

# TRUST



## THE FIGHT TO WIN IT BACK

Open  
Government  
Partnership



## Acknowledgements

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We sincerely thank the contributors for authoring thought-provoking essays on recovering trust in government.

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# Foreword

Winnie Byanyima & Dr. Mo Ibrahim

People around the world are distrusting of their governments.

Key measures of trust are at historic lows. We are used to seeing cyclical trends in trust, pegged to highs and lows in political and economic performance. As societies progress people become increasingly knowledgeable about government activities, leading to higher expectations of government to perform. Trust levels follow these patterns in ups and downs.

But this time things are different. Low levels of trust reflect a sustained backlash against the political and economic order in different parts of the world. Hard-fought advances in human rights and the fight against poverty, as well as the fabric of democratic institutions, are under duress.

In this publication, we invited some of the world's leading doers and thinkers to provide insights to people negotiating these challenges around the world. In these pages, politicians, civic activists, business leaders and journalists help us to understand why trust in institutions has been declining, and how to get it back.

Declining trust, as the essays show, is caused by many factors - from corruption and elite capture to eroding social values. Globalization has been a double-edged sword. The world is richer because of it, but it has advanced an economic order that has resulted in growing inequality and conspicuous

polarization between the haves and have-nots. It leaves hundreds of millions behind, not least when inequality perpetuates the power of elites whilst hollowing out the hopes of many people for their children's futures.

People have solutions – but too often they are not being heard. The dearth of informed public debate and collective action to solve challenges has perpetuated the sense of disenfranchisement. People's space to respectfully debate and disagree is constrained by a lack of opportunity and meaningful arenas in which to do so. In many cases, dissenting voices are met with heightened crackdowns – at worst, violently.

The problem is not new. Declining trust has deep roots. But it has been steadily deteriorating in recent decades before reaching this all-time low. The response must be bold and radical. The common sentiment weaving through all the essays in this publication is that solutions and processes to regain trust must embed the values of truth, openness, fairness, inclusion and participation. These values work together and need to be applied intelligently and comprehensively by governments willing to actively respond to the crisis in trust.

Process and values matter in policy-making. Giving citizens the opportunity to influence the substance of public policy can lead to better decisions, improved satisfaction and ultimately trust in government. We are witnessing examples of governments both

at the national and subnational level modelling change from the inside out to build trust with citizens. Public servants are being challenged out of their comfort zones. They are changing the way they interact with the public, seeking ideas from civil society and the private sector, and having honest exchanges about their capacity to deliver.

This is clear in many countries that have joined the Open Government Partnership (OGP). We know more is possible. The OGP aims at setting and sharing international norms and ensuring the values of truth, openness, fairness, inclusion and participation are central to rebuilding trust with citizens. Initiatives like Georgia's Public Service Halls, Canada's Open Dialogues, Buenos Aires Elige, and Ukraine's ProZorro are illustrative of trust-building projects.

This is just a beginning. Platforms like OGP can contribute to reverse distrust in governments, and build momentum. As this publication shows, challenges faced by governments will become insurmountable without close collaboration with the private sector, civil society and the media. They must all play a role as partners, with the wider public in deliberation, decision making and action on public policy challenges. They all play a role in holding governments to account on their promises.

It is particularly crucial that governments address the expectations of their youth populations by introducing new participatory approaches to decision-making, for example. Women and marginalized communities must become equal partners in shaping our future. An effective agenda to build trust must engage key demographics by design, and consciously bring their voices to the table.

The complex challenges our world faces call upon formidable leadership from governments. But governments alone cannot solve them all. They need the ideas, wisdom and commitment of people.



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Dr. Mo Ibrahim  
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Businessman and Founder of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation



## INTRODUCTION

# An Open Government Approach to Rebuilding Citizen Trust

Sanjay Pradhan

Recent political events sweeping democratic strongholds around the world reflect a deep loss of faith in government. Citizens perceive their institutions to be captured by elites who are disconnected from the needs of their constituents or complicit in schemes that benefit the powerful at the expense of ordinary citizens.

In this publication, we asked contributors to reflect on the multifaceted and complex sources of distrust. At the same time, we at the Open Government Partnership have had a front row seat to learn from and work with courageous and inspirational reformers who have compelling solutions to build citizen trust in government. As a result of their efforts, previously opaque institutions are making themselves more transparent and accessible to citizens. Public officials are reaching out, listening to citizens and meaningfully responding to their needs. Reformers in governments and civil society are working together to combat elite capture and grand corruption, and create a government that truly serves and empowers its citizens.

These trends—emerging within and outside the 75 countries and 15 subnational governments that are part of the Open Government Partnership—represent a countervailing force to the rising tide of distrust in government. Together they constitute six pillars of a growing open government movement that is redefining civic engagement beyond the ballot box by empowering citizens in policymaking and service delivery, and putting them at the heart of government.

### Arming Citizens with Meaningful Information:

Transparency is a critical first step in rebuilding trust. But information made transparent must be genuinely useful to and usable by citizens. In **Uruguay** the government's *A Tu Servicio* portal publishes vital healthcare information enabling citizens to take control of their healthcare choices by helping them track healthcare costs, compare providers, and view treatment wait times online. **Brazil's** transparency portal is proactively publishing public spending data,

allowing citizens to track how their government is spending taxpayer money, report cases of official misconduct and request specific information on spending. In Sri Lanka, a youth-led civil society organization is using the Right to Information Act to help hundreds of displaced families track disappeared loved ones following the civil war.

**Empowering Citizen Voice in Policymaking:** Putting citizens at the heart of policymaking gives them the opportunity to shape legislation and policies in areas that they care about most. In **Estonia**, citizens crowd-sourced, prioritized and voted on key policy proposals through online and offline voting on the *Rahvakogu* platform, which ultimately resulted in reforms on political party financing and a public petition system. In **Canada**, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government has reached out directly through 140+ federal consultations to give Canadians a voice beyond elections and understand their concerns. In **Madrid**, city residents use the *Decide Madrid* platform to set budget priorities for a €100 million budget, suggest projects and monitor their progress. Conflict-ridden **South Kivu Province** in the Democratic Republic of Congo allowed citizens to vote on budget allocations using mobile phones. When citizens saw roads and schools being repaired that they voted for, tax collection jumped 16-fold, a clear measure of the increased trust in government resulting from open, participatory approaches.

**Reaching Out to Marginalized Citizens:** With populism on the rise and minorities facing growing oppression, inclusion of the most vulnerable in public dialogue and policy priorities is essential to win their trust. To address the social and economic inequity that disproportionately impacts the **City of Austin's** low-income citizens and communities of color, the city is actively gathering public feedback on its equity assessment tool, which will be used to establish city-wide equity standards tied to local budgets.

In **Costa Rica**, language barriers, geographic seclusion and structural exclusion from decision-making have made indigenous Costa Ricans the most underrepresented and underserved groups. In response, reformers from government and civil society institutionalized a dialogue between government and indigenous populations, which helped overcome distrust, settle land disputes that had spurred violent conflict, deepen engagement with nearly 20 government institutions, and usher investments in education, medicine

and water services. **Côte d'Ivoire** has committed to train five subnational governments in participatory budgeting practices, to empower women's groups in determining budget priorities based on the local community's needs.

**Empowering Citizens to Follow the Money:** Enabling citizens to monitor government spending and report the misuse of public funds helps build confidence in public institutions by demonstrating that tax money is being spent wisely. For example, in **Georgia**, citizens use the *Budget Monitor* platform, which was collaboratively developed by the State Audit Office and civil society, to visualize how public funds are spent online, report cases of corruption, and identify which government agencies they would like to see audited. Following major corruption scandals from padded contracts, government and civil society reformers in **Ukraine** collaboratively launched *ProZorro*, an online platform to disclose all procurement contracts and make them publicly searchable. Open contracting reforms have allowed citizens to track contracts, flag potential violations, and helped save \$700 million in two years by levelling the playing field for competitive bidding of contracts. In **Italy** the *OpenCoesione* project published the details of 1 million projects and €100 billion in EU funding through a searchable archive online. Empowered by this information, a group of young Italians discovered that funds for their local youth center were blocked because of collusion with organized crime. Using the media to expose corruption, they are advocating for the construction of a new center.

**Responding to Citizen Needs:** Transparency and participation are not silver bullets. Beyond feeling heard, citizens need to feel that government is responsive to their voice. Lack of responsiveness may in fact exacerbate citizens' skepticism and distrust in government. Closing the feedback loop requires that citizens monitor government activities, provide feedback and expect government response. For example, in the **Philippines**, an estimated 30-50 percent of local infrastructure spending is lost from leakages. In response, the government launched an *Open Roads* initiative, disclosing public spending on roads that were geo-coded locally. The state Commission of Audit mobilized citizen audits to track waste and fraud, requiring government to respond, saving up to \$300,000 per ghost road. In **Mongolia**, citizens are being trained to rate the quality of public services using a community

scorecard tool. The government, in turn, is required to respond to gaps in service delivery with citizens reporting back on the government's response. So far, 84 public services have been checked, improving trash collection, expanding access to water, and improving quality of school services.

**Enlisting Citizens in the Fight Against Grand Corruption & Elite Capture:** Elite capture and grand corruption fuel citizen distrust and apathy, reinforcing the corrosive perception that government doesn't work for the people. In response to scandals in which big business and interest groups influenced government and electoral processes, **Chile's** lobbying reforms seek to curb influence-peddling through a public lobbying register, which discloses meetings and donations between authorities and lobbyists. In **Georgia**, the country's supreme audit institution started publishing searchable political party financing data which is now being used by anti-corruption watchdogs to track whether donors and political parties are illicitly benefitting from government contracts.

These are inspirational examples of countries empowering citizens and rebuilding citizen trust using open government approaches. They demonstrate that governments can solve problems with their citizens and credibly respond to their core concerns, including of the poorest and most marginalized. Yet, these inspirational innovations are too few and far between. The challenge before us is to scale these transformative reforms across countries. We need reformers from government, civil society, private sector and other groups to forge coalitions to empower ordinary citizens in the exercise and oversight of governance, break the cycle of distrust, and ensure governments truly serve their citizens, rather than serving themselves.



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# The Political Drivers of Low Trust

Larry Diamond

One of the most common challenges confronting governance around the world is low and declining public trust in government. When citizens become distrustful of government, political participation declines and government finds it difficult to command the legitimacy and respect, and to mobilize the resources, to govern effectively for the larger good.

However, low trust is often as much (or more) a consequence as it is a cause of ineffective governance. The political drivers of low trust fall into two broad types. In many countries with demonstrably poor governance, citizens perceive government leaders (and officials at every level) as a corrupt and self-serving class of elites who are looting the nation's resources, exploiting ordinary people, and perpetuating deep structures of privilege and injustice. Feeling powerless, ordinary citizens may offer their vote or support in exchange for some small material benefit. They may even bribe officials in order to obtain services. But these are survival strategies that the powerless engage in when they know the system is rotten and they see no prospect of reform. In these circumstances, corruption becomes the norm, everyone feels cheated, and social trust is generally low. Thus, these types of countries have low stocks of what is called "social capital"—horizontal relations of trust and solidarity that enable people to cooperate for

collective ends. It is nearly impossible to sustain democracy or development in these circumstances.

The other syndrome is one we find in many of the richest democracies in Europe, the United States, and East Asia, where trust in government has plummeted in recent years. In these circumstances, citizens overestimate the extent of corruption because it is constantly sensationalized by an increasingly fragmented and competitive media, including especially social media. Moreover, intense political polarization—driven by highly ideological and partisan voices on social media and crystallized into self-reinforcing echo chambers of agreement—makes it hard to pass legislation to address the major problems. Simply reducing corruption or increasing transparency will not in itself restore trust in government. We must find ways to reduce political polarization, reduce bad information and incivility in cyberspace, and enable government to function more effectively again.

In the case of badly governed states, the only way to build trust between citizens and government is to boldly improve accountability and transparency. Government appropriations and expenditures need to be made fully transparent and accessible to scrutiny by the press, civil society and a robust system of well-trained and independent state auditors. All high-ranking government officials need to declare their

assets when they enter office, every year thereafter and when they leave office. These assets declarations must also be open to inspection and verification by the press, the people, and an independent counter-corruption commission. The latter must have the authority and resources to investigate, subpoena evidence and witnesses, track money laundering, and prosecute those who have falsely declared their assets, taken bribes, or cannot account for the wealth they have accumulated in office.

If a system of "horizontal accountability" to control corruption is going to be effective, its agencies—including the courts, the prosecutors, the central bank, and hopefully an ombudsman to receive citizen complaints—must be fully independent of government control. That requires independent means of appointing, promoting, disciplining, and sustaining them in office. It requires assured and independent funding for their institutions, as well as rigorous professional training and ethos, and engagement with civil society.

