (2010). Taxation and state building: Towards a governance focused tax reform agenda. *IDS Working Papers*, *2010*(341), 01-55. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.2040-0209.2010.00341_1.x/pdf

This paper finds that the role of taxation as a catalyst for the development of responsive and accountable government, and for the expansion of state capacity, is often overlooked. This paper aims to turn the findings of existing research on taxation and state-building into a practical

agenda for action (summary, p.3). It argues that increased revenue generation cannot guarantee improved development outcomes unless it is accompanied by simultaneous efforts to enhance state capacity and build public engagement and accountability. The paper proposes measures broadly aimed at building a national dialogue about taxation and supporting the building of more integrated administrative structures.[10]

GSDRC resource

Carter, B. (2014). *Inclusive Institutions Topic Guide*. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/inclusive-institutions/

The topic guide has a section on inclusive public sector reform. It provides a summary of key literature on 1) government agencies for excluded people and groups; 2) inclusive civil service; 3) inclusive public sector budgeting (including gender responsive budgeting); and 4) a social guarantee approach to service delivery.

See also GSDRC Topic Guide on Public Sector Institutional Reform and GSDRC Topic Guide on Civil Service Reform

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Focus on gender and public finance management

Birchall, J. & Fontana, M. (2015). *The gender dimensions of expenditure and revenue policy and systems*. Funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). BRIDGE. Institute of Development Studies.
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08970ed915d3cfd000248/61047_GOKH_Gender-dimensions-of-expenditure-and-revenue-policy-and-systems.pdf

"The first part of the briefing deals with taxation and expenditure policies, explaining why these are not to be regarded as 'gender neutral' and asking what tax and expenditure mixes are more likely to reduce inequalities. The second part deals with gender inclusive public finance management (PFM) and implementation, considering how PFM reforms could integrate lessons from gender responsive budgeting (GRB) initiatives. It also makes suggestions on dealing with gendered barriers within revenue administration systems, and discusses the importance of including a range of actors in the processes of finance reforms, in order to strengthen efforts to make both policies and systems more gender equitable, and ultimately, gender transformative."[11] The report finds that there are some well-known examples of successful gender budgeting work in a number of countries but only limited evidence exists on the impact and outcomes of using GRB initiatives as part of PFM reforms (p.14).

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[10] Summary from Mcloughlin, C. with I. Idris (2016). *Fragile states: Topic guide.*

[11] Summary taken from: https://www.gov.uk/dfid-research-outputs/the-gender-dimensions-of-expenditure-and-revenue-policy-and-systems

Bosnic, M. (2015). *Gender responsive budgeting. Professional Development Reading Pack Number 14.* **Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.**
http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/reading-packs/grb_rp.pdf

The reading pack and a short video by Maja Bosnic is aimed at DFID advisers working on PFM. It provides a short summary of the key issues on gender responsive budgeting, and a list of key readings. Bosnic highlights that when carrying out PFM reforms, initiatives to support equitable budget processes and GRB include requiring sex-disaggregated data in all budget and reporting documents; preparing specific gender indicators to capture the implications of policies on gender equality gaps and issues; preparing strategic reports about objectives, policies and indicators to measure performance and results in gender equality; and including women's organisations in particular, and civil society in general, in budget discussions and hearings.

GSDRC helpdesk reports

Rao, S. (2015). *Examples of PFM impacts on gender equality. GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1181.* **Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.**
http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Helpdesk&id=1181

Research for this report was unable to find conclusive cases where public financial management (PFM) reform led to impacts on gender equality. This is because PFM reform does not necessarily lead to gender equality impacts, and conversely improvements in gender equality do not always require, or follow on from, PFM reform. It may also be that gender impacts are rarely covered in impact analyses as gender is not the focus of most PFM reforms. Consequently, this report identifies a range of literature – primarily on gender responsive budgeting – which finds links between aspects of PFM and gender.

