



**Teachers College**  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

**Citizen Engagement and Social Accountability:  
A new reform agenda of international organizations?**

**Gita Steiner-Khamsi**

London School of Economics and Political Science

Presentation of January 27, 2025

# How 2025 started

## Soon to be out of a job, Meta's fact-checkers battle a blaze of wildfire conspiracy theories



By Donie O'Sullivan, CNN

5 minute read · Updated 6:49 AM EST, Tue January 14, 2025



Transparency Center Policies Enforcement Security Features Governance Research tools Reports

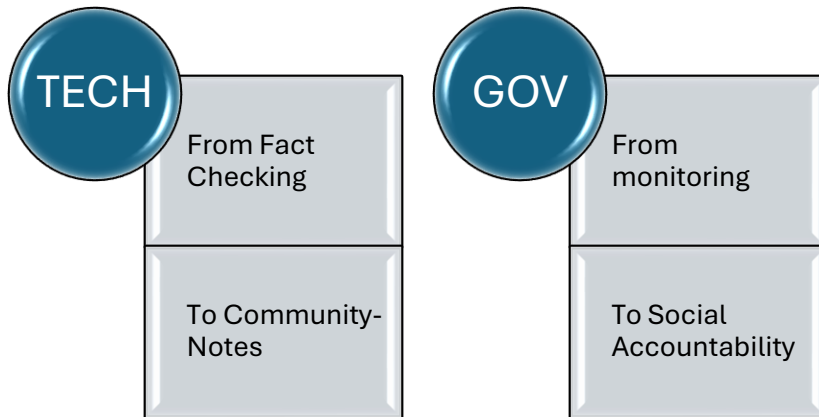
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## How fact-checking works

UPDATED JAN 7, 2025

In the coming months, we will end the current third party fact checking program in the United States and begin moving to a community-based program called Community Notes. We are beginning with rolling out Community Notes in the US, and will continue to improve it over the course of the year before expansion to other countries (read more [here](#)).

# An observation, followed by a few interpretations



## Community Notes and X Rules

Community Notes do not represent X's viewpoint and cannot be edited or modified by our teams. A post with a Community Note will not be labeled, removed, or addressed by X unless it is found to be violating the [X Rules](#), [Terms of Service](#), or our [Privacy Policy](#). Failure to abide by the rules can result in one's removal from accessing Community Notes, and/or other remediations.

Anyone can report notes they believe aren't in accordance with those rules by selecting the ⋮ menu on a note, and then selecting **Report**, or by using this [form](#).

### How to become a Community Notes contributor

- Learn more about contributor eligibility and sign up [here](#).
- We plan to review applications on a rolling, periodic basis.

### How to rate a Community Note

- If you see a post with a **Community Notes** card and note, you can **rate how helpful** you think the note is.

### I have a note on my post. What can I do?

As a post author, if you disagree that a Community Note provides important context about your post, you can [request additional review](#).

# Overview

1. Citizenship engagement and social accountability (CESA): A new phenomenon?
2. A SA (sequential analysis) of CESA in the context of public administration reforms
3. The translation of CESA in the education sector

# Part 1: Flagship CESA (Citizen Engagement and Social Accountability) initiatives, disseminated by IOs



See D. Brent Edwards on the global diffusion of EDUCO (started in El Salvador in 1991).

See O. Porto de Oliveira on the global diffusion of Participatory Budgeting (started in Porto Alegre, 1989).





## STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR MAINSTREAMING CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD BANK GROUP OPERATIONS

The objective of this strategic framework is to mainstream citizen engagement in World Bank Group-supported policies, programs, projects, and advisory services and analytics to improve their development results and within the scope of these operations, contribute to building sustainable national systems for citizen engagement with governments and the private sector. Progress toward this objective will be assessed using indicators included in program, project, and corporate results frameworks.

*Engaging with Citizens for Improved Results*



## Participatory budgeting: A pathway to inclusive and transparent governance

### SUMMARY

Across the world and especially in developed countries, there has been a decline in trust in democratic institutions, an increase in political discontent and citizen dissatisfaction, and a resulting decrease in voter turnout. Economic crises, climate disruptions and the COVID-19 pandemic have only exacerbated these sentiments. In the late 1980s, participatory budgeting – an approach that allows citizens to directly engage in budgetary decisions – emerged as one of the most promising solutions to this global democratic malaise. By involving citizens in the allocation of public funds, this approach enhances public trust and accountability in governance. It is best described as a co-production process that not only allows citizens and professionals to cooperate and deliberate but also counters populist narratives and educates younger generations on resource prioritisation. Broad public involvement and deliberation are the rule, with the aim being to make budgetary processes inclusive, transparent and democratic.