At the same time, bribery and corruption cannot be rooted out of public life unless public officials are able to live decently on their salaries. Official salaries, from the low-level customs clerk and police officer on the beat to the cabinet minister, may need to be upgraded, and that may only be possible if the overall size of the state is trimmed. Better to have a leaner state that delivers than a bloated state that preys on the public.

This returns us to the vicious cycle of bad governance: When corruption is endemic, people routinely evade taxes because they know they get nothing in return. Government pretends to govern and the people pretend to respect it. Once government starts performing—delivering roads, electricity, water, schools, clinics, and public safety—in a transparent and accountable way, the cycle of distrust can be

broken. Then, citizens will pay taxes and user fees because they see that they are getting something for their money. People will vote in elections, engage their representatives, and express themselves at public hearings because they believe these democratic processes will be fair and consequential.

With greater trust and transparency, people will join with one another to improve their communities, and entrepreneurs will invest capital to create jobs and new wealth.

This positive cycle is the best path—and for many countries, the only path—to sustainable and just development. Badly governed/low-trust societies must forge coalitions to improve the quality of governance, and we in the international community must help them do it.

Low trust is often as much (or more) a consequence as it is a cause of ineffective governance.



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# Trust in Times of Intense Scrutiny

Frans Timmermans

I am more optimistic about the future of Europe than I was this time last year, but we still face many challenges which we must tackle head-on; stubborn pockets of unemployment, inequalities within and between countries, keeping control of migration, tackling climate change, and of course fighting back against terrorists and their poisonous ideologies. To win all these battles we must stand united. And to stand united as a European Union we must earn the trust and confidence of those that we serve. Modern politics is not dictated by a four- or five-year election cycle any more, but by a 24-hour news and social media cycle. So how do we earn the trust of our citizens in a time of such intense scrutiny?

We live in an open world. Open minds, open societies, and increasingly open systems of government and governance. On the latter, the European Commission aims to lead the way. Trust is an increasingly valuable commodity, which can only be earned by public institutions if they commit to transparency. In a post-paternalistic world, we can't just say 'trust us' when people are crying out 'show us'. This is why the European Commission has made important steps forward in its work on transparency and openness. We aspire to be among the world leaders in modern global governance. This is in the interests of all our citizens and of the businesses that operate in Europe.

Modern politics is not dictated by a 4- or 5-year election cycle any more, but by a 24-hour news and social media cycle. So how do we earn the trust of our citizens in a time of such intense scrutiny?

One of the first things this Commission did, in our first month in office, was to adopt new rules on transparency, opening up about which stakeholders meet our decision-makers and top officials to discuss policy with us. This rule covers our President and the full College of Commissioners, it covers each of our Cabinets (our key advisers) and it covers the Commission's Director-Generals - the top officials in each of our policy departments or services. The Commissioners take political responsibility for our work, so they must be accountable to the public.

This transparency on our side about who we meet is coupled with a pledge to only meet representatives who have signed up to the Joint Transparency Register, which we run together with the European Parliament. This public Register obliges organizations to list the policies they follow, tell the public who represents them in Brussels, and give an indication of how much money they spend trying to influence policy. By refusing to meet people who are not on this register, the Commission makes registration a de facto obligation for any serious

and respectable organization. The number of organizations in our Register has grown by around 50 percent since we adopted this approach.

To make the Transparency Register system even more credible, the Commission has invited the Parliament and Council to adopt the same rules as we do on only meeting registered organizations. We want all the Institutions to have the same commitment to transparency. As yet we don't have their commitment, but we hope it will be forthcoming as we pursue our negotiations with them.

Transparency also means opening up the process of policy formulation and law making, and ensuring that it is evidence-based. As part of our Better Regulation Agenda, the European Commission now actively consults the public every step of the way, from before we pick up the pen and start drafting until after we send our proposals to the European Parliament and Member States for their deliberations and adoption. In this way, we can be sure that we collect all the relevant input, and balance all the different political, economic, social and environmental considerations before we take our decisions. Everybody has the right to be heard.

Everybody also has the right to propose ideas for new EU policies. We have a tool in place called the European Citizens' Initiative, which allows citizens to come together and submit a legislative proposal to the Commission. Each one that collects a million signatures of support is guaranteed to be put on the Commission's agenda at one of our weekly meetings, and the Commission will adopt a Communication setting out if and how we intend to follow up. In this year's annual Commission Work Program we have concrete actions from one of the first Initiatives we registered.

The Citizens' Initiative is now five years old, and this year we are taking steps to update the relevant Regulation and, for example, take advantage of new identification and collection technology to make it easier to organize and support an Initiative. Delivering

on this reform will be an important priority for me before the end of this Commission's term in office.

The Commission has thrown open the windows, and is ready to earn people's trust by doing things differently, and transparently. We will be judged by what we deliver of course, but we will also be judged on how transparently we do it. This is the key to good governance.

We live in an age where people want to throw mud at 'the establishment', whether that means governments and public authorities, or the media and big business. Obscurity is the best friend of conspiracy. It is easier to make people fear and distrust what lies behind a closed door than what they can see through an open window. It is time that more governments showed they have nothing to hide.



Frans Timmermans  
First Vice-President,  
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# Citizens cannot Trust what they cannot See

Gayle Smith

Citizens' trust in their governments has much to do with whether the government creates the conditions of fundamental fairness and delivers for all of its constituents. [Global inequality](#) has reached staggering proportions, with the wealthiest one percent owning half of the world's assets, while the bottom half of the global population owns less than one percent. Some political leaders are pitting the biggest losers of globalization – the middle class in developed countries and the poorest in developing countries– [against one another](#). Aid budgets are under attack at a time when global humanitarian needs have never been greater. The media is under pressure all over the world. The political will needed to tackle these challenges appears to be dwindling. For those of us committed to the fight against poverty, as I am, we are in for the fight of our lives.

As the tectonic plates of geopolitics shift and some Northern leaders retreat from international cooperation, I believe we have an emerging source of hope: the young people of Africa. The wave of democratization that spread across Africa in the 1990s gave birth to a new optimism as ordinary Africans gained increasing control of their own destinies. While uneven, economic growth has contributed in some countries to the expansion of an African middle class. Several countries have gained both economic and political prominence on the international stage. The African Union has emerged

as a powerful platform for tackling both crises and development opportunities, and for strengthening a united African voice. And a belated but growing recognition has emerged that this dynamic, yet oft-ignored, continent is poised to play a major role in shaping the future of global economics and politics.

This optimism, while still warranted, is tempered by some unpleasant realities. Africa's democratic wave has stalled; [at least 10 countries](#) have reversed constitutional term limits on the head-of-state.

Plummeting commodity prices and the challenges that unbalanced globalization have hindered some African economies in the transition from being producers of primary products to industrial powerhouses. Some 45 percent of Africans report that they or someone in their family has faced a food shortage in the previous year. And in South Sudan, so-called leaders have turned their backs on millions of citizens gripped in the jaws of famine.

The scale of the challenge and the expectation of citizens that governments should have the answers are tempered by the limits of state effectiveness and legitimacy, in some cases due to capacity constraints and, in others, a deficit in political will. In the most recent [Afrobarometer](#) survey, sizable percentages of respondents report having little or no trust in legislative bodies (47.8 percent), courts (42.3 percent), police (47.9 percent), national electoral commissions

(44.2 percent), and opposition parties (58.5 percent). Roughly two-thirds believe their government is doing a poor job of improving the living standards of the poor and in fighting corruption. Nearly a third of those surveyed believe people fail to report corruption because they are afraid of the consequences.

Reversing the trend is no easy task, but the solution is no mystery – we need to combine equal parts development, global norms, and transparency. We can take steps to ensure that the 130 million women and girls currently out of school around the world have access to an education. There are proven methods of incentivizing the private sector and African governments to [invest](#) in Africa's demographic dividend, in which 22.5 million new jobs will be needed each year to absorb the continent's youth boom.

Enlightened leaders can engage youth in political and civic spheres and harness open data to transform the ways in which African countries are governed.

The trust of citizens must also be nurtured by the credible belief that the global system works in the interests of everyone. African governments must take the necessary steps to police and prosecute corruption – but policymakers in Asia, Europe, and North America must close loopholes that facilitate money laundering and tax evasion, including from cash-strapped developing countries.

Finally, nothing builds confidence like transparency and open government. Citizens cannot trust what they cannot see. When citizens are kept at arm's length by opacity and secrecy, participation is off the table and they have no choice but to serve as active opponents. Transparency enables citizens to hold their governments accountable yet also fosters the civic engagement that can lead to the outcomes that both citizens and reasonable governments seek.

Achieving any of these aims will require political will, capacity building, and an empowered citizenry – ingredients that can also fuel the trust needed to take

success to scale. But it will also take individual action. We must stand up for what we believe, and bend the arc of history toward fairness, justice, and equality. And we must remember that the most important work seldom is easy, nor is it done alone. To build trust in our institutions, we must put trust in each other and shape institutions that serve the greater good.



Gayle Smith  
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We need to combine equal parts development, global norms, and transparency.

# Purpose-Driven Business can help Rebuild Trust

Paul Polman

Trust is a vital element of any well-functioning society. Today, trust in government and other institutions, including business, is at an all-time low. Much of the current public disillusionment is closely linked to the fall-out of the global economic crisis, vacuum in political leadership and the effects of pervasive corruption. Our current economic growth model has led to tremendous progress, lifting hundreds of

millions of people out of poverty in recent decades. Yet, it has also resulted in growing inequality, increasing fragmentation in society and runaway climate change. Elites, both political and private, are increasingly

By demonstrating its own commitment to this new form of 'sustainable capitalism', business can help de-risk the political process

motivated and driven by self-interest, diluting their sense of purpose. We see manifestations of this 'crisis of trust' on every continent.

We cannot continue with this 'business as usual' approach; it is simply not an option for the future. We need to transform the way we consume so we can live within our planetary boundaries, improve governance to ensure transparency, and accelerate the transition to a just and decarbonized economy.

The good news is that we have an agreed vision of the world we want. The UN Sustainable Development

Goals (SDGs) – all 17 of them - and the related Paris Climate Change agreement (SDG 13), provide a shared roadmap to build a world that is inclusive, fair, sustainable, stable and prosperous. These agreements were signed by all the nations of the world. They provide a moral framework that leaves no-one behind – so crucial at a time when global governance is not experiencing its finest moments.

Yet, it is increasingly clear that implementation cannot be left to governments alone. This is not because they cannot be trusted, but because they lack the necessary means to bring about the level of change that is needed.

The brilliance of the SDGs is how closely they are interlinked and SDG 17 - Partnership for the Goals - underscores the value of partnership and collaboration to deliver the systemic shifts we require if we want to unlock this opportunity. We can only succeed if we work together.

This is where the role of the private sector is crucial. According to the 2017 Edelman Trust Barometer, three-quarters of the population believe that business can take action to both improve profits and raise wider economic and social conditions. The SDGs also present a minimum \$12 trillion economic opportunity for business to help create an economy that is fairer, more stable, broadly based and more sustainable.<sup>1</sup>

To take purpose-driven, socially accountable business models from the margins to the mainstream, the current operating model needs to change. We need incentive programs to reward business

for long-term value creation; legal obligations for company directors to account for the environmental and social impact of the business, and full transparency on ownership and taxation.

All of that will only be possible if government works with business to create the right frameworks for system-wide change. Business needs good government to help set the frameworks of tax and regulation, to develop the infrastructure and to invest in science and technology to achieve this breakthrough.

In turn, by demonstrating its own commitment to this new form of 'sustainable capitalism', business can help de-risk the political process and give political leaders the confidence and freedom to act in the best long-term interests of society, and endorse change that might otherwise seem risky.

The Open Government Partnership (OGP), for example, presents another concrete entry point for the private sector to ensure implementation of the SDGs. OGP is already modelling unique forms of collaboration between government and civil society. It has tremendous potential to engage the private sector which would benefit from more open governments through accessing data, better business efficiency, leveling of the playing field and a fairer business environment.

Another example of uncommon collaboration between businesses and government has been in tackling tropical deforestation through the Tropical Forest Alliance, focusing on cleaning up commodity supply chains that have historically caused negative environmental and social impacts. The 'produce-and-protect' approaches that have been jointly created will preserve natural resources by building a sustainable local economy around them.

These progressive partnerships between business, governments and civil society will serve several purposes from shaping markets to drawing on the best examples of collaboration we already have to scale sector transformation, thereby helping to restore trust and drive sector transformation.