Combaz, E. (2014). *Practical guidance to integrate gender into public financial management (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1095).* **Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.** http://www.gsdrc.org/publications/practical-guidance-to-integrate-gender-into-public-financial-management/

This rapid review finds a medium-sized body of rigorous literature that provides guidance on how to integrate gender into PFM systems successfully. Identified overall requirements include: securing enabling factors (such as sustained political support, sufficient capacities and conducive institutional arrangements); adapting to context; involving a range of stakeholders at all stages; and generating sex-disaggregated data. Considering the three phases of GRB (awareness, accountability, change), the review finds that it has proven hardest to move from analysis to a change in budgets. Ways to make progress include impact evaluations of GRB, country-specific methodologies, the mainstreaming of gender into participatory budgeting initiatives, and gender-sensitive participatory research.

Inclusive peace-building interventions

Dudouet, V., Lundström, S., & Rampf, D. (2016). *Post-war political settlements: from participatory transition processes to inclusive state-building and Governance.* **Research report. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.** http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/IPS_Synthesis_Report_web.pdf

There are profound disagreements on who should be included in peace processes and political transitions, at what stage and to what end. This report presents the findings of a research project into peace processes and political transitions (including from Colombia, El Salvador, South Africa, South Sudan, Aceh (Indonesia) and Nepal. Key findings include:

- Strong confirmation that direct participation in a decision-making arena does not by default translate into substantial decision-making power
- Genuine representation of societal interests by political parties or negotiation teams (e.g. power contenders) helps to resolve the participation/ empowerment gap
- Violence relapse is strongly correlated with inclusivity gaps at various stages of post-war political settlements.

Evans, W. (2012). *A review of the evidence informing DFID's 'Building Peaceful States and Societies' Practice Paper. Paper 1. Political Settlements, Peace Settlements, and Inclusion.* **London: DFID.** https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08a64ed915d622c000701/Evans_PoliticalSettlements.pdf

(A fuller summary of this paper is in Part 1.)

This literature review has a section summarising the evidence on the impact of the inclusiveness of negotiated peace agreements (p.16-18). A key finding is that "the evidence is mixed, and complex" (p.18). Evans concludes that "the research evidence suggests that there few are hard and fast relationships between negotiations, inclusiveness and the sustainability of peace processes, or indeed [the ability of peace processes] to re-shape the political settlement." (p18)

GSDRC topic guides

Mcloughlin, C. with I. Idris (2016). *Fragile states: Topic guide.* **GSDRC, University of Birmingham, UK. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/fragile-states/**

This Topic Guide introduces some of the best literature on state fragility, the challenge of aid effectiveness and lessons learned from international engagement in these contexts. Chapter 5 provides an annotated bibliography on state-building models and prioritisation and sequencing.

Haider, H. (2014). *Conflict: Topic Guide.* **Revised edition with B. Rohwerder. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/conflict/**

Chapter 4 of this topic guide provides an annotated bibliography on peacebuilding and inclusive governance programming.

Voice, empowerment and accountability initiatives

Voice, empowerment and accountability (VEA) interventions aim to support poor and marginalised people to build the resources, assets, and capabilities they need to exercise greater choice and control over their own development, and to hold decision-makers to account. This guide finds that evidence of the impact of VEA interventions is limited and inconsistent – identifying both positive and negative effects. Overall, the evidence consistently demonstrates that the impact of VEA depends on context: specifically, on pre-existing power relations, social norms, levels of equity or exclusion, leadership, and the capacity and will of both state and civil society actors. The evidence indicates that:

- *Voice and participation* have had positive effects on education and health outcomes in a small number of isolated cases, but evidence of links between participation and inclusive institutions is mixed.
- *Empowerment* is positively associated with improvements in health-promoting behaviour and women's protection against violence, although there remains a gap in understanding the long-term effects of empowerment on social and political inclusion.
- *Transparency and accountability* initiatives have had mixed results, although transparency has been linked to reduced capture, and some positive impacts on access to services have been documented.

The guide includes a supplement on political empowerment, which provides a literature review on interventions to promoting political participation, through strengthening democratic citizenship; promoting engagement between the state and civil society; promoting access to information; strengthening citizens' associations; decentralisation, civil society activism, and the transparency of and access to information.