What makes participatory budgeting different from other participatory methods is its focus on financial processes, openness to the public, cyclical nature, reliance on public deliberation and accountability. It is applied in thousands of towns, cities and regions across the world and enjoys the support of governments, civil society and international organisations. It addresses both socio-economic and democratic goals and seeks to enhance public infrastructure and services while promoting political equality and transparency.

This democratic innovation allows citizens to shape the space in which they live. Additionally, it reconfigures public governance by redefining the roles and relationships of citizens, civil servants and politicians. It is particularly effective in local governance, but also has a growing application in communities, in schools, community groups and even prisons, for instance. Some of the challenges facing public budgeting include limited participation of marginalised groups, the risk of co-optation by political interests and difficulties in implementation. However, its potential to revitalise democratic engagement and foster inclusive governance makes participatory budgeting a crucial tool in addressing some of the issues that are currently eroding the global democratic order.

This briefing updates a 2016 [briefing](#) by Gianluca Squeo.



### IN THIS BRIEFING

- Why participatory budgeting?
- Methodology of participatory budgeting
- Global expansion of participatory budgeting
- Participatory budgeting in the European Union
- Participatory budgeting combined with other democratic innovations
- Critical reviews of participatory budgeting

EPRS | European Parliamentary Research Service

Author: Silvia Kotanidis with Christian Recchia  
Members' Research Service  
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# Global Partnership for Social Accountability - Monitoring, Evaluation, Reporting and Learning Guide for GPSA Grant Partners and Consultants (Inglês)

# GovTech Maturity Index 2022

(World Bank)

## What is the GTMI?

The **GovTech Maturity Index (GTMI)** measures the key aspects of *four GovTech focus areas*: enhancing service delivery, supporting core government systems, mainstreaming citizen engagement, and GovTech enablers, based on the World Bank's definition of GovTech. The objective of the GTMI is to assist practitioners in the design of new digital transformation projects.

The GTMI is the simple average of the normalized scores of four components. The 2020 GTMI calculations were based on the following components:

- **CGSI**: The Core Government Systems Index (15 indicators) captures the key aspects of a whole-of-government approach, including government cloud, interoperability framework and other platforms.
- **PSDI**: The Public Service Delivery Index (9 indicators) measures the maturity of online public service portals, with a focus on citizen centric design and universal accessibility.
- **DCEI**: The Digital Citizen Engagement Index (12 indicators) measures aspects of public participation platforms, citizen feedback mechanisms, open data, and open government portals.
- **GTEI**: The GovTech Enablers Index (15 indicators) captures strategy, institutions, laws, and regulations, as well as digital skills, and innovation policies and programs, to foster GovTech.

## Part 2: How did we get here?

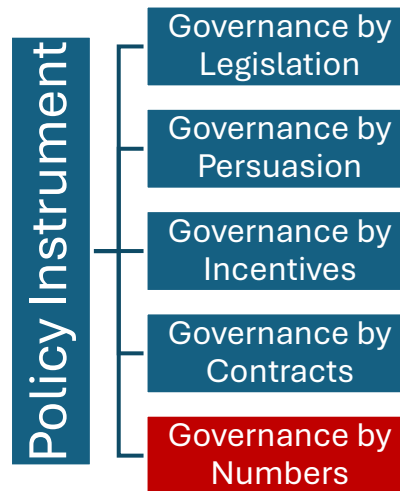
Changing governance tools,  
the changing role of the state





# The expansion of policy instruments around the turn of the millennium:

## Governance by Numbers or Standards-Based Accountability



Adapted from Hood (1984) & complemented with LeGalès (2016)