There is tremendous latent leadership potential in the world today – in government, business and civil society. No CEO or Minister wants to see more children go to bed hungry or more pollution to cloud our skies.

With the SDG framework, we have a roadmap for shared purpose, and above all a partnership for the common good. It will take strong leadership and moral courage. If we can, then what better way to restore trust than with purpose?

As the Dalai Lama reminds us; if you seek enlightenment for yourself simply to enhance yourself and your position you miss the purpose. If you seek enlightenment for yourself to enable you to serve others, you are with purpose.



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1. Better Business, Better World report of the Business and Sustainable Development Commission



# Individualism and the Dissolution of Trust

Jean-Marie Guehenno

Is lack of trust in government a global phenomenon, or is it mainly affecting rich countries? I argue that while the phenomenon is mainly a problem of the rich, its causes run deep, and have global implications.

There is little doubt that in the US and the UK, the reaping of the benefits of economic growth by the rich and the stagnation of the middle class have resulted in declining trust in political elites. Meanwhile, the rest of the world is catching up: the absolute number of people living in extreme poverty peaked in 1970 at 2,2bn, and despite a doubling of world population, it has since been cut by two-thirds: that may be why China and India show high levels of confidence in their respective governments. The future looks very different whether you sit in Beijing or Detroit.

And yet western gloom has deeper roots than contrasting economic futures. There is a worldwide crisis of politics that affects countries, rich and poor, democratic and authoritarian, performing and underperforming. Three related characteristics are in evidence:

1 – Personalities increasingly dominate the political debate, worldwide. Trump, Macron and Duterte have little in common except for one characteristic: they are successful outsiders who were not professional politicians. “Presidentialism”, balanced or not by the checks and balance of democratic institutions, is

gaining ground and leaders are expected to produce change against institutions rather than through them.

2 – This new emphasis reflects the triumph of individual agency after the end of the Cold War. What Margaret Thatcher said in 1987 has come to define the post-Cold War period: “... there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first.” The individual is king, and ideologies that emphasize the collective dimension of human destiny have lost their potency.

3 – In a world driven by individuals, the ideal of the public good loses its appeal, and the old notion, going back to antiquity, that the public sphere derives its nobility from a separation between the service of public interests and the pursuit of private interests, is replaced by its opposite: private success is the best qualification for public office.

The empowerment of individuals, while it has unleashed unprecedented growth, is at the origin of a global malaise. It puts an enormous responsibility on every human being: not only does it ignore the importance of luck in success, but it neglects obvious social factors: a poor girl born in Congo and an African-American boy growing up without parents in an American ghetto have an insurmountable handicap

—  
Rebuilding trust depends on our ability to connect through an institutional ladder the global to the very local.  
—

to overcome.

Better be a lazy boy born into a rich family than a bright young girl born into abject poverty.

Exceptions exist, and are celebrated as role models, but they

remain exceptions. And to tell the losers of that flawed competition that they should try harder adds insult to injury. Hence the growing anger of all those who are left behind, in rich countries but also in poor ones. That anger manifests itself in different forms.

At one extreme is the terrorism of foreign fighters. They represent the dark side of individual agency. The suicide video message of a terrorist has become the ultimate selfie for militants focused on nihilistic individual fulfillment. And the terror that it inspires in turn contributes to the atomization of society. In a packed subway car, every other passenger is a potential threat. Terrorism exposes the vulnerability of societies in which the individual is the be-all and end-all.

Most people, however, will never become terrorists, and their reaction to the cult of individual success, especially when individual success is out of reach, goes in the opposite direction: they want to restore a collective dimension to human destiny. Some find the answer in religious fanaticism, some find it in nationalism. In the borderless world of globalization, a growing number of people are searching for mental borders. They react to the crisis of states, too small -even the biggest of them- to manage global issues, and yet unable to manage solidarity within increasingly diverse national communities.

What is the alternative? We remain physical human beings, and we cannot experience far away tragedies as a personal loss: pretending the contrary is a lie that augments the cynicism of public opinion

on politics. We cannot embrace the whole planet without the mediation of tangible intermediate structures. Values, if they are to be more than empty rhetorical aspirations, should be grounded in our own personal experience. Rebuilding trust depends on our ability to connect, through an institutional ladder, the global to the very local.



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# Rewrite the Rules of the Global Economy

Sharan Burrow

The global economic system is a construct that represents a system of inequality by design.

Despite the fact that the world is three times richer in terms of global GDP than it was 30 years ago, we have historic levels of inequality. Eighty percent of the world's people in the [2017 ITUC Global Poll](#) say that the minimum wage is not enough to live on. And 85 percent agree that the rules of the global economy should be rewritten.

Corporate greed is out of control. People are not fooled. Eighty percent acknowledge that the economic system favors the wealthy and 61 percent that corporations have more influence than governments on setting rules for the economy. It is little wonder that public trust in political elites and the corporate establishment is at an all-time low.

Decent work has broken down in most countries when the majority of the world's workforce are living on the edge. Even in developed economies, more than one third of people are forced to survive on low wages with insecure and exploitative contracts of employment. More than 70 percent of the world's people have no or inadequate social protection.

In global supply chains, [up to 94 percent of the workforce](#) who contribute to the wealth of our global supply chains are a 'hidden workforce', where employment responsibilities are simply outsourced through obscure manufacturing, logistics and services supply chains.

CEOs know that their global operating model is based on low wages and often exploitative working conditions, yet few take responsibility for the due diligence required by the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, let alone set up the grievance procedures that could lead to remedy.

And now we see increasingly informal work, recruitment fees and modern-day slavery appearing in our supply chains.

It is a perversity that the language of "risks and rewards" is used to justify both soaring boardroom pay packets and growing income inequality at work. The workers most frequently compelled to take genuine risks—to life, to limb, to health—are those who receive the lowest financial rewards.

Low pay is in all probability the clearest indicator of the degree of health of any society. Low pay affects your

choices. It influences whether you work more overtime, extra shifts, report an injury, take sick leave. And it leaves you in jobs that typically have the insecure, dirty and dangerous hallmarks of risky work or scratching a poverty existence from multiple jobs.

The recipe for reducing inequality for working families and ensuring decent work is simple:

- a minimum wage on which you can live
- social protection, and
- compliance.

Freedom of association and collective bargaining rights are fundamental enablers. Workers need the added volume of a collective voice to make themselves heard.

Governments must act. Companies must face up to their responsibilities.

The social protection floor is endorsed by all international institutions - so where is the political will if governments can't spend 6 percent or less of GDP on critical social services?

Where is the political will if companies are not required to pay a minimum wage on which people can survive and thrive? This would only require an increase of US \$50 a month in the poorest countries in Asia, where major corporations make up to US \$17,000 profit from every worker in the supply chain. It would require about the same in Latin America and less in Africa. The price of decent work, reduced inequality and resulting global growth is cheap. And the economic payoffs would be equally significant. Increasing disposable income is the best way to boost development and ensure inclusive prosperity.

But consumers are not responsible for the fact that the workforce is in trouble and inequality is growing. It is governments who fail to make and enforce laws, and it is corporations and investors who flout laws

The global economic system is a construct that represents a system of inequality by design.

or lobby against stronger compliance in order to reap short-term profits instead of long-run sustainable returns.

Workers' rights cannot be negotiated away. Hence the demand of the International Trade Union Confederation for governments to follow the example of France and mandate due diligence for all corporations. They must themselves ratify and implement ILO labor standards and ensure compliance.

They must ensure minimum wages, on which people can live with dignity. Just wages and decent work with social protection provide the foundation for greater equality and growth. Collective bargaining can then drive greater distribution of productivity and profit creating even more equal societies.

The rules of the global economy must be rewritten to rebuild public trust, and the time is now.



Sharan Burrow  
General Secretary,  
International Trade Union  
Confederation

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# A Catalyst for Trust

Bob Collymore

Despite being billed as a “commercial disaster” when it launched, the Concorde soon became the global symbol of audacity. Born in the late 1960s, it captured a universal spirit of renewed hope following several devastating world wars. The Concorde represented the belief that there were no barriers to where mankind could go, or how fast we could get there. And yet, when the last Concorde flight landed in 2003, not only did the golden era of supersonic flight end, in many ways, so did that global feeling of optimism and hope.

Quite simply, the public lost trust in the vision that Concorde represented. They became weary of a new global paradigm that was seeing governments and companies getting bigger and more powerful, effectively leaving them behind. Positive growth seemed to only exist for a select few. Today, that crisis of faith continues to affect our most important global institutions.

Even as external factors like climate change disrupt communities and populations grapple with increased unemployment in an automated world, we are shifting our perceptions of the trustworthiness of our governments, leaders, businesses, civil society and economic systems. Already, more than half the world has **lost trust** in key institutions, with just 37 percent of CEOs and 29 percent of government officials seen as credible.

Through their day-to-day (and often predatory) actions, these institutions are not inspiring trust. They have become monuments to commercial gain at the expense

of social good. And yet, without trust, you can't strive to create the institutions that have made mankind so enterprising – like the Concorde. So how can we begin to rebuild trust?

Our most urgent consideration lies in the fact that our future will be fundamentally different from our past. If we need to build more symbolic Concordes, then we will need to rethink the way our systems work. We must invest in new and inventive solutions that put the long-term interests of people, the community and the environment first. This means that we must be prepared to do the unusual.

We must think beyond the traditional lines of government and business to meet the true needs of our communities. For instance, we know that a key component of regaining trust is transparency. Using our mobile money product, M-PESA, we have been able to digitize food delivery for more than 100,000 households in the camps of Daadab and Kakuma. Through a cross-sector partnership, we have ensured refugees living in the camps no longer have to beg for food. Today, they are able to gain access to food



tokens, delivered via their mobile phones, that they can spend wherever and whenever they want.

This simple solution has brought about a massive shift from the decades-old indignity of relying on handouts from state and aid agencies. It delivers transparency. It has removed the opportunity for corruption by eliminating middle-men, and reduced the cost of distributing relief aid, while creating employment and business opportunities for people in refugee camps. By upholding openness as one of the key drivers for this solution, we have found relevance at the intersection of need and profitability.

This kind of commercial transparency catalyzes trust, and has created a more engaged community in the camps. This is mainly because technology can often extend trust in ways no other intervention can. Technology is impartial, can cut costs, and deliver solutions faster than traditional means.

We are already seeing that mobile money can limit corruption, which is a significant detractor for investors on the African continent. In Kenya for instance, M-PESA is already helping county governments streamline their revenue collection. Citizens can currently apply and pay for 41 services from various public sector departments, including immigration, civil and business registration, through the eCitizen online platform. In Rwanda, an e-government platform, Irempo, has reduced the time to complete a birth registration from more than six hours to as little as 40 minutes. In Côte d'Ivoire, a public-private collaboration between the Ministry of Education and mobile money has resulted in 99.3 percent of secondary school fees being digitized. This has decreased the number of lost payments, fraud, and theft drastically, and enabled the Ministry of Education to better manage their annual budgets because mobile money allowed the government to collect fees earlier in the year.

These initiatives are proof that increased transparency and openness can help us to overcome uncertainty across communities, economies, and eventually, the world. New and inventive solutions using

technology create the building blocks of authenticity. This helps people to trust that institutions will deliver for them and provides the basis for a global movement towards positive collective action. We will have provided a catalyst for trust.



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# Media: A (mis)trusted Interlocutor

Catherine Gicheru

Addressing the Ghanaian Parliament on July 11, 2009, U.S. President Barack Obama asserted that “Africa doesn’t need strongmen; it needs strong institutions.”

The media is one of those essential institutions. Well-functioning media institutions can play a key role in supporting government and private sector efforts on corruption, accountability, transparency, quality of life, infrastructure and education - all of which determine the trust and confidence that citizens have in state and non-state institutions.

Citizens need good information to be able to stand up and demand better governance through transparent resource allocation and provision of services. This leads to accountability and engenders trust in state institutions.

Unfortunately public confidence in the media has been eroding gradually as technological advances have wreaked havoc on the media ecosystem. The rise of the internet and the social web has, on one hand, made it much easier for citizens to be informed about the world. It has also democratised the media since now anyone can publish, broadcast or disseminate “news”. But this has also presented a dilemma: which news sources do we trust? Do we look beyond those that tell us what we want to hear or believe?

Technological advances have ensured that the media no longer holds a monopoly on information. It has empowered the individual and democratised power within and across countries. This new equilibrium requires a new approach.

In their desire for page views and online engagements, many online as well as traditional media outlets engage in the ‘click’ economy where they disseminate questionable information in an attempt to boost their audience numbers and attract new advertisers.

The mainstream media also has to contend with the phenomena of “thought bubbles”, where readers pick and choose content online that bolsters their beliefs, for example ignoring anything that does not fit their preconceived ideas about government without fear of being confronted with an alternative view.