Focus on social accountability and citizen voice

This professional development reading pack summarises the literature as focusing "on two areas: (i) strengthening citizen voice and engagement with the state, principally through institutionalized forms of participation and (ii) more adversarial approaches to citizen voice, through the "contentious politics" of advocacy and mobilisation associated with social movements. The selection of readings in this pack seeks to capture this range of citizen voice and action. Each one also addresses dimensions of difference, the challenges of inclusion – especially of women and minorities – and of translating participation into influence."

Focus on governance and inclusive services

Kelsall, T. (2016). *Governance and service provision. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 38.* **Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham.**
http://www.gsdrc.org/professional-dev/governance-and-service-provision/

In this GSDRC reading pack, Kelsall summarises trends in development thinking with regards to governance and service delivery over the last decade, with increasing attention paid to the importance of governance in building better services for the poor. He provides succinct outlines for several key texts – including (among others) the landmark World Bank's World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People – which introduced the 'accountability triangle' linking poor people to service providers either via policymakers or directly.

GSDRC topic guide

Mcloughlin, C. and Scott, Z. (2014). *Service delivery: Topic guide.* **Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/service-delivery/**

This guide to the literature finds that evidence on the effects of transparency and accountability initiatives in service provision is patchy and inconsistent. The report looks at common approaches such as providing users with information about their rights and entitlements, involving users in design and decision-making forums, strengthening accountability, bringing services closer to the people through decentralised governance, or distributing vouchers. The authors find that "much research emphasises that there are both potentials as well as pitfalls in these approaches".

Nevertheless there are cases of effective interventions, for example where access has been expanded equitably over time. Lessons learned include: "Community engagement can help to address social norms around access. Understanding incentives is often key to improved performance. From an aid perspective, flexible aid, building trust between different actors, and adapting to changing realities are emerging lessons from recent experience." (p.2)

Focus on women's empowerment

Gender and Development Network, Gender Action for Peace and Security, UK SRHR Network, London (2015). *Turning Promises into Progress Report.* **London: Gender & Development Network.**
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/536c4ee8e4b0b60bc6ca7c74/t/550ab0f6e4b048091f e0b18d/1426764022144/Turning+Promises+into+Progress+FINAL.pdf

Taking stock of what has been achieved over the last two decades for gender equality and women's and girls' rights, this report finds that while there have been hard won gains, particularly in the areas where the Millennium Development Goals brought funding, much more needs to be done: "Progress has been slow and uneven and interventions have been piecemeal. New recognition and rhetoric has failed to bring real change, and resources continue to be scarce. A focus on opportunities for individual girls and women has obscured the underlying power inequality between women and men that is the real barrier to gender equality" (p.6).

The report provides an overview of progress over the past two decades, outline challenges, and propose recommendations for action for eight areas, including women, peace and security; women's participation and influence in decision-making; and social norms.

Women's Economic Empowerment (2017). *Leave no one behind. Taking action for transformational change on women's economic empowerment.* **Report of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on women's economic empowerment. http://hlp-wee.unwomen.org/-/media/hlp%20wee/attachments/reports-toolkits/hlp-wee-report-2017-03-taking-action-en.pdf**

This report provides the recommended steps for taking action on seven drivers of transformation that are critical for breaking the constraints on women's economic empowerment (p.3). The report sets out that "closing gender gaps in the economic domain will not only advance women's economic empowerment but also support progress toward achieving many of the SDGs that are essential for inclusive and sustainable growth" (p.3). These include: tackling adverse norms and promoting positive role models; ensuring legal protection and reforming discriminatory laws and regulations; strengthening visibility, collective voice and representation; Improving public sector practices in employment and procurement; and changing business culture and practice. http://hlp-wee.unwomen.org/-/media/hlp%20wee/attachments/reports-toolkits/hlp-wee-report-2017-03-taking-action-en.pdf

Rocha Menocal, A. (2015). *Political settlements and the politics of inclusion.* **DLP State of the Art Paper, 7. Birmingham: Development Leadership Programme, University of Birmingham. http://publications.dlprog.org/PoliticalSettlementsSOTA.pdf**