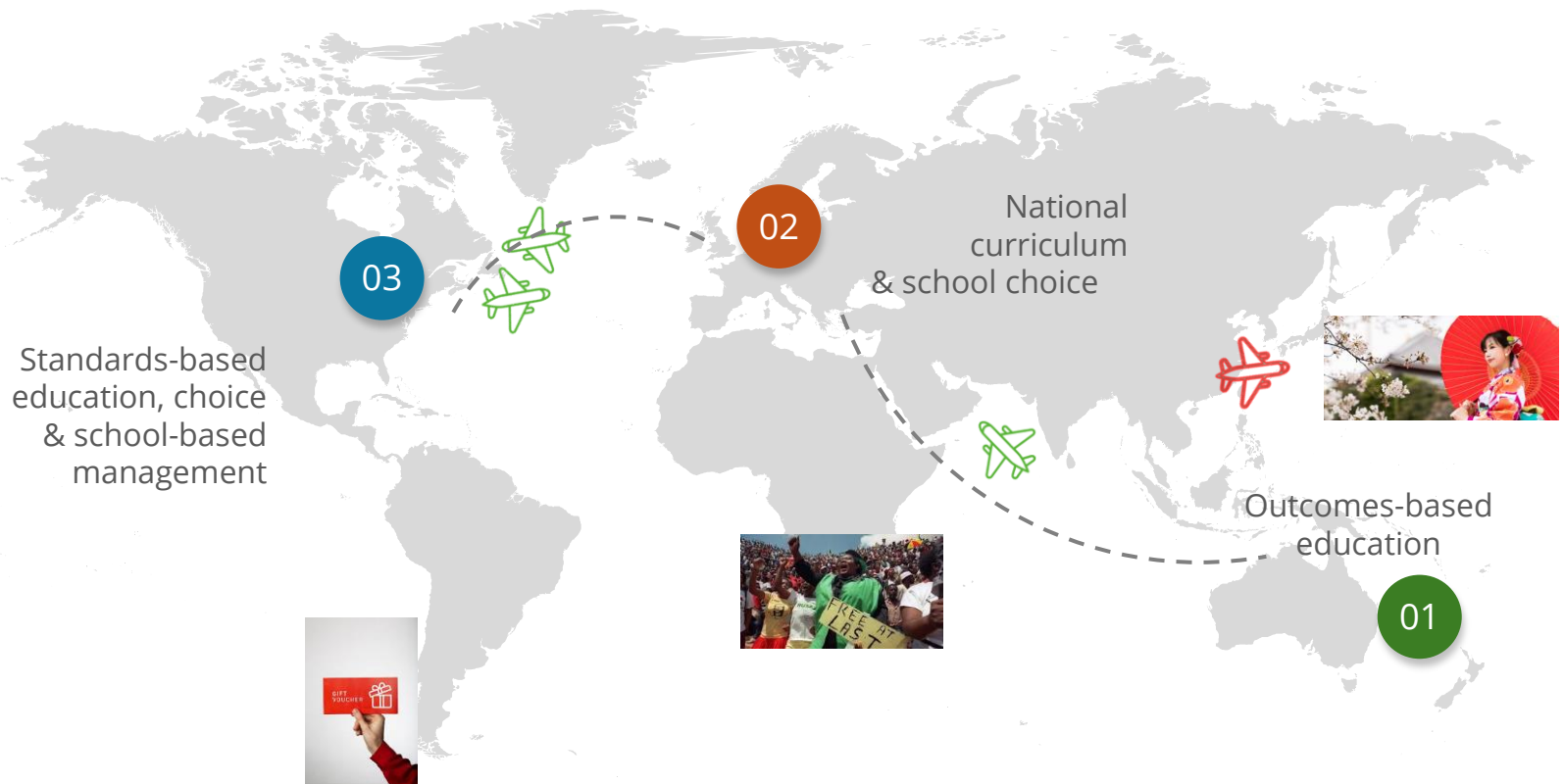
# The choice of policy instruments and the role of the state