Trust in media is also eroded when the public perceives the media to be partisan - stridently critical of government or shamelessly sycophantic.

An independent and free media interprets government’s actions and words in an impartial and objective manner, and is a key interlocutor between the public and the government. However, when the media allows partisan cynicism or sycophancy to overshadow its healthy skepticism and criticism of government and its policies, the media loses any trust that the public may have in it a, and by extension in

government. For example, exaggerated reporting by the mainstream media during and after the Trump election and the Brexit referendum raise questions as to whether or not media is serving the public interest.

In Africa, traditional media— newspapers, television, radio— religious leaders and civil society are often more trusted than politicians and even government institutions. But this might soon change as news consumption moves from traditional outlet, to new digital forms. Technological advances have ensured that the media no longer holds a monopoly on information. It has empowered the individual and democratised power across and beyond countries. This new equilibrium requires a new approach.

So what can we do to retain and build up any remaining trust in the media?

*Transparency:* Journalists and the media need to be transparent in how they do their work. Let readers in on how stories come together, the rigor with which reporters approach a story, the verification and the gatekeeping that the editors do. And when something does go wrong as it will inevitably happen, be open and transparent about correcting errors.

*Listen and Engage:* By engaging with audiences and thinking about how to best meet the public’s information needs.

*Getting Facts right:* News media have to keep upgrading their skills, tools and processes in order to adapt their fact-checking practices and journalism standards to the new digital environment. Collaboration between tech companies, newsrooms and fact checking networks through collaborative platforms can help media outlets avoid recirculating unverified and erroneous content.

*Educate:* Media houses can teach their audiences how to navigate their way in the rapidly changing media eco-system so that they are able to differentiate between sponsored content, opinion and fact-based news.

*Return to basics:* In this era of information overload and fake news, it is imperative that news organisations go back to digging beyond the surface of a story in order to explain why something happened, what the consequences are and who is affected. Journalism must go back to its roots of not only being a source of news, but also a window of informed discussion and education for citizens.

*Innovate:* Media should harness the advances of digital technologies in order to better connect with their audiences and sponsors by presenting information in ways that meet changing demands. They must also increase opportunities for audience engagement in order to build new relationships of trust.

Citizens trust in government institutions and the media will only be retained if their expectations and hopes are met. Citizens’ trust in media ceases if they perceive government interference in content or a deliberate skewing of news to favour corporate advertisers and pandering to sensational content whose objective is to drive up the number of clicks. These perceptions, real or imagined, can only erode public confidence in the media and by extension, their confidence in government institutions. It is therefore paramount that media demonstrates and fully exerts its role as a watchdog and endeavours to provide citizens with information that can help them participate knowledgeably in their own governance and development.



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# Does more Transparency mean more Trust?

Ivan Krastev

In the late 18th century British philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham designed an institutional form he dubbed the panopticon. The concept was to allow a watchman to observe all inmates in an institution — whether a prison, school or hospital — without them being able to recognize whether or not they were being watched. The panopticon soon became the symbol of our modern understanding of power, as control over dangerous individuals or groups. The 20th century's famous anti-utopias — Huxley's "Brave World," Evgeny Zamyatin's "We," Orwell's "1984" — are stories of transparent societies in which the government has the capacity of total control. Knowing everything is the government's utopia of absolute power.

If the idea of the "naked" society is the dream of governments, the idea of a naked government and denuded corporations represents the wish-fulfillment of many democracy activists in the post-ideological age. The assumption is that, armed with the "right" information, people can keep governments accountable. Brandeis's line that "sunlight is the best disinfectant" summarizes the philosophy of

The pursuit of transparency also changes the way governments collect information and work with it.

the transparency movement. The movement aims to build a reverse panopticon where it is not government that will monitor society but society that will monitor those in power. The totalitarian utopia of people spying for the government is now replaced by the progressive utopia of people spying on the government.

Transparency is the new political religion shared by a majority of civic activists and an increasing number of governments. The transparency movement embodies the hope that a combination of new technologies, publicly accessible data, and fresh activism can more effectively assist people to hold their representatives to account, which will lead to a re-building of trust in democratic institutions. Indeed, the advancement of the transparency movement in many areas has demonstrated impressive results. Governmental legislation that demanded companies disclose risks related to their products empowered customers and made life safer. Demand for disclosure has also transformed the relations between doctors and patients, and teachers and students. Now parents can more effectively decide which school to select for their children and patients have a greater capacity to keep doctors accountable.

But while the virtues of transparency are obvious, the risks should not be ignored.

The debate over WikiLeaks' crusade against secrecy brings into full view the moral and security dimension of the problem.

As a rule, governments monitor people. When you make governments transparent you also reveal to the world those citizens who were monitored by the government. It is impossible to publish authentic documents without putting at risk government sources. And it is impossible to open state files without reading the information the state has collected about its citizens. The opening of secret police files in post-Communist countries is a classic example of the dilemmas behind any politics of disclosure. Will the knowledge about others produce moral catharsis in society or would it be used simply as "kompromat" in sordid power games? The answer is not obvious. The pursuit of transparency also changes the way governments collect information and work with it.

The Yale historian Timothy Snyder recently noted that Communist regimes were likely the last regimes where one could largely trust the information from the archives, as Communists were saving all their documentation to be able one day to write a grand, universal history of Communism. They never expected to enter any other court than the court of history and they were convinced they would be both witnesses and judges in this court's hearing. Democratic governments these days think far less, if at all, about any court of history. Generally, they worry about everyday courts and memos are crafted with the expectation that they will help the institution survive when litigation ensues. When civil servants expect their secret cable to be read by the broader public they begin to write them in a way a former spy writes his memoirs — with the idea to promote and not to hurt the Agency.

At the moment when government information is designed to be immediately open to everybody, its value as information stands in decline and its value as an instrument of manipulating the public increases.

Remember how gangsters in crime movies talk when they know that their rooms are bugged? They speak clearly and offer banalities, while at the same time exchanging secret notes under the table. This is how governments work in the age of transparency.

So, while the push for transparency is one of the most impressive political achievements of our time, what is disturbing is the growing hope that transparency alone will improve our societies and be enough to re-build trust in institutions. Dreaming for transparency we are "dreaming of systems so perfect so no one will need to be good."

The brief story of modernity is of how the personal trust accumulated in traditional societies has been transformed into trust in impersonal institutions, and how people who used to trust their neighbors now trust strangers. But we will again need politicians who inspire trust if we want to overcome the current crisis. Transparency will not be enough.



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# Re-imagining Democracy and Life

Jay Naidoo

The democratic governance system that dominated politics for the past seven decades is in a deep-seated crisis. The global experience now is of a broken

political and economic system

driven by insatiable self-indulgence and individualism. It

has created an

unprecedented

ecological

crisis – one

that threatens

not only the

human race,

but all life on the

planet. The economic

model of neoliberalism has

captured our political system, consolidating power

in the hands of a tiny nebulous minority. A new

form of apartheid has taken root in the world. It is

systematically stripping the democratic gains won

by our continuous struggle, while demonizing the

demand for justice, equality and human rights. These

trends are leaving behind a disillusioned people who

deeply distrust political authority and the elites.

An increasingly connected generation of young

people around the world are questioning how much

energy is spent on internal bureaucracy and its

unresponsiveness to a legitimate and growing anger

at the failure of governments to implement promises,

policy and plans. I have listened to people living

on the margins of opportunity, the planet's growing

underclass, and seen a system upheld by politicians

that may be seen to be extending lives but is merely

perpetuating injustice and corruption. Many young

people ask themselves, 'What is the point of living

longer if I have no hope, no job and no future?'

What is to be Done?

Many of our current ideas on development are archaic.

Ideology and dogma has lost its shine, our institutions

are bureaucratized and many not fit for purpose.

We need safe spaces for a genuine intergenerational

conversation on solutions to the challenges that face

us, at a local and global level simultaneously. We have

to redefine collective responsibility and historic debt

that the developed world owes humanity. Climate

change, global corruption, hunger, human trafficking,

tax evasion, human rights abuses and demands for

quality education and health are our future agenda.

The technological revolution of the past two

decades has fundamentally redefined the way we

live, organize, communicate, access services, and

the nature of work. While the digital revolution

has transformed our lives, and must be welcomed,

its ownership in private hands has widened the gap

between the haves and have-nots. Technology should

be a public good and part of the global commons.

I believe the critical challenge facing our planet begs

us to pose the question – what does it mean to be

human? Surely, we need to put humanity and our

environment into the centre of politics, our economy and our lives, not just our greed and profit.

We must move forward from the premise of ecority,

recognizing that all living species, including

our Mother Earth are sacred. That sovereign

democratic power rests with our people. That

governments derive their legitimacy from the

will of the people. And the voices of our youth

cry out for us to reimagine democracy, economic

growth and even governance itself. Life.

To achieve this means we have to question

everyone and everything. We need to rethink

citizen participation. The existing civil society is

fragmented, depoliticized and weakened by its

dependency on donor aid from philanthropic

organizations that have driven it into silo-based

activities. Often its accountability and effectiveness

speaks to narrow technical agenda rather than

the politics that underpin underdevelopment.

We must learn from the major campaigns against

slavery, colonization and apartheid that were

based on building people-to-people solidarity to

drive the change we want to see in the world.

Since the start of the new millennium, new grassroots

movements are rising. The veil of secrecy that

shrouds many government decisions is disappearing

under the tsunami of digital innovation. It must

be harnessed and deepened to drive a greater

transparency of leadership and governance.

As the potential for robotics progresses inexorably,

surely we need to debate the rise of a new

entrepreneurship and creative sector, such as arts,

music, literature, culture and dance, which will

bring a better understanding of our rich diversity,

greater tolerance of our differences and a more

profound appreciation of our shared humanity.

We need to rethink the skills, education and

governance systems required to redesign the world

we live in to include the right to a universal basic

income that guarantees access to food, shelter,

water, electricity and human wellbeing.

Hopefully we can learn the lessons from our journey

of life so far. That our lives are not about hyper-

competition, a perverse sense of individualism or

divergent interests. It is about the common good,

the celebration of what the iconic moral leader

of the 20th century, Nelson Mandela, wisely left

us with, that: "What counts in life is not the

mere fact that we have lived. It is what difference

we have made to the lives of others that will

determine the significance of the life we lead".



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# Youth Radicalisation and Distrust

Aya Chebbi

7,000 young Tunisians have joined Daesh<sup>1</sup> in Syria, constituting the largest foreign fighters' group to date (The Soufan Group, 2015). My 22-year-old cousin could have been among them. He explained that while others have taken advantage of the political vacuum of the revolution, "I felt more marginalised".

Since 2012, Tunisia has projected into the public imagination a rhetoric of fear and surveillance to justify the treatment of youth as potential terror suspects. This perception of fear is gradually translating into policies that have further radicalised disaffected youth. An accurate understanding of the factors leading to radicalisation is essential in developing an effective policy response. We need to prevent radicalisation in the first place and address the need for youth to find nonviolent social and political identities. This can be achieved if governments focus on rebuilding trust with youth through their equal participation in shaping public policy and the future of their country.

Although young people played a leading role in toppling Ben Ali's regime, the post-revolution climate did not allow them to be part of the decision-making process. Young Tunisians were not only excluded from senior positions within state institutions, but

Defining youth, as age cohort is particularly problematic here as it hinders their political participation and deliberately excludes them. It asserts that the youth are of tomorrow rather than of today denying them participation in governance

also from political parties, where their involvement did not exceed 2.7 percent (TNYO, 2013). While the political scene had become open to everyone, the second republic failed to engage the youth and listen to their grievances (World Bank, 2007). Defining youth as age cohort is particularly problematic here as it deliberately excludes them. It asserts that the youth are of tomorrow rather than of today, denying them participation in governance.

The notion of Hogra (the perception of injustice), expressed by the state towards the population<sup>2</sup> can help us better explain youth marginalization. In the popular culture of Maghreb<sup>3</sup> countries, Hagar is the one who abuses his power to crush others. Hogra is social injustice and unfairness from the perception of the Mahgour [the victim of Hogra]. In the social imagination, all those who have power or money have acquired these positions by crushing the most vulnerable. Hence, Tunisian youth have internalised the idea that they are Mahgours. Therefore, when injustice is perceived, young people look upon violent groups as legitimate fighters against the Hagar (the state) rather than perpetrators of violence. This can explain why the youth are perceived to be heroic when they join violent groups. Seeking martyrdom through individual

violent activities might not be a manifestation of religion as much as of a reaction to Hogra.