(Overall summary of this paper is in section 1)

This paper provides a succinct summary of the key literature and the growing body of evidence on "whether and how women's inclusion and political participation can affect political settlements". It notes that the evidence is focused on the inclusion of women in peace processes and on quotas to increase women's presence and representation in the political system. The review finds that "there is no straightforward or automatic link between women's empowerment and more inclusive political settlements". However, research offers important lessons about the kinds of factors that are important in shaping women's influence/impact (p.18). These include the influence of clientelist and personalist politics and the nature of political parties and competition; the importance of a vibrant women's movement as well as elite support for a gender equity agenda; and supportive transnational discourse, advocacy and actors.

Nazneen, S. & Mahmud, S. (2012). *Gendered politics of securing inclusive development. ESID Working Paper No. 13.* **Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre (ESID), University of Manchester. http://www.effective-states.org/wp-content/uploads/working_papers/final-pdfs/esid_wp_13_nazneen-mahmud.pdf[12]**

This paper analyses country case studies of the gendered nature of political and policy-making processes. It looks at the integration of gender into state development processes

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(mainstreaming); paid work and women's access to social rights and welfare entitlements; and reproductive health and rights in the context of health sector reform. The paper identifies the following factors that promote gender inclusive development policies and outcomes: "elite support for a gender equity agenda; ability of the women's movement to contain oppositional elite or non elite groups; transnational discourse and actors creating space for the gender equity agenda; presence of male allies and 'femocrats' within the state apparatus; and policy coalitions exerting pressure on the state" (p.3)

GSDRC topic guide and literature review

Kangas, A., Haider, H., Fraser, E. & Browne, E. (2014). *Gender: Topic Guide.* **(Revised ed.) Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, UK. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/gender/**

This Topic Guide introduces some of the best recent literature on a range of gender issues and highlights major critical debates. It is intended primarily as a reference for policymakers and highlights practical guidance, lessons learned and case studies. It has a section on **gender and governance** which provides a succinct literature review for: 1) Women's formal participation and representation; 2) Leadership and participation; and 3) Gender-responsive budgeting.

Combaz, E. (2016). *Donor interventions on women's political empowerment.* **(Rapid Literature Review). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/publications/donor-interventions-on-womens-political-empowerment/**

According to this literature review, the evidence suggests most donors have tended to build their approaches on oversimplified models of empowerment, failing to support approaches that address power and political economy and that adapt to specific contexts and inequalities. Most focus has gone on quotas, support for women in formal politics, direct funding to women's NGOs, and policy dialogue. There has not been much donor action to empower women in informal politics, support girls' and young women's involvement in women's rights activism, systematically involve men and boys, or strategically combine levels and types of empowerment interventions. The record on effectiveness is mixed, and findings are inconsistent. Among the factors that determine the effectiveness of interventions are leadership and accountability on women's empowerment in donor organisations, the ability of donors and their partners to work adaptively, the quality of relationships, and political savviness.

Governance interventions aimed at better inclusion of some specific population groups

Young people

Walker, W. & Pereznieto, P. with Bergh, G. & Smith, K. (2014). *Partners for change: Young people and governance in a post- 2015 world.* **ODI, Plan and Restless Development. http://restlessdevelopment.org/file/partners-for-change-young-people-and-governance-in-a-post-2015-world-pdf**

This report explores how evidence from young people's involvement in governance processes can provide lessons and guidance for the post-2015 framework for sustainable development.

Drawing on a comprehensive literature review and six primary case studies, it explores the different ways young people have been involved in governance processes, how they have participated and, in some cases, have actively promoted accountability by decision-makers. (p.1) Conclusions include: (p.22-23)

- The importance of ensuring political empowerment of young people is matched with the economic, social and legal empowerment, as well as developing the capacity of government institutions to meaningfully engage young people on governance and to facilitate their participation.
- Tailored gender-sensitive measures are needed to facilitate the engagement of girls and young women in participatory governance.
- More robust monitoring and evaluation of young people's participation in governance should be undertaken.