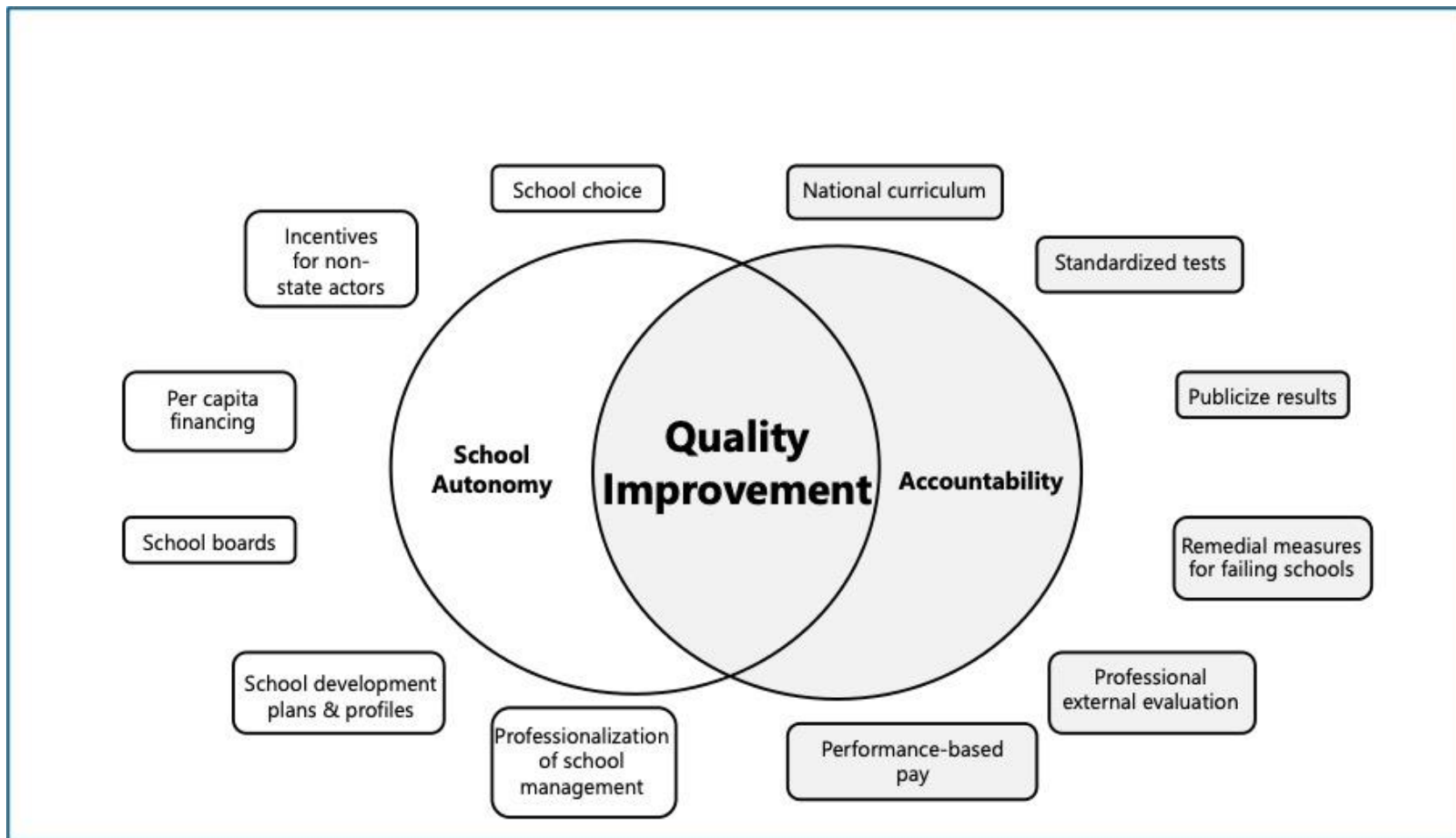
**Table 1.** A summary of the typology of policy instruments.

| Type of instrument                              | Type of political relations                              | Type of legitimacy   |
|---|--|--|
| Legislative and regulatory                      | Social guardian state                                    | Imposition of a General Interest by mandated elected Representatives                                     |
| Economic and Fiscal                             | Wealth producer state and redistributive state           | Seeks benefit to the community, social and economic efficiency   |
| Agreement-based and incentive-base              | Mobilizing state   | Seeks direct involvement   |
| Information-based and communication-based       | Audience democracy                                       | Explanation of decisions and accountability of actors  |
| Performance indicators standards best practices | Adjustments within civil society, competitive mechanisms | Mixed: Scientific/Technical, democratically negotiated and/or competition, pressure of market mechanisms |

Source: Lascoumes and Le Galès (2004, 351).