Moreover, if individuals are deprived of their political rights, they are more likely to feel rewarded when they join violent groups (Gaxie, 1977). The ambition of Tunisian youth to change the status quo, and what it perceived as a corrupt and unjust political system shows that Daesh stands as policy preference for the youth where "religious fundamentalists are ideologues and political activists are primarily concerned with political power" (Tibi, 2002: 20). Youth experiences explain a "crisis of legitimacy and trust" in government. "Big man" illegitimacy, therefore, may legitimise violent extremism.

Some of the solutions in addressing radicalisation focus on employment. While unemployment is often emblematic of systemic sources of marginalization, it is not the status of unemployment itself that leads to marginalization, but the perception of injustice – Hogra, relegation and distrust.

The shift in Tunisia's politics from a narrative of reform to a narrative of counterterrorism is counterproductive, especially because it targets young people. It contributes to the perceived "collective punishment" and deepens the feeling of Mahgour at the hands of state institutions. In addition, the state frames marginalization as a form of victimization, which overlooks youth agency. Ironically, the same victimhood narrative is used by violent groups to recruit youth and sustain support.

We need to address the political demands of the youth to address the crisis of legitimacy and trust. The "big man" has to give space to the younger generation to occupy leading positions and take part in the decision-making process. Therefore, a narrative of empowerment as well as national and social belonging should be promoted in the face of victimhood narratives. The government needs to develop a holistic socio-economic response where youth are at the heart of policymaking and

reform, taking decisions that affect their lives.

In 2013, my cousin was de-radicalised not only by receiving the attention of our family and community, but also by the local government engaging him in municipal cultural centres and local council. The youth are calling attention to their being and becoming. To build their trust in institutions, we need to reframe the radicalisation debate so they can be perceived as part of the solution, not the problem.



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1. Daesh is the Arabic acronym for Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS); the name emerged as a mockery of the self-proclaimed Caliphate  
2. The concept is of an Algerian origin, but very well rooted in the Maghreb in general. The "Hogra" was one of the main causes of the 1988 revolt in Algeria. As a concept, Hogra is absent in literature, but it is worth investigation as a theoretical framework, particularly to explain different fields of study of youth and the state in Africa.  
3. What I refer to as the Maghreb here is Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco

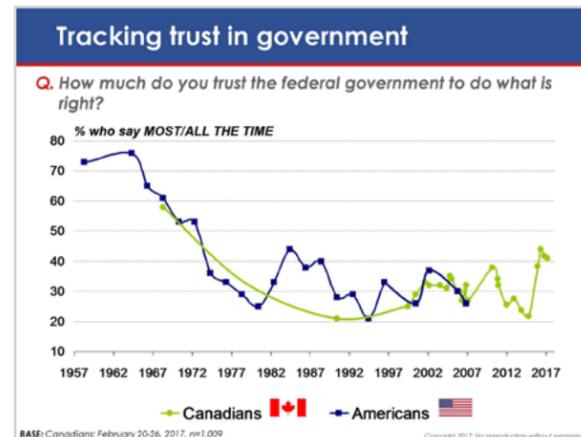
# Open Dialogue can Resolve Value Conflicts

Dr. Don Lenihan

A disturbing brand of populism has been sweeping through Europe and North America. It plays to feelings of powerlessness and distrust. Populists like Donald Trump or Marine Le Pen claim that globalization benefits the rich. They say immigration undermines Western values and exposes these countries to terrorists. They claim our governments have been taken over by “elites,” who they blame for the crisis they say is blazing all around.

Our governments must share the blame for the rise of this brand of populism. In a democracy, public debate and consultation are supposed to inform citizens and give them a meaningful voice on issues they care about. However, today debate is often highly scripted, fiercely partisan, and largely unproductive. As for consultation, while good processes exist, far too often things go wrong: the process gets hijacked by interest groups, “managed” by government officials, or arrives at conclusions that baffle the public.

People are left feeling disconnected from their governments and powerless to do anything about it. There is a sense that governments can no longer be trusted to do what is right. The following slide from Ekos Research in Ottawa provides a snapshot of this trend in Canada and the US:



I believe there is a close connection between this decline in public trust in government, the dismal condition of public debate, and the rise of “post-fact” populism. If so, giving people a meaningful say on issues they care about should be a critical part of any plan to rebuild trust.

So, what is wrong with consultation and can we fix it?<sup>1</sup>

Traditional consultation works like this: First, government listens to the public’s views. Then it goes behind closed doors to discuss what was heard. Finally, it arrives at conclusions it believes are in the best interests of the community. Sometimes this works well. For example, asking people for their views on

how to improve a government training program can be very helpful. Once the closed-door discussions are done, however, participants will expect a report on how their input was used.

This means officials must provide the reasoning behind their decisions. And that will show how seriously they considered what people had to say in the consultation. This is the real test of a successful process. Treating people’s views with respect is what makes participation meaningful.

In fact, many consultation processes will never pass this test – no matter how smart or well-intentioned the officials. An example from local government shows why. A major hospital in Ottawa, Canada, is planning to build a new campus on land transferred from the Experimental Farm, a national historic site. A key issue is whether the hospital should sharply limit parking spaces to protect the natural beauty of the Farm.

This disagreement is about more than traffic flows and trees; it is about values. Some people believe the Farm’s value as a scenic historic site far exceeds the value of any parking spots it might be used to create. Others disagree. These differences can’t be reasoned through the same way, say, technical issues or financial matters can. Trade-offs and compromises over values like these are much more subjective.

Asking officials to make them behind closed doors is a formula for division. It creates winners and losers among the stakeholders and citizens in the process. People with a big stake in such issues are far more likely to accept a compromise if they’ve had a role in making it.

Open Dialogue is a technique designed to resolve these value conflicts more fairly by giving the community a meaningful role in making the trade-offs. This is

I believe there is a close connection between this decline in public trust in government, the dismal condition of public debate and consultation, and the rise of “post-fact” populism

NOT a talk-fest. Open Dialogue requires serious commitment, hard work, and follows strict rules of engagement. Participants must listen to one another and treat each other’s views with respect. Open Dialogue challenges them to view debate less as a winner-take-all contest and more as a shared effort to find a win/win scenario. It teaches people that complex issues rarely have simple solutions and that, when debate is cast this way, usually no one wins.

Let’s be clear, however, that not every issue can be a win/win. Many really do create winners and losers and Open Dialogue won’t change this. It is NOT a silver bullet for all our problems. I want to conclude by returning to the question of trust. Open Dialogue may build trust, but it also requires trust: Participants must trust one another to be open and fair in their exchanges. They must trust the government to respect the choices they make together. And government must trust the process and participants to deliver recommendations it can work with.

Open Dialogue is not the answer to all the issues raised by globalization or democracy, but it is a very good place to start rebuilding trust in government and refuting the populists’ charge that our governments have been taken over by elites.



Dr. Don Lenihan  
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1. The ideas in this article are explored in greater detail in *What is “Open Dialogue?” and is it the Answer to “Post-Fact” Populism?*, which can be downloaded free of charge at: [Canada2020.ca](http://Canada2020.ca)

# Getting things done for the People, with the People

Giorgi Kvirikashvili

The three Open Government National Action Plans that the Government of Georgia has developed since joining the Open Government Partnership (OGP) in 2011 are reflections of practising progressive values while building better governance. This form of governance effectively serves its citizens. I have seen many strategies and action plans during my tenure, but the spirit embodied by the OGP Action Plans is rather unique: these documents are exceptional because of the range of themes they cover and the direct links to citizens' everyday lives.

The way we chose to do OGP at the national level is a story of trust-building between the government and the public. It is fair to admit that we all need to make more ambitious commitments, and government officials understand this the most. However, the journey our government, civil society and wider public took together in the pursuit of openness lies at the core of these commitments.

Our OGP story starts with the Open Government Georgia's Forum (Forum) – a permanent dialogue mechanism that we established to co-create open government reforms. The Forum is comprised of public agencies, local non-governmental and international organizations, as well as business sector representatives sitting at one table, planning the open government reforms of the country. The government is committed to listening to the voice of civil society. With OGP,

we declared a new phase of governance where co-creation is a rule, not an exception. The Forum, as a multi-stakeholder body, shares responsibilities in elaborating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating OGP reforms. It is the place to channel civil society energy and knowledge in the best possible direction, and it is where that energy can translate their recommendations into solid government commitments. We are proud that the Parliament of Georgia and the City Hall of Tbilisi later used our co-creation model as they joined OGP programs.

As part of the Forum, public servants and representatives of civil society jointly conduct public consultations on open government commitments. Undoubtedly, this sounds simple, but in reality it becomes a turning point for our citizens to trust our work. It leads to citizen-catered governance as a result. I have heard stories from colleagues -- both from government and civil society organizations -- on how surprising it was for the wider public to enter the open discussion, and for them to lead side-by-side with the government and civil society. It was surprising how honest the conversations would become after a few minutes.

Engaging directly with our citizens has given us a better understanding of the shortcomings we need to overcome. Last year we introduced our Four Point Reform Agenda to further modernize our country in a

way that benefits all Georgians. One of our major reform areas seeks to foster open and accountable governance.

One of the examples I am always honored to share refers to the success we achieved in taking public service delivery to a new level.

When consulting with our citizens, we once again realized that it is essential that services are tailored to citizens' needs. Therefore, the feedback of citizens should be used as the basis for their development. In the same line of thought, in the framework of the 2nd OGP National Action Plan of Georgia, the Public Service Hall (PSH) – the main hub of delivering public services across the country – launched an innovative feedback system. This system, called the “Voice of the Consumer”, allows citizens to directly participate in improving PSH service quality through a special system and imposes an obligation on the PSH to close the feedback loop and respond to each and every comment/recommendation received from a citizen. This mechanism has allowed a citizen with disabilities to directly suggest adapting facilities for people with disabilities at the PSH. Based on this feedback, the citizen, competent organizations in this field and the government developed a new project on adapting the PSH to the needs of the people with disabilities. That very project became a commitment in Georgia's 3rd OGP Action Plan. This is a shining example of building bridges between the government and the public.

Georgia is a small country with a not-so-long history of independence. But it has a solid record of accomplishment with reforms that have changed the way citizens interact with government. OGP success stories have unlocked new opportunities, not only at the national but also international levels.

It is our government's honor to be trusted to serve as the next chair of OGP and contribute to a future for a powerful global movement for openness and deeper

With the OGP, we declared a new phase of governance where co-creation is a rule, not an exception.

democracies. Now is a remarkable time for the Partnership and we will work with our partner countries and civil society to ensure people's opportunity to influence government decisions that affect their daily lives. In modern times, when innovation and technology have taken the lead in the global economy, the definition of open governance has expanded. While advocating for enlarging the scenario, we aim to

dedicate our co-chair term to strengthen the basics of open government – to ensure people's opportunity to influence government decisions that affect their daily lives. Strategic goals the Georgian government will be dedicated to pursue include enhancing citizen engagement and citizen-centred governance, advancing transparency and fighting against corruption and generating innovation in public service delivery.

We hope to share many more success stories of getting things done for the people, with the people.



Giorgi Kvirikashvili  
Prime Minister of Georgia

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# Why we must Trust the Process

Asim Ghaffar & Sheba Najmi

At [Code for Pakistan](#), we are building a non-partisan civic innovation ecosystem to improve the quality of life across Pakistan. We aim to transform the relationship between the government and citizens by leveraging technology to bridge the gap between the two. However, considering the unpredictable state of 70-year-old Pakistan, it is not easy to answer where the country should be in the next 10 years. Irrespective of what visions the government may have set out, be it Digital Pakistan or Vision 2025, we believe only concrete processes will sail us through. It is by solidifying and building improved processes rather than focusing on temporary outcomes that we can ensure a stronger government and sustainable development. These processes will bring certainty to the future we desire and deserve.

In Pakistan, trust in institutions in general, and in government in particular, [has been on the decline](#). This presents challenges to proposing a focus on processes, as citizens tend to care only about outcomes — such as poverty reduction, service delivery, etc. With episodes like Panamagate, Pakistani society will continue to increasingly indulge in pessimism and mistrust of its elected leaders. Beyond a certain threshold, such pessimism serves as a cancer for society.

Thankfully, with Pakistan joining Open Government Partnership (OGP), we see great potential for the country to become a modern political and socio-economic entity: promoting participatory processes, improving transparency and access to open data, and strengthening accountability via policies and laws.

For the last four years, Code for Pakistan has been rallying to bridge the gap between government and citizens. In addition to co-authoring OGP commitments with the government, Code for Pakistan runs the [KP Civic Innovation Fellowship Program](#) in partnership with the World Bank and the KP IT Board, a program that brings together 20 full-time citizen technologists and five government departments to improve government service delivery. It is the trust in each other that has helped us run the program for three years, and we hope to expand the Fellowship Program to the national level soon. One of our most successful applications is the [KP Traffic police app](#) which enables traffic wardens to report traffic incidents and violations in real time. According to the Traffic Department, the application has saved the government \$100,000 while reducing corruption and increasing transparency.