GSDRC helpdesk report

Avis, W. (2015). *Increasing youth participation in accountability mechanisms* **(GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1267). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/publications/increasing-youth-participation-in-accountability-mechanisms/**

The literature argues that empowering, organising, capacity-building and partnering with young people can contribute to good governance and improved accountability of governments. To this end, governments, donors and NGOs have supported a variety of interventions that encourage youth participation both formally and informally. The literature reviewed suggests that the benefits of youth participation are mixed and context specific, and dependent on a range of factors that are difficult to verify.

LGBTQ

Mills, E. (2015). *Leave No One Behind': Gender, Sexuality and the Sustainable Development Goals*. **IDS Evidence Report 154. Brighton: IDS. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/7104/ER154_LeaveNoOneBehindGenderSexualityandtheSDGs.pdf?sequence=8**

This report forms part of a 'push' to provide empirical evidence for development actors to use the language of the SDGs as a tool to address social exclusion of sexual orientation or gender identity and expression (SOGIE) groups in development programming. A literature review revealed social exclusion of populations on the basis of SOGIE in seven development priority areas: (1) poverty; (2) health; (3) education; (4) gender equality and women's empowerment; (5) economic growth and opportunity; (6) safe, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements; and (7) justice and accountability. The review recommends that development actors need to shape and implement development policies that ensure that all people irrespective of their sexuality and gender identity are actively protected against social, economic and political forms of discrimination (p.6). The report's recommendations for international development actors include working with local LGBTI groups in countries of operation and generating two-way processes of capacity building as well as establishing programmes and projects that explicitly integrate SOGIE issues across all spheres of development.

People with disabilities

Handicap International (2010). *Rights in Action. Good practices for inclusive local governance in West Africa. Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.* **Handicap International.**
http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/rightsinaction_2010.pdf

This report has been developed to share positive experiences of participation by people with disabilities in local governance processes in West Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo). These experiences are used to propose practical recommendations for action by a range of different stakeholders, including international development agencies. The recommendations for developing or improving local inclusive governance for development partners include (among others): developing the capacities of disabled people's organisations (DPOs) to participate effectively in local consultation mechanisms and supporting DPOs in lobbying for their inclusion in local consultation mechanisms (p.109-111).

GSDRC topic guide

Rohwerder, B. (2015). *Disability inclusion: Topic guide.* **Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham. http://www.gsdrc.org/topic-guides/disability-inclusion/**

This topic guide summarises some of the most rigorous available evidence on the key debates and challenges of disability inclusion in development and humanitarian response. Section 5 (p.38) includes a summary of literature on 1) mainstreaming disability in development and humanitarian response; 2) the participation of people with disabilities in development and humanitarian work; and 3) a rights-based approach that promotes barrier removal and inclusion in all sectors, including health, rehabilitation, assistance and support, environments, education and employment.

A key document cited by Rohwerder is: DESA. (2011). *Best practices for including persons with disabilities in all aspects of development efforts.* New York: UN. http://www.un.org/disabilities/documents/best_practices_publication_2011.pdf

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Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities

Van Cott, D. L. (2005). Building inclusive democracies: Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities in Latin America. *Democratisation, 12*(5), 820-837.
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510340500322215

"Using Latin America as a primary reference point, this inquiry analyzes the design and implementation of ethnically sensitive democratic institutions in ethnically diverse and divided societies, particularly in reference to indigenous and Afro-descendant populations." (abstract)

3. Recommendations for development organisations' approach to inclusive governance

World Bank (2017). *World Development Report 2017: Governance and the Law.* **Washington, D.C.: World Bank.** **http://dx.doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-0950-7**

"The World Development Report 2017: Governance and the Law explores why some policies fail to achieve desired outcomes and what makes other policies work. The main messages of the WDR 2017 are:

- Successful reforms are not just about "best practice." To be effective, policies must guarantee credible commitment, support coordination, and promote cooperation.
- Power asymmetries can undermine policy effectiveness. The unequal distribution of power in the policy arena can lead to exclusion, capture, and clientelism.
- Change is possible. Elites, citizens, and international actors can promote change by shifting incentives, reshaping preferences and beliefs, and enhancing the contestability of the decision making process.
- Three guiding principles for rethinking governance for development are:
  1. Think not only about the form of institutions, but also about their functions.
  2. Think not only about capacity building, but also about power asymmetries.
  3. Think not only about the rule of law, but also about the role of law."[13]

Rocha Menocal, A. (2017). Political Settlements and the Politics of Transformation: Where Do 'Inclusive Institutions' Come From? *Journal of International Development*, *29*(5), 559-575. **http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/jid.3284/abstract**

Rocha Menocal provides a review of accumulated research to identify what "factors, processes and dynamics have mattered in helping states move from relatively closed and exclusionary political and socio-economic institutions and power structures to more inclusive ones over time". Key insights are: (p.567-571)

- Governance transitions are inherently political in nature and involve multiple processes of change in the underlying rules of the game that may not be mutually reinforcing.
- The state plays a lead role in promoting and securing inclusive developmental outcomes. Key features include political leadership with developmental vision and reform commitment; a core group of close-working political and bureaucratic leaders; a capable, autonomous bureaucracy well-linked with non-state actors; and a close mutually beneficial relationship between state and select economic/business elites.
- Political parties' have an instrumental role in driving political settlements as well as shaping government incentives to adopt policies that can foster more or less inclusion.
- Building domestic and international coalitions is important to harness collective action.
- Regional and global drivers and dynamics influence the incentives and dynamics of domestic actors.

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[13] http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2017

Rocha Menocal concludes "institutional transformation is not simply about providing needed resources and strengthening virtuous institutions based on ideal models of 'good governance'. Thus, it is essential to understand the institutional arrangements in place in a particular country beyond binary distinctions (e.g. democracy/non-democracy; or presence/absence of clientelism or corruption)." (p.572)

Further reading

Rocha Menocal, A. (2017). *Inclusive Development and the Politics of Transformation: Lessons from Asia.* **DLP Research Paper, 45. Birmingham: Development Leadership Programme, University of Birmingham.**
http://publications.dlprog.org/RochaMenocal2017.pdf

Rocha Menocal's analysis of Asia's experiences highlights lessons on what factors have facilitated progressive institutional transformation.

Wild, L., Booth, D., Cummings, C., Foresti, M., & Wales, J. (2015). *Adapting development: improving services to the poor.* **London: Overseas Development Institute.**
https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9437.pdf

This report provides a synthesis of the theory and practice underpinning the '**Doing Development Differently**' approach. The authors find that "Research evidence and practical experience are coming together to suggest that the best approach for domestic reformers and their supporters in the SDGs period combines three key ingredients": Working in problem-driven and politically informed ways; Being adaptive and entrepreneurial; and Supporting change that reflects local realities and is locally led (p.8).

Further reading

Wild, L. & Andrews, M. (2016). *Doing development differently. Who we are. What we're doing. What we're learning.* **London: Overseas Development Institute.**
https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/11199.pdf

Using 43 case studies from practitioners within donors, governments, implementing organisations and NGOs across the globe, the report draws out some key lessons learnt. These case studies are split across five categories: Swimming against the tide; Working in and with government; Feedback loops and data; Organisational change; and Diffusion.

Carothers, T. & Brechenmacher, S. (2014). *Accountability, transparency, participation, and inclusion. A new development consensus?* **Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.** **http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/10/20/accountability-transparency-participation-and-inclusion-new-development-consensus-pub-56968**

In their analytical overview, Carothers and Brechenmacher conclude the "apparently widespread new consensus" of international development organisations on four key principles – accountability, transparency, participation, and inclusion – conceals "fundamental fissures over the value and application of these concepts". Democracy and human rights practitioners generally embrace an explicitly political understanding of the four concepts while governance specialists often apply the core principles primarily to the quest for greater public sector effectiveness. Moreover aid providers may pursue or prioritize selective parts of this agenda.

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About this report