# The global reform movement 1988 - 2007: School autonomy with accountability (SAWA)

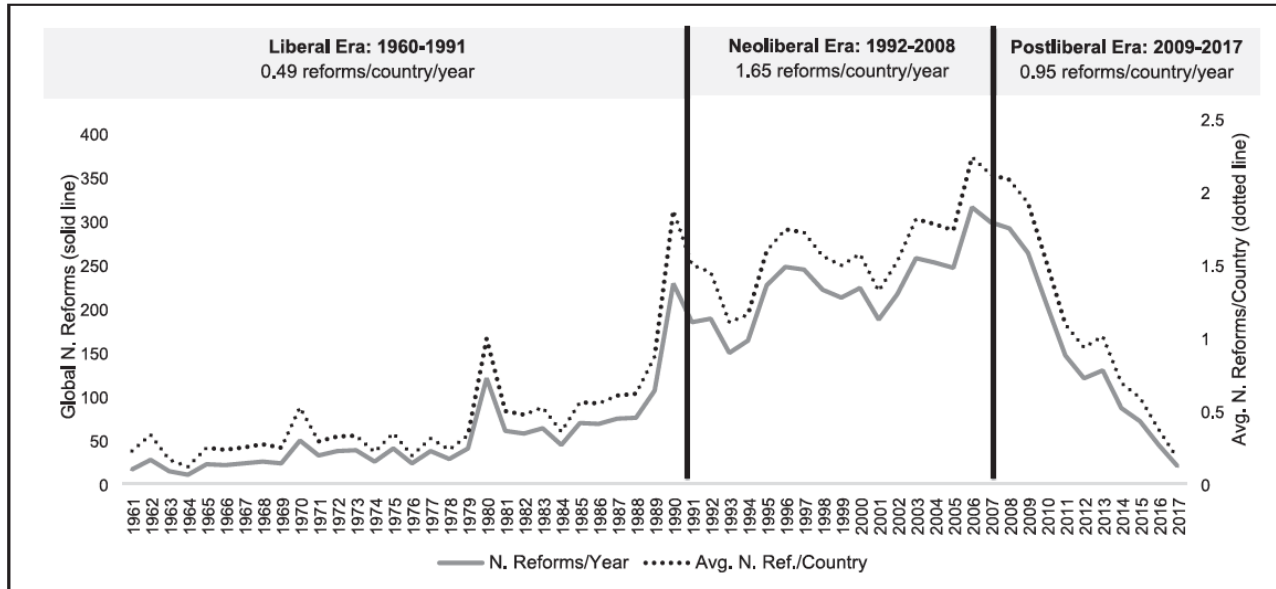




**School-Autonomy-with-Accountability (SAWA) at the end stage/turn of millennium (Steiner-Khamsi, 2025)**

For “SAWA” see Verger, Fontdevila & Parcerisa (2019)

## Global trends over time (macro-level analysis)



**Figure 2.** Number of reforms over time ( $n$  reforms = 6,700;  $n$  countries = 147).

Source: Bromley, Furuta, Kijima, Overbey, Choi, Santon (2023: 158) in *Sociology of Education*  
 Database: World Education Reform Database ([WERD](#))

**Table 4.1** Objects and objectives of data collection across the last four reform periods, 1960s - 2020s

| Time period | Name of the reform                   | Type of regulation | Type of accountability          | Role of the state     | Objects of data collection | Objectives of data collection                        |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1960s/70s   | Traditional bureaucracy              | Inputs             | State-based accountability      | Welfare State         | sector                     | Ensuring compliance checks by inspectors             |
| 1980s/90s   | New Public Management (NPM)          | Outputs            | Market-based accountability     | Entrepreneurial State | school                     | Promoting school choice for parents                  |
| 2000s       | Network Governance                   | Outcomes           | Standards-based accountability  | Interventionist State | class                      | Rewarding and punishing teachers                     |
| 2010s/20s   | E-Government (New Public Governance) | Public opinion     | Social or public accountability | Engaged State         | student                    | Enhancing the resilience & employability of students |

Source: adapted from Steiner-Khamsi (2025)

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## Part 3: The translation of CESA in the education sector

Building on the *OECD Key Competencies* (the DeSeCo project: Definition and Selection of Competencies), the OECD Education 2030 project has identified three further categories of competencies, the "Transformative Competencies", that together address the growing need for young people to be innovative, responsible and aware:

- Creating new value
- Reconciling tensions and dilemmas
- Taking responsibility

Excerpt from OECD (2018, p. 5)