This is just one example of what we can achieve together. Through our work, we have learnt that there are four principles critical to the success of Pakistan's participation in OGP:

## 1. Keeping the Public Informed

Joining OGP is the easy part. Achieving an open and participatory government is a continuous struggle and all stakeholders must brace for increased societal skepticism. However, by keeping the public informed about the commitments and the process, we can hope to instill trust among key stakeholders. We should not expect everyone to understand why processes are more important than outcomes in the long run, but if we stick to the processes long enough and with a sense of

urgency, we should have a chance to produce a few good outcomes.

## 2. Data-Driven Approach

It is imperative to make data an integral part of the processes. There should be surveys conducted to benchmark where society stands on trusting the government. It's also important to benchmark where different groups of stakeholders stand, be it academic, businesses or the media. Without a data-driven framework, we may not be prioritizing the right policy areas for reform or measuring the progress made in recovering trust in the government.

## 3. Alignment with Political Will

We are assuming that international praise on OGP commitments is highly desired by those who are involved with the process in Pakistan. Nevertheless, it is expected that the government will be cautious about several of the OGP commitments because the elections are just 10 months away. However, if civil society can show government that we are supportive of its positive efforts, there may be alignment of political will around the commitments. We might even witness election campaigns around Open Government slogans.

## 4. True Multi-Stakeholder Approach

If there is one OGP principle we need to go big on, it is public participation. This will encompass multi-stakeholder representation in all aspects of governance, from initial dialogue to making decisions to actual execution. We may not always have consensus, but if there are more groups represented when decisions are made, we will hear more voices, ensure representation, and hopefully set the country on a path where trust will eventually come naturally.

We should not expect everyone to understand why processes are more important than outcomes in the longer run, but if we stick to the processes long enough, and with a sense of urgency, we should have a chance to produce a few good outcomes to support the narrative

Now that Pakistan has become a member of OGP, it is imperative that continuous efforts are made to strengthen processes, engage the public, and eventually improve service delivery to meet citizens' needs. OGP is a platform that Pakistan must embrace and utilize to recover the trust that has been eroded over decades of military rule, poverty, and lack of citizen empowerment.

Many thanks to [Meera Nadeem](#), [Anam Zakaria](#), and [Adnan Shafi](#) for contributing to this article.



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# The Participation Revolution

Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah

The falling levels of public trust in public institutions we see all over the world should be a wake-up call for those of us who support open government. But to rebuild trust we need to rebuild governance from the ground up, and put citizens (back) at the heart of institutions.

Sadly, many policymakers have acted as if participation is their gift to bestow upon constituents. The open government movement has successfully nudged policymakers toward improving how they share information and engage with certain sections of civil society, but almost all of the first-wave innovations have been supply-led. Governments have become too comfortable with delivering incremental changes. Putting PDF reports online or inviting select civil society representatives to consultations (or rather, ‘insultations’ as I like to call them) is a good start but nowhere near enough to reverse the negative momentum on trust.

Our current age of hyperconnectivity has led citizens to expect a much more participatory approach to decision-making and communication, where such incremental gestures are no longer considered enough. Social media has revolutionized the way that people communicate with institutions. One-way, top-down communication is no longer enough; people expect to be able to engage directly with businesses, politicians and public institutions in real-time, with meaningful results.

The good news is that there are promising examples of public authorities trying to implement bottom-up participatory governance.

Governments such as [Estonia](#) have begun to explore the possibilities of improving democracy through online engagement. Estonia’s online e-governance system was designed with openness in mind from the outset and has led, for example, to participatory design for city budgets. Estonia is now exporting its system of e-governance to the world, most recently to Jamaica.

At the multinational level, online initiatives such as the ‘1 for 7 Billion’ campaign and the ‘MyWorld 2015’ survey have shown that it is possible to engage millions of people in major UN processes that were once seen as the exclusive preserve of member states and officials.

While technology has helped deliver most of these sorts of innovations, is not always necessary. Old-fashioned town hall meetings and paper ballots can be just as effective.

Take, for example, El Salvador. The Central American country’s national legislators recently unanimously voted to ban all metallic mining. Their decision was notable – not only because it will protect the drinking water of future generations – but because it came after citizens in five municipal referendums voted to ban mining in their own regions. By taking the results of the municipal referendums and applying them at national level, El Salvador’s government showed how participatory governance should work.

Even though El Salvador did this with only paper ballots, there is no denying that technology is making mass participation in democracy more practical than ever.

Such initiatives – online and offline – have helped to flood the world with new forms of data and information about government. But much more still needs to be done to build on these efforts, including ensuring citizens and civil society know how to access and use this data once it is collected. Investing in the demand-side is critical.

Information collected at the local and national level needs to be fed into higher levels of decision-making. Just as national engagement needs to build on engagement at subnational level, multilateral engagement should also be built from the local and national levels up. Multilateral organizations should prioritize civic engagement at the country level, since civic participation will be crucial for achieving the goals set out in the 2030 agenda.

Of course, online government also comes with its risks. Ongoing investigations into foreign interference in the 2017 US Presidential election shows that even established democracies run the risk of being compromised through online interference. And while many representatives now successfully use technology to engage with their constituents, a move towards online governance also runs the risk of making some institutions even more impersonal than they already are.

Overall, too many opportunities for governments to truly engage with their citizens have stalled at the start line. Clearly much more work is needed, especially considering that according to research from the CIVICUS Monitor, only 3 percent of the world’s population lives in countries where civic freedoms are truly respected.

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If we want to the public to trust their institutions then we need to create a participation revolution from the ground up.  
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Over the past five years the OGP has played a central role in driving the openness revolution; my hope is that, over the next five years, institutions like OGP and CIVICUS help bring about a participation revolution. Only by protecting and nurturing the citizen-side of the engagement equation will we realize the true potential of openness and, in the process, rebuild public trust.



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# Political Upheaval and Trust Building

Kim Boo-Kyum

When Zigong asked Confucius about the essence of government, the master replied: “Sufficient food, a strong army, and the trust of the people.... without the trust of the people, no government could survive.”

Public trust in government is the essence of good governance. It defines the relationship between citizens and government and determines the acceptability and effectiveness of public policies.

When citizens trust their government, they are more likely to have faith in the long-term benefits of public policies even if they seem counterproductive in the short term. A government faced with unforeseen challenges will have more leeway in policymaking if the people are confident their government will lead the nation in the right direction. Losing public trust means ineffective policymaking. It may even put governments in peril.

Last year, Korea saw this unfold in real time. President Park Geun-hye had been losing public support due to failed responses to the 2014 Sewol ferry disaster and the 2015 MERS outbreak. An influence-peddling scandal in 2016 involving her longtime confidante was the final blow. With impeachment unanimously upheld by Constitutional Court in March 2017,

Park became Korea’s first democratically elected leader to fail to complete a five-year term.

The makers of this remarkable history that fascinated the world were none other than the Korean people, who held candlelight rallies every weekend for five months demanding the president step down. Over 16 million people joined protests across the nation. What united these massive gatherings was the people’s shared hope for a new nation. The peaceful protests moved even many then-ruling party members in favor of impeachment. The successful transfer of power brought on by candlelight was hailed as a modern-day Glorious Revolution.

The current administration owes much of its success to the “candlelight democracy.” Moon Jae-in was elected by a landslide in May 2017 and continues to enjoy high approval ratings. However, it’s too early to sit on our laurels. Koreans have learned that a democratically elected leader alone is no guarantee of a true democracy. The Moon administration must learn to listen to the public and deliver on its promise of a meaningful democracy. Only then will the president’s current popularity translate into lasting public confidence in the overall government.

The current administration understands this challenge,

When citizens trust their government, they are more likely to have faith in the long-term benefits of public policies even if they seem counterproductive in the short term.

as reflected in its five-year policy agenda unveiled in July 2017. Although every Korean president since 1987 has been elected by democratic procedures, state affairs were still administered in a government-centered way. The 2016 candlelight protests ushered in “an era of the people,” where the people are no longer subjects to be ruled, but owners of their nation playing active roles in politics. Korean democracy must evolve from purely elections into a true democracy in which popular sovereignty is maintained.

The Moon administration started by accepting over 180,000 proposals from citizens through a new communication channel “Gwanghwamun 1st Street” at the policy planning stage and incorporated those ideas into the five-year roadmap. The Moon administration announced “A People’s Country, a Just Korea” as a national vision and set “A Government of the People” as the most important of its five policy goals. The key is to shift from closed, unilateral decision making to an open public process in which policies are made based on open discussion and public engagement.

The government formed a public opinions committee on the longstanding controversial issue of new nuclear power plant construction as an experiment of deliberative democracy. Furthermore, plans for government-wide support is under way for a “social innovation,” the process of solving social issues with innovative ideas through public participation.

Expanding public participation and deliberative decision-making may seem chaotic and inefficient in the short term. However, it is a necessary growing pain for reaching a consensus based on rational, fact-based discussion rather than appealing to partisan prejudice and antagonism that have long characterized Korea’s political discourse. With enough practice, a trust-based partnership between government and citizens will be achieved in the long term.

Civic participation, government-citizen partnership and deliberative democracy are in line with the values pursued by the Open Government Partnership

(OGP). OGP provides an exemplary mechanism to encourage public participation throughout the policymaking process, from agenda setting to evaluation. It holds national governments accountable to the international community for their pledge to deliver an open government.

The Korean government joined the OGP in 2011 and recently launched an OGP Forum. Government ministries and civil society organizations are to co-create the entire process, from establishing the National Action Plan to reviewing its implementation.

The Korean government will continue to make efforts to present more ambitious commitments in the NAP and learn from other countries pioneering in the area of open government. I am confident this is a path to true democracy.

As Robert Axelrod suggests in *The Evolution of Cooperation*, positive interactions repeated over the long term can lead to formation of trust and greater cooperation. Korea is witnessing numerous positive interactions between the government and citizens. I believe this is the first step on a long journey to creating trust and cooperation.



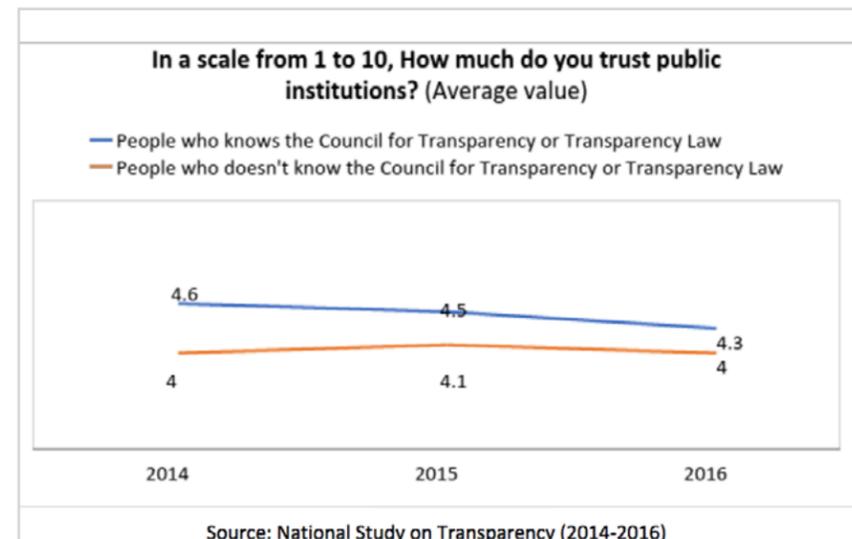
Kim Boo-Kyum  
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# Beyond Laws: a Democratic Culture of Trust

José Luis Santa María Zañartu

The protection of the public's right to access information has been one of the greatest achievements of our democracies in the past decade. In Latin America, many countries have passed laws or regulations to protect the right to information, under the expectation that more transparency will increase the accountability of the public sector and facilitate social control from civil society, creating a virtuous cycle to build trust and reduce power asymmetries between citizens and authorities. In Chile, our organization's research shows that those with knowledge of access to information regulation show statistically significant higher levels of trust in the public sector.



Levels of public trust are even higher for advanced users of transparency laws and regulations, who are more aware of Active Transparency<sup>1</sup> sources

of information. This is especially important because the literature regarding transparency often focuses on information requests, and overlooks the relevance and social changes initiated by the Active Transparency obligation.