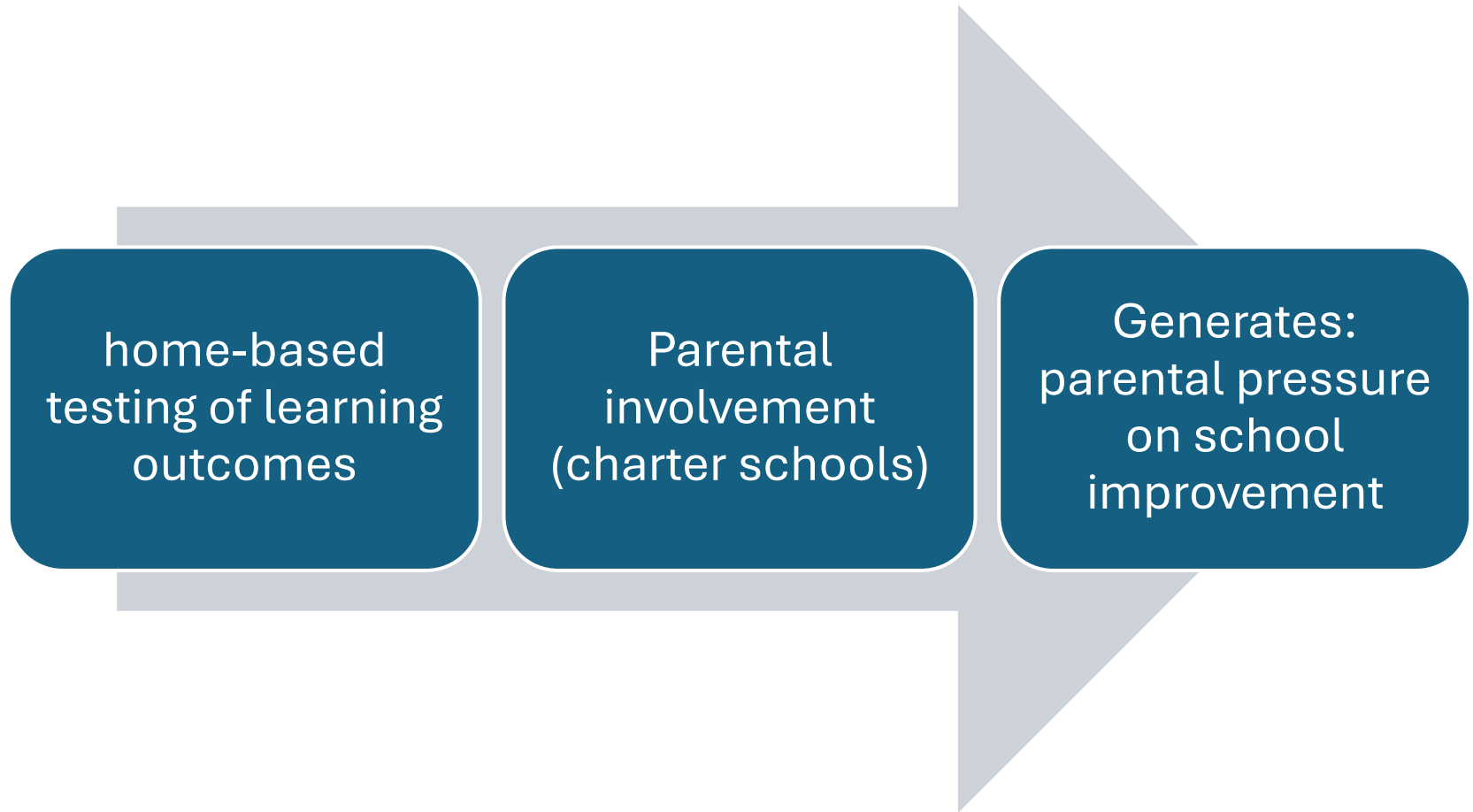
# CESA concepts in education



The Well-Being Framework: moving beyond GDP (economic growth) as indicator for development

- Environmental resources
- Social resources
- Economic resources

# Social accountability & feedback (illustrative example)





**Time in Education Policy  
Transfer**

**The Seven Temporalities of  
Global School Reform**

Gita Steiner-Khamsi

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# Thank you!

[gs174@columbia.edu](mailto:gs174@columbia.edu)