The changes propelled by the establishment of Active Transparency – including lowering the resistance of public servants to publicize information they used to consider personal, such as their income and responsibilities – have been developed along with the evolution of information technologies, as well as the extension of their use among the population, shifting the way we conceive the efforts regarding

public transparency.

Now, after 10 years of continuous expansion of the public's right to access information, no one thinks about a transparency or accountability mechanism without the use of online platforms granting universal and free access to that information. The fact that information technologies are included on the legislation corps as a way to implement access to information laws has created a solid

base that inspires complementary efforts to build stronger accountability mechanisms. This is the case of the Lobby Act, approved in Chile in 2014, and

the Probity and Conflict of Interest Prevention Act, approved in 2016. In both cases, the use of Information Technologies to actively publicize information regarding the authorities' activities has been a main component of the legal changes. Thus, these reforms can be understood as an extension of Active Transparency to new fields, but under the same premise: grant universal and unrestricted access to anyone, anywhere, at any time, to the information that allows general and specialized audiences to know more, follow and keep track of the relationships, resources and contacts of political authorities.

The Lobby Act, which was a commitment in Chile's first OGP National Action Plan, gives the public access to information on the number of meetings, trips and donations that government officials are obligated by law to report, both in aggregate and by public agency, including provisions for sanctions and fines. But one of the elements of this laws' future success will be more training for public officials. According to our [National Study of Functionaries](#), the democratic values and principles associated with reforms oriented to increasing transparency, accountability and modernization processes – are unknown or not well-understood by public servants, especially those in lower level positions. These officials often hold positions attending the public and receiving information requests, which means their lack of knowledge and understanding can limit the citizens' ability to fully exercise their rights. It implies that along with transparency reforms more serious efforts need to be made to [train](#) public servants in the structures of the bureaucratic system.

		% who perceives that public participation will help modernize Public Sector	% who perceives that digital government will help modernize Public Sector
Hierarchical level	Directive	53%*	64%*
	Professional	35%*	51%*
	Non Professional	39%*	41%*

Source: National Study on Public Functionaries (2016)

Those with knowledge of access to information regulation show statistically significant higher levels of trust in the public sector

Similar challenges are faced by the general public, where there is a pronounced lack of knowledge and understanding of the norms, mechanisms and obligations associated with these institutional efforts, as well as a strong and growing skepticism about their potential to increase accountability or prevent corruption.



José Luis Santa María Zañartu  
President, Consejo para la Transparencia

1. The Chilean Transparency Law, as well as many others, established Active Transparency obligations, which mandates to publicize on the institutional websites specific items of information related to the institutional activities and functioning. These obligations complement those associated to the information requests obligations.

Governments and authorities should become the main promoters of efforts to strengthen transparency and accountability, showing their commitment through their actions and decisions. As [Yang \(2005\)](#) stated “it is more an imperative for administrators to serve as trust initiators, to initiate the process to restore and maintain the mutual trust between government and citizens”.

# Two Indispensable Pillars in Building Trust

Marianna Madia

I believe we need to become aware that transparency and participation are no longer an option but two indispensable pillars in the trust relationships between citizens and institutions.

Citizens' lack of confidence and distance from institutions and their distrust in the ability of those that should meet their needs cannot be ignored. The causes are numerous and this is not the place to analyze them. However, it is very clear that allowing people to participate in decision-making, and ensuring maximum transparency in the management of public resources, are two key factors to build trust between citizens and institutions.

In this context, open government and the Open Government Partnership with their principles of transparency, accountability, participation and innovation are a useful tool for public administrations to tackle disaffection and distrust and test new forms of collaboration between people and institutions.

Based on this belief, and with the cooperation of many associations, we introduced in Italy the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The FOIA grants citizens the right to access public data and documents for free, without having to justify their request, and reaffirms that transparency in public administration is not just good practice but has to become the guiding principle of administrative processes.

Real changes only occur when rules are thoroughly and accurately implemented, otherwise they remain on paper and rights are denied, leading to greater distrust towards institutions

The introduction of the FOIA is one of the most important and significant aspects of public sector reform that I promoted in the past few years and is a virtuous model of cooperation between the Government and civil society.

Under the same approach, we also launched a few pilot open data websites (openexpo; opencantieri; soldi pubblici, data on consultancies in public administrations) ensuring, for the first time, open access to data regarding events, public works and also how public money is spent.

From this perspective – by organizing dialogue and cooperation with civil society – in June 2016, we decided to relaunch Italy's commitment within the Open Government Partnership. The 3rd Italian Action Plan (2016-2018) marks a significant improvement compared to past editions. Not only in terms of the ambitious, significant and numerous commitments made (40 actions by central and local

administrations, compared to six actions in the 2014-2016 plan), but also for how these were developed; for the purpose of drafting the 3rd Italian Action Plan, we set up the Open Government Forum, a multi-stakeholder forum consisting of over 65 civil society organizations that actively worked to draft the plan and monitor the commitments, and were also involved in implementing the actions.

Cooperation with civil society and the following public consultation produced tangible proposals on many of the commitments included in the 3rd Action Plan: the implementation of the new law on the right to access information held by public administration, the development of the SPID project to provide a secure digital public identity system, the process to open and reuse public data, and cooperation between startups and public administrations. In addition to this, since we believe that consultations are key to opening up decision-making processes and that they need clear and shared rules, together with the Open Government Forum we drafted the first "Guidelines for public consultations in Italy" between November 2016 and February 2017.

Thanks to the work done within the Forum, we organized the first Open Government Week: seven days of initiatives organized across the country using an open and participatory agenda, aimed at promoting the culture of transparency, active and digital citizenship and – obviously – collaboration. The collaborative method was very successful, so much so that for the first Open Gov Week, in March 2017, 242 events were organized with the involvement of more than 154 administrations, 30 civil society organizations and about 85 schools and universities, which animated the participation of more than 20,000 people.

Finally, as a result of the debate held within the Forum, we decided to set up a Register of Transparency, a public agenda for any citizen wishing to request an appointment with the Minister or the State Secretary for Public Administration. They just need to register and specify the reason

for the meeting. Every month, the agenda of the meetings is published on the Ministry's website.

These are just some of the most significant aspects of the work done in the past few years in the field of transparency and participation which are an integral part of the public sector reform whose main aim was to radically change the relationship between citizens and public institutions, allowing them to interact in a simpler, more cooperative and transparent way.

However, passing legislation is not enough. Real changes only occur when rules are thoroughly and accurately implemented, otherwise they remain on paper and rights are denied, leading to greater distrust towards institutions. That is why I am now almost entirely focusing on how the new legislation is being implemented, especially the new provisions regarding transparency, with the active involvement of civil society.



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# Serious Business: Four Principles in Trust Building

Maksym Nefyodov

Trust is a scarce jewel in the modern world. It is even more so, when we consider trust of citizens in their government, often perceived as bureaucratic and taking decisions in the name of many but in favor of few. And yet the issue is even more complicated in countries like Ukraine that lack centuries-long history of building national institutions, and where ever-changing foreign rulers traditionally alienated people with sudden and often extremely cruel decisions.

After 10 years in investment banking, I volunteered to the position of Deputy Minister of Economy to help reform, among other things, Ukraine's public procurement system after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. I faced the deepest mistrust between government, business and citizens, in a country still scarred by its Soviet past and facing new challenges from Russian military and trade aggression. There was wide consensus that everything done by the government was suspicious, inefficient and driven by vested interests. And of course, very often that was indeed the case.

Our team took trust-building very seriously as we vitally needed business to believe change was under way and to participate in tenders. Thus our reform was based on several principles:

I firmly believe that government can earn trust only when change is visible and reform seems like a wave – fast but ready to dissolve should it face an obstacle.

- Golden triangle of partnership between government, business and civil society. We designed an e-procurement system, ProZorro, for all public purchases and split it between parts of this triangle. The state owns a central database where all the transactions take place and ensures the data is available to anyone. Business provides front-end access to this database and customer acquisition and servicing. Civil society NGOs, such as Transparency International Ukraine, own and operate monitoring and risk-management tools. Neither part can exist without the others but together they form a vibrant ecosystem.
- Everyone sees everything principle. We pushed transparency to its limit and required absolutely all information to be publicly available once a tender is over. If you don't want to share your data – sorry, you can't bid for public funds! As a result, anyone can watch tenders commencing, questions being asked and responded to, claims being filed and contracts being awarded. Ukraine's BI module, bi.prozorro.org, gets direct access to ongoing transactions and holds all data for just under one million e-tenders since the start of ProZorro. And, of course, our system is open-source to ensure data integrity.

- Constant response loop. We tried our best to unite all major stakeholders, report on our progress and show the true inner process of reforms. All instruments were used – ranging from mainstream media and quarterly reports, to weekly status updates and daily FaceBook posts and pictures. We published draft law revisions and meeting reports, comments on initiatives from Members of Parliament and curious tenders. We held hundreds of meetings and presentations all over the country, teaching e-procurement to suppliers and contracting authorities. We demanded every team member be active on social media and personally reply to complaints and suggestions.
- Build fast and adapt even faster. I firmly believe government can earn trust only when change is visible and reform seems like a wave – fast but ready to dissolve should it face an obstacle. This is somewhat radical as compared to state methods of years of planning and merciless execution. We started with a Minimum Viable Product in February 2015, went through a series of rapid updates and reached a total of 5,000 transactions in half a year (currently we see up to 5,000 transactions a day). A new law on public procurement was adopted in December 2015, a new version of the system was launched in April 2016 and by August 2016 paper-based tenders became extinct in Ukraine. In June 2016, we signed a memorandum to build ProZorro.Sale – an e-auction system for the sale of redundant state property with business-logic that mirrors e-procurement. Its MVP was launched in November 2016.

Ukraine's participation in the Open Government Partnership and Open Contracting Partnership was instrumental to all of this. The country's action plan has a focus on e-governance and public participation as a method to break rigid governmental decision-making processes and combat corruption. E-petitions and open data laws, e-declarations for public servants and open registers for VAT reimbursement are powerful tools to bring light to shady corners of the state. Another example, ProZorro.Sale, is used to sell assets of more than 80 bankrupt banks owned by Ukraine's Deposit Guarantee

Fund. To avoid suspicions that best assets may be hidden from the public or misused, we are launching an online assets catalog where potential buyers can actually select which assets are put on sale in the nearest auction.

In this manner data transparency combined with public involvement in decision making improves policy efficiency. But, even more importantly, this enables elements of direct democracy – where every citizen does not delegate its decision-making power to a distanced government, Hobbes's Leviathan, but is a part of one!



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# Proximity to Citizens is Key

Horacio Rodríguez Larreta

Around two to three times every week, I meet with citizens of Buenos Aires. I meet them on the streets, in cafes, while jogging in the morning. Others, I meet in town-hall style meetings held in the different neighborhoods of Buenos Aires. Some invite me to their homes. I shake hands, look them in the eye and listen. This simple act is neither revolutionary nor banal. Listening to what citizens have to say is a humbling experience for a public official. We sought public office to serve others.

This desire to be near is one of the core values my administration promotes, and I would like to use this space to reflect on the reasons why it is so. By being near we become better at what we do: we are in a better position to capture citizens' demands and needs. But this is not, by far, the main reason why proximity is important. In an era of democratic distrust, where citizens' relationships with their governments are tense and brittle, being near is a way of closing a gap which, in the past few decades, seems to have widened on a global scale. Being near is a way of being open, of creating spaces for civic participation and engagement with other public institutions and civil society.

In a way, the open government movement is nothing but a process of shared learning. Citizens are not content with voting every two years: they demand, and have come to expect, spaces to present their concerns and ideas. Technology is a great facilitator

of those processes. On the other hand, public officials have learned that an open decision-making process yields better results. Research shows that policies which include citizens in some stage of their inception are likely to be implemented more efficiently and swiftly. A better, more legitimate public policy is generally the outcome.

In Buenos Aires, this framework is applied to high-priority projects, something which is not --I pose-- the result of chance or a coincidence. Take, for instance, the processes through which the slums of Buenos Aires ---in which around 6 per cent of the population lives-- are becoming part of the city, through public works, sewers, streets, side-walks, new housing, the moving in of government buildings, and so on. All these processes, complex and difficult as they obviously are, involve the people who live there. They take part in the decision-making processes and have a voice and a vote in the ways in which their informal neighborhoods become the new barrios of the city. These processes simply could not happen without them.

New technologies offer new opportunities for citizen engagement. For instance, early in 2017 we launched an online system of collaboration in which citizens could create ideas to improve the city, gather support from their neighbors and vote to see their proposals come to life. [Buenos Aires Elige](#) is the outcome of a collaboration with the city of Madrid, based on a free

In an era of democratic distrust, where citizens' relationships with their governments are tense and brittle, being near citizens is a way of closing a gap which in the last few decades seem to have widened, on a global scale.

An open government is a government which is not only close to its citizens but also serves its citizens. That is, I posit, the true nature of a smart government: we become smart when we learn that the best ideas do not come from within, but are usually out there.



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software platform developed by our Spanish friends and colleagues, partners in the OGP subnational pilot program. Through this technology, thousands of citizens produced more than 26,000 ideas to improve their neighborhoods, which were discussed and eventually supported by thousands more. After a process of budgeting and feasibility analyses, these projects will move to a voting stage in which the most voted ideas will become a reality.

Accountability, transparency and responsiveness are also part of the core open government values. In that sense, we have launched in the city of Buenos Aires our [Government Commitments](#), a program through which we commit to accomplish certain goals which have a direct impact on the quality of life of the inhabitants of Buenos Aires. By setting specific goals and by making the information necessary to measure how each commitment moves forward, we are including citizens in the monitoring of public policy. This has two important effects. First, it builds trust with citizens based on a change of paradigm, where government delivers and explains when delivery is, for some reason, not possible or not as expected. Second, it affects how governments work on the inside. Public commitments get special follow-up meetings, areas are committed to change and the stakes involved in planning are raised.



# From Informed Individuals to Informed Communities

Melinda Quintos de Jesus

The work of journalists enables separate and disparate publics to share in a common flow of information and ideas. The business of news – a system of gathering information, checking out sources, and verifying what they say – has thus earned the media an important place in public life.

Advances in media technology have multiplied sources of news and commentary once produced mainly by established news organizations. The press, where trained journalists work, now makes up only part of a huge and complex communications system, disseminating news in countless formats. Today, everyone can be a reporter or commentator and create a platform for the discussion of all kinds of issues and interests, including government and politics.

This phenomena has challenged the integrity of information itself and our understanding of an “informed public”. The 2017 Edelman Trust barometer highlights a marked difference in trust levels among

The press must get back to this essential task at hand - and do it with a commitment to breaking media echo chambers, presenting opposing viewpoints and provoking healthy debate and discussion among different parts of society - with the goal of not only informing individuals, but entire communities.

the informed public and mass populations. The press may no longer be the dominant force in shaping information, but the global trust crisis involves the press and calls journalists to assume more responsibility in stemming the crisis of trust in institutions of government, business and media.

Democratization has strengthened the exercise of the right to know. Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation has eased the reach of reporters to official documents as they search for evidence to support investigative journalism. Open Data reforms have unleashed an unprecedented amount of data into the public domain. The movement toward transparency and accountability has gained momentum even in the private sector as business leaders take up initiatives to promote corporate integrity.

These reforms, revolutionary as they have been, present a unique challenge to the press. Universal access to data and information has diminished the primacy of the established media as news providers by giving the

same advantage to ordinary individuals and non-media NGOs. It has dislodged the press from its assigned function: informing citizens so that they can participate in public affairs, empowering ordinary people to check budget allocations, claim services, question the lack or lapses in delivery, hold elected officials to account. The press must get back to this essential task at hand - and do it with a commitment to breaking media echo chambers, presenting opposing viewpoints and provoking healthy debate and discussion among different parts of society - with the goal of not only informing individuals, but entire communities.

Journalists must bring professional skepticism to the task, testing datasets for quality and timeliness. This requires newsrooms to develop new levels of skills and knowledge about the different fields from which these data are drawn.

Journalistic efforts using open data across borders will grow, with investigative teams forming international partnerships. But even in the more highly developed news ecosystems, the use of government databases engage only those specially trained for this kind of reporting. Analyzing, visualizing and relating data with information gathered from other sources is a demanding and rigorous process that only a few are inclined to undertake.

And yet, it would be a waste of opportunity and resource not to develop the skill necessary to use “big information” in reporting. Editors today must watch closely to see which stories can be drawn from or be reinforced by big data analytics. They see the day-to-day flow of stories across the different news sections they supervise. These big process stories need to engage those assigned to different “beats” as their diverse perspectives can make findings more meaningful and relevant to the public.

This is where the newsroom might outshine even the most dedicated citizen journalist working individually on the Internet. The editorial process is a collective effort, creating an environment in which a community can work together – sifting through and sorting out,

culling the “news” from the mass of information. It is the work of journalists to surface what is relevant, and make this interesting enough to engage and involve ordinary citizens in the business of government.



Melinda Quintos de Jesus  
*Executive Director, Center for  
Media Freedom and Responsibility*



# Clean Slate: Introducing Unrestricted Openness

Dr. Suyoto Ngartep Mustajab

Prosperity in a region must come from justice and openness. Bojonegoro, as one of the Regional Governments in East Java, Indonesia, has long been known as a poor district. People's dissatisfaction with government services and development outcomes is an accumulation of people's distrust. The change of government in Bojonegoro in 2008 was the starting point for the transformation of people's trust with the implementation of an open government. Where poverty, natural disasters and backwardness haunted its past, Bojonegoro rose by introducing unrestricted openness and problem driven management as the key to rebuilding public trust.

Working towards open communication, one of our first steps was "Public Dialogue". It is held every Friday in Pendopo (a large, traditional Javanese pavilion) which is broadcast live through Government and private radio stations. The people of Bojonegoro directly convey their aspirations and criticism, engage in dialogue and mutual learning, and get real time responses from the government to their questions. These "Public Dialogues" encourage the emergence of innovative ideas and maintain the spirit of solving problems together. To secure sustainability of this process, we established a legal basis for this process in 2013.

This not only changes public behavior in contributing to policy formulation, but also changes the behavior of government officials in formulating policies. The collaboration of key stakeholders - academic, private entrepreneurs, government agencies, and

the community - is key to the formulation of policies in open government. We termed this the "4Ds": dialog, direct, distribute and digital.

Building on these strategies, Bojonegoro looked to the Open Government Partnership to further the path towards a more open and responsive government. Bojonegoro District, selected as one of the pioneers of open local government by OGP, reinforces the belief that open government can encourage community participation. The OGP Subnational Action Plan implemented by the Bojonegoro District includes reforms in (1) Data Revolution, (2) Strengthening Village Government Accountability, (3) Enhancing Local Budget Transparency System, (4) Strengthening Transparency of Contract Documents on Procurement of Goods and Services, (5) Improving the Quality of Public Services.

First, Bojonegoro's efforts in data revolution provide an opportunity for the community to act as consumers and producers of data. To address the absence of basic social, economic, and demographic data, Bojonegoro developed the Dasa Wisma open data application. The application builds on a women-led community movement to collect village-level demographic and service data. For every 10 households (dasa wisma) in a village, a trained female civilian administrator enters data into the data application. CSO partners are developing a visual dashboard and incorporating all local data into the national data portal of Indonesia. These datasets will encompass a wide range of previously uncollected information, will

be available through the Dasa Wisma website in reuseable, open formats, and will be used to better inform government service delivery and policymaking.

Second, the village, as the lowest community unit, is the beginning of democratic life. The community is given the flexibility to actively participate in the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of village administration. The publication of village budget usage and accountability has been implemented simply by installing a village budget billboard in a public area and posted on the village website.

Third, increasing the transparency of the local budget system is one of the ways Bojonegoro is building public confidence in government. A lack of transparency and public accessibility in the budget process of Bojonegoro villages had created an atmosphere of mistrust in the community. To address this, Bojonegoro committed to publishing the administration's budget and accountability report, as well as village asset data, on the village website and on billboards. A Village Information Service Desk will also be created across 30 villages, accompanied by efforts to increase public participation throughout the budget cycle.

Fourth, strengthening the transparency of contract documents on procurement of goods and services can help combat corruption. Communities in Bojonegoro are involved in monitoring whether the procurement of goods and services is in accordance with the medium-term development planning document and has been included in the mechanism of regional development planning consultation, ensuring government expenditures are on track to support development outcomes. The public can monitor the contracts and report cases of incompatibility in the

With the spirit of government openness, more solutions were found together by the public and the government, which in turn helped increase public confidence in their interactions with governments

implementation, helping to increase their trust in the government procurement process. Fifth, Bojonegoro has committed to improve the quality of public services by increasing ease of access to information, and facilitate citizen feedback on quality, and the government's response to these complaints through the development of Public Service Standards. As such, we have focused on health services, licensing, and education as basic services and are committed to engaging the community in the development of service standards.

There have been real measurable results from this work towards increasing trust between the government and its people. Bojonegoro has increased economic growth by 94 percent, decreased poverty rates by 71 percent, and decreased unemployment by 90 percent. In 2017, Bojonegoro has broken from the curse of poverty, and is no longer among the 10 poorest areas in East Java. With the spirit of government openness, more solutions were found together by the public and the government, which in turn helped increase public confidence in their interactions with governments.



Dr. Suyoto Ngartep Mustajab  
Regent of Bojonegoro

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# Don't Kill the Messengers (just give them some power)

Daniel Carranza

Trust in institutions is an extension of trust in people. We trust a company, for instance, because our interactions with it have been successful, even when we don't see the faces of the people behind those interactions.

Government is no different. We know the people on top (some we trust, some we don't) and interact with those who answer emails, phones and over the counter (usually in the lower hierarchies). A few of us are lucky enough to have access to those at the highest levels of government.

The problem is most lower level bureaucrats only have a fraction of the power we think (or maybe wish?) they have. They're bound by a system that's designed to work top-down and is not adept at handling anything outside "business as usual". Empathy might be there, but not the means to do something about it.

If I learnt something from working with public servants from very diverse parts of the world it is

that when you break down the institutional posture, most of them have the same concerns and desire for improvement and positive change as those who demand that change from them. They are concerned citizens, like the rest of us. Exceptions aside (of course there are many of those) I'd bet most public servants would love to see the same things that frustrate the rest of us, fixed.

If we allow those in government (not to be confused with those in power!) to act openly, to be honest, to admit the unknown and embrace the problematic, then they will be able to build the trust we're desperately seeking, from the bottom-up.

Many people say Open Government is about distribution of power. Maybe a good start would be to do it first within government, so that action is not confined to high-level meetings or National Action Plans. If we allow those in government (not to be confused with those in power!) to act openly, to be honest, to admit the unknown and embrace the problematic, then they will be able to build the trust we're desperately seeking, from the bottom-up (of course this distribution of power needs to be derived from a government that is legitimate, stable and has strong institutions, and Uruguay has been lucky in this regard).

You can't officially mandate transparency or participation and expect success, especially when it clashes with an institutional culture where the negative incentives to be open as a public servant are too many to count. So let's focus on transparency, participation, inclusion and fairness at that level of government where interaction with citizens is greatest, and let the transformation grow from there.

A good example is our experience at DATA Uruguay working with the Ministry of Health to co-create ATuServicio.uy. The portal, which was a commitment in Uruguay's OGP National Action Plan, gives citizens unparalleled access to the performance indicators of all healthcare providers, allowing them to compare costs and services and make informed decisions about their healthcare. The project required a solid partnership with our counterparts in the Ministry and I can't understate the courage and trust they showed to see through the project from inception to completion and sustainability. If they hadn't taken risks (professionally and institutionally), we would not be telling this story. The portal has drastically improved data quality that is now used to make policy decisions, allowed citizens to submit complaints and receive responses from the Ministry, and even driven down prices of some healthcare providers. And what about top-level management? They were extremely surprised and happy about the success of a project which was implemented with all proper approvals, but without them having to get involved at all.

We've all heard about government "Champions" and OGP has pushed for countries to detect and empower them. But we can do more to find them in every nook and cranny of government so that they are not lone champions, but a coalition of reformers.

Pushing for actual reforms that empower public servants to work with other actors, allowing them to feel as open as we want government to be, and institutionalizing those permissions and structures so they can act upon external inputs anytime (not just in a workshop or on special occasions)

might be a way forward for sustainable Open Government. Introducing regulations to hold good quality co-creation processes, ensuring funding and mechanisms to act on citizen feedback, collecting feedback from public servants, and recognizing and encouraging innovative practices of co-creation or even whistleblowing, can go a long way in empowering lower level public servants.

Admittedly, it would not be as fancy as a fully-fledged, high visibility, new and shiny Open Government initiative. People will just think "oh, wasn't that lady/guy nice to hear me out on my problem", but then again, even if nobody knows that's Open Government, at least they'll know it's a government they can trust.



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THE OPEN GOVERNMENT PARTNERSHIP  
is an international multi-stakeholder initiative that aims  
to secure concrete commitments from governments  
to promote transparency, empower citizens, fight  
corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen  
governance. To participate in OGP, countries must  
endorse a high-level Open Government Declaration,  
deliver a National Action Plan developed with  
public consultation with civil society, and commit to  
independent reporting on their progress.



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